

international edition

The Ukrainian Week

№ 6 (29) APRIL 2012

DRONES



**MANY WELL-KNOWN NGOs FEIGN ACTIVITY, HAVE
CORRUPT LINKS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND BIG
BUSINESS, DISCREDIT EUROPEAN VALUES AND
MISINFORM WESTERN DONORS**

**The
Economist**

Featuring selected content
from The Economist

WWW.UKRAINIANWEEK.COM

FOR FREE DISTRIBUTION

Football's recognised
names will land in Kyiv...
what about you?



Experience hospitality with parking access, welcome gifts, fine wines and dining in a choice of lounges and bars as well as enjoying the best seats in the stadiums for you and your guests.

Book now and enjoy the drama, emotion and excitement of this once-in-a-lifetime experience.

Your VIP-package for less than 1 000 €

| | SAT 09 JUNE | MON 11 JUNE | WED 13 JUNE | FRI 15 JUNE | SUN 17 JUNE | TUE 19 JUNE |
|--|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| KYIV <small>Olympic Stadium</small> | | Ukraine Sweden | | Sweden England | | Sweden France |
| DONETSK <small>Donbass Arena</small> | | France England | | Ukraine France | | England Ukraine |
| KHARKIV <small>Metallist Stadium</small> | Netherlands Denmark | | Netherlands Germany | | Portugal Netherlands | |
| LVIV <small>Arena Lviv</small> | Germany Portugal | | Denmark Portugal | | Denmark Germany | |

Also available for matches in Poland

+380 44 521 94 03
<http://hospitality.uefa.com>

BRIEFING

Will Andriyivsky Uzviz disappear?



4

FOCUS

Civil Society and Its Enemies:
Numerous existing NGOs have failed to serve as a foundation for a fully-fledged civil society in Ukraine



6

Actions Speak Loudly:
More and more civic movements encourage society and those in power to deal with challenges

10

POLITICS

Kyiv Sets the Trend:
The mayoral election in Kyiv will test the united opposition's ability to resist election rigging

14



National Project Watch:
Current "national projects" are mostly frauds covered up by hollow promises

16

Train Tickets:
To buy or not to buy after the reform of the Ukrainian Railway?



19

ECONOMICS



Neither Give Nor Take:
Six problems Ukraine needs to overcome to become a bona fide business partner for international financial organizations

20

NEIGHBOURS



False Equality:
Marc-Olivier Padi talks about European multiculturalism and political controversies in Europe

24

A Lighter Shade of Grey:
EU membership has been good for Romania and Bulgaria but is testing Eurocrats' patience

26

SOCIETY

Russification via Bilingualism:
Under the current circumstances in Ukraine, most bilingual people ultimately become Russian-speakers



28

Being Yourself:
A firm choice of the language in which to speak allows people to shape their environment rather than be shaped by it

30

Gender in the USSR:
How the Soviet Union affected the development and evolution of relationships between men and women



32

HISTORY



The Weakest Link:
Today's men in Ukraine

36



The Rise of the Celts:
The concept of Celtic heritage in Europe today

38



Parallel Struggle:
When Ireland gained independence from Great Britain 90 years ago, Ukraine lost its independence on the other side of the continent

40

CULTURE & ARTS

Freedom of Creation:
How can Ukrainian theatre be interesting for the rest of the world?



42

Waiting for Quality:
The Ukrainian Week looks into ways to improve the organization of Ukrainian festivals

44

NAVIGATOR

Life is Different There:
A documentary about Donbas coalminers



46



Travelling to the Past:
Historical reenactments fill the gap in preserving Ukraine's heritage

48

THE UKRAINIAN WEEK
The Ukrainian Week

The Ukrainian Week № 6 (29) April 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: TOV SKIMP, TOV ART STUDIYA DRUKU; vul. Boryspilska 15, Kyiv

Ordering number: 306-04/12. Print run: 15,000

Sent to print on 13 April 2012

Free distribution

**29 March**

Oksana Makar, the victim of Mykolayiv gang rapists, dies in hospital

**1 April**

The minimum wage rate in Ukraine is set at UAH 1,094 or nearly USD 136

**3 April**

The Russian-Ukrainian cheese war is at an end. Ukraine can now export cheese to Russia again

QUOTES

ROMAN MAHUTA chairs the Audit Chamber

The Verkhovna Rada appoints ex-First Deputy Chairman of the Board of the State Savings Bank as Chairman of the Audit Chamber after Petro Poroshenko, another plausible candidate for the office, becomes Minister of Economy



MAILIS REPS warns the government

"...if no interest in dialogue is found, PACE itself can also stop cooperating with Ukraine." Read full interview with Ms. Reps at www.ukrainian-week.com/Politics/47224



LEV PARTSKHALADZE won't join the PR

Partskhaladze and Andriy Myrhorodsky, two millionaires from Serhiy Tihipko's dissolved Strong Ukraine party, are considering the establishment of a new political group



PETRO POROSHENKO wants the loan

"I believe the IMF is the only way to implement reforms," he tells Bloomberg. "Gas prices for the public should be raised..." Mr. Yanukovich denies that the gas price will increase to get the loan



Will Andriyivsky



PHOTO: DMYTRO STAKHOVSKY

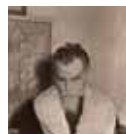
The demolished buildings concealed behind a 5-meter high fence were numbered 10A and 10B on Andriyivsky Uzviz and 9/11 on Frolivska Street. The first one was recorded in the register of architecturally significant sites. Serhiy Tselovalnyk, Head of the Main Department for City Construction, Architecture and Urban Design at the Kyiv City State Administration, said that the demolished buildings were of absolutely no value and that it made no sense for the public to start a storm in a teacup. "This 1 hectare large quarter covering Andriyivsky Uzviz, Borychiv Tik and Frolivska Street contains only two architecturally significant sites, both of them on Borychiv Tik," he told the journalists. "Why is it that as soon as a builder appears with a spade in a hard hat, you are there with your cameras?" However, Kyiv's chief architect is reluctant to take responsibility for the radical transformations on the other side of the fence. "We, as the

current administration, have nothing to do with what's going on here," he claimed. "I have no idea why these buildings have been demolished." According to Mr. Tselovalnyk, this will be the site of a "very interesting" 7-story trade and business center called Andriyivsky Plaza. Mykhailo Kuchuk, Deputy Head of Kyiv City State Administration, also stated that the city administration has not authorized the demolition of the buildings or the new construction. According to him, the developers got their okay from the Inspection of State Architectural and Construction Supervision, thus essentially saying that one state entity can authorize construction without other two even knowing about it. The construction was ordered by ESTA Holding, part of Rinat Akhmetov's SCM Finance. According to Ukrayinska Pravda (Ukrainian Truth), an online publication, ESTA Holding's press-service has denied destroying the his-

The month in history

9 April 1992

The Verkhovna Rada passes a declaration of Ukraine's status as a non-nuclear state

11 April 1945

Soviet authorities arrest Metropolitan Josyf Slipyi and the top episcopate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church

12 April 1912

The Plast scouting organization is founded in Lviv

5 April



Tax police raids Le Doyen Studio that dubbed 60% of all films shown on the big screen into Ukrainian

12 April



Valeriy Ivashchenko, former Acting Minister of Defense, is sentenced to 5 years in jail for abuse of office. He has been held at a pre-trial detention centre since 25 August 2010

13 April

The Verkhovna Rada passes the new Criminal Procedure Code with only 50 parliamentary majority MPs present at the session

Uzviz Disappear?

torical building. However, Vladyslava Osmak, an expert on Kyiv and an activist of the Andriyivsky Uzviz public network, claims that "in reality", there is some confusion with the numbering of these buildings on maps, the demolished buildings were not actually buildings of architectural significance and that building 10A, which was designated as an architecturally significant building, is still standing. She stated that "The Ministry of Culture signed a Decree on 20 January 2012, granting Andriyivsky Uzviz the status of an urban architecturally significant site, therefore every building on the street is now a historical one. This makes any new construction here illegal. The buildings can only be restored, not even reconstructed! With support from the Verkhovna Rada, the city council may have to revise all these documents and certificates for the purchase, sale or privatization of any building, and return Andriyivsky Uzviz to state ownership."

The Kyiv City State Administration's Decree No. 979 from 16 May 2002 grants Andriyivsky Uzviz a protected status. This provides for specific construction rules and the arbitrary demolition of any buildings, even ones that do not qualify as architecturally significant sites, is completely illegal. Nobody can carry out any works there without prior approval from the Department for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites. According to Acting Head Yakiv Dikhtiar, neither his Department nor the Archeological institute, have authorized the construction.

The Decree clearly determines that any new construction must take into account the architectural ensemble of the site and "preserve the archeological style of the existing historical environment". How the glass cube designed for the site complies with the Decree is a mystery.

The street has long been a pain in the neck for officials. In summer 2006, the Podil District Administration announced a reconstruction

tender that was not authorized by the Kyiv State City Administration, which makes it illegal. Notably, reconstruction here means the demolition of old and construction of new buildings, rather than minor repairs. The reconstruction would have closed down the street for two years. As a result, artists working there, some of them having been there for decades, would have nowhere to work. At that time, the construction of parking lots and shopping malls had already been planned. Once this sparked a scandal in the media, the tender was cancelled and postponed for an undetermined term but weird things, such as fires in old buildings, blamed on homeless people, did not stop. The cobblestones made by ancient Kyivites from the stones left around Kyiv by a Scandinavian glacier 150,000 years ago will be replaced by concrete slabs to make it easier for cars to drive up the street that is actually designated for pedestrians.

"Does Andriyivsky Uzviz need a business center and more offices?" Vladyslava Osmak wonders. "A museum complex would be more appropriate, as well as bookstores, music stores and tiny restaurants where people would feel protected... all this is small business that would be more relevant for this historical street, not the big business implemented in huge complexes."

Late on 10 April, Oleksandr Popov, Head of Kyiv City State Administration, played "good cop" once more. The Inspection of State Architectural and Construction Supervision in Kyiv suspended preliminary work on the construction of the trade and business center with all adjoining premises and underground parking lot. The works were stopped on the demand of the Kyiv City State Administration, based on the fact that it had not been notified of the start of construction by the developer.

**Olena Maksymenko,
Natsia Melnychenko**

NUMBERS

Only

5.8% of Ukrainians

believe that the upcoming election will be fair. 37.1% assume the election can be rigged and 24% are convinced that this will happen, shows a survey by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation

According to the Children's Ombudsman,

every third teenager

drinks alcohol in Ukraine, and every 10th Ukrainian aged 13-17 is an alcoholic

A survey by the Horshenin Institute shows that

29.9%

of young Ukrainian students aged 16-21 want to move abroad and 48.4% want to stay in Ukraine. 84.6% of those polled claim it is difficult to achieve success in Ukraine compared to only 11.1% who say the opposite

The Central Electoral Committee is establishing

33,540 polling stations

in Ukraine and 114 abroad for the upcoming parliamentary election

According to a survey by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation,

74.8% of Ukrainians

claim they "would never sell their votes" while 12.3% would sell theirs for more than UAH 500

Over 300

Kyivites protest in front of Rinat Akhmetov's SCM office in Kyiv on 11 April against the demolition of old buildings and the construction of a trade and business centre on Andriyivsky Uzviz, one of the oldest streets in Kyiv

15 April 1905



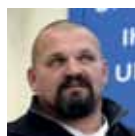
Serge Lifar, one of the greatest male ballet dancers, is born in Kyiv

18 April 2007



Ukraine and Poland win the right to host the Euro 2012 Football Championship

22 April 1974



Vasyl Viraštiuk, Ukrainian Strongman and the 2004 World's Strongest Man, is born

26 April 1986

Reactor 4 of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant explodes

Civil Society and Its



Forming a fully-fledged civil society in Ukraine is still a challenge because the numerous existing NGOs have failed to become its foundation

Author:
Ihor
Kondratenko

As Karl Popper was writing his *Open Society and Its Enemies*, one of the ideological cornerstones of contemporary European liberalism, threats to civil society were expected to come from a variety of different sources. Standing in the way of a community of free citizens capable of joining forces and defending their rights were government agencies (they sought to justify their own existence, expand their staff, increase expenses and thus make more room for corruption), passive citizens (with their distinctively uncritical treatment of the government), paternalism and traditions that have formed in certain societies.

All of this holds true for Ukraine. But equally harmful to our emerging civil society are im-

itators and timeservers who have turned public activity into a type of business based on grant seeking and report writing.

REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIETY

The concept of a civil society is an integral part of the contemporary understanding of democracy. Democracy means not only fair elections, formal procedures and mutual control of government agencies and politicians. It is also an opportunity for citizens to freely pursue their interests, develop their potential and exert sufficient influence on government officials. In fact, the government has to serve society by fulfilling state functions for its benefit. Citizens pursue their interests both independently and in groups which have the status of civil soci-

ety institutions. In developed countries these institutions produce the lion's share of new ideas that are generated by society as a whole. They perform social functions, organise civic mutual aid and interact with the government and business for the efficient and transparent solution of urgent issues. Intellectuals and think tanks play a crucial role in this system. They find new ways for society to develop and identify the true causes behind problems faced (or generated) by the government and business. They also serve as moral authority and intellectual centres for public movements aimed at improving the situation in the country.

Officially, Ukraine has a number of such institutions. In 2011, nearly 50,000 NGOs (66 per cent of the total) and charity

Enemies

organisations (31 per cent of the total) were registered in Ukraine. Among NGOs, 18 per cent are sports societies, 15 per cent professional, 11 per cent youth, 9 per cent unions of veterans and invalids, 7 per cent cultural and educational, 5 per cent ethnic and 5 per cent human rights associations. By the end of 2011, there were only 3,500 all-Ukrainian organisations, of which around 500 were set up in the past two years.

This broad definition already points to a problem. It puts together under one umbrella the vestiges of the Soviet era (trade unions and “artistic unions”), public initiatives (organisations set up to solve specific problems or monitor government activities) and a number of others. Each of these categories is a topic that merits a separate discussion because most of them are not working to even try and approach their declared objectives.

However, most of the blame rests with associations of artists, scholars and experts that call themselves research, or analytical centres, and which should be an example for others to follow and serve as the intellectual and moral vanguard of society. These organisations have the potential to generate new values, standards and knowledge, as well as make clear recommendations on how to implement them in practice. But much will be required from everyone to whom much has been given.

WHO NEEDS AN INDEPENDENT OPINION?

Society has a demand for non-government institutions, and the more autocratic the government, the stronger the interest in alternative opinions is. Opinion polls carried out by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems in Ukraine (IFES) showed that 41 per cent of the respondents across the country pointed out the need

to have NGOs in 2005, and this index had almost doubled (76 per cent) by 2011.

But the supply that would meet this demand is missing. There are both objective and subjective reasons for this situation. First, independent NGOs have limited sources of financing. Second, most of them were set up by professional grant seekers who have turned public activity into a type of private business.

Ukrainian legislation provides no palpable stimuli for entrepreneurs to make donations to NGOs. Unlike many developed countries, such donations do not bring any tax relief in Ukraine. Thus, NGOs have few ways of obtaining financing for their activities. First, they can apply for government financing. Second, they can convince business that they have a good reason to exist and that their products are useful. Third, they can obtain grants from international or foreign donors.

HOWEVER, EACH OPTION POSES ITS OWN PROBLEMS.

The government has to be interested in the development of independent thinking. After all, the governments of most developed countries sponsor universities and research centres to conduct fundamental and applied research. However, a mere 0.05-0.1

MOST NGOS ARE FOUNDED BY PROFESSIONAL “GRANT EATERS”

percent of the national budget has been allocated to support NGOs in Ukraine. And even these sums are distributed following the overall tendencies inherent in government purchases – with kickbacks up to 70 per cent and dividing up money among one’s “own men.” Moreover, officials often distrust NGO representatives, viewing them as “strangers” who are far removed from the real problems faced by public administration; and sadly the latter point is often true. It is easier for an official to organise a puppet “public council” attached to these agencies rather than interact with independent experts.

WHY SHOULD BUSINESS CARE?

Because entrepreneurs do not see stimuli to support public activity (in the absence of additional benefits, etc.), they must understand why they need the activity of specific organisations. On the one hand, it may be a kind of PR show of the “progressive nature” of their businesses targeting, and above all, a show for their Western partners.

This list includes the Foundation for Effective Governance (close to Rinat Akhmetov) and the structures and initiatives launched by Viktor Pinchuk (particularly, the YES forum in Yalta), Petro Poroshenko and others. The defining feature of these structures is the organisation of pompous events to show that their sponsors belong to “globally relevant circles.” For this purpose, Pinchuk brings celebrities to Yalta, while Akhmetov pays world-renowned experts to write “plans of national development” or “energy strategies.”

The main shortcoming of this activity is that it produces empty texts that are unfeasible to implement in reality and divert the attention and resources of society away from true problems. This, in particular, pertains to the mass media: journalists (even from periodicals that pride themselves on being objective and unbiased, such as *Ukrainska pravda*) attend these events and provide coverage. The combination of PR practices in hosting these events and their coverage in the style of a *beau monde* reception (largely without any criticism of the organisers or invited figures) turns the discussion of truly important problems into an exchange of self-introductions.

There are other, “mixed” options for cooperation between businessmen and NGOs. For example, Mykola Martynenko is believed to be a key sponsor of not only the politician Arseniy Yatsenyuk, but also the Oleksandr Razumkov Centre. This organisation positions itself as being outside politics, and a large part of its budget comes from grants. However, the presence of “exclusive” business financing may set limits on freedom and independence, which may soon show through in

the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

In contrast, there is an overall lack of examples when businesses and NGOs have civilised partnership relations. The problem is not only that businesses are unwilling to donate. The thing is that NGOs rarely have anything worthy of offering to potential donors. General recommendations in the style “If mice are not to be eaten by predators, they have to turn into hedgehogs” are of no interest to companies, while none of the numerous “centres” and “institutes” carries out truly high-quality applied research. The International Centre for Prospective Research is a case in point. In 2010, this organization received (and spent) money for 13 projects, but the efficiency of this feverish activity is next to zero: the public has not seen either deep research into problems of the economy and public administration, or any implemented recommendations.

FLOWERS ON CONCRETE

The most controversial way to support NGOs is attracting grants from international or foreign donors. It is controversial if only because they were just one source of financing for independent organisations during the first years of our independence.

The main grant-giving organisations are representations and special foreign aid structures of the USA, the EU, leading EU members, world-famous private donors (primarily George Soros) and several other organisations. Their role in the development of

80%
of Ukrainians are not members of any NGO, even though Ukraine is almost on a European level in terms of the number of NGOs, according to the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine



GRANT SEEKING HAS TURNED INTO PRIVATE BUSINESS

independent NGOs in general has been, and still is, crucial. The support provided by, for example, the Renaissance Foundation and Western institutions made it possible for NGOs to appear in the early 1990s. However, with time and the development of Ukrainian society a number of problems have piled up in the relationships between donors and associations of Ukrainian citizens.

The thesis, adopted by some supporters of the current government, that grant-giving organisations pursue “the interests of the West” to the detriment of Ukraine should be rejected immediately. Many proponents of these “versions” should themselves answer the question about how they

spend the Russian financing that they receive. Of course, foundations that are part of government organisations in specific countries promote their interests. A noncritical perception of such structures by certain grantees leads to strange cases. A textbook example is the superficial critical statements made by historian Yaroslav Hrytsak regarding the OUN and the UPA, which can only be explained by his cooperation with Polish foundations. However, as far as political issues are concerned, Western countries are objectively interested in the democratic nature (and thus stability and economic develop-

ment) of Ukraine, which is exactly what our society wants.

