

A b s t r a c t s

Change of Shift

Political Metamorphoses in Ukraine

Andreas Kappeler

Ukraine's Historical Heritage

Layers and Elements: An Essay

Knowledge of history provides orientation. For historical heritage co-determines the present and the future. History can be analysed as a bundle of internal and external factors. For Ukraine, eleven elements of its historical heritage are of particular importance. They range from its natural geographic conditions via Orthodoxy, which was adopted in the 10th century, to the catastrophes of the 20th century. Other elements are related to the shaping of Ukraine by Poland, Russia, and Austria and to Cossack mythology and the role of the Jews.

Rainer Lindner

Unity beyond Both Shores

The Dniepr as National Symbol of Ukraine

The Dniepr is more than a large river in Europe. It was the fountainhead of Slavic Orthodoxy, home to the Cossacks, trade route and lifeline; to this day, it is an economic factor and source of energy. In the 17th century, it was the border between Poland and Russia, and to this day, it is often described as a political divide. The presidential elections in early 2010 have relativized this alleged political bisection along the Dniepr; a clear division into east and west Ukraine has been overcome. National symbols such as the Dniepr could contribute to the unity of Ukraine.

Katharina Raabe
Cossacks or Battle Turtles
Reading Ukraine

For decades, Ukrainian literature was a matter for a few experts. Only the end of the East-West conflict cleared the view to the mysterious literary terrain east of Poland. The appearance of Yuri Andrukhovych's essays was like a bombshell. Here was a feeling narrator and architect of memory at work amid the ruins. Lviv (Lemberg) and Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), the Carpathians and eastern Galicia emerged from obscurity. The Orange Revolution, as a moment in history, encouraged interest in literature from Ukraine. In Andrukhovych's wake, Oksana Zabuzhko, Serhii Zhadan, and Liubko Deresh seized on this favourable moment. In the meantime, dozens of works have appeared. The gold fever has passed. It will now be proven whether Ukrainian literature has the potential to hold its own internationally.

The Political

Gerhard Simon
Democracy and Nation
Prerequisites for Popular Government

Ukraine's marked regionalism presents an enormous challenge for nation-building and democracy. On the one hand, it threatens stability and leads to repeated blockage. On the other hand, regional tensions force bargaining and compromise: Therefore, there is no alternative to democracy. Because democracy is a culture of debate, it needs consensus to achieve balance. National identity is a resource for consensus. But only an inclusive national identity that gives political as well as ethnic factors plenty of room makes a contribution to an acceptance of regional diversity that cannot be repealed.

Ellen Bos
Stable Instability, Dynamic Blockage
Ukraine's Political System und Its Defects

The expectations of radical political and economic change that were connected with the Orange Revolution were not fulfilled. Continuity in personnel and a lack of basic consensus on the political rules of the game are responsible for the blockages, stagnation, and corruption that mark the system.

Angelika Nussberger, Caroline von Gall
Rule of Law without a Master Plan
Law and the Judiciary in Ukraine

Article 1 of the Ukrainian Constitution defines the country as a state founded on rule of law. Whether this corresponds to the constitutional reality has to be measured against international criteria. By this standard, considerable progress in some fields has in fact been achieved. Ukraine has at its disposal a modern system of basic legal guarantees. It has also introduced a system of administrative courts. But the political power struggles retard the consolidation of rule of law.

Gwendolyn Sasse
Stability through Heterogeneity
Regional Diversity as Ukraine's Strength

Ukraine shows that regional diversity can strengthen a young state in upheaval. Diversity reins in political excess and can contribute to the correction of an authoritarian turn. Contrary to theoretical assumptions, regional differences that structure political mobilisation and consensus building thus contribute to stability and democratisation. Especially the integration of the Crimea as an autonomous republic in the Ukrainian state is a pattern for successful conflict prevention.

Heiko Pleines
Democratisation without Democrats
The Oligarchs in Ukrainian Politics

Ukrainian politics is dominated by a group of big businessmen. These "oligarchs" built up gigantic fortunes in the 1990s and forged large industrial holdings. They supported the authoritarian regime of President Leonid Kuchma; therefore, their power was to be curtailed after the Orange Revolution. This did not happen. As was the case beforehand, they influence opaque political decisions and procure for themselves competitive advantage by means of corruption. But, because the oligarchs now support various political camps, their role has changed. The power-political stalemate of oligarchic interests could lay the foundation for long-term democratisation.

