

DICTUM FACTUM

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**АНГЛІЙСЬКА МОВА ДЛЯ
ЮРИСТІВ**

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Підручник побудований за сучасними, науково обґрунтованими принципами навчання, що враховують динаміку розвитку навичок і вмінь взагалі та перекладацьких навичок і вмінь зокрема. Форма та зміст більшості вправ відповідають тесту First Certificate English в батареї Кембріджських тестів. Залучені новітні дані сучасних словників та інші першоджерела високої якості. Вперше в практиці видавництва навчально-методичних матеріалів для підготовки юристів-міжнародників зроблено чіткий акцент на структуру Міністерства закордонних справ України. Систематично вводиться і опрацьовується відповідна термінологічна лексика. Тексти підручника розширюють фонові знання майбутніх юристів-міжнародників і надають цікавий матеріал для розвитку творчих компонентів мовленнєвої діяльності.

Для студентів вищих закладів освіти, що спеціалізуються у галузі міжнародної юриспруденції, міжнародних відносин та перекладу; фахівців, які прагнуть вдосконалити навички та уміння спілкування в межах даної тематики.

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Передмова до серії

Комплекс питань, пов'язаних з організацією підготовки перекладачів (див. Зорівчак 1983; Карабан 2001; Коптілов 2003; Корунець 2000; Мірам 1999; Радчук 1997; Чередниченко та Коваль 1995; Черноватий 2002; Швачко 2002) жваво обговорюється фахівцями, що вказує на актуальність проблеми. На сучасному етапі така підготовка вимагає, поміж іншого, розширення (в розумних межах) галузевих блоків, з якими знайомляться студенти під час навчання, а по-друге, оптимізації системи формування їхніх мовленнєвих навичок і умінь для забезпечення операційного боку перекладу. Хоча перші кроки на цьому шляху вже зроблено (див. Карабан 2001), проте коло проблем залишається досить широким. Однією з найважливіших з них є забезпечення процесу навчання перекладачів посібниками, зміст, структура та система вправ які відповідали б сучасним вимогам.

Спроба вирішення означеної проблеми здійснюється в рамках спільного проекту кафедр перекладу Київського національного університету ім. Т. Г. Шевченка та Харківського національного університету ім. В. Н. Каразіна, метою якого є розробка, апробація, публікація та розповсюдження матеріалів для навчання майбутніх перекладачів. Видання таких матеріалів здійснюється у серії *DICTION FACTUM* (назва утворена від латинського прислів'я, яке можна перекласти, як “Сказано – зроблено”, що видається прийнятним гаслом для перекладачів). Серія ділиться на два напрямки, перший з яких (*Dictum Factum Translation Course*) включає посібники для навчання перекладу у різних галузях людської діяльності, а також праці з теорії перекладу. В цій частині серії вже видано ряд робіт (див. Ребрій О.В. 2002; Карабан 2004а; Карабан 2004б; Карабан 2004в; Черноватий, Карабан, Ліпко, Іванко 2004).

Інший напрямок серії (*Dictum Factum Practical English Course*) призначений для розробки та публікації навчально-методичних матеріалів для розвитку мовленнєвих навичок та умінь практичного володіння іноземними мовами майбутніми перекладачами. При цьому, навіть такі матеріали враховують специфіку перекладачів, готуючи їх до майбутньої діяльності. Таке врахування забезпечується не тільки за рахунок використання перекладних вправ, що є природнім при навчанні перекладачів, але й завдяки формуванню інших перекладацьких навичок та умінь, наприклад, компресії тексту-оригіналу, введення елементів перекладацького скоропису для запису тексту тощо. Вже побачило світ перше видання цього напрямку (Черноватий, Ковальчук 2004). Публікація інших очікується найближчим часом.

Література: Зорівчак Р. П. Фразеологічна одиниця як перекладознавча категорія. – Львів: Вища школа. – 1983; Карабан В. І. Переклад англійської наукової та технічної літератури / У 2-х т. – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2001; Карабан В. І. Переклад англійської наукової та технічної літератури на українську мову – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2004а; Карабан В. І. Попередження інтерференції мови оригіналу в перекладі. – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2004б; Карабан В. І. Теорія і практика перекладу з української мови на англійську мову. – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2004в; Коптілов В. Теорія і практика перекладу. – К.: Юніверс. – 2003; Корунець І. В. Теорія і практика перекладу. – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2000; Мирам Г. Э. Профессия: переводчик. – Киев: Ника – 1999; Чердниченко О. І., Коваль Я. Г. Теорія і практика перекладу (французька мова). – К.: Либідь. – 1995; Черноватий Л. М. Принципи складання вправ для навчання галузевого перекладу // Вісник Сумського держ. ун-ту. Серія “Філологічні науки”. – №3 (36). – 2002. – с.101–105; Черноватий Л. М., Карабан В. І., Іванко Ю. П. Переклад англомовної юридичної літератури. – Вінниця: Поділля-2000. – 2002; Черноватий Л. М., Ковальчук Н. М. Пригоди в ущелині Пенкадер: Посібник з вивчення англійських прийменників та фразових дієслів для студентів вищих закладів освіти. – Вінниця: Нова книга. – 2004; Радчук В. Що таке інтерпретація? // La Traduction au Seuil du XXIe Siecle: Histoire, Theorie, Methodologie. – Strasbourg-Florence-Grenade-Kyiv: Tempus-Tacis – 1997. – С. 39–53; Ребрій О. В. Перекладацький скоропис / За ред. Черноватого Л. М. та Карабана В. І. – Вінниця: Поділля-2000. – 2002; Shvachko S. In search of translators’ efficiency // Вісник Сумського держ. ун-ту. Серія “Філологічні науки”. – №4 (37). – 2002. – С. 189–194.

Передмова до підручника для навчання юристів-міжнародників

Посібник призначений для розвитку мовленнєвих навичок і умінь студентів старших курсів студентів юридичних спеціальностей, перекладацьких відділень факультетів іноземної філології вищих закладів освіти, а також тих, хто спеціалізується у галузі міжнародних відносин. Необхідність підготовки подібного підручника пояснюється змінами, що відбулися в житті нашої країни в останнє п'ятнадцятиріччя. Проголошення незалежності України поставило серйозні завдання щодо систематичного навчання майбутніх фахівців у згаданих вище галузях. Вивчення іноземних мов, особливо англійської, є невід'ємним компонентом такої освіти. Однак часто вивчення мови студентами, що спеціалізуються у відповідних галузях, ніяк не пов'язано з їхнім майбутнім фахом, бо навчання ведеться за підручниками, призначеними для загальної підготовки. Це призводить до того, що англійська мова, як навчальна дисципліна, випадає з комплексу предметів, що безпосередньо сприяють формуванню бази знань та умінь майбутніх працівників сфери міжнародних відносин. Таке становище не може задовольняти, адже потенційно вивчення іноземної мови мало б бути одним з головних інструментів створення такої бази. Саме виходячи з такої тези, виникла ідея створення підручника англійської мови, який не тільки забезпечив би формування мовленнєвих навичок та умінь, але й вніс би суттєвий вклад до формування фахових знань спеціаліста, який готується до праці в структурах Міністерства закордонних справ. За основу підручника було взято офіційне видання Міністерства закордонних справ України, яке є ідеальним з точки зору автентичності та точності інформації, засвоєння якої є бажаним для майбутніх працівників у галузі міжнародних відносин. Тексти офіційного видання доповнюються матеріалами, запозиченими із засобів масової інформації, які розширюють та показують приклади практичної реалізації положень, засвоєних під час роботи з текстами першої частини підручника.

Структурно робота складається з 15 уроків, а кожен урок, у свою чергу, розбивається на дві частини. Завданням першої частини є засвоєння певних понять, що входять до складу ключових для роботи в системі Міністерства закордонних справ України (структура Міністерства, призначення, завдання та зміст роботи кожного підрозділу тощо), а також вивчення певного корпусу термінологічних одиниць, засвоєння яких є необхідним для спілкування в межах понять, пов'язаних з цією

тематикою. Засвоєння термінології відбувається внаслідок виконання комплексу вправ, який включає кілька їхніх типів. Завданням дотекстових вправ (на розвиток ймовірнісного прогнозування, контекстуальної здогадки тощо) є попереднє засвоєння значень слів, з якими студенти потім зустрічаються в тексті. Метою текстових вправ є закріплення таких слів на рівні тексту, а також засвоєння системи базових понять, що входять до змісту відповідної ділянки роботи Міністерства. На післятекстовому етапі студенти навчаються застосовувати засвоєні поняття та терміни для вирішення нових мовленнєвих завдань, з використанням додаткової інформації, яка подається у публіцистичних текстах, тобто завданням цього етапу є розвиток мовленнєвих умінь.

Темпи проходження матеріалу залежать від рівня володіння англійською мовою студентами і можуть коливатися від чотирьох до восьми академічних годин на один урок.

Джерела текстів: М. Любківський. Дім на Михайлівській, з якого видно увесь світ. – Львів: Світло й тінь, 2002; газета *The Day* – 2001: n.14 – *Between Christians and Moslems*; 2003: n.40 – *Coming to Terms*; *New Posters Likely to Make Kharkiv Astir*; *Reading Notes*; 2004: n.2 – *Price of the Exchange Rate*; *Diplomatic Reconnaissance*; *Shadow of FATF*; n.4 – *Volodymyr and Yuri*; *Pyrrhic Victory*; *Europe's first Warning*; n.8 – *Gryzlov's Mission*; n.10 – *Comrade Reverse*; *A Special Partner*; *Barbed Wire on Transparent Border*; *Any Grounds for Euro-Optimism?*; n.12 – *Heroes of the Silver Land*; *Forging Mature Relationship*; *Why Do Ukrainian Officials Not Study European Law?* n.14 – *Istanbul View*; *Presenting the New Face of Russian Diplomacy*; *Confirming the Course*; *Lost in Simultaneity*; n.15 – *Khrushchev*; *Duma Does not Have to deliberate for Ukraine*; *Will SES be Economic Space?*; *Ukraine and NATO*.

UNIT 1

UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- 1. When did Ukrainian diplomacy start? What was the impact of Byzantine and Roman traditions upon the old Ukrainian diplomacy? What do you know about the Old Rus-Ukrainian State diplomacy? What were the main diplomatic achievements of Yaroslav the Wise? What do you know about dynastic marriages as a method of diplomacy? Can you give some examples of dynastic marriages? What do you know about the Ukrainian Sich diplomacy? What were Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's diplomatic achievements? What do you know about Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk as diplomats?**
- 2. You are going to read a text about the beginnings of Ukrainian diplomacy. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?**

Byzantium	United States	Poland	Ottoman Empire	France
Sweden	Hungary	German Empire	Transylvania	Norway
Emperor	President	Prince	Press Secretary	King
Hetman	Sultan	Tsar	Commissar	Envoy
Messenger	Cossack	Sacred League	Christian	Jewish
Sich	Europe	Asia	America	Moscovia
Latin	Turkish	English	Prosper Merime	Mark Twain

- 3. Read the text about the beginnings of Ukrainian diplomacy. Choose the most suitable heading from the list (A – F) to each part (0 – 5) of the article. There is one extra heading which you do not need to use. There is an example at the beginning.**

A.	A new chance	
B.	A new-generation leader	
C.	Tracing back to antique traditions	0
D.	Failed expectations	

E.	At the forefront of Christianity	
F.	Matrimonial diplomacy	

0. Foreign policy service of Ukraine has long and strong traditions based, first and foremost, on the diplomatic experience of Kyivska Rus'-Ukraine. At the same time, the cradle of Ukrainian diplomacy is much older. That is why one should apparently trace its roots to the turn of Byzantine and Roman traditions forming the basis of all modern European states.

PARAGRAPH	0	HEADLINE
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1. The Old Rus'-Ukrainian State maintained active contacts with Byzantium, the German Empire, Poland, Hungary, France and Scandinavian states. International ties became especially extensive under the rule of the son of Volodymyr Svyatoslavovych Prince Yaroslav (1019–1054), who was called by his descendants Yaroslav the Wise. He actively used a method of diplomacy widespread in the medieval times – dynastic marriages. Yaroslav's son, Vsevolod, married the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomakh. One of Yaroslav's daughters, Anna, was given in marriage to the French King Henry I. Another daughter, Yelyzaveta, became wife of the Norwegian King Harold the Severe, and the third one Ananastasia – of the Hungarian King Andrash I. Friendly relations with Poland were strengthened by the marriage of Yaroslav's sister Dobroniha with Kazimir, Prince of Krakow.

PARAGRAPH	1	HEADLINE
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2. Because of numerous historic collisions and mainly on account of the absence of own state, full-fledged development of the national diplomacy lacked continuity. After the decline and collapse of the Old Rus'-Ukrainian state, national diplomacy had a real chance during the Cossack era, however at that time it was not able to develop into a full-fledged diplomatic service, just as the free Cossack republic could not develop into a state.

PARAGRAPH	2	HEADLINE
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3. Having begun their formation in the second half of the 16th century, Ukrainian Cossacks gradually turned into the progenitor of Ukrainian statehood. In the early 17th century, Viys'ko Zaporiz'ke became a subject of international relations and an influential military and political factor in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. In 1594, the Cossacks concluded a treaty with representatives of the Christian union of states – the Sacred League – for a joint strug-

gle against the Ottoman Empire. For the first time in its history, Ukrainian Sich becomes a full-fledged participant of an international coalition.

PARAGRAPH	3	HEADLINE
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4. International contacts of the Cossacks were greatly intensified and expanded in connection with the coming to power and military victories of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who, according to Prosper Merime, “was fluent in Polish, Russian, Turkish and Latin, had a subtle and acute intellect, was patient and cunning.” At his residence in Pereyaslav, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi received envoys of the Transylvanian Prince Georgiy Rakotsi and messengers of the Ottoman sultan and the Moscow tsar. He conducted negotiations with Polish commissars and also established and developed relations with Sweden.

PARAGRAPH	4	HEADLINE
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5. However, the Hetman’s efforts, including diplomatic ones, were not enough to secure Ukraine’s independence. After Bohdan Khmelnytskyi the greatest contribution to the establishment and development of Ukrainian diplomacy was made by Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk. Ukrainian diplomacy will have its next chance only two centuries later...

