

# **UKRAINE'S SOFT POWER IN THE REGION:**

THE TOOL FOR EFFECTIVE  
FOREIGN POLICY

Kyiv  
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## Introduction

Here is the explanation from the Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye who coined the term: a state's soft power is its ability to achieve its own goals by attraction rather than coercion. The context of soft power usually refers to the world's leading nations; the USA, the EU Member States, Russia and China. However, any country can exert soft power. The Institute of World Policy is the first think-tank to implement a comprehensive project examining a regional rather than a global power, Ukraine. The goal of the project «Ukraine's Soft Power in the Region: The tool for effective foreign policy» is to make Ukraine «trendy» and popular for neighbouring states, so that Ukraine could use its attractiveness for the benefit of its own national interests.

Using a specially developed methodology that Joseph S. Nye himself approved of, IWP estimated the potential of Ukraine's soft power in six states, EU Member States Poland and Romania, Ukraine's partners in European integration Moldova and Georgia, and the neighbours in the North, Belarus and Russia. The expert team of the Institute of World Policy analysed the soft power of Ukraine from more than 30 quantitative and qualitative indicators, covering political, economic and public diplomacy levels.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the sources of Ukrainian soft power in these states cannot be identical. Professor Nye, during a videoconference held by IWP within the framework of the project, explained this as follows: «Some of your progress in democratic development could be attractive in the eyes of Poles, alarm the Kremlin and even enrage Belarus. If your neighbours have a different vision of politics, it is rather difficult to find a way that would be interesting and equally attractive to all of them.»<sup>2</sup>

The project «Ukraine's Soft Power in the Region: The tool for effective foreign policy» consisted of five components:

1. The research of Ukraine's soft power according to soft power indicators on the political, economic and public diplomacy levels.
2. A media monitoring understood as the analysis of the number, tone and message of the news covering Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy events. Five to eight online media from each country (Belarus, Georgia, Poland, Romania, Moldova, and Russia) were selected for this analysis. The publications sampling was based on Google and Yahoo search results as well as the relevant news websites' own search engines to indicate the following set of key words: «Ukraine,» «Yanukovych,» «Tymoshenko,» «Ukrainian policy» and «Kyiv.» The results were processed using the Wordle application. The sampling time frame included the period of Viktor Yanukovych's presidency (2010-2011).
3. An expert survey «Top-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the Region.» Based on the answers of nearly 100 prominent experts, journalists, politicians and statesmen from the six countries of the region, IWP has identified TOP-5 Notions Associated with Ukraine in each state of the region, and the index of Ukraine's soft power in these states, based on a ten-point scale and an arithmetical mean of aggregated ratings that the surveyed experts provided.
4. IWP commissioned a series of political cartoons «Ukraine through the eyes of neighbouring nations,» drawn by the artists from the surveyed countries as well as Ukraine. Some of these

cartoons were used as illustrations in this study.

5. Videoconferences with Prof. Joseph S. Nye (USA) and Adam Michnik, the Editor-in-Chief of «Gazeta Wyborcza» (Poland).

The result of this study is a policy paper on the potential of the soft power of Ukraine in the region, and recommendations for strengthening thereof, which we hope will become a source of ideas for decision-makers, experts and the interested public.



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<sup>1</sup> We are speaking not of political or economic means of influence, but of those aspects of political and economic relations with Ukraine which are perceived positively in a surveyed country, such as friendships between politicians, reputation of Ukrainian businessmen, popular products etc.

<sup>2</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/3171.html>

## Ukraine's Soft Power in Belarus

### SO CLOSE, YET SO DISTANT

The historical destinies of Ukraine and Belarus are so close, it would stand to logic for Kyiv and Minsk to move side by side along the road of progress. An important aspect of the relationships between these countries is that their history is not blemished by a single military conflict. Unlike Russia, Ukraine could be regarded by Belarus as a partner, ally, rather than Big Brother. However, in the mid-1990s the two countries adopted different national development models. Belarus aimed at integrating into Russia-dominated structures whereas Ukraine, maneuvering between the European-Union and Russian vectors, remained predominantly West-oriented. Two alternatives determined the domestic realities in both countries: whereas Ukraine struggled to get rid of the authoritarian principles of public and political life, Belarus reconstructed Soviet realities. In other words, one witnessed a de facto competition between two post-Soviet development models. Is Ukraine competitive in this sense today? Definitely not. Even though Ukraine is ahead of Belarus by a number world rating indices, this gap is not large enough for the Belarusian to feel that the Ukrainian development model is better. Besides, local Belarusian authorities keep reiterating the exceptional advantages of the road chosen by that country, compared to the wrong ones chosen by other post-Soviet countries (e.g., Ukraine in the first place). That is precisely why one cannot assume that Belarus is emulating Ukraine's experience of reform or the preservation of democratic values.

Russia, meanwhile, has played a more important role for Belarus than Ukraine. To this end, Russia has applied both soft and hard power. The soft one is a unity of Slavic peoples, the formation of a union of Russia and Belarus, and common history. The hard one is fuel blackmail. Ukraine has never played out any of these scenarios. Each time Russia deviated from its support of Lukashenka, official Minsk changed its attitude to Kyiv. In 2002, after a conflict between the leaders of Russia and Belarus and the shortening of gas supplies from Russia, Alexander Lukashenka declared: «I should have waged the same policy as Leonid Kuchma and the Ukrainian government all these years, flirting with Russia while joining the European Union, NATO, and having the kind of relationships they have with the United States.»<sup>1</sup> Ukraine's soft power index in Belarus is 4.59 points out of 10,<sup>2</sup> as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Ukraine's soft power index in Belarus

SOFT POWER PARAMETERS	MEAN VALUE
Ukraine's foreign and domestic policy	3.12
Influence of the Ukrainian community	2.91
Ukrainian embassy's activities	6.09
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	6.71
Popularity of Ukrainian products	4.12
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	<b>4.59</b>

## DEMOCRACY: AN IRRITANT OR SOFT POWER?

To the Belarusian experts polled by the Institute of World Policy (IWP), Ukraine was mostly associated with the Orange Revolution, Crimea, Ukrainian language, and Kyiv.<sup>3</sup> This study is not representative and nor does it reflect the views of all Belarusians on Ukraine. However, it clearly demonstrates the views of the Belarusian opinion makers. Considering the specificities of the Belarusian media (banning critics of the current regime access to the leading media), it is safe to assume that the said associations are not widespread among the Belarusian public, although there is enough potential to expect them to gain in popularity.

### TOP-5 NOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UKRAINE:

1. ORANGE REVOLUTION
2. CRIMEA
3. FRIENDLY COUNTRY
4. UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE
5. KYIV

It is also true that, for the European-minded Belarusian experts and opposition members, Ukraine is a model democracy-building country, the side effects of this process notwithstanding. This means that, should there be changes to the ruling elites in Belarus, Ukraine could start exerting a considerable degree of influence on its political life. The Belarusian opposition regards democracy as a manifestation of Ukraine's soft power. «Ukraine can become a new leader within the post-Soviet space; a leader of modern processes and progress. Such a leader is badly needed today,» wrote Belarusian opposition activist Andrei Sannikov in 2005.<sup>4</sup>

The worsening of relations between Ukraine and Belarus became especially obvious right after the Orange Revolution. Minsk saw the coming to power of West-backed Viktor Yushchenko as a challenge, as an expansion of the influence of Western democracies in Eastern Europe. The Belarusian political leadership must have been scared by the possibility of it being next in line. Lukashenka's fears were not totally ungrounded. There were insistent voices heard in the United States and Ukraine that democratic metamorphoses would surely take place in Belarus. The influential Republican Senator John McCain was the first to declare [at a conference on democracy in northeast Europe, «The Future of Democracy Beyond the Baltics,» in Riga, Latvia, Feb. 6, 2004]: «We in the West have moral obligation to support your campaign to end Lukashenka's dictatorship.»<sup>5</sup> Viktor Yushchenko, then leader of revolutionary change in Ukraine, said later that Ukraine would become the «locomotive that will propel Russia and Belarus to the European Union.»<sup>6</sup>

For Lukashenka the last straw was the joint statement made by Viktor Yushchenko and George Bush in April 2005. It read, in part: «We also commit to work together to back reform, democracy, tolerance and respect for all communities, and peaceful resolution of conflicts in Georgia and Moldova, and to support the advance of freedom in countries such as Belarus and Cuba.»<sup>7</sup> Lukashenka's response was prompt and angry: «We will democratize Belarus ourselves and we need no assistants from Kyiv, Washington or other cities anywhere on the planet. We can figure out our problems ourselves.»<sup>8</sup>

Official Minsk's painful reactions to most statements made by Kyiv in regard to human rights may weaken the usage of democratic values by Ukraine as an element of soft power. Joseph Nye, the US ideologue of soft power, notes that Ukraine is interesting for America precisely from the standpoint of its democratic evolution, but this does not mean that a democratic Ukraine will be of interest to other countries. During a videoconference organized by IWP, he said that when Ukraine is compared to Belarus in America, it becomes obvious that Ukraine is proliferating values that are attractive to Americans whereas those of Belarus are repulsive. In this context Ukraine will have soft power in the United States for as long as it stays democratic. And so Ukraine's soft power consists in democracy. Nye further believes that the problem is whether the same example, the same narrative effective in all directions. For example, certain democratic achievements of Ukraine can be attractive to Poles but disturbing to the Kremlin and irritating

to Belarus. Considering that Ukraine's neighbors may have different views on politics, it is difficult to find a way that will be of interest and equally attractive to all of them.<sup>9</sup>

That is why Ukraine now and then tries to keep its balance, avoiding statements urging democratic transformations in Belarus. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, for example, did not sign a joint declaration condemning Lukashenka's policy during the V4 summit in February 2011.<sup>11</sup> This, however, can also be explained by Ukraine's cautious stand so as to continue to act as a mediator between Minsk and countries of the West. Another thing is that the EU, being disappointed in Lukashenka, isn't likely to need this mediation.<sup>12</sup>

It would be erroneous to regard Ukraine as a supporter of Minsk's authoritarian methods. The Ukrainian leadership, even under President Viktor Yanukovych (accused by Western human rights organizations of departing from democracy) closely follows observance of the rule of law in Belarus. Official Kyiv has made sharply-worded statements on many principal violations there, including after the brutal dispersion of a rally in Minsk (December 2010)<sup>12</sup> and when Ukrainian nationals were arrested in Belarus.<sup>13</sup> Nor were the Ukrainian diplomats silent when the noted Belarusian opposition leader, Andrei Sannikov, was thrown behind bars.<sup>14</sup> In fact, Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko met with him in September 2010, when he was a presidential candidate.<sup>15</sup>

Such policy will apparently irritate the current Belarusian regime, but it fully conforms to the principles Ukraine must adhere to while integrating into the EU. Ukraine is no model country for Belarus, but it may well become one eventually, especially after Belarusian society realizes that its political leadership is on the wrong road leading to international isolation and rigid domestic control over all spheres of life.

## SITUATIONAL FRIENDSHIP. UKRAINE-BELARUS THAW

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Belarusian media have long portrayed Ukraine as a Slavic neighbor lost in the woods, a country that rashly embarked on a road leading to market economy and democracy, and which ended up gripped by political anarchy, its national wealth being robbed by a small group of dishonorable smart operators, and rampant corruption. This backdrop was meant to stress the advantages of the «special choice» made by Belarus. Ukraine's soft power in Belarus looks insignificant because of the political distance between the two countries and Ukraine's unattractive image. However, in view of the sharpening economic crisis in Belarus, in mid-2011, President Lukashenka's dropping rating (after seventeen years in office), and in the event of effective reforms in Ukraine, Kyiv's weight in this region in general and in Belarus, in particular, could increase.

Friendly relations between the Ukrainian and Belarusian leaderships have rarely been the case. The Belarusian authorities have made frequent derogatory remarks on Ukraine and its leaders. However, during a relative thaw both sides have tried to maintain an active dialogue. A total of 28 Ukraine-Belarus summits have taken place in 1995-2011, including nine visits by the Belarusian president, seven by the Ukrainian head of state, and 12 meetings during international forums.<sup>16</sup>

With both presidents assuring each other of brotherly devotion on numerous occasions, the political relations between Kyiv and Minsk have rarely been particularly close. In the early 1990s, after the Soviet Union's collapse, Ukraine-Belarus cooperation could not have been systemic as both countries were faced with considerable financial and economic problems, as well as with the task of building a good international image. In other words, both had to prove the viability their national independence.

Kyiv-Minsk cooperation received a degree of definiteness after the first change in the political leadership of both countries, when Leonid Kravchuk and Stanislav Shushkevich, who had signed the fateful Belavezha Accords, stepped down to be succeeded by Leonid Kuchma and Alexander Lukashenka (symbolically, both were elected presidents simultaneously, on July 10, 1994). During that period Ukraine-Belarus



relationships registered no particular conflicts, but nor did they show any special progress as evidence of closer cooperation. Instead, progress was made in cooperation with Russia,<sup>17</sup> specifically within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States. This trend became especially evident after the creation in 2003 of Common Economic Space, including Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia (after Viktor Yushchenko came to power Ukraine stopped taking part in it). Interestingly, quite a few top-level meetings between Ukraine and Belarus took part during intergovernmental, primarily CIS forums.<sup>18</sup>

Now and then Ukraine-Belarus relations showed nonpublic misunderstandings, mostly due to Lukashenka's overemotional statements. Thus, in 2003, Belarus opposed Leonid Kuchma as chairman of the CIS Council of Heads of States. Lukashenka insisted that Ukraine wasn't a full-fledged CIS member because it hadn't ratified the statutory documents.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, the logic of Ukraine-Belarus relationships is such that each can accept the other's ideas only where and when this is situationally for the benefit of both. Neither has a definite stand in, let alone a strategy of, the development of bilateral cooperation. Remarkably, the «warmest» period in these relations was in 2009, when Viktor Yushchenko was still President of Ukraine (even though rejected by the Belarusian leadership from the outset). This warmth was explained by their common approach to foreign political issues.

President Yushchenko's objectives were:

- Rallying round Ukraine countries distancing themselves from the Russian Federation;
- Becoming a mediator in a dialogue between Belarus, the European Union, and the United States;
- Reinforcing Ukraine's domestic and foreign political positions against the backdrop of numerous commentaries on the incumbent president's weakness and foreign partners ignoring him.

President Lukashenka wanted:

- A partner who would provide conditions for communicating with the European Union. For him it was extremely important to receive support from Western countries to receive loans in the course of a severe financial crisis;
- To take revenge on the Orange leadership, demonstrating that Viktor Yushchenko, known for his sharp criticism of Lukashenka's regime, had finally no choice but side with an authoritarian leader;
- To pretend to be devoted to the new Belarusian policy of democratization, because it was necessary in order to receive loans (Lukashenka used this trend until the 2010 presidential election when his opponents were arrested and the EU imposed sanctions on official Minsk).

During the period of thaw in Ukraine-Belarus relations both countries noticeably stepped up cooperation. Among other things they started the ball rolling in an old border dispute. Minsk had long refused to ratify the Ukraine-Belarus border treaty, signed May 12, 1997, and ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, July 18, 1997. The House of Representatives of the National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus ratified the treaty only on April 2, 2010.<sup>20</sup> Until then Belarus had procrastinated, claiming Ukraine still owed it money, so that ratification had for ten years remained the biggest problem in the bilateral relations.

In other words, Ukraine and Belarus appear to share an experience of effectively solving disputable issues. This, however, is not exactly the case. Had these countries actually trusted and understood each other, no such issues would have been placed on the agenda, let alone remain there for over a decade. Besides, it is anyone's guess how much longer it will be there, considering that official Minsk refuses to forward the ratification instruments to Kyiv, using them for political leverage.

The 2010 presidential elections in Belarus, severely criticized by the international community, marked a turning point in bilateral cooperation, particularly after the Ukrainian foreign ministry's statement criticizing the [brutal] dispersion of a rally of protest [in Minsk]. This couldn't but have a negative effect on the dialogue. Once again Minsk put out feelers for resuming contacts with Russia, placing Ukraine second on the list of foreign political priorities.

Ukraine-Belarus relations exploded in the course of events commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Chornobyl disaster that were organized by Ukraine. President Lukashenka made several rude statements addressing the Ukrainian leadership and the European Union. The main reason behind this aggressive outburst was that the Belarusian leader had not been invited to all the ceremonies, allegedly to please the EU leadership.<sup>22</sup> «You ask Yanukovich: How come the Belarusian president isn't attending these events? You ask them all. Unfortunately, there are enough lousy aspects about the current leadership of Ukraine,» declared Lukashenka.

Official Kyiv responded immediately as the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine issued a press release referring to the Belarusian leader's verbal attacks as «unprecedentedly improper.» Minsk took little if any notice. Belarusian diplomats would say, off the record, that there wasn't a single note of protest, and that a press release could not be regarded as a serious response. Belarusian officials believe that the Ukrainian president felt guilty about failing to invite his Belarusian counterpart.

This marked another cooling of relations between Ukraine and Belarus and it didn't make Ukraine's image any better in the eyes of the Belarusian in the street. Ukraine might be construed as a country at the West's beck and call, even to the detriment of its national interests and «Slavic unity» that was eulogized by official Belarusian propaganda. In June 2011, Alexander Lukashenka reiterate his views on Ukraine's position on the international arena, to the effect that it was forced to its knees by the West.<sup>23</sup> It will be hard to refute these long-standing official allegations. Ukraine should practically demonstrate the advantages of this pro-Western stand, so the Belarusian — and the Ukrainian — in the street could make his own conclusion on which option was more effective.

As it is, Ukraine isn't even trying to refute these allegations, thus working into the hands of the Belarusian propaganda machine. The Ukrainian leadership once again demonstrated its weakness by retiring Roman Bezsmertny, Ambassador to Belarus, after he and his colleagues from the EU countries refused to attend Lukashenka's inauguration; also, because he had repeatedly stressed the importance of observing human rights in Belarus. This, of course, outraged the authorities that be.<sup>24</sup>

The sharpening of Ukraine-Belarus relations peaked after Minsk ordered several Ukrainian diplomats out of the country, according to Ukrainian press reports, although no confirmation was forthcoming from either Belarusian or Ukrainian official circles.

The above examples are proof that Ukraine-Belarus relationships are markedly ambiguous, with an unprecedented peak and assurances of lasting friendship, and an unprecedented decline, with the Belarusian leadership lashing out at that of Ukraine, at times doing so markedly rudely. Pavel Sheremet, a noted journalist, thus describes Ukraine's image in Belarus: «Those in power in Belarus have deliberately formed a specific image of Ukraine in the eyes of Belarusians. For years its propaganda machine has portrayed Ukraine as a poverty-stricken neighbor, as an example of what reforms can bring about... Ukrainians were to be pitied because their living standard was allegedly even lower than in Belarus, and that, worse still, they were deprived of such benefits as law and order, and a firm hand. The Orange Revolution added new colors to this negative image. Propaganda had a field day describing the fiasco of the Ukrainian revolution. One could hardly name a Ukrainian politician who is mentioned with respect in Belarus. Well, except perhaps Yanukovich, until recently, but in the end he proved a 'lousy' one, to quote from Lukashenka.»<sup>25</sup>

An analysis of Belarusian media headlines, carried out by IWP, allows to rate the most frequently used words in newspaper headings concerning events in Ukraine:<sup>26</sup>

1. Yanukovich
2. Tymoshenko
3. Russia
4. Azarov
5. Oil
6. Lutsenko



International aspects are also dealt with (e.g., «MFA», «Russia», «NATO», «EU», «CIS», «US»), but not on as large a scale as, for example, in Poland. The adjective Venezuelan is used in the word combination «Venezuelan oil», along with transit and transportation. In other words, considerable attention has been paid to Ukraine's role in securing Venezuelan oil supplies to Belarus during the crisis in Russia-Belarus relationships. Fuel supplies constitute a traditionally popular subject, as evidenced by such frequently used word combinations and words as «Odesa-Brody», «oil» and «gas.»

The word cooperation has been increasingly often used of late, which is probably indicative of Ukraine-Belarus relationships. In 2010, Belarus tried to rely on Ukraine in resolving disputable matters with Russia and establishing contacts with the EU. There is no «Customs Union,» which can mean that Belarus isn't particularly interested or that Ukraine isn't likely to become part of it.

## BELARUSIAN «MIRACLE» VS. UKRAINIAN DEMOCRACY

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larus is now scandalously placed last on a list of average monthly wages in the neighboring countries... In Ukraine, whose economic situation has for years been decried by Belarusian media, the average pay amounts to \$318, three dollars higher than in our country.»<sup>27</sup>

Belarusians weren't the only one to believe in their economic miracle. Until recently, quite a few Ukrainians preferred the Belarusian model (Minsk then actually wielded soft power among Ukrainians with its economic and political model). For them Ukraine spelled instability and poverty, whereas Belarus meant stability, development, and well-being (15.5%).<sup>28</sup> Such poll was last carried out in 2006. Considering a sharp decline in the living standard, increasing isolation by the West, with Russia's leading channels constantly destroying Belarus' economic miracle, the findings would be dramatically different today. Official Kyiv treated the sharpening of crisis in Belarus with marked understanding and promised support, despite the rude statements addressing the President of Ukraine.<sup>29</sup> It is also true, however, that Ukraine's insignificant resources will make such promises remain on paper.

Which model, the authoritarian Belarusian or the democratic Ukrainian one, will prove effective in the end? The firm Belarusian hand is in reality a manifestation of its soft power to a certain number of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian model is of interest to a certain number of Belarusians. After Yanukovich became president, world printed media has been carrying an increasing number of articles predicting Ukraine's gradual transformation into another Belarus.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, the idea of a firm hand is rather popular in Ukraine, especially as compared to the democratic order after the fiasco of the Orange Revolution.

Pew Global Attitudes Project's Nov. 2009 Survey showed a 42 percent decline in the popularity of democracy in Ukraine since 1991, the lowest among the post-Soviet countries polled. At the same time, 30 percent Ukrainians who supported democracy in 2009 made up the lowest index in the countries under study.<sup>31</sup> These indices serve to explain Yanukovich's victory in the 2010 presidential elections, because the electorate regarded him as nondemocratic.

Those in power in Ukraine are actually faced with the strategic task of reading media headings something like «Belarus is Turning into Ukraine» (of course not the Ukraine it is these days; the state will have to get over the financial crisis, overcome rampant corruption, carry out reforms in various spheres of life, and only then claim the status of a model nation-state in the region). Ukraine has sufficient potential to do just that. What is needed is political will.

Tab. 2 below shows that Ukraine and Belarus have similar indices in regard to the man-in-the-street living standard, but there is a substantial difference between the democratic scores. In this sense Ukraine is far ahead, especially in terms of freedom of expression. Freedom House rating shows Belarus to be almost at the bottom of the list. The situation is worse only in Cuba and Eritrea. On the other hand, it is easier to do business in Belarus. Belarusian companies' investments in the Ukrainian economy are ten times those of Ukrainian businesses in Belarus. In 2010, Ukrainian investments in Belarus amounted to 4.04 million dollars, and the Belarusian ones in Ukraine, 43.47 million.<sup>32</sup> Belarus points to a low level of direct inland investments: six billion dollars in 2010, with Russian capital heavily involved).<sup>33</sup>

**Table 2. Ukraine and Belarus in Ratings**

RATING	UKRAINE	BELARUS
Nations in Transit, <sup>34</sup> 2010 (Note: The ratings are based on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 7 the lowest)	4,39	6,5
Freedom in the World, 2011 <sup>35</sup> (same 1-7 scale)	Partly free	Not free
Political rights	3	7
Civil liberties	3	6



Freedom of the press, 2010 <sup>36</sup>	108th place out of 196	189th out of 196
Reporters without Borders, 2010 (place on a list of 178 countries) <sup>37</sup>	131	154
Corruption Perceptions Index, 2010, Transparency International (place on a list of 178 countries scored on a scale from 10 {very clean} to 0 {highly corrupt}) <sup>38</sup>	134 (2,4)	127 (2,5)
Doing Business, 2010 (place on a list of 183 countries) <sup>39</sup>	145	68
Human Development Report, 2010 <sup>40</sup> (place on a list of 178 countries scored on a scale from 1 {very high} to 0 {very low})	69 (0, 710)	61 (0,723)
Henley Visa Restrictions Index, 2010 <sup>41</sup> (166 is very high and 26 is very low)	64	56

Ukrainian business people who operate on the Belarusian market complain about local bureaucrats building considerable obstacles for Ukrainian products that are popular enough, by the way. Such brands as «Obolon» beer, «Morshynska» mineral water, «Roshen» confectionery, crude sunflower oil (e.g., «Khutorok»), vodka, etc., are well known in Belarus. Ex-Ambassador to Belarus Roman Bezsmertny says that Belarus is anything but a country where doing business is easy. While starting in business is easy enough, doing business is very difficult, because [Ukrainian] businesses are being elbowed from the market using administrative levers, various restrictions, imposed financial quotes, and so on.<sup>42</sup> As a result, Ukrainian products are overpriced.

This is precisely what happened to «Obolon». In 2010, Belarusian authorities launched an antidumping investigation resulting in what was actually a ban on the sales of Ukrainian beer on the local market. In the end the Ukrainian company had to increase the prices, as demanded by the Belarusian side.<sup>43</sup> Antidumping investigations were also conducted against starch syrup and caramel. There were numerous press reports predicting further restrictions on Ukrainian goods by the Customs Union of which Belarus is a member.<sup>44</sup>

The fact that Ukrainian brands are popular with Belarusian customers is proof of Ukraine's soft power, just as the barriers placed in their way by Belarusian authorities are evidence of the considerable degree of their competitiveness. Ukrainian producers could further strengthen their positions on the Belarusian market (while enhancing this soft power, even if unbeknownst to them) if official Minsk didn't throw monkey wrenches into their works.

Ex-Ambassador Roman Bezsmertny has this to say on the subject: «In general, the situation in the Republic of Belarus could be described as the absence of any competitive environment. There is no competition and all products available and manufactured are subject to the president's approval. In fact, all business in this country is done by one person and only those lines of business he allows can exist. The peculiarity of that country's economy is the concept of the so-called Belarusian miracle. Yet this is nothing but myth and the crisis has demonstrated that such a miracle can't exist in principle.»<sup>45</sup>

Ukraine-Belarus trade cooperation has followed a winding road. In the 1990s, the two countries actually dissociated themselves from each other. The reason for sluggish trade cooperation was the difficult economic situation and certain intergovernmental problems, particularly 130-135 million dollars, which sum Belarus re-qualified as Ukraine's public debt. This debt had formed in 1992-94 when both countries adopted their respective national currencies (Ukraine would never recognize it, regarding it as money owed by separate business entities). In fact, Belarus refused to ratify the border treaty precisely because of this problem. Besides, at the time Russia sought to get the Belarusian economy involved with its own as much as possible (this process is still underway). As a result, the Belarusian leadership did not regard Ukraine as a serious outlet. Proof of this is found in the following statistics: in 2002-05, Ukraine's share

in the CIS trade turnover had dropped from 10 to 6.5 percent, with mutual trade balance close to nil. In 2004-05, oil products constituted over 70 percent of the Belarusian exports as local refineries used Russia's comparatively cheap oil and sold these products to Ukraine.<sup>46</sup>

Strange as it may seem, after the Orange Revolution trade contacts between Ukraine and Belarus received a fresh impetus as commodity turnover indices showed a quick increase. In 2010, Belarus placed second in the CIS (after Russia) and fifth in the world (its share in Ukraine's commodity turnover with the world is 3.61 percent).<sup>47</sup> Ukraine's export of commodities and services to Belarus amounted to 2.03 billion dollars and such imports from Belarus, to 2.63 billion.<sup>48</sup>

Oil became a symbolic component of Ukraine-Belarus cooperation in 2010. Both countries thus demonstrated a means of resisting Russia's economic and political influence. Kyiv and Minsk agreed on Venezuelan oil supplies to the Mozyr Oil Refinery through the Odesa-Brody pipeline, but then there emerged problems with supplies, allegedly because the oil refinery was under scheduled repair. The Ukrainian side was alarmed by the possibility of the Belarusian side refusing to honor the commitments, considering that Moscow was trying to bar any alternative oil source access to the Belarusian refineries.<sup>49</sup>

Belarus appears to have used that oil project — as well as Ukraine's capacities — as a weapon in a propaganda war against Russia. Collaboration with Kyiv stopped when it could no longer bring political dividends. Cooperation in the oil sphere could also be considered in terms of Ukraine's soft power, as the two countries combined efforts to resist external influences (particularly from Russia). Under the circumstances Ukraine showed a genuinely friendly attitude toward the Belarusian leadership at the risk of losing a thaw in its relationships with Russia.

## SOFT POWER WITH A HUMAN FACE

The human factor can play an important role in the strengthening of Ukraine's soft power in Belarus. Despite the Belarusian leadership's longstanding policy of upholding Ukraine's negative image in the eyes of the populace, tens of thousands of Belarusians wish to visit this country. Belarusian experts, polled by IWP as part of the project «Ukraine's Soft Power: Top-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the Region,» associate Ukraine with the Crimean resorts. In 2010, almost 131,000 tourists visited Ukraine, with only Russians and Poles constituting the majority of those headed for the peninsula. In June 2011, Belavia Belarusian Airlines resumed a regular Minsk-Simferopol flight that had remained canceled for several years. As of July 2011, there are seven Minsk-Kyiv trains and five flights.<sup>50</sup>

Table 3. **Number of Belarusian nationals who visited Ukraine in 2010**<sup>51</sup>

Total number	Purpose of the visit						
	business, diplomacy	tourism	private	study	employment	immigration	cultural, sports, religious, other exchanges
3,058,023	49,834	130,730	2,843,308	330	207	1,499	32,115

Belarus has a population of 9.5 million (2009 census), so the number of its citizens visiting Ukraine is considerable. This is proof of a high level of interhuman communication. Besides, people can see Ukraine for what it really is, proving the old truth that seeing is believing. One-third Belarusians have first-hand knowledge about Ukraine — not from news bulletins but from their personal experience, having friends and colleagues in this country. It is safe to assume that their impressions are in many respects similar to how

Ukrainians feel about their country: a backward economy, the politicians' detachment from the people's needs, and corruption. It stands to logic that the Belarusian in the street, visiting Ukraine, will see it in this light. All this doesn't serve to strengthen Ukraine's soft power in Belarus (while all those recent stories about the Belarusian economic miracle might well have left the Ukrainian in the street dazed with admiration). Quite a few Ukrainians visit Belarus (1.5 million in 2009 alone, including a mere 2,400 tourists).

Possibly a large number of Ukrainians and Belarusians visiting the neighboring countries live in the border areas. The fact remains that interhuman communication is most active there, in terms of private visits and trade cooperation. There is a special bilateral agreement on visiting fairs. Last year, such business in the border areas made up 27 percent of the gross commodity turnover.<sup>52</sup>

President Yanukovich's ancestors come from what is now the Belarusian village of Yanuky. This may add to Ukraine's soft power because a country is often perceived through its leader. In this case seeing the head of Ukrainian state as their fellow countryman could serve to enhance Ukraine's soft power in Belarus. Yanukovich has repeatedly visited the land of his forefathers, each trip extensively covered by the Ukrainian and Belarusian media. His remembering the ancestral land adds a sentimental touch to the dialogue and a positive extra-optical aspect to the bilateral relationships.<sup>53</sup>

A very important role in the proliferation of Ukraine's soft power in Belarus could be played by the large ethnic community. Belarus currently numbers 140 ethnic minorities, including 8.3% Russians, 3.1% Poles, and 1.7% (159,000) Ukrainians.<sup>54</sup> There is a sad touch to these statistics. The Ukrainian embassy's website reads that only 46,000 ethnic Ukrainians recognize Ukrainian as their mother tongue, whereas 12,000 say it is Belarusian, and 97,000 feel sure it is Russian.<sup>55</sup> In a way, this calls into question the possibility of the interests of official Kyiv being effectively promoted by the ethnic Ukrainian community in Belarus. This community is largely disoriented, due to a number of political-historical factors (e.g., total Russification of Belarus), as well as political-organization ones (absence of systemic support from the government of Ukraine).

Also, ethnic community activists note that Belarusian authorities are making their work difficult, so much so some ethnic Ukrainian [nonprofit] associations have been refused official registration. Last but not least, there are no Ukrainian language classes, let alone schools. Officials blame the ethnic community, saying there is no initiative.

Tetiana Bei, of the Vatra Association of Ukrainian Belarusians, told IWP experts: «Community members need such classes, but there is the red tape, lots of it, so we can't start the ball running. The bureaucrats are scared to lift a finger; fear is omnipresent. We're often aided by [ethnic] Ukrainian scholars and business people who ask us to keep them unidentified, because they are scared.» There are also problems with Ukrainian language media in Belarus. In 1995, the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Belarus banned the remaining Ukrainian channel, Inter Plus.<sup>56</sup>

Vatra remains the best known ethnic Ukrainian association in Belarus. It is responsible for a number of important public projects. Olha Reshetylova, a journalist with the all-Ukraine newspaper *Den'*, describes the current status of the Ukrainian community in Belarus, saying you won't find a single Ukrainian school, cultural center, even a church where the services are celebrated in Ukrainian. In fact, Ukrainian life in Belarus is centered in eight NGOs and ethnic associations operating in various regions. All these organizations are part of Vatra. All Vatra activists work on a voluntary basis, they have nothing except moral support from Ukraine, and a legal address at the Ukrainian embassy (this has helped Vatra avoid confrontations with Belarusian authorities).<sup>57</sup>

IWP-pollled Belarusian experts noted that Ukrainian culture is in considerable public demand in their country, including folk crafts, classical literary works, contemporary art, today's Ukrainian men of letters and performers. Ukraine must work hard along these lines. Stanislav Shushkevich, the first President of the Republic of Belarus, says he often attends cultural events in Minsk where contemporary European (specifically Polish) writers are discussed, yet doesn't remember a single such discussion dedicated to modern Ukrainian literature.

Achievements by Ukrainian athletes could be regarded as yet another component of Ukraine's soft power in Belarus. «Sports is the only domain where Belarusian authorities build no barriers. We can watch your athletes leap higher and [soccer players] score more goals on our government-run channels,» notes Shushkevich, adding that Belarusians hold the Klitschko brothers in esteem. Incidentally, back in 2010 Vitali Klitschko said Minsk could be the site for his bout with the Russian Nikolai Valuev, adding that such fights should be held in a neutral country, not on either boxer's home turf, so both would have equal opportunities and support from their fans.<sup>58</sup>

Sports, however, have served to bring Ukraine and Belarus closer together and antagonize them, especially after the Belarusian soccer player, Artem Milevsky, was granted Ukrainian citizenship and said he wanted to join the Ukrainian national team. This caused a bureaucratic squabble that got to the point of forwarding letters of complaint to the FIFA leadership. Eventually, the issue was settled and, but former Milevsky's Belarusian fans refused to forgive his betrayal. On the other hand, this doesn't make Ukraine any less attractive — or its role less important — to the Belarusian in the street, especially in regard to soccer. A Belarusian sports commentator tried to figure out Milevsky's decision: «Nobody is perfect. Milevsky found the temptation too strong to resist: the best post-Soviet soccer club, an opportunity to join the Ukrainian national team which — let's face it — looked better than our national team, all parameters considered. The question is: How many of those who're now calling him traitor and prostitute would have resisted using such an opportunity?»<sup>59</sup>

In fact, there have been examples to the contrary in the sports relationships between these countries. Ukrainian three times world biathlon champion Olena Zubrylova received Belarusian citizenship in 2002. This isn't a typical example, considering that she settled in Belarus in the twilight of her sports career, but it was important for the Belarusian government to demonstrate that the country was capable of forming a team of internationally recognized coaches — in this case, experts on biathlon. The freestyler, Alla Tsuper, followed suit after placing fifth at the 1998 Olympics in Nagano (regarded as a fiasco at the time). As a Belarusian national, Tsuper has vied for the national team for the past decade, yet her first Olympic performance (coached by Vitalii Shvedov from Mykolaiv) remains the most effective one, considering that she placed ninth at Salt Lake City in 2002, and tenth at Turin in 2006.

The Ukrainian Diaspora [in Belarus] boasts a number of names. These people are an inseparable component of the Belarusian cultural elite, namely: Roman Motulsky, director, National Library; Oleksandr Medvid, three times Olympic champion (freestyle wrestling); Mykhailo Zhyliuk, Merited Artist of Ukraine and Belarus; Viktor Ploskina, chief conductor, Belarusian Opera and Ballet Theater; Ihor Zabara, artistic director, Independent Small Theater; stage/film director Borys Lutsenko, to mention but a few.

Ukrainian cuisine is appreciated in Belarus. Despite the post-Soviet stereotype associating Ukrainians with salo fatback, this product is as popular in Belarus (it is actually considered to be a national one). In fact, the opposition's white-red flag has long been popularly tagged as salo (because it reminds one of fatback with its fat and fat meat from the upper part of a side of pork). Ditto chicken Kyiv and of course borsch. «Whenever I visit Ukraine, Poland or Lithuania, I look for a restaurant that has borsch on the menu; it tastes great and is highly nourishing,» says Shushkevich.

