

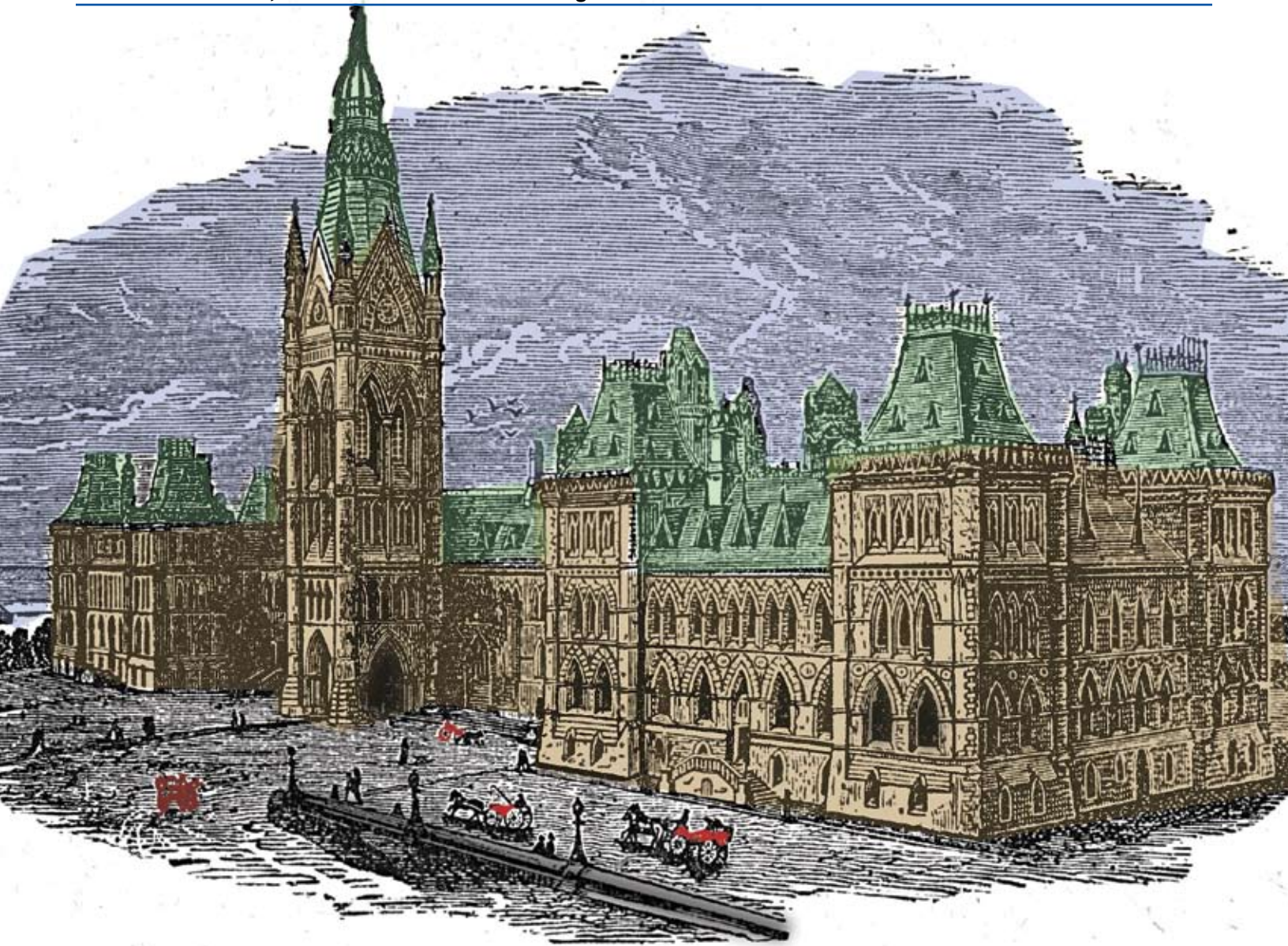


# Newsletter

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

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

AUTUMN 2012



In this issue...