The problems of a “grant-based” civil society lie elsewhere, and the biggest one has nothing to do with grant-givers at all. “Grant sucking” (uncritical acceptance of programmes, seeing funding as a self-sufficient goal, etc.) is not a Ukrainian term. But in democratic countries grants are an auxiliary, rather than the main, source of financing for civil society. In contrast, neither the government nor business in Ukraine supports NGOs for the reasons mentioned above. That is why grant-givers are forced to perform uncharacteristic functions. However, it is impossible in principle to secure the fully-fledged development of a civil society in a country of 45 million by distributing grants in the amount of \$3,000-20,000 (and less frequently \$50,000-100,000), for 6-12-month projects (in rare cases, longer).

What was necessary in the early days of independence leads to distortions now, 20 years later.

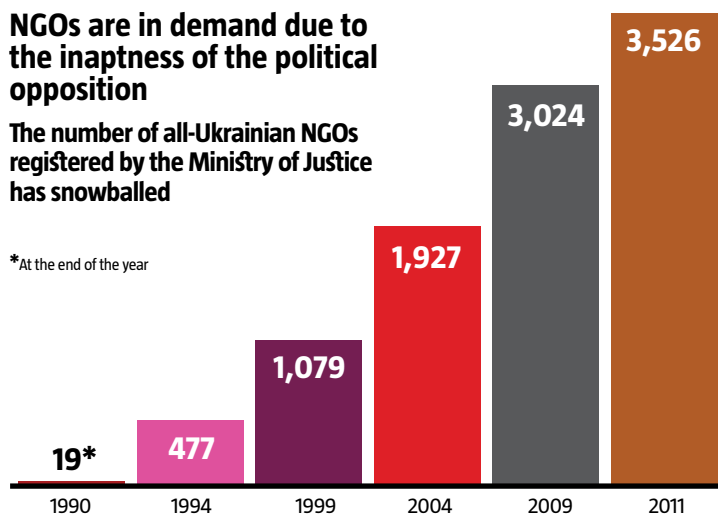
First, grant seeking has turned into private business. There is now a group of people (mostly in Kyiv and less so in the regions) who view grants as a source of their income. The main thing for them is to write reports on time and meet the deadlines for another grant competition. Hence there are thousands of “one-man centres” that obtain grants to carry out some empty activity of the brochure-roundtable-publication kind and write essentially useless documents. But they continue to win new grants. Certain activities



NGOs are in demand due to the inaptness of the political opposition

The number of all-Ukrainian NGOs registered by the Ministry of Justice has snowballed

*At the end of the year



Source: Opinion polls by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) in Ukraine.

(such as the publication of printed products) have turned into a source of additional income when a smaller-than-declared number of copies are printed, etc. A glance at a public report of any large donor reveals a number of “centres” and “institutes” that you can only learn about from this source. If organisations do not maintain quality control over products for which they pay, this kind of parasitism will continue to persist.

Another problem has to do with certain distortions in the way grant-giving organisations are involved in Ukrainian realities. For example, traditional grant consumers form a “support group” of sorts: they tell donors what they want to hear and receive additional funding in order to be completely reassured that their own versions are true. At the same time, lies cannot be ruled out.

Some organisations may seek more intimate relationships with certain government representatives.

For instance, one of the directors of the Institute of World Policy which gets the funding from the Think Tank Fund, International Renaissance Foundation, USAID and other donors, also heads the Institute for Nuclear Research which cooperates closely with entities linked to Andriy Kluyev, member of the Party of Regions, Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council and, according to some experts, chief coordinator of administrative leverage and enforcement bodies at the upcoming parliamentary election.

It could be a good example of combining financing from various sources if it were not for a certain unfortunate phenomena. For example, before the verdict in the Yulia Tymoshenko case was delivered, Alena Hetmanchuk, director of the institute, prepared an article for the New York Times presenting quite dubious statements as the objective truth. She wrote, among other things, that the former prime minister was not, in fact, a serious rival to Viktor Yanukovich (unlike say, Yatseniuk). Hetmanchuk recently placed a blog post on Ukrainska pravda in which she argued that sanctions against the Ukrainian leadership would be inefficient just because they had been inefficient against the Belarusian government. She

completely ignored the fact that the establishment in Minsk is much less “grounded” in Europe through bank accounts, education for children and business contacts than Kyiv is. Unfortunately, grant-givers tend to turn a blind eye to examples of this kind and fail to draw the necessary conclusions.

The third and final problem is that donors are not sufficiently demanding enough in terms of who receives their grants. This turns their programmes into a kind of “losers’ tank.” For example, Oleh Rybachuk, who proved to be absolutely incapable of implementing any specific decisions as Vice Prime Minister for European Integration (2005) and Chief of the Presidential Secretariat, remains one of the most active receivers of grants. He and his team are associated with network initiatives such as “The new citizen” and others.

COOPERATION BETWEEN SECTORS

These and similar problems show that an attempt to build a civil society based exclusively on grants is like planting flowers on concrete. This vegetation will require constant monitoring and will become unviable as it demands increasing amounts of attention and resources. For civil society in Ukraine to develop without constraints, the concrete that shackles it should be removed in the first place.

Thus, it makes sense to pursue the objective of creating a transparent structure for the distribution of government-commissioned research among NGOs. It must be a part of reforming the system of government purchases, and associations of citizens should urge politicians to include guarantees to this effect in their pre-election programmes.

Another objective that could be pursued is getting entrepreneurs interested. Businesses, primarily medium and non-oligarchic large ones, and NGOs have to find common ground, the areas of common interest in which the former would be willing to invest resources and the latter intellect and the ability to find new (and real) answers to existing problems. In order to stimulate this search, it is possible to adopt a mechanism that is used in many Western countries. Entrepreneurs who are interested in

CIVIC FICTION

According to the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 80 per cent of Ukrainians are not members of any NGO, even though Ukraine is almost on a European level in terms of the number of NGOs. The classical mafia-type union of large capital and government bureaucracy is utilising the absence of civil society in order to create an illusion that democratic institutes exist and to directly solve their own business problems.

“Ukraine has an entire system of puppet organisations that appear to be civic structures,” activist Serhiy Hendlevsky says. “They are set up by specific financial-industrial groups, entrepreneurs or even simply officials, who cannot be businessmen in our conditions, in order to protect their interests in the public domain. In general, this kind of thing also exists in the West. There is an entire network of fictitious NGOs there that are, in fact, financed by certain companies in order to influence public opinion by way of injecting certain statements and topics into public discourse. It is especially characteristic of the pharmaceutical and environmental spheres. However, this drawback is offset there by the overwhelming majority of bona fide NGOs that bring together true activists genuinely interested in their cause. In contrast, most NGOs in Ukraine are directly linked to donors or are even set up by them. They also have close contacts with spin doctors who work for politicians and keep a low profile. There are also a number of NGOs that do not work constantly for one client but simply sell their services in carrying out certain campaigns.”

According to information obtained by *The Ukrainian Week*, an entire network of such organisations is attached to Ukraine’s Cabinet of Ministers and the Verkhovna Rada. Their main objective is to act on orders from above and insert certain desired statements in public discourse, initiate draft laws, criticise opponents and sustain the necessary level of attention to and the discussion of topics in which their clients are interested. Heads of such NGOs are most often front men or, quite openly, assistants to MPs or employees of government ministries. These organisations are especially common in social spheres that are not associated with financial benefits and large money flows – sports, medicine, education, social policy, etc. In contrast, clients from “rich” ministries – finance, coal mining and economy – prefer to keep their puppet expert centres and analysts working at full string.

making certain social changes happen could set up “supervision councils” to identify research areas and finance specific results.

Grant-givers – international, foreign and Ukrainian – could, on the one hand, look into supporting new organisations (until they prove their sustainability) and, on the other, participate in large-scale projects to develop systems of applied changes that our country needs if it is to attain European standards in specific areas. They could help prospective researchers, opinion leaders and public activists from Ukraine (especially those “on the ground”) to get acquainted with specific experiences in Western and other countries and focus this effort on supporting changes in Ukraine rather than their imitation. ■



Actions Speak Loudly

Ukraine has more and more civic movements, the activities of which are not only directed towards ensuring the awareness of society and those in power of specific problems, but also their resolution

Author: Dmytro Vovnianko, Inna Zavhorodnia



PLACARDS:

- Put the beasts in a cage! Capital punishment for the monsters! The same law applies to all! If you don't punish them, we will.
- Give us the bastards
- Bring back capital punishment

SPONTANEOUS CIVIC MOVEMENTS

Ukrainians have demonstrated their ability to unite sporadically and protest in response to social challenges. One of the latest examples was the rally against the violent assault on Oksana Makar in Mykolayiv (read more at ukrainianweek.com/Columns/50/47505). This was preceded by people taking to the streets to call for those in power to punish those guilty in the murder of Ihor Indylo, a student allegedly killed at a police station, and protest against the impunity of the "golden youth". The catalysts for such public outcries are often journalists and bloggers. Lately, social networks have not only been spreading news faster than news agencies, but themselves serve as news sources. Their most effective tool is the ability to bring significant events to the attention of the public, which could have been completely missed by journalists, let alone the government and under other circumstances, would not have elicited a response. Bloggers were the ones that followed and reported on the trial of Vitaliy Zaporozhets (the 34-year old shot a local police officer. He is facing a life sentence and has massive support from the people in his home village) and those accused of blowing up Stalin's bust in Zaporizhzhya. They also spread information about the violence of the "golden youth" and launched other informational waves with a single click of the mouse.

PHOTO: UNIAN

ROAD CONTROL

The civic project, run by Roštyslav Shaposhnykov, was founded three years ago to show how traffic police and other enforcement agencies violate the rights of Ukrainian drivers. The activists have been posting information and videos of violations and conflicts on its website roadcontrol.org.ua, as well as reports on journalists' investigations, give details of the appeal process in court against the illegal actions of the police, and explain the nuances that can come up in the process of resisting the authorities. In this way, thousands of people across the country have seen examples of how they can stand up for their rights as well as the tools to do so. The activists also publish a newsletter called "Road Control". The project faced sharp criticism and vilification on the part of the media close to the police on numerous occasions. In February 2012, the website was closed down as a result of a claim filed by Hennadiy Hetmantsev, a traffic inspector, accusing the site of the defamation of his honour, dignity and professional reputation. Four days later, pressure from the public forced the court to reverse its decision and the website was reopened. The latest incidents recorded by Road Control included a conflict with traffic police in the Zaporizhzhya Oblast, provoked by the discovery of a wad of fake administrative records held by officers. Roštyslav Shaposhnykov (photo) was severely beaten on 24 March. He quoted the attackers as saying that they had been ordered to do so.



THE KYIV BICYCLIST ASSOCIATION

This NGO protects the rights of bicyclers and campaigns for the opportunity to ride bicycles safely around Kyiv. The initiative was founded in 2004 and officially registered in 2008. Activists are involved in opening and fitting out parking lots for bikes and convincing companies to set up offices with bicycle parking lots and shower rooms. Volunteers also initiate amendments to laws and supervise the process of designing and laying bicycle paths.



PHOTO: UKRAINFORM

I PARK LIKE AN IDIOT

Everyone fed up with cars parked in such a way as to hinder the passage of pedestrians, trams or baby strollers, ruining the day for those who respect the law, can take part in the movement against illegal parking. Paper, scissors and glue or ready-made stickers are all they need to show their views regarding irresponsible drivers. Many of the Ukrainian activists of this worldwide movement indulge their creative streak by making their own stickers. The initiative is supported by both pedestrians and law-abiding drivers who do not allow others to occupy two parking spots with one car. Project activists call on people to take pictures of the violators' number plates and post the photos on websites, such as blackcars.com.ua, blonde.in.ua and parklikeidiot.com.ua for everyone to see.



PHOTO: ROMAN MALIKO

DON'T BE INDIFFERENT

The movement was launched in 2005 and has been acting as an NGO since 2006. Its goal is to turn Ukraine into a country that is proud of its culture and heritage through diverse music, literary and educational events. By eliminating fake patriotism and homo soveticus stereotypes in the interpretation of the national culture, activists promote alternative views, and call on their compatriots to switch to the Ukrainian language in everyday life and defend their language rights, particularly in the consumer segment. The movement mostly promotes Ukrainian as a "cool" rather than the conventional and obsolete "tender and beautiful" language. At the same time, volunteers distance themselves from radical rightist organizations, insisting that they combine patriotism with common sense. The movement does not support any political force, but campaigns against politicians who attack the study of the Ukrainian language and literature in schools or censor history books. "Carpathian Ukraine", a multimedia textbook CD created by the volunteers, is to be distributed to as many as 100,000 tenth-graders during the school year as an alternative to the version of history offered by Education Minister Tabachnyk. In addition to regular volunteers, the movement's activists and supporters include well-known writers, musicians, athletes and journalists.



PHOTO: ANDRIY LOMAKIN

UKRAINE WITHOUT SERFS

Journalist and blogger Pavlo Kolesnyk founded the civic initiative in summer 2011 in Donetsk. The activists campaign against the violation of their rights in everyday life, including the sale of expired food in stores, the ban on taking photos in stores, the illegal collection of fees at parking lots and many others. In January, the NGO protected the right of Donetsk football fans to take the state flag of Ukraine to Ukrainian league matches. The project has no leaders - each person is responsible for his/her own actions. Anyone can post reports on how they protect their rights at bezholopov.com. The initiative is provoking resistance from store owners; there have been many cases of its representatives being sued. In January 2012, activists and journalists from *The Ukrainian Week* were beaten up by the guards of "Sokol", a supermarket in Donetsk, as they visited stores to find expired food. After the raids, which included the photo and video recording of violations, the administrations of most stores removed expired products from their shelves. Some allowed volunteers to take photos in their stores under pressure from the public.

SAVE OLD KYIV

The initiative was founded in September 2007 in response to the Interior Ministry's attempt to build a skyscraper on the territory of the "Ancient Kyiv" National Historical and Architectural Park next to Peizazhna Aleja (Landscape Lane). Journalist Ihor Lutsenko is the leader of the initiative. Activists subsequently extended their efforts to other illegal construction projects, which are ruining the city landscape and Kyiv's historical center. The group succeeded in preventing the implementation of plans for the construction of a skyscraper on Peizazhna Aleja and a hotel on Prorizna Street. Notably, the hotel builders were forced to fill up the foundation ditch they had already dug. At the same time, its representatives stay away from "profitable" campaigns where some entities organize protests to blackmail developers and demand apartments or cash from them. The group also campaigns to help regular Kyivites to prevent illegal construction on the land surrounding their buildings. For instance, it helped Svitlana Tolstushko and her initiative to prevent the construction of a 14-story building on the playground at 77, Lukianivska St. "Save Old Kyiv's" latest campaigns include rallies against construction at Peizazhna Aleja and in the Feodora Pushyna and Yanvarsky parks.



PHOTO: ANDRIY LOMAKIN

THE JOINT INITIATIVE OF KYIV CAR OWNERS

Set up in December 2009, the group includes initiatives by car owners to protect parking lots and jointly-owned garages. They emerged in 2007 to protect available parking lots, under risk from being taken over by developers as a result of their unclear legal status. Their fears were well-founded. In late 2007 and early 2008, a slew of raider takeovers overwhelmed the city. As a result, by 2010, only nine of 49 parking lots remained on the books of Kyiv City Association of Car Owners, which administers Kyiv's parking lots. This prompted car owners to act. In December 2009, they elected a new administration, chaired by Volodymyr Virovtsev, to replace the old one. Some time later, Mr. Virovtsev survived an assassination attempt, while virtually all activists received threats and one had his car fired at by unidentified persons. Currently, the initiative's members are struggling against both developers and the intent of the Kyiv City State Administration to get all the parking lots in town under its control.



PLACARD:
• District City Council!
Where are our rights to parking lots?

PHOTO: UNIAN



PHOTO: UNIAN

PECHENIGY, THE KHARKIV ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION GROUP

The initiative became known through its protests against the felling of trees in Kharkiv's Gorky Park, which was permitted by Kharkiv authorities. This was allegedly done to build a road for Euro 2012. The felling brigades refused to provide the environmentalists with any documents authorizing such construction. The activists who did not allow them to cut down the trees were attacked by persons unknown. The incidents resulted in the beating of several dozens of concerned volunteers while police looked on indifferently. Appeals to the public and open letters to the president had zero impact. The initiative failed to stop the felling, but drew the attention of many people in Ukraine and abroad. The group is also campaigning against felling at the local forest park, in the safety zone along Moskovsky Prospekt, Gagarina Prospekt and so on.

THE SVOBODA¹ HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER

Entrepreneur Viktor Kotenko founded the center in Zhytomyr in 2004 to investigate criminal cases, closed by police for no apparent reason and the violation of rights by the authorities. Mr. Kotenko was encouraged to set up the initiative when he faced demands of bribes and kickbacks from authorities. A newsletter and the center were created on a wave of protests against corrupt officials. Many people affected by the illegal actions of officials and police seek advice at the center. It sends out relevant materials to the national media, the Prosecutor General and SBU (security service of Ukraine) Headquarters. Svoboda activists were the ones who informed the public about Anna Kovalchuk's son, who was tortured to death by the police. Investigators stubbornly refused to work on the case in Ukraine, which is why volunteers rallied in front of the Prosecutor General's Office and the UN Building. The European Court of Human Rights ruled in favour of Ms. Kovalchuk. According to the Center, nearly 30% of the cases it has undertaken have been completed. Currently, the Center is focused on new incidents of the torture and abusive treatment of citizens by the police.



¹ Freedom

Kyiv Sets the Trend

The mayoral election in Kyiv will be the first test to reveal the united opposition's ability to resist the technologies that will be used by the government to ensure the necessary outcome of parliamentary and presidential elections

Author:
Serhiy
Hrabovsky

According to informed sources within government agencies, Kyiv mayor and city council elections will take place in July, even though the term of Leonid Chernovetsky, the current nominal mayor, expires on 15 May.

The prospect of a mayoral election in mid-summer became clear as soon as the Party of Re-

gions (PR) transferred Oleksandr Popov, the then Utilities Minister, to the much more important office of Chairman of the Kyiv City State Administration as part of the shake up in the government. Summer, especially July and August, is the perfect time for election campaigns, in both Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities. The economically proactive, thus

critical of the government, share of the electorate is on vacation. Most students are out of town on summer holidays as well, while pensioners are pleased with the warm summer sun and a good choice of affordable seasonal fruit and vegetables on the markets. Moreover, some helpful election techniques were tested in the 2008 mayoral election that kept Leonid Chernovetsky in the mayor's chair despite the fact that less than 25% of Kyivites voted for him.