PARAGRAPH	5	HEADLINE
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4. Find in the text the words meaning: зовнішньополітична служба України; дипломатичний досвід; витоки української дипломатії; шукати коріння; візантійська і римська традиції; сучасна європейська держава; давньоруська держава; підтримувати активні стосунки; розгалужені міжнародні відносини; в часи правління; нащадки; князь; в часи середньовіччя; активно використовувати; поширений метод здійснення дипломатії; укладання династичних шлюбів; імператор; король; дружина короля; дружні відносини; скріпити шлюбом; численні історичні колізії; відсутність власної держави; повноцінний розвиток національної дипломатії; бракувати; неперервність; занепад; розпад; реальний шанс; українська дипломатія; Козацька доба; розвинутися у повноцінну дипломатичну службу; вільна козацька республіка; розпочати власне формування; українське козацтво; поступово перетворюватися; носій української державності; Військо Запорізьке; суб’єкт міжнародних відносин; впливовий військово-політичний чинник; укладати договір; представник; християнський союз держав; Священна Ліга;

спільна боротьба; вперше за свою історію; повноправний учасник міжнародної коаліції; гетьман; вільно розмовляти; польська мова; турецька мова; латина; тонкий і проникливий розум; терплячий і хитрий; військові перемоги; міжнародні контакти; суттєво активізуватися; розширюватися; резиденція; приймати посланців; посланець султана; московський цар; вести переговори; польський комісар; налагодити і розвинути стосунки; дипломатичні зусилля; бути замало; забезпечити незалежність; зробити внесок; становлення і розвиток української дипломатії.

5. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 4.

1. Each country has a _____ to provide for international relations. 2. Ukraine's Foreign policy traditions are based on the _____ of Kyivska Rus'-Ukraine. 3. The _____ of Ukrainian diplomacy is quite old. 4. Ukrainian diplomacy can _____ deep into the past. 5. European diplomacy can be traced to _____ and _____ traditions. 6. Diplomacy of all _____ states is based upon antique traditions. 7. Ukraine is the direct descendent of the Old _____ State. 8. Ukraine strives to _____ contacts with all states of the world. 9. Ukraine has _____ ties with most European countries. 10. Ukraine suffered extensive human losses _____ of the Communists. 11. Old Rus'-Ukrainian State actively used different _____ in international relations. 12. Yaroslav-the-Wise actively used the _____ method of diplomacy in the _____ times – _____ marriages. 13. Yaroslav-the-Wise _____ friendly relations with many countries by giving his daughters in _____ to the rulers of those countries. 14. World history is full of numerous _____ between nations that resulted in armed conflicts. 15. Many Ukrainian problems had arisen from the _____ of own state. 16. The _____ development of the national diplomacy started much later. 17. Because of the absence of own state, Ukrainian diplomacy lacked _____. 18. All empires had lived through the period of _____ and _____. 19. Ukrainian diplomacy had little chance to develop into a full-fledged diplomatic _____ during the _____ era, because the free Cossack _____ had little chance to develop into a full-fledged _____. 20. Over decades the free Cossack republic had _____ turned

into the _____ of Ukrainian statehood.²¹ The free Cossack republic used to be a _____ of international relations. 22. Ukrainian Cossacks used to be an _____ military and political factor in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire. 23. The free Cossack republic concluded international _____ with _____ of European countries. 24. The _____ League was the _____ union of European states created for a joint struggle against the _____ Empire. 25. As early as the end of the 16th century, the free Cossack republic was a full-fledged _____ of an international _____. 26. At the end of the 16th century Ukrainian _____ acted as the subject of international _____ for the first _____ in its history. 27. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi _____ and _____ Ukrainian international contacts. 28. After Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi came to _____, Ukrainian Cossacks started gaining _____ victories. 29. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was _____ in several languages, had a _____ and _____ intellect, was _____ and _____. 30. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's _____ was in Pereyaslav. 31. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi received _____ and _____ of the rulers of foreign states: Transylvania, Ottoman Empire, Moscovia, etc. 32. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi established and _____ relations with foreign countries. 33. Polish _____, Ottoman _____, Transylvanian _____, Moscow _____, Swedish _____ conducted _____ with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. 34. In spite of all _____ efforts, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi failed to _____ Ukraine's independence. 35. Hetmans Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk made considerable _____ to the establishment and _____ of Ukrainian diplomacy.

6. The table below is used to render names of persons, geographical names and some other proper names from Ukrainian into English and from English into Ukrainian. Study the table and then proceed to the tasks.

Ukrainian	English	Ukrainian	English	Ukrainian	English	Ukrainian	English
Аа	Aa	З з	Zz	Нн	N n	Хх	Khkh
Б б	Bb	Ии	Yy	Оо	Oo	Цц	Tsts
В в	V/v	І і	I i	Пп	Pp	Чч	Ch/Tch ch/tch
Г г	Hh	Її	Yi/Ii/yi/ii	Рр	Rr	Шш	Shsh
Ґ ґ	Gg	Й й	Yy	Сс	Ss	Щщ	Shch shch
Д д	Dd	Кк	Kk	Т т	Tt	Ю ю	Yu yu
Е е	Ee	Л л	Ll	У у	Uu	Я я	Yaya
Є є	Ye ye	М м	M m	Ф ф	Ff	Ь	'
Ж ж	Zhzh						

Приклади (більшість прикладів запозичені з роботи І. В. Корунця – див. посилання у передмові):

/и/ як у: Бобрик **Bobryk**, Бровари **Brovary**, Микитенко **Mykytenko**
/і/ as і or yi. Після голосної вживайте і: Заїка **Zaika**, Українка **Ukrainka**;
на початку слова вживайте yi: Їжакевич **Yizhakevych**.

/й/ як у (на початку слова): Йосип **Yosyp**, як iy (after /i/): Андрій **Andriy**;
як yi (after /и/): Горовий **Horovyi**, Гулий **Hulyi**.

/я/, /ю/, /є/ як ya, yu, ye (особливо на початку слова: Яким **Yakym**) або
як ia, iu, ie: Забіяка **Zabiyaka/Zabiaka** (особливо наприкінці сло-
ва): Марія **Maria**, Югославія **Yugoslavia**, Малазія **Malasia**, але: Ке-
нія **Kenya**

/ь/ як /'/: Альвіна **Al'vina**, Луцьк **Luts'k**, Гринь **Hryn'**, Василь **VasyI'**.

/г/ як /h/: Гаврило **Havrylo**, Григiр **Hryhir**, Гакслі **Huxley**.

/Г/ як /g/: Грунтовий **Gruntovyi**

/х/ як /kh/: Хома **Khoma**, Химич **Khymych**, Харків **Kharkiv**.

/ж/ як /zh/: Жук **Zhuk**, Божій **Bozhiy**, Журавель, **Zhuravel'**.

/ч/ як /ch/ or /tch/: Ключко **Klochko/Klotchko**

/щ/ як /shch/: Щаденко **Shchadenko**, Безпощадний **Bezposhchadnyi**.

/в/ як /v/ Володимир **Volodymyr**, Вовчок **Vovchok**.

7. Render the following proper names into English. Use the table above where appropriate. Check the text if you have any problems.

А. Візантія, Германська імперія, Польща, Угорщина, Франція, скандинавські держави; Норвегія, Східна Європа; Південно-східна Європа; Османська імперія; Трансільванія; Швеція.

В. Краків; Переяслав; Січ.

С. Генріх, Єлизавета, Анастасія, Андраш, Доброніга, Ярослав Мудрий, Гаральд Суворий; Казимир, Богдан Хмельницький; Георгій Ракоці; Іван Мазепа; Пилип Орлик.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the text on the historical background of Ukrainian diplomacy to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

Ukrainian diplomacy history tracing back to antique traditions
Yaroslav-the-Wise and his dynastic-marriage diplomatic policy
The Cossack era
Ukrainian diplomacy under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi
Ukrainian diplomacy after Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Les' Kachovsky in *The Day* of April 10, 2001) and answer the following questions:

A. What was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's attitude toward the ideas of alliance with Turkey and the anti-Turkish coalition? Why? What diplomatic actions did he take?

B. What was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's successors' attitude toward the ideas of alliance with Turkey? Why? What diplomatic actions did they take?

C. What is your evaluation of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's and his successors' policy in general? What were its strong and weak sides?

Between Christians and Muslims

In the 16–17th next centuries, the Christian and Muslim worlds were in a constant state of war. Venice tried to form a union of Christian states against Turkey. But the Cossack War of 1648 delayed such an alliance for a long time.



The Cossack War against Poland-Lithuania in close alliance with the Tatar Khan Islam-Girey, helped Turkey to weaken Western Christendom. In 1649, Chyhyryn, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's Cossack capital, was visited by the Turkish sultan's envoys who tried to persuade him to become a subject of Turkey. The hetman refused. But he also declined a proposal by the Venetian ambassador to join the anti-Turkish coalition.

A year later the Cossacks renewed their talks with the Turks. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi even sent to them envoys. Very soon after, Chyhyryn received a messenger with a letter from the grand vizier reassuring Khmelnytskyi of support. The letter pleased the hetman, because he boasted the next day to have won the protection of Turkey.

In 1651, when it was clear another clash between the Cossack and Polish forces was inevitable, both sides began to prepare for a war. The sultan offered 20,000 janissaries to help, but the cautious Bohdan Khmelnytskyi declined this at first glance tempting offer.

On the eve of signing the Treaty of Bila Tserkva with the Poles, the hetman received a Turkish envoy only to tell him he no longer wished to

become the Sultan's subject but was relying on the Muscovite tsar who professed the same faith as he did. The hetman also came out against the Turkish option at the Pereyaslav Rada, "The Turkish Sultan is an infidel; it is common knowledge that the Orthodox suffer greatly in the lands under his power."



The turning point in the Turkey-Cossacks relationship came when Petro Doroshenko was elected hetman. In February 1666, the Great Rada supported Doroshenko's intention to overthrow the power of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the Cossack territory with Turkish help. Negotiations began with the Turkish *divan*. Khmel-

nytskyi's old idea of the Turkey's protectorate was on the agenda.

Doroshenko's contacts with Istanbul caused worry in Europe. Austria officially promised help to the Polish king in the fight against the Muslims and their henchman Doroshenko. The worried Jan-Kazimierz decided to call on the Moscow tsar to conclude an armistice, and launch hostilities against the common enemy.

It was not for the first time that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth put forward such projects. In 1649, after signing the Treaty of Zboriv under pressure of the Tatar Khan, the Polish king offered Moscow a military alliance, but the tsar declined the proposal. Similar talks were then held almost uninterruptedly from 1662 on, to reach a deadlock each time. In 1667 Moscow became much more flexible and signed a truce for thirteen and a half years. Not to waste time on border delimitation, the two sides agreed that the Muscovite tsar would exercise control over Left Bank Ukraine and, for two years, Kyiv. The "liberated" Zaporozhzhian Sich was to be under joint jurisdiction of the two sides, although in practice it also fell under Moscow's rule. The truce negotiations were conducted without Ukrainian representatives, although the questions under discussion primarily related to it.

In 1667 Doroshenko with 24,000 Cossacks, several scores of thousands of Tatars, and a sizable corps of Turkish janissaries, launched an offensive against the Polish. This threat forced Muscovy and the Commonwealth to sign the Allied Resolution whereby the two countries took an official commitment to carry out joint actions against Turkey and the Crimea. The signing



triggered a negative reaction among the Cossacks, while Hetman Doroshenko even suffered a heart attack. Yet, he must have understood that the two mighty states would not turn a blind eye to his cultivating the infidels. Moreover, Cossack hetmans were often considered in Moscow and

Warsaw as tools of the Crimean khan. In 1667 Moscow and Warsaw concluded their Allied Resolution. It seemed as if Ukraine's two hetmans — Petro Doroshenko and especially the Left Bank ruler Ivan Briukhovetskyi — would join the anti-Muslim alliance, but both Cossack leaders rushed for a Turkish protectorate. In January 1668 Doroshenko convened a council of his senior officer corps. The Cossack elite supported his idea, and the Right Bank Hetman entered into negotiations with Turkish emissaries. The Turks promised assistance in conquering the other side of the Dnipro.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the historical background of Ukrainian diplomacy.



UNIT 2

THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC PERIOD

1. What do you know about the Ukrainian People's Republic? When did it start and how long did it exist? What was the function of Tsentralna Rada? Tsentralna Rada issued Universals: What were they? How many Universals were there? What were they about? What do you know about the General Secretariat? Which of the two – Tsentralna Rada or the General Secretariat – was the legislative or the executive body of the country? What were the functions of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs? When was it formed? What were its first actions and aims? Which countries were the first ones the Ukrainian People's Republic established diplomatic relations with? What were the first international negotiations a Ukrainian delegation took part in?

2. You are going to read a text about the beginnings of Ukrainian diplomacy during the Ukrainian People's Republic period. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

full-fledged	framework	approve	settlement	consular
proclamation	predecessor	government	disagreement	mission
creation	entity	duties	impetus	regulations
legislative body	foreign policy	conduct of affairs	independent	diplomatic staff
executive body	existence	protection	sovereign	representative
authorities	sign	citizens	self-determining	negotiations
establishment	draft law	borders	network	peace treaty

3. You are going to read a text about the beginnings of Ukrainian diplomacy during the Ukrainian People’s Republic period. 7 paragraphs have been removed from the article. Choose from the paragraphs (A – I) the one that fits each gap (0 – 6). There is an example at the beginning (0).

A	functioned in accordance with state laws and regulations	
B	provisional settlement of national disagreements	
C	established relations with the Entente countries	
D	as a full-fledged state structure	0
E	participated in peace negotiations	
F	impetus for further development	
G	provided for the establishment of an executive body	

0. Formation and establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine _____ is connected with the proclamation of the First Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada (Central Council) on 10 June 1917 and the creation of the Ukrainian People’s Republic.

0	Paragraph:	D
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1. The process of formation of legislative and executive authorities had its origins in the Second Universal, which was proclaimed by the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada on 16 July 1917 and _____, known as the General Secretariat. From the very first days of its existence, a Secretariat for International Affairs began functioning within the framework of the General Secretariat. The Secretariat for International Affairs became the predecessor of the first Ukrainian foreign policy entity of the 20th century. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the Head of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, proclaimed by the Third Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada, and Oleksandr Shulhyn, the Secretary General for International Affairs, signed a “Draft Law on the Establishment of the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs” on 22 December 1917, which on that very day was approved at the meeting of the Government of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR).

1	Paragraph:	
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2. In accordance with the approved document, the duties of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs were determined as “conducting state foreign affairs, pro-

tection of interests of Ukrainian citizens beyond the borders of the UPR, and general and _____ within the UPR”.

2 Paragraph:

3. A significant _____ of Ukrainian foreign policy service became the Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada. Made public on 12 January 1918, it proclaimed the UPR an “independent, self-determining, free, sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.”

3 Paragraph:

4. It was at this time that active work began on setting up a network of diplomatic and consular missions, which _____ of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (later – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). At the same time, efforts were under way to lay the legal foundation for diplomatic activity (in the spring of 1918, the staff of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry drafted a Law “On the UPR’s Foreign Missions”), and to train diplomatic staff.

