

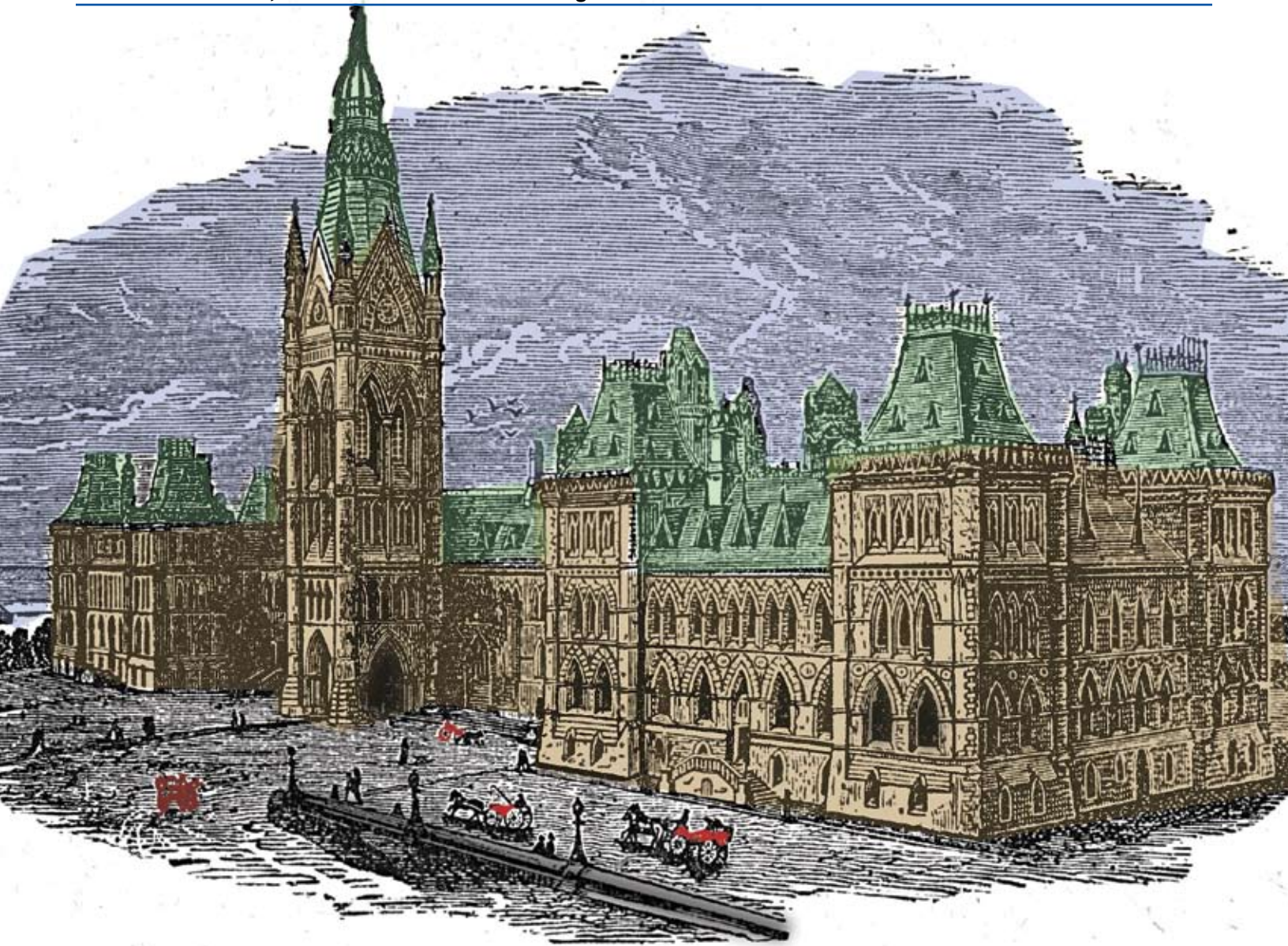


Newsletter

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 Gorilla has joined the elephant in the room

Why we don't like Ukraine

Dictatorship will not lead to prosperity

Ukrainians in Irkutsk

2012

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

History of CUPP

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

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

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

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

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



THE CHAIR OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES



The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP),
the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa,
Katedra Foundation and CUSF

are pleased to invite you to:

Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference:

The Politics of Education and Elections in Ukraine

November 12 & 13, 2010

Desmarais Hall, Room 12102 (12th Floor)
55 Laurier Ave East, University of Ottawa campus

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Please RSVP to < chairukr@gmail.com >
before Wednesday, November 10, 2010.
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Do Ukrainian Universities Need Autonomy?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Fan-Zone at EURO 2012, Kyiv.



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



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



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



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