

ACTIVISTS FACE A NEW WAVE
OF REPRESSION IN UKRAINE

JANUSZ BUGAJSKI ON WHO WILL USE THE
SNOWDEN CASE, AND HOW

JAMES SHERR ON RUSSIA'S
INFLUENCE ABROAD

international edition
The Ukrainian Week

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PUTIN'S "SOFT POWER" IN UKRAINE FAILS HIS EXPECTATIONS



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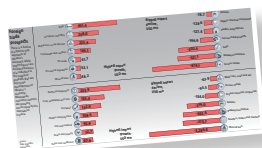
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ТИЖДЕНЬ

17-31 July



Russian Maritime Border Guard sinks Ukrainian fishing boat in the Sea of Azov. The official explanation is that they took it for an illegal fishing boat. Four Ukrainians died, one is in the hospital. According to some sources, the Russians were shooting with machine guns



Pavlo Lapshyn, a Ukrainian suspected of bombing mosques, is arrested in Great Britain. He is facing terrorism charges

Viktor Yanukovych signs the anti-offshore deal with Cyprus and the law on promissory notes

Deactivation

Author:
Valeria Burlakova

In the last few weeks, there has been a significant increase in attacks on civil activists and relevant criminal cases. All of this has the appearance of single-minded repression, the purpose of which, obviously, is to

intimidate them as well as those who would potentially wish to stand up for their rights or join the ranks of an organized protest movement. Several weeks ago, criminal proceedings were initiated against Kostiantyn Latsyba

and his brother Maksym, activists of the Democratic Alliance organization, which has picketed Mezhyhiria. They have been accused of larceny. Investigators claimed that the brothers' car, which had been seen near the Yanukovych residents on several occasions, was allegedly seen on the site of two crimes and therefore served as grounds for the initiation of a criminal case. At the same time, according to the brothers, the police did not even comply with legislative procedures. "We did not receive any summons. Investigators phone us, demanding that we come by for a 'chat'". Maksym told *The Ukrainian Week* that "Investigators from various regions tell one and the same story of robberies, as if they had learned it by heart."

Towards the end of May, Svoboda and UDAR conducted a peaceful subotnyk (voluntary work on days off) at the Victory Park in Brovary. Its purpose was to dismantle a fence in an area, which, according to information they had received, was allegedly designated for privatization by entities connected to Azarov's masseur, but after a series of protests, the city council was forced to postpone the attempt to force this decision through. However, immediately after said protests, three of its most active participants — Oleh Shevchuk, Ruslan Tkachenko and Mykola Smirnov — were specifically charged with "shouting discordant slogans, against what they saw as the illegal actions of the police" and "damaging part of the fence" and as a preventative measure, based on a decision of the court, these men who had



PHOTO: UNIAN

The month in history

26 July 1943

30 July 1863

1 August 1793



Mick Jagger, British rock musician, lead vocalist of The Rolling Stones, is born



The Valuyev Circular is issued banning educational and religious publications in Ukrainian



France introduces the metric system of weights and measures, which subsequently becomes the international standard



The UN Human Rights Committee criticizes politically motivated persecution in Ukraine and calls on Ukraine to prevent the fueling of hatred towards minorities, especially Roma people, Jehovah's Witnesses and Crimean Tatars

Oleksandr Bartenev, Mayor of Feodosia, Crimea, is murdered. At least five city mayors were killed in Ukraine since 2010. According to the police, two of them committed suicide



The US Court convicts Wikileaks informer Bradley Manning of espionage

Russian authorities reject the registration of the Ukrainian Congress in Russia for the second time

never been prosecuted in the past, have jobs, good records and small children, spent nearly a month under house arrest. As a result, they all lost their jobs. This serious punishment (their lawyers feel that in this situation fines would be sufficient reimbursement for the damaged fence) will merely confirm that the authorities attempt to intimidate activists.

On July 21, Oleh Bohdanov, an activist of the Dorozhnyi Kontrol (Road Control) organization, the purpose of which is to fight against violations by road police, was severely beaten. The victim was diagnosed with internal head injuries, concussion, a broken nose and jaw. Literally a couple of hours after the attack on Oleh Bohdanov, another activist of the movement, Fedir Dobritsa, was beaten in Mariupol.

On the eve of the visit to Ukraine of Patriarch Kirill of the Russian Orthodox Church, Viktor Sviatskiy, an ideologist of the Femen women's movement, was brutally beaten. Hanna Hutsol, one of its leaders, was then beaten, as was a photographer, who happened to be with Femen at that time. They blame this on special service employees who, according to them, have long shadowed the movement's members, and beat them to hamper Femen's protest against Kirill's visit.

On July 25, on the eve of the visit of Yanukovich and Putin to Sevastopol, people dressed in civilian clothes beat Oleksandr Kirnos of the local Svoboda branch, before taking him to the local police station. The young man was denied access to law-

yers and family members for almost two days. It later appeared that the police had "found" a gun he allegedly had. Law enforcement officers had already visited the young man prior to this detention, demanding that he stopped drawing "a person who looks like the president" with a stain on his forehead on the walls of the city. Volodymyr Nykonenko from Sumy was sentenced to a year in prison for the drawing of such an image earlier.

Of course, law enforcement officers and the SBU (Security Service) reject accusations of the beating of activists. There is also no evidence of the involvement of highly placed law enforcement officials in the May attacks against participants in civil protests. At that time, "athletes" beat up the head of the Solomianskiy District Svoboda youth organization, Volodymyr Nazarenko, non-party activist Yevhen Matsko and Yevhen, the brother of Svoboda member Volodymyr Karas. "Did you have enough protests?" attackers asked the latter.

Psychological pressure and intimidation of activists' family members is taking place, with the latter being dismissed from work. Bohdan Tytskiy, a Black Committee activist from Kyiv, stated that during the night, unknown persons used his mobile phone to send a message to his mother, saying: "Don't hold anything against me and don't blame anyone for my death. I have serious problems." Toma Shevchuk, a young artist who protected Hostynny Dvir in Kyiv from destruction and participated in a protest against police

self-will, came across a similar situation. On the evening of July 25 the girl's mother was phoned from an undetermined telephone by unknown persons, saying that heavy decorations had fallen on her daughter at work. They recommended for her to go to the hospital to say her final farewells to her daughter.

In Druzhkivka in Donetsk Oblast, pressure was put on a leader and two activists, participating in the organization of a meeting to protest the increase of utility tariffs. The former was threatened with a criminal case for physical violence against the local authorities, one activist was dismissed from work and attempts are being made to fine the other, with no explanation given regarding the violation for which she is being fined.

Information on different methods of intimidation against activists comes largely from Kyiv and south-eastern oblasts.

The increase in the number of reported repressions and the widening of their geography could signal that representatives of local authorities and law enforcement agencies have received orders to control protest movements. However, the experience of rebellious populated areas (Semypolky in Kyiv Oblast, where a local tyrannical police officer was killed, Vradiyivka in Mykolayiv Oblast, etc.) shows that counting on force to quash protest dispositions without resolving the reasons that have caused them, merely increases the overall tension between the government and society, thus preparing the ground for a wider-scale social explosion, should relevant grounds emerge. ■

3 August 1903

The short-lived independence of the Krušev Republic, one of the first Balkan republics, is declared during the anti-Ottoman Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising



4 August 1783

The Georgian Treaty is signed, making Georgia a protectorate of the Russian Empire and giving the latter supreme power over the united Kingdom of Georgia

5 August 1903



Borys Hmyria, Ukrainian opera and chamber singer is born. UNESCO recognized his bass voice as a unique phenomenon that belongs to the world cultural heritage

7 August 1918



The Ukrainian State and the Don Host Oblast sign a border treaty

Mission: Impossible

The celebration of 1025 years of the christening of Kyiv Rus sums up the failure of Russia's religious expansion in Ukraine headed by Patriarch Kirill

Author:
Andriy
Skumin



PHOTO: SERGEY STAROSTENKO

On January 27, 2009, the Russian Orthodox Church Council elected Kirill as the Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus. He was much younger and more ambitious than his predecessor, Alexy II. During his first months as Patriarch, Kirill disclosed the concepts of the church's Russian World that was planned as an effective tool to consolidate a slew of post-Soviet states, given their sluggish political integration into the Kremlin's neo-imperial projects. Over the four years since then, however, this "spiritual" expansion with a clear political background has fueled the opposite reaction in the countries Kirill had targeted.

FORCE EQUALS COUNTER FORCE

The establishment of metropolitan districts and appointment of a new top church hierarchy in Central Asia that was initiated by Kirill, has led

to a conflict with the leaders of a number of Central Asian states. As a result, the governments of Uzbekistan and Kirgizia, who had been very loyal to the Moscow Patriarchate, did not allow Kirill to visit their states in 2011 when celebrating the 140th anniversary of the Tashkent Eparchy. The fact that the Patriarch ignored their governments when appointing church hierarchs was clearly one of the reasons. Kirill's attempts to remove Volodymyr, the Metropolitan of the Chişinău and all Moldova Church, called forth a negative reaction from the Moldovan government. In 2011, it limited the term and scope of his visit to Moldova, not allowing him to visit the major parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church. Kirill's ambitions and intolerance have fueled conflicts with the leaders of other Orthodox patriarchates. Notably, no one from the Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Greek,

Alban and American Churches attended the celebration of his 65th birthday.

His biggest failure is Ukraine, where, according to expert estimates, most followers of the Moscow Patriarchate live. If all Ukrainian churches united into one, it could become the biggest Orthodox Church in the world. Kirill had ambitions to accomplish the goal in Ukraine that Vladimir Putin failed to reach in politics, i.e. to drag it into the Russian World, starting with the Church. He even pledged to move to Kyiv and get Ukrainian citizenship. His visits revealed more and more political motivation, aiming to prove the traditional imperial myth that two nations that "emerged from one baptismal font" must share a common civilization future.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE...

Given that the Eurasian vector of Ukraine's economic integration

cannot compete with the European one, the ideological, religious and civilization argument became one of the key warnings against Ukraine's integration with the "mentally alien" Europe. However, there has been no signal of the efficiency of Kirill's proposal over the past four years. The number of Russian Orthodox Church followers in Ukraine remains unchanged; no civil initiative to support the Russian World has emerged voluntarily, without the ambition to feed on financial assistance from Russia; and all surveys show growing approval for Ukraine's European integration rather than one with the Russian World. Moreover, internal conflicts now torment the Ukrainian part of the Russian World. For instance, Odesa met the 1025th anniversary of the christening of Kyiv Rus with a conflict between the groups of Ihor Markov and Serhiy Kivalov over the construction of a church-based school. One of the key promoters of the Russian World in Ukraine, the Metropolitan of Odesa and Ismail, Agafangel, supported Kivalov and said that Ihor Markov has been possessed by devils.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate considers itself to be an autonomous Church. The Russian Church failed to override this when Metropolitan Volodymyr of Kyiv and All Ukraine was sick. Once recovered, he gradually revived his status in the Church, and once again drew Archbishop Oleksandr (Drabynko) who is believed to be the Volodymyr's right hand and one of the leaders of the moderate pro-Ukrainian wing of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, back to his side. Before Kirill visited Ukraine, Filaret, the leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate, and Metropolitan Volodymyr embraced and spoke briefly in public at the Grand and Great Art Exhibition at Art Arsenal. "We believe and are convinced that the Kyiv and Moscow Patriarchates will unite into one local Orthodox Church," Filaret commented on this meeting. Since any public moves of the top hierarchy of the Church are highly formalized, this was hardly an incidental or a spontaneous meeting. Notably, Patriarch Filaret has lately spoken positively of Metropolitan Volodymyr and the pro-Ukrainian wing

of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Yanukovych is also distancing himself from giving the maximum support to Kirill that he provided in the first year of his presidency. At first sight, the Ukrainian government demonstrated loyalty during the Patriarch's latest visit by preventing Femen's naked protest and massive security measures when Kirill's train arrived at the Kyiv railway station. However, Yanukovych made an ambiguous statement in his speech at the celebration that could be interpreted as a hint at the fact that Moscow should not use the Church for political purposes. "All churches and religious organizations are equal for the state. We respect the choice of our citizens and guarantee everyone's Constitutional right to freedom of religion. We will not allow the use of churches and religious organizations by some political forces for their narrow interests. This also refers to foreign centres through which religious organiza-

cis' sermon on the World Youth Day in Brazil. It was in Ukraine that the holiness of Patriarch Kirill and the top hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, was first compromised by facts. During his 2009 visit to Kyiv, Ukrainian journalists took pictures of Kirill wearing a USD 30,000 Breguet watch, although he had taken monastic vows, turning his back on the consumer society on April 3, 1969. In 2012, another scandal surfaced after Lidia Leonova sued Russia's ex-Minister of Health Care, a priest from the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, Yuriy Shevchenko. It then emerged that Kirill owned a luxury apartment in Moscow which is a direct violation of the Council of Constantinople's rules regarding the property that monks can own. Kirill's insistence on the jailing of several Pussy Riot members who had young children also hit his reputation hard. Eventually, the women got long terms in prison. This and a slew of other scandals resulted in an unprecedented level of distrust in Patriarch Kirill in Russia, with the level of trust in him personally plummeting far below that of the Church he heads. According to a survey by the Public Opinion Foundation, 64% of Russians trusted the Russian Orthodox Church and only 56% trusted Kirill.

Kirill's attempt to use political Orthodoxy for Russian expansion in Ukraine has failed, further discrediting and undermining the influence of the Moscow Patriarchate in society. As generations of Moscow Patriarchate believers in Ukraine shift, the younger wave of parishioners is increasingly seeing the Russian Orthodox Church as being alien to them. This mental process will reinforce the stance of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate and restrict opportunities to use the Church as a tool of Russia's influence in Ukraine. The experience of Kirill's failed geopolitical mission has proved that using the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine for Moscow's neo-imperial purposes is wasted money, just like all other Russian "compatriot campaigns" that have failed to deliver the result sought by the Kremlin or drag Ukraine into its initiatives. Ultimately, this proves once again that Ukraine is not Russia even with the pro-Kremlin Yanukovych and Party of Regions in power. ■

THE ATTEMPT TO USE POLITICAL ORTHODOXY FOR RUSSIAN EXPANSION IN UKRAINE HAS FURTHER DISCREDITED AND UNDERMINED THE INFLUENCE OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE IN SOCIETY

tions sometimes seek to affect the internal political situation in Ukraine. This is a matter of the state's national security," he said. Meanwhile, the leaders of just one neighbouring state seek to use religious organizations and hand out awards for good performance to its hierarchs in Ukraine. For example, Vladimir Putin once again presented state awards to the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. Six metropolitans received the Order of Friendship.