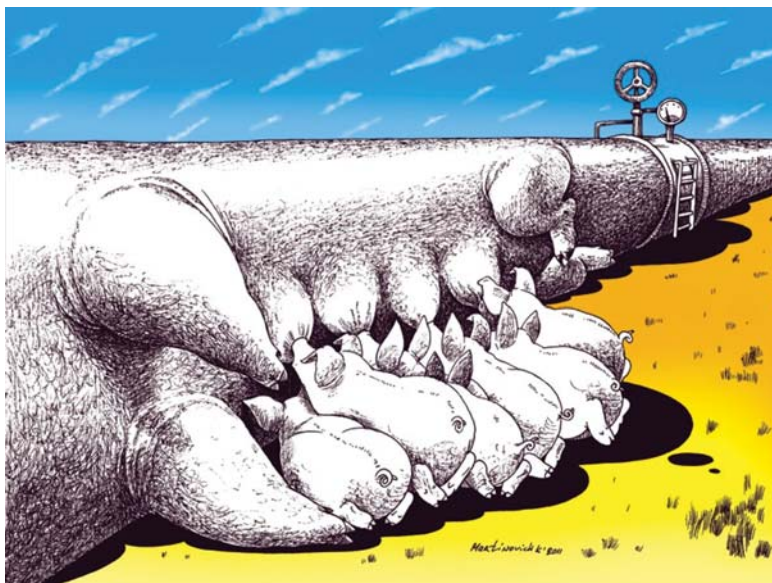
Ukrainian pop stars are popular in Belarus, among them Ani Lorak, Taisia Povalii (winner of the Grand Prix at the Slaviansky bazar music fest in Vitebsk, 1993), Ruslana (she represented Ukraine, starring at the gala concert commemorating Belarus' Independence Day, July 3, 2011). The rock band «Okean Elzy» is loved by all Belarusian pop music buffs. In May 2010, OE staged six concerts in Belarus and critics emphasized full houses with standing room only.<sup>60</sup> Euroradio, beaming on Belarus, covered all of them, with a commentator saying, «Belarusians love the Ukrainian rock band «Okean Elzy»; this is a kind of extreme affection, in the good sense of the word. These performers are on a concert tour that will take them to six Belarusian cities. They will play to full houses everywhere, with the tickets to the huge Ice Palaces sold long in advance. This might be something to do with the mental sphere. This rock band's popularity is greater than that of such Belarusian showbiz favorites as «Lyapis Trubetskoy».»<sup>61</sup>



The above example offers the best evidence of soft power. More often than not, the latter proves unpredictable, something no government-run programs can provide for. Therefore, adding to this success list would mean adding to Ukraine's soft power. Actually, the soft power formula is determined by success stories in some or other field of endeavor. In the case of Belarus, the components of this formula could include efforts to uphold the democratic values, support of Belarus on its way to EU membership, while altering the political system (in which case Ukraine could play the role Poland is playing in regard to Ukraine), furthering joint projects in terms of business cooperation (oil transportation serving as a graphic example), official support of cultural projects meant to help Belarusians better understand Ukraine.

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- <sup>1</sup> <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1621180/print>
  - <sup>2</sup> This index was established after polling 17 Belarusian opinion makers (journalists, politicians, political analysts). Each respondent offered his/her points as a separate parameter of Ukraine's "soft power" in Belarus.
  - <sup>3</sup> "Ukraine's Soft Power: Top-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the Region", Institute of World Policy, Kyiv, 2011
  - <sup>4</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/43321>
  - <sup>5</sup> <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/499637>
  - <sup>6</sup> [http://www.ea-ua.info/news.php?news\\_id=1114&news\\_show\\_type=1](http://www.ea-ua.info/news.php?news_id=1114&news_show_type=1)
  - <sup>7</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/usa/ua/publication/content/20979.htm>
  - <sup>8</sup> [http://korrespondent.net/world/119165-lukashenko-obvinil-yushchenko-vo-vmeshatelstve-vo-vnutrennie-dela-belarusi\(04.13.05\)](http://korrespondent.net/world/119165-lukashenko-obvinil-yushchenko-vo-vmeshatelstve-vo-vnutrennie-dela-belarusi(04.13.05))
  - <sup>9</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/3171.html>
  - <sup>10</sup> <http://www.rbc.ua/rus/digests/show/ukraina-ne-prisoedinilas-k-stranam-es-osudivshim-rezhim-16022011091000>
  - <sup>11</sup> <http://telegraf.by/2011/04/es-ne-stal-kommentirovat--zajavlenie-obichnogo-grazhdanina-lukashenko.html>
  - <sup>12</sup> <http://hmaro4os.org.ua/mzs-ukrajiny-vyslovylo-nehatyvne-stavlennya-do-metodiv-rozhonu-majdanu-v-bilorusiji.html>
  - <sup>13</sup> [http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/publish/article?art\\_id=243957183](http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/publish/article?art_id=243957183)
  - <sup>14</sup> <http://www.voanews.com/russian/news/Ukraine-Sannikov-2011-05-17-122069814.html>
  - <sup>15</sup> <http://charter97.org/ru/news/2010/9/9/31995/>
  - <sup>16</sup> <http://www.belarus.mfa.gov.ua/belarus/ua/publication/content/38592.htm>
  - <sup>17</sup> [http://se2.isn.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/93292/ipublicationdocument\\_singledocument/1D70319F-E615-4CE1-861C-EED729F5AE88/en/2006\\_1.pdf](http://se2.isn.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/93292/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/1D70319F-E615-4CE1-861C-EED729F5AE88/en/2006_1.pdf)
  - <sup>18</sup> <http://www.belarus.mfa.gov.ua/belarus/ua/publication/content/38592.htm>
  - <sup>19</sup> [http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2002/10/9/2990986/view\\_print/](http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2002/10/9/2990986/view_print/)
  - <sup>20</sup> <http://house.gov.by/index.php/6719,26208,1,,0,0,0.htm>
  - <sup>21</sup> <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2011/04/26/6141721/>
  - <sup>22</sup> <http://news.tochka.net/ua/64091-mid-vozmushchen-slovami-lukashenko-o-vshivom-rukovodstve-ukrainy/>
  - <sup>23</sup> <http://www.rbc.ua/rus/top/show/lukashenko-zapad-i-ssha-derzhat-ukrainu-na-korotkom-povodke-18062011164500>
  - <sup>24</sup> <http://www.kommersant.ua/doc.html?docId=1654982>
  - <sup>25</sup> <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/columns/2011/06/7/6276435/>
  - <sup>26</sup> Interfax Belarus <http://www.interfax.by> (49 articles);  
     Belta <http://www.belta.by> (96 articles);  
     Telegraf Belarus <http://telegraf.by> (656 articles);  
     Naviny <http://naviny.by> (276 articles);  
     Charter 97 <http://charter97.org> (80 articles)
  - <sup>27</sup> <http://nn.by/?c=ar&i=55471>
  - <sup>28</sup> <http://bdg.by/news/news.htm?98895,99>
  - <sup>29</sup> <http://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2011/05/30/287452/>
  - <sup>30</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/1071560-polskij-ekspert-yanukovich-prevrashchaet-ukrainu-v-belarus>
  - <sup>31</sup> <http://vlasti.net/news/73747>
  - <sup>32</sup> <http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/ukrbel/5231.html>

- <sup>33</sup> <http://www.rrb.by/presscenter/news/2011/523/>
- <sup>34</sup> <http://freedomhouse.eu/images/Reports/NIT-2010-Belarus-final.pdf>
- <sup>35</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>
- <sup>37</sup> <http://en.rsfs.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>
- <sup>38</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>
- <sup>39</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>
- <sup>40</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BLR.html>
- <sup>41</sup> [http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010\\_globalRanking.pdf](http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010_globalRanking.pdf)
- <sup>42</sup> Press conference at Glavkom HQ, 06.24.11
- <sup>43</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/4072.html>
- <sup>44</sup> <http://facenews.ua/4330/torgovaja-vojna-ukraina-vs-tamogennij-souz.htm>
- <sup>45</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/4072.html>
- <sup>46</sup> <http://www.ruskiivopros.com/index.php?pag=one&id=377&kat=5&csl=50>
- <sup>47</sup> <http://www.belarus.mfa.gov.ua/belarus/ua/31644.htm>
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> <http://politclub.info/2011/05/01/непрозрачные-своп-схемы-поставок-неф/>
- <sup>50</sup> <http://transport.marshruty.ru/Transport/Timetable/91952-94430-Minsk-Kiev/>
- <sup>51</sup> <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua>
- <sup>52</sup> <http://business.export.by/?act=news&mode=view&page=15&id=28518>
- <sup>53</sup> <http://7days.belta.by/7days.nsf/last/92A83A6E5BCBB7FC42256F6B0046BC49?OpenDocument>
- <sup>54</sup> <http://belstat.gov.by/homep/ru/perepic/2009/itogi1.php>
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/world/123946-v-belarusi-zapretili-ukrainskie-telekanaly>
- <sup>57</sup> <http://www.day.kiev.ua/303498>
- <sup>58</sup> <http://www.from-ua.com/news/48a779ca3582c.html>
- <sup>59</sup> <http://football.sport.ua/news/104068>
- <sup>60</sup> <http://old.euroradio.fm/ru/1229/interview/48409>
- <sup>61</sup> <http://old.euroradio.fm/ru/1213/musicspecials/47658>



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## Ukraine's Soft Power in Georgia

The relations between Ukraine and Georgia can well claim to being an all-round success story. Georgia and Ukraine have never had territorial claims, which, for example, are still overshadowing Ukrainian relations with some immediate neighbours; both countries experienced «colour revolutions», Ukraine consistently supports the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia. The Presidents of the two countries have always got on well: Kuchma and Shevardnadze and, especially, Yushchenko and Saakashvili. The current President of Georgia is also trying in every way to retain the link between the top officials after Viktor Yanukovich's coming to power in Ukraine: «I was lucky; during my presidency I have met three Ukrainian Presidents, and never was there a problem with any of them concerning Georgia.»<sup>1</sup> However, the Georgian authorities cannot manage to maintain it at full capacity due to the lack of the same friendly impulse on the part of the current President of Ukraine.

Georgian officials claim unanimously that with the election of Yanukovich to the Presidential post the Ukrainian-Georgian relations have moved toward pragmatic dimensions. An element of pragmatism has always been present in the dialogue between the two countries; Georgia was always interested in a strong and independent Ukraine, which would act as a centre of gravity alternative to Russia in the post-Soviet area. No country in the territory of the former Soviet Union has treated Ukraine's ambitions to become a regional leader as seriously as Georgia.

In total the index of Ukraine's soft power in Georgia is 5.3 on a 10 point scale (see Table 1). This indicator may be not too high (e.g., Moldovans rated the soft power of Ukraine 6.3 points), but stable: Ukrainians have unconditional «credibility» in Georgia, regardless of any geopolitical situation in the region and relations between the leaders of the two countries.

Table 1. Ukraine's soft power index in Georgia

PARAMETERS OF SOFT POWER	MEAN VALUE
Ukraine's foreign and domestic policy	5.29
Influence of the Ukrainian community	3.29
Ukrainian embassy's activities	5.07
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	6.36
Popularity of Ukrainian products	6.64
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	<b>5.33</b>

## THE SUCCESS STORY OF UKRAINE AND GEORGIA

From the perspective of state development Ukraine was considered to be a real model for Georgia in the early independences of both countries. The Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, lack of energy supply, poverty and devastation, all these were not highly conducive in the construction of Georgian statehood. «A consistent, gradual and smooth formation of a democracy and a free market without any stumbling



blocks or failures; an experience of a peaceful regime change unique for CIS; and a strengthening idea of Ukrainian statehood,» all this, according to the former Ambassador of Georgia to Ukraine, Valeri Chechelashvili, Georgia admired about Ukraine<sup>2</sup>. In the midst of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk sent ships from the Black Sea Fleet and a Ukrainian helicopter regiment to assist during the evacuation of Georgia's civilians. And his successor Leonid Kuchma paid a state visit to Georgia in 1995. At that time this visit was of special significance, for a poor post-war Georgia was not visited by any high profile politician for six months.

Leonid Kuchma and Eduard Shevardnadze were united by initiatives *de facto* aimed at the containment of Russian influence in their countries. Having come to power under pro-Russian slogans, Kuchma won the commitment of Georgians by proclaiming a European integration vector of Ukraine's development. The interstate organization GUAM was also established under Kuchma and Shevardnadze with an objective to secure the economic development and energy security of the member countries. It is Ukraine and Georgia which became GUAM's «locomotive». In 2003, the Ambassador of Georgia to Ukraine declared that his country considers Ukraine to be one of the leaders of the region<sup>3</sup>.

The relationship between Kuchma and the next President of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, was also formed in a friendly way, although the 2003 «Rose Revolution» resulting in Shevardnadze's loss of power should have been a wake-up call to his friend, the President of Ukraine. In 2003, a political union «United National Movement,» which was presided by Saakashvili, and Viktor Yushchenko's «Our Ukraine,» still an oppositional party back then, signed a cooperation agreement<sup>4</sup>. Before the Orange Revolution, Saakashvili had the opportunity to visit Ukraine twice, once on an official visit and the second time unofficially; he also invited Leonid Kuchma to Tbilisi. The visit took place in 2005 when Leonid Kuchma's presidential powers were already terminated.

The «Tape Scandal» hardly affected the reputation of Leonid Kuchma in Georgia in spite of involving the murder of Heorhiy Gongadze, a Ukrainian journalist of Georgian origin. Georgians themselves are surprised by the paradox; while ethnic nationalism is deeply etched in Georgia, Gongadze is perceived as a Ukrainian journalist. Moreover, the Director of the International School for Caucasus Studies, Ghia Nodia believes that Gongadze was a positive (sic!) connecting link between Georgia and Ukraine, as in Georgia he is treated with respect as a Ukrainian democrat with Georgian roots. When in 2011 a criminal case was opened against Kuchma in connection with the death of Gongadze, Eduard Shevardnadze spoke in his defence<sup>5</sup>, and in 2004 President Saakashvili highlighted «the special role of President Leonid Kuchma in strengthening Tbilisi and Kyiv relations.»<sup>6</sup>

Despite the fact that Georgia was going through the «Rose Revolution» during the Presidential campaign in Ukraine, Tbilisi did not warm up to any of the candidates, thus disproving a common stereotype. Three days before the Orange Revolution, Saakashvili said that relations between Tbilisi and Ukraine would remain friendly regardless of the victory of any of the Presidential candidates in Ukraine, and even stressed the friendly steps toward Georgia from the then Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych<sup>7</sup>.

However, the Orange Revolution could not but strengthen the potential of Ukrainian soft power in Georgia. Two states became closer thanks to the emotional experiences of the nations, and strategic goals of their development declared by their leaders Viktor Yushchenko and Mikheil Saakashvili. Both Presidents declared a direction towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration; and to confirm the democratic development of their countries they launched several symbolic initiatives by creating the Community of Democratic Choice and signing the Borjomi and Carpathian Declarations, which refer to democratic development in the region. Ukraine and Georgia have also tried to give GUAM a second wind. The two leaders were also bound by personal friendship, as Viktor Yushchenko became the godfather of Saakashvili's youngest son.

The fact that this potential was not used at its best is confirmed by the different directions of the two countries today, and the actual failure of the joint initiatives. According to the President of the Independent Experts' Club, a political scientist Soso Tsiskarishvili, the period of Yushchenko's presidency can be described as «a bright reminiscence of the future»; something that was planned but not achieved. While

Georgia was on the way to confident and quick reforms, the reform process in Ukraine actually drowned in the internal political crisis which lasted until the Presidential elections. Ukraine also failed to fulfil Georgia's hopes that the former would lead the latter to the EU and NATO. In 2008, Georgia and Ukraine were denied a Membership Action Plan at the Bucharest Summit, and in 2010 Ukraine at a legislative level consolidated its «non-aligned» status thus removing the Euro-Atlantic integration off the foreign policy agenda.

In Georgia, there are doubts about the commitment of Ukrainian politicians to the European course. The «locomotive to European structures,» as President Saakashvili called Ukraine after the Orange Revolution, lost its momentum. Tornike Sharashenidze, the Programme Coordinator of the International Affairs at the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs, points to the internal political struggle and the geopolitical uncertainty in Ukraine as the reason for inhibition of the advance of Ukraine's European integration. «The question of whether Ukraine is the leader of European integration among Eastern partners is not on the agenda. Ukraine is our partner,» confirms a Member of the Parliament of Georgia Giorgi Kandelaki.

The almost completed negotiations between Ukraine and the EU, concerning the Association Agreement and the EU-Ukraine FTA, are not too thrilling for Georgia. An ideologist of Georgian reforms, the ex-Economy Minister of Georgia, Kakha Bendukidze, does not think that Ukraine needs to go for deep economic integration with the EU because, according to the expert, it is not profitable for Ukraine<sup>8</sup>. In turn, Georgia takes a more cautious stance on the Association Agreement and the FTA with the EU and, therefore, the Ukrainian experience in negotiations will only be of a limited benefit to Georgia. Georgian diplomats confirm: Ukraine has little effect on their country's integration into the EU and NATO.

Finally, the democratic advancement of both countries also remains only on paper. In 2010, the index of democracy in Georgia, according to Freedom House data was 4.93, which can hardly be called an improvement comparing with 2005 (4.96). Almost the same can be said about Ukraine: index of 4.39 in the last year of the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko is not too different from the similar indicator in the year of the Orange Revolution – 4.50 (see Table 2).

Table 2. **Ukraine and Georgia in ratings**

RATING	UKRAINE	GEORGIA
Nations in Transit <sup>9</sup> , 2010 (1- best, 7 – worst result)	4,39	4,93
Freedom in the World, 2011 <sup>10</sup> (1- best, 7 – worst result)	Partly free	Partly free
Political rights	3	4
Civil freedom	3	3
Freedom of the Press, 2010 <sup>11</sup>	Partly free, place 108 on the list of 196	Partly free, place 126 on the list of 196
Reporters without borders, 2010 (on the list of 178 countries) <sup>12</sup>	131	99
Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2010 (on the list of 178 countries / 10 - best, 1 – worst result) <sup>13</sup>	134 (2.4)	68 (3.8)
Doing Business, 2011 (on the list of 183 countries) <sup>14</sup>	145	12
UN Human Development Index, 2010 <sup>15</sup> (on the list of 178 countries / 1 - best, 0 – worst result)	69 (0, 710)	74 (0,698)
Henley visa restrictions index, 2010 <sup>16</sup> (166 - best, 26 – worst result)	64	72

At the same time Yushchenko remains the favourite Ukrainian politician in Georgia. For Georgians at least two facts have particular value. Firstly, the former President of Ukraine unequivocally supported Georgia during the five-day war in August 2008. The support was not only declarative; from 12 to 22 August, 2008 Ukraine provided humanitarian aid to Georgia worth around 8 million U.S. dollars, and the leadership of Ukraine had allocated an additional 50 million UAH for Georgia later in September. Secondly, Yushchenko is probably the only leader in the post-Soviet area who not only came to power through a peaceful revolution, but who also handed it over through fair and democratic elections. Georgia has not concluded this stage yet.

Ukraine supported Georgia's relationship with the international community after the Russian-Georgian conflict; after the August 2008 war the functions of diplomatic and consular missions which were accredited in Georgia but located in Moscow were transferred to similar diplomatic missions in Kyiv. As a result, the Russo-Georgian conflict in general had a positive effect on the soft power of Ukraine in Georgia: for Georgia, Ukraine is the friendliest country in the post-Soviet area, and after the war with Russia the positive perception of Ukraine by Georgians is particularly acute. Examples of this are apparent in all dimensions of bilateral relations, as set out below.

Georgia kept their word, given on the eve of the Orange Revolution: after the election of Viktor Yanukovich as a President, official Tbilisi is doing everything possible so that the dynamics of bilateral relations do not weaken. Georgia surpassed the U.S. and the EU in congratulating Yanukovich on winning the elections. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia Grigol Vashadze who visited Ukraine in June 2010 brought Viktor Yanukovich an invitation to visit Tbilisi. And in July the same year President Saakashvili, himself, came to greet the Ukrainian leader on his birthday. The Ambassador of Georgia to Ukraine, Grigol Katamadze, stresses that Saakashvili flew to Kyiv specially to congratulate Yanukovich on his anniversary, something he had never done before, not even for Viktor Yushchenko<sup>17</sup>. In Georgian diplomatic circles it is believed that in this way Georgia has already taken the first step, and now it is the turn of the Ukrainian President to pay Tbilisi a visit. Even more so, the deterioration of democratic standards after the regime change in Ukraine, which western experts are concerned about, does not affect the soft power of Ukraine in Georgia. Georgian diplomats call the current processes in Ukraine «democratic transformations.» Somewhat more critical is the opinion of Georgian experts: according to Soso Tsiskarishvili, no one in Georgia would like to see the leaders of the Ukrainian opposition as victims of political persecution, but the foundations of democracy in Ukraine, a legacy of the Orange Revolution, are unflappable.

Georgian diplomats do not conceal how desirable a visit from the President of Ukraine to Tbilisi would be. For now Georgians have to contend with visits from Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Ministers. Besides the already mentioned visit of Minister Vashadze to Kyiv, who, by the way, was received in Ukrainian capital at the highest level,<sup>18</sup> the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Kostyantyn Hryshchenko visited Georgia in July 2011. The Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Serhiy Tihipko also flew to Georgia. During the past year and a half Kyiv was visited more than once by the Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia Giorgi Baramidze, Head of the Government of Abkhazia Giorgi Baramia; there have been many contacts at the level of ministers, deputy ministers, and directors of departments, businesses as well as at a regional level.

Both pro-government and opposition Georgian experts are unanimous that the reputation of the incumbent President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich has improved in Georgia. At the beginning of Yanukovich's term Georgian intellectuals mostly considered him to be a puppet of the Kremlin. In addition, many Georgians were haunted by the negative image that Yanukovich received during the Orange Revolution.

The first positive signal for Tbilisi was the public refusal by Yanukovich to recognize the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia<sup>19</sup>. According to Georgian political scientist Alexander Rondeli, after Yanukovich clearly placed accent on the issue of the occupied territories, Georgians began to perceive him as just a pro-Ukrainian leader as they became convinced that the President of Ukraine does not waive Ukrainian independence for the sake of improving relations with Russia. Even the sensitive decision of

the Ukrainian authorities to prolong Russia's Black Sea Fleet stay in Sevastopol was swallowed silently by the Georgian authorities. «For us, the Russian fleet in Crimea is not news. Our assessment of the threats in the Black Sea region has not changed because of the lease extension,»<sup>20</sup> Eka Tkeshelashvili, Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia commented on the situation. Rondeli explains: «We understand why Ukraine has made this decision. It is not easy to deal with Russia.»

Similarly, the Georgian diplomatic and expert community displayed a demonstrative understanding of Ukraine's decision to become a «non-aligned» state, accepting it as a necessary tactical move. At the same time, both representatives official authorities and analysts suggest that the return of Ukraine to the Euro-Atlantic integration direction would have improved the security situation in the region. Among ordinary Georgians Ukraine continues to be associated with NATO; it is shown both by an expert survey conducted by the Institute of World Policy to determine the TOP-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the region and by the political cartoons that Georgian artists created by the request of IWP within the framework of the project.

## UKRAINIAN BUSINESS IN GEORGIA: DOUBLE CARTE BLANCHE

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According to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, economics is the main driving factor of Ukrainian-Georgian relations<sup>21</sup>. Indeed, economics has great potential for the hard power of Ukraine in Georgia; from 2005 to 2008, according to Georgian statistics, the volume of Georgian exports to Ukraine was increasing 1.5 times annually<sup>22</sup>. Currently, Ukraine is the third largest trading partner with Georgia after Turkey and Azerbaijan (second by imports and fifth by exports). Georgians appreciate that after the Russian embargo on Georgian goods in 2006 (Russia imported 90% of Georgian wine in 2005<sup>23</sup>) Ukraine opened its market to them; in the opinion of Giorgi Kandelaki, a Deputy of the Georgian Parliament, the embargo has played a positive role for Georgian producers, as they were forced to improve the quality of their products to increase their competitiveness in Western markets. It also included Ukrainian market, as in Ukraine unlike on European markets there is a demand for Georgian semi-sweet wine.

Georgia also demonstrates its willingness to understand Ukrainian interests. In 2009 the British American Tobacco Company, Ukraine, filed a complaint to the WTO on the discrimination against Georgian excise duties on imported tobacco products (tobacco has the largest share in the volume of Ukrainian exports to Georgia). The Georgian government answered the complaint by raising excise taxes for domestic manufacturers<sup>24</sup>.

In Georgian shops Ukraine is represented mostly by food products: confectionery, beverages, chips, coffee, juice, sunflower oil, condensed milk, meat products and wheat. Thus, Ukrainian sunflower oil has more than 90%, and wheat more than 50% of Georgian market share. Among the brands that are the most popular among Georgians, the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia mentions «AVK,» «Roshen,» «Domino,» «Kraftfoods,» «Sandora,» «Khlibny Dar,» «Nemiroff,» «Havrylivski Kurchata,» «Obolon,» and «Shchedry Dar.» On the streets of Tbilisi and Batumi one can see yellow Ukrainian «Bohdan» buses. Not every ordinary Georgian remembers the names of these companies, and their advertising activity is more than limited. The important thing is that Georgians buy Ukrainian products readily. Some experts justify this by the good quality and affordable prices of Ukrainian goods. Beso Gulashvili, a well known Georgian photographer, also provides another argument: «Most of the goods in Georgia are Russian or Ukrainian. I never buy Russian products. We are at war.»

Governments from both countries emphasize that trade turnover is constantly growing. This year, according to expert estimates, it will reach 850 million U.S. dollars, and by the end of the next year it is expected to increase to 1 billion. But Ukrainian investments in Georgia last year totalled a mere 30 million U.S. dollars which is an insignificant sum compared to 553 million of foreign investment. Ukrainians



did not rush to invest in Georgia neither in 2005-2007 when Georgia experienced an investment boom while Ukrainian economy was growing rapidly, nor now that Georgia is rated 12th in the world in terms of the simplicity of doing business. The financial-industrial group Privat is probably the only large Ukrainian investor known in Georgia. The group, in particular, invested in the industrial complex to which the Zestafoni ferroalloy factory belongs, in the manganese ore extraction and enrichment association Chiaturmanganumi (as known in 2005 a Ukrainian company Interpipe was interested in it as well but failed to privatize the plant) and the Vartsikhe Hydro Power Plant. The Group also includes PrivatBank (formerly TaoPrivatBank), the Tao insurance company, Rustavi Car Market and the Gudauri ski resort. Georgians know that these assets belong to the Ukrainian business because the mayor of Tbilisi who is responsible for development of the tourist infrastructure of the resort repeatedly expresses it.

However, according to the representatives of Georgian businesses there are stronger banks in Georgia than PrivatBank. Also the Privat Group is hardly involved in its own PR. Virtually the only step to increase its publicity and popularity among the Georgian population was the recent sponsorship of the football club Dinamo Tbilisi. Top managers of Privat in Georgia Bohdan Lisiuk and Oleksandr Pashko are known among ethnic Ukrainians in Georgia and keep in touch with the diaspora, but Georgian businessmen can hardly recall the names of the Ukrainian colleagues who work in Georgia.

Paradoxically, for now Georgian reforms and liberalization in the field of entrepreneurship rather separated than attracted business partners from Georgia and Ukraine; business conditions in the two countries are very different and it is difficult for potential investors to adapt to them. So, according to Georgians, both meagre investments and non-branched exports from Ukraine to Georgia are due to the approach of Ukrainian companies; they act as if they are not used to the conditions of doing business in Georgia, and are still practicing informal approaches rather than engaging in general open tender terms. Georgians also complain about tardiness, another feature of Ukrainian businessmen. The Embassy of Georgia in Ukraine mentions the Anaklia resort as an example of this; one and a half year ago Georgians were actively looking for investors in the facility, also among Ukrainians<sup>25</sup>. Then Ukrainian business reacted passively, and now this investment opportunity has been exhausted.

According to Vladimir Miroshnychenko, an ethnic Ukrainian who lives in Georgia and works as the editor of «The Ukrainian Business in Georgia,» Ukrainian companies could really be more active but are deterred by their leaders' post-Soviet mentality. However, now Ukrainian businessmen are taking a closer look at the Georgian opportunities. So, almost every week, the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia accepts delegations from different regions in Ukraine. The region of Adjara, in which agriculture is the most promising sector, is particularly attractive for them. For example, an enterprise from Poltava region Amarant is considering opening a poultry firm in Adjara. A Ukrainian LLC Yabluneviy Dar from Lviv is constructing a fruit processing plant in Eastern Georgia, and the financial-industrial group «Altcom» from Donetsk is pondering on the benefits of mining construction raw materials in Georgia. Plans for the creation of a Ukrainian-Georgian joint venture involving the Wagon Construction Company (Rustavi, Georgia) and the Kryukov Railway Car Building Works (Kremenchuk, Ukraine) were first announced in 2010<sup>26</sup>.

The Ukrainian businesses which are already present in Georgia work according to Georgian rules and generally have a good reputation. Georgian businessmen say that the Ukrainians are doing business honestly, although they are characterized by certain distrust for partners. Overall, Georgia's Ukrainian entrepreneurs are given double carte blanche; the positive attitude of the Georgians to the Ukrainians multiplied by the increased interest in Ukrainian businessmen after the Russian-Georgian conflict.

In March 2011 the Georgian side, namely the Mgaloblishvili Kipiani Dzidziguri legal group, initiated foundation of a Georgian-Ukrainian Business Club. The following companies are now members of the club: BG Capital Ukraine, Penta, HRG, BDO, Aerosvit, Rakia, PSP, McDonalds Ukraine and Mgaloblishvili Kipiani Dzidziguri<sup>27</sup>. The Ukrainian side also tries not to fall behind - Ukrainians are implementing a project «Ukraine and Georgia, two hearts - one soul», in the framework of which a Ukrainian-Georgian Business Forum will be held in Tbilisi in September 2011.

Probably, no nation in the world treats the Ukrainians with greater affection than the Georgians. It is Ukrainians, according to Soso Tsiskarishvili, to whom the lion's share «of Georgian resources of good attitude to the Slavs» falls on.

#### TOP-5 NOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UKRAINE:

1. FRIENDLY COUNTRY
2. LARGE COUNTRY
3. STRATEGIC PARTNER/ALLY
4. NATIONAL CUISINE AND CULTURE
5. ORANGE REVOLUTION

There is no end to the illustrations of this phenomenon. «Friendly country» - this was the first association with Ukraine amongst the Georgian experts and journalists surveyed by the Institute of World Policy. The Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia, Giorgi Baramidze, and the Ambassador of Georgia to Ukraine, Grigol Katamadze, enjoy referring to the results of the sociological survey according to which Ukraine is friend number one for Georgia. Businessman Victor Kipiani confirms: «When I come to Ukraine, I have no sense of tension or anxiety. And the word «Ukraine» in Georgia is always associated with something pleasant»<sup>28</sup>. As a recommendation for enhancing soft power of Ukraine in Georgia, Georgian experts advised to just «stay Ukrainian».

Ukrainians in Georgia are clearly distinguished from the Russians. According to Kateryna Tkachenko, a diplomat from the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia, «almost every Georgian has something in common with Ukraine: one studied here, someone fell in love, and someone has a business». A striking example of this is Mikheil Saakashvili - in his interviews the Georgian state leader likes to recall the years he spent in Kyiv as a student of the Kyiv Institute of International Relations. By the way, many representatives of the Georgian political elite received their education in Ukraine: for example, Gela Bezhuashvili, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia in 2005-2008, Grigol Katamadze, the Ambassador of Georgia to Ukraine and Levan Varshalomidze, the Head of the Government of Adjara. Ukrainian education was particularly popular during the Soviet era: according to Saakashvili, it was difficult for Georgians to enter Moscow's universities, but Kyiv University had a special agreement with the Tbilisi's one under which the exams at the Faculty of International Economics and Law could be passed in Tbilisi<sup>29</sup>.

There is no unique answer as to why the Georgians are so affectionate Ukrainians. However, it is obvious that the roots of such a friendly attitude reach much deeper than the time of the Orange Revolution or the beginning of the independence of both countries. Prince Izyaslav, from Kyiv, was married to the Georgian Tsarina Rusudan<sup>30</sup>. Georgians also remember the help of the Zaporizhzhya Cossacks in the struggle for Georgian independence.

Migration from Georgia to Ukraine and vice versa began several centuries ago, however the relevant minorities are not numerous. The so-called diaspora from the «East» direction - from Central and Eastern Ukraine - resides in Georgia. About 50 thousand Ukrainians lived in Georgia at the beginning of the 90's, according to the last census, their numbers decreased five times. Representatives from the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia and the Diaspora say that, indeed, there are more than 20 thousand Ukrainians in Georgia. Years of war and poverty forced Ukrainians to emigrate or to return to the motherland.

70% of the Ukrainian minority now are women and elderly people<sup>31</sup>. This can probably explain the fact that in modern Georgia Ukrainians have not yet risen to the top of political or business pinnacles. But in the social sphere some of them are very successful: the only female master of ceremonies in Georgia is Ukrainian woman, Olena Kurtanidze-Bezruchko<sup>32</sup>. There are 18 Ukrainian NGO's in Georgia, run mostly by representatives of the older generation.

Most Ukrainians who moved to Georgia for permanent residence in the second half of the twentieth century and since independence are women who have married Georgians. Now the number of Georgian-

Ukrainian marriages has increased - surprisingly, because of the Russian factor. Georgians often meet their brides while on vacation or working in Ukraine. Previously, the level of Russian-Georgian contacts of this kind was also high, but now admission of Georgians to Russia is virtually constrained.

The integration of Ukrainian women into Georgian society is complicated to some extent by the difficulty of learning the Georgian language, which is very different from the branch of East Slavic languages. Instead, modern Ukrainian young people, especially men, speak Georgian and are well integrated into Georgian society. The Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia explains: a measure of their attachment to the Diaspora and the identification of themselves as Ukrainians partly depend on their sex. The Georgian society is patriarchal and patriotic in spirit. From childhood they treat boys like adults and try to foster the mentality of defenders of their own homeland in them. In mixed families where the mother is Ukrainian, and the father - Georgian, mothers may cultivate a Ukrainian identity in daughters; the boys mostly feel like Georgians.

Sometimes it is also difficult to identify Ukrainians due to the fact that many of them, especially women who are married to Georgians, have Georgian surnames. Still, Larysa Bachorishvili, a Ukrainian by birth and wife of a citizen of Georgia, who is the Head of the representative office of an Austrian company «Matimex», stresses her Ukrainian origin. It is easier to identify ethnic male Ukrainians: the former mayor of Bakuriani and now a member of the Borjomi district council Levan Shovkan, kept his Ukrainian surname. In some Georgian regions surnames like Shevchenko, Gogol, Mykolaenko are wide spread.

Three Ukrainian writers who are the most well known in Georgia from amongst the prominent Ukrainian writers are: Lesya Ukrainka, who lived in Georgia for ten years and died in the Georgian town of Surami, Taras Shevchenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who studied in Georgia. However, the number of famous Ukrainians in Georgia is inversely proportional to the large scale of the events dedicated to them. For example, since 1952, the events dedicated to Lesya Ukrainka occur annually in Surami. On October 15, 2010 an international celebration of «Lesyaoba» was held, which was attended by representatives from the central and local authorities of Georgia, members of Ukrainian public organizations, as well as a delegation from Novohrad-Volynskyi<sup>33</sup>. The Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia is endeavouring as well: a number of competitions, exhibitions and student conferences to celebrate the 140th anniversary of the Ukrainian poetess were held in February-March 2011, not only in Tbilisi but also in Batumi, Kutaisi and Rustavi. The Lesya Ukrainka School in Surami declared 2011 the year of Lesya Ukrainka in Georgia. According to the Deputy Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Mykola Tomenko, Georgia even left Ukraine behind concerning the magnitude of celebrations in honour of Lesya Ukrainka<sup>34</sup>.

Besides numerous monuments and busts of these three Ukrainian personalities, there are Taras Shevchenko and Lesya Ukrainka streets in Tbilisi, and several Georgian schools are named in their honour. Tbilisi school № 41 named after Mykhailo Hrushevsky is the only school in the post-Soviet area with not only teaching in the Ukrainian language, but also a Ukrainian curriculum. Georgian language and Georgian subjects are taught there as well - the school is popular among Georgians and, therefore, should provide the knowledge necessary to enter Georgian universities<sup>35</sup>. The school also prepares those who would like to study in Ukraine. Until recently, for Georgians of Ukrainian descent it was for free: from 2006-2009, 150 Georgian school leavers entered Ukrainian universities. This year this opportunity will be provided for ethnic Georgians as well: 25 state scholarships are allocated for them. At the same time both Georgian and Ukrainian graduates do not have to worry about future employment: there is an agreement on mutual recognition and equivalence of documents of education and academic titles between Ukraine and Georgia<sup>36</sup>. The cooperation between Ukrainian and Georgian universities is also extensive, particularly in the aviation area. To provide safety of flights, young Georgian instructors are trained in Ukraine.