4 Paragraph:

5. Further establishment of contacts with the countries of the world was initiated during that period. In particular, in December 1917 the Ukrainian Government _____ by receiving representatives of France (“General Commissioner of France to the Government of Ukraine”) and Great Britain (“Representative of Great Britain”).

5 Paragraph:

6. In late December 1917, Ukrainian delegation _____ in Brest, where the first peace treaty of World War was signed on 27 January 1918.

6 Paragraph:

4. Read the text again and mark the following statements as true (T), false (F) or not stated (NS). The first one has been done for you.

	T	F	NS
1. The creation of the Ukrainian People’s Republic led to the establishment of diplomatic service in Ukraine.	•		

2. The first Universal started the formation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.			
3. The Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was completely independent from the General Secretariat.			
4. The Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada functioned as the Ukrainian Parliament.			
5. The General Secretariat functioned as the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.			
6. The Head of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Secretary General for Foreign Affairs had the right to adopt laws on their own.			
7. The Ukrainian People's Republic did not have a formal government.			
8. The Ukrainian People's Republic did not have its own Armed Forces.			
9. The duties of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs were limited to conducting international negotiations on peace treaties.			
10. Until the proclamation of the Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada Ukraine had not been a completely independent state.			
11. Active diplomatic and consular work had not begun until the proclamation of the Third Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada.			
12. Foreign diplomatic representatives had not come to Ukraine until the spring of 1918.			
13. The first peace treaty of World War I was signed with the participation of Ukrainian diplomats.			

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Міністерство закордонних справ України; 2. створення і становлення; 3. Повноцінна державна структура; 4. проголошення Універсалу; 5. Українська Центральна Рада; 6. Українська Народна Республіка; 7. органи законодавчої і виконавчої гілок влади; 8. процес формування; 9. знайти своє оформлення; 10. Генеральний Секретаріат; 11. Генеральне секретарство з міжнаціональних справ; 12. прообраз; 13. зо-

внiшньополiтичне вiдомство; 14. Голова Генерального Секретарiату; 15. Генеральний секретар з мiжнацiональних справ; 16. законопроект; 17. Генеральне секретарство мiжнародних справ; 18. схвалювати законопроект; 19. засiдання уряду; 20. схвалений документ; 21. визначати обов'язки; 22. здiйснення мiжнародних зносин держави; 23. охорона iнтересiв українських громадян поза межами країни; 24. загальне влаштування нацiональних непорозумiнь в межах країни; 25. важливий iмпульс; 26. подальший розвиток; 27. самостiйна, незалежна, вiльна, суверенна держава; 28. активна робота; 29. мережа; 30. дипломатично-консульська установа; 31. регулюватися державними законами; 32. нормативнi документи; 33. формування вiдповiдної правової бази; 34. дипломатична дiяльнiсть; 35. спiвробiтники українського МЗС; 36. пiдготувати проект закону; 37. закордоннi установи; 38. пiдготовка дипломатичних кадрiв; 39. за час дiяльностi; 40. налагодження контактiв з державами; 41. зв'язки з країнами Антанти; 42. Представник; 43. Генеральний комiсар Францiї при урядi України; 44. Представник Великої Британiї; 45. українська делегацiя; 46. брати участь; 47. мирнi переговори; 48. пiдписати угоду; 49. мирний договiр; 50. свiтова вiйна.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The Ministry of _____ Affairs of Ukraine is an important instrument of foreign policy. 2. The _____ of the Ministry was a serious step in the history of the Ukrainian state. 3. The _____ of diplomatic services was not an easy task. 4. Today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is a _____ state structure. 5. The _____ of the First Universal of Tsentralna Rada happened in June 1917. 6. The First Universal of Tsentralna Rada resulted in the _____ of the Ukrainian People's Republic. 7. The Second Universal resulted in the formation of _____ and _____ authorities. 8. Specifically the Second Universal established an executive body – the General _____. 9. The Secretariat for Foreign _____ was part of the General Secretariat. 10. The Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was the _____ of the first Ukrainian foreign policy _____. 11. Volodymyr Vynnychenko was the _____ of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People's Republic. 12. Oleksandr Shulhyn was the first Secretary _____ for Foreign Affairs. 13. The ministers signed a _____ law, and

the Parliament _____ it. 14. In accordance with the _____ law, the Ministry started its work. 15. The duties of the Secretariat for International Affairs included _____ state foreign affairs. 16. The protection of _____ of Ukrainian citizens beyond the borders of the state was also the responsibility of the Secretariat for International Affairs. 17. In addition, the Secretariat for International Affairs had a provisional duty of _____ of national disagreements within the country. 18. The Forth Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada was a serious _____ for further development of Ukrainian foreign _____ service. 19. The Fourth Universal was _____ public in early 1918. 20. The Fourth Universal proclaimed _____, self-determining, free, _____ state of Ukraine. 21. A _____ of diplomatic and _____ missions started developing in 1918. 22. Diplomatic and consular missions worked in accordance with state _____ and _____ of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. 23. It was necessary to lay the legal _____ for diplomatic activity. 24. Laws on the Foreign Missions were drafted by the _____ of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in 1918. 25. It was also decided to train _____ staff. 26. The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry _____ further _____ of contacts with the countries of the world. 27. The Ukrainian Government established _____ with the Entente countries. 28. The _____ of France was called General _____ of France to the Government of Ukraine, while the _____ of Great Britain was just _____ of Great Britain. 29. The young Ukrainian diplomacy managed to take part in international peace _____ at the end of 1917. 30. The Ukrainian delegation was among those who signed the first _____ treaty of World War I.

7. Render the following proper names and realia into English.

1. Універсал Української Центральної Ради;
2. Українська Народна Республіка;
3. Генеральний Секретаріат;
4. Голова Генерального Секретаріату Української Народної Республіки;
5. Генеральний секретар з міжнародних справ;
6. Генеральне секретарство міжнародних справ;
7. Уряд Української Народної Республіки;
8. Міністерство закордонних справ;
9. Антанта;
10. Генеральний комісар Франції при уряді України;
11. Представник Великої Британії;
12. Володимир Винниченко;
13. Олександр Шульгин.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the text on the beginnings of Ukrainian diplomacy during the Ukrainian People's Republic period to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

0. The First Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada and the establishment of the Ukrainian diplomatic service
1. The Second Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada and the establishment of the Secretariat for International Affairs and, later, the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs
2. The duties of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs
3. The Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada and the proclamation of independence.
4. The beginning of active work on the development of the Ukrainian diplomatic service
5. Further establishment of international contacts
6. The first international negotiations

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Volodymyr PANCHENKO in *The Day* of February 3, 2004) and answer the following questions: What diplomatic, political and military methods were used by the Soviet Russia to install puppet regimes in the neighbouring countries? Why did the Ukrainian People's Republic turn out to be unable to defend itself? What were the most serious diplomatic, political and military mistakes made by the Ukrainian Tsentralna Rada? What diplomatic, political and military measures should have been taken to avoid the collapse of the Ukrainian People's Republic?

Volodymyr and Yuriy, Two Hypostases of Tragedy

People my age never heard (and could not have heard) about it when studying at school. They never read young Pavlo Tychyna's poem *Pamyati Trydtsiaty* (In Memory of Thirty [Martyrs]) with these lines:

*They were buried at the Grave of Askold,
Thirty Ukrainian martyrs,
Young and courageous men.
The best sons of Ukraine
Were buried at the Grave of Askold.
We will have to step into this world,
Following a blood-covered path.*

Contemporary school students learn that 86 years ago some 600 young defenders of the Ukrainian National Republic engaged 4,000 Bolshevik troops at the railroad station of Kruty, in a brave but futile attempt to stop their advance on Kyiv (reads an entry in the *Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva* [Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies]), Half of them from the company made up of the Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Youth School, *Studentsky Striletsky Kurin* [Student Sharpshooters Company], and Haidamaky Detachment were killed.

Among those that sacrificed their lives in the Battle of Kruty was Volodymyr Shulhyn, 23 year-old student at Kyiv University's physics and mathematics department. Among the Bolshevik troops bringing from the north the red star of socialism to Ukraine at the tips of their bayonets was 21-year-old Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi, son of the great Ukrainian writer. Of almost the same age, they had never met and found themselves at Kruty on the different sides of the barricade. This confrontation symbolized the tragedy of a split and ravaged Ukraine when its inner sharp political differences (as often happens in history) were used by a third party.

Shulhyn came from a noted family. His father Yakiv Shulhyn was a member of the Old Hromada, author of several precious historical papers. The tsarist government would eventually exile him to Siberia. Volodymyr's elder brother Oleksandr would become foreign minister in Vynnychenko's cabinet. Volodymyr was destined to end his life at Kruty. He could have become a scientist. While at the gymnasium [high school], he had developed a fancy for archaeology and with his friend Levko Chykalenko would spend every summer at diggings. *Zoloty Homin* [The Golden Voice] of 1917 in Kyiv, the tidal wave of national awakening swept him under and carried him on its crest. The more so that the Ukrainian People's Republic was born under democratic slogans and against the background of social rejuvenation. And so when Bolshevik forces began to advance on Kyiv Volodymyr Shulhyn could be seen drilling in the ranks of the Support Student Company. UPR was getting prepared to defend itself.

However, it was unable to do so. It did not even form a strong army (either because there was no time or because it lacked the desire). In the end, several hundred poorly trained and equipped students were massacred in the Battle of Kruty. The Bolsheviks opened artillery fire on Kyiv January 31, 1918. Shells were flying from Darnytsia and exploding in Pechersk and near St. Sophia Square. M.M. Mohylianskyi, one of the participants, counted some 7,000 artillery shells fired in 17 hours, since 07:00 a.m. till 01:00 a.m., meaning 5–6 shots a minute. This lasted nine days.

On the next day of storming Kyiv, Yuriy Kotsiubynsky, people's secretary of the Soviet Ukrainian government, was appointed commander-in-chief of the republic's army, on Lenin's recommendation. What kind of troops did that yesterday's ensign of the tsarist army have under his command? How did he get to Kruty?

In the summer of 1916 (precisely when the student Volodymyr Shulhyn was digging Paleolithic strata in the province of Chernihiv), Yuriy Kotsiubynsky, fresh from the high school of Chernihiv, was drafted into the tsarist army. He spent several months training in the Odesa school for ensigns. In February 1917, he refused to swear allegiance to the Provisional Government, but was promoted ensign nevertheless, whereupon he was sent to serve in Petrograd. Yuriy found himself in Ukraine after the October Bolshevik coup (in which he had also taken part as a member of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party [RSDRP] since 1913; on the night of storming the Winter Palace, he and a detachment of Baltic seamen stood guard of the bridge where the cruiser *Aurora* was to cast anchor). He was generally instructed to organize Red Army units. His latest post in Petrograd was that of deputy chief commissar of military training institutions of the Russian Soviet Republic.

On the last days of 1917, Yuriy was summoned by Yakov Sverdlov, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, Secretary of the RSDRP Central Committee who entrusted him with a special mission that called for an immediate trip to Ukraine. Shortly before their meeting a Soviet government of Ukraine had suddenly materialized in Kharkiv, signifying the beginning of a regime enforcement scenario that would be repeatedly played out by the Soviet Union in Finland, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan.

As it was, Lenin, Sverdlov, et al., had decided it was time to establish Bolshevik rule in Ukraine. To do so, the first act of the scenario provided for stimulating inner instability in that territory, setting up and backing an opposition, actually implementing the age-old divide-and-rule principle. Local Bolsheviks were Soviet Russia's key ally in Ukraine, in late 1917. There were also changing moods of the mob to take into account, the more so that Bolshevik propagandists knew how deal with the masses, relying on Lenin's powerfully arresting motto 'Rob the robbers'! All told, efforts were to be made to incite chaos and anarchy. RSDRP did not have a sufficiently strong footing in Ukraine at the end of 1917. Yevheniya Bosh, one of the Bolshevik leaders in Kyiv, recalled later that after the February revolution

their city party organization numbered only 200 members, mostly relying on “revolutionary tailors” (sic). At the time, political power in Ukraine was in the hands of the Central Rada, and the latter was actually a coalition body of state administration. The Bolsheviks regarded it as bourgeois and counter-revolutionary (and this considering that its leadership included Hrushevskyy and Vynnychenko who signed decrees on democratic elections, socialization of the land, and equal rights for all ethnic groups). Their logic was simple; if one was not a Bolshevik, one was the enemy. So they demanded convocation of the first all-Ukraine congress of Soviets. However, when it was called to order, the RSDRP discovered it did not have the votes. Chagrined, the Bolsheviks left and held their own convention in Kharkiv, electing that Soviet government of Ukraine. All this was done with Petrograd’s knowledge and consent, of course. Thus the second act of the scenario was enacted, setting up a puppet government. There were few people with Ukrainian names in it, so Yuriy Kotsiubynskyy was a godsend to Yakov Sverdlov.

There are several very interesting aspects. Yevheniya Bosh says that when the Kyiv Bolsheviks arrived in Kharkiv their local comrades in arms refused to recognize them, busy with the idea of setting up the Republic of Donetsk and Kryvy Rih that would be independent of both Russia and Ukraine, so they were anything but happy to see the guests from Kyiv about to proclaim a Soviet administration. The visitors were treated in a very humiliating manner. Yevheniya Bosh and her comrades were offered accommodations in vacant cells at the city jail. In her own words, it was “a dormitory of the members of the first Soviet government.” Nor were the Kyiv guests provided premises for the sittings, so they had to use audiences when they were vacated at night.

The new government met with an even more unpleasant surprise when the Council of People’s Commissars (CPC) sent an ultimatum to the Central Rada without consulting the Kyiv RSDRP (B). The document was actually a declaration of war on the UPR. The Kyiv Bolsheviks were prepared for this and they did not have a considerable influence on the masses. Worse so, the ultimatum made even those showing a cool attitude to the Rada its accomplices.

Revolutionary troops under Antonov-Ovseyenko’s command were advancing on Kyiv, so the local Soviet government could only bring up the rear with the appropriate degree of enthusiasm.

The CPC's attitude toward the Central Rada and UPR as such was expressly hypocritical and treacherous. On the one hand, Soviet Russia could not act against its own motto reading that all nations had the right to self-determination (the Bolsheviks had needed it to hasten the end of the Russian empire), but on the other, they wanted to make a world revolution as soon as possible, primarily on the ruins of tsarist Russia. Therefore, CPC and its Chairman Vladimir Lenin decided to recognize the UPR but make sure that the power was in the hands of the workers and peasants, the way it allegedly was in Petrograd, meaning that Ukraine would have to do as told by Russia, and Petrograd would then take care of its self-determination. A case study in Bolshevik mentality that would work the same way in 1920, when Budionnyi's cavalry troops were on their way to Poland with Feliks [Dzerzhinsky] on the wagon train as the new Polish ruler; in 1939, when Otto Kuusinen was planned by the Soviets as the new leader of conquered Finland; in 1956, when Hungary was forced to fall in love with Janos Kadar. Or consider what happened to Gustav Husak, Edward Gierek, Muhammed Nadzhibulla.