However, Kirill's biggest defeat is the fact that Ukrainian society does not accept him. Photos from his previous meetings with people were photoshopped to add the visitors. This time, few people actually took note of his visit, despite the fact that streets were closed and an extensive promotion campaign preceded it. In contrast, over 2 million Catholics came to hear Pope Fran-

Caught in a Zeitnot

Developments in Ukraine and the lack of effect from the standard techniques of the Russian World have unnerved Vladimir Putin. This may push the Kremlin to radical steps to disrupt the signing of the Association Agreement and DCFTA with the EU and to eliminate the threat of a possible shift in Ukraine's foreign policy after the 2015 presidential election

Vladimir Putin's recent visit to Ukraine to celebrate the anniversary of the christening of Kyiv Rus and Navy Day, showed that Russia's President is concerned about the situation in Ukraine. There is little time left before the presidential election and the launch of the Eurasian Union in 2015, as well as the looming prospect of the Association Agreement with the EU in November, which adds pressure.

Some experts in Ukraine assume that Putin's new stance is to reinforce ideological influence and keep Ukraine in the Russian World, even if he has to let go of Kyiv in terms of trade and economics. His messages in Ukraine are indeed generously flavoured with rhetoric about "unbreakable" blood and spiritual bonds. He mentioned this at the Russian and Ukrainian Navy parade in Sevastopol, which he visited with Viktor Yanukovich, referring to the "strength of and devotion to the fundamentals of our predecessors who lived, worked and protected their common Motherland together for centuries and made it powerful, great and undefeated... We share common roots, culture and religion. Our blood and spiritual bonds are unbreakable." Similar messages were expressed during religious ceremonies. However, they are nothing new in the Russian rhetoric of the past few years.

Putin's speech at the Orthodox Slavic Values – the Foundation of Ukraine's Civilization Choice Conference, organized by Viktor Medvedchuk, fueled diverse reactions from observers and experts. Notably, Putin only spoke to Yanukovich for 15 minutes, giving preference to Medvedchuk, the father of his god-daughter. It appears that Putin was

Author:
Oleksandr
Kramar

forced to stoop so low as Medvedchuk's Ukrainian Choice because there is no other alternative in Ukraine today. The failure of various Russian blocks and movements, and the collapse of the Church Russian World led by Patriarch Kirill (see p.6) that has been more and more evident of late, have left Putin with significantly less space and time to maneuver. At the moment, he can only rely on the Communists who have zero prospects in Ukraine or the loyal Viktor Medvedchuk, a notorious Chief of Staff during the Kuchma presidency, and his Ukrai-

nian Choice (see **Kremlin-Imposed "Ukrainian Choice" at ukrainianweek.com**). No matter what, Putin is no longer content with Yanukovich as his vassal in the gubernia that should be part of the Eurasian Union, since the latter seems to have realized the danger of closer integration with the Kremlin for his "estate". However, Yanukovich's potential loss of power in 2015 is of even greater concern.

The Family realizes that following the Russian model is its only chance to rapidly build a business empire that is equal to, or larger



than that of its friend Akhmetov. Given the experience of the past three years, “Yanukovych’s Ukraine” is open to humanitarian expansion from the East, the inevitable russification of Ukraine’s cultural and media space, and the evolution of Ukraine’s socio-economic and socio-political models in line with the Russian mould. But it will not cede its own interests, which are completely focused on the rapid expansion of its business empire, something that would be an integral part of Ukraine’s integration into the Kremlin’s neo-imperial projects.

Meanwhile, Putin has once again made it clear that he will not be content with just a loyal state – even a satellite. Instead, he seeks to completely eliminate the aftermaths of “the biggest geopolitical disaster of the 20th century” – the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of an independent Ukraine. Only people like Viktor Medvedchuk who is considered to have pushed Kuchma to consent to integration in the Common Economic Space at the end of his presidency in 2003, can liquidate this “abnormality” “which is not even a state” (as Putin put it in a conversation with George W. Bush in Bucharest in 2008). So far,

though, Medvedchuk seems to be too weak to affect 2015 developments in Ukraine, let alone seriously contribute to the disruption of the Association Agreement signing in November.

All this puts Moscow under time pressure. Indeed, the Association Agreement will not come into effect until ratified by all 28 EU member-

the Party of Regions and Yanukovych. Ukrainian-Russian media are now fueling tension by presenting everything negatively, from the decisions and actions of the government, to social processes, trends and developments. It’s possible that Putin is counting on a potential political vacuum in a number of southeastern regions that are currently under the total control of pro-Russian Regionaires. This is a likely scenario, if mass protests force Yanukovych to quit, as in the 2004, or if he loses the race to any of the pro-European opposition leaders. Moscow already faced the huge risk of losing its influence over Ukraine for good in 2008 when the Ukrainian government applied for NATO’s Membership Action Plan. Apparently, it is preparing to respond to a similar threat after the 2015 election.

The risks for Ukraine in this situation are aggravated by the fact that the Yanukovych regime does not view it as a fully-fledged sovereign state and ignores national security. This is evident from appointments to law enforcement authorities and special services, where many generals who are openly pro-Russian, now serve. Therefore, it will hardly be likely to develop an effective strategy to resist the possible special operations of Ukraine’s “strategic partner” as the Vilnius Summit and the presidential election draw closer.

Ukraine as a state is only valuable to the Family if it maintains power. This is why the regime will not develop any preventive measures for external scenarios that could hurt the country. It appears that Yanukovych still believes that the loss of power in 2004 was a coincidence, a lack of preparedness for extreme scenarios and the betrayal of Kuchma. Therefore, he may be confident of his ability to keep everything under control in 2015. For this reason, the government is instead developing preventive measures to internal threats, by trying to curb protest movements and appointing loyal people to offices which have a direct influence on the outcome of the presidential election. Meanwhile, it is turning a blind eye to external threats. It looks like Putin and pro-Russian forces in Ukraine, including those inside the Party of Regions, are preparing to use Yanukovych’s limitations and shortsightedness for their own benefit. ■

THE RISKS FOR UKRAINE ARE AGGRAVATED BY THE FACT THAT THE YANUKOVYCH REGIME DOES NOT VIEW IT AS A FULLY-FLEDGED SOVEREIGN STATE AND IGNORES NATIONAL SECURITY

states – and this could take years, especially if hampered by the Kremlin’s lobby in Europe. However, the DCFTA as the economic part of the Association Agreement will come into effect immediately after signing and will be able to block Ukraine’s integration in the Customs and Eurasian Unions.

Therefore, there is every reason to expect a surprise or two from the Kremlin before the Vilnius Summit in November. Similar things have occurred before when some events in foreign or internal policy threatened the Kremlin’s stability (see the interview with James Sherr on p. 14). For instance, a scandal similar to the alleged sale of Ukrainian Kolchuga ESM systems to Iraq that ruined Kuchma’s relations with the West at the dawn of Putin’s political career and his reintegration projects in the FSU. Or a new wave of mudslinging against the Ukrainian government, this time bigger in terms of media coverage and with a stronger focus on Western politicians in order to ultimately convince the EU of the criminal nature of the Yanukovych regime and that the Association Agreement should not be signed with Ukraine.

Meanwhile, projects like the Ukrainian Choice or media holdings created to spread the word on the Kremlin’s orders, are apparently created specifically for the 2015 presidential race. They are probably supposed to expand the pro-Russian electorate in Ukraine, stealing it mainly from the former electorate of



PHOTO: UNIAN

US Ambassador John Tefft:

“I am going to come back. You will see me here.”



Interviewer: Hanna Trehub

Photo: Oleksandr Chekmeniov

The office of the US Ambassador in Ukraine does not look like a place that will soon have a new host. A unique collection of hats from all over the world hangs on the walls and behind the desk. John Tefft whose tenure expires in July collected them half of his life. An experienced American diplomat and expert on Europe, Eurasia and FSU from the Baltic States to Georgia, Ambassador Tefft looks nothing like a depersonalised, emphatically detached representative of his country abroad. Quite on the contrary, he is a friendly and optimistic Ambassador who does care about the problems of the host country.

Before the end of his mission to Ukraine, *The Ukrainian Week* talks to Ambassador John Tefft about the place of Ukraine in the US current foreign policy, the reform of Ukraine's energy sector and solutions to intellectual piracy.

UW: How would you assess political situation in Ukraine from the perspective of four years as Ambassador here? How seriously do American politicians treat Kyiv's intentions to draw closer to the EU?

First of all, my perspective is 22 years. I worked on the Soviet Desk from 1983 to 1986, and also from 1989 to 1992. I can say honestly that I have been working on the American-Ukrainian relations very seriously from the very beginning.

I think that Ukraine can succeed in building a transparent and

democratic government. One of the great things it has today is its dynamic civil society, and the fact that the country is open, its people are critical and criticize the government. It's part of democracy. Ukraine is building a market economy, although it still has a long way to go in terms of transparency and attraction of foreign investment which is critical to this country. It also has much to do in building the rule of law that will protect everyone, with every citizen being equal before the law.

We have been working on reforms in all of these areas but I will just mention efforts on the rule of law. We have helped Ukraine write and supported the Criminal Procedure Code and are now working on the law on the Prosecutor's Office with the government. We believe that getting these right – the modern documents that are consistent with the EU – is a fundamental cornerstone of the state.

The answer to the second part of your question is that I believe, and the US Government believes, that Ukraine is a part of Europe, an important country in the centre of Europe. If you look at history, every epoch of European history is reflected here. The EU has recognized that. We've been trying to be supportive in the fulfillment of the EU's criteria by Ukraine, as well as in the larger process by which Ukraine will become an Associate Member. We hope that this will happen in November.

UW: The new foreign affairs agenda of the US focuses on Asia-Pacific as one of the top priorities. How can this shift change the place of Ukraine in the architecture of the White House's foreign policy?

The emphasis on Asia-Pacific should be understood in a context. Our former Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta, talked about greater emphasis on this. But at the same time he and Secretary Hillary Clinton were both very clear that we are not abandoning our positions in Europe. Look at where John Kerry travelled the most in his first six months as Secretary of State – Europe! And not just Europe for the sake of Europe, but because Europe is our closest ally in working on the

solutions of any great problems in the world, such as Syria and other areas where we've worked jointly. We are in constant consultation. Personally, as an Atlanticist, I believe very strongly in that tie. Maybe I'm not as impartial as I should be but I think that one of the fundamental reasons for peace in Europe is the NATO Alliance and ties with our European friends. Of course, we've had fights and arguments but we still use it – and each of its members, including the US, understands that our world is a more peaceful and stable place as a result of it.

UW: Geoffrey Pyatt, the newly-appointed Ambassador, is known as an expert on Central Asia and India. What was the reason for his appointment as Ambassador to Ukraine?

Geoffrey Pyatt is one of our very best Foreign Service Officers, a professional. Indeed, he has spent the past few years on South and Central Asia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. But he also works on Central Asia, the countries that were parts of the Soviet Union. He has experience working on nuclear and energy issues. These are some of the fundamental issues he is going to work on here. I think one of the major changes that occurred during my tenure as Ambassador is the decision of the government to try bringing in foreign energy companies to drill for shale and offshore gas. Geoff is very much on top of all this. He is also very experienced in other parts of the world, including European affairs. Since he was nominated as Ambassador to Ukraine, he has been consulting Europe on the whole range of issues in Vienna, Stockholm and others. I think people should give him a chance and you will see that he'll be up to everything you would expect from an American Ambassador.

UW: Ukraine is known as No.1 in intellectual piracy. What has the US investigation found on this and what sanctions may be applied? Are Ukrainian authorities willing to cooperate with you to solve this?

There is a variety of countries that have serious problems with defending intellectual property. Ukraine was recently designated a

BIO

John F. Tefft served as Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to Ukraine from 2009 through 2013. Before this, he was Ambassador to Georgia (from 2005) and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs responsible for US relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. Mr. Tefft served as the US Ambassador to Lithuania from 2000 to 2003; Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Moscow from 1996 to 1999, and Charge d'Affaires in Russia from 1996 to 1997. His other Foreign Service assignments included Jerusalem, Budapest and Rome. From 1989 to 1992, Mr. Tefft was Deputy Director of the Office of Soviet Union (later Russian and CIS) Affairs.

priority foreign country under the Special 301 legislation that we have. The last time this happened in 2001, Ukraine lost its eligibility for customs benefits for exports to the US under the General System of Preferences. We are in a very close contact with the government of Ukraine. Literally, I just got off the telephone with Vice Prime Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko who is taking the lead in the work on these fundamental issues. We've announced that we are going to have an investigation at which the Ukrainian government can present its case. It was going to take place in September but it may be rescheduled. We have not made any final decisions on this. At the beginning of July, a Deputy US Trade Representative visited Ukraine. She talked to all of the key players and familiarized herself more with the specifics of the case.

There are problems with the government using pirated software on its computers. There are problems with pirated music, DVDs and computer software in society as a whole. There are also issues with payments to collection agencies for people who have intellectual property, so that the best singers in this country got a fair amount of money for their work as singers and filmmakers do throughout the rest of the world. All of these things will be looked at. We will be consulting carefully with the Ukrainian government about these issues as we go through this investigation.

UW: What is Washington's official stance on possible sanctions against Ukrainian

I CARE A LOT ABOUT HOW THIS COUNTRY TURNS OUT. I WILL DO ANYTHING I CAN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO HELP UKRAINE AND ENCOURAGE THE CHANGES

politicians and officials for scandalous violations of human rights – in cases against opposition representatives, among others?

Our official position is that we prefer direct engagement of the »

government. We have laid out our views very clearly on where we see violations of human rights and selective prosecution, as in cases of Mr. Lutsenko and Ms. Tymoshenko. We have said over and over again that she should be released and get medical treatment in Germany. The government knows our position. We're in very close cooperation with Messrs. Kox and Kwasniewski who are leading the EU parliamentary effort on this. At this point, we are not speculating about sanctions or visa restrictions. We hope that Ukraine will make the right decisions and get on track with some of these democratic principles that we believe, and we think Ukraine believes are important.

UW: Could you please comment on the revocation of the US multi-entry visa for the First Deputy Prosecutor General Renat Kuzmin. What pushed the US authorities to making this decision?

I can't go into a lot of details on this because under the US privacy law only he and the Counselor Officer are allowed to talk about this. Renat Kuzmin has gone public with it so we confirmed that his visa was revoked. He can apply for a new visa anytime he wishes to go to the US. But we will take into account the things that caused the revocation in the first place. There has been a lot of speculation on this in the newspapers while I am bound by the US law as a government official, so I can't speculate on this.