At Tbilisi State University, Georgian youth study the Ukrainian language and literature, and at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv - «kartvelology», the study of the Georgian language and literature. The specialty «Ukrainian Language and Literature» is also available at the Ukrainian Language and Literature section of the Department of Slavic Languages at Sukhumi State University.

Since 2007, the «Ukrainian Studies Institute» at the I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University has been operating in Tbilisi and trains specialists on international Master's programmes and actively involves prominent Ukrainian scientists in teaching Ukrainian disciplines. In May 2011 professors from Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Olena Bogdanova, Dmytro Khutko and Volodymyr Ishchenko) held lectures at the University. The Director of the Institute, Otar Bakanidze, published a bilingual edition of the works of Lesya Ukrainka and Taras Shevchenko, translated by himself into Georgian.

Besides this, everybody can learn Ukrainian at the Cultural and Information Centre of the Embassy, where weekly classes are given for free. Currently, the centre has up to 30 students. These are mainly ethnic Ukrainians, who want to maintain their knowledge of Ukrainian or are preparing to enter Ukrainian universities. But there are also Georgians among them, who learn Ukrainian for personal or business purposes.

There is not much information about modern Ukraine in Georgia today. There is no Ukrainian press in Georgia and only the «Inter+» and «Ukraine» channels are available in a cable television package. However, the intellectual elite of Georgia know and make use of Ukrainian online media. Misha Tavheli, the host of «In a close circle» talk show, regularly reviews blogs of «Ukrainska Pravda», especially materials of his compatriot, a Ukrainian journalist Vakhtang Kipiani. One of the partners of the Mgaloblishvili Kipiani Dziridzuri Law Group, Victor Kipiani believes that the Ukrainian English-language edition of «Kyiv Post» is a source of quality information, and when he visits Ukraine he also buys the «Expert» and «Investgazeta». Often, the site «Inosmi.ru», where articles from Ukrainian information and analytical editions such as «Dzerkalo tyzhnya», «Den» and «Ukraina moloda» are re-published, proves useful to Georgian experts to get acquainted with events in Ukraine. «Anyway, even for those who follow events in Ukraine it is not easy to grasp Ukrainian politics», - Alexander Rondeli indicates. In turn, the Georgian media actually do not cover internal events in Ukraine regarding the Ukrainian-Georgian relations in a broader international context<sup>37</sup>.

Georgian journalists most often use the following words in materials about Ukraine:

1. Saakashvili
2. MFA
3. Tbilisi
4. NATO
5. USA
6. Russia
7. EU
8. Kyiv





9. GUAM
10. Turnover (foreign trade) / meeting

It should be noted, that from amongst the other countries in the region, NATO and Euro-Atlantic integration topics only play a significant role in Georgia («NATO», «Rasmussen»). The change in the integration course of Ukraine revived the interest of the Georgian media to this problem. A visible presence of the United States in the materials relating to Ukraine («Clinton», «USA») is a special feature unique to the Georgian media space. Georgia is, perhaps, the only country in the region, which continues to see the USA as an influential ally in solving regional problems, although there are other global players in the ranking as well («Russia», «EU», «UN», «Brussels»). Georgian journalists are also interested in issues concerning cooperation within the framework of the Eastern Partnership of the EU.

Apart from political aspects, in Georgia, unlike any of the other states studied, cultural cooperation with Ukraine is also widely covered («festival», «fair», «youth policy», etc.). This indicates an active cultural exchange and the attractiveness of cooperation in this area, which enhances the soft power of Ukraine in Georgia.

News from Ukraine is also conveyed by Georgians, who often travel to Ukraine for business purposes or to visit relatives. By the way, Ukraine is annually not visited by many Georgian citizens (see Table 3<sup>38</sup>). In 2010, only 36 thousand people entered Ukraine. A tiny figure compared with, for example, Moldova's case. Moldova's population is comparable to Georgia's, but the number of crossings of the Moldovan-Ukrainian border from the RM side is more than 4 million annually. This is due to absence of a common border and the border trade factor, which account for the lion's share of Moldovan-Ukrainian migration, This is due to.

**Table 3. Statistics of Georgian citizens who entered Ukraine in 2010**

Total number	Purpose of the visit						
	official, business, diplomatic	tourism	private	education	employment	immigration (permanent residency)	culture and sport exchange, religion, other
36,039	7,641	2,493	21,154	636	146	1,824	2,145

Ukrainian resorts – Crimea and the Carpathian Mountains – are not popular among Georgians because they have their own sea and ski resorts, which are not of inferior quality, and even surpass Ukrainian ones. However, the Ukrainian cities of Kyiv, Odessa and Donetsk – are very popular among Georgians for a short break. The majority of them prefer the services of travel agencies – in one travel agency, «Kalasi Tour» in Tbilisi, an average of 50 tours to Ukraine are being bought every week in summer. The popularity of Ukrainian cities for Georgian tourists is shown by the diversity of flights: besides daily flights between Kyiv and Tbilisi, by «Ukraine International Airlines» and «Aerosvit», companies «DonbassAero» and «TbilAviaMsheni» carry out flights between Donetsk and Tbilisi every Wednesday and Sunday. Georgian airlines «Airzena» have weekly flights to Kyiv and Kharkiv. There are also charter flights between Tbilisi and Odessa, Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk.

Ukrainian travel agencies also offer holidays in Georgia. In 2010 Georgia was visited by about 48 thousand Ukrainians, but in general migration flows in both directions correspond and, compared to other countries in the region, are not intensive. The reason for this, among other things, is the fare. The minimum cost of return ticket Kyiv-Tbilisi ranges from 360 to 500 USD, and «low-costs» are not yet present on the Ukrainian-Georgian air routes.

Ukrainian airlines are more attractive for transit flights which connect Georgia with Western European capitals. These flights are carried out by many companies, but it is Ukrainian carriers that often offer the best price, though some are inferior to their competitors in comfort and duration of flight<sup>39</sup>.

Night clubs and Ukrainian cuisine - borsch, Kyiv chicken and salo (backfat) are especially popular in Ukraine among Georgians. However, there are virtually no Ukrainian restaurants in Georgia - «Khutorok» in Tbilisi is probably the only institution which specializes in Ukrainian cuisine. The deficit of Ukrainian cuisine in Georgia is illustrated by the fact that the entire female contingent of the diplomatic corps from the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia was involved in making 3 thousand varenyky (dumplings) for the reception on the occasion of the 20th Independence Day of Ukraine.

Recently, Ukraine's soft power in Georgia received one more manifestation - particularly in the fashion industry. At the last Ukrainian Fashion Week outfits not only by Ukrainian, but also Georgian designers, were on show. Among them were Avtandil Tskvitinidze and young designer Anuka Areshidze, wife of the famous Georgian footballer Kakha Kaladze. For them Kyiv and Moscow fashion shows are the springboards to the European catwalks. With the deterioration of relations between Georgia and Russia, the Ukrainian and Georgian fashion industries have become even closer.

Unfortunately, in some respect soft power of Ukraine in Georgia is shrinking. Football is a display of this type of Ukraine's attractiveness. Previously, Georgians actively supported «Dynamo Kyiv», but with the deterioration of the club's performances both in Ukraine and Georgia, passions of Georgian fans have simmered. However, the national team of Ukraine remains a subject of their attention, and the Euro-2012 football championship has the potential to increase the tourist flow from Georgia to Ukraine. Georgians can also not neglect the friendship between the Ukrainian and Georgian football stars, Andriy Shevchenko and Kakha Kaladze, who played together for «Dynamo Kyiv» and «Milan» in Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/world/1222897-mihail-saakashvili-otvetil-na-voprosy-chitatelej-korrespondent-net>

<sup>2</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/2661>

<sup>3</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/31783>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/47861>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.vz.ru/news/2011/4/4/480924.html>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.day.kiev.ua/127610>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> <http://iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/376.html>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/images/File/nit/2010/NIT-2010-Georgia-proof-II.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>

<sup>12</sup> <http://en.rsfs.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/~media/FDPKM/Doing%20Business/Documents/Annual-Reports/English/DB11-FullReport.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GEO.html>

<sup>16</sup> [http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010\\_globalRanking.pdf](http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010_globalRanking.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/4371.html>

<sup>18</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/60481>

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.parliament.ge/index.php?lang\\_id=GEO&sec\\_id=98&info\\_id=8364](http://www.parliament.ge/index.php?lang_id=GEO&sec_id=98&info_id=8364)

<sup>20</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/4391.html>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1385237>

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p\\_id=137&lang=eng](http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p_id=137&lang=eng)

<sup>23</sup> <http://georgia.iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/119.html>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.vd.net.ua/rubrics-3/15503>

<sup>25</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/4371.html>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.georgiatimes.info/news/54536.html>

- <sup>27</sup> [http://saqinform.ge/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4495:2011-03-26-10-13-28&catid=100:sazogadoeba&Itemid=489;-](http://saqinform.ge/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4495:2011-03-26-10-13-28&catid=100:sazogadoeba&Itemid=489;-)
- <sup>28</sup> <http://georgia.iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/144.html>
- <sup>29</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/42195>
- <sup>30</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/mfa/en/publication/content/48670.htm>
- <sup>31</sup> [http://www.geostat.ge/cms/site\\_images/\\_files/georgian/census/2002/III-2%20tom.pdf](http://www.geostat.ge/cms/site_images/_files/georgian/census/2002/III-2%20tom.pdf)
- <sup>32</sup> <http://www.segodnya.ua/news/14142892.html>
- <sup>33</sup> <http://kartlinews.wordpress.com/?s=%E1%83%9A%E1%83%94%E1%83%A1%E1%83%98%E1%83%90+%E1%83%A3%E1%83%99%E1%83%A0%E1%83%90%E1%83%98%E1%83%9C%E1%83%99%E1%83%90>
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.unian.net/rus/news/news-448009.html>
- <sup>35</sup> [http://www.mes.gov.ge/upload/multi/geo/1198646211\\_marti.pdf](http://www.mes.gov.ge/upload/multi/geo/1198646211_marti.pdf)
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.vak.org.ua/docs//documents/ugody.pdf>
- <sup>37</sup> According to the media monitoring conducted by the Institute of World Policy. The following editorials were monitored:
  1. Civil Georgia ([www.civil.ge](http://www.civil.ge)) (30 articles)
  2. Georgia Today ([www.georgiatoday.ge/](http://www.georgiatoday.ge/)) (45 articles)
  3. Newsgeorgia.ru ([www.newsgeorgia.ru/](http://www.newsgeorgia.ru/)) (246 articles)
  4. Georgia Online (<http://www.apsny.ge/>) (112 articles)
  5. Liberali (<http://www.liberali.ge/>) (48 articles)
- <sup>38</sup> <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/>
- <sup>39</sup> [www.expedia.com](http://www.expedia.com)



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## Ukraine's Soft Power in Moldova

It would be hard to find a country in which Ukraine's soft power would potentially be more effective than the Republic of Moldova. Everywhere in Moldova, the presence of its nearest neighbor is evident: Ukrainian goods on shop shelves, a Ukrainian community that constitutes the largest ethnic minority in Moldova, and similar European integration ambitions.

A poll of experts by the Institute of World Policy only confirmed that, of the six countries in this study — Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, and Russia —, Ukraine's soft power index is highest in Moldova, at 6.3 points out of a possible 10 (see Table 1). Although the political weather in relations between the two countries occasionally has its cloudy moments, Moldovans generally have a positive image of Ukraine and most of the population says that, of all countries, Moldova's relations with Ukraine and Romania are the best.

Table 1. Ukraine's soft power index in Moldova

SOFT POWER PARAMETERS	MEAN VALUE
Ukraine's foreign and domestic policy	5.3
Influence of the Ukrainian community	4.8
Ukrainian embassy's activities	6.4
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	7.2
Popularity of Ukrainian products	7.8
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	6.3

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was far more confident than Moldova due to: its diversified heavy industry with unique products, its access to the Black Sea, its chornozem that generated one quarter of all farm products in the USSR, and the ability of its political elite to calm the separatist mood in Crimea and prevent it from becoming a second Transnistria. Moreover, Moldova was almost immediately labeled «the poorest country in Europe», while Romania and Russia both began to squabble over who had more right to play first fiddle in the country's political and social life. The conflict in Transnistria, which cost Chisinau real power over part of its own territory and access to a strategically important industrial belt in otherwise agrarian Moldova, effectively made the country very vulnerable to Russian influence.

By contrast, Ukraine's trumps in dialogue with Moldova were very obvious: a common, 1,222-kilometer long border, the need for Moldovan goods to transit through Ukrainian territory in all eastward directions, the huge Ukrainian minority in Moldova and Moldovan community in Ukraine, the absence of any ambitions on the part of Kyiv to take territory belonging to Moldova or to infringe on the country's sovereignty.

What more is needed for a real partnership between the two? Some Ukrainian analysts even tried to put the toga of regional leadership on Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Georgia, however, Moldova has never been in any rush to see Ukraine as its mentor.

A slew of bilateral problems arose that hindered the development of a real strategic partnership between Kyiv and Chisinau. For instance, it took both countries four years for their Presidents, Leonid Kuchma and Mircea Snegur, to finally ratify the Agreement on Good Neighborhood, Friendship and Coop-

eration—and all because of a vague formulation about the inviolability of the borders of both countries. In addition, the first two pairs of leaders of Moldova and Ukraine—Snegur and Kravchuk, Lucinschi and Kuchma—belonged to the old soviet nomenclature and, according to Moldovan analyst Oazu Nantoi, director of the Institute of Public Policy's programs, lacked a strategic vision of relations between the two countries. Nearly 20 years later, many bilateral issues remain unresolved: the demarcation of the common border, especially the central «Transnistrian» section, the area around the buffer zone of the Hydro Power Plant-2 Dnistrovskia, and around the port of Giurgiulesti and the recognition of ownership of assets located on the territory of the other state.

Still, Ukraine is not just a neighbour and partner to Moldova. In 1995, at the invitation of both Moldova and Transnistria, Ukraine became an intermediary in the negotiation process to regulate the situation in the breakaway territory. Since 1997, Ukraine has also been a guarantor country, along with Russia, in this process. Chisinau has seen Ukraine's role in the settlement variously, ranging from accusations that Ukraine's government was working hand-in-glove with Transnistrian «separatists» to a very positive response to a decision by Ukraine's Government to change customs regulations on the Transnistrian border. Ukraine's weak spot in this negotiation process has always been the fact that Chisinau has never accepted Kyiv as a full-fledged, independent player. The general attitude was that, to get Ukraine's approval, all that had to be done was to agree upon something with Moscow or Brussels, which have much more leverage over their Ukrainian partners than tiny Moldova. Such a perception, needless to say, does little to foster Ukraine's soft power, whether it be on the Right or the Left Bank of the Dnister River.

Outside the Transnistria situation, Ukraine has nevertheless managed on occasion to influence certain political trends in Moldova itself. For instance, Europe's first communist President, Vladimir Voronin, effectively followed in the footsteps of Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma: he neglected to make Russian the second official language as he had promised and aimed at a «multivector» foreign policy approach, that is, swaying back and forth between the West and Russia and declaring the country's course towards European integration a top priority.

## THE ENCHANTMENT OF ORANGE

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Moldova's fascination with Ukraine reached its peak in 2005, when Viktor Yushchenko became President in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution. That was the year that seven out of 15 visits of the two heads of state took place: six on the part of Mr. Voronin, including one unofficial and unannounced visit, and one on the part of Mr. Yushchenko, to attend a GUAM summit in Chisinau. Indeed, Vladimir Voronin was the only CIS leader to personally fly in for the Yushchenko inauguration.

Obviously, such a level of attention from the Moldovan President to Ukraine was driven by a number of factors: on one hand, Mr. Voronin himself was facing re-election in March 2005 and he wanted to gain the support of his newly-elected Ukrainian counterpart, then a favorite with the West and the winner in the democratic Orange Revolution. The soft power of the Orange Revolution was evident during the parliamentary elections in Moldova as well: Ukrainian star Ruslana, who had backed Viktor Yushchenko in the days of the Orange Revolution, performed at Voronin campaign rallies and the Christian-Democratic National Party «borrowed» the Yushchenko team's orange color.<sup>2</sup> According to Oazu Nantoi, such steps on the part of the Moldovan President were an attempt to distance himself as much as possible from Russia and associate himself with the West. After Mr. Voronin refused to sign the so-called «Kozak Memorandum» at the last minute, which was Russia's plan for settling the Transnistrian conflict, he was afraid of possible actions on the part of Russia to remove him from power. At the same time, Vladimir Voronin wanted to find an ally among Ukraine's leaders to resolve that same conflict. In fact, by April 2005 at the GUAM summit in Chisinau, Viktor Yushchenko had presented his own plan for a resolution «Towards a settlement through democratization», which became known as the «Yushchenko Plan» and called for the

reintegration of Moldova through the democratization of Transnistria. Of course, Moldova supported the efforts of the Ukrainian President largely only on paper.<sup>3</sup> That same year, Moldova's legislature adopted a Law on the special status of Transnistria, which ignored most of the points made in the Yushchenko Plan.

Ukraine also agreed to host the European Union Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) to Ukraine and Moldova. Last but not least, it was only during the Yushchenko Administration and the Yekhanurov Government that Ukraine, under pressure from the EU, agreed to institute new customs rules on the Transnistrian border, something Moldova had been requesting for years. As of March 2006, Ukraine began to accept goods from Transnistria only if they had been stamped by Moldovan Customs on all accompanying documents, which led to a real information war in Tiraspol.<sup>4</sup>

This renaissance in relations between Ukraine and Moldova faded at about the same time as Europe began to express widespread disillusionment with the Orange team. Ironically, at just about this time, in 2006, air traffic between Ukraine and Moldova was suspended and ground travel between the two capitals took 15-17 hours to cover 450 kilometers. Two Chisinau visits by Viktor Yushchenko scheduled for 2006 and 2008 never actually took place. But in 2008, the Ukrainian and Moldovan Presidents instead met in Romania and Russia twice, at international fora: the NATO summit in Bucharest and a meeting of heads of state of the CIS in St. Petersburg. One poll run by the Institute of Public Policy at the end of 2008 and early 2009 showed that Viktor Yushchenko's rating among Moldovans had fallen to its lowest ever, around 23%.<sup>5</sup>

Other Ukrainian politicians found little particular favor among Moldova's leadership. When Viktor Yanukovych was Premier in 2004, President Voronin accused his Government of colluding with Transnistrian tycoons. Mr. Voronin, incidentally, was one of the few CIS leaders who refused to recognize the results of the second round of the 2004 election.<sup>6</sup>

Yulia Tymoshenko was able to come to an agreement with Moldova's leaders when the Alliance for European Integration came to power. When events developed along the lines of the Ukrainian «colored» revolution and the streets of Chisinau filled with protesters upset with the results of the parliamentary election, Moldovan Premier Vlad Filat was brought together with Ukraine's heroine of the Orange Revolution. Brussels also helped establish ties between the two politicians by inviting Mr. Filat and Ms. Tymoshenko to the same events, organized, among others, by the European People's Party in the European Parliament.

Ms. Tymoshenko might have become the most attractive and popular Ukrainian politician in Moldova, if not for her signing, in 2009, Cabinet Resolution №445 «On amending the Rules of Entry for foreigners and stateless persons in Ukraine, their exit from and transit across its territory.» This resolution put Moldova on the list of countries representing «migratory risk,» meaning that citizens who crossed the border into Ukraine now had to show that they had a sum equivalent to UAH 12,600 or nearly US \$1,600 available. In 2009, the average salary of a Moldovan was only around US \$220,<sup>7</sup> so it was small wonder that the signing of such a change by the Ukrainian premier roused considerable anger among Moldovan politicians and pundits alike. This resolution is currently suspended for citizens of Moldova, but Moldovan diplomats and politicians are working to get their Ukrainian partners to drop it completely. Moldovans cannot understand why citizens of a neighboring country are being equated by Kyiv to citizens from a remote country like, say, Ethiopia.

Moldovan diplomatic circles also remember Yulia Tymoshenko in connection with Petro Poroshenko. Breakthroughs in bilateral negotiations on sensitive issues came precisely when Mr. Poroshenko was the Foreign Minister in Premier Tymoshenko's Cabinet.

In fact, every time Petro Poroshenko took high office in Ukraine, there was an immediate livening up in relations with Moldova. It was while Mr. Poroshenko was Secretary of the National Security Council (NSC) that a Ukrainian plan for settling the conflict, «Towards a settlement through democratization,» first saw light. When Mr. Poroshenko was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in October 2009, he immediately declared the demarcation of the border with Moldova a top priority.<sup>8</sup> True to his word, in December 2010, the first border post was set on the central portion of the Ukraine-Moldova border and in February 2010, the head of the Foreign Ministry expressed the hope that the Moldovan side would hand over to Ukraine a part of the Odessa-Reni highway near the village of Palanka.<sup>9</sup>

But the Minister was unable to fulfill his promise: in March 2010, he was replaced by Kostiantyn Hryshchenko. After the Administration in Kyiv changed, Moldova's Foreign Minister Iurie Leanca noted that, under the previous Government, in which Petro Poroshenko had been his counterpart, Ukraine had considerable leverage over Transnistria's leadership.<sup>10</sup>

The example of Petro Poroshenko is an interesting illustration of the Moldovan factor in Ukrainian politics. After all, Mr. Poroshenko spent part of his childhood in Transnistria and, more than once, business interests in Moldova were attributed to his family.

According to Vitaliy Andrievskiy, editor of the AVA.MD news and analysis portal, Moldovans are aware of the Moldovan roots of certain representatives of Ukraine's political elite, including former Premier Anatoliy Kinakh, ex-Foreign Minister Petro Poroshenko, and current Vice Premier Serhiy Tihipko. As a result, some Moldovan politicians treat them as home boys and avoid mentioning them when criticizing Ukraine, counting on their possible lobbying of Moldovan interests on the Ukrainian side. Needless to say, Ukraine has never conceded anything to Moldova simply because some elected official happened to have roots in the country.

Moldovans have paid particular attention to Serhiy Tihipko during his very successful run for the presidency in 2010. His popularity in Moldova grew because of a number of well-placed articles dedicated to the Ukrainian politician. According to Vladimir Thoric, editor-in-chief of «The Panorama», a local paper, Mr. Tihipko became the personification of the «Moldovan Dream», a person who had succeeded and made it into the big league politically in a foreign country, in a major capital. Viktor Tvircun, a professor at Chisinau State University and a former Moldovan Education Minister with Ukrainian roots, proudly recalls that he taught the younger brother of Ukraine's Vice Premier. However, since the election, media attention to Mr. Tihipko has faded.

## SOFT POWER VS HEAVY ARTILLERY

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Moldovan analysts note that with the coming of Party of the Regions to power in Ukraine, relations between the two countries have chilled somewhat. There seems to be a stereotypical perception of Viktor Yanukovych as pro-Russian and there is some disillusionment with Ukraine's progress in European integration. Informal channels of communication have weakened: the approach of Ukraine's ruling party to bilateral communication has become more bureaucratized. Over the past year, analysts tirelessly point to the similarity of political processes in Moldova and post-Orange Ukraine, which can be seen in political instability in Moldova—in two years, the country has had three parliamentary elections, one referendum, four attempts to elect a President, and one set of local elections—and in the rivalry between Premier Vlad Filat and acting President Marian Lupu, or, more precisely, with the main sponsor of his party, businessman and First Deputy Speaker of the Moldovan parliament, Vlad Plahotniuc.

Moldova began talks with the EU regarding an Association Agreement soon after Ukraine did, but Ukraine did not become a role model for the smaller country. On the contrary, in Chisinau, word is to avoid making Ukraine's mistakes<sup>11</sup> and to prevent a pro-Russian leader with pseudo-democratic credentials from coming to power. A major bone of contention was provided, surprisingly, by the European Union. Ukrainian diplomatic circles looked on in astonishment as the unstable political situation in Moldova not only did not upset the Europeans, as was the case with Ukraine, but actually led to fairly positive assessments of Moldovan politicians, as «a process that is evidence of democracy.» More fuel was added to the fire by Romania's President Traian Basescu, who said on several occasions that the next wave of EU expansion would encompass Moldova, but not Ukraine.<sup>12</sup> Mutual distrust was further shored up by rumors that the new EU border could pass precisely through the territory where EUBAM was operating, that is, the border with Odessa, Vinnytsia and Chernivtsi Oblasts. When Moldova was



declared the leader of the Eastern Partnership by European officials, it did little to enhance Ukrainian-Moldovan relations: such declarations were designed to turn the two countries into rivals rather than partners.

Only very recently has there been a bit of a reset in Ukrainian-Moldovan relations, something announced by Presidents Marian Lupu and Viktor Yanukovych at a joint press conference on July 9, 2011.<sup>13</sup> That day, Mr. Lupu flew to Ukraine to celebrate his Ukrainian counterpart's birthday. Analysts say an invitation was extended to the Moldovan leader after one of the bitterest bilateral issues, the transfer by Moldova of a deed for the territory under the Odessa-Reni highway, was resolved on June 30, 2011—something Ukraine had been waiting for for almost 10 years.

Whether or not this is the result of Ukraine's soft power can be seen in a statement by President Yanukovych at a meeting of ambassadors December 14, 2010. At the time, Mr. Yanukovych stated that open issues with Moldova had to be settled without conceding the national interest. «[Moldova should] feel: no more wimpy Ukraine. We are a large, strong and promising country with whom it is both beneficial and convenient to be friends.»<sup>14</sup> Moldovan diplomats confirm: «With the new Administration, it's not so much the approach that has changed but the means.» This strategic demand from Ukraine's President was backed up by a steely ultimatum from the Ukrainian Government in May 2011. «As of today, Ukraine will no longer buy any arguments or delays from Chisinau,» stated Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko.<sup>15</sup>

It seems that Chisinau understood at that point that, as long as this issue remained unresolved, both the political and economic dialog between the two countries would effectively come to a dead halt. According to unofficial sources, the Ukrainian side also let it be known that as long as the Palanka issue was not resolved, there would be no settlement of any issues involving Moldovan business in Ukraine, especially a well-known Moldovan company that traded in carpets. By sheer coincidence, this company's problems were resolved immediately after the deed to the land was transferred.<sup>16</sup> The Ukrainians have also underscored their intensified efforts on the Transnistria front: after the deed to the land was handed over, Ukraine's Ambassador to Moldova, Serhiy Pyrozhkov, stated on Moldovan television that Ukraine had facilitated the latest meeting between the Moldovan Premier Vlad Filat and the leader of Transnistria, Igor Smirnov, during a football match on the Left Bank.

On July 6–7, 2011, after the deed to the land near Palanka was handed over to Ukraine, Mr. Hryshchenko visited Chisinau, during which time Moldova and Ukraine finally signed their joint statement on cooperation in European integration.<sup>17</sup> It turned out that it is «beneficial and convenient» to be friendly not just with Ukraine, but also with Moldova: Ukrainian analysts noted that this kind of step on the part of the Ukrainian Administration could be related to a desire to accelerate its own European integration processes by coordinating its actions with a country that the EU sees as more promising.<sup>18</sup> Both Moldovan and Ukrainian analysts are of the opinion that this kind of cooperation between the two countries would finally prove long-lasting and productive.

At the political level, Ukraine has two sources of soft power in Moldova: democracy and progress in European integration. During a videoconference at the Institute of World Policy, Harvard professor Joseph Nye pointed out that Ukraine's soft power in the region lay precisely in democracy<sup>19</sup>, while Moldovan analysts noted that undemocratic trends in Ukraine were not going unnoticed in their country.

On the other hand, Ukraine's European aspirations are what inspired Moldova in the first place, and what eventually cause disenchantment. «We really thought that Tymoshenko and Yushchenko would lead Ukraine to Europe and that Ukraine's course would help us as well,» says Victor Chirila, executive director of the Association for Foreign Policy.

Interestingly, both the current and the previous Presidents of Ukraine lag well behind Russia's President and premier among Moldovan voters (see Table 2.<sup>20</sup>) According to the poll from May 2010, Mr. Yanukovych's popularity is almost the same at 37.6% as Mr. Yushchenko's rating in 2007, which was 37.5%. Both these rates are the highest recorded for the years that this study was undertaken, 2007–2010.

Moreover, Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev were the clear favorites of Moldovan public opinion during this period, with ratings that ranged from 65.8% to 77.9%. Moldovan analysts explain Mr. Putin's popularity as a strong leader who can bring order to a country: ordinary Moldovans want to know what they can expect the next day. What's more, some say that Mr. Putin is the political model for one of the leaders of the Moldovan coalition. Analysts admit that the appeal of Russian politicians is promoted by Russian television in Moldova. Mssrs. Medvedev and Putin are shown on certain popular channels in Moldova, such as ORT, NTV and RTR, in a similarly positive light, giving the average Moldovan viewer the impression of a duo that is running the country in real partnership. According to Vladimir Thoric, it was in fact Mr. Putin who became more popular in Moldova than Moldovan politicians when he was still Russian President and to this day he is seen as the real «head» of the Russian Federation. There is a kind of paradox here: anti-democratic Russia is popular with Moldovans, while anti-democratic Ukraine is not.

Once it concludes negotiations over the Association Agreement and Free Trade Area with the EU, Ukraine is likely to regain its title as leader of the Eastern Partnership. But when it comes to democracy, the Ukrainian Government needs to immediately regain the trust of both Western and Moldovan politicians. Among others, Moldova considers opinion in Brussels and Washington important. Ukraine has an interest, that people in Moldova be excited about it, not afraid of it.

**Table 2. Ratings of politicians among Moldovan voters**

	2007	2008	2009	2010
Barack Obama			42.2 %	43.3 %
Vladimir Putin	65.8 %	77.4 %	76.8 %	69.7%
Traian Basescu	45.0 %	41.7 %	36.3 %	44.7 %
Viktor Yushchenko	37.5 %	28.2 %	27.1 %	
Vladimir Voronin	45.9 %	47.6 %	49 %	
Viktor Yanukovych				37.6 %
Dmitry Medvedev		61.5 %	72.8%	67.4 %
Angela Merkel		30.5 %	31.8 %	35.4 %

## SWEET SOFT POWER

In trade and commerce, Ukraine is a major partner for Moldova: it is second in terms of the volume of imports to Moldova—at the Ukrainian Embassy in Moldova, they like to point out that the only reason Russia beats out Ukraine as a trading partner is because of its monopoly on gas supplies—and third after Russia and Romania for trade volumes among countries that are economically active on world markets.<sup>21</sup> All of Moldova's exports to the east cross Ukraine and a free trade area between Moldova and Ukraine has been in effect since 2003. Bilateral trade and commerce between the two states are currently far from their historical highs. The greatest volumes of exports from Moldova to Ukraine were over 2006–2007, at over 12%, compared to 6.71% in 2010.<sup>22</sup> This was primarily because Ukraine opened its markets to Moldovan wines in 2006, after Russia banned imports of Moldovan wines. The highest level of imports from Ukraine, 20% of all imports into Moldova, was over 2003–2005,<sup>23</sup> when Ukraine was effectively the only provider of electricity to Moldova. The level of investment in both countries is insignificant, although Moldova invests 1.8 times more in Ukraine than Ukraine invests in Moldova.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Moldova surpasses Ukraine for ease of doing business (see Table 3).

Table 3. Ukraine and Moldova in the ratings

Rating	Ukraine	Moldova
Nations in Transit, <sup>25</sup> 2010 (1 — best, 7 — worst)	4.39	5.14
Freedom in the World, 2011 <sup>26</sup> (1 — best, 7 — worst)	Partly free	Partly free
Political rights	3	3
Civic freedoms	3	3
Freedom of the Press, 2010 <sup>27</sup>	Partly free, 108th out of 196	Unfree, 144th out of 196
Reporters Without Borders, 2010 (place on the list of 178 countries) <sup>28</sup>	131	75
Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2010 (place on the list of 178 / 10 — best, 1 — worst) <sup>29</sup>	134 (2.4)	105 (2.9)
Doing Business, 2010 (place on the list of 183 countries) <sup>30</sup>	145	90
UN Human Development Index, 2010 <sup>31</sup> (place on the list of 178 / 1 — best, 0 — worst)	69 (0.710)	99 (0.623)
Henley Visa Restrictions Index, 2010 <sup>32</sup> (166 — best, 26 — worst)	64	57

The Ukrainian side is also working to expand business contacts: the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (UUIE), led by Anatoliy Kinakh has been working to facility the expansion of the economic potential of relations with both the Right and Left Banks of the Dnister River. It has signed an agreement with the National Association of Manufacturers in Moldova and the Union of Industrialists, Farmers and Entrepreneurs of Transnistria.<sup>33</sup>

The Moldovan market appeals to Ukraine's businessmen. Power distribution, for instance, is a profitable area. In 2009, this lucrative supply system was temporarily disrupted when the Moldovan side decided to give preference to its own TES, which is located in Transnistria and belongs to the Russian company Inter RAO EEC.<sup>34</sup> In 2011, electricity began to be supplied from Ukraine again. This time Moldova's partner is Power Trade, a Ukrainian company that belongs to billionaire Rinat Akhmetov.<sup>35</sup> Mr. Akhmetov's other company, System Capital Management (SCM) controls the largest mining and metallurgy group in Ukraine, Metinvest, which recently signed a contract with Moldova's steelworks to supply scrap and sell products made from it.<sup>36</sup>

Among the products that the average Moldovan recognizes are Ukrainian chocolates and confectioneries from «Roshen», «AVK», «Svitoch» and «Kraft chocolates», «Khortytsia» and «Nemiroff» horilkas, beer from «Obolon» and «Slavutych», juices from «Sadochok» and «Sandora», «Shostka» and «Komo» cheeses, and «Chumatskiy Shliakh» vegetable oil. «Slavutych» alone represents 11 brands on the Moldovan market: «Slavutych», «Baltika», «Lvivske», «Kvas Taras», «Carlsberg», «Kronenbourg 1664», «Corona» Extra, and more. The «Carlsberg Group», to which Ukraine's «Slavutych» belongs today, currently has 11% of the Moldovan market, with plans to expand its share to 25% by 2013.<sup>37</sup>

The success of Ukrainian beer on the Moldovan market is confirmed by the fact that one of the largest chains of restaurants, Andy's Pizza, and thematic clubs, La Plăcinte, which has facilities on both the Left and the Right bank of the Dnister, chose the Carlsberg Group as its exclusive partner and offers its guests only products from this company. In Moldova, five franchises of the Celentano chain of pizzerias have been opened following the Ukrainian model.<sup>38</sup> The management of the Moldovan chain makes no bones about the restaurants' Ukrainian roots and many diners emphasize that Celentano is a serious competitor to Andy's Pizza. At the same time, even people in the restaurant business found it hard to name

any place that specialized in Ukrainian cuisine. The one exception is Kumanek, a restaurant on the Left Bank, which is possibly the most popular place in all of Transnistria.

The Ukrainian supermarket chain Furshet (Fourchette) is also on the market, with nine stores currently operating in Moldova.<sup>39</sup>

The situation with Ukrainian goods is somewhat different in Transnistria. According to the first deputy head of the Obnovlenie party, Anatoliy Dirun, Ukrainian products dominate almost the entire market on the Left Bank of the Dnister. The distributor of Ukrainian goods, Sherif, is one of the largest Transnistrian companies and is also the Obnovlenie party's main financier. Ukrainian goods are in a comfortable competitive position in Transnistria for another reason as well: because of the conflict with Moldova, the region has instituted 100% customs duty on Moldovan goods.

To get good bargains, residents of Moldova even cross the border into Odessa Oblast, where one of the biggest open markets in the country operates, the famed 7th Kilometer, which is also popular among Moldovans. Moldovan Diana Lungu, who works as a researcher at the Center for European Journalism in Maastricht, explains that this market became popular in Moldova back when Moldova itself was facing a shortage of commercial centers and choice, while prices on the 7th Kilometer remain attractive to Moldovan consumers even today.

Obviously despite the intensity of trading relations, the two sides continue to distrust each other. For the entire history of relations between Ukraine and Moldova, the two countries have squabbled over sugar and alcohol imports, each trying to protect its domestic producers. One of the more recent incidents was the mutual complaints Kyiv and Chisinau filed with the World Trade Organization (WTO) at the beginning of 2011. In mid-February, Ukraine turned to the WTO regarding the import duty being levied by the government of Moldova for environmental pollution for certain types of packaging.<sup>40</sup> This fee makes Ukrainian beer and juice more costly for local consumers. Ukraine appealed to the WTO despite the fact that the day before the two sides had agreed to resolve this issue at the interstate level. In its turn, Moldova filed a complaint with the WTO in early March, complaining about discriminatory conditions for the sale of Moldovan cognac on the Ukrainian market, although the Ukrainian side says this claim is unfounded.<sup>41</sup> At the time of writing, the resolution of these mutual claims is underway at the WTO. According to Moldovan economist and director of the Center for Strategic Studies and Reform, Galina Selari, a situation where both countries have turned to the WTO suggests that they are hoping to resolve their old disputes using new instruments.