Andrew Wilson
Turtles in the Twilight Zone
Politics in Ukraine and Change

Ukraine is not a successful state. Nonetheless, verdicts to the effect that it is a “failed state” are off the mark. Crises characterise political and economic life. Far-reaching and quick reforms are necessary, but change occurs in slow motion. The key problem behind the political stagnation are the elites. The oligarchs’ position of power remains unbroken. But the structural problems of Ukraine, especially the economic ones, are forcing action.

Heike Dörrenbächer
“The Winner Takes It All”
The Presidential Elections and the Consequences

Aside from the Baltic states Ukraine is the only country in the post-Soviet realm where the transfer of power has again taken place peacefully and by means of free elections. But the election campaign showed that democracy is not yet embedded in Ukraine’s political culture. The new president, Viktor Yanukovich, quickly changed the relationship of power in parliament and, with Mykola Azarov, appointed a minister president who is close to him. With that, the political blockage in Ukraine should be at an end. The balance of power among interest groups could also tilt.

Susan Stewart
The Invisible Centre
Regional Difference in Ukraine

The differences between Ukraine’s east and west are often simplified. Analysis of the historical, ethnic, linguistic, and economic differences as well as political attitudes reveals a complex picture. Neither the east, nor the west is homogenous, the Crimea is an exception in many respects, and the central oblasts (provinces) play an important balancing role.

Matthias Morgner
Need for Reform
Communal Self-Administration in Ukraine

Ukraine is a centralised state. It is made up of 24 oblasts(provinces), the autonomous Republic of Crimea, and Kiev and Sevastpol, cities with special status. The three-part administrative construction of oblasts, rayons (similar to counties), and municipalities stems from the Soviet era and is dysfunctional:

There is no clear division of tasks between the central administration and local self-administration. Overlapping authority is the rule. The principle of subsidiarity is unknown. The absence of a tradition of municipal self-administration is a barrier to on-site development. This is shown by an analysis of the water and sewage works. It is clear to the government in Kiev that structural reform is necessary.

Andrej Kurkov
The Natural Laws of Ukraine
On Politicians and Pragmatists

Ukraine is a puzzling country. It is full of tolerant, cordial, and smart people. But other types elbow their way to power. In recent years, however, they too have changed for the better: They are gradually starting to fear their own people. And that's good. In the peasant tradition, they have operated according to the dictum: Every political decision is like a vegetable – if one waits long enough, it ripens on its own. But each new generation of Ukrainian citizen is better educated than the previous generation. That goes for politicians as well. This is the law of human nature. Even in Ukraine, the laws of nature are obeyed 100 percent.

The Economic

Serhii Zhadan
Road Atlas of Ukraine

We circumvented around all of the gates and fences, crossed all of the railroad embankments, and ignored all of the signs pointing to the future, which were generously distributed along the way. We noted the scars of battle on the stolen VWs, the algae-green tattoos on the arms of the men, and the copper-red morning resplendence in the dyed hair of the women who pushed their heavy, black bicycles into the void, we noted the portraits of Stalin in the cabs of truck drivers, young women sleeping in delivery trucks, animals cautiously stepping out onto the streets, scenting a whiff of life, and spreading the stench of death. Somewhere here as well began the next small town and its territory.

Anders Åslund

On the Brink

The Ukrainian Economy in the Financial Crisis

The global economic crisis hit Ukraine hard in the middle of a boom. The country was cut off from global financial markets; the banking system came to a standstill; the stock market plummeted. Kiev had no other choice than to ask for assistance from the International Monetary Fund, which then put \$16 billion at the country's disposal. Soon industrial production also collapsed, foreign trade was curtailed drastically, the country plunged into recession. In the meantime, all of the signs are pointing point to recovery. Now the fundamental forms that have been put off for years must be tackled.

Petra Opitz

Inefficient and Opaque

The Ukrainian Energy Sector

Ukraine cannot cover its enormous need for energy with its own resources. The import of expensive fuel from Russia places a burden on the national budget. However, the urgently needed reform of the opaque energy sector did not come about after the Orange Revolution. Unprofitable coal mines must be closed, corruption curtailed, energy consumption reduced and renewable energies promoted. Greater efficiency in the energy sector would also ease the conflict with Russia.

Simon Pirani

Drip-Fed

Ukraine, Russia, and Natural Gas

Ukraine has a natural gas problem. The Ukrainian economy is one of the most energy intensive in the world and almost half of its primary energy consumption is natural gas. But not only is the country's consumption enormous, its dependency on imports is also great. Conflicts with main supplier Russia are the order of the day. The most recent contracts could replace the post-Soviet political wheeling and dealing. But in the current economic crisis, the serious consequences of delayed reforms are being revealed: The gas bills are bringing Ukraine to the brink of bankruptcy.