Another scenario, riskier, but just as effective, is to hold mayoral and parliamentary elections simultaneously. In that case, the storm of campaigns to promote the "leading and ruling force" will also work in favour of the right candidate for the mayoral office. In addition to the campaign, the government's tem-

The opposition risks facing defeat unless it makes a united effort

Total support of candidates focusing on the opposition electorate, but have no chance of winning, is 11.2%. Their decision to run or not will determine the chances of the opposition nominee to win

*% level of support for politicians intending to run in the election

Vitaliy Klychko
UDAR

32.2%*

Oleksandr Popov
Party of Regions, currently Chairman of the Kyiv City State Administration

29.5%*

Mykola Katerynchuk
European Party of Ukraine

5.6%

Oleksandra Kuzhel
coordinator of the Civil Resistance movement

3.6%

Oleksandr Pabat
leader of the Civil Asset of Kyiv

2%

**MAYORAL
ELECTION**

Source: Survey by the Social Monitoring centre and Oleksandr Yaremenko Ukrainian Institute for Social Survey held on 10-20 February 2012

porary splurge on social benefits to please a large chunk of the electorate, doomed to suffer increased inflation as a result of this “better life today” immediately after the election, will boost the right candidate’s popularity. However, this will once again allow the government to win the election, even if supported by a minority of Kyiv voters, just like in 2008. After all, the party in power has learned well how to manipulate those who vote against all, by generously providing their ideologues with a platform, while discouraging intellectuals and young people from voting and playing on conflicts within the opposition. Even if the opposition diligently smoothes out on-going conflicts, someone from outside will surely provoke new ones when needed and make sure the whole country knows about it.

Whatever the circumstances, the Kyiv mayoral election will occur when convenient for the PR, which will choose the right day and time.

One might wonder why the PR needs to have a Kyiv mayor that is loyal to the party after it amended the law on the capital’s status, essentially eliminating its self-governance as it delegated virtually all functions to the city state administration. Yet, the PR is a typical neo-totalitarian party in terms of its structure and methods of activity, as well as its platform, which has nothing to do with reality, similar to that of other likeminded political forces, the electorate and strategic objectives: to stay in power for ever. Just like any typical totalitarian and neo-totalitarian party, the PR is trying to hide its undemocratic omnipotence behind formal procedures and pompous rituals. Aimed at ensuring maximum legitimacy for power structures, concepts such as “the people and the party are a heartfelt unity” target the audience both within and outside the country. The actual state of affairs and the attitudes of the electorate are secondary in this context, since it is how the votes are counted that matters, not how the nation votes.

Therefore, winning the Kyiv mayoral election is a matter of honour for the PR, no matter

AN ELECTION IS NO BOXING RING: Vitaliy Klychko risks losing for the third time if the government nominates technical candidates in the mayoral election and the opposition has several candidates

In March 2006, Leonid Chernovetsky won the Kyiv mayoral election with

32%
of the vote,
compared to
Vitaliy Klychko's
24%
and Oleksandr
Omelchenko's
21%



KYIV MAYORAL ELECTION WILL OCCUR WHEN CONVENIENT FOR THE PR

In May 2008, Leonid Chernovetsky won

37.7%,
ahead of
Oleksandr
Turchynov with
19.1%
and
Vitaliy
Klychko with
18%

how specific their understanding of honour is, and the opinion of most Kyiv voters is the last thing to be taken into consideration.

Under such circumstances three things can help the opposition and theoretically, prevent the continued looting of Kyiv.

Firstly, the opposition should unite as everyone is now calling for it. This unity should be real rather than formal, which means that the opposition should collaborate closely to reach a common objective. All opposition leaders should bear in mind the mayoral election in Obukhiv, a town near Kyiv. The lack of a single candidate and rivalry between nominees of Vitaliy Klychko's UDAR and Yulia Tymoshenko's Batkivshchyna scattered the votes of the inert electorate, especially with a voter turnout of just over 40%. As a result, UDAR's nominee got 21.9%, Batkivshchyna's candidate won 17.8% while PR's Mr. Levchenko ended up with 39.5%. Kyiv saw a similar scenario in 2008 as the rivalry between Vitaliy Klychko and Oleksandr Turchynov resulted in the victory of Leonid Chernovetsky, with many voters ignoring the election, disenchanted by the

chaos in the opposition camp.

Secondly, opposition forces should be proactive at a level that goes beyond election processes and occasional fights in parliament or the Kyiv City Council. After all, unlike today's MPs, the MPs of 1990 possibly did much more good for the country and Kyiv; did not put on airs and graces, were not ashamed of their shoes, which were worn out from walking in rallies and losing their voices in street disputes.

Thirdly, the opposition should collaborate with NGOs. This means establishing closer ties with various NGOs, from independent trade unions to animal right groups, bicycle riders' associations and protectors of old Kyiv on an equal contractual basis, rather than implementing the desire of opposition politicians to lead the entire nation to

unspeakable happiness. Kyiv has dozens, even hundreds of NGOs – big and small, proactive and inert – showing that voters care and are willing to take responsibility for Kyiv, and choose the “European way” frequently mentioned by opposition politicians in their rhetoric. Bodies organized by voters in different districts of Kyiv are growing more and more popular. Notably, Kyiv Council deputies from the PR are trying to please them while the opposition barely notices their existence.

Theoretically, there is the fourth thing that could lead the opposition to a victory both in Kyiv and elsewhere in Ukraine. This would be mayoral election in two rounds. Ex-president Yushchenko once angrily reproached proponents of this idea as promoters of soviet elements. In fact, though, Mr. Yushchenko was wrong once more, as mayors are elected in two rounds in many European countries, since they cannot work effectively if they are not supported by the majority of townsmen. By contrast, the PR is not concerned with such details. The crucial thing for them is to make sure that the interests of all of its members are satisfied. Therefore, the election will consist of just one round and it will be necessary to hit the target accurately and hard.

About two decades ago, a sociologist noted a curious trend: Kyiv was about six months to a year ahead of general Ukrainian developments, demonstrating immediate prospects. Indeed, few remember today how Kyiv said “no” to preserving the USSR in the 1991 referendum, and the whole country then voted for Ukraine's independence in December. The fact that Leonid Chernovetsky was elected twice as Kyiv mayor showed the fragmentation and ineffectiveness of Ukraine's democratic wing. Thus, the question now, is what will happen during the mayoral election in Kyiv and how will it set the tone for the rest of the country this year. ■

¹ On 18 March 2012, PR's Oleksandr Levchenko won an early mayoral election in Obukhiv. The Committee of Electors and the police reported no violations while the teams of other candidates and NGOs claimed there were numerous violations during the election.

National Project Watch

An investigation has revealed the essence of Ukraine's current "national projects" program: these are mostly frauds covered up by hollow promises

Author:
Dmytro Hnap, TVi

In his every speech abroad, Viktor Yanukovich mentions what he calls "national projects." What the Presidential Administration is apparently trying to show is that someone still dares to invest in Ukraine despite any lack of the rule of law and the all-embracing corruption the country faces every day. Eighteen months after having first declared this idea, the country's leader still seems to be obsessed with it. However, the only visible observation that can truly be made is that the 'national projects' program is nothing short of the rest steps of the current government. They are ineffective, promoted in campaigns which are not backed by real actions, and only a small group of people has profited from them.

NAPOLEON'S AMBITIONS

As this article was being prepared, hope flickered that it would mostly focus on the implementation of the aforementioned 'national projects'. Alas, it turned out there was nothing to investigate in this area since the State Agency for Investment and National Project Management (SAINProM), run by Vladyslav Kaskiv, could not really boast of any realistic achievements. The national projects remained at the stage of talks and press releases, exactly where they were a year ago. And to prove this sad reality it is enough to say that the 'Reports' page of SAINProM's website has not been updated since July 2011.

The construction of an LNG terminal, advertised as a top national project priority, was still stuck at the feasibility study drafting stage. Where it will be built, and by whom remains unknown. From time to time, the whole process highlights a funny controversy: while Viktor Yanukovich and Vladyslav Kaskiv were trying to convince the few representatives of foreign businesses, who were still willing to listen, to invest in the terminal, Vitaliy Demianiuk, the LNG Terminal project director, said there was no longer a plan to build one. Instead, the government was going to rent a cheaper and smaller floating LNG terminal, even though it has a lesser capacity. On 21 January, Yuriy Boyko, the Energy Minister, confirmed this by saying: "We could live without building this costly infrastructure and the two years it will take to launch it."

The progress of other national projects is heading in a similar direction. The Open World, for instance, is a project to set up a 4G network and provide Ukrainian school children with electronic textbooks. In spring 2011 SAINProM officials pompously announced Viettel, the Vietnamese communications operator, as an eager investor. At this point, though, *The Ukrainian Week's* sources at SAINProM say the enormous price Ukrainian officials have demanded for granting the 4G monopoly scared the Vietnamese investor away. It was only going to invest \$600mn while local politicians had stated \$2bn. The intention to sell this frequency resource in Ukraine at its



PROFANATION?
The pompous construction of the Air Express went down to the ceremonial nailing of the "silver spike"

most expensive is indeed worth a comment. No surprise then that it turned out unappealing to any investors other than the offended Vietnamese. Having failed in Ukraine, Viettel quickly invested its cash in Mozambique and is already operating there.

Obliged to report on his work to the public by law, SAINProM's Director has recently made a sensational announcement. His Agency drew in as much as \$450mn investment in 2011 alone. According to the international road show of national projects, contracts worth another \$2bn are already waiting to be signed. These numbers certainly look impressive. However, Mr. Kaskiv never talks about these mysterious investors, who just can't wait to invest their billions in Ukraine, in any concrete terms.

"You report to have personally drawn in \$450mn investment. Who is the investor?" is the ques-



PHOTO: UKRINFORM

tion for the SAINProM Director. "This is for Air Express, a national railway project," Mr. Kaskiv replies. "We already have contracts here," he says. "With whom?" the reporter asks. "Eximbank, a Chinese-owned bank," he replies. "Is it giving a loan or investing cash?" the reporter demands. "These are two different things, aren't they?" "This is a loan to a commercial entity, not the government, so it is essentially investment," Mr. Kaskiv explains.

What Mr. Kaskiv forgot to add was that the \$450mn provided by the Chinese Eximbank he credited as his achievement, would be paid for the work of SMSES, which is also a Chinese company. The loan backed by the government will be repaid to the Chinese "investors" from what Air Express will earn. Should the wonder train just happen to earn less than expected, the loan would have to be repaid by Ukrainian taxpayers.

Other Ukrainian national projects include 'Affordable Residence', 'Clean City' and 'Good-Quality Water', all alas, only on paper so far. The only one which does actually exist is 'New Life', a project to improve childbirth conditions in Ukraine. Funded by the government, the project is building centers in Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Kharkiv and Donetsk. Yet, Mr. Kaskiv & Co are having a hard time meeting all New Life's deadlines. "The plan is to open four prenatal centers by the New Year," Mr. Kaskiv had promised many times. After the New Year, the Main Health Care Department of Kyiv City State Administration said that the opening of a prenatal center in Kyiv had been postponed to a date unknown. In late January 2012, only one prenatal center actually opened in Kirovohrad, instead of the four planned all over Ukraine.

After 18 months as the manager of all national projects, Mr. Kaskiv really has hardly anything to be proud of. His friends and ex-party fellows, though, have had a chance to enjoy this profitable affiliation.

DEAR FRIENDS...

In autumn, SAINProM found itself in the midst of a scandal. It ordered advertising worth UAH 12mn in foreign mass media and UAH 13mn in Ukraine. Surprisingly, only two competitors, Cosmopolit Management OJSC and Rozmay NGO, took part in both tenders. Cosmopolit won the first tender for advertising abroad while Rozmay got the second contract. But in reality, the two companies simply divided the UAH 25mn between themselves.

FRIENDS AND EX-PARTY FELLOWS, HAVE A CHANCE TO ENJOY THE PROFITABLE AFFILIATION WITH MR. KASKIV

Cosmopolit Management OJSC has no office, telephone or website, yet its founder is Andriy Matiukhanov, who ran in the 2008 election to the Kyiv Council as a member of PORA, which just happens to be the party once led by Mr. Kaskiv. Mr. Matiukhanov was not easy to find, but eventually he barked back a reply and said he

was not running the firm and would not tell the reporter where the company has its office, although he did confirm he was the only founder.

A more thorough check on the owners of the two abovementioned companies interestingly enough revealed a crowd of Mr. Kaskiv's friends, colleagues and party fellows in addition to Mr. Matiukhanov who had "won" a total of UAH 29mn on various national project tenders.

One of the findings was Mr. Matiukhanov's current employment at the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation (IEAC) chaired by Borys Tarasiuk. Mr. Matiukhanov's boss is Oleh Hariaha, a one-time head of the PORA party Kyiv office. Mr. Kaskiv admitted he was acquainted with Oleh Hariaha. Moreover, Messrs. Matiukhanov and Hariaha are both shareholders at Business Studiya MKS OJSC.

Mr. Hariaha denied any assumptions of his involvement in his employee's profit churning, although he was still mentioned in the developments that followed. On 9 November 2011, SAINProM signed a UAH 2mn contract with Vistka OJSC to produce printed materials. The business founders included Kostiantyn Yevtushenko, the younger brother of Serhiy Yevtushenko, Mr. Kaskiv's one-time right hand man at PORA and Director of the One Stop Shop Investment, one of the key projects at SAINProM today; Roman Zhorin, a member of the Vasylykiv County Council from UDAR, Vitaliy Klychko's party, whose faction leader is the abovementioned Oleh Hariaha; and Vadym Kastelli, director and linguist who is known in the media as Mr. Yanukovych's personal interpreter.

Mr. Kastelli confirmed that the Presidential Administration sometimes invited him to interpret for the president. Apparently, though, this is not the only factor that brought him into the narrow circle of SAINProM's tender winners. In a private conversation, Mr. Kastelli mentioned he was friends and had a business with Mr. Kaskiv's "young team." As a result, Rozmay NGO founded by Mr. Kastelli got UAH 13mn from SAINProM to "create positive attitudes towards Ukraine" in the local mass media. On 7 November, it got another UAH 1.5mn. "I have these people

who came over and said, 'Boss, we're taking part in a tender,' commented Mr. Kastelli, who is unknown in the advertising business, during a conversation about his victories in SAINProM tenders. "What's it about, I asked them. They said it was advertising. Sure, why not! I said"

"Did you know you have won UAH 13mn in that tender?" the reporter asked him. "Cool, I like that," Mr. Kastelli replied.

"Tenders held by our agency are perfectly transparent," Vladyslav Kaskiv assures the reporter. "So, digging for some distant friendships or family relations looks like media provocation to me." "Your deputy's brother has won the tender from your agency," the reporter says. "Is this distant friendship?" "How do I know," Mr. Kaskiv wonders. "It's not my job to know who's who."

Clearly the UAH 29mn, which people linked to Mr. Kaskiv will bag, is nothing compared to the billions grabbed in other industries by companies close to the government. What makes the situation all the more cynical is that most of the tasks listed in the tender were never carried out either by Cosmopolit Management OJSC or Rozmay NGO. According to a report by SAINProM, all they did was publish a few articles in on-board airline magazines instead of arranging a wide-spread campaign in the leading mass media abroad. Added to this, Ukraine got only a few barely visible ads in some domestic publications rather than an extensive campaign on Ukrainian TV and billboards.

PROMISES, PROMISES

Mr. Kaskiv's agency might indeed display some signed contracts and real investors daring enough to invest in Ukraine sometime in the spring, yet the numbers reported by the SAINProM Director will almost certainly turn out to have nothing to do with reality. This was the exact effect of Ukraine's investment potential road show in Japan. Mr. Kaskiv praised it as a "success exceeding... expectations" resulting in "over 3,500 publications about Ukraine in international media." However, no matter how hard the author searched for any publications on Mr. Kaskiv's business trip abroad, neither the US version of Google,



BIG DREAMERS: Vladyslav Kaskiv is going to tour another 25 cities this year to convince the stubborn investors that they need to invest in Ukraine

nor a direct search at the Financial Times, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times and other websites gave any results on his trip around the world's biggest cities which cost the taxpayers UAH 12mn.

All the leading Western press has been writing about Ukraine over the past few months is mostly the country's everlasting corruption, or the verdict of Yulia Tymoshenko, even though Arzinger, a law firm responsible for arranging the road show, was paid millions from the budget to pay for publications abroad. Eventually, after being repeatedly appealed to, the firm still failed to provide any list of publications it was supposed to have had dealings with.

After a slew of arguments,

Vladyslav Kaskiv is going to tour another 25 cities all over the world in 2012. However, it looks like influential foreign investors have already made up their mind about Ukraine and Mr. Kaskiv's presentations or meetings are unlikely to reassure them of the opposite. IKEA's ex-CEO Lennart Dahlgren explained why his company was still not in Ukraine as yet: "Ukraine is totally corrupt. I met with Kuchma in 2004, several times with all Ukrainian premiers, Yushchenko when he was president and Yanukovich just recently. They all say they want to help us. But we never reached any deal. This is all because IKEA's system has no money to bribe people. Clearly, it's not just presidents and premiers, but local bureaucrats that are the problem too. And how could land in Kyiv be three times more expensive than in Moscow or London?"

Last year, the state budget had UAH 1.15bn for SAINProM including UAH 31mn as maintenance costs and UAH 47mn to improve Ukraine's investment image. The rest was supposed to be spent on the national projects, specifically their implementation. Now, it is up to the readers to decide how effective public spending has been in this area. ■

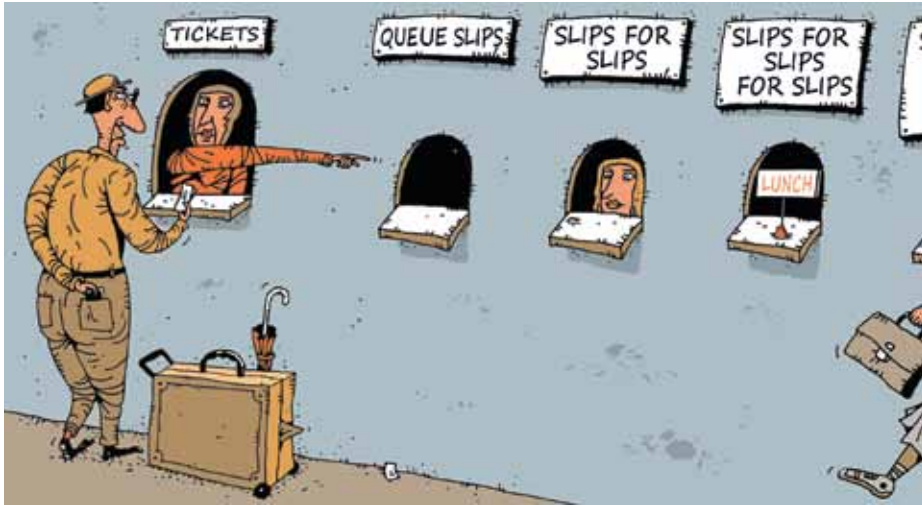
The article was prepared with the help of SCOOP, an international program to support investigative journalism

LAST YEAR, THE STATE BUDGET HAD UAH 1.15BN FOR SAINPROM

SAINProM finally disclosed the list of articles printed in the press Mr. Kaskiv was so proud of. Surprisingly, it mostly included Ukrainian publications translated into English and posted on the English-language websites of Ukrainian online publications. Perhaps the only real publication on Ukrainian national projects in a leading foreign press agency was an article on Bloomberg about the lack of money to build the LNG terminal in Ukraine.

Train Tickets: To Buy or Not to Buy?

Innovations at Ukrainian Railway are good for nothing and passengers suffer



Автор:
Dmytro
Shapoval

At 18:50 on day one I got to the extra-long hall of the advanced ticket sale department, located near the Kharkiv Railway. Lucky enough to buy a ticket without having to stand in a queue? Fat chance...

The ticket clerk I approached told me to first deal with the electronic queue management system and added with a mysterious smile: "If it's working." It turned out that I had to first get a slip with a number indicating my place in the queue from an ATM-like terminal. "Why do I need a queue slip if there is no queue?" I wondered. The answer was indisputable: "That's the procedure." That's the railway – what can you do about it?