Among ordinary Moldovans, says Ms. Lungu, there is a stereotype that prices in Ukraine match Moldovan ones, but the standard of living and social benefits are better than in smaller country. This is actually the case: as of April 2011, the average salary in Ukraine was US \$317,<sup>42</sup> while in Moldova it is US \$270.<sup>43</sup> But Ukraine is less attractive than Russia for those looking for work. According to official Moldovan statistics, of all labor migrants from Moldova in H2 2008, 61.8% found work in Russia, 28.8% went to the EU, while there were no separate figures at all for Ukraine.<sup>44</sup> According to Derzhkomstat, the Ukrainian statistics agency, only 228 citizens of Moldova crossed the border officially to work in Ukraine (see Table 4). Of course, far more residents of Right and Left Bank Moldova work in Ukraine illegally. According to Ukraine's Foreign Ministry, Moldova is top on the list of countries of origin for illegal migrants in Ukraine.

## THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY: INFLUENTIAL OR INFLUENCED?

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The Ukrainian community is the largest minority ethnic group in Moldova. For Ukraine, this is both an advantage and a challenge. In fact, there are two Ukrainian communities in Moldova—on the Right Bank and on the Left Bank—and they effectively live in two different states, even if one of them is unrecognized and its actions do not always work in favor of Ukraine's soft power.



According to the last census of Right Bank Moldova in 2004, 282,400 Ukrainians lived in the country, although this number has since gone down.<sup>45</sup> This means that ethnic Ukrainians constitute around 8% of the population, and around 10% of them hold Ukrainian passports.

Today, around 90,000 indigenous Ukrainians with Ukrainian passports live in Transnistria. Thanks to their citizenship and Ukraine's role in resolving the conflict in the region, Ukrainians in Transnistria have more levers of influence on policy decisions both in the breakaway region and in Ukraine than Ukrainians in the rest of Moldova. The only question is whether the state of Ukraine can take advantage of this leverage. In the past, it was often used as a cover when resolving issues with Chisinau rather than in order to expand its influence in the country. For instance, for a long time, the Ukrainian government justified its reluctance to invoke economic sanctions against Transnistria because of the large community of ethnic Ukrainians living in the self-proclaimed republic.<sup>46</sup>

Another ambiguous situation affected the Embassy of Ukraine to Moldova. On one hand, it is precisely in Transnistria that Ukrainians need the most support from their country, but Ukraine cannot, on the other hand, open a consulate on the Left Bank because Chisinau will not approve of it. Clearly, the leader of Transnistria would treat this as a signal that Ukraine was recognizing its independence. Thus, Ukrainians in Transnistria who want to, say, participate in an election, have to travel to the Right Bank and stand in long queues. During the last Presidential election in Ukraine, there were only two polling stations, in Chisinau and Beltsi.<sup>47</sup>

The reputation of the current Ukrainian Ambassador to Moldova, Serhiy Pyrozhkov, is quite positive. For instance, he was one of the Top Ten most active Ukrainian diplomats abroad, according to an expert poll taken by the Institute of World Policy in 2010.<sup>48</sup>

Ironically, the leaders of the Ukrainian community in Transnistria see the efforts of the Ambassador on the Left Bank as a kind of interference in their affairs and have more than once provoked a confrontational situation with the Embassy. What matters to the Ukrainian community on the Left Bank of the Dnister does not always work in favor of Ukraine's soft power. The country is somewhat discredited, including among the general population, both through its split—the head of Ukrprosvita is Volodymyr Bondar, while the Buta Union of Ukrainians of Transnistria is run by Leonid Tkachuk—and through the corruption that individual leaders in the community have been tied to. On the other hand, Mr. Bondar's being a member of the legislature of the unrecognized republic is able to take advantage of his official position to bring up Ukrainian interests with the region's leaders.

The general feeling of dissatisfaction with the passivity of the Ukrainian government in the region among Ukrainians in Transnistria is multiplied by the Russian presence in the region. Thus, education in Transnistria, both school and higher education,<sup>49</sup> follows Russian standards. The Strategic and Security Studies Group, which looked at Ukrainians in Transnistria and came up with more disturbing evidence: The Rybnytska Ukrainian Middle School №1, in which all teaching takes place in the Ukrainian language, is quite popular among locals: not only Ukrainian children go there, but also ethnic Russians and Moldovans. However, the school, which uses the latest in teaching methods and ensures that Ukrainian national identity is brought to Ukrainians on the Left Bank, effectively repeats the separatist positions of the government of Transnistria.<sup>50</sup>

Oriented as pro-Russian, more than 90% of Ukrainians in Transnistria voted for Viktor Yanukovych in the Presidential elections of 2004 and 2010. True, of nearly 90,000 Ukrainians, only 1,500 voters participated.<sup>51</sup>

Right Bank Ukrainians are passive carriers of Ukrainian culture in Moldova rather than active players in the political process. As Ukrainian diplomats report, the impact of Ukrainians on Moldovan policy continues to wane: prior to 2005, 17 national deputies or nearly every fifth member of the Moldovan parliament was of Ukrainian origins. Right now, there are at most three deputies in the parliament who admit to having Ukrainian roots. This could be a reflection of the declining role of Ukrainians in politics and of their political allegiances: traditionally, the Ukrainian community in Moldova supported the Communist Party, which favors bilingualism and has a strong anti-Romanian position. The CP representative, Vasyl

Panchuk, also an ethnic Ukrainian, was elected mayor of Beltsi, the second largest town after Chisinau,<sup>52</sup> for a third term in the last local elections. And of course, there are exceptions: one well-known representative of the Ukrainian community on the Right Bank, Oleksandr Korkotsenko, the director of the Elan Poligraf publishing house, joined the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party of Moldova.

The Right Bank community includes both influential and high-profile individuals. One of these is Igor Krapivko, who runs the biggest steel company on the Right Bank, Orvento Metal. He is also President of the Timpul Republican Club for Business Professionals, and was once the head of the economic council under the Premier of Moldova. His fellow countryman, Vasyl Syvenko, is director of the Beltsi Food Processing Plant. Viktor Tvircun, Executive Director of the Republican Club for Business Professionals, Professor of the Chisinau State University, ex-Minister of Education, Youth and Sports is also a Ukrainian who is eager to talk about his wide network of contacts with Ukrainian business: the Zaporizhzhia Steelworks, Kryvorizstal, and so on. He underlines the fact that, as Minister of Education, he personally oversaw the publication of textbooks in Ukrainian.

According to Romanian-speaking Moldovans, Ukrainians on the Right Bank do not occupy any particular niche in Moldovan society. Firstly, 50% of them, especially urban residents, speak Russian and do not make anything of their Ukrainian roots. Events held by the embassy or by community organizations attract a narrow circle of Ukrainians themselves and are not always covered by Moldovan media. This means that the activities of Ukrainian citizens, in contrast to Russian ones—especially thanks to the frequently provocative actions of the Russian embassy—are barely noticed in social circles. Nicu Popescu, a Moldovan analyst and specialist on the European Council on Foreign Relations has observed that within the Ukrainian community itself, there is a lack of sense that it is the largest ethnic community in Moldova and it does not position itself as such: «In the Rumanian language, there are surnames that originate from the names of nations neighboring Moldova and Romania: Serbu, Bulgaru, Ungurianu, Liachu, Turcu, Rusu, even Armianu. But there is no Ucrainianu. This seems to suggest that Moldovans do not distinguish Ukrainians from among representatives of Russian-speaking territories.»

Contacts between the Ukrainian communities of Right Bank and Left Bank Moldova are not close. And this is one of the objectives of the Ukrainian Embassy in Moldova: to foster greater unity in the Ukrainian community in Moldova through common events, celebrations and so on. Analysts acknowledge that this could turn into one of the factors that reintegrates Moldova as a unitary state.

To reach this kind of objective, Ukraine will have to exert considerable effort, because Romania and Russia are already actively competing for influence in the country. For instance, over 2008-2009, Ukraine's MFA allocated around US \$200,000 under the MFA's «Measures to maintain contact with Ukrainians who live outside Ukraine» for joint projects with Ukrainian CSOs in Moldova.<sup>53</sup> Over that same period, the Russian Federation allocated nearly five times as much money for a similar project to support Russian speakers. Funding from Ukraine effectively dried up because of the deepening financial crisis and has not been revived to date.

Competition to influence education in Moldova is equally strong. Ukraine annually allocates nearly one hundred scholarships for Moldovan citizens studying at Ukrainian post-secondary institutions. Of course, statistics available since 2007 show that this money was never fully used in any year.<sup>54</sup> On its part, Romania allocates 3,000 state-paid placements in higher education, while Russia approaches this issue strategically and grants 15 scholarships to study at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Federation. Moreover, Russia recognizes the diplomas issued by Transnistrian institutions.

The popularity of a Ukrainian education is higher in Transnistria. There are six facilities that instruct exclusively in Ukrainian—following a Russian curriculum!—and in 76 other schools, Ukrainian is taught as a subject.<sup>55</sup> By comparison, there are 52 secondary schools in Right Bank Moldova that teach Ukrainian language and history, but all instruction is in Russian, while there are no schools at all where Ukrainian is the language of instruction. Based on a separate quota, Ukraine sets aside 100 scholarships for Transnistria to Russia's 130. In addition, there are two branch campuses of Ukrainian colleges in Transnistria: the Interregional Academy for Personnel Management and the Odessa National Academy of Law. This does

not compare to the number of Russian branch campuses: the Tiraspol Branch of the Moscow Institute of Entrepreneurship and Law and the Moscow Academy of Economics and Law, the Ribnitski Branch of the St. Petersburg Northwestern Distance Learning Politechnical Institute, not to count the numberless centers of Russian academies based at Transnistria's Shevchenko State University. Pridnistrovie XXI, an internet publication from the Tiraspol School of Policy Studies proudly writes: «Despite its full administrative autonomy, the Transnistrian educational system's content and organization belong to the scientific and educational sphere of Russia.»<sup>56</sup>

In this way, the passive political support of Ukrainians abroad on the part of the Ukrainian state has failed to make the Ukrainian community on the Right Bank of the Dnister a promoter of Ukraine's soft power in Moldova because Moldovan society does not always consciously identify with its national origins, while Ukrainians in Transnistria are slowly but surely becoming agents of influence for Russia.

## UKRAINE THROUGH THE EYES OF A MOLDOVAN

The average Moldovan has a positive attitude towards Ukraine. Members of Moldova's intellectual elite — experts, politicians and journalists—who were polled by the Institute of World Policy called Top-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine,<sup>57</sup> noted that, for them, Ukraine was associated with a common history, national cuisine, space and large territory. Experts remembered that, for many of them, Ukraine had been the main resort for vacations in the past, especially because of its accessibility, both territorially and financially.

### TOP-5 NOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UKRAINE:

1. COMMON HISTORY
2. NATIONAL CUISINE
3. LARGE COUNTRY
4. KYIV
5. USEFUL BUFFER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

According to the latest survey by the Institute of World Policy, 68.4% of Moldovans consider that relations between the two countries are good or very good, compared to 62.5% regarding Russia.<sup>58</sup> Paradoxically, only 1.6% of Moldovans think of Ukraine as a strategic partner, and the gap with other countries is enormous: 50.1% see Russia as Moldova's strategic partner, 27.3% see the EU and 9.1% see Romania. The only worst indicator than Ukraine's is the US, at 0.2%. Moldovans explain this paradox thus: They can't forget their total reliance on Russia for natural gas. The Russian language in Moldova also makes a difference, as well as the image of Moscow as the one-time political center. By contrast

Ukraine, which has not undergone profound internal changes on the way to European integration and has even been showing anti-democratic trends lately, is associated with disillusionment, although some experts did refer to Ukraine as a buffer and safety zone that will prevent Russia from expanding its influence over Moldova too much.

From their schooldays, Moldovans remember the close ties between Moldova and Ukraine over the 16th-17th centuries and the participation of Ukrainians in the wars of liberation against the Ottoman Empire. Rozanda, the daughter of Moldovan lord Vasil Lupul, married Tymosh, one of the sons of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Most of what Moldovans know about Ukraine today comes from the media, which don't always present Ukraine from an attractive angle. Part of this media is Russian-language and uses information coming from Russian wire services, such as Kommersant Moldova, a subsidiary of the well-known Russian publication, Kommersant. In addition, Moldova does not broadcast Ukrainian channels,<sup>59</sup> other than through satellite and cable, while 15 channels are Russian-language or rebroadcast from Russia. For example, the popular Prime channel, which is owned by Vlad Plahotniuc, broadcasts the service from Russia's Channel 1 in Moldova.<sup>60</sup> In this way, Moldovan opinion is strongly shaped by Russian interpretations of events in Ukraine in the Moldovan media.





Notably, the list of most frequently used keywords includes a large number of names of Moldovan politicians. Given the internal situation in Moldova, the country's political leaders—Gimpu, Rosca, Filat, Lupu, CDNP—tended to frequently bring up their stance towards Ukraine in interviews and commentary.

Ukrainian online media are not especially popular in Moldova: no more than 2% of Moldovan users visit their sites with any regularity. But in Moldova's expert and diplomatic circles, the Ukrainian papers *Den* and *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia* are very popular and highly respected. In particular, Moldovan diplomats stated that they wished Moldova had at least one paper of the analytical quality of *DT*.

Outside the media, little about Ukraine reaches Moldova. The surveyed experts and journalists were unable to remember any popular contemporary Ukrainian literature or films. Still, Moldovans love to sing Ukrainian folksongs and ballads. Moreover, Moldova does have fans of contemporary Ukrainian musicians, such as «Okean Elzy» and 2004 Eurovision winner Ruslana. In 2009, there was a successful Ukrainian Film Festival in Moldova and the Odessa comedy team *Humorina* is popular among Moldovans.

As mentioned earlier, despite the popularity of Ukrainian cooking, there are very few restaurants in Moldova that specialize in Ukrainian cuisine. Of course, «Ukrainian-style borshch» can be had in pretty well all Moldovan eateries.

Ukraine is more visible in Transnistria. After all, this is the only region in the world where Ukrainian is the official language, along with Russian and Moldovan. Here, people know a lot more about Ukrainian pop culture—riding on public transport you may hear Verka Serdiuchka hits playing—and about events in Ukraine, as well: six Ukrainian channels are broadcast in Transnistria. Tiraspol also boasts a «Ukraine House» that belongs to the Government of Ukraine. Thus, the territory of Transnistria contains premises for consular services and cultural events for the Ukrainian community. Transnistria's «state» university has also been named in honor of the Ukrainian Kobzar, Taras Shevchenko. Still, pupils who study Taras Shevchenko in their foreign or Russian literature classes aren't always clear about the fact that Shevchenko was a Ukrainian poet, not a Russian one.

Possibly the largest source of information about Ukraine in Moldova is its migrants. Moldovan citizens often visit Ukraine: according to the State Statistics Service, the volume of persons crossing the Ukraine-Moldova border from Moldova adds up to more than 4 million annually (see Table 4),<sup>62</sup> when the total population of Moldova is only 3.6 million.

**Table 4. Moldovans who entered Ukraine in 2010**

Total number	Purpose of the visit						
	service, business, diplomatic	tourism	private	study	job	immigration (permanent residency)	arts/sports exchange, religion, other
4,063,459	72,244	5,184	3,972,877	1,515	228	4,583	6,828

As of April 2010, air traffic between Kyiv and Chisinau was restored, a route handled by Aerosvit. The airline offers four flights a week. In addition, Aerosvit handles service from Moldova to the nearest nine oblast capitals in Ukraine.<sup>63</sup> By train, travelers can get from Kyiv to Moldova on three main daily trains and two supplementary trains. However, Kyiv is a transit point on all these routes as the trains actually run from Moscow to Chisinau.<sup>64</sup> The lion's share of movement from Moldova to Ukraine is border traffic and migration mostly within Odessa Oblast, especially for shopping purposes.



- <sup>1</sup> <http://zn.ua/articles/32795>
- <sup>2</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/42821>
- <sup>3</sup> Resolution "On Ukraine's initiative to regulate the Transnistrian conflict and measures to democratize and demilitarize the Transnistria region," №117-XVI dated 10.06.2005, Monitorul Oficial al Republica Moldova №83-85/385 dated 17.06.2005.
- <sup>4</sup> [http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/publish/article?art\\_id=38335664](http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/publish/article?art_id=38335664)
- <sup>5</sup> [http://www.ipp.md/public/files/Barometru/2009/BOP\\_martie\\_2009\\_final\\_prima\\_parte.zip](http://www.ipp.md/public/files/Barometru/2009/BOP_martie_2009_final_prima_parte.zip)
- <sup>6</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/world/107828-moldova-otkazalas-priznat-pobedu-yanukovicha>
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www.salut.md/news/43756>
- <sup>8</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/58670>
- <sup>9</sup> <http://presscenter.ukrinform.ua/news-37798.html?p=3>
- <sup>10</sup> [http://www.rferl.org/content/interview\\_moldova\\_foreign\\_minister\\_reaffirms\\_policy\\_of\\_european\\_integration/24179142.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/interview_moldova_foreign_minister_reaffirms_policy_of_european_integration/24179142.html)
- <sup>11</sup> <http://www.easternpartnership.org/publication/politics/2011-05-11/how-avoid-eu-fatigue-towards-moldova>
- <sup>12</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/1226066-prezident-rumynii-ne-vidit-ukrainu-v-es-blizhajshie-sem-let>
- <sup>13</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/moldova/ua/news/detail/62388.htm>
- <sup>14</sup> <http://www.President.gov.ua/news/18938.html>
- <sup>15</sup> <http://www.allmoldova.com/moldova-news/1249060363.html>
- <sup>16</sup> <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/hetmanchuk/4e1aeac417e83/>
- <sup>17</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/moldova/ua/news/detail/62251.htm>
- <sup>18</sup> <http://www.kommersant.ua/doc.html?DocID=1674657&IssueId=7000813>
- <sup>19</sup> <http://glavcom.ua/articles/3171.html>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://ipp.md/lib.php?l=ro&idc=156>
- <sup>21</sup> [http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/ukr/tovaroobig\\_za\\_stat/mol/5217.html](http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/ukr/tovaroobig_za_stat/mol/5217.html)
- <sup>22</sup> <http://www.statistica.md/category.php?l=ru&idc=336&>
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/moldova/ua/24612.htm>
- <sup>25</sup> <http://freedomhouse.eu/images/Reports/NIT-2010-Belarus-final.pdf>
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>
- <sup>27</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>
- <sup>28</sup> <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>
- <sup>29</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>
- <sup>30</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>
- <sup>31</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BLR.html>
- <sup>32</sup> [http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010\\_globalRanking.pdf](http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010_globalRanking.pdf)
- <sup>33</sup> <http://www.uspp.org.ua/news/270.uspp-ta-asociaciya-nacionalnikh-tovarovirobnikiv-moldovi-pidpisali-ugodu-pro-spivpracyu.htm>. <http://economics.unian.net/ukr/detail/47397>
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.interrao.ru/news/company/detail.php?ID=731>
- <sup>35</sup> <http://ukrstroy.net/news/n596.htm>
- <sup>36</sup> [http://finforum.org/page/index.html/\\_/business/moldavskij-zavod-okazalsa-v-centre-politicheskikh-r15978](http://finforum.org/page/index.html/_/business/moldavskij-zavod-okazalsa-v-centre-politicheskikh-r15978)
- <sup>37</sup> [http://www.noi.md/ru/news\\_id/2431](http://www.noi.md/ru/news_id/2431)
- <sup>38</sup> <http://www.celentano.md/ru/about-us.html>
- <sup>39</sup> <http://furshet.ua/company/geography/>
- <sup>40</sup> <http://kommersant.ua/doc.html?docId=1590076>
- <sup>41</sup> [http://www.goodvin.info/news/biznes/20243-moldova\\_zayavila\\_o\\_diskriminacii\\_svoih\\_konyakov\\_v\\_ukraine.html](http://www.goodvin.info/news/biznes/20243-moldova_zayavila_o_diskriminacii_svoih_konyakov_v_ukraine.html)
- <sup>42</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/business/economics/1221790-srednyaya-zarplata-v-ukraine-vnov-povysilas>
- <sup>43</sup> <http://www.allmoldova.com/moldova-news/1249062207.html>
- <sup>44</sup> [http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii\\_electronce/migratia/Migratia\\_FM\\_en.pdf](http://www.statistica.md/public/files/publicatii_electronce/migratia/Migratia_FM_en.pdf)
- <sup>45</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/mfa/ua/publication/content/46270.htm>
- <sup>46</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/41443>
- <sup>47</sup> <http://rian.com.ua/politics/20100117/78276711.html>
- <sup>48</sup> [http://iwp.org.ua/img/amb\\_rating16.pdf](http://iwp.org.ua/img/amb_rating16.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> S. Herasymchuk, "Problems the Ukrainian minority faces in Transnistria and the rest of Moldova, The Problem of Transnistria: A view from Ukraine, Strategic and Security Studies Group, Kyiv, 2009.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> According to the Ukrainian Ambassador to Moldova.

<sup>52</sup> [http://ru.publika.md/link\\_199561.html](http://ru.publika.md/link_199561.html)

<sup>53</sup> According to Ukrainian Embassy to Moldova.

<sup>54</sup> In 2010, 59 Moldovans entered Ukrainian post-secondary institutions, compared to 45 in 2009, 62 in 2008, and 77 in 2007.

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/moldova/ua/24656.htm>

<sup>56</sup> [http://www.pmr21.info/text.php?cat=13&name=rossija\\_ukraina\\_i\\_pridnestrovje&arch=onsite](http://www.pmr21.info/text.php?cat=13&name=rossija_ukraina_i_pridnestrovje&arch=onsite)

<sup>57</sup> Ukraine's Soft Power: Top-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the region, Institute of World Policy, Kyiv, 2011.

<sup>58</sup> <http://ipp.md/libview.php?l=ro&idc=156&id=552>

<sup>59</sup> The broadcast of UT-1 on the Right Bank can only be resumed after the channel has paid off its debts to the Moldovan side.

<sup>60</sup> [http://www.ng.ru/cis/2010-05-12/8\\_business.html](http://www.ng.ru/cis/2010-05-12/8_business.html)

<sup>61</sup> Five publications were analyzed:

1. Timpul (<http://www.timpul.md/>) (191 articles)
2. Jurnal de Chisinau (<http://www.jurnal.md/>) (70 articles)
3. Moldavskie Vedomosti (<http://www.vedomosti.md/>) (228 articles)
4. Flux (<http://www.flux.md/>) (364 articles)
5. Kommersant Moldova (<http://www.kommersant.md/>) (36 articles)

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/>

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.tourbusiness.com.ua/news/8093/>

<sup>64</sup> [http://www.uz.gov.ua/index.php?m=info.info\\_posagiriv.rozklad\\_ruhu&f=ScheduleOra.Prib&lng=uk](http://www.uz.gov.ua/index.php?m=info.info_posagiriv.rozklad_ruhu&f=ScheduleOra.Prib&lng=uk)



Author: Anatoliy Smyshliaev, Moldova



Author: Aleksandr Dimitrov, Moldova



Author: Anatoliy Smyshliaev, Moldova

## Ukraine's Soft Power in Poland

*Hej, tam gdzieś znad czarnej wody,  
Wsiada na koń kozak młody,  
Czule żegna się z dziewczyną,  
Jeszcze czulej z **Ukrainą**.*

*Over there, somewhere above the black water,  
A young Cossack gets on a horse,  
He sensitively says goodbye to the girl,  
Even more sensitively to **Ukraine**.*

This song is heard at Polish people's celebrations and weddings, but conjures up the image of a Ukrainian. In some sources it is called Polish, in others - Ukrainian. Its author is considered to be Polish-Ukrainian poet Tomasz Padura, but it without a doubt conveys a similar story as the Ukrainian folk song «Yikhav kozak za Dunay»! Poles sing the same first stanzas of the national anthem, speaking a consonant language; they fought for their democracy during the times of «Solidarity» and for Ukraine - during the Orange Revolution. They come to the city of Lviv as if a hometown, they are fond of Ukrainian beer and modern Ukrainian writers. Ukraine is increasingly present in Poland - in political discourse and at cultural events, but both nations are divided by the border of the European Union and by a different pace of development of modern history.

The forming of the image of Ukraine in Poland is not consistent and uniform. At a diplomatic level Poles perceive Ukraine as a young democracy, support its neighbours' European aspirations and have a critical attitude to the political processes and the level of corruption in the state. At an interpersonal level the picture is different: Poles always respond positively to the sincerity of Ukrainians, their sense of independence and cultural similarities. Thus the image of a Ukrainian and Ukraine itself are different in the perception of Poles: those Poles who often came to Ukraine or have worked here, talk about the openness and goodwill of Ukrainians, but they are not always positive about the administrative system and business.

Ukraine has more contact with Poland than any other European country. This type of relationship between the countries is explained not only by the strategic approach of bilateral cooperation i.e Poland lobbying for Ukrainian interests in the European Union or the growing trade between the countries. Polish-Ukrainian relations have always been shaded by historical events. Historical memory - the cause of conflicts and then reconciliation - to this day sometimes influences the relations between Ukrainians and Poles: a certain analogy with the song – the same story, but its emotional experience and perception varies. On the part of Ukraine the local dimension of the Polish-Ukrainian discourses on historical topics are very significant. «Yet when we talk about the Poles - in particular concerning the historical past – the whole of Poland is engaged. Here it only concerns Western Ukraine. Kyiv was separated from us a long time ago on this issue - they say, solve your problems and sort the Poles out. In other words the Centre

stands separately, as well as the Galicia-Volhynia territory<sup>1</sup>»- says Bohdan Hud, the director of the Institute of European Integration in Lviv. According to him, some historical bias is inherent in the Ukrainian community in Poland as well, that's why it's sometimes seen as the opposition in Poland itself.

Today, Poland and Ukraine are creating a modern historical relationship. Poland is currently trying to bring Ukraine much closer to the European Union, and is anxious for the conclusion of negotiations between Ukraine and the EU concerning the Association Agreement by the end of 2011, before Poland ends its EU Presidency.

Obligations of both countries in the preparation and hosting of the Euro-2012 Football Championship became a platform for joint efforts between Ukraine and Poland, and at the same time created certain interdependencies not only in interstate relations, but also in the international arena. This popular topic aroused even a greater interest of Ukraine in the Poles. According to a survey among leading journalists, public figures and political scientists, who form public opinion in Poland, the cultural factor is the most important element of soft power of Ukraine in Poland. Interestingly the factor of the domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine was assessed at the same level with the role of the Ukrainian community in Poland, although their positions and messages about Ukraine are often different. The popularity of Ukrainian products is assessed not too high, but this is explained partially by the specific character of the Ukrainian export to Poland which includes mostly raw materials.

Overall the index of Ukraine's Soft Power in Poland is 4 (on a 10-point scale)<sup>2</sup> and was determined by five parameters. More information - on the Table 1.

Table 1. **Ukraine's soft power index in Poland**

<b>SOFT POWER PARAMETERS</b>	<b>MEAN VALUE</b>
Ukraine's foreign and domestic policy	4
Influence of the Ukrainian community	4
Ukrainian embassy's activities	3
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	5
Popularity of Ukrainian products	3
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	4

## DIPLOMACY VERSUS FRIENDSHIP

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The saying «there is no independent Poland without an independent Ukraine,» was confirmed from the first days of the independence of Ukraine. Poland was the first country in the world to recognize Ukraine's independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There was always consensus in Polish political circles concerning the Ukrainian question: Ukraine must be supported. Ukraine, who is moving towards EU and NATO – must be supported with double the effort. Ukraine's Presidents were received in Warsaw regardless of any geopolitical conjuncture. Leonid Kuchma could go to Poland in the moments of deepest isolation by leading western capitals after the so-called «Kolchuga» incident. Viktor Yushchenko was finding support in the Polish capital, while in other European capitals he was reproached for political instability and chaos in the country. Viktor Yanukovych was received with all honours in Warsaw in May 2011, while from Brussels and Washington statements about anti-democratic tendencies in Ukraine were already falling thick and fast.

One of the secrets of the Polish-Ukrainian relations is personal contact between the first persons of the state. The friendship of Kwasniewski with Kuchma, and then of Yushchenko with Kaczynski could perfectly enter into an international relations textbook as an example of how harmoniously relations



between two countries with more than complicated backgrounds can develop if there are good relations between the Presidents.

After the termination of Aleksander Kwasniewski as President of Poland, Ukraine has clearly become a sort of life project for him, a mission. The peak of his involvement in Ukrainian affairs was during the Orange Revolution. Although Kwasniewski was just one of the foreign mediators, his role in the then event was considered as «most prominent». Not least because there was no language barrier for the Polish ex-President – his fluent Russian allowed him to come to terms with the Ukrainian partners much faster. Plus he had a deep knowledge of Ukrainian realities, for which he should owe to his friendship, firstly with Leonid Kuchma, and then his son in law - businessman and philanthropist Viktor Pinchuk. In 2010 Kwasniewski became the chairman of the board of Yalta European Strategy (YES), Pinchuk's main international platform. In 2010, when there was a pause between Polish and Ukrainian relations due to the tragic loss of President Kaczynski from Poland and Yanukovych coming to power in Ukraine, Kwasniewski acted as an intermediary between Yanukovych and the newly elected Polish President, Bronislaw Komorowski for a while. If we trace the chronology of the meetings between Komorowski and Yanukovych, it becomes clear that the first steps from Komorowski and Yanukovych towards each other (in Yalta, and then in Davos) were taken under the wing of Pinchuk and personally conducted by Kwasniewski.<sup>3</sup>

This, of course is true if we do not take into consideration the appropriate gesture at the beginning of Yanukovych's presidency by participating in the farewell ceremony for Lech Kaczynski, in Krakow. Jacek Kluckowski, a former ambassador of Poland to Ukraine noted once that Viktor Yanukovych was one of the three heads of state who arrived in Krakow after the Smolensk tragedy. «I know that it was perceived positively in our country and emphasized the special nature of Polish-Ukrainian relations and the desire of the Ukrainian President to continue the tradition [...]»<sup>4</sup>.

If we talk about a Ukrainian President who was the most popular in Poland then it obviously was Viktor Yushchenko. It definitely «was» because today the attitude towards him in Poland is not unambiguous. Some link him with Ukraine making no headway after the Orange Revolution; some cannot forget the «farewell» gift to the Polish people from Yushchenko as President of Ukraine - the assignment of the title Hero of Ukraine to Stepan Bandera. Yushchenko, despite predictions from some experts, did not even become a Polish Walesa. Yes, he was also, as the leader of «Solidarity», a President of one term, but he, unlike Walesa in Poland, did not provide Ukraine with a reliable transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

Today Poles are trying to find the answer to the question: will Yanukovych become a Ukrainian Kwasniewski? That is, the man who was originally associated with Moscow, but who eventually led Poland to the European Union. It's not a secret that after the last Presidential elections in Ukraine, many experts predicted a cooling off period in relations between Ukraine and Poland. Some explained the lack of interest of Viktor Yanukovych in Poland by the fact that during the Presidential elections in Ukraine the ruling party of Poland «Platforma Obywatelska» was more inclined to favour the other candidate, though publicly of course it was constantly denied. Some have called attention to the fact that President Komorowski does not have a sense of a certain mission towards Ukraine like the Polish President Kaczynski had.

For now many of our neighbours are pleasantly surprised by the fact that Yanukovych has not gone for further rapprochement with Moscow, and opted for integration into the EU. Today Poland, as aptly put by the chief editor of «Gazeta Wyborcza» Adam Michnik in a video conference which was organized by the Institute of World Policy, is trying in every way to show Viktor Yanukovych that Ukraine is not doomed to the dictatorship of the Kremlin<sup>5</sup>.

The intention to show the Ukrainian leader that Ukraine is not doomed so and to bring the first serious rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU sealed by the Association Agreement to a logical end is so serious that they are ready, in Poland, to close their eyes both to some anti-democratic trends in Kyiv and to certain apathy of the Ukrainian authorities during the first year of the Yanukovych presidency. The most demonstrative expression of such apathy was the first official visit to Poland of Yanukovych as President which actually took a year after he took office. That was after at least two dozen other official

visits overseas. «This is the first official visit of the President of Ukraine after almost a year in office. This is surprising in the case of states which have declared a strategic partnership. The relations between the two countries are loaded by the past support of the «orange» forces in Ukraine by the Polish government. For President Komorowski the situation is somewhat eased by the fact that during his visit to Kiev in Yushchenko times, he met with the opposition leader Yanukovych<sup>6</sup>», — «Gazeta Wyborcza» commented while at this event.

The belated visit of the Yanukovych-President to Poland was in discord with his policies as prime minister of Ukraine in 2002. His first official foreign visit as prime minister was made to Poland. As recalled by Leszek Miller, Prime Minister of Poland in 2001-2004, then Yanukovych's visit was followed by concrete actions. «Kyiv did not impose a visa regime on citizens of Poland, while Warsaw was forced to introduce visas for Ukrainians to comply with the requirements of the European Union. Cultural contacts became more active and Kyiv began to treat the difficult moments of shared history, including the tragedy at Volhynia, with understanding and respect for the sensitivity of the Poles<sup>7</sup>», — Miller said.

Bogumila Berdychowska, a Polish journalist, who has been researching Ukraine for nearly 25 years says that despite the cultural and mental similarities it is politics that unites Ukrainians and Poles the most. «In the sense that no matter how relations between Warsaw and Kyiv may evolve, the political objectives related to the security and stability of our part of Europe with the impetus on economic development are mutual for us. [...] So, when the relationship between Warsaw and Kyiv becomes less dynamic, I think it is a threat not only of our good-neighbourly relations but also for what will happen in Eastern Europe<sup>8</sup>». Clearly aware of the importance of this policy, Ukraine has always tried to demonstrate its proximity to Poland.

Poles analyze the political situation in Ukraine both from formal signs and by the content of state processes. The majority of Polish experts define the shift to relative political stability in the country after the 2010 elections and the absence of open resistance at high levels of government, as positive.

In dialogue at the highest level there are practically no sensitive historical aspects for both countries. Representatives of the Party of Regions indicated in informal discussions that they, unlike the previous administration of Ukraine, do not intend to put emphasis on history in the dialogue between the two countries, and they say that the Polish partners are very grateful to them. The problem is that the «Svoboda» party is constantly trying to make this emphasis. Moreover, in a form that is totally unacceptable for any Pole. It includes the active use of references to unpleasant historical facts in political discourse, aggressive rhetoric and the organizing of radical actions in Lviv as unpleasant for the Poles.

Ukraine and Poland have enough platforms for international dialogue – starting from the Advisory Committee under the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland, the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland and the Polish-Ukrainian Committee for preparation for Euro-2012 at the level of Prime Ministers. At the same time, Ukraine has a developed system of the Consulates General in Poland – there are seven of them in total. By the way, the eighth consulate was opened in the city of Bydgoszcz in early July 2011 with the participation of Ukraine's Foreign Minister.

## THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF SOFT POWER

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Although the Polish experts who took part in the survey of the Institute of World Policy rated the popularity of Ukrainian products in Poland quite low (3 points), the economic cooperation between neighbouring countries reached record levels: fifth place in Ukrainian exports and the fourth in imports. In 2010 the trade turnover between Ukraine and Poland amounted to 5.7 billion U.S. dollars.

Polish exports considerably exceed Ukrainian imports. This is one of the reasons which make Poland appreciate ties with Ukraine: for Poland, a violation of relations between the two countries will create the

loss of a large market for its products. Nearly 600 Polish-Ukrainian enterprises are operating; the total capital investment is more than 37 million U.S. dollars. The number of enterprises with Polish capital on the territory of Ukraine is around 1000. 80% of them are small firms concentrated in the west of the country.

The structure of Ukrainian exports to the Republic of Poland is more represented by raw materials from the metallurgy industry, transport machinery manufacturing, chemical industry and timber. Ukraine is expanding its investment activities in Poland, more and more. According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, the volume of Ukrainian investments in the Polish economy as of January 1 this year amounted to 49.1 million U.S. dollars, representing 0.7% of the total volume of Ukrainian investments abroad. According to available information the actual volume of Ukrainian investments in the Republic of Poland, which for various reasons is not counted by Ukrainian statistics exceeds 1 billion U.S. dollars. In turn, the Polish investment in Ukraine over the past 10 years (2001-2010) increased 13 times<sup>9</sup>.

As for Ukrainian investments, they come from large enterprises. Beside the Industrial Union of Donbass (hereinafter - ISD), which is an investor in the «Huta Czestochowa» steelworks and in the «Stocznia Gdanska» shipyard, the most important Ukrainian investment projects in the Republic of Poland are the Warsaw Automotive Factory (investor - «Auto-ZAZ») and metal trader «Centrostal Bydgoszcz» (investor - «UGMK»). At least ten enterprises with the Ukrainian capital operate in Poland today.

It should be noted that the ISD investment in Poland caused a definite change in bilateral trade relations between Poland and Ukraine. According to Sergiy Skribka, the Head of the Trade and Economic Mission of the Ukrainian Embassy in Poland, «Until then, Polish businessmen were interested in trade with Ukraine, investment in Ukraine but did not search for Ukrainian investors. Now, the situation has changed».

Although Ukrainian products are often considered not to be competitive on foreign markets alcohol (in particular, «Obolon» beer), sweets, mustard and sauces from Ukraine are believed to be the best and of the highest quality in Poland. A Ukrainian brand success story in Poland is «Nemiroff»: sales of the company in 2007, in Poland, exceeded 280%. This growth of trade volumes has forced the owners of the company to buy a Polish distributor. Present on the Polish market since 2004, production of «Nemiroff» is popular not because of low prices, as it is among the more expensive brands. Only now are they planning to develop products for the middle class consumer. The success of the company is also shown by the interest of the Polish Central European Distribution Corporation (CEDC) in acquiring shares of the Ukrainian manufacturer.