Lars Handrich, Oleksandra Betlii
Near Collapse
The Pension and Welfare System

The social security systems of Ukraine barely protect the contributors from the loss of income caused by age, illness, or unemployment. The contributions for social insurance are high, the benefits, however, are small. The pay-as-you-go pension insurance is running an enormous deficit and would have already collapsed without tax transfers. The unemployment insurance system has massively curtailed its offerings of benefits when it comes to claims. Social welfare does not benefit the truly needy. In the health system, services are only provided for cash out of pocket. Ten years after its establishment, the Ukrainian social insurance system has been ruined.

Stephan von Cramon-Taubadel
The Potential Agro-Giant
The Agricultural Situation

Ukraine has great potential in the production of agricultural products and their export. After a steep decline, agricultural production, since 2000, has once again been on the increase. For some products, such as barley, Ukraine is already the world's leading exporter. However, up to now, its agricultural potential has only been realised in a rudimentary way. The greatest handicap of Ukrainian agriculture is that its singular climatic and geographic advantages are not being fully exploited, the result of inadequate technological expertise and management skills as well as a shortage of reliable framework conditions in farm policy.

Valentin Badrak
Export Oriented
The Armaments Complex, Politics, and the Market

Ukraine inherited a large military-industrial complex from the Soviet Union. The upheaval unleashed two trends in the armaments branch: on the one hand, stagnation, decline, and collapse; entire sectors have disappeared. On the other hand, numerous works have been modernised, are internationally competitive, and export their goods on the global market. Ukrainian armaments exports go primarily to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Russia. Although structural problems between politics and the arms economy remain unsolved, many see in the armaments sector a motor for the development of the economy.

Leonid Rudenko

In Crisis

The Ecological Situation in Ukraine

The environmental situation in Ukraine is bad. Energy and raw material intensive industry has destroyed the ecological balance in the country's east. There, the concentrations of contaminants in the atmosphere are high and the quality of the water poor. Throughout the entire country, farmlands have been degraded, and biodiversity has declined. Nonetheless, although the ecological crisis has also contributed to Ukraine's demographic crisis, environmental consciousness remains marginal. The urgently needed ecological modernisation has yet to take place.

Anne Wetzel

Environmental Protection and Citizen Participation

The Opportunities and Limitations of the Aarhus Convention

Environmental protection is not a priority in Ukraine. But Ukraine has signed the Aarhus Convention and committed itself to granting citizens access to environmental information and participation in licensing proceedings. Environmental law was reformed. In practice, however, there are shortcomings. This is seen in the construction of the Bystroe Channel, which threatens to harm the biosphere reserve Danube Delta. Here the Ukrainian government is ignoring the Aarhus Convention. There is a lack of administrative capacity and political will. A change of mentality is needed among those responsible holding political and administrative office.

International Relations

Charles King

City on the Edge

Is Sevastopol the Next European Flashpoint?

Sevastopol is in Ukraine and not really a part of it. The city on the Black Sea is a mythically charged military place of memory for tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. Today, the city serves as headquarters for the Black Sea Fleet. Russia may use the military facilities until 2017. In return, Moscow recognised the Crimea and Sevastopol's status as integral components of Ukraine. Nonetheless, there are forces in Russia that seek revision. This contains the potential for conflict. Sevastopol could easily become a trouble spot.

Petro Burkovs'kyi, Oleksii Haran'
Conflict and Cooperation
Ukraine–Russia: Relationship Dynamics

To this day, parts of the political establishment in Russia have yet to come to terms with the separation of Ukraine and are trying to curtail Ukrainian sovereignty. This contains the potential for conflict. In energy policy, contrary interests stand opposite one another. The handling of the historical inheritance and history policy are the most contentious issues between Ukraine and Russia. But relations between the two are not just antagonistic. In business and commerce, pragmatism reigns. Cooperative confrontation and confrontational cooperation are common patterns within Ukrainian-Russian relations.

Alena Het'manchuk
Myths and Facts
Ukraine and NATO

Numerous myths are entwined around Ukraine's NATO ambitions. They are created by opponents of the alliance and by opponents of eastern enlargement within the alliance. The fact is: Continuity, not a change of course determines Ukrainian NATO policy; Kiev itself is striving to join NATO and is not being drawn in by the United States; accession is not directed against Russia, but instead serves Ukraine. What Ukraine needs is not a referendum on NATO, but more education about the alliance.