But the machine was not going to issue any slips for me. Its working day was over. Ticket clerks, not surprisingly, refused to help out, because they are "not allowed" to sell tickets without these slips. They recommended using the ticket office at the train station but warned me that at this hour of the day I could only buy tickets (through advanced sale) at the Belgorod terminal rather than at the central one.

As I marched toward the right terminal, I was genuinely happy to be a native Kharkiv resident, because I knew from some source where the Belgorod terminal was located. Will the guests of the city

easily find it? I am not so sure. On the way to the terminal I did not see anything even remotely resembling information signs in any language – unlike the Euro 2012 symbols which were all over the place.

When I reached my destination point, I began to grasp the sense of the "European" innovation. I saw a slip-issuing device with a touch screen. The system works like this: a computer system automatically assigns passengers to ticket windows. People see the results on special monitors that show their number on the queue and the number of the ticket window to which they are supposed to go.

The only problem was that there was only one ticket window open at the moment! Those who did not believe it could prove themselves wrong by looking at the monitor which showed only one ticket window number in a continuous column. My slip had 756 printed on it, while the electronic queue showed that number 704 was being processed at the time. In other words, under the most optimistic scenario, if it took only one minute to sell a ticket, I would have bought mine after waiting for about an hour. After a moment's hesitation I decided not to test how quickly the ticket clerk was working. Time was more valuable, and tomorrow is a new day, as they say.

Day two, advanced sale ticket office. I am now a passenger well-versed in super-modern ticket sales technology. I make a beeline for the ticket machine and then look for my number on the monitor hung up high. After 20 minutes of waiting I learn the number of my ticket window. I come to it and see an ordinary, human rather than electronic, queue there. Seven people means another 25 minutes of waiting. I ask them whether everyone has a slip. The last man in the queue, a man aged around 50, seems not to fully grasp what I am talking about. A queue is a queue, he says.

Well, he was severely punished for his simplistic approach. The ticket clerk did not even want to listen to him and demanded to see his slip. There is no point in recounting the discussion that followed. It was emotional and had the completely unsurprising ending: the man was forced to acquaint himself with the slip-issuing machine. It was easy to gather from the remarks made by the ticket clerk that this man was not the first "ignorant" passenger that came to her window. The lack of passengers' awareness seemed to genuinely outrage her.

The most important thing happened when it was my turn to buy the ticket. The woman took my slip and without checking it against any computer system simply tossed it into a drawer!

Who really needs all these innovations? The management – to report about progress in preparing for Euro 2012 and modern technology? Money launderers who were involved in the purchase of the equipment and software? Scalpers who will be able to make money out of nothing by reselling slips with "good" numbers, UAH 5-10 apiece, to holidaymakers who hate to waste time waiting in the queue? My experience rules out the assumption that it has all been done to increase passenger comfort.

What are we trying to prove, and to whom, with this imitation of civilization prior to Euro 2012? ■

Neither Give Nor Take

Six problems Ukraine needs to overcome to be viewed as a bona fide business partner by international financial organisations



One of the World Bank's largest investment projects in its portfolio for Ukraine is "Rural Land Titling and Cadastre Development." The Bank's eight-year marathon in implementing this portfolio shows that it is not easy to carry out any project in Ukraine. This case is a good illustration of the problems frustrating other international initiatives and the reasons why international institutions find it hard to see Ukraine as a bona fide business partner.

Project implementation requires the two sides, the borrower and the creditor, to agree on the project goals, interventions towards these goals and the terms for each stage. All of this is discussed and included in the loan agreement when each side commits while the details are worked out during the course of project implementation.

Author:
Serhiy Kubakh,
Manager of
the World
Bank project
"Rural Land
Titling and
Cadastre
Development"

Obstacles often arise during the implementation stage which cause missed deadlines; this requires an explanation to the creditor. As a project manager tries to explain the reasons for lagging behind in numerous reports, he faces the obvious challenge of couching them in terms understandable to an international financial institution. For example, he needs to somehow convey such realities as: "There was a plan to create a unified registration system for immovable property rights, and a loan was taken out to this end, but while it was being used, the plan changed;" "No payment has been made within the framework of this project in three months, because no money was allocated for it in the budget;" "The issue of who would have the right of signature was being resolved;" and so on.

CONSTANTLY CHANGING STRATEGIES

The main reason behind most problems linked to the implementation of a new project in Ukraine is the instability of the original plans. More precisely, strategies are being constantly changed. There are no definite answers to the questions: Where are we going? What will have to be eventually built? Here is just one example.

In 2003, Ukraine took out a loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to create a unified registration system for immovable property rights and land titles, as is the customary international practice. In order to carry out project interventions, a law was required that would identify one government body in charge of the register. The Verkhovna Rada passed this law the following year, but it never entered into force, because the Cabinet of Ministers failed

to issue the required resolution. As a result, the project was in danger of being closed, because its main goal was significantly changed. Fortunately, the project was only restructured; the tasks were modified and the loan was greatly reduced. A debate on this issue continued until 2011 and finally yielded a compromise: the system would be shared between two institutions – the Ministry of Justice and the State Agency for Land Resources – which would register immovable property rights and manage the State Land Cadastre, respectively.

In the early 2000s, Ukraine defined a strategic goal of building a unified registration system for property rights and land titles and took out a loan for this purpose, but later changed its mind and returned to the idea of having a less convenient and less efficient system of registration which involves two government agencies.

Needless to say, this adversely affected the efficiency of using the loan as well as the country's reputation. Curiously, no one was held responsible for this. Plans may be revised at any point in time and on any level, even at the stage of specific

measures or fulfilling contracts, up to their cancellation. Project management is virtually impossible, because it is simply very difficult to apply in Ukraine. The problems listed below are essentially derivatives of the one described above.

THE INSTABILITY OF GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES

In the eight years that the cadastre project has existed, the agency was reorganised three times (it is now the State Agency for Land Resources); the project was reassigned several times; and the people responsible for its implementation were replaced six times. What strategies or plans can be kept in conditions like these?

All of this has catastrophic consequences for a project like this one. Re-registration of legal persons, the replacement of responsible specialists and the replacement of persons with the right of signature, from central to territorial bodies – every time anything like this happens, it slows down project implementation or acceptance of the work done, if contracts are not suspended altogether. This means that payments to subcontractors are delayed, which

leads to more missed deadlines and problems snowballing from there. In the worst-case, a loan may be canceled, while in the best case, deadlines may be pushed back. However, delaying a project puts an additional burden on the state budget, because the credit line for the project will be used for a longer period of time.

DISJOINTED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Sometimes the impression emerges that the institutions a project manager deals with are not agencies of one and the same government intent on securing the fulfilment of previously defined tasks (such as those formulated by the World Bank for the cadastre development project) but “states within a state,” each following its own principles and pursuing its own autonomous goals.

Take the legislature as an example. Project interventions often require that legislation be drafted to facilitate project goals. In the case of the cadastre project, a law was needed on a unified register of immovable property rights and then, after this idea was scrapped, legislation was required to address the

Under Ukrainian legislation, the State Land Cadastre is the only state system of geographic information about land within the state borderline of Ukraine, its purpose and restrictions, as well as qualitative and quantitative data on the land, land assessment, and distribution of land among owners and users

Business Lunch with another approach

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

Radisson BLU
HOTEL, KYIV

State Land Cadastre. But the Law “On the State Land Cadastre” was passed only in July 2011, that is, seven years after the launch of a project aimed at developing the cadastre. Moreover, there is actually no provision for a unified land cadastre in this document. (Kyiv currently has its own autonomous cadastre.) Furthermore, this law cannot be applied until bylaws are written, such as the procedure for maintaining the State Land Cadastre. This means that the state is failing to provide the legislative framework for the very product it hopes to obtain from the project.

Take the executive power as another example. As strange as it may sound, certain problems with financing this World Bank project stem from Ukraine’s state budget. A loan does not mean that money is automatically allocated in the budget every year for specific project interventions. Each new year begins with a so-called temporary budget which always limits the financing of project interventions. In other words, the norm is to have a parallel budget process which makes it impossible to predict what funds will really be allocated, when they will be disbursed and, hence, which of the interventions planned (and fulfilled by subcontractors) can be accepted and paid for.

The overall result depends on how project interventions are carried out in the regions. And here a lot depends on the distribution of functions among government agencies, particularly whether the ordering agency has a vertical structure. If government agencies are in conflict, project interventions are caught up in a conflicted environment not conducive to the project. There are no laws to oblige all government agencies involved in carrying out a project to do their jobs nor are their norms holding officials personally responsible for quality and the timely delivery of results.

PERSONNEL

Low salaries force specialists to migrate from government structures to the private sector. Meanwhile, projects typically require the involvement of high-quality specialists. High employee turnover in the ordering agency leads to frequent replacements of the staff responsible for the project in general and its individual components, which, of course, does not bode well for the project itself.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AS PRIVATE BUSINESSES

International investment projects help form relationships between the state and private business, both Ukrainian and foreign. They make contact with each other through bidding procedures, accepting work and making payments. Problems include changes in plans (such as when a tender is announced and the winner is determined, but the contract is not signed because doubts suddenly arise whether it is at all needed), delays in accepting work (particularly because of personnel problems in the ordering party), and delayed payments (for example, because of budget planning issues) – all of these issues damage the country’s image as a reliable business partner.

NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF LOANS IN SOCIETY

There are myths that loans from international financial institutions are “debts that our children will be paying off,” “a debt burden that is growing with each passing year,” etc. Some Ukrainian officials act based on such stereotypes as a rule. They propagate in society what they fail to

Clearly, the negative perception of loans in society is increased because of the inefficient way in which this powerful financial instrument has sometimes been used by government structures themselves.

WHO RECOGNISES THESE PROBLEMS?

The World Bank cadastre project is an indicator of the problems facing other projects. Issues linked to changing plans and a lack of coordination between government agencies during project implementation were clearly identified by the Audit Chamber during the most recent audit of the project “Rural Land Titling and Cadastre Development” in late 2011. It reported that the current state of affairs jeopardised the entire project and threatened the ineffective use of the loan.

A HAPPY ENDING FOR AN INDIVIDUAL PROJECT?

Despite all of the above, the World Bank cadastre project proves that, even given such realities, results can still be achieved. It is a miracle that the project is close to the goal set after it was restructured: making a modern cartographic provision for the cadastre and building an automated cadastre management system.

It should be noted that the project is nearly the only measure of land reform that has operated since 2004 and for precisely this reason, it must produce results.

What does this demonstrate? First, the efficiency of a project-based approach and, second, the efficiency of cooperation with international financial institutions. Socioeconomic development projects are more stable than any other measures taken by the government. They trigger an action plan that is much more difficult to depart from than in other cases. They are a tool with which to secure reforms based on the best world practices. In fact, the involvement of international financial organisations in these projects forces Ukrainian government agencies to employ a strategic approach and adhere to the goals they have themselves defined.

However, these projects are also a testing ground for Ukraine as a business partner and clearly highlight its strengths and weaknesses, consequently affecting the way international financial institutions look at financing Ukrainian reforms and cooperation with the country in general. ■

THE MAIN REASON BEHIND MOST PROBLEMS LINKED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A NEW PROJECT IN UKRAINE IS THE INSTABILITY OF THE ORIGINAL PLANS

understand themselves: loans for projects of socioeconomic development (not “consumption loans,” of course) are a tool to finance high-priority measures to secure systemic reforms in the state. Such measures require investments, because the Ukrainian budget is unable to sustain their financing for long periods. Therefore, as practice shows, projects of international financial organisations support precisely those measures which can never be achieved in Ukraine “on its own,” i.e., in some other way, no matter how urgent they may be. Moreover, no commercial bank offers such low rates for opening and using a credit line. For example, an annual rate may be a fraction of one percent. But neither the MPs who have passed laws on loans, nor the ordering agencies themselves are doing anything to explain how favourable these loans are.

Trends in Global Security: Does Democracy Matter?

- What does democracy mean
- Democracy or Revolution
- EU – with or without Ukraine
- Who needs the Black Sea region
- Whom should I call to speak to Europe
- Who is the most powerful? The world's 911

5th Kyiv Security Forum
April 19-20, 2012
Kyiv, Ukraine

In discussion will participate experts from Ukraine, Armenia, Belgium, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Georgia, Egypt, Hungary, India, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Turkey, Sweden, Switzerland, USA

Initiative of:

 **OpenUkraine**
Arseniy Yatsenyuk Foundation

In Partnership with:

V I C T O R
P I N C H U K
F O U N D A T I O N

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust
for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

 **CHATHAM HOUSE**



INTERCONTINENTAL KYIV. WHAT'S YOUR VIEW ON KYIV.

Our "view" is that at InterContinental Kyiv we will do everything to ensure your trips is successful and productive whilst you can enjoy the spectacular surroundings in the heart of ancient Kyiv. We can also share our local knowledge to help you enjoy truly authentic experiences, so you make the most of your business trip.

Do you live an InterContinental life?

For more details or to make a reservation
please call +38 044 219 1919 or visit
intercontinental-kyiv.com


INTERCONTINENTAL
KYIV

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

Faked Equality

Marc-Olivier Padis talks about European multiculturalism and political controversies between France and Germany

Interviewer:
Oleksandr Pahiria

Marc-Olivier Padis is a Professor of Literature; editor-in-chief of *Esprit*, a socio-political magazine; Deputy Chairman of the Terra Nova think-tank; a member of the editorial board at the Eurozine magazine web portal; professor of European Studies at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Paris Institute of Political Studies); and co-author of *Les multinationales du coeur* (Multinational Companies of the Heart: NGOs, Politics and the Market), a book published in 2004. On 23 March, Mr. Padis presented a lecture titled "Democracy and the Project of a United Europe" at the 'Ye' Bookstore in Kyiv as part of its European Experience series. After the lecture, he shared his ideas with *The Ukrainian Week*.

UW: Did the recent tragedy in Toulouse where a Muslim shot children in a Jewish school signal the failure of the multiculturalism policy in France or a political provocation?

– I don't think it was a failure of the French integration policy. Some politicians, especially the right-wing ones, say so. But even Sarkozy and his competitor François Hollande are very cautious about that. The boy who did this (Mohammed Merah – ed.) did not have any support from French parties. I didn't see anybody in France saying "He is a murderer and we want to be like him." Even French Muslims don't like the story at all. I'm not sure it will have any great political impact.

UW: How would you determine the policy of multiculturalism in Western Europe?

– In Germany, Angela Merkel said that multiculturalism was a failure there. We didn't have this debate in France because we don't have any

multicultural policy. Multiculturalism has a different definition in every country. In the UK, for instance, they use the word to define the promotion of diversity and giving special rights to people who do not have enough access to scholarship, universities, responsibilities, political life and so on. It's different in France. We have our own political culture that traces back to the French Revolution where the idea of equality is very important. It does not provide for creating special rights for anybody. Instead, we want to have policies that correct inequalities. Sociological surveys show that there are inequalities and we should correct them. It's hard to do something special for the black or Muslim population because it doesn't mean anything in law. It has no blacks or Arabs, just French citizens. We don't differentiate. In fact, we don't understand the British political debate, for instance, because we use completely different categories.

UW: Is the "imperialistic syndrome" still alive in France after the loss of Algeria and the end of the colonial period in the country's history?

– This year it is 50 years since 19 March 1962, the end of the Algerian War. In fact, that was the end of the French Empire. But people who face discrimination today often come from these colonies. Even if we think that the imperial age is gone, it's obvious that we still have this problem. We talk of people as Algerian-born French even when they and their parents were born in France and their grandparents were born in Algeria. For instance, Mohammed Merah, the killer of Toulouse, was a French citizen born in France and so were his parents. He was a typical representative of this "third generation." But people still see him as an Algerian. These French citizens often ask how long it will take to change this attitude.





GONGOS OFTEN ACT UNDER GOVERNMENTS PRETENDING THAT CIVIL SOCIETY INSTITUTIONS EXIST IN THEIR COUNTRIES

Even those from the West Indies, who have been French citizens since the 19th century, are still seen as black people. They also feel like second rate citizens.

UW: What are the significant differences in the way France and Germany look at the lack of a European policy?

– France and Germany have different approaches to many issues. The first one is the euro. In Germany, they have this idea that political power should intervene with monetary policy. They think they have set the rules and that they are enough on their own. That was the idea behind having an independent European Bank, where clear rules would be sufficient. It could have worked in ordinary times but it's not enough when a crisis comes and you have to decide and react. The French approach is closer to that: Paris suggested increased responsibility of European political leaders in terms of the common currency. This explains the long-time discrepancies between Merkel and Sarkozy on the common currency.

The other big difference is that the two countries have no common idea on what the European federation could be. And the reason for this difference is that Germany is a federal state while France is not. In Germany, every citizen has an idea of what a federal system is. In France, we've always had a centralized state so people hardly understand what the federal system is. As the debate regarding the Constitutional Treaty showed, people in France could not understand what the question of competences was all about. They didn't understand what should be national and supranational functions. That's what the federal debate is about. The French missed the point of this debate and that's why they voted "no" at the end of the day. They did not understand what the question was.

UW: Does the French intellectual elite still have firm negative stereotypes about Eastern European countries?

– Everybody in France was quite happy to see the changes in Central and Eastern Europe after 1991 (the collapse of the Soviet Union. – Ed.). But the general public didn't understand quickly enough that it was really important for these countries to be able to en-

ter Europe and that it would change the whole European idea. In 2005, the French in fact rejected the Constitutional Treaty as a way of saying, "nobody asked us" whether these countries should join the united Europe. There is great fear about employment, competitiveness and economic issues. People didn't really understand how important it was to open Europe to these new countries and accept the fact that it would change the role of France within the EU. Finally, people realized it a decade too late. Political parties didn't explain the issues at stake well enough so there was a big misunderstanding.

UW: What can you say about the role of the NGOs you called "transnational companies of heart" in the establishment of democratic society?

– Together with Thierry Pech we wrote a book on this matter. We wanted to understand the role of NGOs in international relations. It was at the time when there was a big movement regarding globalism and anti-globalism issues. Many, especially the left, had an idea that NGOs could create another globalization. What we wanted to show in our book was that NGOs were part of the globalization process because they work with national governments and big companies. It's always difficult to find a definition – a theoretical idea – of civil society and NGOs because they are too different and their roles change from country to country. It is important, though, to see what people actually do to build a new international consensus about what should be important and what should be the agenda of the international community. NGOs cooperate with governments and the market to do that. That was the idea of the book.

Of course, NGOs can also become instruments to promote democratic values, but in some countries they are used by governments or commercial groups to promote different goals. There are NGOs known as 'GONGOS', or government-organized NGOs, especially in non-democratic countries, that are used to show international organizations that the country has good NGOs which are meeting the right standards. Yet, if civil society is active and people are involved in public life, it's better for the democratic progress of the country. ■

A Lighter Shade of Grey

EU membership has been good for the two countries, but is testing Eurocrats' patience

Over the past few millennia the Black Sea port of Constanta has faced many invaders and occupiers. But the Romans, Avars and Ottomans did not have to contend with the Stefan cel Mare, a border-patrol vessel equipped with surveillance radar, thermal-imaging cameras and a turret gun. On the bridge Catalin Paraschiv, the cheerful skipper, proudly shows off his craft as the sea ice melts outside.

The Stefan cel Mare was built with European Union funding to help Romania meet the requirements for Schengen, the EU's passport-free travel zone. Some of the vessel's 19-man crew travelled to the Netherlands to receive specialist training from Damen, the Dutch firm that designed its specifications. But the Dutch government has proved less helpful to the Schengen ambitions of Romania,

as well as those of Bulgaria, its southern neighbour.