UW: Russia has been taking more and more repressive attacks against the opposition lately. Can the Magnitsky Act become a universal tool of human rights protection in this situation, or should any other leverage be devised?

I think you have seen that we've expressed our concerns about the government of Russia's actions over the last year, that restrict civil society and the freedom of expression and assembly, over and over again. The Magnitsky Act was adopted with regards to Russia, not as a general rule. There are some differences in Washington about that.

Some people in the Congress think that it should be more universal. But this is an issue of a higher level of decision-making than I'm involved in. I suspect that this will continue to be an issue of discussion within the US as we try to address human rights and our efforts to support them.

UW: At the very beginning of your cadence in Ukraine, you stated that its economic thriving depends on the energy reform. What moves have been taken in this domain, and what do you view as top priorities in upgrading Ukrainian energy sector?

We have worked very hard with the Cabinet of Ministers and the Verkhovna Rada during my time here to get the legislation enacted that would provide the guarantees, as well as legal and other requirements, that foreign companies need before they can come and invest into exploration. The government adopted these. It offered tenders to these companies and, to our happiness, Chevron won the tender for shale gas in Western Ukraine, Shell did in Eastern Ukraine and Exxon Mobile won the offshore gas exploration and extraction tender. The Shell's contracts is done and is already being implemented. The contract with Chevron is done and is being ratified by the local councils in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. The contract with Exxon Mobile is almost there; there are just a few things that need to be sorted out. This will help expand the exploration here. Most importantly, these are big international companies coming in who will bring in the most modern and environmentally safe technologies. I think that this can potentially change the future for Ukraine. My dream is to come back here in five or seven years and see Ukraine energy-independent. This will trigger huge change in different segments in this country. However, this process needs strong support. For shale gas, it is going to take five years to see whether there is actually this much gas down there. This exploration is very expensive. So, getting these contracts and implementing them right will be key.

PROACTIVE DIPLOMACY



Over four years as the US Ambassador to Ukraine, John Tefft has not just observed, but has publicly criticized the situation inside the country multiple times

"If presumption of innocence has any real meaning, government officials should find it unacceptable to express opinions and arguments about guilt of a person suspected of having committed a crime. Such

statements damage the suspect's reputation irreparably and automatically threaten the independence of any future verdict by the court."

"We make it clear to the Ukrainian government in private and in public that we call on it to immediately provide Ms. Tymoshenko with access to medical treatment. Another aspect of our message is repeated request to release Ms. Tymoshenko and other members of her former government, and renew their political and citizen rights to the full extent. By the way, I would like to underscore an important thing: this was not a statement of the Department of State Speaker, but of the State Secretary."

"I would like to make myself clear: I don't say that Ukraine has been defeated as a country or that it is in the process of a downfall. Quite on the contrary, it's a country with huge potential, both natural and human. But in order to realize all of its potential, Ukraine has to stop using extractive economy and politics and implement proper reforms. Ukraine has to take actions against raider attacks, total corruption, insufficient protection of physical and intellectual property, including unfair verdicts made by courts, and the huge gap between the income of the rich and the poor that continues to grow. I could continue on this. In short, the reform should change the playing rules in Ukraine if it is going to become a truly competitive country on the global market."

"The whole system should be changed because its current state is a serious obstacle to the attraction of investment."

UW: Could you share your plans with our readers? What are you going to do after your mission to Ukraine?

I haven't made any decision in terms of work yet. I will go back home, take a little time and see what is available. You can be confident that I will stay very interested in Ukraine. I spent most of my life in this part of the world. I have great emotional interest in Ukraine, in its people – I have many friends here. I tell them: "I am going to retire from the diplomatic service but I am not retiring from life." I am going to come back. I am not sure in how long this will be but you will see me here again. I care a lot about how this country turns out. I will do anything I can in the private sector to help Ukraine and encourage the changes and the development that I think the people of Ukraine want. ■

Why Should Ukrainians Care About Navalny?



Author:
Yuriy Makarov

One might wonder, “What’s all the excitement about? What does the Alexei Navalny case have to do with our lives here in Ukraine?”—and with good reason. Yes, he was jailed for opposing the Russian government, then he was released temporarily but will most likely go back. What’s surprising about this story? Of course, we’re sorry for the man but he is not our problem; don’t we have plenty of our own political prisoners?

First of all, we are impressed by his courage in daring to challenge the system – so impressed that we are nearly willing to turn a blind eye to his personal motivations. Courage is courage. Do we have anyone as principled as Navalny among our current opposition leaders?

Second, Ukrainians are intrigued to see parallels between Russia and Ukraine. It is a common belief that the Bankova spin-doctors consistently mimic their Kremlin colleagues, and the latter keep a close eye on what is going on in the territories it used to control. Yet the precedent of another opposition activist in prison has a cumulative effect on the whole post-Soviet sphere. It all looks like a long-distance dialogue between dictators: “Can we get away with that? –Yes we can. And that? –That too. What about that? –You name it, we can do it.”

The third thing is the similarity of backgrounds. Monopolized asset grabbing by the ruling class is as much a problem for Russia as it is for Ukraine. Russia seems to have no civil society. Nor does it appear to have any parliamentary or systemic opposition whatsoever. It seems to have wasted all of the protest energy of the “creative class” as soon as it erupted, giving the current leader his unflinching 55% as long as oil prices remain high and stable. Then out of the blue, Russia shows that a comprehensible, mature and reasonable civil initiative is possible there. Many people voluntarily support this initiative organizationally and financially. It has no hidden motives other than perhaps the leader’s political ambitions – and these are substantial (some have speculated about exotic scenarios of plans to replace Putin with Navalny. This may sound insane but the mere existence of the rumour speaks loudly). In other words, the feeling of trust has suddenly sprouted in a limited segment in the country that seems to barely have any social capital. This is exactly what Ukrainians lack critically – initiative and trust.

Clearly, Navalny is not a democrat. He was once scandalously kicked out of the rightist-liberal Yabloko party for using “politically incorrect expressions”. Na-

valny is a nationalist. He does not care for “black asses” (a derogatory Russian slang word most often used in reference to immigrants from the Caucasus region – **Ed.**) and has been struggling to hide this ever since he became a public figure, a politician at the federal level and one of Foreign Policy’s Top 100 Global Thinkers. However, Russia’s real problem is that any purely liberal project is impossible there at the moment – and will hardly become an option in the foreseeable future. Russia skipped the nationalism phase while chasing illusionary roles as the “bulwark of Orthodoxy”, the “avant-garde of communism”, and most recently, ruler of the “Russian World”. Now, some of its respected politicians are playing with the word “nationalism” in various senses. The dominating and undeniable element of all these senses is that the state should serve and protect its people rather than struggle to conquer Ukraine, Mongolia, India, Constantinople, and others. In this sense, nationalism is quite the opposite of imperialistic chauvinism, although the two ideologies do share some defining points.

I offer you this quote by the popular Russian writer Dmitri Bykov, speaking of an irreconcilable ideological opponent and nationalist: “But this man

had a chance of evolving, and I had something to debate with him about. While boys whom I encountered from time to time [...] admitted openly that they had no ideals, just a desire to integrate themselves into the hierarchy, [...] they

rule out dialogue because they are creatures from a different world, I actually fear them...

These are people for whom the ideological element of life does not exist. They are living corpses, androids, aliens, if you will. But there is a solid difference between a person I find disgusting and an alien I don’t understand. This person has a notion of good and evil, up and down... I find this disgusting but I can understand it.”

A subjective truth is better than no truth at all. Russia’s current imperialist leaders—including its national chief—seem to believe in none of this. For them, doctrine is simultaneously an instrument for amassing wealth and also a way to communicate with the most conservative electorate. We’ve seen this before.

This is what makes the Navalny incident important for Ukraine. I hope that Ukraine has not yet lost its chance at pursuing a liberal project. It will require trust as well as strong personalities, which we currently lack. However, we ought to look for role models in places where such projects have already succeeded. ■

**YET ANOTHER OPPOSITION
ACTIVIST IN PRISON
HAS A CUMULATIVE EFFECT
ON THE WHOLE POST-SOVIET
SPHERE**

James Sherr:

“People governing Ukraine are not going to get it closer to Europe, and Russia is taking a full advantage of this”

While it has almost lost the power to dictate its policy to Central European countries, Moscow retains significant influence on the post-Soviet territory. Chatham House's James Sherr is an expert on international security of Ukraine and Russia, as well as other post-communist countries. His insight into his subject is critical and professionally respectful, something typical of former sovietologists. Some in London claim that British politicians listen to his expert opinion, while he blames Western officials for having no “strategic thinking” when it comes to policies regarding Russia, Ukraine and other Eastern European countries.

The Ukrainian Week talks to James Sherr in London about his new book *Hard Diplomacy and Soft Coercion: Russia's Influence Abroad*.

UW: Can you say that Russia is now a proper member of G8?

The illusion that Russia is a member of the Western club is dying a very slow death. Within the past ten years and more, Moscow has never pretended to be a member of the Western club. Russia, in its own view, is a sovereign democracy, a great power with its own specific scheme of regional and global interests. It is a country that knows its interests and pursues them. Syria is an example of the case where Russian interests and Western interests do not easily coincide. Russia has one overriding interest in Syria which is not the same as the western interests by definition. This interest is to ensure that there is no repetition of what happened in Libya and in many other places,

Interviewer:
Bohdan Tsiupyn,
London



that there is no regime change by external means. Russia is determined to preserve Assad's regime in whole or in part. If there is to be turmoil as a result, Russia might not like it, any more than we do, but it is prepared to live with it.

U.W.: Do you think that Western values are incompatible with the Russian ones and Russia will never be a normal state which we were hoping to see when Yeltsin was in power?

As for the first question, they are not entirely incompatible, but certainly, even before Putin came to power, Russians, even Yeltsin at times, were emphasizing repeatedly Russia's own distinctiveness, its distinctive historical experience, its distinctive approach and equality, meaning the right to define values and standards for itself. And under Putin, this view has become backed by power and capacity. In itself, there is nothing wrong or threatening about this. The question is how Russia defines itself.

As for your second question, first of all, in Russia it has never been easy to separate the nation, the state and the empire. Imperial Russia, unlike Britain in the 19th century, did not possess an empire overseas, though it was an empire. Russia is a multiethnic state. Even after the Soviet Union broke up, there still over a hundred recognized nationalities in

the Russian Federation. So Russia can be a unitary state. But Putin and the establishment in Russia are quite resolved that it cannot be a nation-state on the model of, say, Denmark, France or Germany, or even Britain.

UW: Ukraine is divided in its opinion about the role of Russia towards Ukraine, whether it is supportive and friendly towards Ukraine or has only destabilizing influence. What is your opinion on the influence of Russia on Ukraine?

Russia cannot divorce friendly relations in Ukraine from brotherly relations and defines one with the other. The brotherly relations stem for the conviction that then President Medvedev put very clearly in his address to President [Viktor] Yushchenko back in 2009, in which he referred to many aspects of Ukraine's own capacity, its energy system and economic policy, as things that should be joint. In this Russian conception, all the key features that make one country truly independent of another are seen in Russia as aspects of policy that should be worked out in coordination. And this certainly applies to the whole issue of Ukraine's relationship with the European Union.

The Russian position is, first, that the Ukrainians are a branch of the Russian people - as are Byelorussians; that it is part of greater Russian civilization, that this entire area

“If some people imagine that from the day the Association Agreement is signed, Ukraine's position becomes progressively more secure and better, they might have a very rude shock”

is tied together by history and culture; that its economies used to be interdependent and integrated, and that it's only natural for these commonalities to be strengthened, and for integration to proceed according to this model, and that the decoupling of Ukraine from this Russian World is, first of all, artificial as there is no historical precedent for it, that it cannot possibly succeed and that it would be damaging both to Ukraine and to Russia. In my opinion, these views are held well across the entire Russian political spectrum both by people who support Putin, the current system and the current power structure and by people who deeply dislike it.

So today there is an argument in Russia as to whether the Eurasian Union should go forward and Russia should be getting closer, say, to the Central Asia countries and countries of the South Caucasus. There is no real argument as to whether Russia and Ukraine belong together. The overwhelming majority of people from all the parts of the political spectrum believe that they do belong together.

The challenge presented by the Orange Revolution to Moscow when it occurred was well understood to Moscow. If Ukraine actually succeeded in adopting according to a completely different European conception in the 21st-century sense of that - the sense of the EU-based norms, standards, system of governance, system of law, business culture, and all the rest of it - this would have to raise the most radical and fundamental questions inside Russia itself about why Russia should not be doing the same.

Much of the entire basis of legitimacy of the current system in Russia would have been undermined because the current system in Russia is based on the principle that it is distinctive, meets Russian needs, arises out of civilizational experience and Ukraine is part of this experience. If Ukraine can live in some other way as a normal European state, why Russia can't?

This is why, for Russia's governing elite the idea of Ukraine joining the European Union or having a privileged relationship with it, such as by means of an Association Agreement, is very threatening, because it affects the security of the regime at home. To make a bigger point, the overarching objective of Russian policy today, in my view, is to create

"The Kremlin does not want your country to join the West. They want Ukraine to integrate with Russia in some way, first through the Customs Union and then through the Eurasian Union. But they don't invest the same degree of thinking or energy in working out how that should actually take place and what form it will take"

the conditions in Russia's neighbourhood and in the world that are most conducive to maintaining and prolonging the system of governance in Russia itself.

If a country like Ukraine, which is so central to Russia's own sense of itself and its identity, were to adopt a different model and path, and succeed at it, that would have very profound and possibly revolutionary consequences for Russia. Therefore, in my view, Russia will exercise all means at its disposal to ensure that this doesn't happen.

UW: Do Western policymakers understand what policy they should be exercising towards Ukraine in view of the Russian factor?

One qualification first: Russia today has a clearer understanding of what it does not want than of what it does want. If you take the example of Syria, I'll just tell you what Russia does not want. But if you ask people, what is their broader conception if they achieve this, what is going to happen in that region and in that space, you might find that they haven't thought very seriously about this.

As for Ukraine, they know they

There is an integrationist bias in all the EU's relations with foreign states. You can even say in some respects that the European Commission, once it's on its tracks, runs on autopilot. So it is a formidable machine, once it gets going, but the people who empower that machine - the national governments of the EU and the European Council - do not necessarily think strategically about what motivates Russia's policy, what Russia might do if Ukraine does not get the Association Agreement signed in Vilnius in November or if it does get the Association Agreement signed in November.