Julia Langbein
À la carte
Ukrainian Positions on Free Trade with the EU

Ukraine is negotiating with the EU on a comprehensive free-trade agreement. The east European country is to adopt the regulations of the EU internal market; in exchange, trade barriers such as tariffs will be dismantled. Those opposed to this include all those who profit from an opaque and corruption-ridden economics policy and those who could be exposed to greater competitive pressure. In the administrative apparatus, opposition is enormous. The interests of big business by contrast are manifold. Their position on the free-trade agreement is therefore ambivalent, like that of Ukraine's political parties.

Kai-Olaf Lang
From Mission to Pragmatism
Poland's Relations with Ukraine

Since the collapse of Communism, Poland has been very engaged on Ukraine's behalf. This is an expression of Warsaw's interest in economic and political stability in its neighbourhood, historical-cultural ties, and geopolitical calculations. Ukraine was almost part of Polish *raison d'être*. Warsaw saw it as its mission to lead Ukraine into NATO and the European Union. But the hurdles are high. In bilateral political and economic cooperation, the aspirations are greater than the results. Sobriety is spreading. Poland may remain Ukraine's advocate, but policy is becoming more pragmatic.

Society

Volodymyr Kulyk
Forked Tongues
Language and Language Policy in Ukraine

In Ukraine, the use of language often contrasts with the ideological assessment of Ukrainian and Russian. The expectations of state language policy are ambivalent. The political rhetoric is confrontational. The unreasonable language laws, however, remain unchanged. After the Orange Revolution, President Viktor Yushchenko announced an Ukrainisation. Hardly anything has happened: Only in radio and television is Ukrainian used more. Something else has changed: The political confrontation and undemocratic, administrative language policy have discredited the promotion of Ukrainian.

Zaur Gasimov
Mova and Yazyk
The Language Issue in Ukraine

Ukrainian did not have an easy status in Ukraine. Since the 19th century, Ukrainian has been displaced, sometimes even forbidden. Russian was the official language. After independence of Ukraine in 1991, Ukrainian became the sole official language, but Russian continues to play an important role. The language question contains potential for conflict. Representatives of both linguistic groups accuse one another of destroying national identity. The debate over language could be defused by cultivating the common Ukrainian-Russian cultural heritage.

Ella Libanova
Quality Instead of Quantity
Opportunities of Demographic Crisis

Ukraine is in a demographic crisis. The number of inhabitants is sinking, life expectancy has been in decline for five decades, the number of births does not even guarantee the reproduction of the population. The over-aging of society is the consequence. On top of that, there is the emigration of labour. Because the decline in population cannot be slowed, all efforts should be directed towards improving the quality of life of the people.

Olena Malynovs'ka
At the Crossroads
Migration from, to, and through Ukraine

Transnational migration is a major factor in the development of Ukrainian society. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, many people from the post-Soviet states returned to Ukraine, among them the Crimean Tartars, who were deported under Stalin. By contrast, Jews left the country for Israel. The ethnic migration is largely over. Today, millions of Ukrainians are leaving their country in order to work in Russia as well as East-Central and Southern Europe. Their transfers are of great economic significance. The social consequences, however, are disastrous, because many migrant workers leave behind their children. The importance of Ukraine as a transit country for migrants is, however, often overestimated. The borders are today largely secured. Therefore, faced with the demographic crisis, Ukraine should primarily see to the return of the migrant workers.

Kerstin Zimmer
Chasms and Their Causes
Xenophobia and Rightwing Violence in Ukraine

For a long time, Ukraine, as a multiethnic society marked by tolerance, was considered a model in the post-Soviet realm. Since 2005, reports on anti-Semitic and racially motivated criminal acts have increased. The offences range from vandalism to bodily harm and murder. Most victims are Roma and Jews. Acts of violence are increasingly directed against people from Asia and Africa. International pressure is forcing the Ukrainian government to act.

Vitalii Atanasov

Construction of Myths

On the Paradoxical Use of the Soviet Inheritance

Ukrainian politicians make the Soviet inheritance responsible for xenophobia and grievances of all kinds. Two decades after the end of Communism, this attempt to explain things is growing increasingly less convincing. The fixation on the past serves to distract from the structural problems of the present and to conceal the failure of the reforms in Ukraine.

Karsten Hein

In Our Midst

Aids in Ukraine

Nowhere else in Europe have so many people been infected with HIV as in Ukraine. The virus is spreading primarily by means of drug consumption. AIDS has horrible consequences for those affected. Because the poorest of the poor are affected most, there is a shortage of basic medical care. Society stigmatises and isolates those who become ill with the disease. International assistance falls far short. The social climate in Ukraine must change so that treatment of the ill becomes more humane.

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