The Dutch, along with the rest of the EU, accept that both countries have met Schengen's technical requirements. But they worry that sophisticated border machinery is of little avail if frontier officials are corrupt. The Netherlands insists it will veto the pair's Schengen bid until they do more to tackle graft. The frustrated Bulgar-

a deal later this year, possibly in September, just before a Romanian general election. But if agreement comes, it will be a triumph of impatience rather than of the EU's fabled powers of transformation.

Over five years after Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU (too early, many in Brussels think) they remain by some distance its poorest members. Progress on corruption and judicial reform has been slow. The EU's "Co-operation and Verification Mechanism" (CVM)—a supposedly temporary monitoring system put in place in 2007 to allay other countries' concerns—is still in place. "We weren't expecting it to take so long," says a jaded Brussels official.

Ministers in Bucharest and Sofia echo the weary mood. "The CVM led to a lot of improvements, but now it's time to turn the page," says Leonard Orban, Romania's European-affairs minister and the chief negotiator in accession talks. Some

NEITHER SOFIA NOR BUCHAREST IS A MODEL OF STABILITY OR ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

ians and Romanians retort that the Dutch government is in hock to the xenophobic hotheads that prop it up in parliament.

The row is tiresome and all sides are tired of it. Most observers expect





think the EU should end the monitoring, or measure progress differently. Others say the effort is finally bearing fruit. Monica Macovei, an MEP and former Romanian justice minister, points to the rapid growth in convictions of senior figures in the last year alone. Reformist officials value the spur of the EU's reports. But Eurocrats had not faced tests like Romania and Bulgaria before. Their energy is ebbing.

That is a shame. European institutions are trusted in both countries (and national politicians detested) to an unusual degree. CVM reports make front-page headlines. Bulgarians' favourite politician is Kristalina Georgieva, their European commissioner. (In many EU countries few citizens even know their commissioner's name.) When the EU froze funds to Bulgaria in 2008 the government lost power a year later. In Romania stronger laws and an independent anti-corruption watchdog, both with strong EU backing, have dented crooked politicians' impunity. The EU has performed "miracles" in Romania, says Laura Stefan of Expert Forum, a think-tank.

The EU continues to matter in Bulgaria and Romania partly because both countries feel distant from the euro-zone crisis. Having faced far direr emergencies in their past, neither country has much sympathy for fiscal sinners such as Greece, where citizens are roughly three times as wealthy. "We are not a fan of countries that break rules," says Nickolay Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign minister (adding that these have included Germany and France).

Neither country is a model of stability or economic governance. Austerity protests in Romania brought the collapse of the government in February, and foreign investors find Bulgaria steadily less friendly. But

headline fiscal numbers are good. Both countries have happily signed up to the German-backed European compact placing legal limits on borrowing.

One reason the Schengen case has proved so vexing is that the two countries are learning to follow rules just as other countries have begun to mistrust them. In past years the pair would have sailed into Schengen once they had done their homework. But now the mood in the core EU is of cranky distrust. This is partly because of the euro crisis: those countries, such as the Netherlands and Finland, that have been the most sceptical about bail-outs have taken the toughest line on Schengen. In many cases populist parties have emerged to exploit anxiety over both issues. Another fear is that letting Bulgaria and Romania into Schengen would provide the many illegal immigrants in troubled Greece with a passport-free land crossing to the rest of the EU (see map).

But the new mood in the core also reflects an increasing unhappiness with the EU's variation in political cultures. Bulgaria in particular has lately been receiving chilly ratings from Brussels, for persistent gangsterism and the erosion of media freedom. But others see the censure as unfair: the new members' problems were no secret when they applied to join.

In the late 1990s, as it became clear that Europe's ex-communist countries were developing at radically different speeds, some Romanian officials said they feared being left in a geopolitical "grey zone" between Russia and the West. Accession to NATO and the EU put those worries to rest. Now they are reawakening. Seen from Romania or Bulgaria the verdict is still positive: a glance at dirt-poor Moldova serves as a reminder of what life outside the EU can be like. But as the wrangle over Schengen shows, the richer half of Europe increasingly sees things differently. ■



O'BRIEN'S IRISH PUB



Live music

- 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

© 2012
The Economist
Newspaper
Limited. All
rights reserved

Russification Vi

Under the current circumstances in Ukraine, most bilingual people ultimately become Russian-speakers

Author:
Oleksandr Kramar

So-called bilingual Ukrainians constitute quite a large group of the population. Surveys that allow for two native languages, such as the 2007 survey by the Razumkov Centre, show that 21.5% of those polled cannot decide whether Ukrainian or Russian is their native language, this figure is particularly high in the South at 25.5% and East at 32.2%. The number of bilinguals in these regions equals or exceeds that of people who list Ukrainian as their native language.

BETWEEN TWO LANGUAGES

Long-term sociological monitoring shows that the idea of Ukraine being a bilingual country, quite popular in some political circles, does not hold water. Over the past two decades, Ukraine has been undergoing the continuous blending of bilingual environments. According to the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Sciences, the share of Ukrainians who speak Ukrainian at home has grown from 36.8% to 42.8% in 2011, while the number of those who speak Russian at home has increased from 29% to 38.7% over the same period. The main contributors to this are people who spoke both languages at home: their share has shrunk from 32% to 17.1%.

Sadly, the reality of Ukraine, where there is no effective official language policy, is such, that bilingualism is generally an interim step towards russification. In 1992-2010, the blending of bilingualism in favour of the Ukrainian language, something that would make perfect sense in the Ukrainian state, has only been seen in the West of the country where the share of bi-

lingual people shrank almost three-fold, from 19% to 6%, due to an increase of Ukrainian-speakers. Meanwhile, other regions are undergoing russification. Only 1% of the 5% of bilinguals eventually switched to Ukrainian in Central Ukraine compared to 4% who opted for Russian. In the South, 1% of bilinguals became Ukrainian speakers while 9% switched to Russian. As a result, the share of those who speak Russian at home has grown from 43% to 54% in the South and from 56% to 64% in Eastern Ukraine.

SHAPED BY CIRCUMSTANCES

Ukrainian-speaking people have been the obvious source for making up the bilingual community. An April 2002 survey by the SOCIS Centre (its results are in line with those of the All-Ukrainian Census held a few months earlier) makes it clear that the group speaking both languages at home is largely made up of people who list Ukrainian as their native language – 65% compared to 34% of those who said that Russian was their native language. The same 34% spoke Russian at home compared to 44% of those who only spoke Ukrainian at home, while 21% spoke both languages “depending on circumstances.”

In Sumy, where 24% of the population considers Russian to be their native language, 25% spoke Russian at home, while only 29% of the 75% of those who considered Ukrainian to be their native language spoke exclusively in Ukrainian at home, while 46% spoke both. In Kharkiv, 4% of the 28% who said their native language was Ukrainian spoke it with their family, while 19% switched between the two languages,



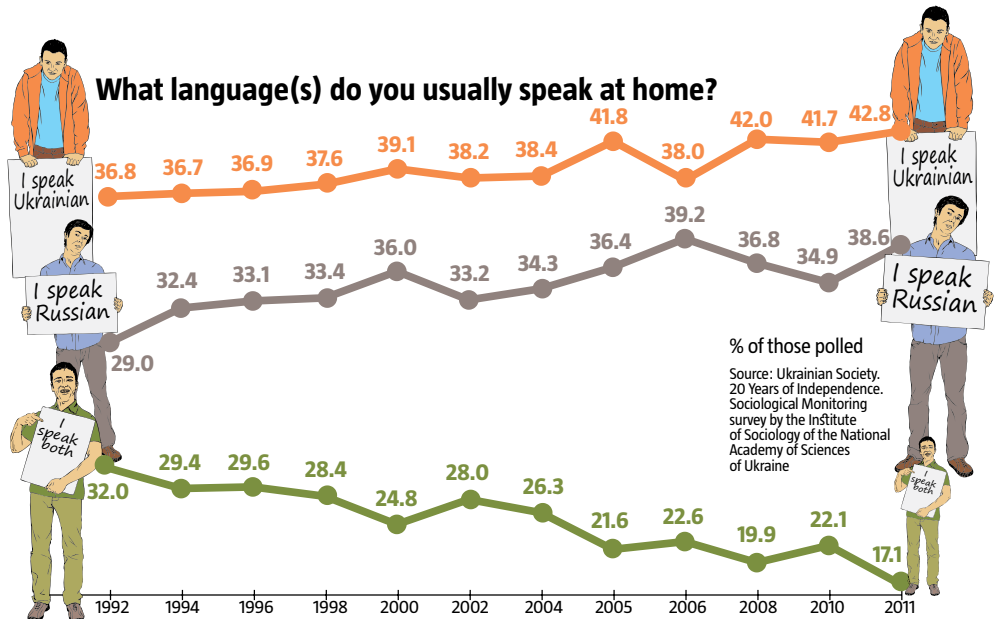
Ukraine Bilingualism

“depending on circumstances”. In Kherson, only 4% of the 59% who listed Ukrainian as their native language spoke it at home, compared to 43% who spoke both. In Mykolayiv 60% listed Ukrainian as their native language with 10% speaking only Ukrainian at home and 40% switching to Russian. 10% of those polled in Donetsk said Ukrainian was their native language, 39% of the population being ethnic Ukrainian. Less than 1% of them spoke Ukrainian while as many as 87% spoke only Russian and 12% spoke both languages “depending on circumstances.” According to the Razumkov Centre, 39.9% of Kyivites spoke Russian at home in 2005 compared to 18.1% who spoke Ukrainian and 41.2% who were circumstantial bilinguals. The latter group is largely comprised of Ukrainian-speakers, who have been russified to a greater or lesser extent.

The share of bilinguals among young and middle aged people has shrunk several times over in favour of Russian. According to the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the share of middle-aged Ukrainian-speakers grew from 36% to 39% over 1992-2010, while the number of Russian-speakers increased from 29% to 37% over the same period. The change among young people was 33% to 36% and 34% to 39% respectively. In other words, the share of Russian-speakers under the age of 30 is not simply higher than that of Ukrainian-speakers, it is also outpacing the latter.

Mass culture and the media have a determinant influence on the language preferences of young Ukrainians since they are much more effective than such factors as the language in schools and government institutions.

What language(s) do you usually speak at home?



DISCOURAGED FROM SPEAKING UKRAINIAN

The research of factors discouraging people to speak Ukrainian, conducted by the Institute of Social and Political Psychology at the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the National Institute for Strategic Studies in 2006, revealed four groups of disincentives: 1) reluctance to be seen as a maverick, don't know the Ukrainian language and think of Ukrainian as

lack of a Ukrainian-speaking environment or the need to speak Ukrainian, after all, “everybody understands Russian”.

This hierarchy of disincentives is mostly seen in Central Ukraine. Students in Southern, Eastern and Western Ukraine feature psycho-ideological stubbornness as the factor that has the most impact. Russian-speaking students, particularly in regions where the Russian language prevails, are more reluctant to switch when spoken to in Ukrainian, while 90.6% of young Ukrainian-speakers are ready to answer in Russian.

Despite the declared tolerant attitude towards the Ukrainian language, Russian-speakers are ready to protect their right to speak their own language more aggressively, while the tolerance of Ukrainian-speakers, especially in Central Ukraine, is coupled with the readiness to give ground in choosing a language because of the “uncool” and “unattractive” status of Ukrainian and “no necessity” to speak it in an environment where everyone understands Russian. ■

RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS ARE READY TO PROTECT THEIR RIGHT TO SPEAK THEIR OWN LANGUAGE MORE AGGRESSIVELY

an “uncool” language; 2) psycho-ideological stubbornness which includes ideological preferences, reluctance to yield to “pressure”, fear of personal change; 3) derogatory attitude towards Ukrainian and the “unattractiveness” of the language; and 4) treatment of communication in Ukrainian as something second-rate coupled with the

Being Yourself

A firm choice of the language in which to speak allows people to shape their environment rather than be shaped by it

Author:
Anna Kalenska

We were taught to be polite. "Answering people in the language they speak to you in is a sign of politeness," teachers would tell us over and over again in school. We have grown into very well-mannered adults and politely switch to Russian with our Russian-speaking colleagues, friends and the people we meet in the street, as if they do not understand our Ukrainian. The latter is for special occasions: some speak it at home, others - for official celebrations. The language that people speak wherever they are is a personal choice. However, on the nation-wide level, this "language flexibility" can be seen as a threat: if every Ukrainian switches into Russian whenever addressed in it for the purpose of politeness, who will speak Ukrainian? There is also a limit to good manners.

Oksana Polishchuk lives in Zhytomyr. Her younger brother encouraged her to make a conscious switch to Ukrainian. At that time, she was in the 8th grade and only spoke Russian to her friends. Her native Ukrainian was for her parents and teachers. "My brother once heard me talking to my friend," Oksana shares. "We're not Ukrainians, he said. Why do you think that, I asked

him. Because you and the people in the street speak Russian, the five-year old replied. It was like cold shower," she recollects. From that time on, every time she switched to Russian, Oksana felt like a traitor, so she decided to stop. It was hard at first. Surprised, her classmates mocked her. "I often heard things like, stop fooling around, speak a normal language," she says. "My parents, as well as my history and Ukrainian language teachers supported me, although I remained a "maverick" until my graduation. But I didn't care any more, I had different priorities and values," Oksana comments.

Anvar Azizov of Uzbek and Ukrainian origin lives in Kyiv. Five years ago he switched to Ukrainian completely, even with his Russian-speaking parents. He had been thinking about it for a while, but he lacked the spirit as well as the knowledge of Ukrainian. His concern about how others would react to this was another discouraging factor. Anvar finally went to the Carpathians where he had a chance to practice his Ukrainian and gain the courage to speak it in the city of his birth. Since his return, he has been speaking exclusively in Ukrainian on public transport, in shops and to people on the streets. It took him about three months to get used to the new language and for his friends and family to get used to the "new" Anvar. "The stereotypes and

SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE OPT FOR UKRAINIAN RATHER THAN RUSSIAN OR BILINGUALISM AS THEY SEE THIS AS A MATTER OF DIGNITY AND THIS CHOICE MAKES THEIR LIFE SO MUCH EASIER AFTER ALL

OLEKSANDR YARMOLA,
Haydamaky

We have to speak Ukrainian because we live in Ukraine, not somewhere else, which is why it is perfectly reasonable and right to know the Ukrainian language. Speaking it is even more important. Actually, the key thing is for most people to simply stop the stereotypic use of the Russian language. It's a matter of individual national dignity.

habits gradually crumbled,” he says. “I had to keep myself under control at all times, in order to use Ukrainian automatically in any given situation.” Sometimes, people thought Anvar was from somewhere other than Kyiv. “A man I talked to on the underground couldn’t believe there was such thing as a Ukrainian-speaking person, born to a Russian-speaking family in Kyiv,” Anvar says. “He could not conceive that someone could shape the environment rather than be shaped by it.”

Some people choose Russian because they think it offers them better prospects or makes them look “cool” in the eyes of the people in their environment. For Anvar Azizov, the opposite applies; he is happy to be able to speak, write and create in Ukrainian since switching from Russian. Also, he no lon-

gualism in a country is always dangerous, because it could be the basis for a nation to split apart. Most European states were established on the basis of one language, shaped by its culture and the awareness of the people of its common historical memory,” says Ms. Masenko.

These three components must be present to reinforce a national state. Since Ukrainians inherited a

OLEKSANDRA KOLTSOVA, Krykhitka

It is not necessary to demonstrate knowledge of your native language as a heroic feat. You should know it by default. Any debates on this make no sense. If you live in Ukraine where the language is Ukrainian, you should speak Ukrainian. The problem lies in the fact that the media is currently focused on culture and arts which have developed at a faster pace and promoted to a greater degree at this point. The media choose the easiest course. For this reason, few people can name five or six most significant books in Ukrainian off the top of their heads, as opposed to Russian or world literature. Thus it is necessary to promote Ukrainian language achievements among Ukrainians themselves, because there is nothing wrong with the language and virtually everyone in Ukraine can speak it. The language dilemma is a matter of poor education and speculation on people with a low level of awareness. Those who defend Russian, which dominates in Ukraine anyway, are actually protecting their own personal ignorance. Their aggression is completely natural: people justify their reluctance to learn something new. As an ethnic Russian, I feel great in Ukraine, simply because I speak Ukrainian and can thus merge into the local cultural code.

ger swears. “I became softer,” he says. “although I’m not sure if this has anything to do with the language, but Ukrainian definitely has a gentler sound than Russian.” His transformation began with using Ukrainian-language software, reading Ukrainian-language books and writing his songs in Ukrainian.

Larysa Masenko, a sociolinguist, draws a clear line between official and individual bilingualism. “Official state bi-

russified state, first and foremost, they need a language policy which would protect the state language and promote its wider use. “The key objective is to get new generations to move away from bilingualism through education, and get the situation back to normal in one or two generations,” she claims.

By dropping their post-colonial ballast, nations made a significant leap in terms of economic and socio-cultural development. The Czech Republic is one example: at the beginning of the previous century most of its population spoke German, but the country was able to overcome this problem within 50 years. Urban Finns spoke Swedish for quite a while, too. For Ukraine, a critical mass of linguistically stable Ukrainian-speakers is crucial. “That’s when a language is preserved,” Ms. Masenko says. By contrast, the ongoing switching from one language to another breaks the language code and turns both languages into a weird mixture of the two. ■



Gender in the USSR

The omnipresent “managing and leading force” of soviet gender norms dominated relationships between men and women in the Soviet Union, leaving a heavy imprint on their development and evolution

Author:

Oleksandr Pahiria

March 8: Women workers
revolt against domestic
slavery
Eliminate the oppression
and routine!



As a result of Stalin’s “top down” revolution, conventional patriarchal families of the industrial epoch, whose women Lenin described as “domestic slaves,” were replaced by the new “etacratric gender model.” (see glossary)

Unlike in the West, where emancipation evolved through a natural and lengthy process, the Bolsheviks’ gender policy was about the straightforward acknowledgement of equality between men and women. The biological difference between genders served as a marker that outlined social roles.

UNWRITTEN RULES

Meanwhile, the government promoted the special role of women in society, defining the limitations of the dominant gender contract (i.e. the unwritten rules of interaction, rights and duties of men and women in private and public spheres.) Women were involved extensively in physical labour, including the most difficult work, a tradition that entrenched itself so deeply that many Ukrainian women are still ready to toil under difficult conditions for mere pennies. Together with civil activity, this integration led to an increased social significance for women that included a growing range of duties and more responsibilities. Under the Bolshevik model, a woman had to work full-time, raise children, tend to the household and take care of elderly family members.

The state mobilized the work of women beyond the immediate economic necessity, and motherhood became their civic duty. The cult of motherhood promoted in the USSR under Stalin had a purely pragmatic basis: it was created to increase the population.

The USSR's Family Law of 1968 confirmed the central role of women in the family, defining it as "providing the necessary social conditions for a happy combination of motherhood with increased active and creative involvement in industrial and socio-political life." However, maternity leave was in fact quite short, allowing only 56 days before childbirth and 56 days following. The logic was simple: the role of women in industrial production had to be maximized. It was not until the 1980s that soviet mothers were granted extra leave for childcare until the baby was 18 months old, although this leave remained unpaid.

In the Soviet Union, child support benefits were only paid for the fourth baby, while the average soviet family had three or fewer children. Working mothers were most useful to the state.