These are subjects that some people discuss and some people do not. There is no unified view about these things. So it's very hard, beyond the mechanics of this process of integration to get you to think strategically about what is happening in what we call the common neighbourhood between the EU and Russia.

So if you were to raise the question, who in Brussels or in the EU is thinking about how Russia will react if the Association Agreement with Ukraine, or for that matter Moldova, is signed in Vilnius in November, my answer would be: "Possibly, nobody."

UW: Štefan Füle? This is his job...

Yes, but he is not a political figure and I'm not sure to what extent he is thinking about it. This has not been a big subject of discussion. But I believe we need to think about this.

Let me give you an ominous analogy. In April 2008, NATO had a summit in Bucharest and came up with the formula that Ukraine and Georgia will become members of NATO. This had a major effect on Russia's whole cycle of thinking and planning. Our recognition of Kosovo's independence was clearly a factor in repelling Russia on the course which led to war in Georgia in August that year.

If the EU signs an Association Agreement with Ukraine, the Russians will interpret this as the beginning of Ukraine's integration into the EU ending with membership. Because of the huge stakes attached to Ukraine not moving into the EU's orbit, which would mean Russia losing influence and losing the ability to guide Ukraine, its policy, trajectory, and economy, there will almost inescapably be pressure in Moscow to respond and try to derail this pro-

PEOPLE GOVERNING UKRAINE TODAY WILL SUPPORT ANY REFORM THAT DOES NOT IMPINGE UPON THEIR ABILITY TO EXERCISE THE POWER AND MAINTAIN THE WEALTH

"The worry that should exist in Kyiv and Brussels is how Russians might derail the process of the Association Agreement signing, particularly given the present condition of Ukraine, its vulnerabilities, its strained internal situation, its divisions, the presence and influence of economic interests in the country closely bound to Russia, intelligence services, the Black Sea fleet in Crimea, and so on and so forth"

don't want the country to join the West. They know that they want Ukraine to integrate with Russia in some way, first through the Customs Union and then through the Eurasian Union. But they don't invest the same degree of thinking or energy in working out how that is actually to take place and what form it will take. These are secondary considerations. But when the Russians do want something or they decide they don't want something, they approach that objective in a very focused, disciplined and strategic way.

The West is a very broad notion. The EU and the European Commission are very methodical in achieving certain things. There is a mechanism for association and integration, there is an almost automaticity in its approach to integration and relations.

cess. The worry that should exist in Kyiv and Brussels is how they might derail it particularly given the present condition of Ukraine, its vulnerabilities, its strained internal situation, its divisions, the presence and influence of economic interests in the country closely bound to Russia, intelligence services, the Black Sea fleet in Crimea, and so on and so forth. If some people imagine that from the day the Association Agreement is signed, Ukraine's position becomes progressively more secure and better, they might have a very rude shock.

UW: What should be done then?

I will restate about the EU what I stated a long time ago about Ukraine and NATO. The time for Ukraine to have an Association Agreement with the EU (and it certainly would apply to Ukraine ultimately joining the EU) is when such a step actually strengthens Ukraine and the EU, and not before. That presupposes that Ukraine should already be transforming itself successfully to be able to profitably benefit very quickly from the advantages of closer integration. Today, Ukraine's economy is not going to benefit from having EU norms and rules applied to it, because it works on very different and in some ways opposite principles in Ukraine. This is a rent-seeking economy, in which property rights are minimal and fleeting; in which the relationship between money and power is not properly demarcated; the relationship between state and business is opaque; contracts are very provisional; the legal system has no independence and integrity. All of these factors describe a system that is opposite to that which exists inside the EU. Under the current political dispensation in Kyiv, there is no serious effect to alter these practices, change these institutions and transform the system so far. Instead, people are making the worst mistakes possible assuming that the mere act of signing up to integration with the EU will do this automatically. It will not.

UW: Isn't the Association Agreement a program of reforms that Ukraine would have implement?

Who is going to make Ukraine implement it? The past 20 years of relations between the West as a whole and the former Soviet world

should persuade anyone that it is simply not possible to micromanage another country from outside it. If Ukraine had in power a government, a group of people, a group of decision makers and a group of people running the economy who really understand how the EU works, are determined to make these transformations and do all these things, then the Association Agreement would be very helpful. But today the political and economic elite of Ukraine do not want to see these changes take place because their power would be threatened by them. They want to maintain the powers they have over economic life, they want maintain the covert and opaque cash flows and rent-seeking.

UW: But Ukrainians want that...

But Ukrainians are not in power. The Association Agreement is not going to determine who exercises power in Ukraine. Of course, they would pay lip service to it, they would pass all kinds of laws that look very good, but that doesn't mean any of these laws would become reality or would be turned into practice. In countries that want to simply play a game of reform, passing laws, having programs and signing documents is a very easy substitute for actually changing the way institutions and economies work.

There are Ukrainians, who want to do these things, but they are neither in power in the state, nor are they pressing the key buttons as far as the economy is concerned. I have no doubts that if they were, everything that is being discussed today would be very beneficial for Ukraine. But the Association Agreement in itself is not going to have these effects. Somebody has to implement that and there is no mechanism which would allow the EU to do so.

I'll give you an example. Ukraine joining the WTO was not nearly as ambitious as joining the EU, but at the time the same set of people in Ukraine and the West were saying that if Ukraine joins the WTO, then whether the people in power want or not, the economy will change in ways that are beneficial. Ukraine joined the WTO, and there is no qualitative difference at all. In some ways, there is even more rent-seeking, more raider attacks, more arbitrary behaviour in economic life than there was before Ukraine joined the WTO.

"If a country like Ukraine, which is so central to Russia's own sense of itself and its identity, were to adopt a different model and path, and succeed at it, that would have very profound and possibly revolutionary consequences for Russia"



RUSSIA TODAY HAS A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IT DOES NOT WANT THAN OF WHAT IT DOES WANT

You cannot manage a country from outside, Ukraine is a sovereign state. Whether its reformers and pro-European people would like it to be or not, it is a sovereign state with a government in power. Its economy is controlled by a very small group of interests. As far as possible, they will support any reform that does not impinge upon their ability to exercise the power and maintain the wealth which they do. One of the basic frustrations that has existed with regard to Ukraine, not just under President Yanukovich, but over the past 20 years, has been the fact that even when serious reforms did take place, they always had stopped at the point where they threatened the prerogatives and privileges of peo-

ple in power, and many of them were then sent into reverse.

If you look at the countries that are successful members of the EU – such as Poland and Estonia – you'll see that this only happened because those countries were run by elites that absolutely understood these principles identified with them and wanted to implement them. They were not forced to or pushed to, they wanted it themselves. These were broad national elites that understood this and there was elite consensus in these countries to do this. In Ukraine, you don't have this elite consensus. Those people who are similar to the Polish elites have very little power and influence today. This is where we are starting from, whether we like it or not.

I am raising two questions. First, what will the internal consequences be if Ukraine succeeds in Vilnius. If I'm right, the internal consequences in Ukraine will be disillusionment because people will be expecting big and positive change and there won't be any significant change. The external consequences will also be negative. The EU will be disillusioned and expecting big changes in Ukraine, which will not come about. Russia will fear that Ukraine is now leaving its orbit, entering the orbit of Europe and it will feel under pressure to take action to stop it. ■

BIO
James Sherr is Senior Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London, expert on international security of Ukraine, Russia and post-communist states. His fields also include the EU and NATO expansion, as well as energy relations between Kyiv, Moscow and the EU. He is the author of the book *Hard Diplomacy and Soft Coercion: Russia's Influence Abroad* in 2013.

More Harm Than Good?

Russia may use the Snowden case in the secret intelligence war against Washington and further attacks on its own genuine whistleblowers

Presidents Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin are due to meet in Moscow in early September on the eve of the G20 summit in St. Petersburg. However, the scandal involving renegade American intelligence contractor Edward Snowden has threatened to undermine any renewed vow of cooperation between the two former superpowers.

Snowden is petitioning for temporary political asylum in Russia. He is seeking to evade extradition and espionage charges in the US for revealing details about secret US government surveillance

Author:
Janusz
Bugajski

programs involving phone and Internet data. While Putin claims neutrality in the Snowden saga, it is clear that the American's presence in Moscow has been a bonanza for Russian propaganda and an advantage in its intelligence war with Washington. Nonetheless, Putin is also trying to uphold cordial relations with a US administration that could provide even more benefits for Russia's ambitions.

US NATIONAL SECURITY LEAKS

The Obama administration has produced two major intelligence

leakers posing as human rights defenders. Edward Snowden and Bradley Manning have become international symbols manipulated by America's political rivals to undermine US influence and raise the stature of countries such as Russia and China where human rights are disposable.

It is important to understand what intelligence analyst Edward Snowden, actually revealed. The US National Security Agency (NSA) Prism program is not an illegal operation that indiscriminately eavesdrops on the private phone calls and internet activities



of Americans without a court order. It tracks "metadata" and general information about calling patterns and not the content of individual calls.

The NSA program is legal and has been upheld by several US court rulings that compared it with the activities of the US Postal Service, which reads addresses on envelopes. Americans willingly give up this information to third parties to send letters and complete calls. However, the contents within the envelope, like that of phone calls, are constitutionally protected against search and seizure without a court warrant.

The US House and Senate congressional intelligence committees approved the NSA surveillance program, while the judicial branch, the US Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, provides oversight. Since Snowden did not reveal any illegal actions by the NSA in its foreign surveillance program, he will not be protected under whistleblower-protection laws. There are no laws against spying and intelligence gathering overseas.

In a similar recent case, Private Bradley Manning released over 700,000 classified documents from the US Departments of State and Defense to WikiLeaks, the global hacking agency. The release of the overwhelming majority of these documents is also not protected under US whistleblower laws, as there was no illegality on the part of the senders. WikiLeaks is based on computer hacking, cable theft, and the wholesale publishing of private correspondence between American government officials, which is misleadingly called "whistleblowing."

However, far more serious than any revelations about NSA eavesdropping programs, Snowden claims to have stolen top-secret intelligence documents, which he took in four laptops first to China and then to Russia. Whether he has already agreed to share this information with Moscow or it was expertly hacked and decrypted by Chinese and Russian specialists, Snowden has in effect aided and abetted foreign espionage agencies and undermined US national security.

KREMLIN LEAK CATCHERS

The Putin regime has benefited in two ways from the Snowden escapade: in terms of its global propaganda war against the US and in its intelligence gathering capabilities. According to Michael Bohm, opinion page editor of the Moscow Times, the Kremlin's propaganda organs have turned both Snowden and Manning into "heroes of democracy." By claiming that they are victims of US government persecution, Moscow has tried to hide its own systematic hounding of genuine whistleblowers and poses as the global defender of free speech.

Paradoxically, just as Snowden requested asylum in Moscow, Russia's top whistleblower, Alexei Navalny, who regularly reveals the massive corruption of Russian officials, received a five-year jail sentence on trumped up charges of embezzlement. Navalny is also accused by the Kremlin of being the leader of a fifth column financed by Washington to conduct the overthrow of the Putin administration.

Another prominent whistleblower, Sergei Magnitsky, died in prison in 2009 where he was denied medical care after exposing a \$230 million corruption scheme involving officials at the Russian Interior Ministry and the tax inspectorate. In an unprecedented case, Magnitsky was tried posthumously and found guilty on tax evasion accusations. Instructively, Russian law has now set a precedent for trying Stalin, Lenin, and other former state leaders on charges of genocide and mass repression.

The Kremlin's crackdown on Russian NGOs, which need to register as "foreign agents," is intensifying and contains an intelligence component. Russia's prosecutor general Yuri Chayka accused the US and other Western powers of financing and directing the activities of foreign agents in Russia, which pretend to be NGOs but whose main aim is to "disclose state secrets." Snowden's revelations reinforce Moscow's accusations that Washington is spying on Russia in order to undermine its national security and provoke "regime change" and state disintegration.

At the same time that Putin has benefited from Snowden, he

BIO

Janusz Bugajski is senior associate in the Europe Program at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He has served as a consultant for various US organisations and government agencies and testifies regularly before the US Congress. His recent books include *Return of the Balkans: Challenges to European Integration and US Disengagement* (2013); *America's New European Allies* (2009); *Expanding Eurasia: Russia's European Ambitions* (2008); *Atlantic Bridges: America's New European Allies*, with Ilona Teleki (2007) and more.

does not want the defector to undermine his relationship with Obama. Moscow seeks long-term advantages in negotiating with Washington concerning missile defense and arms control, while reinforcing Russia's pre-eminent role in the "post-Soviet space." As a result, Putin has demanded that Snowden cease his public anti-US revelations and cooperate privately with Russian intelligence services. A possible cancellation by the White House of the Obama-Putin summit in September would be a major embarrassment to Moscow.

THE INTELLIGENCE WARS

What exactly Snowden knows and has access to remains a mystery. He reportedly possesses four laptops that contain classified intelligence that Russian services may have either confiscated or scanned. And indeed, it appears that Snowden has not been holed up in the Sheremetyevo airport transit zone, but residing comfortably at an FSB safe house.

Snowden can prove highly beneficial to Russia's intelligence services by unmasking the operations of one of Washington's most secretive agencies. He claims to have highly sensitive documents detailing the NSA's structure and operations. His journalist colleagues assert that he has stolen thousands of documents, which basically constitute "the instruction manual for how the NSA is structured." Such data would al-

SNOWDEN CAN PROVE HIGHLY BENEFICIAL TO RUSSIA'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICES BY UNMASKING THE OPERATIONS OF ONE OF WASHINGTON'S MOST SECRETIVE AGENCIES

low hostile agencies, including Russia's, to either evade surveillance or to replicate it.

If Snowden's intention was simply to reveal domestic data mining, one wonders why he stole so many documents regarding US international intelligence gathering methods? It is unlikely that he was a Russian agent, as he would have disappeared without a trace in the event of imminent exposure. More likely, in his yearnings for publicity, Snowden ventured

In his yearnings for publicity, Snowden ventured into deep waters and now finds himself at the mercy of much more predatory operatives

into deep waters and now finds himself at the mercy of much more predatory operatives.

American officials believe that classified intelligence taken out of the country by Snowden has been compromised. They must operate on the assumption that Beijing and Moscow have gained access to highly classified intelligence and even military information contained on electronic media in Snowden's possession. The exact nature of the secret data is the subject of an intensive damage assessment within NSA and other intelligence agencies. Some officials fear that Snowden may have accessed recently created nuclear war plans and other US military contingencies, which will now need to be radically altered.