In the regions bordering Ukraine Poles are far more familiar with Ukrainian products. A relatively new law on local border traffic between Poland and Ukraine has turned into an extremely «great move» under the slogan «buy-sell-earn», but the turnover of cross-border trade from which both Ukrainians and Poles live (the latter have an advantage - no need for visas), is difficult to assess due to the fact that a large share of foreign trade between Poland and Ukraine is not monitored by any state control bodies.

«Norm» is already a code word for both Ukrainians and Poles. It means a litre of vodka and a carton of cigarettes which can be taken per time through customs for sale on the Polish side of the border. Such situations once again confirm the presence of specific regional shades in Ukrainian-Polish relations, which are mostly related to the proximity of borders and areas of production. Even business meetings between Polish and Ukrainian businessmen are held close to the border and in twin/sister cities.

Ukrainian products in the border regions are in demand among Poles because of the relatively low prices. The demand for Ukrainian goods sharply increases before holidays, especially Christmas. Interestingly, the information about the purchasing of Ukrainian goods in the border areas is sometimes published in the local Polish newspapers of Podkarpackie and Lubelskie provinces, even giving prices of Ukrainian vodka, sweets (which are usually 20% cheaper), tobacco products, condensed milk, butter and halva. Most often Poles «shop» in Khyriv, Dobromyl and Sambir. Sweets from the «Svitoch» and «Roshen» companies are extremely popular.

Economic forums «Ukraine-Poland», taking place since 1997, became a real brand. In 2011, Kyiv and Warsaw tried to breathe new life into them: both Presidents participated in the X Economic Forum in Warsaw, though in 2010 the forum was held at the level of deputy prime ministers. The Embassy of Ukraine in Poland also constantly tries to attract Ukrainian business to Poland, regularly organizing a Ukrainian-Polish Economic Cooperation Month under the honorary patronage of the Minister of Economy of Poland – a sort of forum for professional discussion among entrepreneurs and public sector representatives. The Ukrainian Economic Centre in Poland in its turn specializes in industry trade shows and business and economic missions of Polish entrepreneurs to Ukraine and vice versa.

The launch of the national index of Ukrainian companies (WIG Ukraine) on the Warsaw Stock Exchange is evidence of the growing interest in the Ukrainian market. «Creating an index of Ukrainian companies is the result of a growing number of investors from that country on the Warsaw Stock Exchange. The Industrial Milk Company is already the seventh Ukrainian company listed on the Warsaw Stock Exchange and the sixth, whose shares are listed on the main site,»- read a message from the Stock Exchange<sup>10</sup>.

**Table 2. Ukraine and Poland in Ratings**

RATING	UKRAINE	POLAND
Freedom in the World, 2011 <sup>i</sup> (1- best, 7 – worst result)	Partially free	Free
Political rights	3	1
Civil freedom	3	1
Freedom of the Press, 2010 <sup>ii</sup>	Partly free, place 108 on the list of 196	Free, place 47 on the list of 196
Reporters without Borders, 2010 (on the list of 178 countries) <sup>iii</sup>	131	32
Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2010 (on the list of 178 countries / 10 - best, 1 – worst result) <sup>iv</sup>	134 (2.4)	41 (5.3)
Doing Business, 2011 (on the list of 183 countries) <sup>v</sup>	145	70
UN Human Development Index, 2010 <sup>vi</sup> (on the list of 178 countries / 1 - best, 0 – worst result)	69 (0, 710)	41 (0,795)

## FEELING AT HOME IN POLAND

Polish rating of TOP-5 Notions Associated with Ukraine is the only one where the image of Ukraine in recent years took first place. The Poles were deeply disappointed by the «democracy deficit» and the lack of serious economic reforms which they had hoped for after the Orange Revolution, and which they supported. By the way it is demonstrative that none of the Polish experts surveyed by IWP even mentioned the Orange Revolution, but instead there was an association with «unfulfilled expectations». A well-known Polish journalist, a columnist of «Gazeta Wyborcza» editorial, Marcin Wojciechowski, recalls: «After 2004 Ukrainians became the favourite nation in Poland.» Now Ukraine is neither the authority for the Polish government nor for the expert community. Such a perception is partly created by the Polish press: an expert for the Centre for Eastern Studies, Slawomir Matuszak, notes that the Polish media produced a lot of critical reviews of Ukrainian politics after President Yanukovich came to power in Ukraine. In contrast to Belarus, the democratic «backsliding» of Ukraine has not passed unnoticed in Poland: the



persecution of the opposition and questionable democratic reforms (the change to the Constitution in 2010 became particularly resonant in Poland) are frequently and sharply covered by the Polish media.

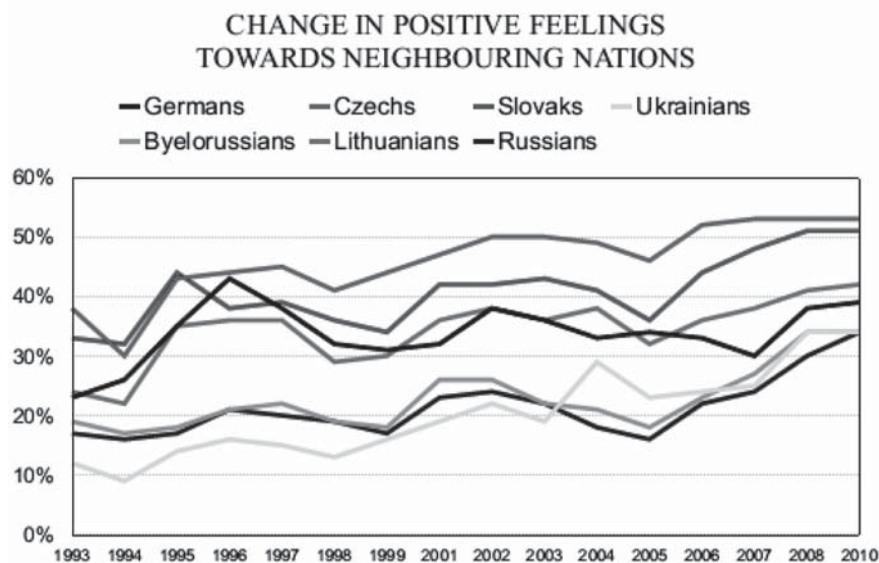
#### TOP-5 NOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UKRAINE:

1. CORRUPTION, DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT, OLIGARCHS
2. COMMON HISTORY
3. HOSPITABILITY
4. DIVIDED/UNDEFINED COUNTRY
5. PARTNERSHIP

Polish experts also associate images of Ukraine with «hospitable people», «divided/undefined country» and «partnership». Slawomir Matuszak confirms that the Polish stereotypical division of Ukraine into Western and Eastern is a simplified cliché. However, if this association prevails among the intellectual elite of Poland then the course of European integration, announced at the state level, is not convincing enough for some EU member states, even neighbours. Thus the Poles interviewed by the IWP are still offering the partnership to Ukraine – but they no longer describe it as «strategic».

According to the Polish Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), Poles, in their attitude to Ukrainians are divided into three almost equally sized groups: those with a positive, negative and neutral attitude. According to a survey in 2011 Ukrainians were ranked 26th among 38 nations, with positive feedback from 32% of Poles interviewed, the same attitude that Poles have to Russians. However, sympathy of Poles for certain nations is affected, in particular, by relations between both countries and the foreign policy of the corresponding state. So experts say that between 2003 and 2004 a positive attitude towards Ukraine among Poles increased by 10% thanks to the events surrounding the Orange Revolution, but declined afterwards.

Fig.1 Changes in the positive attitude of Poles to neighbouring nations<sup>11</sup>



Modern Ukrainian migration to Poland has two distinctive features: ethnic and labour. This is caused by historical factors, territorial division and proximity of borders. According to experts from the Institute of Public Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Mirosław Bieniecki and Mikołaj Pawlak, who are the authors of the study «Strategies for survival - the adaptation of Ukrainian labour migrants to Polish institutional reality», now it is possible to count how many Ukrainians are working in Poland only by the number of the work visas issued. However, these figures do not reflect the full picture.

Polish journalist Krystyna Kurczab-Redlich claims that Ukrainian care givers and domestic workers who form a very positive impression of Ukrainian people are the «ambassadors» of the culture of Ukraine in Poland. In addition to the household sector the distribution of the Ukrainian labour force in Poland also covers construction, industrial production and trade. The majority of Ukrainians who come to Poland to



work are registered in the capital Masovian province. According to the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy Ukrainians received 35% of official work permits in 2010, the most among the representatives of other states. Number of permits for Ukrainians rose by 40% in comparison to 2009, and totalled 13.2 thousand.

Overall labour migration from Ukraine is often seasonal and not highly qualified. However, workers from Ukraine are not perceived negatively by Poles: cultural proximity positively affects the understanding between employers and employees.

In addition to labour migrants from Ukraine, a large ethnic Ukrainian community lives in Poland, part of which is already completely assimilated. The Ukrainian community in Poland has strong roots; the Association of Ukrainians in Poland is the core of it. Established in 1956, then called the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society, the organization was working to conduct cultural and educational activities, and preserving the Ukrainian language and way of life. The promotion of «Ukrainianship» in regions of Poland where interest in it was not very popular, led to the appearance of mass cultural events like «Bytivska Vatra», «Border meetings», «Midsummer Night» and «Days of Ukrainian culture».

In general, according to Bohdan Hud, the director of the Institute of European integration of Ivan Franco National University of Lviv, «The Ukrainian diaspora does not communicate much with the new wave of migrants (typical situation not only in Poland). The diaspora is a bit of a closed community. It was and is political, bearing offence for the Vistula operation<sup>12</sup>».

The Ukrainian church which is one of the centres of cohesion for the Ukrainian community in Poland has a certain niche in the traditionally Catholic Polish society. Churches of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church operate in 13 Polish cities, including Warsaw, Krakow, Lublin, Gdansk and others. The church serves as a specific link with Ukraine because it performs a communication and informative function as well. It is also called «the club of interests» because it is possible to get more information about work and talk to people from Ukraine after the sermon (Parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph in Warsaw). Interestingly the attitude of the Ukrainian diaspora to the role of the church is ambiguous because previously it was a more «elite» centre of Ukrainians cohesion.

Often, Poles are also present at services held in the Ukrainian language, mainly from mixed families. According to the Wroclaw-Gdansk diocese 30 mixed Polish-Ukrainian marriages were registered in 2010 which makes up 2/3 of marriages conducted in the diocese. It is believed that the strongest Ukrainian-Polish family community is located in Wroclaw.

After receiving Polish citizenship, Ukrainians who have families with Poles become the carriers of a certain image of Ukraine in Poland. The famous Polish film director Krzysztof Zanussi often mentions the Ukrainian roots of his wife Elżbieta, who comes from the Duke Grokholsky family (Vinnitsa region). Weronika Marczuk-Pazura is also called the most successful Ukrainian woman in Poland, the ex-wife of popular Polish actor Cezary Pazura. The popular TV presenter, chairwoman of the jury of a popular TV show in Poland «Just Dance», and later founder of a law firm, in her interviews always stresses the fact that she has got Ukrainian soul, and that she willingly works on strengthening the friendship between Poland and Ukraine: «[...] I want my Ukrainianship to manifest itself. Now no matter what I am doing - either as a producer or as a lawyer - I'm trying to relate it with Ukraine<sup>13</sup>». The «popular Ukrainian» was also elected as a chairwoman of the Society of Friends of Ukraine in Poland, which she herself calls the Ukrainian centre of cultural and economic information and actions.

Ukrainians in Poland are active participants in social and political life. Since Ukraine's independence, there have been three deputies of Ukrainian descent in the Polish Sejm - all were active members of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. The first deputy, Włodzimierz Mokry, worked in the Diet of the first convocation from 1989-1991. He also was a representative of «Solidarity», today he is a professor at Krakow University. The second is Mirosław Czech, deputy of two convocations for «Platforma Obywatelska», today he is a political commentator for «Gazeta Wyborcza», the founder of the Ukrainian magazine «Zustrichi». From 1997-2001 he served as general secretary of the party «Unia Wolności», in 2005-2006 he was general secretary of the Democratic Party of Poland. The third deputy of Ukrainian descent and the

only one currently serving is Miron Sycz. He got into parliament on the list of «Platforma Obywatelska» in 2007. Although his father was at first in the ranks of the Polish forces, and later - a member of UPA, sentenced to death, Miron Sycz engaged in the Diet on national minority issues and is deputy chairman of the Polish-Ukrainian Parliamentary Group. He said «[...] I was elected not only by Ukrainians to the regional council and to the parliament of Poland, although there are a lot of them here, but also by many Poles. They take into consideration what we do, and not necessarily which parents we have and who we are<sup>14</sup>». Being of Ukrainian origin, the national delegate of Poland considers that his «presence in the Polish Sejm, like that of his predeceasing Ukrainians, ensures that Polish politicians will know Ukraine differently from how some organizations in Poland would like it to be seen, and different from what they learnt in Communist textbooks<sup>15</sup>».

Commenting on Ukraine's support of its own diaspora in Poland, Mirosław Sycz admits that the support is very low: «In the past something was done, especially through the MFA programs and the Embassy of Ukraine, now they have stopped but I would like to see a resumption of such cooperation<sup>16</sup>».

Ukrainians in Poland also do active work among children - development of a network of places for learning the Ukrainian language and art festivals for children, particularly in Koszalin and Elbląg, sporting events, summer camps and tours to Ukraine which allows the integration of the next generations of active Ukrainians. These initiatives cannot be underestimated. The Teachers Association and the Union of Ukrainian Women could become more active in the future. Events organized by them often meet the most urgent needs of the Ukrainian community in the field.

In Poland there are some schools with instruction in the Ukrainian language in Przemyśl, Biały Bor, Górowo Iławeckie, Bartoszyce and Legnica. Although the children study in the Ukrainian language, the programmes are approved by the Polish Ministry of Education and Sports. This in turn means that all the terminology in the exact sciences, as well as geographical or other names are taught in Polish. There are no academic hours provided by the Ministry for subjects like the history and geography of Ukraine. Meanwhile, there is a tendency to an increase in the number of students whose parents are citizens of Ukraine. According to the Head of the Ukrainian Teachers Association in Poland, Irina Drozd, these are mostly children of Ukrainian women who got married to Polish citizens and moved to Poland. In Biały Bor there are students who previously lived in Lviv, Kyiv, and even in the Donetsk region.

Ukraine is present in Poland also thanks to Ukrainian students and teachers. The number of the first group increases each year. Factors influencing this growth are, in particular, cheaper tuition than in Ukraine, diplomas of the EU standard and the opportunity to «linger» in Poland to work.

In order to motivate students to return to Ukraine after graduation an innovation was introduced in the framework of the Corporation «Ukrainian-Polish Centre of Academic Exchange<sup>17</sup>»: from now on Ukrainian students from Polish universities will receive diplomas that are recognized equally in the territory of the EU and Ukraine after graduation, so nostrification will not be required. Under this programme the first year of studying for 70 students began in Opole State University and the Higher School of Management and Administration. To encourage the return of Ukrainian students back home, the Corporation also signed an agreement with the Federation of Employers of Ukraine on the employment of these graduates.

In total, Poland has about 2.5 thousand Ukrainian students and the number is constantly growing. According to Natalia Makarova, an expert on the scientific and educational cooperation of the Embassy of Poland in Ukraine, «in last three years Poland attracted between 300-400 new Ukrainian students to its universities every year<sup>18</sup>». And together with Belarusians and Lithuanians, Ukrainians total 21.5% of the foreign students in Poland. The number of scholarships and preferential programmes of study has increased. Beside that, Ukrainians are attracted by the possibility to travel and trust Polish universities. There are quite a lot of scholarship programmes in Poland available in different study areas: Law and Political Sciences – the scholarship of Krzysztof Skubiszewski, under the patronage of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland; Medicine – the scholarship of Dietl; Economics and Administration – the scholarship of Lane Kirkland.

This increase of Ukrainian students has a double effect: on the one hand it promotes a positive image of Ukrainians in Poland because they easily master the language and have strong basic training and motivation. On the other hand, Ukrainian students have been reluctant to return to Ukraine, facing difficulties with recognition of diplomas and employment.

Meanwhile, Polish universities that have increased the range of programmes for Ukrainian students have begun to «take a closer look» at Ukrainian professors. Such attention is particularly associated with the new Polish law on higher education, according to which Polish teachers will have certain restrictions on the number of universities they can teach at (only two). Today Ukrainian professors are frequent lecturers in Poland, but now there is no official statistics on the number of Ukrainian teaching staff in Polish universities. Public lectures from famous Ukrainian researchers are conducted, in particular, by the European College of Polish and Ukrainian Universities in Lublin, where Ukraine was represented by Bohdan Osadchuk, Mykola Zhulynskyi, Yaroslav Isaievych and Oksana Pachlowska.

## WHAT DO POLES TALK ABOUT?

Polish media have always been very active in covering events in Ukraine. Some leading Polish commentators who write about Ukrainian issues have the advantage of fluent Ukrainian language. As a result of media monitoring<sup>19</sup> about Ukraine in Polish publications the Institute of World Policy created a «cloud» of words commonly used in the titles of articles about Ukraine. The Top-10 most cited words are:

1. Russia
2. Gas
3. Law
4. Euro-2012
5. Tymoshenko
6. Yanukovych
7. East
8. EU
9. Europe
10. Elections



Russia's dominant position demonstrates the attention and preciseness with which the Polish media monitor all Russian influences on Ukraine's policy in the context of competing with the European direction of Kyiv. This also explains the presence of the words «East», «Europe» and «EU», and the East should be regarded as a complex concept that is used both as a designation for the eastern orientations of Ukraine, and in such phrases as «Eastern Partnership», «eastern neighbour», «EU eastern borders», and so on. Besides this the Russian factor prevails in materials related to energy, security, gas crisis («gas», «Gazprom», «price», «fuel», «contracts»). In this note the practical absence of such terms as «partner», «neighbour», etc. A small representation of the United States and NATO in the context of Ukraine, especially in comparison with Russia, is also interesting.

Undisputably the joint hosting of Euro-2012 is the top theme which also explains the repetition of words like «UEFA», «Platini», «lose» (the latter often occurs in the phrase «to lose the right to host Euro-2012»).

The Polish media pays most attention to the problems of democracy in Ukraine («democracy», «elections», «law» (in the expression «supremacy of law») in comparison to all other countries embraced by the project.

A large representation of such words as «Bandera», «Poles» and «flag» is noteworthy; this indicates an increased interest of the Polish media in the processes of the internal political life of Ukraine which are related to nationalist movements, and which could potentially threaten the Polish minority living in Ukraine. It should be noted that this threat is often portrayed in an exaggerated fashion by Polish publications.

In addition, the presence of such terms as «graves», «victims», «NKVD», which is a unique characteristic of the Polish media space, confirms the public interest in matters of historical heritage.

## BORDERS WITHOUT BARBED WIRE

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During European Neighbours' Day young Ukrainians have been removing barbed wire and organized a «mobile» border crossing point on the border between the neighboring states for a number of consecutive years. This initiative founded by the Foundation of Spiritual Culture of Borderlands and the NGO «Academy of Ukrainian Youth» promotes the cohesion of families and builds cultural bridges between states.

Ukrainian culture, music and literature which are increasingly becoming a stronger factor of soft power of Ukraine in Poland also know no borders. Ukraine is «read» in the translated pages of modern Ukrainian writers, in particular Yuri Andrukhovych, Sergiy Zhadan, Lubko Deresh, Oksana Zabuzhko, Natalia Sniadanko and others. Together with the Polish writer, Andrzej Stasiuk, Yuri Andrukhovych published a book titled «My Europe: Two essays on the most amazing part of the world», in 2000.

Ukrainian writers get the most support from the Polish publishing house «Czarne». Its director, Monika Sznajderman, is frank in her assessment of the popularity of modern Ukrainian literature in Poland and does not exaggerate it. At the same time she notes that by translation of Ukrainian names known to the Poles they try to draw more attention to literature, in which the country is becoming less and less interested. In 2004 the publishing house not only supported the translation of the «Collection of passions, or Adventures of a Ukrainian maiden» by Natalka Sniadanko that immediately entered the top ten of bestsellers in Polish bookstores, but also a literary tour for the young Lviv writer around the cities of Poland. The publishing house «Czarne» together with the Institute of Books in Krakow launched and funded a programme of translations of Ukrainian literature into Polish in 2007.

The number of awards that Ukrainians receive in the arts sphere is increasing. This indicates the appreciation of and the attention to the Ukrainian pen. Through their texts Ukrainian writers who write



in Ukrainian and are quite provocative, create a different picture of Ukraine in the Poles' perceptions, different from the one highlighted by media. The Jozef Konrad-Korzeniowski Literary Prize, founded by the Polish Institute in Kiev in 2007 has listed Taras Prokhasko (2007) and Sergiy Zhadan (2009) as Ukrainian winners of the prize. A Ukrainian artist, Stas Voliazlovsky, received the Malevich Prize in 2010 in the category of visual arts.

The actors of the Lviv State Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre of Solomia Krushelnytska often tour in Poland. Ukrainian singers, bands and artists take part in a number of festivals and contests in Poland (for example, the International Festival of Children and the Youth Street Theaters in Pniewy, near Poznan, Day of Krakow Composers and the cinematographical «Ukrainian Night», etc.). «We have been to Poland more than 10 times; we have played in Warsaw, Sopot, Sanok, Kielce, Stalowa Wola, Bialystok and in Zhdynia so we already know the geography of Poland very well. It appears as if we play more abroad than in Ukraine<sup>20</sup>», - the band «Perkalaba» shared its impressions. The band «Enej» whose participants are of Ukrainian origin won the Polish musical show «Must be the music». Their Ukrainian music with elements of folklore has become very popular on Polish radio stations. According to Petro Kuspys, a professor from Jagiellonian University in Krakow, «the band has done more than Ukrainian diplomacy in the terms of forming an image of the Ukrainian culture in Poland<sup>21</sup>».

«They travel hundreds of kilometres to be together» - AUP Chairman Piotr Tyma commented on the phenomenon of the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Poland. He said the festival mobilizes the Ukrainian community in Poland and shifts it from a level of «regional asininity» like a Ukrainian cultural exaltation to the level of folklore. «The festival creates different standards, in that during the festival not only viewers, but organizers have contact with «a live real Ukraine», as well as performers and directors from Ukraine, and the Ukrainian media<sup>22</sup>», - Tyma explains. The XX anniversary Festival of Ukrainian Culture even received support from the state, according to the President's Resolution «On providing the Ukrainian President's support for XX Festival of Ukrainian Culture in the Republic of Poland<sup>23</sup>».

An important indicator of mutual respect for the culture of both countries is the honoring of historical figures and heroes. The monument dedicated to Taras Shevchenko in Bialy Bor, which was erected in 1991, was a gift from the Ukrainian people for Ukrainians in Poland. The unveiling ceremony of the monument in Warsaw was very solemn, yet with the participation of the foreign ministers of Ukraine and Poland, at that time - Anatoliy Zlenko and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. Poles appear to have interests in other sites where a particular reaction of Poles is stirred by memorial inscriptions honouring the dead from historical events. There was an instance when the words «UPA soldiers» were removed from the plaque on the orders of the Head of Podkarpackie province. They wrote «insurgents» on the new plaques.

In the village of Pawlokoma in 2006 a monument that became a symbol of Polish-Ukrainian unification was opened in the presence of the Presidents of Poland and Ukraine. However controversies surrounded the possibility of its erection and inscriptions for several years. In order to obtain consent from villagers who defended their own position, Poles were promised the erection of a cross commemorating dead Poles. History remains one of the key elements of soft power of Ukraine in Poland, but has a dual effect due to antagonisms and the establishment of historical justice.

Despite many festivals and cultural events, there are still unfilled niches for promoting Ukrainian cultural products in Poland. Ukrainian cinema is virtually unknown to the Poles. According to the famous Polish director Marek Pavlovsky, they only know Bohdan Stupka in Poland, and it is not surprising: he acted in several Polish films. His advantage over other Ukrainian actors, besides his masterful acting, is his fluent Polish. At the time, Stupka played the role of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the film by Jerzy Hoffman «With Fire and Sword» and was awarded the «Polish-Ukrainian Kapitula» award. He also became a character in the movie by Krzysztof Zanussi «Heart on the palm.» For the role in this film he received the award for Best Actor at the III International Rome Film Festival.

The latter film which the Polish audience associates with Ukraine can be considered the «Driver for Vera», which was made in co-production with Ukrainian TV channel «1 +1». A Film Festival in Krakow, dedicated to the Ukrainian cinema, is unknown to the wider public. However, the film «In the twilight<sup>24</sup>»



which Poland intends to submit for «Oscar» nomination is the depiction of a story which occurred in Lviv. If a similar movie was filmed by Ukrainian artists, it would be very important to convince the Poles to recognise the shared history and to increase the interest in Ukraine.

«It would be interesting for Poles to watch Ukrainian cinema. It reflects your culture and lifestyle. I am surprised why you do not promote your products, and why the Poles do not show interest in the Ukrainian films! [...] As it happens the Ukrainians know more about Poland than the Poles do about Ukraine! This problem is not only due to the Poles who have no interest in the learning the culture of their neighbour, but also due to Ukrainians who do not make sufficient effort to represent the Ukrainian cinema in the world, particularly in Poland<sup>25</sup>»- Pavlovsky says.

Talking about cooperation in the field of cinema, in particular with the Guild of Cinema Actors of Ukraine, Weronika Marczuk-Pazura notes that it was done more for Poland in Ukraine than vice versa. Now she is trying, through the work of the Association of Movie and TV Actors to support her Ukrainian colleagues by lobbying for a law on the rights of actors, based on Polish experiences and to create a common database of actors.

Poles often wonder why the Ukrainians still cannot comprehend: cinema, among other things, is an instrument for national recognition. «I think that Ukraine needs cinema. I repeat it constantly and always try on occasion to tell this to your politicians, because it is very important for Ukraine to achieve its own identification. Identification of people occurs significantly through culture, especially the mass one<sup>26</sup>» — says Krzysztof Zanussi.

Instead, there are Ukrainian radio programmes in Poland. Despite the short duration of the broadcasts (15-30 min.), some of them are broadcast for almost the whole week, and at a convenient time. e.g. «Ukrainian opinion» on radio «Białystok» does not only cover cultural and socio-political events related to Ukraine. Guests on the programme are often Ukrainians living and working in Poland, speak the Ukrainian language and contribute to building an image of Ukraine in Poland. Ukrainian programmes are also present on radio «Koszalin» (Ukrainian shop), radio «Rzeshów» (Chest), and radio «Olsztyn» (Broadcasting in Ukrainian). Radio «Polonia» (formerly Polish Radio External Service) broadcasts its programmes in seven languages, including Ukrainian. Its editors have signed a cooperation agreement with the Ukrainian radio station «Era FM». According to the President of Polish Radio, Jarosław Hasiński, it is about the inclusion of the 10-minute transmissions of broadcasts from the Ukrainian Service of Polish Radio. It is important to note that radio remains quite a popular media factor in Poland.

<sup>1</sup> [http://zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?z\\_prihodom\\_yanukovicha\\_mizh\\_polshheyu\\_ta\\_ukrayinoyu\\_zapanuvala\\_bayduzhist\\_istoriki&objectId=1125698](http://zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?z_prihodom_yanukovicha_mizh_polshheyu_ta_ukrayinoyu_zapanuvala_bayduzhist_istoriki&objectId=1125698)

<sup>2</sup> This indicator was based on a survey of 19 Polish leading journalists, politicians, political scientists who form public opinion in the country. Each of the respondents gave their points to the parameters of soft power of Ukraine in Poland. The arithmetical mean indicator-index was deduced from the overall result.

<sup>3</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/74816>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.day.kiev.ua/290619?idsource=305415&mainlang=ukr>

<sup>5</sup> <http://iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/391.html>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,14817077,00.html>

<sup>7</sup> <http://promin.ws/14-peremoga-yanukovicha-v-pershomu-tur-garna-novina-dlya-yevropi.html>

<sup>8</sup> [http://lb.ua/news/2011/06/06/99974\\_Bogumila\\_Berdihovska\\_Popri\\_vs.html](http://lb.ua/news/2011/06/06/99974_Bogumila_Berdihovska_Popri_vs.html)

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/poland/ua/31251.htm>.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2011/05/4/284779/>

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/public\\_opinion/2010/01\\_2010.pdf](http://www.cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/public_opinion/2010/01_2010.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Bohdan Hud dated July 15, 2011, Lviv

<sup>13</sup> «Ukrainians do not feel hatred for the Poles». Conversation with Weronika Marczuk-Pazura / Ukrayinsky Zhurnal, 3|2007, RUTA. p.10

<sup>14</sup> <http://otherside.com.ua/news/detail.php?id=96043&lang=1>

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> <http://vlaskor.net/news/56368.html>

<sup>17</sup> Today, partners of the programme of the Corporation "Ukrainian-Polish Center of Academic Exchange", beside Opole University, are the Higher School of Management and Administration, Opole Polytechnic University, Slaski University, the Higher School of Banking, B.Janski Higher School, the State Higher Medical Vocational School and others.

<sup>18</sup> <http://news.finance.ua/ua/~1/0/all/2011/08/07/247526>

<sup>19</sup> The following Polish editions were analyzed:

1. Rzeczpospolita (<http://www.rp.pl/>) (241 publ.)
2. Gazeta Wyborcza (<http://www.gazeta.pl/>) (116 publ.)
3. Polityka (<http://www.polityka.pl/>) (44 publ.)
4. Wprost (<http://www.wprost.pl/>) (51 publ.)
5. Dziennik (<http://www.dziennik.pl/>) (103 publ.)

<sup>20</sup> <http://www2.polskieradio.pl/zagranica/ru/news/arttykul37424.html>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/ukrainian/kuspys/2011/05/post-51.html>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/24255549.html>

<sup>23</sup> <http://news.ligazakon.ua/news/2011/7/3/45644.htm>

<sup>24</sup> The motives from the book by Robert Marshall «In the Sewers of Lviv» was used for the movie.

<sup>25</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/84953>

<sup>26</sup> <http://starlife.com.ua/posts/1014.html>

<sup>i</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>

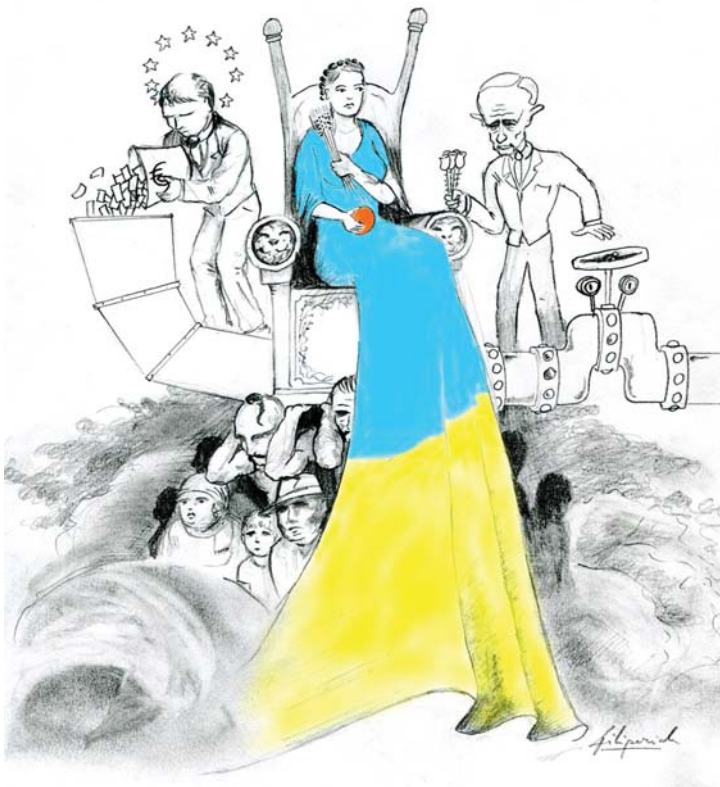
<sup>ii</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>

<sup>iii</sup> <http://en.rsrf.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>

<sup>iv</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>

<sup>v</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/~media/FDPKM/Doing%20Business/Documents/Annual-Reports/English/DB11-FullReport.pdf>

<sup>vi</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GEO.html>



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## Ukraine's Soft Power in Romania

### WAVES: FROM DISLIKE TO PARTNERSHIP

Over the twenty years of bilateral relations independent Ukraine and Romania faced essentially different events and periods. One could recall as the most expressive milestones of relations between the two neighbours the reluctance of Romanian leadership to recognize the results of the 1991 referendum on the independence of Ukraine in Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna<sup>1</sup>, signing of the Basic political treaty in 1997, virtually permanent friction around such issues as a quarrel over resumed works in the deep-water «Danube - Black Sea» canal, the rights of national minorities, Ukrainians in Romania and Romanians in Ukraine, obtaining of Romanian citizenship by residents of Ukraine, unsettled issues around the Romanian share in Kryvyi Rih ore processing plant, and the ruling of the Hague Tribunal concerning the delineation of the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zones of the two countries in 2009.

Yet the two countries also experienced the signing of vital documents, a fairly rapid development of interregional cooperation, and the success story of the highest paid coach in Ukraine, Romania's Mircea Lucescu, who led FC Shakhtar Donetsk to a victory in UEFA Cup. At the same time, cancelled Presidential visits and high profile spy scandals were not uncommon. The only thing that has not yet happened is a display of mutual affection and the «bridges of flowers» which once took place between Romania and Republic of Moldova. Moreover, some Romanian experts who were polled in a survey by the Institute of World Policy, still to this day remember the anti-Romanian rhetoric which was observed in Ukraine a few years ago and did not go unnoticed in Romania itself. In comparison, the much more active anti-Romanian policy of Vladimir Voronin, the ex-President of Moldova, has been considered to be a «turned-over page» in bilateral relations for already two years.

The overall index of the soft power of Ukraine in Romania is a mere 2.88 points (out of 10 points maximum)<sup>2</sup> which unfortunately, is the lowest rating among Ukraine's neighbouring countries in the focus of the research. Most importantly, such a low rating does not surprise any Ukrainian experts or politicians; as the saying goes, «what you sow is what you reap.» For more details see Table 1.

Table 1. Ukraine's soft power index in Romania

SOFT POWER PARAMETERS	MEAN VALUE
Ukraine's foreign and domestic policy	2.93
Influence of the Ukrainian community	2,73
Ukrainian embassy's activities	2.93
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	3.07
Popularity of Ukrainian products	2.73
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	<b>2.88</b>



On the whole, the survey of Romanian experts showed that for some of its participants it was difficult to find an association with Ukraine, which can be explained by the significant information vacuum concerning Ukraine in Romania. According to Iulian Chifu, the Director of the Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Centre, out of all the neighbours of Romania Ukraine is the least known. As a result, experts' perception of Ukraine is formed by the media agenda: gas conflict with Russia, the Orange Revolution, territorial disputes which in particular were pertained to Serpentine Island up to 2009 (TOP-5 Notions Associated with Ukraine, see more details in Table 2). Interestingly, experts mentioned not only the gas crisis but also the Russian sphere of influence as a Russian context of Ukraine's image. For Paul Ciocoiu, the editor of the international department in the Romanian publication «Evenimentul Zilei», Ukrainian foreign policy vector is unclear in general.

One of the most common associations with Ukraine within Romanian expert community is the image of Zaporizhian Sich and Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The explanation offered by Cristian Ghinea, the director of the Romanian Centre for European Policies is alarming; the only period in which Ukraine left an imprint in the collective memory of Romanians as a self-sufficient state is the Cossack era (the associations with it originate from school textbooks, which highlight the relations of Moldova and Ukraine, particularly in the 17th century.) After the accession of Ukraine to the Tsarist Russia and as an independent state later, Ukraine virtually disappeared from the Romanian agenda.

The undeniable successes of the Romanian government in European and Euro-Atlantic integration against the background of the leaders' of the Orange Revolution failure, and a lengthy political crisis in Ukraine enabled the consciousness of Romanians to conceive negative stereotypes about Ukraine, such as an immature democracy, unscrupulous partner and difficult neighbour. Romanian politicians reacted to public sentiment as they sensed the weakness of the Ukrainian authorities in the last years of Yushchenko's presidency by openly doubting Kyiv's European integration prospects.

On September 2, 2009, the President of Romania Traian Basescu in his address to the diplomatic corps said: «The Republic of Moldova cannot be packaged with Ukraine which also has European aspirations. This would be a big mistake.»<sup>3</sup>

On October 16, 2010, Basescu did not include Ukraine on the list of countries for accession to the EU in his speech: «As a result, Romania has been and will continue to support further EU enlargement to the South and East. The last wave of enlargement which took place in two stages, 2004 and 2007, captured the moment of recognition of the former communist countries in Central Europe, to which a number of countries in the South were added. Naturally, the next wave of expansion should cover the rest of the countries to the South of the European Union, namely: Albania, Western Balkans, Moldova and Turkey.»<sup>4</sup>

Changes in Romanian politicians' opinions concerning Ukraine only took real shape in the first half of 2011. Specifically, in May the Romanian side declared that the European integration of Ukraine should be the base for further development of bilateral and neighbourly relations («Romania will constructively act as a partner to achieve progress in the liberalization of the visa regime for Ukrainian citizens. We will comprehensively assist Ukraine in this process and feel ourselves as partners»<sup>5</sup>. In the framework of Ukraine's participation «in deepening relations with the European Union, Romania will support the neighbouring country, sharing its own experiences of the accession process»<sup>6</sup>).