Lest I be accused of bias, below are testimonies by two of Yevheniya Bosh's comrades. Serhiy Mazlakh: "The Central Executive Committee of Ukraine sat in Kharkiv, but its influence was never felt." Volodymyr Zatonsky: "The Russian Republic had to assist the Sovietization of Ukraine (in 1918) with military force." Military force, armed intervention — these are components of the third act in the lasting scenario.

Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi was to act as a Ukrainian Nadzhibulla. However, at 21, the young man (incidentally, Yevheniya Bush's future son-in-law) must have felt happy. He believed in his being involved in a great worldwide revolution destined to finally establish social justice. He believed that the Central Rada he was to fight was indeed bourgeois and counterrevolutionary, meaning that it defended hateful capitalism. He believed that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic would emerge from the ruins of the old world order and would flourish, meaning that all sacrifices made for its sake were divinely justifiable; just as all sacrifices on the other side were the inevitable payment for the coming commune. He had stayed away from Ukraine for a long time and did not know how it actually lived and what it needed; he could not have imagined that Volodymyr Shulhyn, almost his age, also wanted a free and democratic Ukraine, but without a dictatorship, terror, and civil war. Shulhyn and others like him could not be blamed for the Central Rada and its General Secretariat being engrossed in endless discussions, inadvertently creating the prerequisites for the Bolshevikization of the masses.

And then the Bolsheviks were in Kyiv. Shulhyn was shot and his body remained in the frozen earth at Kruty for almost two months. Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi was the Red commander in chief, although everyone knew that Kyiv had been taken by the troops of Remniiov and Muravioiv, formed using men from various units of the tsarist army siding with the Soviets, also detachments of seamen and Red Army men. The Soviet government [of Ukraine] did not have an army of its own; all it had managed was issue a decree on the formation of Red Cossacks (to be placed under the command of Yuriy's friend from Chernihiv Vitaliy Prymakov). All contemporaries, political affiliation notwithstanding, testify that three weeks after the Bolshevik had entered Kyiv were a period of formidable "Red terror." They compare what happened in Kyiv at the time to Batu Khan's onslaught.

At a time when people would be shot for speaking Ukrainian (Petliura's language) or for wearing embroidered (nationalistic) *sorochka* shirts, for having a portrait of Shevchenko in the sitting room, Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi may have sensed for the first time that something was wrong. Those acting on his behalf demonstrated complete disregard of his nation, treating everything Ukrainian with great power superiority. What kind of Ukraine, even Soviet one, could one expect from them? The young man must have felt insulted deep inside, considering that he came from a Ukrainian intellectual family. One of his father's friends, writer Serhiy Yefremov, addressed an open letter to Yuriy on the pages of the newspaper *Nova Rada* (and the young man must have read it): "For ten days this city with a million residents, among them innocent and defenseless children, women, and other civilians has been dying of mortal fear. I used to know your father and was very fond of him... Yet I say without hesitation that the man is very lucky to be dead; fortunately, he cannot see or hear his son [Yuriy] Kotsiubynskyi firing artillery shells at this gem of our beautiful land, killing our young Ukrainian freedom!"

Yuriy was too young, his soul too pure and not as yet calloused, to read these words without remorse. However, man can be blindfolded by what he believes is the supreme idea. With people like him (Mykola Khvyliovi described them as "young fanatics of the commune") such obsession turned into the naive belief that the idea of socialism and shining future for the Red Ukraine was worth thousands of human lives. It was a horrible delusion, marking the beginning of the tragedy of that generation of Ukrainian intellectuals, ranging from Mykola Skrypnyk to Volodymyr Zatonskyi to Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi to Mykola Kulish to Mykola Khvyliovi.

I mean a generation of young Ukrainian revolutionaries, national communists that dreamed of achieving national liberation through a social revolution. Their worst mistake was that they realized too late that their Russian Bolshevik ally was afflicted with the mortal disease of great power chauvinism and centralism getting increasingly severe and monstrous. In addition, the machine of class struggle activated in 1917 required an increasing number of victims. After proving a civil war, the Bolsheviks were unable (maybe unwilling) to stop it. The civil war went on and the Moloch of terror was now devouring his creators.

Time had to come when each of them would be terrified to become aware of his involvement in and with that great evil. Skrypnyk and Khvyliovyi each shot himself. Others back in the 1930s did not understand what was happening. Yuriy Kotsiubynskyi was eventually relieved of all his important governmental posts. He went to Moscow to restore justice and was arrested February 12, 1935, when the Kotsiubynskyis were celebrated their son Oleh's birthday. Preparing for a long trip, Yuriy put on a Ukrainian embroidered sorochka. Had he forgotten that his comrades had shot people for doing so in February 1918?

What happened afterward is generally known. Siberia, then the Lukianivka Penitentiary in Kyiv. Back in 1918, the Shulhyns had lived at 9 Monastyrська St., a short walk from where Yuriy was now imprisoned. There are eyewitness accounts about Yuriy Kotsiubynsky looking confused and forlorn in prison. Then came that night in spring when he was taken out of his cell for the last time in his life. Did he recall that first combat on his native Ukrainian soil, at Kruty, on the road to his Calvary? No one knows

10. Write a 300-word essay on the diplomatic and political lessons of the Ukrainian People's Republic period for contemporary Ukraine.

UNIT 3

THE HETMAN, THE DIRECTORY AND THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC PERIOD



1A. What do you know about Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi? When did his rule start and how long did it last? What were the main directions of the Ukrainian foreign policy during this period? How many countries did Ukraine send its diplomatic missions to? How many foreign diplomatic missions did it have in Ukraine? What were the relations of Ukraine with Russia? Were there any talks between the two states? What about? Where? When? Who headed the delegations? What practical steps were there to improve the legal base and expertise of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine?

1B. What do you know about the Directory in Ukraine? When did it start and how long did it last? What were the countries Ukraine established diplomatic relations with during this period? What were the international negotiations a Ukrainian delegation took part in during this period? What were the innovations introduced into the diplomatic service under the Directory? What were its diplomatic achievements?

1C. What do you know about the Western Ukrainian People's Republic? When did it start and how long did it last? What was its capital? What were the main directions of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic foreign policy? What were its relations with the Ukrainian People's Republic? Did Western Ukrainian People's Republic send its diplomatic missions to any countries? Did it take part in any international negotiations?

2. You are going to read a text about the Ukrainian diplomacy during the the Hetman, the Directory and the Western Ukrainian People's Re-

public period. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

come to power	steady expansion	temporary	broaden	consular function
friendly relations	witness	succeed	preserve	POW
Quadruple Union	consular staff	structure	embassies	medical services
territorial disputes	diplomatic missions	neighboring states	educational institution	diplomatic contacts
neutral states	plenipotentiary	pass a law	special delegation	publishing
legal base	peace talks	consular service	gain recognition	ambassador
foreign countries	negotiations	training	information	meetings
customary	armed revolt	take power	basic law	independence
empire	Dnipro	Entente	aspiration	mutual
historic	unification	single state	proclaim	expatriate

3. You are going to read three short texts on the Ukrainian diplomacy under Hetman Skoropadskiy, the Directory and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic. For questions 1–14 choose from texts A–C. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

A. During the Hetman Skoropadskiy Period

When: B. During The Directory Period

C. During The Western Ukrainian People’s Republic Period

did the national foreign service continue to develop?	0	A B C
did Ukrainian diplomats manage to get what they wanted at the expense of others	1	
were contacts with religious authorities established?	2	
did a particular expansion of Ukrainian diplomatic contacts happen?	3	
did the national foreign policy have three main elements?	4	
were diplomatic relations with American countries established?	5	
were Ukrainian diplomats concerned about the consequences of the war?	6	
did Ukrainian diplomats pay a lot of attention to the informational function?	7	
were there twice as many diplomatic representatives of other states in Ukraine than Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad?	8	

was a lot of attention paid to the legal aspects of diplomatic activity?	9
was a lot of attention paid to the integration issues?	10
did an official delegation serve as a temporary diplomatic mission as well	11
did a separate delegation cooperate with another delegation during the talks?	12
was a lot of attention paid to the issue of state borders?	13
were peace talks held?	14
was a lot of care taken about the contacts with former Ukrainian citizens?	15
did the the national foreign policy have two main elements?	16
was the diplomatic staff education introduced?	17
did Ukrainian diplomats organize a steady exchange of professional information?	18
was force used to gain the power?	19
did Ukrainian diplomats organize health and professional services abroad?	20

A

With the coming to power on 28 April 1918 of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the Hetman of the Ukrainian State, the Ukrainian Government continued to develop the national foreign service.

Three main directions of foreign policy of the Ukrainian State were defined: “establishment of friendly relations with the countries of the Quadruple Union; settlement of territorial disputes with the neighboring countries; and establishment of diplomatic relations with neutral states”.

The period of the Hetman government witnessed a steady expansion of diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Thus, the Ukrainian State sent its diplomatic missions to Romania, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden (a total of 10 states), and received more than twenty plenipotentiary representatives of other states (Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, Georgia, Germany, Turkey, Poland, Romania, Finland and others).

The Government of the Ukrainian State also formed a separate delegation for peace talks with Russia. The negotiations with the Russian delegation took place in Kyiv in May-October 1918. The delegation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, headed by Christian Rakovsky and

Dmytro Manuilsky, also served as a temporary diplomatic mission to the Ukrainian State.

When Dmytro Doroshenko succeeded Mykola Vasylenko as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State, several important steps were taken to improve the structure of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry and legal base for foreign policy activities. “The Law on Embassies and Missions of the Ukrainian State” was passed in June 1918, and “The Law on Ukrainian Consular Service” was passed in July 1918. First national Consular School started its work under the Hetman government. It was created as an educational institution for training diplomatic and consular staff for the state.

B.

When the Second Republican Government (the Directory) was created in December 1918, diplomatic contacts of the previous Ukrainian governments were preserved to a considerable extent, and sometimes even broadened.

In particular, the Directory, whose first Foreign Minister was Volodymyr Chekhivsky, sent its diplomatic missions to Belgium, United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, and the USA. Its embassies were opened in Estonia, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Under the Directory, the Ukrainian State was represented in the Vatican. A delegation of the UPR participated in Paris Peace Conference, at the same time serving as a temporary diplomatic mission of Ukraine to France.

The main activities of Ukrainian diplomatic missions and special delegations of the UPR were aimed at gaining recognition of Ukraine and enlisting international support in its nation-building aspirations. Diplomatic missions of the UPR conducted broad information and publishing work, as well as performed basic consular functions. Return of Ukrainian POWs was organized in countries where they were held; the missions in Berlin, Vienna and Rome included military and medical services for POWs.

Conducting meetings of ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions became customary under the Directory, with the most important of them held in Carlsbad in 1919 and in Vienna in 1920.

C.

Foreign policy activity of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) became an important page of the history of Ukrainian diplomacy.

As a result of an armed revolt, the National Council took power in L'viv on 1 November 1918. On 13 November, it adopted the Temporary Basic Law on the Independence of Ukrainian Lands Previously Part of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Establishment of an Independent State.

The WUPR's foreign policy activity mostly consisted of two key directions: relations with "Dnipro Ukraine", i.e. the Ukrainian People's Republic, and the Entente states.

Being guided by mutual aspiration for historic unification of Ukrainian lands into a single state, representatives of both governments publicly proclaimed the Act of Unification of the UPR and WUPR on 22 January 1919.

The government of the WUPR established broad diplomatic contacts, having opened its own missions in Austria, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Special missions were sent to the countries where a considerable number of Ukrainian expatriates lived, i.e. to Canada, the USA and Brazil.

In July 1919 the government of the WUPR sent a separate delegation to Paris Peace Talks, where the WUPR representatives worked together with diplomatic mission of the UPR.

4. Go back to exercises 1A, 1B, 1C. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

A. 1. прихід до влади; 2. розбудова вітчизняної зовнішньополітичної служби; 3. основні напрями зовнішньої політики; 4. український уряд; 5. встановлення дружніх відносин; 6. країни Четвертого Союзу; 7. вирішення спірних територіальних проблем; 8. сусідні держави; 9. дипломатичні відносини; 10. нейтральні держави; 11. діяльність Гетьманського уряду; 12. розширити коло країн; 13. встановити дипломатичні відносини; 14. започаткувати роботу дипломатичних місій; 15. повноважний представник;

16. формувати окрему делегацію; 17. мирні переговори; 18. очолювати делегацію; 19. виконувати функції; 20. тимчасове дипломатичне представництво; 21. Міністр закордонних справ; 22. змінювати на посаді; 23. здійснювати ряд важливих кроків; 24. вдосконалення структури українського МЗС; 25. вдосконалення законодавчої бази зовнішньополітичної діяльності; 26. приймати закон; 27. Закон про посольства і місії Української Держави; 28. Закон про українську консульську службу; 29. за період Гетьманського уряду; 30. розпочинати діяльність; 31. перші вітчизняні Консульські курси; 32. навчальний заклад; 33. підготовка дипломатичних і консульських фахівців.

В. 1. створення республіканського уряду; 2. Директорія; 3. значною мірою; 4. попередні українські уряди; 5. зберігати та розширювати дипломатичні контакти; 6. направляти дипломатичні місії; 7. відкривати посольства; 8. бути представленим; 9. Паризька мирна конференція; 10. брати участь; 11. виконувати функції; 12. тимчасове дипломатичне представництво; 13. основна діяльність; 14. українське дипломатичне представництво; 15. спеціальна делегація УНР; 16. бути спрямованим на; 17. забезпечити визнання України; 18. заручитися міжнародною підтримкою; 19. державницькі прагнення; 20. дипломатичні установи; 21. здійснювати широку інформаційну та видавничу діяльність; 22. виконувати основні консульські функції; 23. військовополонений; 24. повернення на Батьківщину; 25. утримувати військовополонених; 26. військово-санітарні місії; 27. за часів Директорії; 28. ввійти до практики української зовнішньополітичної служби; 29. проведення з'їздів послів і глав дипломатичних місій.