According to former Russian intelligence operatives who defected to the US in recent years, Muscovite services will undoubtedly debrief Snowden because such a golden opportunity rarely falls into their hands. Snowden may provide valuable information on the technical aspects of intercepting data, especially facts about US electronic espionage toward Russia. This would enable Moscow to modify and improve its own intelligence and counter-intelligence operations. Such debriefing in the presence of technical specialists from the FSB and the military foreign intelligence service will take time; hence, the granting of refugee status to Snowden will prove beneficial for the Kremlin.

In an ironic twist to the Snowden spy story, Moscow can also use his experience to crack down further on free speech inside Russia. The New York Times has revealed how Russian officials are using Snowden's presence to push for tighter controls over the Internet. Members of the Duma have cited Snowden's leaks about NSA spying as arguments to compel global Internet companies, including Google, Facebook, and Microsoft, to comply more closely with Russian rules on personal data storage. According to Ruslan Gattarov, a member of the Federation Council, transnational Internet companies need to be placed under national controls: "This is the lesson Snowden taught us."

The documents leaked by Snowden highlight the degree of

cooperation between the NSA and high-tech companies such as Microsoft, Facebook, and Google. Western information technology companies operating in Russia routinely face demands from law enforcement to reveal user data, and have less recourse than in the US to resist such pressure in the courts. Officials in Moscow are now demanding that foreign companies comply with Russian law on revealing personal data, which require the use of encryption programs licensed by the FSB.

Sergei Zheleznyak, a deputy speaker of the Duma, has proposed legislation requiring e-mail and social networking companies to retain the data of Russian clients on servers inside Russia, where they would be subject to domestic law enforcement search warrants. This would severely undermine Internet freedom and hamper free communication, while exposing critics of the regime and political dissidents to persecution. For Russian-based technology companies, the pressure has been even more intense. The FSB recently ordered Yandex, Russia's largest search engine, to reveal the identities of people who had made online donations to Navalny. Yandex complied and a number of people subsequently received harassing phone calls from a Kremlin youth group.

America's NSA surveillance program, whatever criticisms can be made about its scope, targets, and successes, has been aimed primarily at uncovering terrorist plots to protect American citizens. It did not constitute mass snooping to increase government controls over private lives or to muzzle political dissent. In stark contrast, Russia's security services seek to monitor political opponents, government critics, and independent activists in order to eliminate them from the public arena.

THE KREMLIN'S PROPAGANDA ORGANS HAVE TURNED BOTH SNOWDEN AND MANNING INTO "HEROES OF DEMOCRACY"

AWAY WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM! Russian "trade unions and workers" offer their efforts to protect Snowden from the US special services

If Snowden receives refuge in Russia, he would be living in a country with a deteriorating record on human rights, no oversight over government operations, an absence of official transparency, and increasing pressure on the Internet and social media. If he remains serious about his alleged "whistleblowing" mission to reveal official abuses against ordinary citizens he will end up either in a Russian prison or in a Russian graveyard. ■



Questionable Improvement

Ukraine's seemingly falling foreign trade deficit hides growing negative trends in the economy

According to the State Statistics Committee, Ukraine's foreign trade deficit was USD 2.4bn in Jan-May 2013 compared to USD 5.8bn over the same period in 2012. This appears to be evidence of positive changes in the balance of payment. However, a closer look at the dynamics of certain commodity groups reveals how erroneous this impression is.

Exports shrank by 3.5% or USD 0.99mn, with steelworks contributing the most to this decline. Exports of ferrous metals and products have decreased by USD 0.88mn (see **Foreign trade prospects**) and USD 0.2bn respectively, making an overall shortfall of over USD 1bn. They are in a difficult position now, but this is the cost of pumping out profits into offshore zones and decades without investment in modernisation. Therefore, the prospects for Ukraine's steel exports and its contribution to the trade balance remain gloomy.

Another group of goods that faced a significant decline in exports is Railway Locomotives with freight cars as the key exported item. Ukrainian rail carriage producers lost USD 0.5bn, which is no coincidence. Russia as its major market is building its own rail carriage building plants and taking ever more steps to support them. So, the losses of Ukrainian rail carriage builders on their traditional markets are likely to soar. Meanwhile, Russia is implementing a similar support policy in a wide range of other industries to replace imports from Ukraine. Grain exports saw the third big-

Author:
Lyubomyr
Shavalyuk

gest decrease but this can be explained by the poor 2012 harvest.

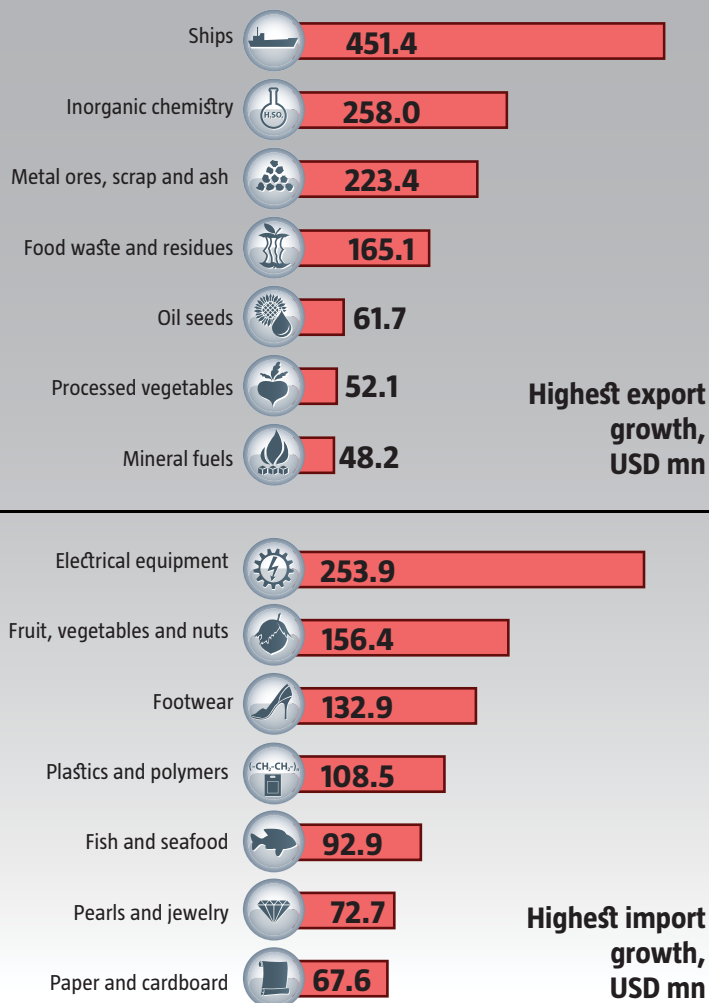
The Ships group saw the highest growth of exports. However, the 779% increase this year is because Ukraine delivered very few ships over the same period in the previous year. More-

over, the shortage of orders does not yet allow Ukrainian shipbuilders to operate seamlessly, so they cannot ensure a sustainable contribution to the trade balance. The next three groups of goods that saw an increase in exports are all raw material-based. These include Inorganic Chemis-

Foreign trade prospects

There is a decline in export in key segments of Ukraine's economy, while import figures are declining because of a reduction in the supply of products that are key to the development of Ukraine's economy. Meanwhile, consumer imports are growing, encouraged by the overvalued hryvnia

Source:
State Statistics
Committee



try (mostly ammonia and corundum, which are subsequently processed abroad); Metal Ores, Scrap and Ash (exports of iron ore are growing, which proves the inefficiency of the Ukrainian steel industry), and Residues and Waste Products from the Food Industry (cereals, pellets, bran, pulp, mill cake) for which a use cannot be found in Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the import of goods to Ukraine shrank by USD 4.3bn over the first five months of 2013. USD 3.3bn accounts for lower expenses for Mineral Fuels. Ukraine spent USD 1.45bn or 27% less on natural gas, partly because steelworks and chemical plants – its major consumers – used 8% and 2-18% less gas respectively. A warm winter and the use of gas from underground storage facilities also contributed to the decline. However, they will have to be refilled in the second half of 2013. This deferred import

will affect the balance of payments in the second half of 2013. New coal import quotas pushed coal imports down by USD 531mn. The Family's strong interests in this business have contributed to this. The import of oil and oil products decreased by USD 660mn (82%) and USD 560mn (20%) respectively. Ukraine's oil refinery industry is in stagnation since Ukraine imports sixteen times more oil products than oil. However, while Ukraine produces only 10-12% of the amount of oil it consumes, it imported 33% less oil and oil products. Since consumption has not changed, the USD 1.2bn decrease in imports can be explained by shadow transactions. In short, this amount has been smuggled, something that the mass media has been reporting for a while now, saying that the respective entities headed by one of the "young and successful business

owners" have close ties to Ukrainian top officials.

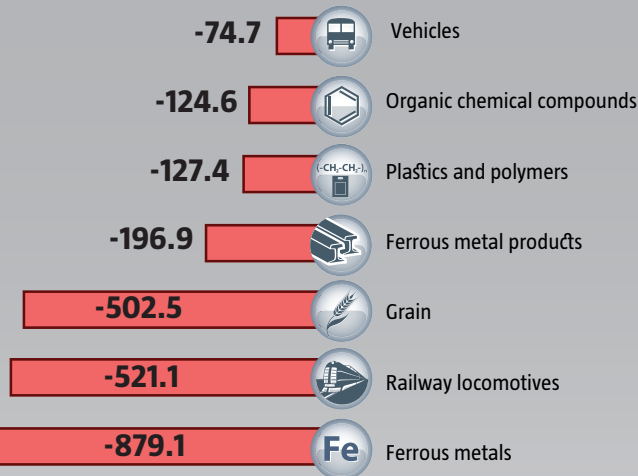
Plummeting imports of Reactors, Boilers and Machinery demonstrates shrinking investment that will later have an adverse impact on economic growth. The Railway Locomotives group, saw the procurement of the infamous Hyundai

THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO MASK THE NEGATIVE OUTLOOK OF THE TRADE BALANCE AND DELAY THE DEFICIT TO FUTURE PERIODS

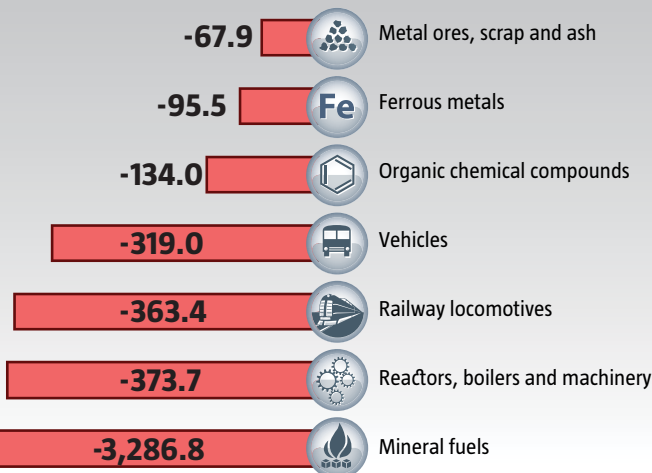
high-speed trains. The decline of car imports in Vehicles was triggered by a special import duty, which many countries, including the US, the EU and Japan, are preparing to respond to with sanctions. These will probably affect the trade balance by the end of this year or in the first six months of 2014. Overall, six of the seven groups of items where imports shrank, refer to capital equipment. As a result, Ukraine will have a deficit of raw materials or capital equipment in specific industries, and a relevant decline in them. Five of the seven groups where imports grew the most refer to consumer goods. These are imported in larger amounts, as the government keeps a fixed hryvnia exchange rate.

In an effort to maintain the stability of the hryvnia rate, the government is trying to mask the negative outlook of the trade balance and delay the deficit to future periods. This aggravates risks for the economy since it has no sources for covering the deficit. Moreover, a similar policy is being conducted in regards to other trade balance items, including external and internal foreign currency debt. These efforts will have a temporary effect, but a devastating aftereffect when the balance of payments shrinks in several segments at a time as a result of the inevitable decline in borrowing by the government and the private sector, as well as worsened trading conditions that WTO states will implement in response to the trade war launched by the Azarov-Arbuzov Cabinet. ■

Biggest export decline, USD mn



Biggest import decline, USD mn



THE GREAT DECELERATION

The emerging-market slowdown is not the beginning of a bust. But it is a turning-point for the world economy

When a champion sprinter falls short of his best speeds, it takes a while to determine whether he is temporarily on poor form or has permanently lost his edge. The same is true with emerging markets, the world economy's 21st-century sprinters. After a decade of surging growth, in which they led a global boom and then helped pull the world economy forwards in the face of the financial crisis, the emerging giants have slowed sharply.

China will be lucky if it manages to hit its official target of 7.5% growth in 2013, a far cry from the double-digit rates that the country had come to expect in the 2000s. Growth in India (around 5%), Brazil and Russia (around 2.5%) is barely half what it was at the height of the boom. That sounds fast compared with the sluggish rich world, but it is the slowest emerging-economy expansion in a decade, barring 2009 when the rich world slumped.

This marks the end of the dramatic first phase of the emerging-market era, which saw such economies jump from 38% of world output to 50% (measured at PPP) over the past decade. Over the next ten years emerging economies will still rise, but more gradually. The immediate effect of this deceleration should be manageable. But the longer-term impact on the world economy will be profound.

China is in the midst of a precarious shift from investment-led growth to a more balanced, consumption-based model. Its investment surge has prompted plenty of bad debt. But the central government has the fiscal strength both to absorb losses and to stimulate the economy if necessary. That is a luxury few emerging economies have ever had. It makes disaster much less likely. And with rich-world economies still feeble, there is little chance that monetary conditions will suddenly tighten. Even if they did, most emerging economies have better defences than ever before, with flexible exchange rates, large stashes of foreign-exchange reserves and rel-



atively less debt (much of it in domestic currency).

That's the good news. The bad news is that the days of record-breaking speed are over. China's turbo-charged investment and export model has run out of puff. Because its population is ageing fast, the country will have fewer workers, and because it is more prosperous, it has less room for catch-up growth. Ten years ago China's per person GDP measured at PPP was 8% of America's; now it is 18%. China will keep on catching up, but at a slower clip.

That will hold back other emerging giants. Russia's burst of speed was propelled by a surge in energy prices driven by Chinese growth. Brazil sprinted ahead with the help of a boom in commodities and domestic credit; its current combination of stubborn inflation and slow growth shows that its underlying economic speed limit is a lot lower than most people thought. The same is true of India, where near-double-digit annual rises in GDP led politicians, and many investors, to confuse the potential for rapid catch-up (a young, poor population) with its inevitability. India's growth rate could be pushed up again, but not without radical reforms—and almost certainly not to the peak pace of the 2000s.