In general, an immediate association with a «roller coaster» arises when talking about the level of political contacts between the leaders of Ukraine and their characters. Till now it has emerged that after the visits, which were vital for bilateral relations (President Kuchma's visit to Romania, on June 2, 1997

#### TOP-5 NOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UKRAINE:

1. COSSACKS
2. GAS AND RELATED PROBLEMS, RUSSIA
3. ORANGE REVOLUTION
4. SERPENTINE ISLAND / TERRITORIAL ISSUES
5. NEW DEMOCRACY

Table 2



which saw the signing of the Treaty on Relations of Cooperation and Good-Neighbourliness between Ukraine and Romania, the visit of President Iliescu to Ukraine on June 17, 2003, when the parties signed the Treaty between Ukraine and Romania on the Ukrainian-Romanian State Border Regime, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance on Border Matters, President Yushchenko's visit to Romania on October 31, 2007 in particular to hold the first meeting of a Ukrainian-Romanian Joint Presidential Commission), usually a period of certain stagnation or even a crisis would ensue. One could only hope that the recent visit of the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kostiantyn Hryshchenko to Romania during which political dialogue between the two countries was actually unlocked will begin a new upward trend in relations between Ukraine and Romania.

## REASON FOR OPTIMISM

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There are already some minimal grounds for Ukraine and Romania to harmonise relations, as highlighted in the topical presence of Ukraine in Romanian mass media. However, this presence can be considered quite specific.

The absolute frontrunner of records in the Romanian media when it comes to Ukraine is Mircea Lucescu, the coach of Shakhtar Donetsk. It is on him and the success of his Ukrainian team where the greatest attention of Romania's media is focused («Lucescu», «coach», «Shakhtar», «League», «champion», «Cup», «football», «won», «Euro-2012» etc.). Journalists also follow up the careers of the Romanian football players who play in Ukrainian Premier League. Due to this, Ukrainian soccer can be considered probably the most essential element of soft influence of Ukraine on Romania.

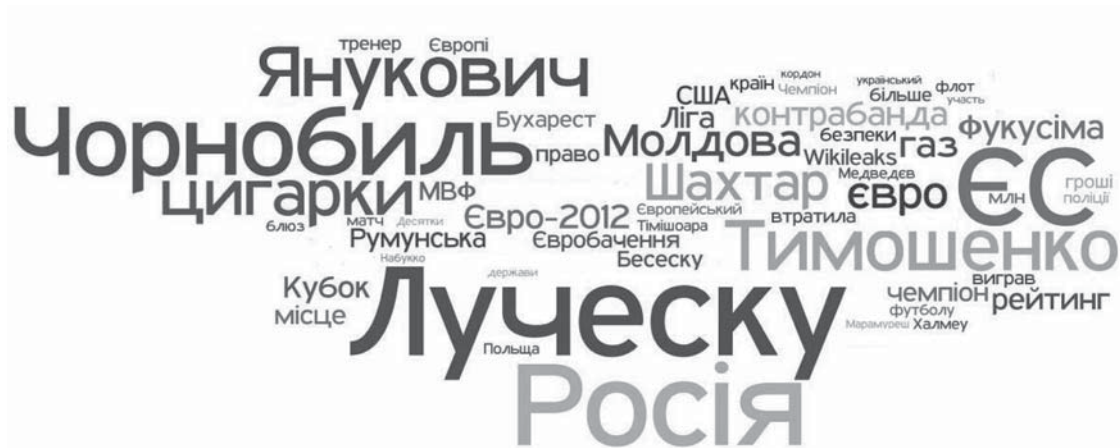
The foreign policy strategy of Ukraine's «multi-vectorism» was reflected in the articles of Romanian journalists, as proven by the top positions of both Russia and the EU in the ranking of the most frequently mentioned words. Simultaneously, the United States has a much weaker position while the subject of NATO is now virtually absent. The problem of the transit of energy resources («gas», «Nabucco») is also mentioned in the context of Ukrainian-Romanian relations.

Romanian media are observing the activities of President Viktor Yanukovych and the opposition leader, Yulia Tymoshenko with quite the same interests, but the internal political contradictions in Ukraine do not arouse such a keen interest for Romanian journalists. The same applies to their Russian and Belarusian colleagues.

The analysis of the headlines of the Romanian media, conducted by the Institute of World Policy, allowed ranking the most frequently used words in headlines covering Ukrainian events<sup>7</sup>. This list is as follows:

1. Lucescu
2. Russia
3. EU
4. Chornobyl
5. Yanukovych
6. Tymoshenko
7. Cigarettes
8. Shakhtar
9. Moldova
10. Euro / smuggling / gas

As a result of media monitoring we received the following «cloud» of the most commonly used words:



It is interesting that some of the Romanian media were not only closely watching the gradual return of the Ukrainian economy to normalcy in 2010 (Romania was in recession in that period), but they also believed that the government of Ukraine resisted the global financial and economic crisis better than the Romanian leadership. Specifically, in April 2010 a Romanian publication «Finanțiarul» noted that as a result of the purposeful economic policy of the new government of Ukraine it had managed to somewhat reduce the country debts, in particular its external debt by 137 million U.S. dollars<sup>8</sup>. Later the same edition approvingly covered the main tenets of the new Tax Code of Ukraine and Ukraine's intentions to issue Eurobonds. Other Romanian media paid attention to Kyiv's successful avoidance of a default in Ukraine, thanks to borrowing funds from the IMF. Ukraine is also represented in Romania as a producer of cheap fertilizers and a country with a powerful impact on the world grain market. At the same time, they do not miss an occasion to remind us that Ukraine's economy is actually less globalized than Romania's and makes the second largest debtor of IMF loans.

Regarding the internal political situation in Ukraine after the 2010 Presidential election, Romanian media mentioned the leadership of Ukraine mostly in a neutral-positive manner. Although before the Presidential elections in Ukraine and immediately hereafter, the majority of media and political observers were characterizing Yanukovich as «the man of the Kremlin». It was noted that: «for his critics, Yanukovich is uneducated and should be treated with care, especially considering the fact that in his youth he spent some years in prison.»<sup>9</sup>

However, a well-known Romanian analyst Dan Dungaci specified: «In the context of bilateral relations the President of Ukraine Yanukovich seems better (than Yulia Tymoshenko – author's comment) for cooperation with Romania in the sense that we can hope that, firstly, Ukrainian nationalism, Serpentine Island and historical claims will not be as prominent on Ukraine's agenda as it was before, and secondly, Yanukovich will negotiate pragmatically at a lower temperature and without either claims to grandiose or any major setbacks.»<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted that the forecast by the aforementioned Romanian analyst has come to reality: the relationship between Ukraine and Romania is gradually returning to the mainstream of pragmatic dialogue. Discussions about the problematic aspects of bilateral relations are now mostly taking place at the negotiating table, rather than by use of the media.

The Romanian side welcomed with a great appreciation the support of Ukraine in the evacuation of about 80 Romanian citizens from Libya in spring 2011, as a result of a successful humanitarian operation using the cruiser «Kostiantyn Olshansky.» The event received considerable publicity in the

Romanian media<sup>11</sup> and, according to some experts, helped to create a background for the allocation of financial assistance from Bucharest for the completion of a new confinement within the framework of the Chernobyl Summit in April 2011 (500 thousand Euros), despite the difficult financial economic situation in Romania.

## THROUGH THE PRISM OF INTERNATIONAL RATINGS

If we analyse the position of Ukraine and Romania in the leading international ratings (Table 3) and basic socio-economic indices of the two countries (Table 4) it is evident that Ukraine and Romania occupy quite similar positions in terms of human development. The essential difference is in the compliance with democratic principles; in this respect Romania is far ahead. Especially noticeable are the differences in media freedom and levels of corruption.

Table 3. **Ukraine and Romania in the ratings**

Rating	Ukraine	Romania
Freedom in the World, 2011 <sup>12</sup> (1- best, 7 – worst result)	Partly free	Free
Political rights	3	2
Civil freedom	3	2
Global Competitiveness Report <sup>13</sup> , 2010-2011 (place on the list of 139 countries)	82	67
Reporters without Borders, 2010 (place on the list of 178 countries) <sup>14</sup>	131	52
Transparency International Corruption Per- ception Index, 2010 ( place on the list of 178 countries) <sup>15</sup>	134	69
Forbes Capital Hospitality Index, <sup>16</sup> 2006 (place on the list of 127 countries)	125	90
UN Human Development Index, 2010 <sup>17</sup> (place on the list of 178 countries)	69	50
Fitch Ratings <sup>18</sup> (2010)	International Long-Term Foreign Currency Credit Rating: B-; International Long-Term Domestic Currency Rating: B-; Short-Term Credit Rating: B	International Long-Term Foreign Currency Credit Rating: BB+; International Long-Term Domestic Cur- rency Rating: BBB-; Short- Term Credit Rating: B

Table 4. **Comparative table of indicators of the level of human development in Ukraine and Romania**

	Indicators	Ukraine	Romania
<b>Health</b>	Average life expectancy	68,6	73,2
	Prevalence of undernourishment in total population (% of population)	<5	<5
	Health and social care expenditure, public (% of GDP)	4.0	3,8

<b>Education</b>	Average years of schooling (years)	11,3	10,6
	Literacy rate (both sexes) (%)	90,0	79,2
	Education expenditure (% of GDP)	5,3	4,4
	Internet users (per 100 people)	10,5	28,8
<b>Poverty</b>	Poverty rate (% of population)	2,2%	n/a
	Population living below \$1.25 per day (%)	< 2	< 2
	Gender Equality Index	0,488	0,486
<b>Gender</b>	Maternal mortality ratio (deaths of women per 100,000 live births)	26	27
	Population with at least secondary education, female/male ratio	0,952	0,926
	Members of Parliament, female-male ratio	0,087	0,108
	Net savings (% of GNI)	8,5	13,7
	Human Development Index	0,710	0,767

## NOTHING PERSONAL, JUST BUSINESS

The interest of Romania as an EU member state in Ukraine's rapprochement with the EU, is complex and corresponds with the national interests of the Romanian state. On the one hand, Bucharest confirms a commitment to the political course of Brussels aimed at strengthening cooperation with the countries on the EU border to establish political, economic, security and humanitarian stability in the area. On the other hand, Romania hopes that in the course of Ukraine's implementation of the European integration requirements, Bucharest will be able to influence the decision of its own problems in bilateral relations with Kyiv.

The statements of President Basescu to the heads of foreign diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, on January 20th, 2010 confirm these estimates: «Our interests in Ukraine are multifaceted, and their satisfaction cannot be separated from the construction of a democratic, developed and stable neighbouring country. Only in this way we can ensure our security, just as we will be able to solve sensitive common issues like Bistre or the rights of national minorities.» During a similar event in 2011 Basescu avoided mentioning problematic issues of Ukrainian-Romanian relations directly: «We will continue to cooperate with Ukraine on the basis of good neighbourliness, supporting its efforts on the way towards Europe. Building a democratic and prosperous Ukrainian state which will respect the principles of the rule of law meets the life interests of Romania.»

The attitude of Bucharest to the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine is generally positive. Romania supports the implementation of the facilitated visa regime with Ukraine and expresses its readiness to share any relevant experience in this regard. However, the specification of such support within the EU is limited to the inferior corresponding capabilities of Romania itself, which is now under a monitoring mechanism of the EU and continues to implement the criteria for the accession to Schengen area.

The attitude of the members of the European Parliament from Romania to the events in Ukraine and the European aspirations of our country, in most cases, depends on the political orientation of the EP fraction to which they belong. Thus, representatives of liberals and social democrats support «the achievement of the stability of government branches» and «expediency of strict adherence to the requirements of the national legislation during the anti-corruption campaign». Instead, MEPs from the EPP

characterize the political situation within Ukraine as «complicated» and explain the party's position on Ukraine by «problems with the mass media», «basic human rights issues» and «excessive concentration of power». A criticism addressing Ukraine, which is heard from the EPP in the European Parliament, clearly ties in with the issue of criminal cases brought against Yulia Tymoshenko.

Overall, the analysis of statements by Romanian officials on Ukraine's relations with the EU shows, on the one hand, the political willingness of Bucharest to support the European integration efforts of Ukraine, and yet taking into consideration the necessity for Kyiv to complete its «homework» and strengthening the foundations of a democratic society. On the other hand, the lack of Romanian leadership's initiatives in promoting Ukrainian position on problematic issues with the negotiation process between Ukraine and the EU and the inclination to follow consensus on decisions made within the EU. It should also be mentioned that despite the rather strained relationship with Yushchenko's administration, the leadership of Romania continued to support the traditional Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine; in particular we should give due to the considerable work of Romanian diplomacy on the eve of the NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008.

An example of quite constructive interaction between the two countries is cooperation within the UN. Romania and Ukraine are notable for their proximity in approaches to the main aspects of the Security Council modernization. Other positive examples of cooperation between the two countries should also be noted, among them, the Romanian co-authorship of the UN GA 65th session resolution «Strengthening of international cooperation and coordination of efforts to study, mitigate and minimize the consequences of the Chornobyl disaster», initiated and coordinated by Ukraine.

At the same time it should be admitted that in recent years, in its approach to electoral cooperation with Romania, Ukraine acted by taking into account certain political issues that exist between the two countries. Accordingly, Ukrainian-Romanian cooperation in this direction, in each specific case, was determined politically and the Romanian side often reciprocated. It is worth mentioning that Romania belongs to a minority of European countries that, despite persistent appeals from Ukraine, did not support the initiative of our country for the UN to condemn the Holodomor in 1932-33. In particular, they did not become the co-authors of the Declaration commemorating the 75th anniversary of this tragedy.

## BUSINESS PRESENCE: A DROP IN THE OCEAN

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Last year the economic relations between Romania and Ukraine saw certain revitalization; the turnover grew by 75.4% compared to 2009, while imports from Ukraine increased by 121.0%. For the first time in recent years the trade balance amounted to 23.7 million U.S. dollars in favour of Ukraine.

A similar trend can only be rejoiced, however, as the British say: let's call a spade a spade. Ukraine's total share in the amount of Romanian imports in 2010 (62.4 billion U.S. dollars) was only 0.83%. Roughly the same situation existed in exports; as to the 2010 results, only 1.68% of Romanian exports went to Ukraine! At present, Romania prefers goods from EU countries and China, and the lion's share of its exports goes to the EU.

Notwithstanding quite considerable amounts of metallurgic products and fertilizers which are exported from Ukraine to Romania, Ukrainian brands are almost unknown to Romanian consumers, in contrast to Moldova. First of all because goods from Ukraine are almost entirely absent from the shelves of local supermarkets. This can partially be explained by the fact that prices of a significant number of food products in Romania, even though it may sound ironic, are lower than in Ukraine. Despite this, the Ukrainian vodka brands «Khortytsya» and «Nemiroff» are extremely respected by the average Romanian consumer (it is considered a norm in Romania to bring home 1 or 2 bottles of Ukrainian vodka while travelling



to Ukraine). According to Ukrainian diplomats, vodka and bacon from Ukraine which are offered for sale by our embassy during the annual charity trade fair («Winter Bazar»), are instantly sold out among local consumers, in spite of relatively high prices.

The level of investment cooperation with Romania also remains extremely low. Romanian experts explain this by the fact that Romania and Ukraine do not belong to capital donors and need considerable investments themselves to modernize their own economies. According to the National Institute of Statistics of Romania, at the end of 2010, there were 395 Ukrainian-Romanian joint enterprises registered in Romania (mostly small and medium ones), the total Ukrainian investment equalled 11.9 million U.S. dollars.

Among the powerful business structures present in Romania we can note only one private joint stock company, «Ukrainian Danube Shipping Company», which is one of the largest shipping companies, not only in Ukraine but also in Western Europe. This company has a representative office in Romania and provides freight and regular passenger services between the two countries. The name of Yuriy Kustura, who heads the representative office of the company in Bucharest, is well known on the Romanian transportation market. However, this was virtually the only name of a Ukrainian businessman in Romania mentioned during this research by the representatives of the partner country.

What is the main problem with Ukrainian exports to Romania? According to the experts, Ukrainian producers are now quite strong in such areas as ferrous metals and products thereof; certain types construction machinery, fertilizers and organic products. However, in order to maintain their position, Ukrainian exporters have to get closer to the consumers, this means selling their metal or chemical products, etc. via dealer networks, signing long-term contracts, being more flexible and supplying small batches of products, especially specialised steel products, rolled nonferrous metal and selling metal production as semi-finished products (metalworks, blanks etc.).

Besides this, representatives of the Romanian business community pay attention to certain problematic issues in the context of cooperation with Ukrainian partners. The current system of mediation agencies in Ukraine complicates the mechanisms for direct cooperation of Romanian enterprises with Ukrainian producers. In addition, minimal usage of modern payment tools for delivered products, the use of bank systems of payments guarantees and their corresponding delays, which is the practical working procedure on the Romanian market. Many companies refuse Ukrainian products just because of prepayment demands, while buying more expensive products from local producers or EU countries.

Expanding export opportunities for the medium sized businesses of Ukraine is restrained by the problem of export VAT reimbursement, lack of required quality certificates, after-sales service conditions (mostly in the machine manufacturing) and low participation in exhibitions and presentations.

It should also be noted that the activity of bilateral working groups, that could provide the solutions to a number of problems that prevent the expansion of bilateral trade, remain ineffective. The parties have only started organizing the first session of the Ukrainian-Romanian Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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Stable good-neighbourly relations with Romania have been declared one of the foreign policy priorities of Ukraine. However, Viktor Yanukovich, during the last meeting of the Ukrainian diplomatic missions' heads in December 2010 addressed Romania and Moldova clearly enough: «These countries must begin to perceive our country differently. They have to feel: no more wimpy Ukraine,» which can be viewed that the position of the new government of Ukraine is not in favour of soft power in relations with these neighbours.

Such approaches from officials in Kyiv can be partially explained by the legacy of bilateral problems that have accumulated over the years of relations with Bucharest. It includes the problem of the Romanian passports distribution in Chernivtsi and Odessa regions, the rights of the Ukrainian minority in Romania, Bucharest's attempts to block the operation of the Danube-Black Sea canal<sup>19</sup>, and most importantly a wide-spread image of Romania in Ukraine, particularly among the majority of officials, as an aggressive state that does not shun any political, economic or propagandistic means to actualize its own interests.

An important component of the Ukrainian soft power in Romania at the level of public diplomacy is the activity of Ukrainian embassy. This is the embassy, which some experts and representatives of the central government in Ukraine merit with almost doubled trade between the two countries last year. The website of the Embassy of Ukraine in Romania is one of the best among those of the foreign diplomatic institutions of Ukraine. It covers separately the work of the Cultural and Information Centre at the Embassy, Consulate General of Ukraine in Suceava, and also the activity of the Ukrainian community in Romania. Unlike the web pages of many other diplomatic missions of Ukraine, this site is updated regularly and is available in the Romanian and Ukrainian languages. Average visits to the Embassies site are about 900 visits per month; this makes 30 visits per day. 10,626 visits (with 9,072 unique users) were registered from April 1, 2010 to April 1, 2011.

According to expert opinion, the Ambassador of Ukraine to Romania Markian Kulyk enjoys a good reputation both among Romanian officials, and the foreign diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest. As a matter of fact, in June 2011 Kulyk was elected as one of the 21 judges for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea under the UN auspices. In accordance with the Statute of the Tribunal, the judges should be selected «from among persons enjoying the highest reputation for impartiality and fairness and of a recognized competency in the field of maritime law»<sup>20</sup>.

It should however be noted that funds allocated by Kyiv to support ethnic Ukrainians in Romania are scanty. This in turn, does not at all promote the growth of the soft power of our country in the partner country. Specifically in 2009 (at the expense of budget programme 1401150 «Measures to support connections with Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine») county centres of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania, schools with Ukrainian classes were given financial aid worth over 20 thousand U.S. dollars; office and satellite equipment, computers and TV-sets. In 2010 Ukraine has not provided such assistance at all.

At the moment one cannot say that the Ukrainian state has absolutely no interest in the popularization of Ukrainian identity, but all Ukrainian cultural and humanitarian projects are facing a lack of funding. Among the priority projects of this kind are:

- The construction of a Historical and Ethnographic Complex «Danubian Sich» in the village of Verkhniy Dunavets in Tulcea County on the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Sich (Danubian) by the Zaporizhzhya Cossacks at the mouth of the Danube river which ensues in 2012. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine in 2008-2009 included this project as a priority in terms of the conservation of Ukrainian heritage in the global culture. In September 2009 the local council of Murighiol commune (the one Verkhniy Dunavets village is administratively subordinated to) made a preliminary positive ruling on the appeal of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania to provide 2500 sq. m of land free of charge for the purposes of the museum complex construction. The final decision of the local council is planned to be approved after the Union of Ukrainians in Romania confirms they are ready to develop the land over a two year period.

- The development of a park near the monument to Hetman Ivan Mazepa in Galati. Fundraising for the project is currently underway (Ukraine supplies trees and other greenery from Odessa and Chernihiv regional state administrations; work on the development of the park from the Romanian side to be contributed by the local authorities of Galati);

- The provision of furniture and office equipment for the first Ukrainian Cultural House in Romania in the city of Timisoara (opened in December 2009), establishing a memorial board dedicated to Pylyp Orlyk, the Hetman of Ukraine, in Bucharest, and the installation of a bust of Taras Shevchenko in the

town of Tulcea. These projects are essentially «frozen» until the restoration of funding within the budget programme to support connections with Ukrainians who live abroad.

## REGIONAL COOPERATION: ARE WE LOOSING THE INITIATIVE?

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The current state of the interregional cooperation between Ukraine and Romania is but a reflection of the confrontational nature of relations between the two countries in recent years. Formally, such cooperation develops in these main areas:

- Bilateral cooperation between the regions of Ukraine and the counties of Romania;
- Multilateral cooperation of the border regions of Ukraine, counties of Romania and regions of the Republic of Moldova within the framework of «Upper Prut», «Lower Danube» and the Carpathian Euro-regions.

In particular, bilateral interregional cooperation found its consolidation in the agreements between the Ivano-Frankivsk region and Suceava County, the Ivano-Frankivsk region and Maramures County, the Transcarpathian region and Satu Mare County, the Vinnytsia region and Iasi County, the Donetsk region and Cluj-Napoca County etc. The contents of agreements are common and include the promotion of cooperation between entrepreneurs from the participant regions by way of holding business forums, regional exhibitions and fairs as well as attracting foreign investment. Unfortunately, most interregional agreements do not currently have a practical implementation plan and cooperation of the Ukrainian regions with the Romanian counties is limited by a format of cross-border cooperation within the «Upper Prut» and «Lower Danube» Euroregions.

The Operational Programme «Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova»<sup>21</sup> (referred to as the Programme hereafter) is the basis for cross-border cooperation between Ukraine and Romania. The European Commission authorized the Joint Managing Authority, which operates on the basis of the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism of Romania to manage the Programme. Approval of project proposals is performed through the Regional Bureaus of cross-border cooperation (in Suceava and Iasi cities). Technical Secretariats, which operate within Regional Bureaus, determine the compliance of project proposals with the priorities and requirements of the Programme. Ukrainian experts are rather critical of the existing mechanism for selection of project proposals for implementation under the Programme, because it actually provides for one-sided advantages to the Romanian side in relevant decision-making.

In the first phase of funding under the Programme «Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova 2007-2013» its participants initiated 422 projects, of which 266 by the following priorities: 1) the formation of a competitive economy in the border area and 2) environmental challenges and emergency preparedness. The remaining 156 projects were proposed in the 3rd priority area, i.e. cooperation in strengthening human contacts.

As a result of the Romanian side using its advantageous position (including, mandatory participation of the Romanian side both in bilateral and trilateral projects) and the concerted position of Bucharest and Chisinau on a number of fundamental issues, the final list includes only two projects with a funding for Ukraine. The first project secured 3.7 million Euros for the development of border crossing point infrastructure and the other provided 5.2 million Euros for environmental safety and a flood warning system for Chernivtsi region. For projects within the third priority of the Programme, competition results were: out of 62 Ukrainian projects only 5 were selected with a total budget of around 630 thousand Euros from a possible 5 million. Such situation gives Ukrainian experts additional grounds to claim the lack of a neutral attitude to applicants from all three countries, Romania, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, and of a targeted policy of using most of the Programme's funds in the Romanian territory. As a result, the Ukrainian party suspended its participation in the meetings of the Operational Programme «Romania-Ukraine-

Moldova» managers. Unfortunately, this step shows Kyiv's actual loss of the initiative in the framework of international projects, in particular concerning regional cooperation, and it does not promote the soft power enhancement in the partner countries of Romania and Moldova. This is also undisputed evidence that Ukrainian diplomats in Brussels and Chisinau lack efforts.

## SOFT POWER: HUMAN PERSPECTIVE

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The human perspective can play a great role in the strengthening of soft power of Ukraine in Romania. According to a 2002 national population census there were 61.4 thousand ethnic Ukrainians living in Romania<sup>22</sup> (0.3% of the total population). 57.7 thousand of them considered Ukrainian as their native language.

The current situation of the education in Ukrainian is extremely unsatisfactory in Romania. In particular, the results of the second stage of the monitoring which took place in May 2007 in Maramures County of Romania (about 36 thousand Ukrainians are settled there), clearly exposed the presence of serious problems in securing the rights and freedoms of the Ukrainian community. In the five villages of the county that were monitored, the overall proportion of the ethnic Ukrainian population was 94.7%, but they do not have any Ukrainian kindergartens or schools. There are 11 kindergartens with education in Romanian and 8 secondary schools with Romanian as the preferred language. In these schools the Ukrainian language and literature are only taught as subjects. The county has one Ukrainian Lyceum (the only one in Romania), which is not provided with didactic or educational literature. In the county there are no opportunities to pursue higher education in the Ukrainian language. The current educational literature in the Ukrainian language is out-dated, children enrolled are taught by curricula that were last updated in 1989. In the same county there is virtually no printed media in the Ukrainian, except for 4 publications from the Union of Ukrainians in Romania which are published once a month and distributed to its county branches.

In Romania there are no kindergartens, primary or secondary schools with a complete curriculum in the Ukrainian language. Craft and fine arts schools that teach in Ukrainian are also non-existent.

In the Shevchenko Ukrainian Lyceum and in the Ukrainian educational sections and classrooms where the Ukrainian language and literature are taught only as a subject or optionally the students are using books published in the 1960's, some of which were last reprinted in small editions in 2000.

The Ukrainian community in Romania also complains about the lack of teachers who teach in the national language, currently there are only 122, and most are of an elderly age and will soon have to retire. Currently the problem of teacher training is vital; the youth consider this profession to be not very prestigious. It is clear that with the lack of teachers the process of increasing the number of Ukrainian schools/classes is threatened, and the Ukrainian humanitarian presence in Romania will continue to weaken (unfortunately, this problem is not unique to Romania, and is typical for almost all countries where ethnic Ukrainians live).

The situation in higher education also demonstrates an insignificant level of Ukrainian humanitarian presence in the partner country. In the higher education institutions of Romania the Ukrainian language and literature are taught as subjects in the universities of Bucharest, Cluj Napoca and Suceava. In total the amount of students studying the Ukrainian language as a second foreign language in higher education institutions of Romania is only around 60.

The practice of student exchange programmes between Romania and Ukraine can hardly be called active. On the basis of a protocol on cooperation in education, Romania annually allocates Ukraine a quota of 100 grants to study in Romanian tertiary institutions: 50 for bachelor and 50 for master programmes (in comparison - Moldova is annually allocated approximately 3,000 scholarships by Romania).



From their part, each year only three applicants from Romania come to Ukraine to study (usually for a teaching degree). Obviously, the imbalance shows a low degree of attractiveness to study in Ukraine for Romanian students.

The situation of the Ukrainian cultural centres in Romania does not look very optimistic either. In Romania there is actually only one public cultural centre – the Ukrainian Cultural House of Timiș located in Timisoara. There are no «Ukrainian» cultural houses in Romania. There is no Ukrainian artistic group with funding from the state or local budgets. Each regional branch of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania creates amateur teams of folk art which are partly funded from the Union budget. Annually the Union organizes and finances regional festivals of folk art, New Year, and Christmas traditions of the Ukrainian community in Romania from its own budget.

Only in October 2007 did the Cultural and Information Centre of the Embassy of Ukraine begin to operate. Over the last several years it conducted significant number of public events with the participation of officials, the public, academics, businesses, arts communities and the foreign diplomatic Corps. However, the efforts of the Centre are a drop in the ocean. As a Ukrainian diplomat said, Ukrainian culture can not be found further than 100 meters from the Ukrainian Cultural Centre building.

It is clear that despite the relatively high efficiency of the Cultural and Information Centre at the Embassy of Ukraine in Romania, and the efforts of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Suceava, the provision of cultural and humanitarian needs of ethnic Ukrainians in Romania is increasingly declining.

Information support for the Ukrainian community in its content is very similar to Soviet times, but it rests largely through the efforts of individual enthusiasts among the Ukrainian community. In particular, the Union of Ukrainians in Romania issues 5 publications which are «Vilne slovo,» «Ukrayinsky visnyk,» «Nash golos,» a children's magazine «Dzvinochok» (all in Ukrainian) and «Ukrainian Courier» (in Romanian). They are published once a month and distributed through the regional branches of the Union. In Romania there is not a single Ukrainian-language newspaper funded by state or local budgets. Romanian television has no independent Ukrainian programming. Radio programmes in Ukrainian are only broadcast by regional studios in the cities of Iasi (15 minutes weekly), Sighetu Marmatiei (50 minutes weekly) and Timisoara (1 hour weekly). Clearly, this is extremely insufficient to fill the information vacuum.

There are also no libraries with Ukrainian books in Romania. Ukrainian literature, especially modern, is also virtually unavailable for sale. Ukrainian movies and actors are still almost unknown. The only exception to this rule could be Vlad Ivanov, who is considered a favourite by producers of Romanian «new wave». In particular, this Ukrainian actor is known for roles of doctor Bebe in the film of Christian Mungiu «4 months, 3 weeks and 2 days» and of the philosophical police chief in the «Policeman, the adjective» by Corneliu Porumboiu<sup>23</sup>.

In the world of sports, Ukraine is known in Romania thanks to the brothers Vladimir and Vitaly Klitschko, «Dynamo» Kyiv and, of course, FC «Shakhtar.» In particular, the football matches of the Ukrainian Premier League, and even more the games of the European Cups held with the participation of «Shakhtar», are often broadcast in Romania on-line and cause a great interest for the audience.

The results of the research by the Institute of World Policy showed that the level of Internet traffic between Ukraine and Romania is very low. In particular, visits by the Romanian audience to leading Ukrainian e-publications on average are less than 0.2% of the total number of visits<sup>24</sup>. The only exception was the English edition Kyiv Post; however its readership from Romania does not exceed 0.4% of the total number of visits as well. This may result either from a low level of Russian and Ukrainian language knowledge of Romania's population, or a low interest in events taking place in Ukraine.

In general, Ukraine and Ukrainians are not among the top issues discussed in Romania. According to public opinion polls conducted by the Romanian Institute for Assessment and Strategies (IRES) in February 2011, the main friends of Romania are the USA, Spain, Italy and Germany. Ukraine is considered to be a friend by only 2% of the respondents. Romanians interviewed regarded Russia, France and Hungary as their main enemies. Ukraine is considered to be the main enemy of Romania only by 2% of respondents.



However, one third of the respondents pointed out that Romania have a negative bilateral relationship with Ukraine (30%)<sup>25</sup>.

Thus, in the imagination of most of the citizens of Romania, Ukraine is not among the main partners of their country and calls for roughly the same association as in the words of the famous song by Vladimir Vysotsky «neither a foe nor a friend, just someone...» According to Iulian Chifu, for many ordinary Romanians it is difficult to distinguish the Ukrainian identity from the Russian one and not to speak of these two states as friends or enemies.

It would seem that the formation of such an identity would be the task of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania, which has operated since 1990. This organization has the right to one deputy in the Parliament of Romania and is represented in the Council of National Minorities. The position is reserved for ethnic Ukrainians in the Romanian parliament and was held by Stefan Tkachuk (in Romanian Ștefan Tcaciuc) from 1990 until his death in 2005, when he was replaced by Stephan Buchuta (in Romanian Ștefan Bu-ciuta), the current head of UUR<sup>26</sup>.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian community in Romania, as well as in many other countries, is now split largely due to the excessive ambitions of their leaders. The split of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania (UUR) in 1996 and the formation of an alternative structure to the UUR, The Democratic Union of Ukrainians in Romania (and in 2009, another new Ukrainian representative organization by former activists of DUUR, the National Forum of Ukrainians in Romania (NFUR)) does not contribute to consolidating the efforts of Ukrainians in Romania, to ensure rights and freedoms of the members of the national minority.

The situation in the religious sphere is slightly better; in the areas densely populated by Ukrainians, the church services take place in the national language. In particular, the Ukrainian Vicariate of the Romanian Orthodox Church that now operates in the country was restored in 1996; it includes 25 parishes that consist, according to the official Church information, of 52 thousand worshipers. In Suceava County the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Vicariate works in subordination to the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (Vicariate restored in 1996 and has about 6,000 members). In the churches of 4 municipalities worship is conducted in Ukrainian.

Summing up the situation, with the Ukrainian factor in the cultural and humanitarian sphere, and in the media space of Romania, it can be stated that our country finds itself in an extremely weak position. Despite quite a numerous Ukrainian community in Romania its voice in this country is actually not heard. The results of the expert surveys conducted by the IWP confirm this fact. Why is this happening? There are several reasons: on the one hand, Ukraine is not actively working with Bucharest and Kyiv's financial and technical assistance for support of the Ukrainian community is «a drop in the ocean», on the other hand Bucharest does not always comply with generally accepted standards in the field of the rights of national minorities: the Ukrainians' right for education in their mother tongue (Art.13 p.5 of the Basic Treaty 1997) and the right to receive information in their native language (Art.13 p.7) are violated in Romania. However, it is clear that it does not make much sense to accuse the Romanian side of the fact that the soft power of Ukraine in this country is very low.

## TOURISM, WAITING FOR THE HOUR OF FAME

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The level of soft power in Ukraine and Romania also is demonstrated by the attractiveness of our country as a tourist destination for Romanians. Besides, the number of Romanian citizens who have visited Ukraine for private purposes is about 98% of total visits; Ukraine is not even close to being eligible for the role of a tourist Mecca for the average Romanian. Almost 100% of the trips are of a private nature due to the visa-free regime for citizens of Romania entering Ukraine. And more precisely due to the fact that Romanian citizens are not required to specify the purpose of their visit to Ukraine, so they usually refer to private reasons.

It should be mentioned that at one time Ukraine was attracting, by its natural landscapes, not just ordinary citizens of Romania: on one of the islands near the famous town Vylkovo, located in the swamps of the Danube, the summer residence of the last Romanian King Mihai was located until the early 1940's. Today the situation of Romanian tourists visiting Ukraine looks much worse (Table 5).

Table 5. **Romanians who entered Ukraine in 2010**

Total number	Purpose of the visit						
	official, business, diplomatic	tourism	private	education	employment	immigration (permanent residence)	culture and sport exchange, religion, other
910,450	9,090	3,706	895,098	33	216	216	2,091

According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, in 2010 the total number of foreign tourists who visited Ukraine amounted to 1.08 million people, among which only 3,706 persons were citizens of Romania (persons officially catered to by Ukrainian tour operators). In addition nearly 3,000 Romanian citizens visited Ukraine via cultural, sporting or religious exchange channels.

For its part, according to the data of the National Institute of Statistics of Romania, in 2008 the total number of foreign tourists to Romania amounted to 8.862 million people, with 730 thousand Ukrainians among them (8.23% of the Romania tourism market structure). Out of the number of tourists who visited Romania for tourism purposes, Ukraine took 4th place after Hungary, Moldova and Bulgaria. Despite the fact that Ukrainian tourists spend on average 3-4 times less compared with tourists from Germany, they, according to Romanian experts, have a generally positive reputation in this country (at least compared with tourists from Russia).