С. 1. невід'ємна сторінка історії української дипломатії; 2. зовнішньополітична діяльність; 3. збройне повстання; 4. Національна Рада; 5. прийти до влади; 6. Тимчасовий Основний Закон; 7. прийняти конституцію; 8. самостійність українських земель; 9. колишній; 10. утворення самостійної держави; 11. зводиться до двох ключових напрямів; 12. відносини з державами; 13. спільне прагнення; 14. історичне об'єднання; 15. соборна держава; 16. керуватися; 17. представники обох урядів; 18. привселюдно; 19. проголосити Акт злуки; 20. налагодити широкі дипломатичні контакти; 21. відкрити власні представництва; 22. спеціальна місія; 23. значна кількість української еміграції; 24. відрядити окрему делегацію; 25. мирні переговори; 26. взаємодіяти з дипломатичною місією.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

A. 1. Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi came to _____ in the spring of 1918. 2. All countries make efforts to develop their national _____ service. 3. It is reasonable to define the main _____ of the country's foreign policy. 4. The general aim of diplomacy is the _____ of friendly relations with the countries of the world. 5. In the relations with the neighboring _____ it is often necessary to settle territorial _____. 6. We are witnessing a steady _____ of diplomatic relations of Ukraine with foreign countries. 7. Since the declaration of independence Ukraine has sent its _____ missions to most major countries and received _____ representatives of those states. 8. In the last ten years the Ukrainian Government has been forming _____ delegations for international _____. 9. The _____ with the Romanian delegation on border issues took place in Kyiv. 10. The delegation of Czech Republic, _____ by the President, arrived yesterday. 11. In the transitional period delegations sometimes served as _____ diplomatic missions to particular states. 12. Dmytro Doroshenko _____ Mykola Vasylenko as the Minister for Foreign Affairs. 13. The Foreign Ministry has _____ several important steps to _____ its own structure. 14. A lot has been done to provide the legal _____ for foreign policy activities. 15. The task is to open Ukrainian _____ and missions in most countries of the world. 16. The full-fledged consular _____ is also important. 17. The Law on Ukrainian Consular Service was among the first to have been _____. 18 A special Consular School was created to _____ diplomatic staff.

B. 1. In the transition periods it is important to _____ the diplomatic contacts of the previous governments. 2. The task of each next government is to broaden the country's international relations. 3. Under the previous government the country failed to be _____ in the Vatican. 4. Their delegation did not _____ in the Conference. 5. The main task of diplomacy in the newly independent states is to gain international _____ of those countries and enlist international support in their nation-building _____. 6. Another important task of diplomatic missions is to _____ broad information and publishing work and to _____ basic consular functions. 7. In the post-war period diplomatic missions are usually concerned with the problem of the return of the _____-of-

war. 8. In such cases special _____ and _____ services are opened at the diplomatic missions. 9. For the coordination of diplomatic efforts, the diplomatic service conducts meetings of _____ and heads of _____ missions. 10. Such meetings are _____ annually.

C. 1. All countries of the world _____ their own foreign policy. 2. The National Council took power as a result of an armed _____. 3. The National Council _____ the Temporary Constitution. 4. The National Council _____ establishment of an independent state. 5. The country was _____ part of the _____ Roman Empire. 6. Independence of Ukrainian Lands and the. 7. The country's foreign policy mostly consisted of two main _____. 8. Both countries were guided by _____ aspiration. 9. The historic _____ of two German countries into a single state happened in the 1980s. 10. The unification was _____ proclaimed by the representatives of both governments. 11. The new country managed to _____ broad diplomatic contacts in a short time. 12. It has opened its own _____ in many countries. 13. It has also sent _____ missions to the countries where a considerable number of Ukrainian _____ live. 14. It was very important to send a separate delegation to the Peace _____, as much in the post-war period depended on their results. 15. It was planned that the _____ missions of the two countries would work together.

7. Render the following proper names into English.

А. Румунія, Фінляндія, Швейцарія, Швеція, Австро-Угорщина, Болгарія, Грузія, Німеччина, Туреччина, Польща, Румунія, Фінляндія, Росія, РСФСР, Бельгія, Велика Британія, Греція, Італія, США, Естонія, Латвія, Чехо-Словаччина, Угорщина, Ватикан, УНР, Франція, ЗУНР, Львів, Австро-Угорська імперія; Наддніпрянська Україна, Антанта, Австрія, Італія, Югославія, Канада, США, Бразилія.

Б. Берлін, Париж, Відень, Рим, Карлові Вари,

В. Павло Скоропадський, Дмитро Дорошенко, Микола Василенко, Володимир Чехівський.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts on activity of Ukrainian diplomacy during the Hetman, Directory and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic periods to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

A. The Hetman Period
1. The three main directions of the Ukrainian foreign policy
2. A steady expansion of diplomatic relations
3. Negotiations with Russia
4. The development of the diplomatic service: the legal base and training of staff
B. The Directory Period
1. A new expansion of diplomatic relations: more missions and Paris Peace Conference
2. The main aims: international recognition and support – information, publishing, POW
3. Regular coordination meetings
C. Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (WUPR)
1. To power by an armed revolt
2. The two main directions of the WUPR’s foreign policy
3. The Unification Act
4. WUPR’s broad diplomatic relations
5. Cooperation with UPR’s delegation at Paris Peace Talks

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Volodymyr SHEVCHENKO in *The Day* of March 30, 2004) and answer the following questions: What are the similarities and differences between the efforts of Ukrainians to build an independent state in 1918–1921 and the situation in Zakarpattia as described in the article. Compare the international situation, the diplomatic activity of neighboring countries and other factors. See also the instructions to ex.10, Lesson 2.

Heroes of the Silver Land

After World War I Zakarpattia, an ancient Ukrainian region that had been under Hungary for almost a thousand years, was ceded under the 1919 Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain to the Czechoslovakian Republic as Podkarpatska (Sub-Carpathian) Ruthenia. The treaty envisioned its autonomy. Unfortunately, the Prague government was in no hurry to fulfill this provision. Already in 1919 the people of Zakarpattia demanded reunification of their land, which they poetically call the Sliver Land, with Ukraine and contin-

ued struggling for their autonomy and fair delimitation of its borders within Czechoslovakia.

In the latter half of the 1930s, the international situation was greatly affected by a major trend in the policy of Fascist Germany, which sought to expand the lands of the Germans (Arians) by means of capturing the territory of neighboring countries and above all those of the Slavic nations.

On September 29–30, 1938 Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy met at the Munich Conference without the participation of Czechoslovakia and signed the Munich Agreement forcing Czechoslovakia to cede its highly-developed (ethnically German) Sudetenland to the Third Reich. In early October 1938 Poland, backed by Germany, annexed Czechoslovakia's (ethnically Polish) Cieszyn Silesia Province.

Under such difficult conditions, the government of the divided Czechoslovakia complied with the requirements of the Saint-Germain Peace Treaty and its 1920 Constitution by granting autonomy to Slovakia and Zakarpattia. On October 8, 1938 the Ukrainian People's Rada [Council] of the Carpathian Rus was created in Uzhhorod and proclaimed itself as "the only legitimate representative of all the Ruthenian lands (including Priashivshchyna), whose population is guaranteed self-determination and self-government." Executive power passed to the Carpathian-Ruthenian Autonomous Government. With the appointment of Avhustyn Voloshyn as prime minister of Carpathian Ukraine on October 26, the activity of the People's Council and government became clearly Ukrainian in their orientation. On October 27 the Ukrainian People's Council aired its address to the Ukrainians of the world: "We believe that the great Ukrainian people of fifty million will speak out and will not allow our sworn enemies to enthrall and jail us again." In response to this address Ukrainians from Halychyna and from as far as Dnipro Ukraine began to cross the border en masse to help build the new Carpathian state.

Yet the appearance of autonomous Carpathian Ukraine was not well-received by other countries, above all Hungary and Poland. The former did not conceal its desire to these lands (that it had lost after World War I). The Polish government opposed the creation of a Ukrainian state in Zakarpattia in any form, since in this it saw a threat to its rule in Western Ukraine, whose population could follow in the footsteps of their brothers in Zakarpattia.

Hitler and Mussolini supported the aggressive aspirations of their Hungarian allies. On November 2, 1938 foreign ministers Ribbentrop of Germany

and Ciano of Italy organized the so-called first Vienna Arbitration on Hungary's territorial claims on Zakarpattia, ruling that Hungary should receive 12% of the territory of Zakarpattia, 97 towns and settlements, among them Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, and Berehove, along with its fertile lands in the valleys. This disrupted economic ties and communication among people within a country that had been a single whole until then. The Voloshyn government was forced to relocate from Uzhhorod to Khust. In organizing its work in the new capital the government relied heavily on members of the first *chota* (a local division of national fighters) of the Ukrainian People's Defense, many of whom were Ukrainians from Halychyna, in particular OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) members.

Faced with a complex domestic and foreign policy situation, the Voloshyn government worked to stabilize the economy, unify all Ukrainian patriotic forces, develop statehood, and seek support from other nations. Yet the latter's indifference, Father Voloshyn's shortage of funds, disrupted economic ties, and political instability rendered the solution of pressing problems impossible. A weak state apparatus made many mistakes and miscalculations.

Yet despite all the hardships and losses in the cultural life of the autonomy, culture being a crucial factor of unifying the people who struggle with hardships, some progress was registered. Schools continued to work and new educational establishments opened. *Nova Svoboda* [New Freedom] daily was published, nationally-minded youth published the *Nastup* [Offensive] newspaper, the village population had their own publication, *Carpathian Ukraine*. Well-known Ukrainian writers Oleksandr Oles and Ulas Samchuk moved to Khust. A literary and artistic association was created, which published its monthly. Ruthenian writers created their own association. A state theater, New Stage, relocated to Khust and in late 1938 staged *Zaporozhets za Dunayem* [Zaporozhzhian Cossack Beyond the Danube]. People from the Ukrainian diaspora created the first film studio in Zakarpattia and began shooting a film that came to be known as *The Tragedy of Carpathian*.

Meanwhile, the international standing of Carpathian Ukraine was becoming more and more precarious with each passing day. Hungary, whose territorial claims had not been fully satisfied, continued its anti-Ukrainian diplomatic demarches and sent to Carpathian Ukraine groups of terrorists and provocateurs. Poland followed suit, its government repeatedly attempting to persuade Berlin to give Poland northern Zakarpattia on top of its already annexed Cieszyn Province of Czechoslovakia. Poland would not even have

mindful if all of Zakarpattia became subordinated to Hungary. The Polish government could not put up with the existence of a sovereign Ukrainian state on Halychyna's border and also sent there its groups to commit acts of sabotage and terrorism.

Hitler tried to use this situation in every possible way. Inclined to cede all of Zakarpattia to Hungary, he was doing this gradually so as to more closely tie Hungary to Germany's interests. He achieved what he wanted. On February 24, 1939, Hungary's military dictator Admiral Horthy, kowtowing to Berlin on everything, announced his decision to join the Anti-Comintern Pact.

Under such conditions Moscow called the consequences of the Vienna Arbitrage a violation of international norms. Meanwhile, it dismissed as propaganda the rumors circulated by the press and Western diplomats about the possible use of the statehood of Zakarpattia to annex other Ukrainian lands. Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maksim Litvinov stated on December 19, 1938: "We are not even sure that... Hitler treats the Ukrainian cause seriously. This could be a case of diplomatic sabotage." As events unfolded it became obvious that Hitler did not intend to renew Ukrainian statehood in any form or encourage it. In January 1939 the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with Hungary, calling it a country that did not have an independent foreign policy, followed the lead of Fascist Germany, and encroached on Ukrainian lands.

On March 10, 1939, Stalin responded to reports in the Western press about plans to annex Soviet Ukraine to Carpathian Ukraine, calling such fabrications "suspicious noise," its aim being to provoke a conflict between the USSR and Germany where there was no reason for it, and used awkward epithets with respect to Zakarpattia.

Official Soviet documents condemned the aggressive plans with respect to Carpathian Ukraine. Further, the March 18, 1939 note of the USSR People's Committee of Foreign Affairs stated explicitly that the actions of the German government became a signal for a brutal invasion by the Hungarian forces into Carpathian Ukraine and violations of the fundamental rights of its population. Other countries ignored the tragedy unfolding in Zakarpattia.

Unfortunately, far from all Ukrainian statesmen fully realized the actual situation. As Prof. Hranchak rightly noted, "Let us face it: against all odds the leadership of Carpathian Ukraine hoped that Fascist Germany would allow the creation of a small Ukrainian state in the Carpathians. But this was

wishful thinking, for Berlin only cared about its own interests in the East. The solution of the Ukrainian question did not fit into its aggressive plans.”

The November 9, 1938, a constituent assembly in Khust created the Organization of People’s Defense, the Carpathian Sich. “Any individual of the Ukrainian nation, who has attained the age of eighteen and is a citizen of Carpathian Ukraine” could become a Sich national fighter. The local units (*chotas*) were united in district *koshes* subordinated to the General Command in Khust. A uniform with decorations was introduced, and donations were solicited for the defense of the state. Over a short period ten district units of *Sichovyky* were organized and underwent military training. Researchers differ as to the general number of *Sichovyky*, ranging between 2,000 and 10,000. They were poorly armed and lacked the necessary training and combat experience, often acted rashly and became involved in conflicts with Czech soldiers. But they were brave patriots. Outnumbered by the thousands of the Hungarian army backed by Germany and Italy, the *Sichovyky* courageously defended their land against all odds. The Ukrainians of Zakarpattia fought a war, defending their land from foreign aggressors. As Carpathian Sich Headquarters Chief Mykhailo Kolodzinsky (“Colonel Huzar”) put it, “when there is no reasonable way out of a difficult situation, one must die the death of a hero, so that it would become a source of strength for the future generations.”

Sichovyky and other Ukrainians serving in the local units of the Czech Army began an armed struggle against the occupants already in 1938, fighting off sabotage and terrorist groups of Hungarian fascists and Polish combatants (so-called Carpathian Legionnaires). In the fall of 1938 between 600 and 1,000 Hungarian terrorists infiltrated Carpathian Ukraine. On October 5 they blew up a bridge near the railway station of Borzhava. On October 10, 86 Hungarian saboteurs attacked a gendarme post and the Borzhava railroad station, where they killed a conductor, robbed passengers, and dismantled railway tracks. Polish and Hungarian terrorists committed numerous armed provocations in Velykoberezniansk district, blowing up viaduct bridges and tunnels.

On March 6, 1939 Hitler ordered the liquidation of the Czechoslovakian Sovereign Republic and on March 12 allowed the Hungarian Regent Horthy to invade Carpathian Ukraine and annex its lands. In response to Voloshyn’s telegrams to Berlin requesting protection from the occupants, the German consul in Khust, speaking on behalf of Ribbentrop’s ministry, advised him “not to resist the Hungarian invasion.”

Under such conditions, on March 15, 1939 the parliament of Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed independence and elected Avhustyn Voloshyn president of the newly-created state. Ukrainian was named the state language, a blue-and-yellow flag was chosen as the state flag and a combination of the emblem of Zakarpattia (a bear in the left red field and three blue and two yellow stripes in the right field) and the trident of Volodymyr the Great as the state emblem. The national anthem, "Ukraine Has Not Died Yet," was chosen as the state anthem.