The Great Deceleration means that booming emerging economies will no longer make up for weakness in rich countries. Without a stronger recovery in America or Japan, or a revival in the euro area, the world economy is unlikely to grow much faster than today's lacklustre pace of 3%.

It will also become increasingly clear how unusual the past decade was. It was dominated by the scale of

China's boom, which was peculiarly disruptive not just as a result of the country's immense size, but also because of its surge in exports, thirst for commodities and build-up of foreign-exchange reserves. In future, more balanced growth from a broader array of countries will cause smaller ripples around the world. After China and India, the ten next-biggest emerging economies, from Indonesia to Thailand, have a smaller combined population than China alone. Growth will be broader and less reliant on the BRICs.

Corporate strategists who assumed that emerging economies were on a straight line of ultra-quick growth will need to revisit their spreadsheets; in some years a rejuvenated, shale-gas-fired America may be a sprightlier bet than some of the BRICs. But the biggest challenge will be for politicians in the emerging world, whose performance will propel—or retard—growth. So far China's seem the most alert and committed to reform. Vladimir Putin's Russia, by contrast, is a dozy resource-based kleptocracy whose customers are shifting to shale gas. India has demography on its side, but both it and Brazil need to recover their reformist zeal—or disappoint the rising middle classes who recently took to the streets in Delhi and São Paulo.

There may also be a change in the economic mood music. In the 1990s "the Washington consensus" preached (sometimes arrogantly) economic liberalisation and democracy to the emerging world. For the past few years, with China surging, Wall Street crunched, Washington in gridlock and the euro zone committing suicide, the old liberal verities have been questioned: state capitalism and authoritarian modernisation have been in vogue. "The Beijing consensus" provided an excuse for both autocrats and democrats to abandon liberal reforms. The need for growth may revive interest in them, and the West may even recover a little of its self-confidence. ■

I Can, Therefore I Must

As Zygmunt Bauman noted, classical politics has always been related to the conversion of private problems into public issues (at the same time, internalizing public issues and turning them into private or even existential problems). Today this political mechanism has clearly been taken apart. Thus, what we in our postmodern politics treat as public issues, most often are the private issues of public figures. The extreme power of manipulation, in terms of public opinion and image making, and its political and moral implications are masterfully revealed by one film that has contributed to the critique of today's controlling political structures. This is Barry Levinson's film *Wag the Dog* (1997). It tells us the story of Hollywood producer Stanley Motss and Washington spin doctor Conrad Brean, who are supposed to save the White House from the president's scandalous romance.

The duet of Dustin Hoffman and Robert De Niro reveals with skill a world of people who are talented, but also amoral and value disoriented. At any rate, the revelations of an instrumental mind and instrumental morality are not the only merits of this great film. Created in 1997, the film foreshadowed a military campaign in Yugoslavia (the film mentions Albania) during the height of Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky's sex scandal. Of course, it would be silly to claim wearing a serious face that the war in Yugoslavia was required because of U.S. domestic politics, and as a way to smother the scandal. "Pacifist" Western Europe wanted this war perhaps even more than "militaristic" America. The U.S. was the wand waved to solve the problem. But the film leaves an impression due to its emphasis on something else – it just so happens that a war can be fabricated. Just as, as it turns out, one might direct public opinion in such a way that a war would be wanted or even much desired. Create an artificial crisis, sacrifice a few dozen innocent lives to a political Moloch, increase people's sense of insecurity – and, everyone, in a flash, almost overnight, will want both a firm controlling hand, tough rhetoric, and, perhaps, even war.

In short, this is something similar to being beyond good and evil. It is not clear to what extent the scheme could be applied to actual foreign politics, but it is in part applicable, since right-wing hawks and militarists have made a living from conflicts and war, not burdening themselves with the puzzles of diplomatic and international relationships. However, if a part of the repertoire we see in the spin doctor's and Hollywood producer's inspired production is indeed used in the politics of democratic countries during times of war, or as a part for causing one, then we can readily state that the beginning of the end of public opinion is at hand.

In the contemporary world, manipulation by political advertisement is not only capable of creating people's needs and their criteria of happiness, but also capable of fabricating the heroes of our time and controlling the imagination of the masses through successful biographies. These abilities make one pause for thought about a "velvet" totalitarianism – a controlled form of manipulating consciousness and imagination that is cloaked as liberal democracy, which allows the enslavement and control of even the critics.

But there is another side to the coin. The new scandal of the Edward Snowden story is a powerful reminder that manipulation of mass consciousness is just a tip of the iceberg. What remains deeply underneath is increasing social control and mass surveillance which re-

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veals what has happened to politics outpaced by technology.

Whether we like it or not, technology does not ask us if we desire it. Once you are able to use it, you must. Refusing to do so relegates you to the margins of society, unable able to pay your dues as a tenant or to participate in the public debate. The state which does not use mass surveillance be-

comes unable to justify its excessive use of secret services and spying techniques.

Technology will not allow one to remain on the sidelines. "I can" transmutes into "I must". "I can, therefore I must." No dilemmas are permitted here; we live in a reality of possibilities, not one of dilemmas. This is something akin to the ethics of WikiLeaks, where there is no morality left. It is obligatory to spy and to leak, though it's unclear for what reason or to what end. And furthermore, it works in both ways: both for and against the state. Yet it never assumes responsibility for a truly anguished individual.

It's something that has to be done just because it's technologically possible. And there is a moral vacuum here created by a technology that has overtaken politics. The problem for such a consciousness is not the form or legitimacy of power but its quantity. For evil (by the way, secretly adored) is where there is more financial and political power.

Two of the manifestations of the new evil: insensitivity to human suffering, and the desire to colonize privacy by taking away a person's secrets, that something that should never be talked about or made public. The global use of others' biographies, intimacies, lives and experiences is a symptom of insensitivity and lack of meaning.

Laughter as the most neutral and acceptable reaction of a cornered individual to his or her powerlessness, political entertainment and advertising has already become a perfect mask on the face of social and political control. ■



Author:
Leonidas
Donskis

Freedom For Sale

John Kampfner, an talks about new authoritarianism and threats to online privacy

John Kampfner is a writer, journalist, and now an advisor on freedom of expression and culture for Google. In *Freedom for Sale: How We Made Money and Lost Our Liberty*, he takes an insight into the rising new authoritarianism in the world, compatible with economic rather than political rights. Covering Singapore, China, Russia, UAE, India, Italy, the UK and the US, his journalist investigation is an attempt to understand why so many people cede their liberties for economic welfare, thus undermining Francis Fukuyama's established concept of liberal democracy.

UW: How is authoritarianism in the 21st century different from the 20th-century dictatorships?

The 21st-century authoritarianism model is very different from the 20th-century dictatorship, such as practiced in the Soviet Union, the Communist China or North Korea, and by fascist governments in Latin America. There was no pact there - the government ruled by fear and by telling people how to live their lives. In the long run, this is not sustainable because people can-

Interviewer:
Nataliya
Gumenyuk,
Kyiv-London

"We are now only at the beginning of trying to understand the consequences of technological innovation for society"

not breathe without any private freedom. Today, the state offers a pact whereby citizens insist on their private freedom to make and spend money; choose their own private life; buy and sell property; work, travel and educate their children where they want to; choose their health care. They make their bubble - quite a big one - that they want to have to themselves and do not want the state to interfere. In return, the state says, that's fine, we will give you that but don't mess about with us; don't come on to our territory; don't criticize us unduly; don't get involved in politics and decision-making; you stay in your bubble, and we will run our own affairs. For the vast majority of people in all countries, irrespective of their history, geography or culture, this is a very reasonable combination. I say this sadly because I regard myself as one of the people who like to call themselves trouble-makers.

UW: If a state benefits from a pact and the majority feels content, why do authoritarian regimes have a

permanent source of social instability?

In this system, the victims are those who ask questions that people in power would rather not answer. These include investigative journalists, lawyers, bloggers, activists, human rights advocates. But the vast majority of people are fairly relaxed about what governments do as long as it doesn't affect them personally. However, there is one important point: even when you don't have public freedom, you need to have an element of a law-based society. For example, in a society where public freedom is so restricted that there is no transparency corruption increases. This fuels physical threat: people steal each other's property but do not face punishment. In many countries, where people can't get many services - health care for instance - unless they bribe somebody, the pact doesn't work.

UW: You refer to this pact as the "Singapore model". Your investigation started with Singapore. Many young and bright economists in Ukraine today talk of it as a role model and approve of Lee Kuan Yew's reforms. What are the threats here?

Well, I like the country a lot - I grew up there. All Western leaders always talk positively about Singapore. It's a strong and respected country that attracts East and West, democrats and dictators. It's consumer paradise that shows the priorities of a modern human. When Singapore gained independence from Great Britain, its GDP was equal to that of Ghana. It was a poor former colony built on a swamp. Its geological



and geographic conditions were very bad for development. There was no reason for Singapore to be successful. But it turned out to be an extraordinary economic success.

I have a lot of Singapore friends who are extremely well-traveled. The airport there is like a bus stop. They are extremely well-educated – they've all been to Harvard, Oxford and Yale. And they are happy to give away certain public freedoms voluntarily. This partly because they have allowed themselves to be convinced (and these are very intelligent people) that this is a model for development. They say that too much public freedom generates too much instability and potential ethnic and social conflicts.

UW: Let's play a devil's advocate: who needs civil liberties when most people feel content?

At first sight, a society that takes care of its public freedoms does not seem to have that much of an advantage. However, authoritarian regimes are clever: they never make it entirely clear on what is permissible and what is not. They don't say that you're going to be arrested if you say this or that. People who are naturally cautious try to stay inside the line. That's exactly what looks attractive to policy makers in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. So, most people just get on with their lives. I think corruption level in Ukraine – and certainly in Russia – has reached such a level that the pact doesn't really work because you don't have your private freedom. Instead, you depend on bribing somebody or constantly living in fear that some law will be used arbitrarily to deprive you of your private rights. That's where it breaks down. In the Singapore model, you have to be able to trust to a certain extent that the state won't deprive you of your rights.

UW: You have lived and worked in Russia and often mention relations between London and Moscow. You say that the British forgive the Russians, including the Russian business, a lot of things for economic benefits. Ever since your book was published, the situation in

Russia has changed and part of the financially-successful people is no longer happy with the government.

There was a time when Dmitri Medvedev was the closest advocate of the Singapore model in the post-Soviet space. He was always talking about a law-based society in Russia. He didn't really mean democracy. He was rather talking of a slightly softer version of Putinism.

In general, the developments over the last eighteen months in Russia have been negative, including rigged election, arrests of people, suppression of public manifestations and laws restricting NGOs. Now Russia is moving away from political freedoms.

As to the relations with London, there has always been a dissonance between the Russia as the West would like to see it, and what the Russians themselves would like to have. The phenomenon of the global superrich which is the subject of my next book is that governments around the world are very keen to embrace these people while trying to overlook the way they earned their wealth.

UW: You began to write your book before the 2008 financial crisis. Has there become more "freedom for sale" since then?

Before the crisis, everybody was optimistic about economics and their ability to earn and spend money. Things have obviously changed – in Europe and the US particularly, not Asia. The essential trade-off has not changed. The Arab Spring and other revolutions left an impression that everybody is interested in public freedoms and ready to make sacrifices for them – that is a case to a certain degree. In some ways, it is similar to the colour revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia. But I still think that, fundamentally, a strong trade-off exists whereby, with the exception of a minority of activists, the vast majority of people are content with private freedoms. They are prepared to give away part of their public freedoms for an element of security or prosperity.

UW: You've written about – and criticized – the "surveillance state", including the UK. You mentioned the grand scale of

surveillance over people with video cameras and other electronic devices. Now you work at Google. This company probably knows more about us than anyone in the world does, with its huge resources and the



THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE AWAY PART OF THEIR PUBLIC FREEDOMS FOR AN ELEMENT OF SECURITY OF PROSPERITY

potential of growing into a real Big Brother. What do you think about it?

These are absolutely crucial questions for our present and future. This is not just about Internet. This is about supermarkets and their loyalty cards. Whenever you buy a book from Amazon, it tells you the next book you might want to buy. And they are always right because they know your tastes and preferences. This also applies to the state. The UK government was very close to introducing this terrible law that would grant hundreds of public bodies access to any information available at Internet providers and telephone operators over the past year. That's the kind of thing authoritarian countries would be happy to have. Thankfully, it wasn't passed but it may come back. In fact, any information and data you put online about yourself is available anyway. People are arrested in this country for what they say on Twitter. Whether it's censorship or freedom of expression, privacy or security, or tracking devices on your phone, we are now only at the beginning of trying to understand the consequences of technological innovation for society. There is a lot of this is philosophical or cultural in how we try to deal with that. I always try to provoke a debate on this. Meanwhile, my two teenage daughters are more careful about their online privacy than people who are now five or ten years older were at their age. They are beginning to understand that whatever one says online or whatever information one provides is available to the public. ■

BIO

John Kampfner is an external advisor on freedom of expression and culture for Google. He worked as a reporter for Reuters and Daily Telegraph, as a political observer for the Financial Times, BBC and New Statesman. In 2005-2008, when Kampfner was Chief Editor for New Statesman, its print run soared 30 times. Also, Kampfner chaired Index of Censorship, a British freedom of expression NGO. His documentary on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, *The Dirty War*, won him the Journalist of the Year award, while the International Press Association chose it as the film of the year in 2002. Kampfner is the author of the book titled *Freedom for Sale: How We Made Money and Lost Our Liberty* out in 2009.

CYBER MOWGLI

Excessive access to television and gadgets hampers child development

Many children whose parents let them watch cartoons and play with cell-phones and tablets from early childhood barely talk. They mumble but there is no normal verbal communication from them at the age of two – or even four. However, they do develop, but in a different domain. They can launch applications by the age of three. One child prodigy even downloaded UAH 200-worth of games for an iPhone.

ONE-SIDED DEVELOPMENT

At first, a child's cyber accomplishments please parents: exciting toys keep their kids busy for hours on end. They don't cry or scream. Eventually, however, their general development is stifled and their socialization with other children is poor. They are barely interested in real games and lack verbal communication skills.