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

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

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

***Ukrainians in Irkutsk***

2012

## CUPP NEWSLETTER

A "Gorilla" Has Joined the Elephant in the Room!.....	3
CUPP Interns.....	4
Why We Don't Like Ukraine .....	31
Is Ukraine's Youth Plunging Into Deep Career Individualism?.....	34
Implication of the Fact that a Significant Number of Ukraine's Population do not Consider Themselves Ukrainian Either in the National or Civic Sense.....	35
Etude About Post-crisis Ukraine: Seven Main Challenges – Opportunities.....	38
Wither the Bologna Process: The Coming Educational Crisis in Ukraine.....	42
The CUPP Alumni Planned a Series of Conferences to Create a new Model of Governance for Ukraine.....	44
Do Ukrainian Universities Need Autonomy? .....	46
Quo Vadis, Україно? – намагались відповісти в Оксфордї .....	52
Ukraine Loses Its Way.....	56
Balcerowicz: Dictatorship Will Not Lead to Prosperity .....	57
Бальцерович: диктатура не призводить до процвітання .....	60
Orwell's "Animal Farm" and Ukrainian Refugees.....	64
"Ukraine at the Crossroads".....	65
Ukrainians of Irkutsk – A Part of Multiethnic Siberian Society.....	68
Russian Youth's Political Concerns .....	70
Electoral systems in Ukraine. Our Experience and Our Prospects .....	72
The Overbearing Governmental Regulation of the Economy as an Inhibiting Factor on Democratic Development of Ukraine .....	73
The Value of a CUPP Internship in Canada's Parliament .....	74
A Century of PLAST .....	76
CUPP Alumni Updates .....	77
Higher Education: East OR West .....	81
EURO 2012: Failure or Success? .....	82
CUPP Alumni Updates .....	83
Where the Land Ends and the Sea Begins: the Case of Ukrainian Migration to Portugal.....	84

## Contact Us

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



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

## History of CUPP

On July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1990, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty which declared that Parliament recognized the need to build the Ukrainian state based on the Rule of Law. On August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Declaration of Independence, which the citizens of Ukraine endorsed in the referendum of December 1, 1991. Also in 1991, Canadians celebrated the Centennial of Ukrainian group immigration to Canada. To mark the Centennial, organizations planned programs and projects to celebrate this milestone in Canada's history.

The Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation of Toronto decided to mark the Centennial by establishing the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program for university students from Ukraine. The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program gives Ukrainian students an opportunity

to work and study in the Canadian Parliament, and gain experience from which generations of Canadian, American and West European students have benefited. On the basis of academic excellence, knowledge of the English or French and Ukrainian languages, and on interest in the parliamentary system of government, university students from Ukraine can apply for a CUPP scholarship. It is hoped that CUPP will contribute to the education of future leaders of Ukraine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



**Pavlo SHOPIN**

CUPP 2006, 2008

Walter Tarnopolsky Scholarship recipient, Mazurenko Family Scholarship recipient

MP: Michael Ignatieff, Ontario (Etobicoke–Lakeshore)

MP: Andrew Telegdi, Ontario (Kitchener–Waterloo)

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

Fulbright Visiting Researcher at UC Berkeley in 2009-2010

Internt in the German Bundestag in 2011

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ukraine but I will mention only several of those.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### References

Kramarenko, Oleksandr. 2009. 'Tak zhiti ne mozna', *Maidan Website*, 11 December <<http://maidan.org.ua/static/mai/1260527551.html>> [accessed 10 May 2012]



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



national university of kyiv mohyla academy  
canada-ukraine parliamentary program



## KYIV MODEL UKRAINE CONFERENCE



# Different Roads TO THE RULE OF LAW



National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy  
**UKRAINE**

23-24 NOVEMBER 2012

# PARTICIPATING UNIVERSITIES, CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM 2012



**Jagiellonian University, 1364**  
Iuliia ZUBRYTSKA



**Kyiv-Mohyla University, 1615**  
Yaroslav BARKOV, Lesia BIDOCHKO, Olena BONDAR, Liliia CHULITSKA, Kateryna GRYSHCHENKO, Khrystyna OLIARNYK, Oksana KRYKUN, Oleksandra NIKULOVA, Roman ROMANOVSKIY, Roman TYCHKIVSKYY, Oleksandr ZHEKA, Iuliia ZUBRYTSKA



**University of Lviv, 1661**  
Iuliia BUCHAK, Ustyna MYKYTYUK, Olya SHUDRAK



**Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy, 1804**  
Iaroslav CHEKER, Maryna SMOLYAK



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



**University of Kyiv, 1834**  
Alona FURDA, Oleksandra GASKEVYTCH, Anastasiia GRETTSEVA, Olena SHAPOVAL



**International Black Sea University, 1996**  
Giorgi SHIUKASHVILI  
Ana TSITSAGI



**Lviv Polytechnic National University, 1844**  
Olha DMYTRASH



**University of Odesa, 1865**  
Lesia SHYSHKO



**Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, 1898**  
Pavlo PEDENKO



**Vadym Hetman National Economic University of Kyiv, 1906**  
Ediie ABDULTAIROVA, Iurii LETS, Olena SHAPOVAL



**University of Saskatchewan, 1907**  
Ihor ILKO



**Irkutsk State University, 1918**  
Andrei ZAVIALOV



**University of Dnipropetrovsk, 1918**  
Ganna TSELIKOVSKA



**Belarusian State University, 1921**  
Andrei BEZRUCHONAK



**Murray State University, 1922**  
Oleksandr GASKEVYCH



**University of Vaasa, 1966**  
Ganna TSELIKOVSKA



**Ilia State University, 2006**  
Giorgi SHIUKASHVILI  
Ana TSITSAGI



**Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University, 1996**  
Oleksandr SHABARDIN,  
Alisa ZAVIALOVA



**Humber College, 1967**  
Ihor ILKO