The Hungarian forces invaded Carpathian Ukraine on March 14. They met heavy resistance outside Mukacheve and in Uzhhorod district. On the morning of March 15 Hungarian forces began a general offensive in three directions — western, central, and eastern. The occupants met resistance from *Sich* and units of the Czech Army that tried to break through into Slovakia.

The fiercest fighting took place on March 15 in a valley outside Khust. Here the Hungarian aggressors met resistance from nearly 2,000 *Sich* national fighters and as many Czech soldiers. Among the defenders were many gymnasium students. The Hungarians had an advantage over the Ukrainians as they attacked from the mountains and were better armed and trained. The *Sich* fighters were no match for them in strength and weapons, but put up a defense on level ground. Fierce fighting lasted throughout the day. The Ukrainians put up a desperate defense to win time for the parliament to meet in session.

The enemy suffered casualties of 160 dead and 400 wounded. But the forces were uneven. Some 230 defenders were killed, 450 captured, many more wounded, among them severely wounded the Commander Huzar and his deputy Kosak. Both had been captured by the fascists and executed days later. The savages killed most captives on the spot, among them many gymnasium and seminary students. Armed clashes in the streets of Khust continued through the night. Bloody battles took place on March 16-18. On the night of March 18 the aggressors occupied all of Zakarpattia and reached the Polish border, where they were warmly received by the Polish forces ready to assist the occupants if necessary. With Hitler's blessing the Silver Land had been trampled by the bloody boot of Horthy's regime backed by Poland and Romania. The latter handed *Sich* detained on its border over to the Hungarians, who immediately executed them and dumped their bodies into the Tisza. The Polish border guard also met with gunfire the *Sich* which attempted to cross the border into Halychyna. Only a few managed to escape to Slovakia.

During the March 1939 battles in Zakarpattia, over 5,000 Ukrainians were killed defending their homeland. The ultimate sacrifice by the Ukrainians of Zakarpattia is a heroic page in our history. Here Ukrainians clashed in a mortal combat with the fascist warmongers of the World War II, oppressors of our homeland. These days we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of its liberation from the German, Hungarian, and Romanian occupiers

10. Write a 300-word essay on the diplomatic and political lessons of the Carpathian Ukraine period for contemporary Ukraine.



UNIT 4

THE SOVIET PERIOD

1917 – 1936

1. What do you know about the attempts of the Bolshevik Russia to form parallel Soviet structures on the territory of Ukraine beginning with 1917? When was the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (the Ukrainian SSR) officially proclaimed? What was the capital of the Ukrainian SSR? What was the name of the body which was responsible for the Ukrainian SSR foreign police during this period? Who headed this body? How many countries did the Ukrainian SSR send its diplomatic missions to? How many foreign diplomatic missions did it have in Ukraine? What were the relations of the Ukrainian SSR with Russia? How did the situation change with the formation of the Soviet Union? Why? Why was the Ukrainian SSR body for Foreign Affairs dismissed? What happened to the Ukrainian diplomacy after that?

2. You are going to read a text about the Ukrainian diplomacy during the first phase of the Soviet period (1917–1936). Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

unsuccessful	foreign envoys	founded	oppose	solicitations
parallel structures	trade	Union	initiative	leaders
Bolshevik	consular	economic	appeal	representatives
party organizations	Commissariat	central authorities	Politburo	appointed
Kharkiv	domestic	deprive	approve	USSR embassies
proclaim	legislation	Central Committee	request	lose
power structures	competence	dismissal	review	actual
Interethnic Affairs	missions	transfer	merger	formal
Council	situation	staff	liquidate	statehood
Commissars	drastically	attempt	officially	implement

3. You are going to read a text about the Ukrainian diplomacy during the first phase of the Soviet period (1917–1936). 8 paragraphs have been removed from the article. Choose from the paragraphs (A – H) the one that fits each gap (0–7). There is an example at the beginning (0).

PARAGRAPHS		
A	the development of diplomatic relations with other states	
B	was approved with a request to review the decision	
C	by establishing party organizations of the Bolshevik Russia	0
D	had also been deprived of a possibility to form and implement its own foreign policy	
E	due to requests of the Ukrainian leaders	
F	the situation changed drastically	
G	the exercise of “foreign policy functions” was entrusted	
H	who performed mostly trade-related and consular functions	

Simultaneously with unsuccessful state-building efforts made by the governments of the UPR and WUPR, the Hetman state and Directory, the formation of parallel public structures of Soviet Ukraine began in July 1917. As a rule, this was carried out _____ in the Ukrainian territory.

0	Paragraph:	C
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After the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine and the Soviet Government had settled in Kharkiv, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (the Ukrainian SSR) was officially proclaimed in January 1919. From the start of the formation of power structures of Soviet Ukraine, _____, to a certain extent, to the People’s Secretariat of Interethnic Affairs, which later was transformed into the People’s Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, headed by Volodymyr Zatonsky.

1	Paragraph:	
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The Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR was established in January 1919. It was headed by Christian Rakovsky, who at the same time became the head of the foreign policy estab-

lishment of Soviet Ukraine, where he replaced Mykola Skrypnyk. A network of diplomatic missions was created by the government of the Ukrainian SSR. In particular, the Ukrainian SSR was represented in Warsaw, Berlin and Prague. As for foreign envoys to the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, one can mention representatives of Poland, Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia, _____.

2 Paragraph:

During this period, the activities of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (PCFA) were mostly aimed at _____, improvement of domestic legislation within the competence of the Commissariat and maintaining contacts with foreign states' missions to the Ukrainian SSR.

3 Paragraph:

However, _____ in December 1922 when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded. All foreign policy, economic and trade ties of Ukraine soon fell within the competence of the Union's central authorities, thus depriving the Ukrainian SSR of its right to conduct its own foreign policy.

4 Paragraph:

On 18 October 1922, the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine (C(B)PU) approved the Decision "On Dismissal of Staff of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR". Its powers were transferred to the People's Commissariat of the Union. Despite active attempts of Ch. Rakovsky, then-People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, to oppose this decision (upon his initiative on 23 March 1923 an appeal of C(B)PU to the Politburo of RC(B)P _____ on the merger of PCFAs of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR), PCFA of the Ukrainian SSR was officially liquidated on 20 September 1923.

5 Paragraph:

At the same time, after the dismissal of the PCFA of the Ukrainian SSR, _____, Ukrainian representatives, appointed by the government of the Ukrainian SSR and later on – of the UkrSSR (a Union republic), worked at the USSR embassies abroad from 1923 until 1936.

6 Paragraph:

Thus at the beginning of 1920s Ukraine lost not only its statehood, first an actual and then a formal one, but _____ for many years to come.

7 Paragraph:

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. невдалі державотворчі зусилля; 2. формування паралельних державних структур; 3. починаючи з липня 1917 р; 4. більшовицька Росія; 5. заснування партійних організацій; 6. українська територія; 7. керівництво; 8. Комуністична партія (більшовиків) України; 9. Українська Соціалістична Радянська Республіка; 10. радянський уряд; 11. осідати; 12. офіційно проголошувати; 13. формування владних структур; 14. Радянська Україна; 15. покласти виконання зовнішньополітичних функцій; 16. певною мірою; 17. Народне секретарство міжнародних справ; 18. Народне секретарство міжнародних справ; 19. перетворювати на; 20. з самого початку; 21. на чолі з; 22. Раду народних комісарів; 23. Керівник; 24. зовнішньополітичне відомство радянської України; 25. змінювати на посаді; 26. розгорнути мережу власних дипломатичних представництв; 27. уряд УСРР; 28. представники УСРР; 29. іноземні дипломатичні посланники при уряді радянської України; 30. переважно; 31. виконувати торговельні та консульські функції; 32. діяльність Наркомату закордонних справ УСРР; 33. спрямована в основному; 34. розвиток дипломатичних відносин з іншими державами; 35. вдосконалення внутрішнього законодавства; 36. в межах компетенції наркомату; 37. підтримка контактів з представництвами іноземних держав в УСРР; 38. кардинально змінитися; 39. зовнішньополітичні, економічні та торговельні зв'язки; 40. перейти у підпорядкування; 41. союзний центр; 42. позбавити права; 43. власна зовнішньополітична діяльність; 44. згортання апарату;

45. приймати постанову; 46. передавати повноваження; 47. союзний наркомат; 48. незважаючи на; 49. активні спроби; 50. народний комісар закордонних справ; 51. протидіяти рішенню; 52. за ініціативою; 53. приймати звернення; 54. Політбюро ЦК РКП(б); 55. прохання; 56. злиття; 57. переглянути питання; 58. офіційно ліквідувати; 59. скасування; 60. настійне клопотання; 61. посольства СРСР за кордоном; 62. українські представники; 63. призначатися урядом; 64. фактична і формальна державність; 65. Втратити; 66. позбутися можливості; 67. Втратити; 68. на довгі роки; 69. формувати і втілювати; 70. власна зовнішня політика.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The 1920s state-_____ efforts in Ukraine were unsuccessful. 2. The Bolshevik Russia started the formation of _____ state structures in Ukraine back in 1917. 3. Russia _____ the Bolshevik party organizations in Ukraine. 4. The leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine _____ in Kharkiv. 5. The Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine _____ the formation of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in 1919. 6. The Bolsheviks started the formation of _____ structures of Soviet Ukraine. 7. At first the exercise of “foreign _____ functions” was entrusted to People’s Secretariat of _____ Affairs. 8. Later the Secretariat of Interethnic Affairs was _____ into the Secretariat of _____ Affairs. 9. The new Secretariat was _____ by Volodymyr Zatonsky. 10. Christian Rakovsky, who had _____ the Russian delegation at the talks with the Ukrainian People’s Republic (with the capital in Kyiv) under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi in May-October 1918, became the Chairman of the _____ of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (with the capital in Kharkiv) and the head of the foreign _____ establishment of Soviet Ukraine in January 1919. 11. The Russia-supported Ukrainian SSR attempted to create a _____ of diplomatic missions. 12. However the Bolshevik Ukrainian SSR’s diplomatic _____ were limited to Poland, Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia, where the Ukrainian representatives’ functions were mostly trade-_____ and consular. 13. The competence of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign _____ of the Ukrainian SSR included, among other things, the improvement of _____ legislation. 14. The People’s _____ of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR was allowed to _____ contacts with foreign states’ missions, but

only with those present in the Ukrainian SSR. 15. The _____ of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics changed the situation _____. 16. The new state _____ the Ukrainian SSR of the right to conduct its own _____ policy. 17. Moscow acquired complete _____ over all foreign policy, economic and _____ ties of Ukraine. 18. In 1922 the _____ Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR was dismissed. 19. The Central _____ of the Bolshevik Party _____ all the powers of the Ukrainian Commissariat of _____ Affairs to Moscow. 20. Some officials in Ukraine attempted to _____ the dismissal decision and filed requests to _____ it, but their attempts were _____ and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR was _____. 21. From the time the Ukrainian foreign office was liquidated until 1936 Ukraine had had its _____ with limited functions, _____ by its government at the USSR _____. 22. Due to the new situation Ukraine lost its _____ and actual _____. 23. For many years Ukraine had been _____ of a possibility to form and _____ its own foreign policy.

7. Render the following proper names and realia into English.

A. КП(б)У, УСРР, УРСР, Польща, Австрія, Німеччина, Чехо-Словаччина, Союз Радянських Соціалістичних Республік, ЦК КП(б)У, НКЗС УСРР, НКЗС СРСР.

Б. Харків, Варшава, Берлін, Прага.

В. Володимир Затонський, Християн Раковський, Микола Скрипник.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts on the Ukrainian diplomacy during the first phase of the Soviet period (1917 – 1936). to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

0. Bolshevik Russia party organizations in Ukraine and the parallel public structures
1. Proclamation of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic: Two Ukraines
2. Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and its foreign policy
3. Three main tasks of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR
4. A drastic change of the situation
5. Dismissal of Staff of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR
6. Limited Ukrainian representation at the USSR embassies abroad until 1936
7. No foreign policy for Ukraine for many years to come

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Yuriy SHAPOVAL in *The Day of April 27, 2004*) and answer the following questions: What diplomatic, political and other measures related to Ukraine were taken by Nikita Khrushchev during his rule in Ukraine?

Polish Spy Khrushchev

Marquis Adolphe de Custine wrote that a closer look at one's destiny shows it to be an evolution of one's character. However, let me first explain the heading. Joseph Stalin called Nikita Khrushchev jokingly a Polish spy. Khrushchev, when retired from Soviet leadership, told playwright Mikhail Shatrov, "Stalin treated me better than the others. Some at the Politburo even believed I was his favorite. Indeed, only my son's (i.e., Leonid Khrushchev's) wife was arrested. Sometimes he would call me Polish spy Khrushchevski and order me to dance. That's about all. No comparison to how he treated the others or the things he made them do."

At this point, one is tempted to exclaim, *O tempora! O mores!* However, those familiar with the epoch in which Khrushchev lived and made his career, are not likely to be surprised to know that the wife of the son of a favorite of the Red dictator was serving a term in a prison camp, and that the father-in-law considered himself lucky. Or that he, a noted political figure, did not mind being addressed as a Polish spy or dancing during all-night parties at Stalin's dacha with vodka flowing and the table groaning under food. Nor would he utter a word of protest when his daughter-in-law was arrested on trumped-up charges, telling himself he was lucky not to be implicated, that nothing had happened to his wife (unlike the wives of Molotov and Kalinin).

BIOGRAPHY

After the Stalin epoch, Khrushchev was the first Communist leader to try to destroy the stereotype image of a grim-faced reticent Bolshevik ruler. He proceeded to cultivate an open lifestyle, appearing in public with his wife and family members, sharing memories. September 27, 1959, appearing on NBC during his official visit to the United States, he said that his grandfather was an illiterate serf, his landlord's property could be sold and even traded for a dog, as often happened at the time; that his father was a coal miner, and that he had also worked at a mine, as a metalworker; that he had taken part in the civil war; later, the Soviet government had sent him

to study at a *rabfak* [educational establishment in existence during the first years after the Russian Revolution, set up to prepare workers and peasants for higher education]. After that he had enrolled in the Industrial Academy, and that now he was entrusted by the people with the high post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Needless to say, the above statement betrays a number of simplifications and demagoguery (which Khrushchev often resorted to). His biography, nevertheless, continues to reveal little-known facts if not mysteries. Thus, numerous biographers and authors of encyclopedia articles still believe that he was born April 17, 1894. Not exactly. At one time I succeeded in establishing that, proceeding from the certificate of birth, he was actually born on April 15. I shared the discovery with Sergei Khrushchev, his son with whom we have been good friends and cooperated for many years. He and his son, Nikita Khrushchev's grandson, that is, checked my information when visiting Kalynivka (Khrushchev's home village) and confirmed it.