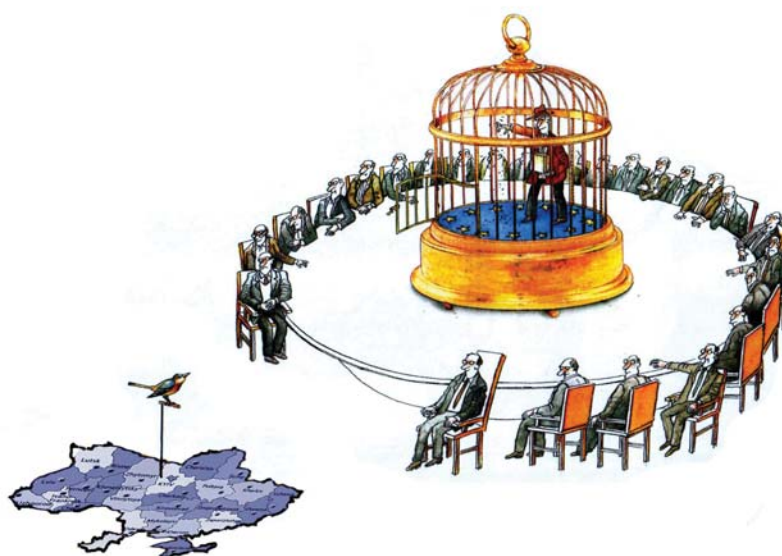
Clearly, such a low proportion of tourist flows from Romania to Ukraine can only partially be explained by the no visa regime for its citizens to enter Ukraine. The main problem, experts say, is the low attractiveness of the tourism infrastructure of Ukraine in the view of the average resident of Romania or the lack of information about the tourism potential of our country. The underdevelopment of the «green tourism» market in Ukraine which is extremely popular among the population of Romania also has a hand here.

Transport links between the two countries are gradually developing, although at a relatively slow pace. In particular, the first direct flights between the two capitals were established only in May 2010 thanks to strong efforts of the Ukrainian company «Aerosvit» (4 flights per week). Romanian airline, Carpatair, provides direct flights from Bucharest to Kyiv and Odessa, as well as from Timisoara to Kyiv, Odessa and Lviv. In addition, from Kyiv one can reach the Romanian capital by flights of any European airline with transfers in Budapest, Amsterdam, Munich, Vienna, Warsaw and other major cities. Of course, establishing a direct air link (even though tickets are not cheap) will enhance human contacts between the two countries, particularly in business and tourism.

Direct trains run between Kyiv and Bucharest. Travel time - about 29 hours (quite long for a distance of 1,000 km). Alternatively, it is also as much possible go through Chisinau (Moldova) where a train (with a sleeping car) departs to Bucharest every night. A train from Moscow to Bucharest travels via Kyiv three times a week. Buses departing from Chernivtsi bring passengers to Suceava and Bucharest. From the bus station in Chisinau you can reach all the major cities of Romania by bus.

There is also a possibility to travel by sea (from Odessa) and by the Danube river. On the Danube boats travel via the Reni – Izmail route. A ferry crosses the Black Sea, connecting port of Constanta with Odessa.

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- <sup>1</sup> [ftp://lib.herzen.spb.ru/text/loshakov\\_38\\_82\\_p204\\_208.pdf](ftp://lib.herzen.spb.ru/text/loshakov_38_82_p204_208.pdf)
- <sup>2</sup> This indicator was based on a survey of 15 Romanian opinion makers (journalists, politicians, political scientists etc.). Each of the respondents gave their points to the parameters of Ukraine's soft power in Romania. The arithmetical mean indicator-index was deduced from the overall result.
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-6105446-prioritatile-politicii-externe-nabucco-parteneriat-special-turcia-polonia-sustinerea-demersului-serbiei-cij-diplomatie-puternica-asia-centrala.htm>
- <sup>4</sup> <http://www.ziaristionline.ro/2011/01/20/presedinte-online-directiile-politicii-externe-romanesti-in-2011-discursul-integral-al-lui-traian-basescu/>
- <sup>5</sup> <http://bruxelles.mae.ro/romania-news/583>
- <sup>6</sup> <http://www.financiarul.ro/2011/05/19/traian-basescu-romania-este-dispusa-sa-impartaseasca-ucrainei-din-propria-experienta-in-aderarea-la-ue/>
- <sup>7</sup> The following publications were selected for the analyses:
- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Nine O'Clock ( <a href="http://www.nineoclock.ro/">http://www.nineoclock.ro/</a> ) | 50 articles  |
| Evenimentul Zilei ( <a href="http://www.evz.ro/">http://www.evz.ro/</a> )          | 306 articles |
| Libertatea ( <a href="http://www.libertatea.ro/">http://www.libertatea.ro/</a> )   | 23 articles  |
| Jurnalul National ( <a href="http://www.jurnalul.ro">http://www.jurnalul.ro</a> )  | 92 articles  |
| Cotidianul ( <a href="http://www.cotidianul.ro/">www.cotidianul.ro/</a> )          | 142 articles |
- <sup>8</sup> <http://www.financiarul.ro/2010/04/>
- <sup>9</sup> <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-6884497-alegeri-prezidentiale-ucraina-ianukovici-timosenko-cursa-pentru-presedintia-tarii.htm>
- <sup>10</sup> <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-6829681-oranjul-nu-mai-poarta-kiev-dar-nici-bruxelles-washington.htm>
- <sup>11</sup> <http://www.ziare.com/international/libia/baconschi-735-de-cetateni-romani-au-fost-evacuati-din-libia-1079292>
- <sup>12</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>
- <sup>13</sup> <http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-competitiveness>
- <sup>14</sup> <http://en.rsfs.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>
- <sup>15</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>
- <sup>17</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BLR.html>
- <sup>18</sup> <http://www.fitchratings.ru/structuredfinancing/assetbacked/ratings/list/index.wbp>
- <sup>19</sup> <http://dt.ua/articles/61725>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://nbnews.com.ua/news/3828/>
- <sup>21</sup> [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/press\\_corner/all\\_news/news/2011/2011\\_05\\_31\\_uk.htm](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/press_corner/all_news/news/2011/2011_05_31_uk.htm)
- <sup>22</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/romania/ua/26572.htm>
- <sup>23</sup> <http://kinote.info/articles/2315-vosprinimayte-rumynskie-filmy-kak-formu-ekzortsizma>
- <sup>24</sup> IWP analysed the Internet traffic between Romania and Ukraine based on the following Ukrainian editions: Korrespondent, Segodnya, UNIAN, LB, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, Den, Ukrayinska Pravda, Kyiv Post, Glavcom.
- <sup>25</sup> The selection of the survey was 1111 persons older than 18, with plus-minus 3% error.
- <sup>26</sup> [http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A3%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%86%D1%8B\\_%D0%B2\\_%D0%A0%D1%83%D0%BC%D1%8B%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A3%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%86%D1%8B_%D0%B2_%D0%A0%D1%83%D0%BC%D1%8B%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8)



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## Ukraine's Soft Power in the Russian Federation

Can Ukraine compete with Russia in terms of soft power? Russia is the strongest post-Soviet body politic claiming the status of a major player on the international chessboard. Ukraine, by comparison, appears to be in the average slot, without political ambitions and resources for exerting any degree of influence worldwide. Russia's territory is the world's largest while that of Ukraine places it 45th.<sup>1</sup> Russia boasts the world's seventh GDP (e.g., purchasing power parity) whereas Ukraine's is 40th.<sup>2</sup> Kyiv-Moscow relations can only be regarded as asymmetric in terms of international political weight and economic potential. This limits Ukraine's possibility of influencing Russia, using both hard and soft power.

Another limitation of Ukraine's soft power in the RF is the difference between the foreign political targets set by Kyiv and Moscow. Russia makes no secret of its imperial ambitions on the post-Soviet arena, seeking the status of a global power. Hence the Kremlin's desire to include Ukraine in its sphere of «special interest,» using all available levers of influence to prevent Ukraine-EU (and NATO, until 2010) rapprochement.

Russia is also working hard to enhance its soft power in this region, primarily in Ukraine, claiming the status of producer rather than consumer.

The said trends serve to confirm an expert poll carried out by the Institute of World Policy (IWP), whereby Ukraine's soft-power index in Russia is among the lowest in the countries under study: 3.5 out of 10 points (see Table 1), higher only than that of Romania (2.9), precisely due to the common cultural heritage and the popularity of Ukrainian products in Russia. The Russian experts gave Ukraine C -minus in terms of communal influence and ambassadorial effort.

Table 1. Ukraine's soft power index in the Russian Federation

SOFT POWER PARAMETERS	MEAN VALUE
Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy	3
Influence of the Ukrainian community	2.2
Ukrainian embassy's activities	2.2
Popularity of Ukrainian culture	5.6
Popularity of Ukrainian products	4.5
<b>AVERAGE INDEX</b>	<b>3.5</b>

### BIG BROTHER'S STIFLING EMBRACE

Even before the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine's soft power in Russia was determined by its being the Soviet Union's second most important economic unit, as well as in terms of population; also, by the ethnic, cultural, and historical closeness to the Russian people, so much so Ukrainians were regarded as part and parcel of that people. In the end, Russia was hard put to accept Ukraine's national independence,

compared to any post-Soviet republics. After Ukraine became independent, all of Russia's political forces and media felt outraged, regardless of how democratic they were; regardless of their criticism of the Soviet regime, confirming the adage that a Russian democracy ends once the Ukrainian issue is on the agenda.

Besides, the political divorce of Ukraine and Russia had to do with a number of other issues, including the delineation of business and secret police infrastructures, Ukraine's nuclear-free status after ridding itself of these lethal armaments as the world's number-three nuclear power, national frontier delimitation and demarcation procedures, determining the status of the Russian Black Sea Fleet — and that of the Crimean Peninsula. At the time these issues were uppermost on the agenda of what was supposed to be the newly established independent Ukrainian nation-state.

Friendly contacts between Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kuchma, with the emphasis on off-the-cuff diplomacy indicated that Ukraine-Russia top-level relations did not quite fit into the classical bilateral pattern. Often disputable matters were resolved between the presidents and the success of talks depended on the so-called chemistry of personal contacts.<sup>3</sup> Characteristically, the Ukrainian embassy in Russia is excluded from the negotiation process in all matters relating to politicians and business people rubbing shoulders with those in power.

Informal contacts between the Ukrainian and Russian political elites allowed to implement one's own corporate interests by making political and economic barter deals (e.g., Ukraine's political loyalty in exchange for Russia's economic concessions), including the approval by Moscow of Ukraine's presidential candidates, especially in 1994-2004. However, every sharpening of bilateral relations showed that Russia did not regard Leonid Kuchma as president of an independent state, and so all off-the-cuff arrangements could be revised by the Big Brother. According to Norwegian researcher Tor Bukkvoll, the situation was like a game of chess, with one of the players acting against the rules, thus offending the other one and making the game impossible to play.<sup>4</sup> This factor played a major role in changing Ukraine's foreign policy under Leonid Kuchma who was elected president in 1994, under closer-cooperation-with-Russia slogans, and who proclaimed Ukraine's European choice and Euro-Atlantic integration.

After Vladimir Putin became president, the relationships with Ukraine were no longer off-the-cuff ones, yet there was room left for political and economic barter deals, but on a purely pragmatic basis. Putin supported Kuchma during the Ukraine-without-Kuchma campaign (March-February 2001). Vitaliy Shybo, ex-chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Foreign Relations Committee, recalls that Moscow literally saved Kuchma's political life in the aftermath of the Georgy Gongadze scandal, and that he had to make concessions in return.<sup>5</sup> In 2002, marking a peak in Ukraine's strained relations with the EU and US, bringing Ukraine to the verge of international isolation, the Year of Ukraine was celebrated in Russia, even though reduced to protocol festivities, just as would be the case with the Year of Russia in Ukraine, in 2003.

Ukraine agreed to Moscow's initiative of establishing a single economic area between Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan (February 2003),<sup>6</sup> yet this didn't prevent Ukraine-Russia confrontation over Tuzla Spit Island, caused by Russia starting building a dam, threatening the integrity of Ukrainian territory in the Strait of Kerch. The Russian and Ukrainian presidents settled the issue, but Kyiv had to agree with Moscow's naval frontiers.<sup>7</sup>

Ukraine ratified the single-economic-area framework agreement (April 20, 2004), with reservations concerning its participation therein only as allowed by the Constitution of Ukraine. This decision caused heated political debates, stressing that it ran counter to Ukraine's decision to join the WTO and EU. With time, it became obvious that Kyiv was just flirting with Moscow, going through the motions of making concessions in return for Moscow's support during the 2004 presidential campaign in Ukraine. The said framework agreement envisaged the signing of over 90 accords to set this cooperation format ticking. Kyiv agreed to sign only 30 percent of the instruments. This tactic was adopted with an eye to the coming presidential campaign (although the question remains whether Putin's support did actually help Yanukovich). Anyway, none of this worked to enhance Ukraine's soft power in the Russian Federation.

## ORANGE REVOLUTION: FIASCO PLAYING INTO KREMLIN HANDS?

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Moscow's unprecedented backing of Ukraine's presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich — particularly Vladimir Putin's express support, during what would end up as the Orange Revolution in Ukraine — caused the Kremlin to win with what they thought was a geopolitical fiasco. President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation would refuse to recognize President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine as an equal partner. His successor Dmitry Medvedev would follow suit.

Against this backdrop, the range of issues on the Ukraine-Russia political agenda expanded, namely:

- Ukraine stepping up its eventual NATO membership;
- Ukraine's efforts to reduce dependence on Russia's fuel supplies, what with yearly gas wars;
- Ukraine's limited participation in the CIS free trade area;
- Ukraine's refusal to synchronize its WTO membership with that of Russia's;
- Ukraine's attempt to revise Russia's Black Sea Fleet deployment terms and conditions in the Crimea and arrange for its withdrawal before 2017;
- Ukraine's attempt to demarcate the naval and ground frontiers with Russia;
- Ukraine calling into question the CIS;
- Ukraine stepping up its regional policy, with an eye to the establishment of regional leadership as an alternative to Russia's point of balance;
- Ukraine's sovereign humanitarian, nation-state-building policy, contrary to Russia's information policy and humanitarian initiatives, aimed at asserting its soft power within the CIS.

In regard to the last item, it should be noted that after 2004 Russia began to actively expand the tools and technologies meant to enhance its soft power. According to Russia's expert Gleb Pavlovsky, the Orange Revolution was «a very useful disaster for Russia... we have learned a lot.»<sup>6</sup> In this context, Moscow has a dim view of Ukraine's leadership in terms of democracy or European standard — in other words, any attempt to build an attractive Ukrainian image on the international arena.. The Kremlin has made every effort to discredit the results of the Orange Revolution in Russia, among other things by using the Internet to portray Ukraine as a scene of constant chaos and inadequate governance, completely ignoring Ukraine's advantage of having political pluralism. «There was the emphasis on these pages in Ukraine's political and cultural history, on the part of the liberal-democratic Russian ethnic minorities, especially during the Orange Revolution. Today, the majority of the Russian population (up to 60 percent) supports Viktor Yanukovich, although Russians didn't support Viktor Yushchenko when the Maidan was at its peak,» says Boris Dubin, head of the sociopolitical studies department, Levada Center for Social and Political Studies.

Russia has never aimed at joining the European Union, just as it has never sought to implement any of the European values (except probably during that brief period of Boris Yeltsin's presidency). Instead, it has always claimed the status of soft power carrier. It was due to statutory considerations that Moscow refused to take part in the European political neighborhood programs, regarding them as single-minded, while Ukraine accepted the common economic space notion. Ukraine also served as a catalyst whenever Russia had to make important decisions, including domestic political ones (e.g., EU visa action plan in September 2010 — considering that the talks have been underway since 2002, so Russian nationals can make short visa-free trips to EU countries). Ukraine also got ahead of Russia — and in a way stimulated it — in such domestic political matters as shorter term of service in the armed forces: March 2005 in Ukraine and July 2006 in Russia), refunding Soviet Savings Bank deposits (2008 in Ukraine and 2009 in Russia).

These trends should be regarded as Ukraine-Russia interaction in a multilateral format. Whereas Russia's constant UN Security Council membership and its indisputable CIS leadership answer the

Kremlin's ambitions, Russia will welcome any kind of support from Ukraine within the OSCE framework. Moscow makes no secret of its negative attitude to any alternative CIS multilateral cooperation formats (e.g., GUAM). Ukraine's WTO membership, something Russia can only hope to achieve, gives Ukraine a certain tactical edge over Russia. Needless to say, the Russian leadership and official propaganda pretend to ignore it. Instead, Russian society keeps being brainwashed, to the effect that Ukraine joined the WTO on disadvantageous terms and conditions. Prior to the event, Russia's Finance Minister Sergei Kudrin declared that «Ukraine is joining the WTO on crest of wave of its relationships with the West, trying to get ahead of Russia,» doing so on terms and conditions that aren't good for it.<sup>9</sup>

Moscow either ignores any steps taken by Ukraine ahead of Russia (see Table 2) or attributes them to a biased approach and/or double standard. The fact remains that Ukraine's achievements add to its positive image in the Russian eye.

**Table 2. Ukraine and Russia in Ratings**

RATING	UKRAINE	RUSSIA
Nations in Transit , 2010 <sup>10</sup> (rated on a 1-7-point scale, with 1 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 7 the lowest)	4.39	6.14
Freedom in the World, 2011 (same scale) <sup>11</sup>	Partly free	Not free
Political rights	3	6
Civil liberties	3	5
Freedom of the Press, 2010 <sup>12</sup>	Partly free (placed 108th among 196 countries)	Not free (placed 175th among 196 countries)
Reporters without Borders, 2010 <sup>13</sup> (rated on a list of 178 countries)	131	140
Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2010 <sup>14</sup> (place on a list of 178 countries scored on a scale from 10 {very clean} to 0 {highly corrupt})	134 (2.4)	154 (2.1)
Doing Business, 2010 <sup>15</sup> (place on a list of 183 countries)	145	123
UN Human Development Index, 2010 <sup>16</sup> (place on a list of 178 countries on a scale from 1 {very high} to 0 {very low})	69 (0.710)	65 (0.719)
Henley Visa Restrictions Index, 2010, <sup>17</sup> (166 is very high and 26 is very low)	64	83

Ukraine-Russia relations aggravated under Viktor Yushchenko's presidency, so much so the dialog between Kyiv and Moscow practically stopped. After the Russia-Georgia armed conflict in 2008, Putin and Medvedev shed all vestiges of protocol, making it absolutely clear they wanted nothing to do with Viktor Yushchenko. This caused a delay in the posting to Ukraine of Russia's new ambassador, Mikhail Zurabov.<sup>18</sup>

Alongside these events, Vladimir Putin and Yulia Tymoshenko met on a regular basis, mostly in regard to Russia's gas supplies to Ukraine. Apart from the pragmatic aspect, there was also the political one to their contacts, meant to discredit Viktor Yushchenko. Putin made no secret of his scornful attitude to the incumbent Ukrainian president. He accused him of supplying weapons to Georgia during the five-day war in 2008, and even of hijacking the plane Yulia Tymoshenko was supposed to board to fly to Moscow,<sup>19</sup> although in 2005 Russia had said she was responsible for stealing their gas.<sup>20</sup>

Tymoshenko succeeded in establishing a dialog with Russia, but this didn't add to her popularity there, except for the Russian media that made a point of stressing her expensive European clothes.

Somehow or other, she secured Moscow's cautious support of her presidential candidacy in the 2010 campaign (most likely because the Kremlin had learned the 2004 lesson and was now careful giving promises to any candidates). Moscow's response to Tymoshenko's arrest (Aug. 5, 2011) was further evidence of pragmatic restraint. Russia's foreign ministry issued a statement saying that the trial over Yulia Tymoshenko should be fair, free of any biased evidence, in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, providing for legal counsel and all elementary humanitarian norms and rules.<sup>21</sup> It is worth mentioning, that the charges against Tymoshenko involve Moscow interests, calling into question the gas accords she signed with Putin in 2009.

## NEW PERFORMERS DOING AN OLD THEME

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Viktor Yanukovich's presidency meant an improvement in Ukraine-Russia relationships, at least re-establishing the top-level dialogue. In 2010-11, there have been 11 top-level visits (with Yanukovich flying to Moscow on five occasions, including one official visit; Prime Minister Mykola Azarov's six visits, along with four visits by Medvedev, including an official one, and four visits by Vladimir Putin).<sup>22</sup>

This livening up of the intergovernmental dialogue has brought Ukraine no advantages, not even the ones expected from the Kharkiv gas accords. What Ukraine has actually gained in 2010-11, is best described as a thaw in its relationships with Russia, primarily the signing of the demarcation treaty in May 2010<sup>23</sup> and resuming Kerch Strait talks (with Moscow retaining its rigid stand in the matter). Another aspect of this cooperation is the resumption of vague go-between fuel supply services on the part of Russian companies that only serves to discredit the Ukrainian political leadership in the eyes of the international community.

Russia easily received political concessions from Ukraine when the Kharkiv accords were made (April 21, 2010), prolonging the deployment of the Russian Black Sea Fleet for 25 years. Ukraine declared its non-bloc status in July 2010<sup>24</sup> and Russia was suspicious: Ukraine could easily resume its Euro-Atlantic policy. Moscow ended up expecting too much from Kyiv and the new «pro-Russian» President Yanukovich, particularly considering the critical condition of the Ukrainian economy. Valerii Fadeiev, chief editor of the Russian Expert, said: «Ukraine is cheap, we can buy it.»<sup>25</sup> Subsequent events showed that there was a huge gap between Moscow ambitions and Kyiv interests, leaving the Kremlin bitterly disappointed, primarily because the Russians were barred access to Ukraine's gas transportation system (GST) and Ukraine was unwilling to join the Russia-Belarus-Kazakhstan Customs Union.

The Institute of World Policy has analyzed the headings of eight Russia-based periodicals having to do with Ukraine and drawn up the following list of keywords:

1. Yanukovich
2. Kyiv
3. Tymoshenko
4. Moscow
5. Gazprom
6. Naftohaz [Ukrainy]
7. Customs Union
8. Verkhovna Rada
9. Yushchenko
10. [Criminal] case/Medvedev/Prosecutor General's Office



Russian media are also closely following gas matters involving Ukraine (e.g., Gazprom, Naftohaz [Ukrainy], gas, contracts, accords, billions, prices), also the status of the Black Sea Fleet at Sevastopol (e.g., Black Sea Fleet, accords) and that of the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine (e.g., the Crimea). As seen by Russian media, Ukraine's foreign political endeavors are reduced to bilateral contacts, so terms like NATO, US, EU, Euro'12, Europe, West, etc., are seldom mentioned.

The situation with the Ukrainian Internet media looks more promising, considering that these are regarded as the main information sources by those in Russia who still want to have first-hand information from Ukraine. These constitute Ukraine's substantial, albeit mostly potential, soft power potential among such Internet users in Russia. IWP analysis of such international traffic, involving Ukraine's nine leading Internet periodicals, points to a noticeable increase in the number of visitors from Russia (see Table 3).

Media	Russia's share, percent
Korrespondent	5.97
Segodnya	13.5
Unian	4.6
Levyi Bereh	2
Dzerkalo Tyzhnia	14.2
Kyiv Post	1.87
Ukrainska Pravda	2-3
Glavcom	13.5

Russia is Ukraine's major trade partner, sharing 31.7 percent in this country's commodity turnover (as per 2010 results), including Ukrainian exports (26.1 percent) and imports (36.5 percent). Ukraine ranks as Russia's fifth partner — after China, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy — but comes first within

the CIS, sharing 5.9 percent in Russia's commodity turnover (2010 statistics, compared to 4.9 percent in 2009).<sup>26</sup>

Generally speaking, any country's economic potential is indicative of that country's hard rather than soft potential, providing a broad range of tools that allow that country to exert economic as well as political influence on its partners. Ukraine-Russia cooperation in the fuel sphere has been evolving mostly along these lines. Russia's fuel supplies to Ukraine have secured the stable performance of Ukraine's industrial and farming businesses.<sup>27</sup> Moscow has been actively using this edge over Kyiv. The 2009 gas war between Ukraine and Russia is proof that Moscow can convince Brussels that Kyiv is no good as a major gas transportation line to the EU countries; that it is an unreliable, corrupt business partner.

Economic progress, high living standard are what make any country look attractive. In this sense, Ukraine's soft power in Russia could be enhanced by disseminating truthful information about Ukraine's economic achievements — or at least by refuting negative stereotypes that are propagated by the Russian media, considering the presence of Ukrainian [quality] goods on the Ukrainian market.

Ukraine's image as the Soviet Union's bread basket is gradually replaced by that of a country that has seriously suffered from the five years of political chaos [under President Yushchenko]. According to Russian political analyst Andrei Tretyakov, lecturer with Tyumen University, «Russians know that the Ukrainian in the street is worse off than his counterpart in Russia. We have lots of migrant laborers from Ukraine; people are leaving Ukraine because that country doesn't offer adequate employment opportunities and oil-and-gas revenues.» Russians mostly point to Russia's positive attitude to the Ukrainian migrant laborers, their industriousness and peacefulness.

Russia's propaganda machine at times creates funny situations, working on Ukraine's negative image under President Yushchenko. According to ethnic Ukrainians in Moscow, some in Russia would be surprised to learn there are medium-income individuals in Ukraine who simply cannot be described as beggars, who can even afford to spend vacations abroad. Indeed, Russia's average monthly pay (some \$540)<sup>28</sup> is noticeably higher than in Ukraine (about \$320),<sup>29</sup> especially in Kyiv and Moscow (\$500 and \$1,000, respectively), yet the [retail] prices are also very different, considering that Moscow ranks as the world's fifth most expensive city.<sup>30</sup> In 2009, Ukraine's population below the poverty level constituted 35 percent, compared to Russia's 13 percent,<sup>31</sup> but other indices point to slight differences in terms of living standard. Russia's unemployment rate is 7.6 percent compared to Ukraine's 8.4 percent; life span is 68.6 years compared to Russia's 66.3.

Russia's imports are graphic evidence of Ukraine's attractiveness as a business partner. According to the Ministry of Economic Progress (Minekonomrazvitiya) of the Russian Federation, in 2010 imports from Ukraine basically consisted of the four groups listed below:

1. Motor vehicles and equipment: 36.3 percent;
2. Metals and products: 20.6 percent;
3. Foodstuffs and farming raw materials: 14.0 percent;
4. Mineral products: 11.2 percent.

Minekonomrazvitiya experts say that «this structure of Russia's imports, unlike exports, is marked by a high added value, with Russia remaining Ukraine's most attractive importer... alumina, ferrochromium, large-diameter tubing, machine-building equipment imported from Ukraine are playing a major role in Russia's economy, whereas Ukrainian products are severe rivals to the Russian analogs.»<sup>32</sup>

Russian experts worry about this with reason. The Russian market features a number of Ukrainian brands, mostly in terms of foodstuffs and alcoholic drinks, that are markedly popular with the Russian consumer, including «Veres» (49 percent of Russia's exports), «Chumak», «Roshen», etc. Regardless of Russia's positive/negative attitude to Ukraine, the latter's products work to enhance Ukraine's soft power there, although these products are denied the required official status on the Russian market.<sup>33</sup>

Ukraine's alcoholic drinks, however popular in Russia, are rarely associated with Ukraine. For example, «Khortytsia» (now Global Spirits) first appeared on the Russian market in 2006 and won most tasting competition awards. This brand ranks fifth in Russia. At present, «Khortytsia» products rank fifth on the Russian market (2.6 percent), yet the Ukrainian company has decided to make a special kind of vodka for Russia and start manufacturing a Russian brand. In late March 2011, Global Spirits bought Vologda's distillery with \$2.5 million worth of annual capacity. Now the company has a different name, literally meaning «Russia's Night.» Within two years, this company will have up to ten percent of Russia's alcohol market under control, challenging today's leader, «Zelenaya Marka» (second only to «Putinka» with 5.8 percent). Characteristically, brands such as «Obolon» are regarded by the Russian consumer as his own, especially in Moscow where everyone believes that the best products are made in Russia.<sup>34</sup>

Ukraine's automobile industry is slowly but surely accessing the Russian market. In 2010, the Bogdan Corporation exporting their products to the Russian Federation and has since shown progress, supplying cars and vans made in Cherkasy (7,340 vehicles sold to date, including 574 sold in November 2011). Bogdan boasts the 33th brand officially present on the Russian market. This company plans to sell some 10,000 motor vehicles in Russia, in 2011. Among other Ukrainian products are Lanos vehicles, made in Zaporizhia and sold bearing the Chance brand that is never associated with Ukraine. This Chance places 24th among Russia's most popular models.<sup>35</sup>

According to the 2010 Doing Business Report (see Table 2), Russia is way ahead of Ukraine, with Russia's gross inland investment in Ukraine being almost five times that of Ukraine's in Russia: \$1,089,000,000 compared to \$199,000,000, respectively. At the same time, Ukrainian inland investments in Russia have increased almost twofold, compared to 2006 (currently worth \$94.5 million). Of late, Ukrainian investments in Russia's automobile businesses, steelworks, household appliances have lowered and increased in the processing industries, particularly in foods, drinks, and cigarettes.<sup>36</sup>

Tangible Ukrainian investments are being into Russia's pulp-and-paper, ferrous, machine-building and metal-working industries. For example, the Privat Group (owned by Igor Kolomoisky and Gennadiy Bogolyubov) possesses the Alapaiev Steelworks and 20-percent-interest in Azot, and the controlling interest in the Altai By-Product Plant. They also own Mosprivatbank.

Viktor Nusenkis, the owner of the Energo Group, has under control Russia's large production complex Kuzbass, including Zarechnaya, Alekseevskaya, Oktyabrskaya mines of the Karagailinskoye Mining Directorate; also, Yurginsky Machine-Building Plant. This man is frequently referred to as a major contributor to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (under Moscow Patriarchate). There are Orthodox temples and chapels on the premises of every project he pays for. In 2010, visiting Donetsk oblast, Patriarch Kirill expressed his personal gratitude to Nusenkis for his aid in restoring the houses of God.<sup>37</sup>

Konti Group Kyiv, owned by Boris Kolesnikov (Konditer-Kursk) has been active on the Russian confectionary market since 2004; ditto Roshen Corporation owned by Petro Poroshenko, along with his Likonf Lipetsk-based confectionary and Bogdan Corporation under his control (they say they will build a production complex in Nizhny Novgorod oblast, considering some \$20 worth of investment already made).<sup>38</sup>

Rinat Akhmetov's Metinvest Holding has owned a 50 percent interest in Zaporizhstal [Ukraine's fourth steel maker] since July 2011. He owns the Sholokhovskaya Production Association and the Bystryansskaya Coal Mine that are developing their coke production and treatment capacities. Andrii Verevsky, another Konti Group member, has declared his intention of buying Russia's major sunflower seed oil manufacturer.<sup>39</sup>

The names of these Ukrainian businessmen mean little to Russians. Nor do any of the ethnic Ukrainian businessmen stress their origin in Russia. Andriy Kononchuk is a successful businessman, founder and co-owner of the popular Kroshka-Kartoshka street food network in Moscow and St. Petersburg (boasting some 14 million customers a year), yet he says his Ukrainian origin has nothing to do with his line of business.<sup>40</sup>

THE DISCREET CHARM OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

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Russians are accustomed to perceiving the cultures of Ukraine or the rest of the CIS countries in terms of center vs. periphery. This attitude began to form in the times of the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. In the realm of mass culture, show-biz particularly, cultural assimilation and a denial of «provincialism» are the principal preconditions for entering Russian market. Surely this could be explained, to a great extent, by commercial rather than ideological motivation, and yet it is a market demand which indicates people's attitude to certain cultural practices most eloquently.

On top of that, the Russian authorities have been purposefully working to maintain this post-Soviet inertia, since they regard the Soviet epoch achievements as a resource for magnifying the international influence of Russia. The relevant efforts result in all the more powerful resurrection of the idea of Russia's «special path.» This trend reveals itself at a social level in the national assimilation, when the Ukrainian Russians (especially those in the capital) often conceal their origins. Sometimes such inferiority shows symptoms of Ukrainophobia according to the principle «Ukraine's worst enemy is a Ukrainian who lives in Russia.» In general, Russia has many renowned politicians, businessmen and public figures with Ukrainian roots: the Governor of St. Petersburg Valentina Matviyenko, the Transport Minister Igor Levitin, the former Governor of Khanty-Mansiysk autonomous district Aleksandr Filipenko, a well-known spin-doctor Gleb Pavlovskiy, the CEO of the STS TV-channel Aleksandr Rodnianskiy and others. However this fact seldom affects their professional activity or business interests.

Ukrainian culture, on the one hand, is attractive, but on the other hand it is often looked at as peripheral, meaning it cannot be an example to follow. That is why it is an effect of Russia's soft power rather than that of Ukraine when Ukrainian pop singers are marketed in Russia with the support of such Russian stars as Alla Pugachova, Filip Kirkorov, Iosif Kobzon or Nikolay Baskov who often feature them in music videos. Most of the Ukrainian singers who are popular in Russia belong to this batch, e.g. Taisia Povalii, Ani Lorak, Verka Serdiuchka, VIA «Hra,» Tina Karol and others.

At the same time, it has been proved by the examples of the «Okean Elzy» band, a top-ranked idol of the Russian youth, as well as those of Oleh Skrypka, «Bumboks,» and «Haidamaky» that a high-quality Ukrainian product can become popular without assimilation as much. It could be illustrated by the 2008 concert of a Russian rock singer Zemfira in Kyiv where she performed songs by Sviatoslav Vakarchuk<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, the recent years have seen a formation of a new generation of Ukrainian entertainers who are able to win the hearts of the Russian audience; such are Jamala, Zlata Ohnievich and others. The pop music professionals remarked the high quality of the Ukrainian music, although the local organizers are sometimes less capable, this is why the attempts to organize a concert of the «Druha rika» band in Russia failed twice. Ukrainian athletes also enjoy a significant interest among Russians. «Everybody knows the names of Klitschko brothers and Andriy Shevchenko, others are popular with the fans of their kind of sport,» Yevgeniy Ayriyants says, a Moscow law firm CEO.

The situation with theater, cinema and literature is remarkably worse, but this is not surprising given the weak support they have in Ukraine itself. Respectively, Ukrainian actors are known in Russia, if known at all, mostly thanks to their starring in Russian soap operas. A scandalous drama director Andriy Zholdak managed to publicize himself, while the attention of Russians was also won by the uniqueness of the productions by Roman Viktiuk. At the same time, the feature movies about Ukraine that have been produced recently are far from enhancing the country's attractiveness. «We Are from the Future» creates quite a negative image of Ukrainians, and the «common destiny» of both nations is interpreted rather loosely in the film version of «Taras Bulba» by Vladimir Bortko. However, it is worth noting that Ukraine's Odessa International Film Festival became a major success in 2010 and 2011 with many Russians attending. Especial attention can be given to the programs within this year's Festival such as «New Russian Cinema» and «Ukrainian Comedies: a Retrospective.» Hopefully the Festival's organizers will have enough material to fill a program called «New Ukrainian Cinema» later on at least.



If a lot of ethnically Ukrainian writers have been deeply integrated into mass consciousness as Russian and Soviet classics (Gogol, Sholokhov, Ilf and Petrov), Russians virtually do not know contemporary Ukrainian writers, with rare exceptions of Andrei Kurkov and Ivan Malkovych. Although it is not surprising given the saturation of the Russian book market and lower general interest to reading in the society, the Counselor of the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia Vsevolod Loskutov urges Ukrainian publishers to market in Russia more actively: «They should just publish more [books], and bring here more, in Ukrainian as well.<sup>42</sup>» The diplomat also recommends that Ukrainians should reopen «Ukrainian Bookshop» in the Ukrainian Cultural Center on Arbat, as it used be one of the most frequented in the capital. Ukrainian publishers should also present their authors more actively in the Moscow International Bookfair where Ukraine was even granted a status of the honorary guest in 2008.

In addition, Ukrainian designers are gradually penetrating Russian fashion market. In particular, a well-known designer Lilia Pustovit has five boutiques in Moscow. Ukrainian designers frequent the Moscow Fashion Week, while Russians come to the Ukrainian Fashion Week, albeit their main competition centers remain Milan, Paris and other fashion capitals.

Ukrainian cuisine has significant popularity in Russia. Locals enjoy and cook such meals as Ukrainian borsch, varenyky, Kyiv chicken. However, as observed by Ukrainians who live in Moscow, some restaurants label them as Russian; borsch à la Moscou, chicken à la Moscou. One could consider as a success story of a kind the enormous popularity of «Korchma Taras Bulba,» a Moscow chain of 15 Ukrainian restaurants, thanks to its picturesque atmosphere and an acceptable price/quality correlation. The Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin is also one of the famous visitors to «Korchma.<sup>43</sup>» The visitors can familiarize themselves not only with the Ukrainian cuisine but with Ukrainian music and even to read the latest cultural news from the country in the chain's own newspaper<sup>44</sup>. The owner, a Kyiv-born Yuriy Biloyvan, also helped a Ukrainian publisher of the children books called «A-BA-BA-GA-LA-MA-GA» to enter the Russian market.

## UKRAINIANS IN RUSSIA: ODD PEOPLE OUT?

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The Ukrainian diaspora in Russia is generally one of the most numerous in the CIS countries. The total number of Ukrainians in Russia is 4,379,690. Most of the Ukrainians in Russia live in Kuban (up to 47 percent), in Tyumen region (up to 800 thousand), Bryansk, Omsk regions and Stavropol and Pimorye krays<sup>45</sup>. However at the same time the polled Russian experts remarked unanimously that the Ukrainian community is extremely weak at a federal level and underrepresented in political and cultural life, which makes them virtually invisible for Russians. The Ukrainian community exercises certain influence on a regional level only, in Bashkortostan and Tatarstan; Khabarovsk, Tyumen and Novosibirsk regions. Ukraine's National Cultural Center has been active since 1998, but its activity is obviously focused on Ukrainians rather than Russians, as it targets Ukrainian youth (within Ukrainian Youth Club) and scholars in Ukrainian studies<sup>46</sup>.