"Television, just like other means of visual communication, largely employ the right hemisphere of the brain, while reading develops the left," says Prof. Anatoliy Chuprykov, Director of the Kyiv-based Mental Health of Children and Teenagers Centre. "The right hemisphere starts to develop intensely at the age of three. By keeping their children busy with computers or cartoons on TV, parents prevent the stimulation of the left hemisphere, so just one hemisphere develops properly. The left hemisphere, which is responsible for logic and semantics, should become activated at the age of six-seven, but it won't develop properly if the child spends most of the time at the computer. If the function is not activated on time, it won't catch up later."

A huge variety of computer games worsens concentration, while interactivity stifles imagination and abstract thinking. Kids find it difficult to concentrate on

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just one game when they have so many. As soon as the kids get bored with one, they immediately switch to another, without even trying to employ their imagination. "As a result, they think in blocks, unable to analyze details, in images and gestures but not in verbal categories," Chuprykov explains. "With no alternative to visual and graphic thinking, children's reality is narrowed down down to the screen."

Addicted to communications

In a recent experiment, Kateryna Murashova, a psychologist based in St. Petersburg-based, proposed that a sample group of 68 teenagers aged 12 to 18 spend eight hours without computers, TVs, cell-phones and other means of communications. They could

PARENT NEGLECT RESULTS IN POOR LEARNING ABILITY, LACK OF CONFIDENCE, UNSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR AND RELUCTANCE TO CONTACT WITH OTHER PEOPLE

play music, read, write, draw or do anything else. Only three were able to do so. Seven survived for five hours. Most said that they quit the experiment because "I could no longer stand it", "my head almost cracked" and "I thought I would explode". 27 teenagers developed dizziness, fever, chills, sickness, tremors, dryness of mouth, as well as abdominal or chest pains. Virtually all participants of the experiment felt anxiety and fear, while five had "panic attacks" and three more had suicidal thoughts. All the symptoms went away as soon as they returned to their TVs and computers. 51 out of 68 admitted that they almost felt like computer and gadget addicts.

Back in the 1970s, American researchers calculated that two hours in front of a TV slows development to six words, so what can the impact of computers, in front of which kids spend far more time, be. As a result, verbal thinking almost stops while children think in images rather than words and find it hard to describe a sequence of events properly. "We'll have a generation of young people suffering from depression in 15 – 20 years," says Yulia Skliaruk, a psychologist at the Pavlov Psychoneurologic Hospital in Kyiv. "This is because their childhood was not filled with emotions – positive or negative. Instead, they only had simulations through cartoons and computer games."

Whatever computer advocates may say about computer games that are good for babies' development is blown apart by one simple fact: they want to play whatever adults play, so they are interested in the Call of Duty, World of Warcraft and Angry Birds rather than sketch and teach-yourself games. A kid who is not aware of all computer novelties will have a low social status. Also, communication with even the best child development software leaves children deprived of emotional communication. Visual information replaces real communication. As a result, the child grows emotionally immature and unable to deal with real communication.

PARENTAL ADVISORY

Many developed countries, such as Sweden, have recorded a psychological disorder, earlier qualified as autism, more and more often. Now known as parental neglect, it is a disorder which is accompanied by inhibited psychological development, caused by the lack of parental attention to the child and the priority of ca-



reer over parenting. Parents often fail to realize that computers, toys or TV cannot replace real communication. "We have ways to treat autism and parental neglect now," Prof. Chuprykov says. "The main thing is to not be afraid to look the truth in the eye and to turn to experts as soon as possible. If a child does not speak by the age of five or seven, even intense treatment and the latest methods will not wipe out the psychological imprint for life that is primarily linked to complications with abstract thinking."

The consequences of parental neglect include a poor ability to learn, lack of confidence, unsocial behaviour and difficulties in communication with other people. Meanwhile, such children can cope under normal circumstances and show certain flexibility, initiative and independence, but only in fields they find interesting.

So, if you are facing a choice between switching on a cartoon or devoting some attention and time to your child, don't disregard the latter's importance. It directly affects children's emotional and psychological development. ■

Nobel Prize-winning chemist Ryōji Noyori:

“What one person can invent is very limited. An important aspect of innovation is to devise a system and ways to use scientific knowledge”

Interviewer:
Oleksandr
Pahiria

Japanese chemist Ryōji Noyori became interested in chemistry at an early age when he visited a presentation on nylon. Chemistry can “produce high value from almost nothing” he said after the presentation. His study of asymmetric hydrogenation is used today in the production of some

antibiotics and anti-inflammatory drugs. He has also developed a method of commercial synthesis of menthol. As a result, our breath stays fresh and Takasago International produces up to 3,000 tonnes of menthol per year. Meanwhile, the scientist modestly says that this is the result of many years of re-

search conducted by the scientific family of Nagoya University and many other research initiatives in organic chemistry.

Since 2003, Prof. Noyori has chaired RIKEN, one of the oldest and most respected natural science institutes in Japan, which employs approximately 3,000 scientists in

BIO

Ryōji Noyori is a Japanese chemist. He won the Nobel Prize in 2001 jointly with William S. Knowles for the study of chirally catalyzed hydrogenations, the second half of the prize going to Barry Sharpless for research on chirally catalyzed oxidation reactions. The results are now used in the pharmaceutical industry. Prof. Noyori has chaired RIKEN, the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research of Japan, since 2003. He was member of the Science and Technology Council at the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology since 1996 and Chairman of the Education Rebuilding Council at the Government of Shinzō Abe since 2006. In 1972, Mr. Noyori became Professor of Nagoya University. He is also an Honorary Professor at universities and research institutions in Germany, France, the USA and Russia.



chemistry, physics, biology, medicine, engineering, IT and more.

Prof. Noyori believes that today's global problems, including uncontrolled population growth, climate change, the exhaustion of natural resources and new infections, pose a threat to the survival of homo sapiens. Science must help humanity to overcome these challenges. To do so, it must go beyond state borders and transform from research for researchers into research for nations and mankind. "It is not enough to support the civilization of today", he claims. "We should lay the path to a flexible future society for our successors." And he encourages scientists to be politically active. "Researchers must spur public opinions and government policies toward constructing the sustainable society in the 21st century."

The Ukrainian Week talked to the scientist during his visit to deliver a lecture in Kyiv on July 22.

UW: How long was it between you making your discovery and its implementation in the pharmaceutical industry and medicine?

This depended on the reaction I discovered. Sometimes, it took just three years, while in other cases, such as with Sumitomo Chemical and their Olyset Net chain (using the permethrin combination discovered by Noyori as an insecticide in mosquito nets and fighting malaria in Africa), it took 47 years. I was working at Nagoya University and had not set myself the goal of developing new drugs. However, I was always surrounded by many people involved in this industry, who sought practical applications for the chemical reactions I developed. What one person can invent is very limited. An important aspect of innovation is to devise a system and ways to use scientific knowledge.

UW: How did the focus on a research-oriented economy help Japan overcome post-WWII difficulties and grow into one world's most innovative and competitive countries? What role did discoveries in chemistry play in this process?

— Cooperation between universities and the industry was very important in the process. When I was young, this cooperation was much closer than it is now. Japan was a very poor country after the war and many people joined efforts and contributed to making it wealthier. Today, Japan is as developed as the US and European countries. There are many government programmes financing research developments. Now, scientists in Japanese universities can do their research without industry. In my opinion, government support for scientific progress is extremely important and should be increased in the future. Ukraine is a young country and would benefit from establishing fruitful cooperation between universities and companies.

UW: You are considered to be one of the promoters of green chemistry. What are its prospects?

— Chemistry truly gives very much to society. Most things sur-

rounding people today in everyday life are made up of chemical elements. However, we have to think carefully which chemical combinations will be used to produce different products. The concept of chemistry as a science is to use natural or biological resources to create something new through chemical reactions. These processes always



UKRAINE IS A YOUNG COUNTRY THAT WOULD BENEFIT FROM ESTABLISHING FRUITFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND COMPANIES

have a certain amount of byproducts. For instance, the production of 1kg of drugs (those necessary to keep people alive) generates 25 to 100kg of byproducts. Therefore, a balance must be found between the product's effect and the amount of byproducts it generates. The key task of chemists is to decrease this amount and save energy. If we don't do this, not only will our economy stagnate but humanity will cease to exist.

UW: What is the role of chemistry in dealing with global problems?

— Different countries have different terms for sustainable development. Japan, for instance, does not have significant energy resources, such as oil, gas or even coal, so it has to import them. Since this requires a lot of financial resources, we are forced to be one of the most developed countries in the world in terms of chemistry. It is only through the export of technologies that Japan can afford to import these resources. Since starting conditions vary for each country and natural resources are limited (this is perfectly obvious from a chemical perspective), countries need to cooperate more closely in order to ensure the more sustainable development of humanity. Human survival is a very complicated thing. The previous century was one of rivalry. In the 21st century, we will have to cooperate for our species to survive. All countries have their own history and perspective of different events. But now is the time when no country in the world, be it the US, China, Russia, Brazil or any other, will survive alone. ■



A photograph of Marina Lewycka, a woman with short brown hair, smiling and standing next to a large, textured tree trunk. She is wearing a dark cardigan over a red top. The background shows a clear blue sky and some distant trees.

Researching Complexity, Stupidity and Weakness

Writer Marina Lewycka talks about Ukrainians in the UK, her writing and the modern era of dishonest people

In 2005, the Viking publishing house in Britain published Marina Lewycka's debut novel, *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian*. It became a success, winning the Bollinger Everyman Wodehouse Prize and the Waverton Good Read Award, and getting onto the Orange Prize for Fiction short-list. The book has sold over a million copies and was translated into 37 languages. Ukrainians disliked the book for two reasons: a bad Russian translation and their own laziness which prevented them from taking a look at the original and translating it correctly. Only now, eight years after it was first published, the bestseller will finally be available in Ukrainian. *The Ukrainian Week* talked to the author shortly before the release.

UW: Could you give a brief outline of *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian*?

— It's the story of a family, an unhappy one, as are most families in literature. An elderly Ukrainian widower, Nikolay Mayevskyi, has lived in Peterborough since World War II. Two years after his wife died, he announced to his daughters that he

Interviewer:
Les Beley

was going to marry a younger woman. Sisters Vera and Nadia are shocked. They realize that it's time to leave their squabbles behind and save him from a lustful gold-digger young enough to be his daughter. The woman recently arrived from Ukraine with her teenage son and nothing will stop her in her pursuit of the benefits of the Western world and her dreams. The elderly man in this tragicomedy is also pursuing his own eccentric dreams, writing a history of tractors in Ukrainian.

UW: Who or what inspired you to write this novel?

— There are many inspirations for every book. It could be a story or a tapestry of many stories about how people adjust to the times in which they live. I'm fascinated by the way the personal intertwines with the social or political.

My mother used to tell me a lot about her childhood in Ukraine and her journey to the West. *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* was initially supposed to be the story of my mother. When she was still alive, I would sit by her side and write down her memoirs with the thought in the back of my mind that I would

someday write a book about her life. When I started working on it, I realized that what I had wasn't enough. So, I used my imagination, which made things so much easier. If I had written the story of my mother, it would have been a completely different story - a much sadder one.

UW: You portrayed different generations of immigrants in your plot. Could you give a brief description of them? How do they differ?

— I grew up with the older generation of Ukrainians, the generation of my parents who mostly lived in northern industrial cities. They worked hard, saved money, dreamt that their children would achieve something in life, and tried to stay out of the purview of officialdom. Most of that generation is long departed. Their children, like me, married British people and integrated with the local society. For years the people of my generation had no contact with their compatriots. From 1989 onwards, no one was surprised about the presence of Ukrainians or the sound of the Ukrainian language in Great Britain. Stories about girls coming from Ukraine in search of a



“Western” man are not something that I have made up. Many come to study or find a job. Over the past two years, Great Britain’s immigration laws have become so draconian that it is almost impossible for non-EU citizens to enter the country.

UW: Do you think migration is traumatic for one’s convictions?

—I think migration is a very useful starting point for a writer. It’s as if it allows him/her to observe things from outside. As a child, I dreamt of integrating into the community and being the same as other kids from my British environment. What does this entail? You observe and try to copy them. Then, when the time is right, you describe everything. As for me, it is no coincidence that so many writers were outsiders in the societies they described.

UW: What made *Tractors* a worldwide bestseller?

—I think people read the book because it’s funny and serious at the same time. The novel was particularly popular in Germany and Canada, as well as many East European countries — particularly Poland and Serbia.

UW: Just like anything popular, your book irritated many people. Which reactions surprised you most?

—Quite a few British thanked me; they were very interested in learning something about Ukrainian history. Comments from Ukrainians on websites were totally different: “Nobody will read anything new about Ukrainian history in this book.” Some even came to meetings with me in England to reproach me. They must have thought that the characters in *Tractors* are not the kind of Ukrainians that the world should see. They don’t want to be represented in the West by a woman with huge breasts and an incontinent old man. The worst review in the English press came from writer Andriy Kurkov. Actually, I was really disappointed to see that Ukrainians see this as a personal insult. I hope they will be able to turn a blind eye to the words “in Ukrainian” in the title and see what is worth seeing. What I like in the British is their sense of humour and their ability to laugh at themselves.

UW: I think that Ukrainians did not like the book because they read it in Russian. The translation by Valeriy Nugatov fell short. Did you authorize it?

—My command of Russian is not good enough to check the translation. After all, the novel was translated into 37 languages. I can’t check all these translations physically. Ukrainian publishers had a chance to translate it long before it came out in Russia. But they decided that it was not interesting.

UW: Your fourth novel will soon be published in Ukraine. Could you tell us about it briefly?

—My last novel is about what happens when the long-established leftist values of the 1960s encounter the new worldview of the financial world. In *Various Pets Alive and Dead*, 29-year old Serge, who grew up in a commune, works at an investment bank and hides this from his parents, Marcus and Doro. He doesn’t even consider introducing to them his new girlfriend, a beautiful but slightly clumsy colleague, Marushka from Zhytomyr. The boy’s parents are now retired but still stick to their ideals. His annoying sister Clara works as a teacher at a school that does not have a very good reputation and is trying to for-

get her past, while their stepsister Uli-Anna with Down’s syndrome seeks freedom. The book also describes various pets which can’t stand this life.

UW: Why did you choose such a sad epigraph from Gogol for this novel?

—“We live in new times — the era of heroes is gone, it’s the time of dishonest people,” Nikolai Gogol wrote in 1842. What makes the epigraph interesting is that the point is the same 150 later, and at any time in history. No-one has come up with anything new in villainy. The financial fraud that Gogol described in the *Dead Souls* is very similar to that in the current banking crisis.

UW: What do you think of multiculturalism and tolerance in today’s Europe, and Britain in particular?