However, this access to a wide variety of jobs and declared equality did not apply to the realm of politics. Women could only be members of the party, and were closed out of its administrative ranks. They occupied nominal administrative positions such as heads of councils, trade unions and Komsomol organizations, while the soviet party nomenclature remained clearly patriarchal. Yekaterina Furtseva was the only woman to serve as a government minister in the Soviet Union.

The only women worthy of respect were the ones that did men's work. Soviet salaries were low enough to compel people of any gender to work all the time to make a living. As a result, a wife living in this unique "socialist paradise" could never expect her husband to fully support her. A woman who opted for a conventional lifestyle, such as taking care of the house, giving birth and raising children, faced public scorn as an idler, loafer or "princess."

For a very long time, the official ideology resented the sexuality and physicality of soviet female workers. This social taboo was especially visible in fashion. As the cult of personality dominated the Soviet Union, clothes that accentuated women's figure were banned. Until the mid-

1950s, Ukrainian women wore no low necks, used padded shoulders, and were clad in long loose skirts. Soviet clothing was supposed to hide women's beauty and be as humble and primitive as possible. Soviet sociologist Igor Kon described the policy as "genderless sexism," because the identical treatment of both genders did not give women the right to express themselves physically. Meanwhile, bodily self-expression had become an integral component of 1950s-1960s emancipation in the West. Red propaganda spent the following two decades reinforcing the contrast between the decent soviet woman with high morality and the amoral Western female.

bilities. Backed by tough state regulations, the new gender system gradually dissolved men's responsibilities to their families, pushing them to the sidelines and leading to their moral regression.

This massive emasculation was augmented by world wars, widespread repression, famines and ethnic purges, resulting in irreparable demographic damage in several countries, including Ukraine. Demographers claim that wars, epidemics and famines are the three factors that affect men the most severely. Yet, with its sweeping repressions, Stalin's regime had a disastrous effect on mass psychology, compelling the nations under its control to "keep quiet" and "behave like everyone else" in place of the traditional patriarchal superiority of men inside and outside the household. As a result, men compensated their unhappy egos with alcohol and daily brawls that both party and local executive committees failed to deal with until the very

GLOSSARY

Etocratic gender model (from French *état* meaning the state and κράτος as power or strength in Old Greek) provides for tough government control over private life. Soviet authorities made women dependent on the state, effectively reflecting a patriarchal system of relations.

ATROPHY OF MEN'S RESPONSIBILITY

This threefold burden on women was accompanied by the gradual transformation of the institutions of marriage and motherhood and the reduction of men's responsi-



DOUBLE COFFEE
ESPRESSO CAPPUCCINO BAR

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. Konstantynivska 6 (+38044) 591 1837 |
| Kyiv, vul. B. Khmelnytskoho 42 (+38044) 591 1835 | Kyiv, Moskovsky Prospect 34 A Entertainment Center BlockBuster (+38044) 591 1838 |

end of the USSR. Thus an outrageous disparity arose between the exaggerated masculine identity displayed by men to friends at the local bar or wives in the kitchen, and their inability to embody this identity. This is how the totalitarian regime destroyed the most passionate part of society and ushered in a spirit of servility that exacerbated moral decay, especially among males—those more or less involved in the socio-political sphere.

The slight liberalization of the late 1950s and early 1960s added a degree of “privacy” to personal life, gradually weakening the Bolshevik gender code and encouraging an alternative interpretation of femininity and masculinity in the USSR. At that point, the role of “shadow” gender contracts unregulated by the government grew stronger as a response to life in the soviet reality and the desire to conform to it.

In everyday life, women were expected to play their traditional role: to care for and serve the family, act as real and symbolic mothers, and perform functions that would compensate for the lack of relevant services and consumer goods. The USSR’s Constitution of 1977 enshrined an official family model with the woman at its center, defining the role of women in society as “hard-working mothers who raise their children and take care of the house.” Meanwhile, single mothers and women who were forced to have children by some circumstance grew more numerous, even if they did not fit into the official model of the family “as the central component of society.” This illegitimate gender model was constantly persecuted by the Communist government as something opposite to the “soviet lifestyle.”

Forced to find ways to survive during the stagnation of the Brezhnev era, women grew stronger as a gender element. A housewife’s social competence was measured by her ability to attain deficit food, provide clothes for the family, get a child enrolled in kindergarten or a good school, arrange for an experienced doctor to examine sick relatives, or welcome guests. The status of a soviet woman made her responsible, strong and ca-



A. Ananieva, Hero of Socialist Labour, milkmaid at Telman Kolkhoz, Moscow Oblast. Drew an average of 5.213kg of milk from every cow over the year **Milkmaids! Get high milk yields from every forage-fed cow!**

pable of managing those under her care. This made men more infantile, unable to take part in the household routine or fulfill themselves socially. In the 1970-1980s, soviet films followed this trend, replacing soldiers and conquerors of virgin lands with unambitious researchers, humble engineers and half-hearted doctors, such as Zhenia Lukashyn in *The Irony of Fate* or Anatoliy Novosvieltsev in the *Office Romance*.



Following the collapse of the USSR, gender relations evolved into a patriarchal renaissance of sorts. This transformation brought forth obsolete stereotypes of the woman’s role in family and society. Yet, despite structural changes and new gender practices, the rules, norms and traditions tracing back to soviet models of conduct are still palpable, confirmed among other things by employment statistics. ■

We are happy to welcome you onboard
our brand new and first in Ukraine
Boeing 737-800 Next Generation
Sky interior

Boeing 737-800 NG Key Features:

- Quieter cabin
- Color LED sidewall lighting
- New pivot bins with greater capacity
- Improved operation security features
- Speaker in every PSU enhances sound quality.
- Color LED Ceiling lighting enhances the sense of spaciousness

more details at www.aerosvit.com



The Weakest

Author:
Yuriy Makarov

My perennial problem awakens each year at the end of February. The same old question torments me again and again: how should I act on March 8th (International Women's Day)? Should I congratulate the women I know and risk hurting their feelings as many of them (although I don't remember who exactly) think of it as a purely soviet rudiment? Or should I ignore the day completely and risk hurting the feelings of my other friends and colleagues who still celebrate it? This dilemma has no answer because it reflects the controversy that still exists in our everyday lives.

Relations between men and women in Ukraine, their rights and social roles, are something you can keep away from as long as you are not involved in a personal conflict. They may be sweating in gender studies and protecting the rights of various groups in the West, if that's all they have to do. Meanwhile, everyday behaviour and the strategies of both genders have changed dramatically over the past 20 years.

Let's begin with women. A totally new lifestyle offers them

two scenarios: they can either live a full life, get an education, start a career and grow professionally as people do everywhere in the modern world – the golden billion countries at least to which Ukrainians compare themselves in the back of their mind – or stick to the good old fairy tale about prince charming and implement it in life, idealistically or cynically. The second scenario is much more realistic today than in earlier times, as there is a class of men ready to provide generous maintenance, officially or unofficially, to a girl that meets certain appearance criteria. The first one is even more realistic as Ukraine now has a business economy, no matter how humble at this point, where competence is appreciated more than loyalty to the system. Moreover, the gap between a successful woman in 2012 and a woman celebrated in soviet films, such as *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, is as wide as that between Angelina Jolie and the top weaver/Communist Party Oblast Committee Bureau member (I knew one personally and I can say she was nothing like Angie). By contrast, Ukrainian business ladies, including lawyers, designers and publishers, are quite similar to their peers in any



Link




Western country, with only slight style differences, if any.

Men are another matter altogether. Ukrainian men are basically divided into two categories as well: helpless losers with no ambition, or boors, with nothing in between. Both look terrible, as they don't see the need to look after themselves, covering their bad taste with pricey clothes, watches and cars if possible. They don't know how to behave properly or, worst of all, act responsibly in their words and deeds. At the same time, they still use—and often abuse—their dominating status, imposing their ideas of social hierarchy on others. This is hard to believe until you experience it firsthand, and you would have to be a woman to do that.

Let's take a closer look at the industry that has emerged lately to serve the needs of "successful guys" in Ukraine. It is outrageously sexist. Restaurants, saunas and sports clubs are all aimed at a male that is proud rather than embarrassed of his weaknesses. "A man turns into a woman if he doesn't eat meat," a restaurant advertisement says. Another restaurant promotes itself with the slogan "Spread your sticks... put it in your mouth... Sushi bar N." Could this be a surface signal of the fact that she has grown up, while he hasn't?

Wise people remind us to avoid generalization. Yet, even rough generalization is an effective way to uncover some previously hidden trends. Ukrainian politicians are the brightest reflection of the gender imbalance in society. The crowd of half-hearted, screwed-up, confused and dreamy Hamlets and confident, poorly educated and rude Shreks speaks for itself loudly. Some have no idea what they want, others do but have no idea how to get it, and the rest have identified goals that hardly match the interests, comfort and dignity of their compatriots. The only woman who (assumably) had any sense of a goal and enough muscle to achieve it has ended up behind bars. Could there be a better indicator of the status quo?

Ukrainian women must assert themselves in this competitive environment and overcome the living superstitions and discrimination patterns of the past. As a dubious compensation, they get the confirmation of their inequality through ritual gifts and declarations of one-day gentlemanship once a year. If you think that I went too far in my accusations and repentance, you must be a man. Just ask what your wife or girlfriend thinks about it. ■



The Rise of the Celts

In the early 21st century, the words Celts and Celtic became entrenched in the arsenal of pop culture as well as commercially successful for everything from beer and cigarettes to basketball teams

Author:
Hennadiy
Kazakevych

The concept of Celtic heritage is effectively attached to European national identities, albeit often paradoxically. The modern French believe that they are descended from Celts, despite the fact that their ancestors had cruelly assimilated the Bretons, the last people of the Celtic group in Continental Europe. The Irish and the Welsh are proud of their Celtic origins even though their ancestors never referred to themselves as Celts. Meanwhile, Celtic traditions are part of both the fictitious and the real past of Europe, including that of the territory now covered by Ukraine.

THE DAWN OF EUROPE

About three decades ago the initial phase of Celtic history did

not spark any debate in academic circles. The common belief was that towards the end of the Bronze Age, the ancestors of the modern Irish, Scots, Welsh and Bretons lived in the Middle Rhine Valley, the Upper Danube and north-western part of the Alpine foothills. Leaving their ancestral homelands, armed with iron swords and seated in chariots, ancient Celts spread in all directions, from Anatolia to the British Isles in the 6th-3rd centuries B.C., to be subsequently conquered and assimilated by the Romans and Germans. New facts, however, have caused European researchers to revise this simplified scheme. It is clear today, that ancient the Celtic civilization was formed in several centers. One covered the Atlantic

coast of what is now Spain, Portugal and France, Ireland and part of Britain. The population was genetically related to ancient farmers inhabiting Europe before the arrival of Indo-Europeans. In the last thousand years B.C. or possibly even earlier, the Celtiberians of the Iberian Peninsula and the ancient Irish spoke in the most archaic Celtic dialects; the source of the modern Irish language. The second center of the Celtic world was deep in the European subcontinent, inhabited by the tribes called Celts or Galatians by the Greeks and Gauls by the Romans (the name comes from *gal*, a para-Celtic root meaning fierce and courageous).

The Celts appeared on the historical arena when the La Tène archeological culture was formed in the early 5th century B.C. The heart of its habitat was in the Marne and Moselle river basins and Bohemia, from which it quickly spread all over Central and Western Europe. The Celts were a linguistic and cultural community parts of which were influenced by conquered peoples and neighbours, rather than a single ethnoses. At the same time, the achievements of the La Tène culture were also adopted by non-Celtic tribes, including Germans, Thracians, Dacians and Early Slavs.

WOE TO THE VANQUISHED!

These were the words said by Brennus, a Celtic chieftain, when he thought that the ransom proposed by the Romans for lifting the siege of their plundered city was not adequate. Ironically, this quote was later often used against the Celts. In the 2nd century B.C. the borders of the Celtic

world shrank considerably.

In 52 B.C., Gaius Julius Caesar finally conquered Gaul, the heart of the

Celtic world. Another 50 years later, the last Celtic chiefdoms surrendered to the Romans

or Germans. The British Isles were the only place where the Celtic culture continued to thrive. Neither the Romans, nor the Anglo-Saxons succeeded in conquering them entirely during the early Middle Ages.

The end of the 1st millennium brought prosperity to Ireland. The remote island that the Greeks and Romans thought to be inhabited by wild people and cannibals faced a new religion as a powerful cultural impulse in the 5th century. Christianity quickly dominated the land, without causing undue pain, although Ireland never entirely dropped paganism. Another specific feature of Ireland's Christian culture was the visible impact of Greek and Egyptian Christianity. Unlike other West European countries, the island's population did not forget the Greek language along with the best achievements of Ancient Greek literature, philosophy and natural sciences.

The Irish developed the art of book miniatures and calligraphy, church singing, etc. Its wandering monks carried their achievements to Europe where the Benedictine monasteries they founded turned into centers for art and education. According to "The Life of St. Mariano", Irish monks reached Kyiv in about 1070. The court of Prince Iziaslav Yaroslavych gave them a warm welcome and presented them with gifts of precious furs, worth 100 pounds in silver. Using these funds, the Irish built the St. Jacob and St. Gertrude abbey in Regensburg, which in time became the center for all Irish monasteries in Europe, both *de facto* and *de jure*. Gertrude, chosen as their patron saint, is viewed as undeniable proof of the Irish abbey's close ties with Gertrude, the wife of the Kyiv Prince. Contact with the Irish enriched the Rus culture. The powerful impact of the Irish book illustration school can be



Ptolemy's Europe: Geographer Claudius Ptolemy signed modern Ukrainian towns Zalizchyy and Kamianets-Podilsky as Carrodunum, a Celtic title translated as "a chariot fortress"

seen in the ancient Rus miniatures from the Gertrude Psalter and Ostromir Gospels.

OUR ANCESTORS, THE GAULS

Viking raids, and particularly the expansion of England and France, resulted in the loss of the Celtic peoples' independence and the decline of their culture. Their heritage was not revealed until modern times when European nations began to create a "historical myth" of sorts. Several countries, primarily France, recognized Celts as their official ancestors. Even the 1789 revolution was interpreted as a revolt of the oppressed Gauls and Romans against the usurpers, meaning the king and the aristocracy whose representatives were proud of their Frankish noble ancestry dating back to the reign of Clovis I and Charlemagne. Napoleon III was a big defender of France's Celtic roots. He funded massive archeological digs of Gallic villages and the construction of a memorial on the site of the last battle between the Gauls and Caesar. In the 20th century, Celts were viewed as the avant-garde of "white Aryan Europe" or as an ancient prototype of European multiculturalism. The founding fathers of the EU liked the concept of Celtic heritage, which at one time united all

countries of the Old World from Ireland to Turkey. This explains why the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1991 was preceded by a Celtic Exhibit in Venice, a show of unprecedented scale that involved nearly 250 museums from all over Europe.

The Celtomania that swept through Europe during the 19th century deserves a special mention. European writers, musicians and artists had long fuelled interest in Celts, lured by the mysterious ancient culture. William Shakespeare, James McPherson, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Vincenzo Bellini, Richard Wagner, John Tolkien, and dozens of other artists used many motives of Celtic legends in their creations. A romantic image of a Celt was gradually shaped in mass culture and everyone could find something appealing in it. Fans of military history appreciated the desperate courage of Celtic warriors. Those involved in esoteric were attracted by mentions of the mystical philosophy of druids, while feminists focused on the high social status of the woman in ancient Celtic society. Musicians were inspired by Irish folklore and environmentalists viewed Celts as the "forest people" who lived in harmony with nature. ■



The Gertrude Psalter: Jesus crowns Gertrude and her son Yaropolk

Parallel Struggle

90 years ago, when Ireland gained its independence from Great Britain, Ukraine lost its independence on the other side of Europe

On opposite sides of the barricades: Ukrainians and the Irish both fought for foreign empires in the Battle of Balaclava on 25 October 1854



Author:
Hennadiy
Kazakevych

One of the first books published by the Central Rada in 1917 was a Ukrainian translation of *The Republic of Ireland* by an anonymous author. The choice was not accidental, because the figures behind the Ukrainian independence movement drew inspiration from Irish activists and saw much in common between Ukraine and Ireland. The modern and recent history of Ireland and Ukraine have not only striking parallels but lesser-known pages in common.

THE IRISH AND UKRAINE

To many an Irishman, service in the Royal Armed Forces was perhaps the only chance to somehow arrange for a worthy living, integrate into society and make a career. The Crimean War, waged by Britain, France and Turkey against the Russian Empire, was a tragic page in the history of both Ireland and Ukraine. Of 111,000 British soldiers and officers who participated in the war, 37,000 were Irish. Some of them, like Luke O'Connor who was decorated with the Victoria

Cross for his heroism in the Battle of Alma and eventually achieved the rank of Major General, were fortunate enough to make a career of the military. But 7,000 of his compatriots remained buried in Crimean soil and even more returned home disabled. With sad irony, "The Kerry Recruit," an Irish song, tells of the life of a young man who was wounded near Sevastopol and got a leg of wood and 10 pence a day from the state.

A number of Irishmen, discontent under British rule, dis-

tinguished themselves in military service under the colors of European monarchs. Alexander O'Connor was one of them. During the wars against Napoleon he found himself in Russia and displayed heroism in the Battle of Borodino. He was given the nickname "Crazy Colonel d'Connor" for his militant streak. Following retirement, he settled in Poltava Region where he married Oleksandra Storozhenko, a descendant of an old family of Cossack officers. His son Oleksandr O'Connor Jr. married Anastasiya Lysenko and, again after retirement, settled in Mykolaivka, Kremenchuk district, Poltava Region, on his wife's estate. Their daughters, Olha and Valeria, made a significant contribution to Ukrainian culture and the national movement.

Olha O'Connor, 18, wed the famous Ukrainian composer Mykola Lysenko. Together they studied in the Leipzig Conservatory. Olha went down in history as the first prime prima donna of Ukrainian opera – she was the first to perform Oksana's part in Lysenko's Christmas Night which was the start of the Ukrainian opera. Unfortunately, she lost her voice in 1880, and her infertility led to a breakup with her husband.

Olha O'Connor taught piano (one of her students was Lesia Ukrainka) and opened a music school in 1908. After Lysenko's death, she adopted the five children he had had by his second wife. Her younger sister Valeria was engaged in teaching and public activities in the Prosvita society, the Ukrainian Club and the Association of Ukrainian Gradualists. Her drama pieces became very popular, and she was thrown into prison for her story "Skarb" (Treasure). During the liberation struggle, Valeria O'Connor was elected a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada. She was involved in a number of government structures where she was in charge of literature and theater. After the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic was established in Kyiv, she left for Switzerland with her husband who was posted as a consul to Zurich. In Austria and later in the Czech Republic, Valeria headed the foreign Ukrainian



CONSTANCE MARKIEVICZ: An Irish who lived in Ukraine for two years and was among the founders of the Irish parliament and the first woman in Europe to hold a cabinet position later



OLHA O'CONNOR: The first wife of Ukrainian composer Mykola Lysenko. After her husband died, she adopted his five children

section of the League of Peace and Freedom, contributed articles to Ukrainian periodicals and taught in the Ukrainian Academy in Podebrady along with pursuing other activities.

FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Ukrainian and Irish national movements unfolded at almost the very same time. The losses due to famine and emigration in the latter half of the 19th century and careful attempts by the British government to allot land to Irish peasants eased tensions in society for a while. The demands put forward by a weak enlightenment movement, made up of sports societies and the Gaelic League, which advocated the revival of the Irish language, were limited to the idea of autonomy. However, as the British parliament was slow to grant Ireland self-governance, the movement became increasingly radical. In 1905, the Sinn Féin party was founded and advocated full independence. One of Ireland's leaders in the nation's struggle for independence was Constance Markievicz, a descendant of the Anglo-Irish Gore-Booth family, who married Count Casimir Markievicz, a noted Polish painter from an old Polish-Ukrainian family. They spent two years in the village of Zhyvotivka in Vinnytsia Region and then moved to Ireland where Constance chose the path of politics and military struggle. In 1909, she founded Fianna Éireann, a paramilitary scouts organization which staged mass protests.

The First World War was a catalyst that ultimately helped Ireland to separate. Around 40%

Easter Rising of 1916 in Dublin by the leaders of underground organizations who had no hope it would succeed. However, the utter cruelty with which the British suppressed it won the sympathy of the Irish population for the tortured "martyrs." The Irish Republican Army, swollen by the remains of volunteers previously defeated by the British, launched partisan warfare which ended in 1921 when a treaty was signed under which 26 of 32 Irish counties formed the Republic of Ireland.

Constance Markievicz was among the founders of the young state's parliament and served as Labor Minister for three years, thus becoming the first woman in a ministerial office in Europe. Her life ended in 1927 after she contracted tuberculosis during a visit to a Dublin shelter. She saw her husband for the last time before her death. (He had gone back to Ukraine in 1913.) Meave Markievicz, their only daughter, born in 1902, was raised by Constance's relatives in Ireland.

Independence gained in 1921 did not solve all of the nation's problems. Ireland would experience a civil war between the government and part of the Republicans who were dissatisfied with the way the country had been divided. It would also see the persecution of Irish Catholics in the northern part of the island which remained under British rule. For decades Ireland's backward economy was unable to shake off its dependence on the former metropolis. The country continued to lose hundreds of thousands of young people who emigrated to the USA. The Irish language never fully recovered, and today it is the mother tongue of a mere 1% of the population. But in the 1980s and 1990s, Ireland experienced rapid economic growth and even now, in conditions of a global crisis, the country ranks 10th in the world in terms of pro capita GDP, according to the World Bank. Its cultural heritage and traditions are popular across the world. It is hard to find an Irishman today who would be disappointed with the fact that his country is independent. Hopefully, we will be able to say the same of Ukrainians in the future. ■

UKRAINIAN AND IRISH NATIONAL MOVEMENTS UNFOLDED PARALLELLY

of adult Irish men fought in the ranks of the British army in the fields of Flanders, hoping that their heroism would win autonomy for their native land. However, the self-governance rule granted in 1914 turned out to be purely ornamental. Meanwhile, the British government decided to introduce a military draft in Ireland. This resulted in the

Freedom of Creation

How can Ukrainian theatre be interesting to the rest of the world?

Author:
Nadia Yaremchuk

"I wanted to write a play. I moved my desk to the window, sat there and worked for two days with great pleasure. I had no idea what would be in the end of my story and the premier was six months later. So, my dear, leave the Internet, turn off your TV, sit and create whatever you like," says Vira Makoviy, the author of *Buna*.

Progress of the modern Ukrainian theatre on the international arena is impossible without the progress of dramaturgy. Western society is clearly focused on modern times, which is the essence of social theatre, and is still in great demand. Also, the audience is interested in the political theatre that responds quickly to all hot socio-political developments: "If we had a play about how Yulia Tymoshenko was put in prison, for instance, it could break through in Europe and be popular in political theatre," says Alla Rybikova, director and collector of *'SHAG' (The Step)*, a compilation of German plays.

To get to the main theatre forums of the world today a country needs either a firmly established national dramaturgy, or some powerful work from a director that could surprise a Western audience. Plays often take their first steps on international stages through drama festivals. Germany has two big drama forums in Mulheim and a biennial in Wiesbaden. "Every two years, I hear a question: What does Ukrainian drama have to show? And every time there is a lack of material. I think there are scripts out there because young

people write at least something. But this is not the sort of quality to be presented as a national asset," Ms. Rybikova claims.

National dramaturgy develops when the reality of a country is portrayed and comprehended systematically. That was how modern German drama evolved with its sensitive issues, including neo-Nazism, the coexistence of different ethnic groups and cultures and the division and unification of the modern state, as well as the dramaturgy of Great Britain where the protest against the established life cycle is growing particularly violent. In Russia, similar processes occurred in the 1990s when Nikolai Koliada began writing about the reality he saw when Aleksei Kazantsev and Viktor Slavkin founded the *'Liubimovka'* festival. In the early 2000s, the workshops of the London Royal Court gave a strong impulse to new theatre styles, including Russian documentary theatre.

Today, the Royal Court is working in Ukraine on a joint Ukrainian-Georgian project of young dramatic art. Elyse Dodgson, Director of the Royal Court's international program, says she has great expectations from young Ukrainian playwrights but any conclusions would be pre-term now. The project is almost over and the winning play will be staged at the Royal Court, which has already had earlier experience of Ukrainian playwrights, having staged plays including Maksim Kurochkin's *The Eye* (Glaz), Natalia Vorozhbyt's *Granary* (Zernosk-hovyshche) and the late Hanna Yablonska's *Pagans* (Yazychnyky).



UP HILL AND DOWN DALE

The Ukrainian Week has talked to experts in Russia and Poland, two countries with impressive theatre history, to find out how Ukrainian theatre is seen abroad. "Young playwrights inspire high expectations," says Mikhail Ugarov, a Moscow-based playwright, theatre director and one of the ideologues of the New Drama movement. "I'll mention a few names that have become recognizable over the past few years: Artur Mloyan, Vira Makoviy, Marysia Nikitiuk, Yevhen Markovsky, Sashko Brama, Den Humennyi, Mariam Agamian, Ok-sana Savchenko and of course, Natalia Vorozhbyt, as well as the Kyiv-born and Moscow-based Maksim Kurochkin". Mr. Ugarov's small *'Theater.doc'* gives an extensive platform to documentary theatre. He is looking forward to seeing Ukraine's own ungarnished reality on the Ukrainian stage that both Ukrainians and the whole world would find interesting. "I hope people will stop pretending

27
March
is International
Theatr Day



PHOTO PROVIDED BY DAKH THEATRE

that art is one thing and life is another. I believe they will realize that a personality on stage is much more interesting than just an actor," he says.

Roman Pawlowski, a Polish theatre critic at *Gazeta Wyborcza*, hardly knows Ukrainian dramatic art at all. Andriy Zholdak is the first person he thinks about whenever Ukrainian theatre is mentioned. "For Western audiences, he remains a Ukrainian director, although he does not stage Ukrainian plays, nor could he be called a representative of Ukrainian theatre tradition since Zholdak is the product (excuse me) of Western culture," Mr. Pawlowski says. "In the first place, though, he is a first rate director who works with German, Russian and Hungarian theatres and lives in Berlin." Mr. Pawlowski looks surprised. "Sorry, I really don't get why Andriy Zholdak lives in Berlin. Let's take Krzysztof Warlikowski, the most well-known Polish director today, for instance. He works abroad a lot but has his group in the Warsaw-

based Nowy Teatr (The New Theatre). Without this theatre, he would lose his source of inspiration and his identity, I believe."

In addition to Zholdak, Mr. Pawlowski calls Klim (Ukrainian playwright and director Volodymyr Klymenko – ed.) an exiled artist and wonders why the talented director has no laboratory in Kyiv and works in Moscow instead. This is typical for Ukraine, though, as independent theatres, even those that represent Ukraine abroad successfully, are of zero interest to the government. Meanwhile, virtually every European country provides financial support to their experimental theatres. All experts realize that experiments launch new processes that lead to great results eventually, even if they don't always have an immediate specific impact. "Without funding, theatre groups like Dakh (The Roof) will sooner or later be forced to stage purely commercial plays to survive," Mr. Pawlowski claims.

Recently, Dakh gave an acclaimed performance of *King Lear*.

Showing
Mystique
Ukraine: Dakh
toured Russia,
France and
Hungary with
King Lear. The
Prologue play

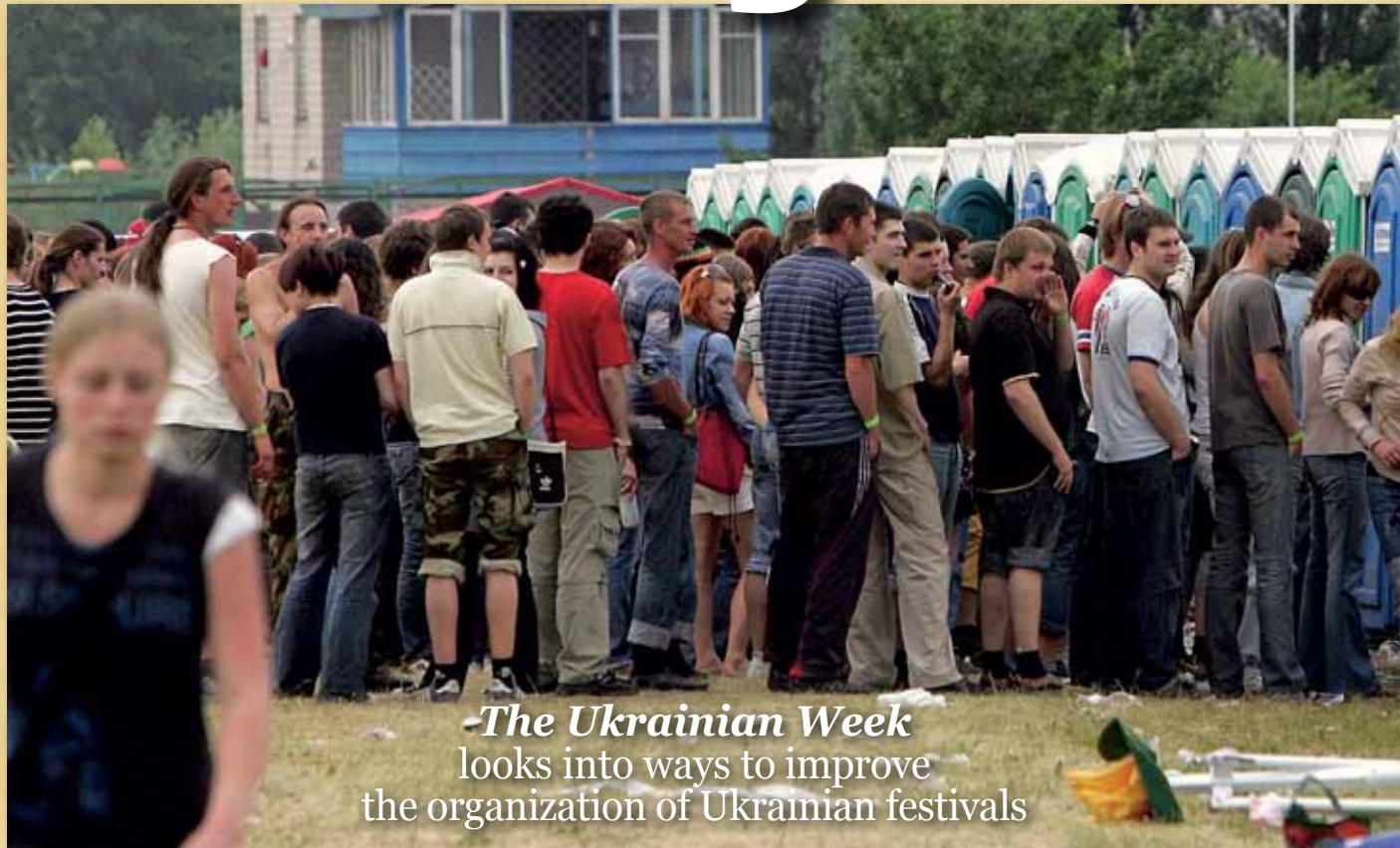
The Prologue at the Golden Mask festival in Moscow. The play was set eight years ago as the Orange Revolution unfolded. Political allusions in Shakespeare's text are close to the current revolutionary attitudes in Russia and the Russian audience has grasped them, observer Roman Dolzhanski wrote in his review. In fact, the previous year was a good one for Dakh: the group performed at festivals in France and was invited to Theatre Vidy-Lausanne where Peter Brook, Pina Bausch and Eimund Niakroshus had all once worked. In Lausanne, Dakh will stage the play called *Viy* by Natalia Vorozhbyt based on the piece by Mykola Hohol (Nikolai Gogol in Russian – ed). The play will portray a modern village in the Poltava Oblast of Ukraine in the light of Hohol's phantasmagoria where two French tourists find themselves by accident. It looks like the story will be interesting for both Ukrainian and European audiences.

THE SOFTENING EFFECT

Some wonder, why we break through to Europe if we sometimes fail to please our audience at home. This is where Israel could serve as a role model. Troupe 209, a small theatre in Tel-Aviv that inherited its number from a bomb shelter next to which the local authority granted the theatre its premises, is welcoming dozens of curators and festival managers from all over the world to present its works and find new prospects of cooperation, such as participation in festivals, co-productions and so on. For 25 years now, the theatre has been almost entirely supported by the local budget and the forum for international guests will also be arranged using state funds. The government realizes that in a situation where international attitudes towards their country grow more and more radical, only arts can soften this. As for Ukraine, better quality art can improve its negative image in the world. Telling the world about Ukraine would be a first – and perfectly expected – step in that direction.

According to Alla Rybikova, the attempts to lure international theatre community should follow the understanding of what is important for Ukrainians in life. When they finally realize this, and do so in a talented way, Ukraine will become interesting to the world. ■

Waiting for Q



The Ukrainian Week
looks into ways to improve
the organization of Ukrainian festivals

Author:
Olena
Maksymenko

Amateurishness is the key problem of Ukraine's festival movement, since event organization is mostly for enthusiasts who have to rely on other jobs to earn a living. And yet, enthusiasm means everything for us. This difference between our style of management and Western management styles was observed by Abigail Carney, a Scottish expert, who arrived in Kyiv together

with other colleagues from Scotland, England, and Germany to take part in the Winter School for Festival Managers, which lasted until early March. This was the first-ever joint project for the Goethe-Institut and the British Council Ukraine.

THE DEVIL IN THE DETAILS

"It was immensely fascinating to hear the Western experts. It was

like they came from another planet!" A participant of the International Poetry Festival Meridian Czernowitz, is filled with impressions. "They enjoy all the mechanism we can only dream about, and they work like a charm. Here I learned about such important things as statistics, keeping track of who comes to events and why, the analysis of the optimal area division for different kinds of public,

FESTIVAL VENUES

1-3 June
Alfa Jazz Festival
(Lviv, Rynok Square; Bohdan Khmelnytsky Park;
Valova Street)

This is the second time that Lviv will assemble the fans of jazz music. The concert programmes (which will last until late at night) are meant to let listeners wander from stage to stage to hear all the performers.

1-3 June
Forpošt (The Outpost)
(Kamianets-Podilsky, Khmelnytsky Oblast)
This is one of the most remarkable mediaeval culture festivals, held on the territory of the ancient fortress, with the participation of domestic and foreign folk bands: Spiritual Seasons (Ukraine), Kings&Beggars (Ukraine), Stary Olsa (Belarus), Ir-dorath (Belarus), Myŝterra (Russia), Svarun (Serbia), et al.

12-16 July
Art-Pole (Art Field)
(Unizh, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast)
You will meet the traditional participants of this fest, the bands DakhaBrakha, Perkalaba, and Burdon. Also on the programme: Uliana Horbachevska's music performance involving renowned European artists, guests from Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, France, Great Britain, and the USA, as well as master classes in pottery, blacksmithing, paper clipping, authentic dance and singing.

Quality



PHOTO: UNIAN

efficient advertising methods, and so on,” and is convinced that all domestic festival managers should be trained in basic business management. An efficient manager has no right to overlook details. Or, more precisely, in this business there are no details to be overlooked. “Not only are good performers important to success, but so is the location of biotoilets (in case of an open air event) and ash-

LAST BUT NOT LEAST. Long queues outside filthy biotoilets are an essential attribute of virtually every Ukrainian open air fest

trays,” says Oleksii Kohan, art director of numerous jazz festivals. “For me and my partner any such event is a perfect triangle. One side represents the organisers, the second stands for the musicians, and the third for the audience.”

Indeed, anyone can recall unpleasant moments at open air events where organizers did not take enough care of cleaning, and the site soon turned into a dump. Or when international event organisers forgot to provide foreign guests with interpreters. There will be a fly in the ointment every now and then, due to drawbacks in planning or lack of resources. “There are no quantities that make success, there are only multipliers,” this is how producer Volodymyr Kaminsky formulates one of his principles. “All components of a festival, such as money, artists, or public – are multipliers rather than quantities, because if one of them is a zero, the entire result is also a zero.”

THE MEASURE OF THINGS

“How do you know if your festival has succeeded? You just know it!” says Carney. “Scotland has got such an intense festival atmosphere and competition that we have to endlessly justify ourselves! We always have to convince people providing us with resources, especially in cases of public-private partnership, to keep helping us.”

“There are three critical ‘ingredients’ for any good festival: quality content, audience, and management (to provide smooth action and control, a well-balanced budget, and so on). You may have a great programme and the best artists, but if your spectators are freezing, or the venue is not mentioned in the leaflet, or the wrong starting time is given, people will be disappointed,” Eckhard Thiemann, a British-based German expert and one of the six producers

of the Culture Olympiad and London 2012 Festival, said.

“The first thing to be taken into account is the importance of the event,” adds Carney. “I mean not only the financial component, but also its social, economic, and cultural weight; that is to say, its value for society. On the one hand, we have the Edinburgh Festival, selling 138,000 tickets per year (of course, this is only one component of its success). On the other, there is the five-year-old boy who has attended his first minor performance and says, ‘Wow, this is the coolest show I have ever seen!’ Which is more efficient to measure quality? It depends on who is asking.”

Experts believe that it is not only the managers, producers, and art directors who need special training – it takes two to tango, and both the actor and the spectator are important in making a good performance. The time-proven law of the theatre applies to the festival business, too – and this brings up the question of audience quality.

“The biggest problem about Hugh Laurie’s concert (scheduled 20 June in Kyiv. – Ed.) is that most people will come not to listen to his blues, but just to look at Doctor House,” Kohan says, smiling ironically. Indeed, at the first festivals, for example Sheshory, the number of accidental spectators was astonishingly high. At best, they would be local old ladies – they would even try to teach the young the traditional round dances. It was worse when those casual guests were idle young men driving around in their SUVs, who just dropped in just to pass the time. Today, too, lots of festivals turn into friendly gatherings, and the content itself is shoved into the background. An educated and committed audience is also a luxury, and we have a long way to go before we have one. ■

30 June – 1 July Trypilske Kolo (The Trypillian Ring) (Rzhyshev, Kyiv Oblast)

This year’s festival’s theme is the harmony of elements (as a reminder, each of the previous events was dedicated to one distinct element). The 15-hectare festival grounds will become a stage for concerts and improvisations of well-known bands, performances, dances, master classes, and a fair. Traditionally, festival grounds are drug, alcohol, and smoke free.

4-18 August Kazantip Z-20

(Crimea, Yevpatoria; beach outside Popivka)

This is a universe on the Black Sea coast, dominated by lively music, dances, rhythm and drive. As soon as you get to the Republic of Kazantip, you need to get a multipassport and a yellow suitcase – the traditional attributes of any Kazantip citizen.