The expert interviews also point out to insufficient effectiveness of the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia, which is nevertheless explained by the reduction of its activity to merely protocol functions as well as the lack of funding of Ukraine's foreign missions due to the economic crisis. Still, the Embassy tries to support Ukrainians NGOs in Russia who are requesting assistance in organizing cultural festivals, bestowing homage to the famous Ukrainians etc, even with the available funds. Ukraine also finances subscription to Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, updating some library collections, purchasing national outfits and musical instruments for the amateur bands of the Ukrainian NGOs<sup>47</sup>. Yet it is absolutely clear that such measures are insufficient to revive the interest to the cultural life of contemporary Ukraine in not just Ukrainian Russians but in Russians proper as well.

Any politically colored activity of the major Ukrainian organizations faces the resistance of the Russian authorities instead. For instance, on January 27, 2010 the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation ultimately disbanded the national cultural autonomy of the Ukrainian Russians that had existed since March 27, 1998. The Russian Ministry of Justice appealed to the Supreme Court early 2011 with a request to disband the Association of Ukrainians. Later on the proceedings were suspended and the case returned to a court of one of Moscow's municipalities. Unofficially, this happened due to the active intervention of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry that made a deal with the Russian side to preserve the organization as such in exchange to the removal of Valeriy Semenenko as its chairman to give way to his then deputy Taras Dudko.

Somewhat different situation discomforts the Library of Ukrainian Literature which is a state cultural organization run by the city of Moscow. Significantly, it is a heir to a library at the Ukrainian Worker's Club in Moscow that had existed at least since 1922, and the only library in the city to represent the literature of any CIS country. The latter fact serves as a reference to justify the rearranging the institution into a library for all CIS countries. The infamous police searches plagued the library December 2010 through to January 2011 while its Director Nataliya Sharina was removed from her position under the charges of extremism.

Ukrainian language and culture are taught only in 8 Russian high schools (two more teach it optionally) as well as in 6 Sunday schools, in particular, at Ukraine's Cultural Centre in Moscow and in those organized by the local Ukrainian communities in Surgut, Nizhnekamsk (in Tatarstan), Ufa and Salavat. On top of that, study sections of Ukrainian reportedly exist at the Moscow City Children and Youth Creativity House and in the village of Novorozhdestvenka, Omsk region<sup>48</sup>.

At the same time, as pointed by Volodymyr Yelchenko, «Russia unfortunately has no state school with a curriculum in Ukrainian today. Honestly, I believe it is absolutely abnormal that in Moscow with the largest number of ethnic Ukrainians, over one fourth of a million, there is no Ukrainian school. To correct this situation I regard as my number one priority.<sup>49</sup>»

If the opportunities to study Ukrainian are scarce at a level of secondary education, the situation in the universities is more or less acceptable when it comes to learning Ukrainian as a foreign language. For example, 5 people studied Ukrainian language and adjacent subjects in Moscow Lomonosov State University, 16 students enrolled for these courses in Moscow State Institute for International Relations, while Saratov Chernyshevsky State University enlisted about 60 or 70 people to study this field<sup>50</sup>.

At the same time, it should be admitted that the contemporary condition of science and education in Ukraine could hardly be a soft power agent in Russia, rather conversely. According to the Ministry of Education, Science Youth and Sports, Ukraine provides no scholarships for the foreigners to study in the preparatory departments of the Ukrainian universities<sup>51</sup>. Therefore Russian citizens are not eligible for stipends to study in Ukraine, unlike Ukrainians who were invited to study in Russia as the winners of the first National contest in the Russian language<sup>52</sup>.

## UKRAINE SEEN BY RUSSIANS: «OUR FOLKS»

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Concerning Russians' own efforts to get to know the contemporary Ukraine, almost 8 million of them took this opportunity in 2010 (which is not a lot given 143-million-strong Russia's overall population), see Table 5. Simultaneously, 90 percent of them arrived privately, which expressively acknowledges the development of the human contacts in both countries. Interestingly, the faction of Russians that visit Ukraine on study, immigration and employment purposes is the smallest.

Over 350 thousand Russians visited Ukraine as tourists. However it can be stated with confidence that many of the private visitors vacationed at their friends' or relatives' and the like, since they are very

independent in organizing their summer vacation due to no language and visa barriers. All the more so with the highly developed transportation system between Kyiv and Moscow; 14 trains and 20 flights as of August 2011<sup>53</sup>. Plus, the schedule extended even more on July 20, 2011 with the first passenger flight Kyiv — Moscow (Domodedovo) by Ukraine International Airlines which increased the number of daily flights between the two cities (they are now three) and improved the air connection with Russian regions making it faster and more comfortable<sup>54</sup>.

Table 5. **Number of Russian nationals who visited Ukraine in 2010**<sup>55</sup>

Total number	Purpose of the visit						
	business, diplomacy	tourism	private	study	employment	immigration	cultural, sports, religious, other exchanges
7,900,436	165,300	353,961	7,278,105	18,098	3,435	14,602	66,935

Crimea and Odessa remain the most popular tourist destinations among Russians, with Kyiv and Lviv somewhat behind. On the one hand, summer vacation in Crimea is usual and convenient, although it is losing more and more on a price/quality correlation to such alternative destinations for vacating Russians as Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia. «A Russian tourist feels way more comfortable where people speak Russian and consider this language to be their own,» Andrei Deviatkov shares his observations. «But Crimea and other regions of Ukraine are thought of as foreign destinations, nevertheless. Our resorts in Krasnodar kray, Moscow region offer extremely overpriced low quality service, that is why Russians like Ukraine for its nice sea at an affordable price.»

It is no surprise that the Russian experts, surveyed by the Institute of World Policy, associate Ukraine with rest or holidays and see it as a separate, but culturally close country, a part of the former great common Motherland. According to Director of the Russian Levada Centre, Lev Gudkov, imperial ambitions are not alien to Russia, but that they mostly reflect its seek for post-Soviet self-identity rather than an actual desire to compromise Ukraine's sovereignty.<sup>56</sup>

Russians who come to Kyiv striving for a self-fulfilling career use almost the same reasons, underlining that Ukraine's capital is much cozier in comparison with Moscow. Besides, the business competition here is not so tough. Among the prominent Russians who moved to Ukraine due to career reasons well-known journalists Savik Shuster and Evheniy Kiselov are to be mentioned. Also the former editor-in-chief of the Russian Vogue, Alyona Doletskaya, disclosed her professional plans closely related to Kyiv.<sup>57</sup>

Overall, the share of the ex-patriots in the top-management of the Ukrainian companies, according to experts' evaluation, is 30-35 percent, with Russian making up almost a half of them. According to Sergey Vorobyov, Senior Partner of «Ward Howell» (Russian Executive Search Consulting company), «ambitions of the Ukrainian managers are usually lower and competition here not nearly that intense». <sup>58</sup> However, the common attitudes Ukrainians show towards Russian managers can be regarded as a soft power of the later, not vice-versa. Russian ex-pats are considered to be more experienced and skilled comparing to the locals, so their promotion to Ukraine is always attended by the considerable salary rise by 25-40 percent on average.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Vladimir Fedorin was promoted from Forbes Russia Deputy Editor-in Chief to Forbes Ukraine Editor-in-Chief.

Russian also chose Ukraine as a political asylum due to cultural proximity, relatives and acquaintances living here and absence of cultural and language barriers. Higher level of the political and civil liberties is also a reason, but a less significant one, since the most popular political asylum destinations, expectedly, are the EU Member States: Poland, France, Austria, Belgium, etc.<sup>60</sup>

Interestingly, according to a 2010 survey, the majority of Russians (57 percent) believe that their country is more democratic than Ukraine. Only 8 percent of respondents think that Ukraine is more demo-

cratic, while 19 percent consider the two countries to be «equally nondemocratic.<sup>61</sup>» Boris Dubin stresses that «the liberally minded Russians are really few in Russia today. Still, for those who are there, the most important thing about Ukraine is the rejection of imperial ambitions, even on the rhetorical level. This is where political pluralism, peacefulness (no wish to show off weapons), high level of political and civil liberties (in comparison to Russia) stem from.»

In general, the attitude of the Russians towards the Ukrainians worsened significantly over 2005–2008, especially because of the Caucasian crisis of 2008 and the «gas war» of 2009. In particular, in January 2009, according to Levada Centre, 62 percent of the Russians expressed their negative attitude to Ukraine. However, during 2009 the situation visibly improved. Ukraine was perceived positively by 52 percent of respondents in 2010 (in 2009 – 29 percent). 36 percent reported negative attitude, while 11 percent were undecided. At the same time the majority of polled Ukrainians, 93 percent, think that their attitude towards Russia is «very/mostly positive». Only 4 percent of our compatriots have negative feelings towards the Northern neighbour, while 3 percent could not provide an answer.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2147rank.html?countryName=Ukraine&countryCode=up&regionCode=eu&rank=45#up>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2001rank.html?countryName=Russia&countryCode=rs&regionCode=cas&rank=7#rs>

<sup>3</sup> Bukkvoll T. Off the Cuff Politics – Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy // *Europe-Asia Studies*. – 2001. – Vol. 53, № 8. – P. 1150.

<sup>4</sup> Bukkvoll T. Defining a Ukrainian Foreign Policy Identity : Business Interests and Geopolitics in the Formulation of Ukrainian Foreign Policy 1994–1999 // *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy : Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* / [edited by J. D. P. Moroney, T. Kuzio, M. Molchanov]. – London : Praeger, 2002. – P. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Relation of Russia and Ukraine in the context of the European integration [In Ukrainian] // *National Security and Defence*. – 2003. – № 1 (37). – P.20.

<sup>6</sup> [http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=997\\_990](http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=997_990)

<sup>7</sup> [http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=643\\_205](http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=643_205)

<sup>8</sup> N. Popescu, A. Wilson. The limits of enlargement-lite: European and Russian power in the troubled neighbourhood. Policy Report. – London : ECFR, 2009. – P. 29.

<sup>9</sup> <http://finance.obozrevatel.com/business-and-finance/rossiya-prorochit-ukraine-nevyigodnyie-usloviya-v-vto.htm>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/images/File/nit/2011/NIT2011-Russia-RU.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2011>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/pfs/371.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/content/download/55725/890310>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>

<sup>16</sup> <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/RUS.html>

<sup>17</sup> [http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010\\_globalRanking.pdf](http://www.henleyglobal.com/fileadmin/pdfs/content/hvri2010_globalRanking.pdf)

<sup>18</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/video/ukraine/931034-obrashchenie-medvedeva-v-adres-rukovodstva-ukrainy>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.premier.gov.ru/events/news/2026/>

<sup>20</sup> <http://podrobnosti.ua/criminal/2011/07/21/781659.html>

<sup>21</sup> <http://news.liga.net/news/N1122712.html>

<sup>22</sup> <http://news.kremlin.ru>; <http://www.premier.gov.ru>; <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/>

<sup>23</sup> [http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=643\\_365](http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=643_365)

<sup>24</sup> Law of Ukraine «On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy» of July 1, 2010 N 2411-VI

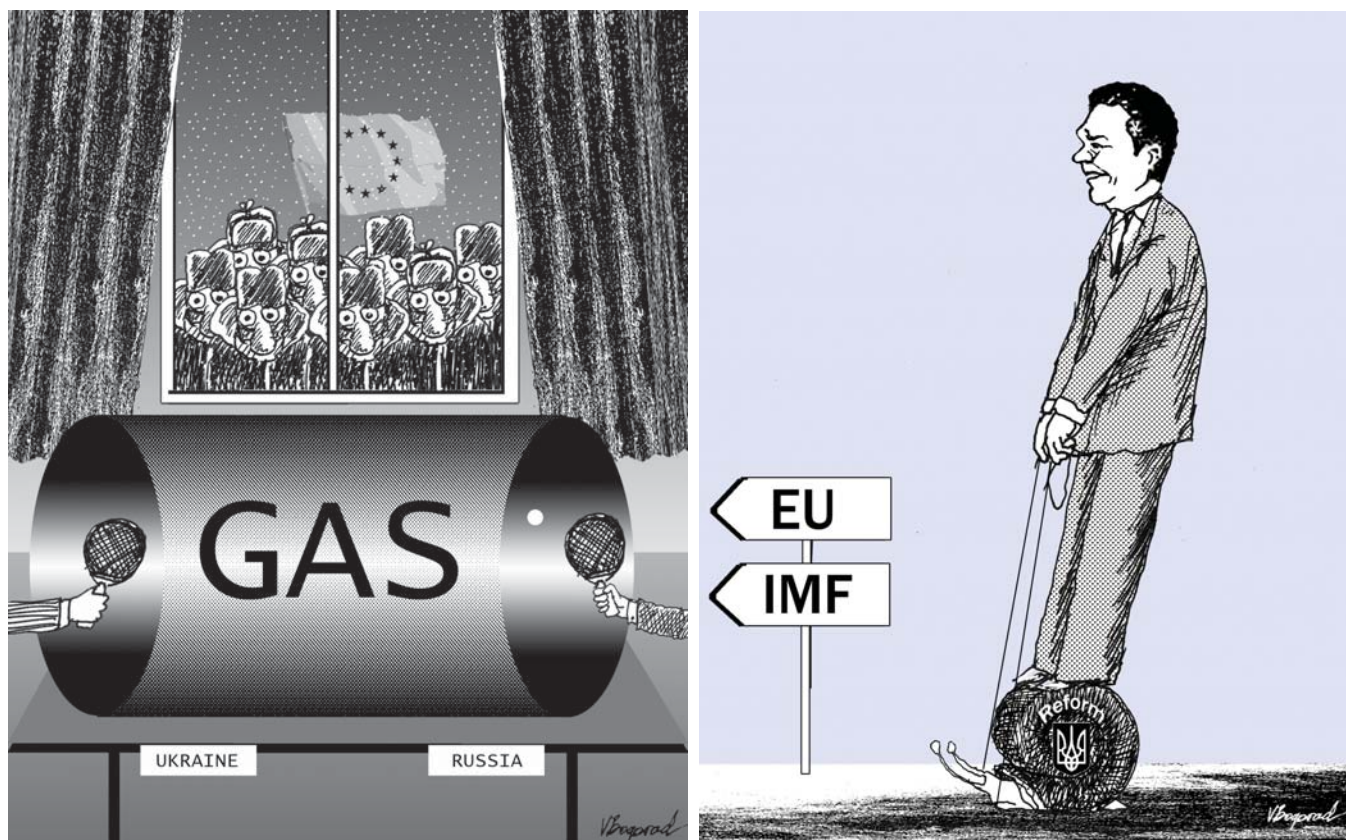
<sup>25</sup> N. Popescu, A. Wilson, P. 29.

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.economy.gov.ru/minec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519\\_014](http://www.economy.gov.ru/minec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519_014)

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



- <sup>28</sup> <http://www.zarplata-online.ru/poleznoe/zarplata/document95500.phtml>
- <sup>29</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/business/economics/1221790-srednyaya-zarplata-v-ukraine-vnov-povysilas>
- <sup>30</sup> <http://korrespondent.net/business/1238524-nazvany-samye-dorogie-goroda-mira-dlya-inostrancev-moskva-v-pervoj-pyaterke>
- <sup>31</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/up.html>, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2147rank.html?countryName=Ukraine&countryCode=up&regionCode=eu&rank=45#up>
- <sup>32</sup> [http://www.economy.gov.ru/minrec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519\\_014](http://www.economy.gov.ru/minrec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519_014)
- <sup>33</sup> <http://eda.mk.ua/news/10962/>
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.obozrevatel.com/society/globalnyij-spirt-po-ukrainski.htm>
- <sup>35</sup> <http://auto.oboz.ua/analytics/kak-ukrainskie-avtomobili-prizhivayutsya-na-rossijskom-ryinke.htm>
- <sup>36</sup> [http://www.economy.gov.ru/minrec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519\\_014](http://www.economy.gov.ru/minrec/activity/sections/foreigneconomicactivity/cooperation/economicsng/doc20110519_014)
- <sup>37</sup> [http://www.ukrrudprom.com/digest/Viktor\\_Nusenkis\\_178\\_mlrd.html](http://www.ukrrudprom.com/digest/Viktor_Nusenkis_178_mlrd.html)
- <sup>38</sup> [http://www.ukrrudprom.com/news/Petr\\_Poroshenko\\_ne\\_otkazivaetsya\\_ot\\_rossijskih\\_planov.html](http://www.ukrrudprom.com/news/Petr_Poroshenko_ne_otkazivaetsya_ot_rossijskih_planov.html)
- <sup>39</sup> <http://www.rbc.ua/rus/top/show/kernel-v-2011-g-nameren-priobresti-rossiyskogo-proizvoditelya-07032011172300>
- <sup>40</sup> <http://finam.fm/archive-view/2375/4/>
- <sup>41</sup> <http://for-ua.com/fun/2008/03/07/085629.html>
- <sup>42</sup> <http://podrobnosti.ua/culture/2010/08/21/709803.html>
- <sup>43</sup> <http://glavred.info/archive/2009/05/20/105816-3.html>
- <sup>44</sup> <http://www.tarasbulba.ru/gazeta/#start>
- <sup>45</sup> [http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art\\_id=169709&cat\\_id=31295](http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=169709&cat_id=31295)
- <sup>46</sup> <http://ukrcenter.org/>
- <sup>47</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/russia/ru/publication/content/47482.htm>
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- <sup>51</sup> <http://www.mon.gov.ua/inozem/higher/>
- <sup>52</sup> [http://rian.com.ua/culture\\_society/20110331/78696628.html](http://rian.com.ua/culture_society/20110331/78696628.html)
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- <sup>54</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/russia/ua/news/detail/63211.htm>
- <sup>55</sup> [http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/operativ/operativ2011/tyr/tyr\\_u/vig2010\\_u.htm](http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/operativ/operativ2011/tyr/tyr_u/vig2010_u.htm)
- <sup>56</sup> “Ukraine’s Soft Power: TOP-30 Notions Associated with Ukraine in the Region”, Institute of World Policy, Kyiv, 2011. – P. 13.
- <sup>57</sup> <http://life.pravda.com.ua/person/2011/07/29/82399/>
- <sup>58</sup> <file:///D:/2006/IER/60859-karera-po-ukrainski.htm>
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>60</sup> <http://www.newsland.ru/news/detail/id/439186/cat/42/>
- <sup>61</sup> <http://www.levada.ru/press/2010022605.html>



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## SUMMARY AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The study «Ukraine's Soft Power in the Region: The tool for effective foreign policy» allows for a comforting conclusion: Ukraine has the potential of influence in the region. Of course, in each of the six countries studied this potential is assessed differently. According to the Institute of World Policy's expert survey in Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Poland, Romania and Russia, Ukraine hit the highest index of soft power in the Republic of Moldova. Opinion-makers of this country rated Ukraine 6.3 points on a scale of 10. In comparison, the figure is 5.3 in Georgia which was traditionally considered in expert circles as the most favourable of the former Soviet countries to realize the potential of soft power of Ukraine, while in Russia it scored 3.5, 4.59 in Belarus and 4 points in Poland. The country with the lowest index of the soft power of Ukraine is Romania.

Of course, different elements of Ukraine's soft power are evident today in each of the countries under the study by IWP. For example, whereas contemporary Ukrainian writers are known and admired in Poland, Russians and Belarusians are familiar with contemporary Ukrainian pop-music. While Moldovans have already learnt by heart the names of Ukrainian brands on supermarket shelves, the attractiveness of Ukraine in the eyes of Georgia is growing as Kyiv approaches the European Union.

To be favoured by countries that are so different is equally difficult. But this is what a state with regional leadership ambitions should strive for. Experts from the Institute of World Policy suggest the Government of Ukraine the following recommendations that could form the basis of the state strategy to increase Ukraine's soft power in all countries in the region:

- The basic recommendation is to take every effort to prove the competitiveness of the economic and political development model of Ukraine. In other words, democratic and economically developed Ukraine has to become an attractive example to follow for the neighbouring states.
- Whatever the differences between the neighbouring countries in terms of economic development and democratic standards, a successful and European Ukraine appeals to all of them both at governmental and public levels. Ukraine needs to conclude negotiations with the EU on the Association Agreement, Free Trade Area and to follow European democratic standards closely for the sake of accelerated ratification of the Agreement in the EU.
- The embassies of Ukraine in the neighbouring countries should carry out more active work with local media by organizing briefings on topical issues of bilateral relations. Special emphasis should be placed on informal communication with opinion-makers from the host countries. Ambassadors of Ukraine abroad should consider blogging like their British counterparts do - so that interested public will be able to find out more information about Ukraine and the people that represent it rather than what is given in press releases.
- To organise a series of informational tours to Ukraine for opinion-making delegations from the region countries. It is important that in each of the neighbouring countries there is a pool of journalists and experts who could compensate for the lack of authentic information about Ukraine with credible news and quality analytics.
- To support Ukrainian communities abroad by promoting education in the Ukrainian in local high schools. To pass a Law «On Amendments to Some Laws of Ukraine Concerning Ukrainians Abroad,» which will allow Ukrainians from overseas to study in Ukrainian tertiary educational institutions within the quota established for foreigners and stateless persons.

- It is also necessary to increase the quota for foreign citizens who come from Ukraine's neighbouring countries, especially Russia, Belarus, Moldova and Georgia, for free education in Ukrainian universities.
- To promote modern Ukrainian culture, in particular literature, through the embassies of Ukraine. For example, it would be useful to conduct presentations of literary novelties at embassy receptions. It is also worth considering the possibility to publish a collection of «Russian's (Pole's, Georgian's, Romanian's, Moldovan's, Belarusian's) Golden Collection of Ukrainian Literature» and to present it at international events and book fairs, etc.
- To cooperate with businesses operating in the neighbouring countries, for the purpose of spreading the «presence» of Ukraine; creation of scholarship funds, distribution of Ukrainian image products (advertising Ukrainian goods, organizing thematic events for those who form public opinion, and fashion shows of Ukrainian designers), etc.
- To negotiate with the key Ukrainian air carriers to lower the prices of flights to Kyiv and other cities in Ukraine, before and during the Euro-2012 football championship, in order to encourage tourists from these countries. To organise promotional tours for regional tour operators to draw attention to Ukrainian tourist facilities both in popular tourist destinations and of lesser known areas such as Kamianets-Podilsky, Pochayiv, Sviatogorsk, Chernivtsi and Shatsk Lakes.
- To draw the attention of the Ukrainian restaurant industry to the high demand for Ukrainian food in the neighbouring countries and the corresponding niche that exists in the restaurant industry segment in these countries.
- To negotiate with local governments about broadcasting popular Ukrainian TV and music channels.
- Consider the creation of Cultural and Information Centres of Ukraine, by analogy with the British Council, Goethe Institute and Cervantes Institute, funded by Ukrainian private donators.
- The cultural departments at Ukraine's embassies should assist in the creation of radio programming on the trends in modern Ukrainian culture that would also broadcast Ukrainian pop hits (something akin to «The Selector,» a program supported by the British Council in 30 countries) on FM-stations of the host country.

## BELARUS

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- To inform the public of Belarus about the efficiency and non-alternatives of democratic development through European integration: Ukraine has to dispel the myth, imposed on Belarusian society, about democracy being the embodiment of chaos and instability in post-Soviet countries.
- To maintain active contacts with the representatives of the non-governmental sector, who are currently the main sympathizers with Ukraine in Belarus. Even if their impact on public opinion in Belarus is not significant now, over time they will become the main opinion makers of the country. Ukraine should be ready for political changes in Belarus, already enlisting the support of the socially active community leaders of the neighbouring state.
- To organise informational tours to Kyiv for both pro-governmental and oppositional journalists from Belarus with a view to disprove stereotypes about the «harmfulness» of Ukrainian democracy.
- To negotiate with the Belarusian leadership a permission for Ukrainian TV channels to broadcast in Belarus (given a large Ukrainian community).
- To support the Ukrainian community in Belarus more actively and to facilitate the opening of the classes with teaching in the Ukrainian language.



- To carry out more active work in terms of promoting Ukrainian culture, particularly concerning modern Ukrainian literature (the experts interviewed in Belarus noted precisely a significant lack of information in this field).
- To promote extensively tourist travels for citizens of Belarus to Ukraine, and not only to Crimea which is already popular among Belarusians as a resort, but also the Carpathians, Lviv, Odessa and other regions of Ukraine.
- To implement a stricter policy to vindicate the interests of Ukrainian businesses in Belarus.

## GEORGIA

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- To maintain the intensive dynamics of political relations with Georgia, the President of Ukraine should pay a visit to Georgia to demonstrate his readiness to continue dialogue at the highest level.
- For the governments of Ukraine and Georgia to cooperate within the framework of international and regional institutions to develop coordinated approaches to conflict resolution. This primarily refers to OSCE, and Ukraine's forthcoming presidency in this international organization in 2013.
- To raise the issues about the rights of Georgian refugees from South Ossetia and Abkhazia who are staying in Turkey, with the Council of Europe.
- Ukraine should continue to use the GUAM format as an effective mechanism for the pursuit of its political interests.
- Wherever possible, to emphasise the position of Ukraine on the non-recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in meetings with foreign leaders, at international forums, etc.
- Ukraine ought to learn from Georgia's experience of its positive branding. The first steps should include the cooperation with Georgian NGOs and organization of informative trips for Georgian opinion-makers (politicians, journalists, experts).
- Ukrainian government should invest more efforts into attracting more tourists from Georgia to Ukraine by organizing promotion tours for Georgian travel agencies, negotiating special offers by Ukrainian airlines for the flights from Kyiv to Tbilisi. It is also vital to stop the deportations of the citizens of Georgia upon their arrival in Ukraine which sporadically occur without any excuses on the part of Ukrainian authorities.
- The government of Ukraine should ensure favourable terms for the participation of the Ukrainian business in the privatization of Georgian infrastructure assets.
- Relevant Ukrainian agencies should intensify bilateral cooperation with Georgia to use the existing transit capacities of Ukraine and Georgia in the Black Sea region more effectively, through the development of the transport route Europe – the Caucasus – Asia (TRACECA), in particular, to ensure the efficient functioning of its key section, the Poti/Batumi-Illichivsk railway ferry.
- To enhance the PR of the Ukrainian businesses in Georgia.
- Ukraine has to continue maintaining an adequate military and technical cooperation with Georgia.
- To enhance the promotional work of the MFA of Ukraine and the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia for a continued presence and support of Ukraine's positive image in the media space of Georgia to establish constructive cooperation between the media of the two states.
- To use the popularity of Ukrainian classical writers in Georgia so as to attract attention to the modern Ukrainian literature, for example, by way of organizing a book fair and exhibition of the

modern and classical Ukrainian writers. The Georgians' respect of Ukrainian classics must also be reciprocated, for instance, by launching the Days of Shota Rustaveli in Kyiv.

- To support the Ukrainian community, in particular to allocate funds for the printing of periodicals in Ukrainian.
- To develop links between the Ukrainian and Georgian fashion industry, following the example of the already existing cooperation with Georgian designers Avtandil Tskvitinidze and Anuka Areshidze within Ukrainian Fashion Week.
- To provide more scholarships for ethnic Georgians to study in Ukrainian universities.
- To consider the possibility of the joint projects between famous Georgian and Ukrainian music bands.

## THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

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- To render the dialogue with Chisinau frank and transparent. Moldovan diplomats often distrust the independence of Ukraine's decisions. Ukraine is not seen as an independent player, which certainly dampens the effect of any «soft power» in Moldova.
- To pay more attention to the style of negotiation. In a political dialogue, Ukraine should get rid of a condescending attitude towards Moldova.
- To take up a more active position on the Transnistrian conflict by, say, proposing that the next round of informal talks in the 5+2 format take place in Kyiv. Ukraine's appeal is suffering because, both on the Right Bank and on the Left Bank of the Dniester, the country is seen as having enormous potential to resolve the situation but has little interest in using this potential.
- To seriously enliven its policy towards the Ukrainian community in Moldova, especially in Transnistria. The breakaway region's leaders are quite tolerant of Ukraine's presence and Ukraine needs to take advantage of that by, for instance, instituting more Ukrainian-language schools and Ukrainian curricula, providing these schools with the necessary Education Ministry approved history textbooks in Ukrainian and Russian.
- To ensure that Ukraine's embassy in Moldova increases its efforts to extend its activities, inviting more people to the events organized for the Ukrainian community, the Moldovan political elite, Moldovan experts, journalists and so on. Moldovan journalists agree that the Embassy should run more briefings as they lack the Ukrainian view of critical issues in bilateral relations and need more than just basic information from the Embassy's press service. It is also worth organizing press tours for Moldovan journalists, video conferences, and joint events for think-tanks.
- To encourage the Embassy in Moldova to consider possibly running joint events for Right and Left Bank Ukrainians, especially for young people, such as a national Olympiad in Ukrainian language and history. The reunification of the Ukrainians from both sides should become a template for the reintegration of the RM in general.
- To encourage Ukraine's restaurant chains to consider launching restaurants in Moldova that specialize in Ukrainian cuisine. This is a niche market with considerable demand.
- To put serious effort into restoring the broadcast of Ukraine's First National Channel in the Right Bank Moldova, along with other Ukrainian television channels.
- To consolidate the informational representation of Ukraine in the region through broadcasting Ukrainian FM-radio stations and TV programmes from Odessa, Vinnytsia and Chernivtsi regions, as well as to open local bureaus of the leading Ukrainian news agencies in Moldova and Transnistria.

- To negotiate creating special scholarships for Moldovan citizens to study in Ukrainian universities with the financial support from the big businesses that are most represented in Moldova (for example «Roshen», «Obolon» companies etc.).
- To elaborate on the possibility to establish a separate «green» lines for citizens of Ukraine on the Ukrainian-Moldovan border checkpoints (in view of the practice of EU countries in this area).

## POLAND

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- On a diplomatic level, Ukraine should develop a coherent and long-term strategy for the development of relations and strategic partnership with Poland constructed around the core of Ukraine's European choice. It is up to Ukrainian politicians to realize that Poland is truly the very voice that speaks the most about Ukraine on the international scene, and they are responsible for the message it voices.
- To strengthen exchange programmes for students and teachers, NGO cooperation and artistic ties. The Embassy of Ukraine should provide assistance in arranging lectures of Ukrainian experts, politicians and public figure in Polish universities.
- To establish and/or support joint media projects such as launching of a Polish-Ukrainian TV channel or programme.
- To settle the issues of migration flows and border management. The MFA of Ukraine sent a Memorandum to Poland concerning opening eight new border crossing points, as far back as in 2008, but none of these crossings have been opened to date.
- To ensure a sufficient number of tourist information points in Euro-2012 host cities and to prepare tourist information materials in Polish.
- To establish a scholarship fund for a short language course in Poland for Ukrainian officials, experts and journalists.
- To install Polish road signs and print tourist brochures in Polish, in the places in Ukraine to where Poles are likely to travel: Lviv, Kamianets-Podilsky, Lutsk, Sofiyivka Reserve.
- To promote joint activities in Poland involving the Ukrainian diaspora in Poland and the newcomers from Ukraine at the same time.

## ROMANIA

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- First of all, reducing the voltage at the political level and strengthening trust of the parties to each other will be conducive for the increasing of soft power of Ukraine in Romania. At the level of interpersonal contacts it is necessary to spread the knowledge about the modern Ukraine among ordinary Romanians, as the «presence» of Ukraine in Romania is too low for it could work in favour of Ukraine. The basic recommendation is to move away from a stereotypical perception of Romania as an unfriendly country and to rebuke aggressive rhetoric in its address. In response, it will lead to positive changes in the perception of the image of Ukraine in Romania.
- To accelerate the launch of the Ukrainian-Romanian Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which should act as a platform for prompt solutions of problematic issues in bilateral relations and promotion of Ukrainian exports to the partner country.
- To consider possible mechanisms to compensate for the shares of the Romanian party in the Kryvyi Rih ore-processing plant, which will strengthen the image of Ukraine in Romania as a reliable and predictable partner.

- To continue active information and explanatory efforts in Romania, among the leading EU countries and in particular the USA to highlight the position of Ukraine on the Ukrainian-Romanian cooperation in the Danube delta, compliance with international obligations in the field of environmental protection when working on the deep-water shipping Danube - Black Sea Canal remediation projects. The above will inhibit/neutralize the statements of some radical politicians and experts in Romania and will strengthen the level of Ukraine's soft power in the partner country.
- To intensify the cooperation with Brussels, Chisinau and Bucharest in order to ensure the balance of interests of Ukraine, Moldova and Romania in the context of regional cooperation, particularly with the use of EU assistance programmes.
- To organise a range of informative tours to Ukraine for delegations of Romanian opinion makers. It is important that any positive trends in Ukraine are known to Romanian journalists and experts.
- To create spaces for communication between Ukrainian and Romanian businesses. There is an urgent need for the transition of Ukrainian manufacturers to the novel payment mechanisms for delivered products, the use of bank guarantee payment methods and their corresponding delays, the normalization of the situation with regard to the reimbursement of export VAT and increasing the participation in exhibitions and presentations.
- To implement a more active policy to advance the interests of Ukrainian businesses in Romania.
- To continue supporting the Ukrainian community in Romania by establishing new classes with Ukrainian as a language of instruction, to provide technical assistance in the form of equipment, textbooks etc., to organise traineeships for the Ukrainian language and literature teachers from Romania in Ukraine, and more. It is vital to restore the funding of the projects in Romania within the budget program «Measures to support relations with Ukrainians who live outside of Ukraine.»
- To attract private funds for the implementation of the Ukrainian cultural projects in Romania (the construction of a historical and ethnographic complex «Danubian Sich», the development of a park near Ivan Mazepa monument in Galati, providing technical equipment for the Ukrainian Cultural House in Timisoara, the first of its type in Romania etc.).
- To stir up the promotion of Ukrainian culture more actively, particularly when it comes to the modern Ukrainian literature, music, cinema, etc. (the interviewed Romanian experts made remarks about an extremely low presence of Ukrainian factor in the cultural and humanitarian landscape of Romania).
- To more actively promote among Romanians the opportunities of Ukraine's touristic potential, in particular Crimea and the Carpathians.

## RUSSIA

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- To identify the priority areas of bilateral relations with Russia in political, security, economic and humanitarian spheres of interaction at a level of international dialogue to an extent that would not contradict the consistent implementation of the European integration of Ukraine. After all, a successful implementation of democratic reforms, according to the forthcoming EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, has considerable potential for consolidating political and economic components of the soft power of Ukraine, while the stagnation in relations with the EU does not enhance the attractiveness of Ukraine to the Russians.
- To ensure the greatest possible transparency in the energy cooperation with Russia: it will allow to dispel a popular myth in Russia about Ukraine as a Moscow «dependency» and a «thief of the Russian gas.»



- To optimize the staff at the Embassy of Ukraine in Russia in accordance with the priorities of the Embassy's activities, and to increase the media presence of Ukrainian diplomats in Russia.
- The Ukrainian government and media tycoons should join efforts to ensure the broadcast of Ukrainian TV channels in the Russian media space both in Ukrainian, for the needs of the vast Ukrainian community, and in Russian, in order to deliver the information about Ukraine and improve its image among Russians; it is also appropriate to ensure the transmission of Ukrainian music channels that would find a large number of supporters among the population of Russia.
- To encourage Ukrainian business to support a positive image of Ukraine in Russia by distributing Ukrainian press (also in Russian) and promoting Ukraine as a brand.
- To organise introductory trips to Ukraine for Russian opinion makers. To facilitate the establishment of closer contacts between the scientific communities and think tanks of both countries, to initiate (with the support of charities of Ukrainian businessmen) exchange programmes for students and academics, seminars and conferences aimed at constructive discussions of the problematic aspects of bilateral relations; to develop joint scientific projects by scientists from both countries; to organize video conferences on the topical issues of bilateral relations; to promote the publication of studies and analytical articles by Ukrainian authors in Russian editorials.
- To organize promotional weeks of the modern Ukrainian culture in Moscow and regional centres of Russia; tours by the modern Ukrainian theatres and concerts by popular music performers, etc.
- To assist the entry of Ukrainian publishing houses onto the Russian book market and popularize modern Ukrainian fiction through presentations at the Embassy of Ukraine.
- To encourage the exhibitions and fairs of Ukrainian producers in Moscow and regional centres of Russia.
- To develop cultural, informational and historical tourism beyond simple recreational tourism of Russians to Crimea (for instance, to the fortresses and castles of Khmelnytsky region and Vinnytsia palaces, etc.), as well as organize Ukrainian-Russian children's summer camps.
- Ukrainian business is advised to facilitate further popularization of Ukrainian cuisine in Russia with an eye on the middle price range, as well as to consider the possibility of creating cultural and entertainment centres on the basis of Ukrainian restaurants where the average Russian could get information materials about modern Ukraine or encounter the works of modern Ukrainian bands and fashion designers, communicate with Ukrainian writers and more.