—I was lucky enough to grow up in the post-war period that was relatively open and tolerant. People were recovering from the terror of the war and the understanding of human unity was stronger than ever. Of course I was teased at school for not being very friendly, but children always tease others. It’s like adults grumbling about newcomers. There was no such thing as an organized attack against immigrants or people of different races, cultures and religions in the Great Britain of that time. I think that the life of an immigrant is much more difficult today. The media does not portray them at their best and people are more prone to violence.

UW: The only thing that both *Tractors* and *Pets* share is eccentric characters. They all seem negative in one way or another — or maybe it’s better to say unusual. Is there a reason for this?

—I think books about superheroes that are 100% positive are incredibly tedious. It’s the Hollywood rather than the literary niche. The reviews of all four of my books sometimes criticize my excessive use of negative characters. I strive to research human complexity, stupidity and weakness in various exciting aspects.

UW: How do you picture a hero of our time?

—Oh, I think the era of heroes is long gone — it’s now the time of people who lack virtue. ■

BIO:

Maryna Levytska is a British writer of Ukrainian origin. Born in a refugee camp in Kiel, Germany, in 1946, she later moved to England with her parents where she lives until present days. She went to Keele University in the UK and now works in mass media research at the University of Sheffield. She wrote a number of books, including *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* out in 2005, *We Are All Made of Glue* published in 2009, and *Various Pets Alive and Dead* out in 2012.



New Traditions in Apolitical Art

1

The Great and Grand show, which opened on July 26 at Mystetsky Arsenal (Art Arsenal), was originally planned as a celebration of the 1025th anniversary of the Christening of Kyiv Rus. Now, it is better known for the wall painting entitled *Koliyivshchyna. The Last Judgment* (photo 2) by Volodymyr Kuznetsov, which was ruined by the Art Arsenal Director, Natalia Zabolotna. She claimed that the painting contained inappropriate elements that did not reflect the concept of the exhibition. The piece depicted the sufferings of corrupt officials, clergy and filthy rich people in hell. Ms. Zabolotna herself covered it with black paint. The reason for this strange and emotional move surfaced shortly thereafter: on July 27, Art Arsenal was expecting a delegation of “lovers of

beauty” from the Church and the government, headed by the President.

The reaction to Ms. Zabolotna’s performance was quick. The show’s curator, Oleksandr Soloviyov, and Chief Editor of ART UKRAINE, Kateryna Stukalova, filed their resignations. The group of artists protesting against censorship and clericalisation, waving relevant placards before the official opening of the show, was quickly hustled onto a police bus (photo 1) to prevent them from ruining the ceremonial atmosphere. The artists who were not caught by the police continued their protest inside the Arsenal in front of the ruined piece.

“I came here for a number of reasons. The key one is the merging of the state and religion; another is a protest against censorship,”

says performer Larysa Venedyktova. “This is caused by fear of the expression of freedom – artistic and human.” “One artist was banned today, another will follow tomorrow, and it will be my turn the day after tomorrow: I too have pieces that could be censored,” explains artist Oleh Kharchenko.

Artists have split into two groups in the assessment of Ms. Zabolotna’s “act of vandalism”. Some described this as “self-censorship”, while others claimed that this was done on orders from the top. “There was nothing that was excessively politically incorrect in the painting. The fact that this is not the first case signals a trend: some people cannot accept the aesthetics of contemporary art and Ms. Zabolotna was overcome by it,” comments art critic Viktoria

Events

2 – 4 August

2 – 25 August

7 – 28 August, 7 p.m.

Tu Stan! 2013

TuStan Fortress

(Urych, Skole County, Lviv Oblast)

The eighth annual Tu Stan (Stop here in old Ukrainian) Festival invites everyone to join in the revived traditions of Kyiv Rus and Europe of the 9-13th centuries, set amidst steep rocks, old pines and green sunny glades. This year’s festival will not only recreate medieval fortifications on the local plateau, but will also host a competition of street musicians with the audience acting as the jury. As always, the festival will include the traditional night-time storm-

ing of the fortress and medieval battles. Hilarious medieval clowns, workshops conducted by craftsmen and ethnic dancing at night, will again be an integral part of the entertainment.



Genoese Helmet

Genoese Fortress

(Sudak, Crimea)

The 13th International Knights’ Festival will take place on the territory of the mighty fortress, taking all visitors back to the Middle Ages. The purpose of the festival is to revive medieval culture and history, also support the global tradition of similar festivals. This year, the programme includes jousting, tossing the caber and throwing knives, a costume contest and a folk arts and crafts exhibition-fair. A large-scale tournament of archers with surprisingly good trophies for the winners will be a new addition to the festival. Visitors can also enjoy Crimean beaches, beautiful landscapes and the warm waters of the Black Sea, places that still remember the real knights, Cossacks, merchants and travelers that passed through in years gone by.



Summer Music Rays

National Philharmonic

(2, Volodymyrsky Uzviz, Kyiv)

The National Philharmonic has prepared a pleasant surprise for classical music lovers. For the entire month of August, it will host a festival of orchestral music. The programme features some of the top Ukrainian musicians, including the Academic Symphony Orchestra of the National Philharmonic, Kyiv Chamber Orchestra, Academic Wind Orchestra, and the Kyiv Soloists Chamber Ensemble. They will per-

form works by Franz Schubert, Edvard Grieg, Antonín Dvořák, Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Sergei Prokofiev, Mozart and others. Antonio Vivaldi’s *The Four Seasons* is also on the list.

Burlaka. "I assume that it was self-censorship. Overall, she excluded three pieces from the show; one by Tištol, another by Tsahalov, and this one by Kuznetsov was the last straw."

The official version that the painting was not in line with the concept of the show seems to be a lame excuse, after walking around the Arsenal and seeing the works displayed. For instance, the graphic piece by Anatol Petrytsky, *The Sketch of Costumes for Glière's Red Poppy Ballet*, is interesting and original from an artistic perspective but it hardly fits the themes of baptism or Christian virtues. The same applies to Mykhailo Sapozhnykov's grand and impressive *Tsar of Darkness*.

"I saw *The Last Judgment* before it was destroyed and I think that it was the most powerful piece in the show," says Kateryna Stukalova, Chief Editor (so far) of ART UKRAINE. "I don't get it, how could it not fit in with the concept of the project that was supposed to reflect the impact of Christian iconography on art and present the history of Ukrainian art as a continuum of sorts. Kuznetsov painted a fairly classical composition of *The Last Judgment* with no elements

of scandal, violence or transgression. It was just an expression of typical popular hope that all

those pro-government crooks who now torment the common people with impunity, can expect to pay a higher penalty in the future. This was a very humane painting, totally in line with the general optimistic context of Ukrainian art as represented in the project. However, it did not fit in with the image of the world painted by those who visited the show on Friday morning – top officials, the clergy, etc."

The act of censorship at the Great and Grand show was not the only attack on Ukrainian modern art. Similar incidents have taken place before, such as the notorious closure of

the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. Are they political motivated or just the result of the poor education and understanding of contemporary culture? Or are they remnants of the Soviet era? It's probably a combination of all these factors. "Back in the 1990s, officials removed pieces by Diurych and Podolchak from an exhibition at the Ukrainian House, banned the exhibition of Borys Mykhailov at a Kharkiv museum, and so on," Kateryna Stukalova recalls. "What has happened here is nothing new. I think it was a remnant of the Soviet mindset, when officials thought that they were more important than

experts in deciding what art they should let people see. Plus, poor liberal education in the country and the blossoming of neo-feudal relations is unlikely to prevent further scandals like this."

One assumption is that the government underestimates media functions, which it has been taking over lately, as it invests in art as the safest and the most neutral segment. Meanwhile, art is taking over the role of the mass media, focusing more and more often on urgent social issues. "Those in power have fallen into a trap," Larysa Venedyktova concludes. "Their major problem is that they can't think."



the Ukrainian Body exhibition at the Contemporary Art Centre (CCA) by the administration of

Venedyktova concludes. "Their major problem is that they can't think."

8 August, 8:30 p.m.

Through 20 August

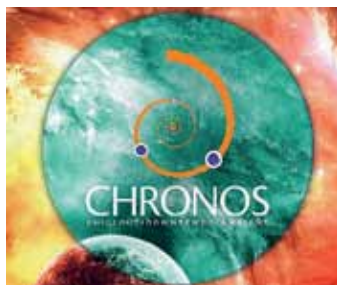
Through August 25

Chronos

Atmosfera 360
(57/3 vul. Velyka Vasylkivska, Kyiv)

One of the best downtempo/ambient projects in Ukraine presents its new album entitled *We Are One*. The recording career of Nick Klymenko aka Chronos includes six albums and over thirty tracks in international compilations released by top electronic music labels. The band's sound is a harmonious fusion of contemporary electronic music, including intelligent dance music known as

idm, chillout, trip-trance, ambient and breaks, as well as elements of jazz, funk, ethnic tunes, flamenco, rock and classical music. The project continues experimenting with new sounds and music technologies, and pleases its fans with surprising new discoveries.



Labyrinth

Expocentre Ukrainy
(1, Prospekt Akademika Hlushkova, Kyiv)

The Labyrinth covers six rooms – paths: Recognition, Creativity, Masquerade, Self-Discovery, Relations and Observation. The organizers offer visitors total freedom in the choice of path. They must be guided by their personal experience and intuition. No matter which path they choose as the starting point, visitors have to go through the entire maze. The game resembles human life – indeed, we all keep looking for an exit our whole life. However, as we look for the exit, we often forget the purpose of our search. Artists focus on these and other aspects of human existence in their works.



Reality...Illusion?

Yakiv Greter Art Centre
(6, vul. Vadyma Hetmana, Kyiv)

Three Ukrainian female artists will present their works in this show. They are all different yet similar in terms of their artistic perspective of the world. The original style of Petra Rubar's portraits takes the viewer into the world of dreams and hopes, where the observation of eternity becomes a reality. Uliana Nesheva's paintings are filled with drama and sophisticated emotions. Her heroes do not scream of their bitter

life experience but speak silently to a viewer's mind and soul. The installation of the Kharkiv-based artist Lilia Isyk symbolized the never-ending cycle of life and time as two parallel vectors of human existence.

A Land of Chocolate and Palaces

The Ukrainian Week travels to Sumy Oblast in search of knights, nymphs and the inspiration for Tchaikovsky's *The Storm*

Author:
Oleh Kotsarev

Trostianets is located on the Sumy-Kharkiv highway and the Kyiv-Kharkiv railway route. The government's latest "improvement" initiatives reduced the number of trains going there, but the town is still accessible by public transport. Even if you don't travel there by train, you should take a look at the local railway station – an original architectural experiment of the late 20th century. The station is named Smorodyne after a village that was located nearby at the time it was built. It now displays a renovated steam locomotive and hosts new 'railbuses' for short local trips.

THE ROUND YARD

Well known outside Sumy Oblast, Trostianets' trademark attractions include a chocolate factory and the Round Yard that hosts the large annual Old Fortress (Stara Fortetsia) historical festival as well as rock fests. The Round Yard looks out of place in this northeastern corner of Ukraine. The city's central square reveals a view of what looks almost like a citadel – yellow, round and crowned with towers. Surely the re-settlers from the Hetmanate who founded the town in the 17th century must have built it for a particular purpose (the

Sumy part of Ukraine's Sloboda region is less russified than nearby Kharkiv and Luhansk Oblasts, and rather westward-leaning in terms of election preferences). In the 18th century, Trostianets was handed over from Colonel Ivan Perekhrestov, notorious for raider attacks on land and property, to clergyman Tymofiy Nadarzhynskyi. His children founded the Round Yard in 1749 for theatre and circus performances.

Today, this tradition continues. The Stara Fortetsia festival is the town's key cultural event. It attracts scores of participants and spectators from all over Ukraine to watch knightly tournaments, learn about ancient crafts and clothing, and practice archery.

Next to the Round Yard are the Church of Annunciation and the landlord's mansion. Built in 1750, the church combines typical elements of baroque and classicism and has a tranquil, melancholy appearance.

THE BEAR AND THE STORM: LOCAL MUSEUMS

The mansion dates back to the 19th century when Trostianets belonged to the Galitzines (also pronounced as Golitsyns), one of Russia's largest noble houses. Its most

famous occupant, however, was composer Pyotr Tchaikovsky who lived there in the summer of 1864. While staying at the Galitzines', he composed his overture *The Storm*. Based on a play by Aleksander Ostrovsky, it was his first large-scale orchestral piece. Tchaikovsky's teacher, Anton Rubenstein, did not like the overture, so it was not performed until after Tchaikovsky's death.

Today, the right wing of the palace is devoted to the genius classical composer. The museum is fairly well kept but the collection is quite modest, an eclectic fusion of Soviet mothballed grandeur and elements of the national liberation movement. The most original piece is a mounted bear that collects donations for the museum.

The central rooms of the palace host an art gallery exhibiting landscapes by local painters and artists who used to come to Trostianets regularly to *paint en plein air*. The patio displays wooden sculptures made in the 1980s. The rooms that now host the art gallery had long stood neglected but were restored several years ago. The rooms are also used to host concerts of classical music. The patio displays a sculpture collection, a romantic gazebo, a foun-



tain and a strange piece with a heart and a quote from *Love*, a poem by well-known Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko.

— The left wing of the palace hosts a chocolate museum. Its most interesting pieces include an old machine for wrapping chocolates, a bust of a Native American made of chocolate, and a collection of Soviet candy wraps.

As you follow the town's main street south from the palace, the Round Yard and the Church of Annunciation, you will find the Church of the Ascension built in the pseudo-Byzantine style of the late 20th century. Also nearby is the house where Mykola Khvyliovyi, the brightest writer of the Shot Renaissance, was born, although he hardly mentioned his hometown in his works.

THE GROTTO OF NYMPHS AND SYLPHS

If you exit the palace from the patio where the heart sculpture stands, a road to the left will take you to another local attraction, a park called Neskuchne — “not boring”. It was created in the 19th century after dams were built in a picturesque section of the Trostianka River (researchers believe that this was the town's namesake). It was then that

the grotto of nymphs, a mysterious construction resembling Romantic ruins, emerged. Local lore claims that it was also used for theatre performances where mythical nymphs and sylphs once danced. And, of course, there is a legend about an underground tunnel that starts in the grotto and leads all the way to the neighbouring town of Okhtyrka.

The park is a nice place to wander between old trees and ponds, drink fresh spring water or admire the Art Nouveau house where the landlords' estate manager once lived. Built in the 20th century by sugar tycoon and estate owner Leopold Koenig, it now hosts the local branch of the Forestry Institute. ■



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