Nikita Khrushchev cuts an interesting historical figure. Nor it seems coincidental that noted personalities like Nikolai Gumiliov, Kim Il Sung, Dzhokhar Dudayev, even Alla Pugacheva were born on the same date, albeit in different years. These names are surrounded with myths and all kinds of stories. At one time, publications appeared to the effect that Nikita Khrushchev came from the Romanov dynasty of Russia. Even now many believe that Khrushchev was of Ukrainian parentage, that he was also a Bolshevik hard-liner, and that he almost always hated Stalin.

Untrue. He came from a Russian family, although he lived in Ukraine, from January 1938 to December 1949, heading the local party organization. In February 1944, he was appointed Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars [government] of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. However, it was some time before he had joined the Bolsheviks. Moreover, in the 1920s, while in Yuzovka, in the Donbas, marking the start of his political career, he supported the Trotskyites for a while. He had to state the fact in an official questionnaire, in 1937, at the peak of the Great Purges, and then mentioned it in his memoirs.

His attitude to Stalin also varied. He worshipped him at first, he owed him his career which soared in the mid-1930s, after meeting his wife Nadezhda Alliluyeva at the Industrial Academy in Moscow. She told Stalin about Khrushchev and arranged for their meeting. Earlier in 1917, Khrushchev happened

to meet Lazar Kaganovich, who would also put in a good word for his old friend with the General Secretary of the Communist Party (VKP{b}).

Without doubt, Khrushchev's place and role in political history cannot be fully comprehended, using the so-called fragmentary approach. Different periods in his life and career are like pieces of a historical and political mosaic that must be placed in a certain way to form a complete picture. Otherwise there is a high risk of snatching certain elements to construe something someone wants to have instead of the truth.

He was certainly among those responsible for the crimes committed during the Stalin epoch. Khrushchev tried to hide his complicity after coming to power. In particular, he instructed Ivan Serov, head of the KGB (his post was formally Chairman of the Committee for State Security under the Council of Ministers of the USSR), to remove all incriminating records from Ukraine. In February 1965, Leonid Brezhnev received a letter to the effect that a large number of files had been withdrawn from the archives of the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; and that the said files "described how ruthlessly Nikita Khrushchev dealt with Party cadres and Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals." Although the letter appeared after Khrushchev's ousting, it was truthful enough even on the crest of the anti-Khrushchev wave. Such documents were removed in several phases. Thus, a cover letter dated December 31, 1949, has an appendage listing 52 pages of documents. After Khrushchev's forced retirement, all such documents were transferred to the Politburo archives, and later became part of the closed Russian presidential archives where they remain.

Of course, Khrushchev could not remove all of the documents. Many are still in Ukraine, providing sufficient evidence that during Stalin's lifetime Khrushchev was an obedient subordinate, and that his loyalty won him the dictator's trust lasting until Stalin's death in March 1953. Khrushchev was responsible for the implementation of Stalin's political course in Ukraine. He was still there during the last year of Yezhov's campaign of purges, also when the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed, and when Halychyna, Volyn, and Bukovyna were made part of Soviet Ukraine, respectively, in 1939 and 1940, followed by a Bolshevik terror in those western territories; he was there during the postwar famine of 1946-47 and the campaign against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." At that period, he was directly involved in the complicated issue of Polish-Ukrainian relationships.

POLISH MOTIFS

Khrushchev remained convinced to his dying day that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was historically inevitable. Under the pact, Soviet troops entered Western Ukraine and Western Belarus. Nikita Khrushchev took part in the campaign, although he felt bad about the dictators' conspiracy and feared its consequences. He wrote in his memoirs that he felt the same way about Stalin's campaign against the Communist Party of Poland and its components in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus. In 1938, these parties were disbanded as resolved by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (a.k.a. Komintern). Recalling his stay in Western Ukraine, Khrushchev wrote, "Mostly good people from among the local Poles cooperated with us. They were time-tested Communists. Very many of them, after being liberated by our Soviet Army, found themselves in Soviet prison camps. Sad but true."

Pressured by Khrushchev, the Ukrainian Politburo passed a resolution on October 2, 1940, titled "On the Facts of Erroneous Attitude to Former Members of the CP of Poland." The document instructed the party authorities in the western regions to overcome "indiscriminate political distrust" of former Polish Communists, and to more actively enlist them in public activities. Khrushchev, of course, meant to defend *his* people among the Polish party members, yet doing so under the circumstances took quite some courage.

In 1944, Polish motifs became once again evident in Khrushchev's endeavors. In June, he addressed Stalin, proposing the formation of Kholm oblast. "I believe that, after liberation, our Soviet administration should be organized in the regions populated mostly by Ukrainians and Russians, so we could proclaim these territories part of the Soviet Union and join them to Soviet Ukraine, at the right time. "The following regions should be joined to Soviet Ukraine: Chelm, Grubeszow, Zamoscie, Tomaszow, Jaroslaw, and several other populated areas adjacent to the above territories. They could eventually constitute Kholm oblast as part of the Ukrainian SSR, with Kholm becoming the regional center."

Khrushchev knew Stalin's character very well; forestalling accusations of Ukrainian nationalism, he explained that the addition of these territories to Ukraine would make it possible to even out the frontier. No accusations were forthcoming, but he did not receive the authorization, either. Instead, the Kremlin decided, in the interests of big-time politics, have the Ukrai-

nians living in the territories going to Poland “voluntarily” move to Soviet Ukraine, and the Poles living in the Soviet Union move to Poland. Under the circumstances, it would be too dangerous for Khrushchev to insist on his proposal, so once again he acted as a “devoted pupil of Comrade Stalin.”

Formally, the resettlement was to begin September 9, 1944, in Lublin where the Soviet Ukrainian government and the Polish National Liberation Committee had signed an agreement on the evacuation of the Ukrainian population from Poland and the Polish from Ukraine. Nikita Khrushchev signed it on behalf of the Soviet Ukrainian government, and Edward Osubka-Morawski did on behalf of the PNLC.

A number of researchers regard this as strange, considering that the Soviet Union had never entrusted Ukraine with signing any other such agreements (including the one on Transcarpathian Ukraine, signed by the Soviet and the Czechoslovak government in 1945). Actually, it was a time bomb which is still armed. The 1944 agreement simulated the establishment of the Ukrainian-Polish frontier, with Moscow outwardly looking on. In addition, the Soviet Union reserved room for maneuver; if the anti-Hitler coalition countries turned out too principled, Moscow would say it did not sign the agreement. Ukraine did. At the same time, the Kremlin had actually provoked an aggravation in Polish-Ukrainian relationships, but was not legally responsible.

As it was, Khrushchev had to handle the resettlement campaign. He responded sharply to the Polish side procrastinating evacuation arrangements. September 29, 1944, he reported to Stalin: “The Poles, especially in Lviv and mostly intellectuals being in contact with the Polish emigre government in London, have spread word that the frontier issue remains to be finally resolved; therefore, people should not leave the country. We know that the emigre government in London has instructed its organizations in Lviv and other cities in Western Ukraine to refrain from evacuating, promising that it will arrange for Lviv and other cities to be made part of the Polish state at the peace conference.”

In view of this, Khrushchev suggested the following political course with regard to the Poles in the western Ukrainian region: “Instruction and the textbooks at all higher and secondary educational establishments must be only in Ukrainian and Russian. In the Soviet Union, schools were organized for Polish children with instruction in Polish, using Polish textbooks, meaning

that these children are brought up in the spirit of the Polish bourgeois democratic state. The Poles raised the matter of setting up such schools in Lviv. We refused and proposed to institute in all Ukrainian and Polish schools the curriculum adopted by the People's Commissar [minister] of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. We further consider it necessary to nullify the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR 'On the Prohibition of Enlistment of Polish Residents of the Western Region in the Industries of the Eastern Regions of the Ukr. SSR and Other Republics of the Soviet Union.' It is necessary to enlist the Polish population in the fulfillment of all obligations imposed on the rest of the population of Soviet Ukraine. This means that we will enlist Polish residents, men as well as women living in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, in the industries, defense construction, and other projects, on a par with the Ukrainian population."

Resettlements dating from the Treaty of Lublin rate a different story. Suffice it to say that, according to statistics, 812,688 persons were transferred from Ukraine to Poland in October 1945, while 472,635 had moved from Poland to Soviet Ukraine by March 1947. Khrushchev's plan to join ethnic territories to Ukraine fell through, although he did not insist on it. This is another fact contradicting his image as a Polish spy.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the diplomatic activity of Ukraine during the Soviet period (1917–1947).



UNIT 5

THE SOVIET PERIOD

1944 – 1990

1. What do you know about the restoration the Ukrainian People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in 1944? Why did it happen? What field did Ukraine’s international activities in 1944–1990 mostly concentrate in? Why? What possibilities did the new situation provide for Ukraine? Was Ukraine among the founding member of the UN? What advantages did it give to Ukraine? Do you know any proposals or initiatives Ukrainian representatives put forward at the UN? What other international organizations did Ukraine become a member of? Has Ukraine ever been a member of the UN Security Council? When? What UN Councils, Boards and Committees has Ukraine been elected to? What problem solutions have Ukrainian representatives been especially active in? Ukrainian diplomats have occupied what high posts at the UN and other international organizations?

2. You are going to read a text about the Ukrainian diplomacy during the second phase of the Soviet period (1944 – 1990). Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

adopt a law	limited possibility	UN Charter	health	disarmament
elaboration	UN Security Council	put forward	inform	illiteracy
transformation	global community	developing countries	refugee	staff training
consideration	maintenance of peace	rules of procedure	migrants	meteorology
colonialism	Union-Republican	General Assembly	space	prohibition
Chornobyl	global and regional	draft resolutions	proposal	chemical weapons
adopt decrees	international problems	environment	justice	non-use of force
establishment	acquire experience	human rights	postal	restore the rights
concentrate on	multilateral diplomacy	displaced persons	apartheid	delegate powers
participation	founding member	non-governmental	economy	United Nations
mercenaries	non-permanent member	industrialization	involved	pass resolutions
UNESCO	diplomatic corps	professionalism	UN posts	non-militarization

3. You are going to read a text about the Ukrainian diplomacy during the second phase of the Soviet period (1944–1990). Look for the answers to the questions in activities 1–2 while you are reading.

On 1 February 1944, a session of the USSR Supreme Council adopted a Law “On Delegating Powers in the Field of Foreign Affairs to the Union Republics and the Resulting Transformation of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from the All-Union into a Union-Republican People’s Commissariat”. This act formally restored the rights of the Union republics in the field of foreign policy after a twenty-year break. On 5 February 1944, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the C(B)PU passed resolutions and the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR adopted decrees on the establishment of the Ukrainian PCFA.

Paragraph 0

Ukraine’s international activities in 1944–1990 mostly concentrated on the participation in the work of the United Nations (UN). This provided a possibility, though a limited one, to inform the global community about life in Ukraine and to be involved in the consideration of global and regional international problems and acquire experience in the field of multilateral diplomacy. As a founding member of the UN, Ukraine (the UkrSSR) participated in the elaboration of the Charter of the organization, as well as in the formation of its structure, bodies and institutions.

Paragraph 1

Delegation of the UkrSSR actively participated in UN activities since the very beginning of the Organization’s existence. Ukrainian representatives put forward many proposals regarding the Charter and other UN documents, provisional rules of procedure of the UN General Assembly, draft resolutions on the establishment of the Commission on Investigation of Situation in Indonesia (11 February 1946), resolutions concerning refugees and migrants, displaced persons, representation of non-governmental organizations at the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the work of the Danube Conference, etc.

Paragraph 2

In 1945 Ukraine became a member of the International Court of Justice. In the following years it joined a number of other international agencies: the World Health Organization (1946), the Universal Postal Union

(1947), the World Meteorological Organization (1948), the International Labor Organization (1954), UNESCO (1954), the Economic Commission for Europe (1956) and IAEA (1957). The UkrSSR (and later Ukraine) was elected a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council three times (in 1948/49, 1984/85 and 2000/01). It was elected to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) four times and on a number of occasions was a member of the ILO Administrative Council, the Board of the UN Environment Program, IAEA Board and the Committee on the Elimination of Apartheid and Implementation of Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

Paragraph 3

The UkrSSR conducted active and persistent policy in the field of human rights protection, disarmament and the maintenance of peace. In the 1950's, the UkrSSR put forward 22 proposals, in 1960/61 18 proposals, and in the period from 1962 to 1970–202 proposals to the documents discussed at international organizations and conferences. In 1971–1990, the UkrSSR continued to be very actively involved in the multilateral process. The following Ukrainian initiatives are worth mentioning: proclamation of an International Year of Medical Research, combating global illiteracy and assistance in staff training for accelerated industrialization of developing countries. At the UN, UkrSSR took an active part in the consideration of such problems as disarmament, in particular, prohibition of chemical weapons, non-use of force, non-militarization of space, elimination of the remains of colonialism and the prohibition of mercenaries. At the 45th session of the UN General Assembly's (1990), 126 countries adopted the resolution on International Cooperation to Eliminate the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster.

Paragraph 4

In 1944–1990, UkrSSR's participation in international organizations, first and foremost in the UN, was guided from Moscow. At the same time, Ukrainian diplomats, while being members of the Soviet diplomatic corps, received training in the best traditions of world diplomacy. Testifying to the high professionalism of Ukrainian diplomats is the fact that they were repeatedly selected to high posts at the UN and other international organizations. For instance, D.Manuilsky was elected the President of the UN Security Council in 1948/49, P.Nedbaylo was the First Vice

President of the twenty-first session of the UN Human Rights Committee in 1965, H.Shevel was the Vice President of the UN General Assembly in 1970, V.Martynenko was the Vice President of the ECOSOC Committee on Social Issues in 1977 and the Vice President of thirty-sixth session of the UN General Assembly in 1981, V.Kravets was the President of the UN Security Council in 1984 and H.Udovenko was the President of the UN Security Council in 1985, Yu.Kochubey was the UNESCO Deputy Director-General in 1987–1992. Many Ukrainian diplomats worked at various posts at the UN Secretariat and working bodies of other international organizations.

Paragraph 5

4. Analysis of ideas and relationships. Circle the letter next to the best answer.

1. In paragraph 0 the author claims that the Law of 1 February 1944:
 - a) was a revolutionary one;
 - b) displayed very progressive changes in the Communist Party policy;
 - c) was adopted because of the international pressure;
 - d) did not change much in the mechanism of the control over the conduct of foreign policy.

2. As it follows from paragraph 1, after 1944 Ukraine:
 - a) gained complete freedom in the conduct of its foreign policy;
 - b) was free to conduct its foreign policy, but had to inform Moscow on all issues;
 - c) was enthusiastically welcomed by the global community;
 - d) was not free to conduct its foreign policy, but gained some advantages.