7-23 September GogolFest (Kyiv)

The festival of modern art represents a panorama of cultural space in all its colours and manifestations. Music, dance, experimental theatre, painting, film, audiovisual art – this atmosphere is now familiar to Kyivans. Anyone who has been to GogolFest once, dreams of coming back every year.

FILMS

Life is Different There...

Documentaries about Donbas coalminers: social antagonism instead of regional patriotism

The horrible condition of workers in the local coal mines becomes increasingly known to the public and the shameful other side of the regional capital has been revealed. The abyss between the idealised and real Donbas has been vividly captured in documentaries shot by foreign filmmakers over the past several years. The social contrasts that cannot be concealed behind bombastic, Soviet-style slogans about “the pride and contribution” of the Donbas lie exposed in these films. But this straightforward presentation of contemporary reality in the current ruling elite's home region is evidently rubbing someone the wrong way. At least, this is suggested by the situation around the film *Shakhta № 8* (Pit No. 8) – its screening was cancelled under the lame pretext that smells of political motivation.

The Other Chelsea. A Story from Donetsk contrasts the multi-million dollar project to build the “pearl of the region”, the Donbas Arena stadium, and Shakhtar Donetsk's victories in the UEFA cup, with the lives of local football fans: Kolia Levchenko, a representative of the local business elite and regional authorities, and Sasha, a worker at the Putylyvska coal mine which is dangerously unsafe. Using the status of “foreign guests” to his advantage, German director Jakob Preuss sees the lives and hearts of his characters who, prompted by local patriotism, share their life achievements with him. Without holding anything back, Levchenko shows off his status symbols: a luxurious apartment, an equally plush office and



other things that “a successful businessman and politician” should have. In contrast, Sasha the coal miner can only surprise the German guest with his “heroic willingness” to go down into a semi-ruined mine in which his son died in an accident.

To both characters, Shakhtar's victories mean much more than simply sports entertainment. They represent a struggle for “the pride of the region”. To Sasha, this is primarily moral compensation, a symbolic reward for all his personal losses and disappointments in life. In contrast, to the young and promising Party of Regions member Levchenko, it means a strategically important achievement in an election campaign and a guarantee that the electorate, proud of “a common victory”, will support the Donetsk political elite.

By exposing the deceitful nature of regional patriotism, which is in fact used by the local elites to legalise their exploitation of the local

Events

26 April, 6.30 p.m. —

Leonidas Donskis

Ye BookStore (3, vul. Lysenka, Golden Gate metro station, Kyiv)

Ye BookStore and Spadshchyna-Integral publishing house, supported by the Embassy of Lithuania in Ukraine, invite everyone to the presentation of “Power and Imagination” where Leonidas Donskis gives answers to

questions about the links between power and imagination, politics and literature, the reality and fantasy, and many others. “Power and Imagination” is the second book by the Lithuanian philosopher, political observer and MP at the European Parliament.



April 29 – 6 May —

Magyar Fest

The square in front of Potocki Palace (15, vul. Kopernika, Lviv)

The festival of Hungarian culture and wine making will last for a week in Lviv. Guests will have the opportunity to taste traditional Hungarian food, learn to dance Csárdás to a good Hungarian tune and taste the world-

famous Tokaj wine that Goethe once called “the king of wines and the wine of kings.” Over 50 wine makers and chefs from Hungary and nearly 30 Ukrainian and Hungarian music and dance bands will take part in the festival.



5 May, 8 p.m. —

Sensation

International Exhibition Center (15, Brovarsky Prospekt, Kyiv)

One of the greatest international dance shows is about to shake Ukraine. The Innerspace show is based on the visualization of human energy system. The concept, involving breathtaking props, a vast dancing audience and well-

known musicians, emerged in 2000 in the Netherlands. There is a white dress code for all guests. This year's, Innerspace is the second part of the Sensation program in Kyiv.



population, Preuss offers a “sober materialistic view” to his Ukrainian audience. Indeed, he says, oligarchy is an inevitable stage on the way to developed capitalism in most post-Soviet states, but instead of feeding his countrymen with pictures of “Donbas grandeur” and investing millions in a football club and a luxurious stadium, local hero Rinat Akhmetov should spend at least part of his wealth to secure normal working conditions in coal mines. Marianna Kaat dealt an even more devastating blow to Donbas’ image. This region is presented in her film, *Pit No. 8*, as rich in a cheap and defenceless workforce rather than resources. The film exposes how children are exploited in illegal pits. The protagonist is Yura, a teenager in the dying coal mining settlement of Snizhne. He was deprived of any means of existence and has been forced to work in the pit since an early age to feed himself and his family: two sisters, an alcoholic mother and a jobless father-in-law.

The realities depicted are outrageous – what can be worse than exploiting children? – but the film is at the same time filled with some certain optimism. The responsible and industrious teenager gives hope that he will eventually achieve success in life. In the finale, Yura and his friend ride a motorcycle they bought with their own money into what the audience hopes is a bright future. Left to his own devices since childhood, Yura has already matured and is now a strong-willed man. He will certainly “make it” – at least this is the conclusion suggested by the director. Nevertheless, this kind of optimism is no more than the effect of “the unknown future” hinted in the film’s finale. Childhood years are always filled with hopes and expectations. In reality, the life shown in the film is much more alarming than that in *The Other Chelsea*. Sasha can at least theoretically complain to the authorities about unsafe work conditions, while workers in illegal pits are by definition deprived of this chance – they simply do not exist in the legal field. In the struggle for survival, illegal workers are forced to renounce their basic human rights in exchange for miserable wages, thus becoming a silent tool for enriching their more successful countrymen who are supported by the authorities. The grim truth lurking behind this veil of feeble hope is that these people, despite their expectations, are desperate. A character in *Adam i Yeva (zhyttia shakhtariu Donbasu)* [Adam and Eve (The Life of Donbas Coalminers)] was shockingly blunt: “There have to be slaves anyway. True capitalism will never grow without slaves.” From this viewpoint, the hope of “true capitalism” does not leave any other options than heroically accepting one’s own “historically dictated” condition of a slave. That is why waiting is the most dangerous trap, and the only way to break out of it is readiness to take action. A timely reminder of this opportunity came with the screening of *Perestroika From Below*, a Daniel Walkowitz and Barbara Abrash film documenting the coal miner movement in Donbas in 1989-1991. Against the backdrop of a general feeling of hopelessness, this film is optimistic as it portrays coal miners not as traditional victims of injustice but as a self-organised community, uncompromising in the fight for its rights and not waiting for the mercy of bosses.

Lesia Kulchytska

5 – 6 May

Ancient Lviv 2012

**Shevchenkivsky Hai
(Shevchenko Park)
(1, Chernecha Hora St., Lviv)**

The third international medieval festival includes a knightly tournament, mass battles, ancient knight games and many other exciting events. Every guest will have the opportunity to plunge into the

romantic ambience of the medieval European city, try on knight’s armour and fight for the affections of the beautiful queen. The festival will feature medieval music played all day long by well-known Ukrainian bands. The climax of the festival will be a wonderful fire show.



12 May, 8 p.m.

De/Vision

**Sullivan Room Kyiv
(8, Prorizna St., Kyiv)**

As part of its 25th anniversary tour, the German music duo is going to play a gig in Kyiv. The band is one of the gurus of synth-pop and future-pop in electronic music. De/Vision describe the unique style they have developed over the years as progressive-pop-rock. They play electronic tracks, saturated with live arrangement effects – a balance between a soft and sweet sound and dark ambient melodies, accomplished with thoughtful and beautiful lyrics.



15 May, 8 p.m.

Guano Apes

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

The German band will play some good old alternative rock for its Ukrainian fans for the third consecutive year. The audience definitely loves the band from Göttingen. It became popular back in 1994 with its debut single called *Open Your Eyes*, followed by *Lords of the Boards*, turning their album to gold in Europe. The band fell apart in 2005, only to reunite in 2009 and open a new page in the history of music.

Travelling Back In Time

Historical reenactment fills gap in preserving Ukraine's historical heritage

Author:
Dmytro Kalynchuk

Photo by
Andriy Lomakin

Kyivan Rus Park in Kopyachiv, Obukhiv District, is hosting the Guests of 15th-Century Kyiv Festival on the premises of a wooden village fashioned in the style of Volodymyr the Great where participants will stage a parade for spectators. The plot is simple: the Kyivan prince will welcome his guests from various European courts. The audience can feast its eyes on costumes and armour representing nearly all of the big European states of the time.

When the parade draws to a close, it is time for what the spectators crave most – the tournament. The first event is a medieval competition known as a *mêlée*. Participants in the *mêlée* line up to form fighting units and, following a signal from the judges, engage in battle to the deafening sound of swords clanging and armour rattling.

Most of the performing knights are amateurs. The park's website



lists historical reenactment clubs whose members are regular participants in the project's events. Along with Ukrainians, the festival in Kopachiv is attended by teams from Poland, Lithuania and Russia. European clubs have visited Ukrainian festivals and tournaments for several years now and Ukrainian teams regularly attend similar events in Russia, Belarus, Moldova and the EU.

HISTORY AS A HOBBY

Reenactment requires a deep knowledge of history and acquaintance with the smallest details of everyday life in a certain time — not only for a specific country but also for different classes of the population. Typically, a club focuses on a particular country in a certain time period.

These history buffs reenact everything from antiquity (primarily ancient Rome), the Middle Ages, modern times, Napoleon's era, the First and Second World Wars, and more. The Cossack era in Ukraine is recreated every year at the Terra Heroica Festival in Kamianets-Podilsky. The battles of the Red Army against the Wehrmacht are reenacted on Kyiv Liberation Day near the diorama museum in Novi Petrivtsi. A mock battle between a legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and Russian troops was staged toward the 95th anniversary of the battle on Mt. Makivka. All of these are the effort of numerous historical reenactment clubs.

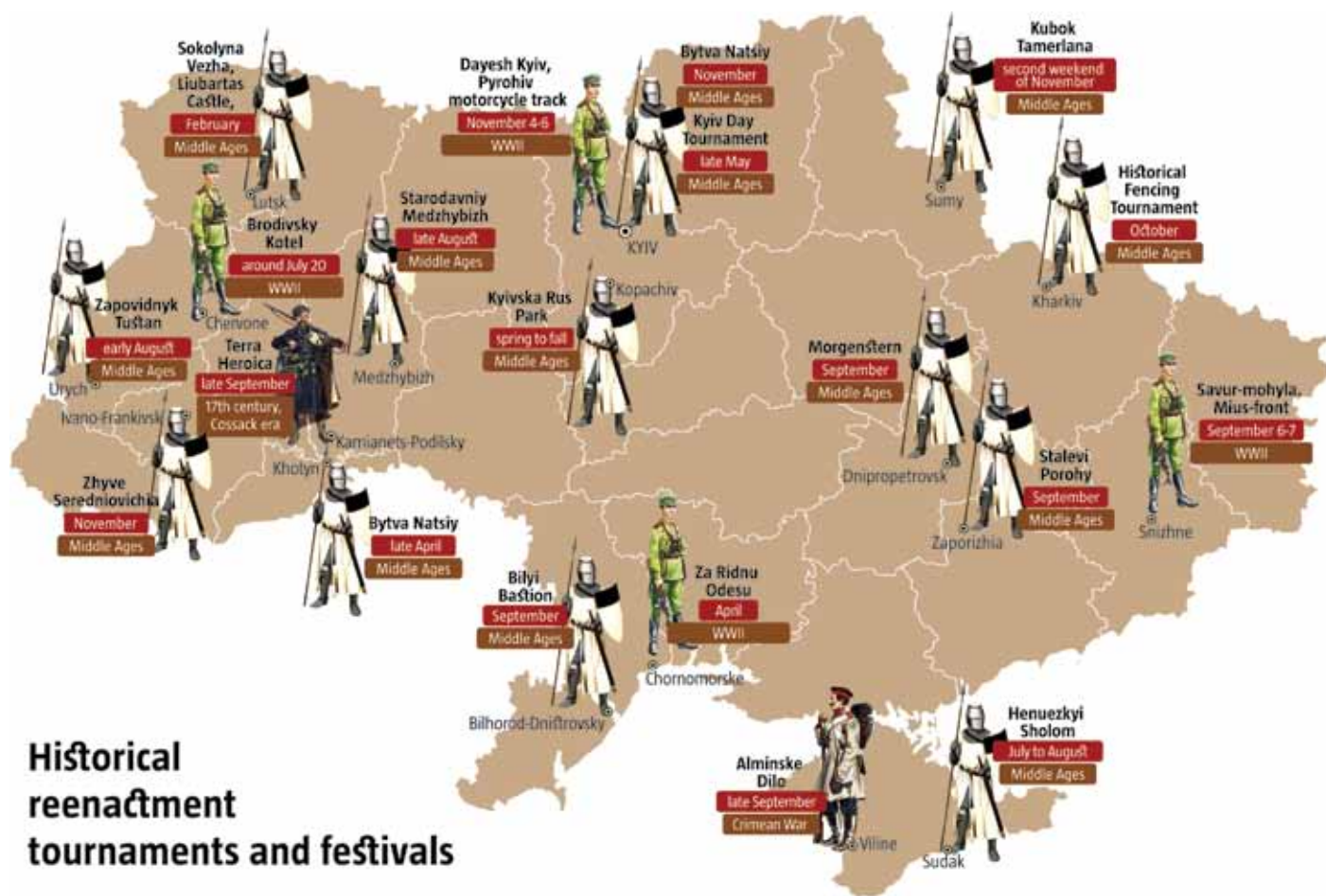
In Soviet times, there were clubs that reenacted battles fought by armies dating back to the time of Napoleon or Peter I. However, the pastime took on massive proportions only in 1990s. A great boost came from the youth movement of "role players" — an informal community united by a passion for various role games. The best known such community is that of the Tolkienists, who recreate the literary universe of J.R.R. Tolkien. However, historical reenactment and role games have gone their separate ways and should not be confused.

THE KNIGHTS OF SWORD AND AXE

No other historical period is reenacted with as much enthusiasm the European and Slavic Middle Ages. This is mainly due to the inclusion of sport. Recreating the era of Richard the Lionhearted and Danylo Romanovych includes battles fought with swords, axes and other period weapons with fighters protected by authentic gear. Unlike reenactments of the 17th through the 20th century which are closer to theater performances, knight tournaments involve serious fighting aimed at achieving specific results. As these historical games grew popular among young people, several historical fencing federations sprang up.

All reenactment events have one thing in common — painstaking





Historical reenactment tournaments and festivals

ing recreation of a particular era. Participants live in tents for the duration of the event, cook exclusively in cauldrons and eat from earthenware. The menu is also authentic. This kind of immersion in past realities affords a deeper understanding of a historical epoch and its advantages and hardships.

Certain events, such as reenactment festivals and military-historical terrain games, are held for this immersion rather than to draw the attention of average spectators. In Western countries, festivals of this type have essentially turned into open-air museums in which visitors can observe the life of their ancestors in minute detail. However, there are also European events that recreate landmark battles of the past.

Participation in European festivals is expensive, and Ukrainian reenactors have to cover their costs out of their own pockets. Despite this, our teams have been a regular presence at European festivals in recent years. The Kyiv-based Navarra team set a record

MILITARY-HISTORICAL CLUBS

**KYIV
Aragon**
(The Kingdom of Aragon, Rus)

Wünterberg
(Medieval Germany)

White Unicorn
(Medieval Europe)

Navarra
(The Kingdom of Navarra)

Aina Bera
(Medieval Rus and Scandinavia)

**KHARKIV
Ritter**
(Europe, 14th century; Rus, 13th century)

Celt
(Golden Horse, Rus)

Sharukhan
(Polovtsian state of Sharukhan in what is now Kharkiv Region)

**ODESA
Luxemburg**
(Medieval Luxembourg)

Tangar
(Europe, 14th and 15th century)

by joining the Battle of Grunwald in Poland and the Battle of Agincourt in France in the summer of 2011. These trips opened the eyes of modern Ukrainian knights to a curious fact: Ukrainian festivals are a full match to their Western European counterparts in terms of quality.

“Our rules for single combat are much more permissive than theirs. In Ukraine, participants engage in full-contact fights, while in Europe they must merely ‘mark’ blows. So the level of Ukrainian fighters is very high,” Pavlo Stetsenko, a Navarra member and an automatization engineer in real life, said. Svitlana Malonkina, another member of the club and a foreign language teacher in her other life, compares the nuances of organization: “European reenactors bring along better everyday objects, such as earthenware, mobile furniture, etc. But we have much better costumes and armor, because we pay closer attention to detail. During the festival in France we suffered from thirst

and dust but no showers were available, while they are now the norm at our events.”

YOUTH SUBCULTURE

The majority of historical reenactors are university students, but since the movement was established, it has been joined by many people who pursue the hobby alongside successful careers. Club presidents and coaches for the young come largely from this group.

Numerous internet communities have been set up to pursue historical reenactment including a wide range of songs and literary works. Some artisans even make a living by producing commissioned historical costumes and armor. All of this suggests that historical reenactment has turned into a youth subculture with its own rules and traditions.

This subculture has virtually no intersection with government agencies in its everyday activities. Officials do not care, and history reenactors return the favor. They hold their events on

their own and entertain tourists at festivals initiated by local administrations or businessmen at the most. The indifference of official bodies has its own advantage, because as the saying goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune. In Belarus, the state took the historical reenactment movement under its wing in the 1990s. Knight clubs started being paid and receiving donations for participating in ceremonies. This was immediately obvious in their gear – they overwhelmed their Ukrainian and Russian counterparts with elaborate tents, costumes and camp decorations. The drawback was that their centers had to perform at official events and stage shows for the benefit of government officials.

Russia adopted the Belarusian experience. Russian reenactors were also given some money which they worked off by taking part in various patriotic shows and events, such as the Battle of Kulikovo. Those who are interested in alternative versions of history or have been spotted at events organized by the opposition are denied funding.

The Poles went further in using the reenactment subculture. Teams from Poland, Belarus, Russian, the Baltic states, Ukraine, Germany and many other countries come to participate in the Battle of Grunwald Festival every year. Maksym Roh, leader of the Kyiv-based Sviatohor club, describes the event: “This is a true holiday of pro-Polish propaganda. First comes a theatrical reenactment of the Battle of Grunwald involving several thousand people. Then tournaments are held, followed by performances of Polish special task units to demonstrate connections between eras from the 14th century until our time. There are concerts, competitions and various shows. 300,000 spectators!” Incidentally, 11 flags from the territory of contemporary Ukraine participated in the real Battle of Grunwald. Now our reenactors travel to the festival in Poland at their own expense and act as these troops but under blue-and-yellow flags. This kind of promotion is, no doubt, more interesting and efficient than visits by our officials with the traditional primitivist “cultural programs.” ■

MILITARY-HISTORICAL CLUBS

LVIV
Silver Wolf
(Medieval Eastern Europe)

Black Galicia
(Medieval Galicia)

KHMELYNYSKY
Schwyz Canton
(Canton of Schwyz in Switzerland)

SUMY
Asgard
(Medieval Europe)

KRAMATORSK
Bastard
(Polish knighthood, 15th century)

DNIPROPETROVSK
Ruskolan
(Golden Horde, 14th and 15th century)

VINNYTSIA
Krechet
(Rus, 12th through 14th century)

ZAPORIZHIA
DZhK
(Canton of Zug in Switzerland)

ZHYTOMYR
Golden Spur
(Medieval Europe)





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