3. Paragraph 2:
 - a) illustrates the degree of Ukrainian involvement in dealing with the UN issues;
 - b) shows how active Ukraine was in preparing the UN Charter and the rules of procedure;
 - c) demonstrates the Ukrainian international role on the example of Indonesia;
 - d) underlines the role of Ukraine as the regional leader in the Danube area.

4. The main purpose of paragraph 3 is to:
- a) enumerate all international organisations Ukraine has been a member of;
 - b) illustrate the thesis about the growing role of Ukraine in the world;
 - c) show the diversity of areas Ukraine has been involved in;
 - d) impress the reader.
5. The information given in paragraph 4:
- a) shows how many proposals have been put forward by Ukraine at UN;
 - b) shows how many initiatives have been suggested by Ukraine at UN;
 - c) proves that Ukraine has been very active at UN since the very beginning;
 - d) gives a complete record of Ukraine's proposals and initiatives at UN.
6. Paragraph 5:
- a) enumerates some of the high posts occupied by Ukrainian diplomats at the UN and other international organizations;
 - b) illustrates the thesis about a good professional level of Ukrainian diplomats;
 - c) shows the spectrum of international organizations headed by Ukrainian diplomats;
 - d) gives a complete record of the high posts occupied by Ukrainian diplomats at the UN and other international organizations;

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. сесія Верховної Ради СРСР; 2. прийняти закон; 3. надати повноваження; 4. у галузі зовнішніх зносин; 5. перетворення; 6. загальносоюзний; 7. союзно-республіканський; 8. двадцятирічна перерва; 9. формально поновити права; 10. у сфері зовнішньополітичної діяльності; 11. прийняти постанову; 12. Указ; 13. міжнародна діяльність; 14. Зорієнтований; 15. участь у роботі; 16. Організація Об'єднаних Націй; 17. давати можливість; 18. обмежений; 19. інформувати світову громадськість; 20. мати причетність; 21. обговорення світових та регіональних міжнародних проблем; 22. здобувати досвід; 23. багатостороння дипломатія; 24. держава-засновниця ООН; 25. розробка Статуту; 26. формування структури, органів та установ організації; 27. розгорнути активну діяльність; 28. в перші роки існування; 29. вносити пропозиції до Статуту; 30. тимчасові правила процедури; 31. Генеральна Асамблея ООН; 32. проектів резолюції; 33. створення

комісії; 34. розслідування становища; 35. Біженці; 36. Переселенці; 37. переміщені особи; 38. представництво; 39. неурядова організація; 40. Економічна і Соціальна Рада ООН; 41. Міжнародний Суд; 42. Міжнародна організація праці; 43. Європейська Економічна Комісія; 44. непостійний член Ради Безпеки ООН; 45. член Адміністративної Ради МОП; 46. член Ради директорів Програми ООН з навколишнього середовища; 47. Рада директорів МАГАТЕ; 48. Комітет боротьби з апартеїдом; 49. здійснення невід'ємних прав палестинського народу; 50. проводити активну, наполегливу політику; 51. захист прав людини; 52. роззброєння; 53. збереження миру; 54. вносити пропозиції; 55. міжнародні організації та конференції; 56. проголошення Міжнародного року медичних досліджень; 57. за ініціативами України; 58. боротьба з неписьменністю; 59. допомога у підготовці кадрів; 60. прискорення індустріалізації; 61. країни, що розвиваються; 62. активна участь; 63. заборона хімічної зброї; 64. незастосування сили; 65. немілітаризація космосу; 66. ліквідація залишків колоніалізму; 67. заборона найманства; 68. Резолюція про міжнародне співробітництво з подолання наслідків Чорнобильської аварії; 69. працівники української зовнішньополітичної служби; 70. дипломатичний корпус; 71. кращі традиції світової дипломатії; 72. підтвердження; 73. висока кваліфікація українських дипломатів; 74. призначатися і обиратися на високі керівні посади; 75. голова Ради Безпеки ООН; 76. Комітет ООН з питань прав людини; 77. перший віце-президент; 78. 21-а сесія; 79. Заступник голови Генеральної Асамблеї ООН; 80. Комітет ЕКОСОП з соціальних питань; 81. заступник Генерального директора ЮНЕСКО; 82. Секретаріат ООН; 83. робочі органи.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. In 1944 the USSR Supreme Council _____ some powers in foreign affairs to the Union Republics. 2. It was connected with the _____ of the United Nations Organisation and the willingness of the USSR to have more members there. 3. Thus formally the rights of in the field of foreign policy were _____ and the Verkhovna Rada adopted decrees on the _____ of the Ukrainian PCFA. 4. In practice, Ukraine's _____ activities were limited to the _____ in the work of the United Nations. 5. However, even such _____ participation provided a _____

_____ to inform the global _____ about life in Ukraine. 6. Besides, through the UN Ukraine got _____ in the consideration of global and _____ international problems. 7. Taking part in the UN work allowed Ukrainian _____ to acquire experience in multilateral _____. 8. Ukraine was a founding member of the UN, and as such it took part in the _____ of the UN Charter and in the _____ of its structure, bodies and institutions. 9. Ukraine _____ forward many proposals on the Charter and other UN _____, including the provisional rules of _____ of the UN General _____. 10. Ukraine also proposed some _____ resolutions on the _____ of different commissions on the _____ of situations in some countries. 11. Such important problems as refugees and _____, displaced _____, representation of non-_____ organizations at the UN Economic and _____ Council (ECOSOC), the work of the Danube _____ were among the issues Ukraine was involved in. 12. Since 1945 Ukraine has become a member of the International _____ of Justice, the _____ Health Organization, the Universal _____ Union, the World Meteorological _____, the _____ Labor Organization, the Economic _____ for Europe and others. 13. Ukraine has also been elected a non-_____ member of the UN Security Council, to the UN Economic and _____ Council, ILO Administrative _____, the Board of the UN Environment _____, IAEA Board and the Committee on the _____ of Apartheid and Implementation of Inalienable _____ of the Palestinian People. 14. The other areas Ukraine has been actively involved in are human rights _____, disarmament and the _____ of peace. 15. Ukraine has put forward hundreds of proposals and initiatives, among them – proclamation of an International Year of _____ Research, combating _____ illiteracy and assistance in staff _____ for accelerated industrialization of _____ countries. 16. Ukraine has also been active in the consideration of such important problems as disarmament, prohibition of _____ weapons, non-use of _____, non-_____ of space, _____ of the remains of colonialism and the _____ of mercenaries. 17. An important initiative, essential for Ukraine, was the resolution on International _____ to Eliminate the _____ of the Chernobyl Disaster. 18. Ukrainian diplomats are being _____ in the best traditions of world diplomacy. 19. Several Ukrainian diplomats have been elected to Presidents of the UN Security Council, Vice Presidents

of the UN General Assembly, UNESCO Deputy Directors-General, Vice Presidents of the ECOSOC Committee and UN Human Rights Committee.

7. Render the following proper names and realia into English.

А. Політбюро ЦК КП(б) України, Президія Верховної Ради УРСР, НКЗС, ООН, ЕКОСОП, Дунайська конференція, Всесвітня організація охорони здоров'я, Всесвітній поштовий союз, Всесвітня метеорологічна організація, МОП, ЮНЕСКО, МАГАТЕ, голова Ради Безпеки ООН, заступник Генерального директора ЮНЕСКО, Комітет ЕКОСОП з соціальних питань, Комітет ООН з питань прав людини.

Б. Українська РСР, Індонезія.

В. Дмитро Мануїльський, Петро Недбайло, Володимир Мартиненко, Василь Кравець, Генадій Удовенко, Юрій Кочубей.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts on the Ukrainian diplomacy during the second phase of the Soviet period (1944–1990) to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

0. Restoration of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs
1. UN – a limited possibility to acquire experience in the field of multilateral diplomacy
2. Ukrainian active participation: proposals
3. Ukrainian expanding membership in international organisations
4. Ukrainian active participation: initiatives
5. The professionalism of Ukrainian diplomats: high international posts

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Yuriy SHAPOVAL in *The Day* of April 27, 2004) and answer the following questions: What was the difference between Stalin and Khrushchev in staff management? What was the difference between in handling international issues? How had the international image of the country changed? What was the most serious international crisis during the Khrushchev era? What do you know about the Cuban Missile crisis? What diplomatic actions were taken to avert the nuclear disaster?

Polish Spy Khrushchev 2

Khrushchev was a different man after World War II. He had served as a member of the military councils of the special Kyiv military district and

five fronts, and had helped organize the Red partisan movement. None of this should be overstated, as was the case in the early 1960s, with countless official eulogies addressing Beloved Nikita Sergeevich.

The fact remains, however, that he did not sit behind the Kremlin walls but witnessed human suffering. He also suffered a personal tragedy when his son Leonid was killed in action at Stalingrad, in March 1943. Leonid's wife Liubov Sizykh (mentioned above; she still lives in Kyiv, by the way, a fact known to few) was arrested shortly afterward. True, he did nothing to help the poor woman (her son was institutionalized), but he did not forget it, adding it to the anti-Stalin material accumulating within him, which would be able to make public only decades later.

Also, his arrival in Ukraine, in 1938, coincided with a shifting of the emphasis in the struggle against the "enemies of the people." At the time, the infernal consequences of the purges had become so obvious that the Party Central Committee resolved at a plenary meeting (January 1938) to correct what was described as "serious errors and distortions." Indeed, some were returned their party membership cards, some were even released from jail and prison camps. Khrushchev took an active part in that campaign. During the 1946–47 famine in Ukraine, he wrote letters and called Stalin, warning him about the difficult situation in Ukraine. This infuriated the tyrant and he sent his brother-in-arms Lazar Kaganovich to "reinforce the rear."

Khrushchev knew everything about the hypocrisy, cruelty, and inhuman essence of the system posing as the most just in the world. This encouraged him to persuade his conservative entourage that it was necessary to criticize Stalin's personality cult, starting in 1953, formally voicing it [albeit behind closed doors] at the XX Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and adding to it at the XXII Congress in 1961. This criticism, however soft-pedaled and limited, was an attempt to reform that society, marking the beginning of changes. People convicted on false charges were acquitted, passports started to be issued to peasants, meaning cancellation of Stalin's serfdom-like system of agricultural management. Khrushchev gave a powerful impetus to the housing reform, so that the Soviet Union took the lead in the world per capita housing competition in the second half of the 1950s and in the 1960s. It is easy to laugh at his five-story blocks of apartments [lacking elevators, garbage chutes, fire escapes, and ill-planned] now. At the time, they were a solution to the painful and lasting housing issue of the Communist system, as millions of people moved into their own apartments for the first time in their life.

He initiated the exploration of virgin soils (although it would remain uncultivated), tried to upgrade industrial and agricultural management, and to reduce the bureaucratic machine; he sanctioned the appearance of new books and works of art with emancipated, critical ideas (suffice it to mention Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn). As the leader of a superpower, Khrushchev did much to destroy the Cold War atmosphere. During the Cuban Missile crisis, he and John Kennedy demonstrated restraint and actually saved the world from a nuclear disaster.

His unconventional, unpredictable, at times eccentric conduct (as when banging his shoe on the desk at the UN General Assembly Session in 1959), and his numerous initiatives irritated the Soviet leadership, for this was against the rules of the game set under Stalin. Also, quite a few of his initiatives failed and proved markedly inconsistent. He mustered the courage to describe certain acts on the part of Stalin and his associates as not mistakes but crimes. At the same time, he lacked the realism to admit the fallacy of his corn experiment (forcing plantations on soils unfit for the crop), the shortcomings of the administrative reform (restructuring technical party organizations on the industrial principle), the utopia of plans to provide the material preconditions of communism within twenty years, the impracticality of solving new problems using old methods (in the early 1960s, Khrushchev lectured men of the arts, sometimes very rudely, telling them what they should portray and how; it was at that period that a ruthless campaign was unleashed against the Church), and worse still, relying on old cadres.

That cadre took advantage of his blunders. In 1957, he was in a position to rebuff a Stalinist attack (e.g., the “anti-Party group of Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov) and even remove them from office. In October 1964, the situation was different. Those same people that had warmly greeted him with his seventieth anniversary in April, secretly prepared an emergency CC CPSU plenum and accused him of voluntarism and subjectivism. In fact, they had enough damaging evidence and all he could do was ask them why they had not told him any of this before. However, they *did not kill* him physically, as Stalin would surely have, just as Khrushchev had not killed Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and his other adversaries (except Beria). And he could have! The fact that he did not is another lesson ought to learn from Khrushchev’s period of “thaw” and from his life.

In 1964, forty years ago (a special anniversary!), ended the political career of a Communist reformer. It was convincing evidence that the Communist system is immune to reform, even if ordered from on high.

He lived for seven years in retirement, a period of forced isolation and bitter reflections. He taped his memoirs, sharing facts he had kept to himself for all those long years, and which appeared in print in the West in the year of his death (Khrushchev passed away September 11, 1971). In the late 1990s, the complete text (four volumes) was published thanks to Sergei Khrushchev. This author also took part in its preparation.

US researcher Strobe Talbot [translator of *Khrushchev Remembers*] said the memoirs belong to a statesman who knew and remembered many things, and who must have had inexhaustible reserves of pretentiousness, intellect, cutthroat cruelty, and instinctive humane character; that his memoirs are an important historical document, especially in terms of testimony given by Khrushchev for the history trial over Stalin. Granted, except that this history trial should also be over Khrushchev and the system whose product he was – and which he tried to make more humane, inasmuch as he understood it.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the Ukrainian diplomacy during the second phase of the Soviet period (1944 – 1990).

UNIT 6

UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY: A NEW STAGE



1. When did the new stage of the Ukrainian diplomacy start? What was the impact of the 1990 Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine upon the Ukrainian diplomacy? What was the new competence of Ukraine as a subject of international law? What were the main tasks of Ukraine on the international stage? What were the main tasks of the national Ministry of Foreign Affairs? What have been the main achievements of Ukrainian diplomacy since the declaration of independence? How many countries have recognized Ukraine since the declaration of independence? How many countries has Ukraine established diplomatic relations with? How many countries have their diplomatic missions in Ukraine? Compare it to the figures in 1918–1922 during the UNR, the Hetman, the Directory and the Ukrainian SSR periods (see Units 2–4). How do you explain the difference? How many people work in the Foreign Ministry system now? How does it compare to the 1990 staff? How do you explain the difference? What Ukrainian educational establishments train the new generations of Ukrainian diplomats? How many international organisations is Ukraine a member of now? How many international legal documents has it concluded? What are the basic directions of Ukraine’s foreign policy now? When and whom were they approved by? Who are these recommendations and guidelines for?

1. You are going to read a text about the modern stage in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

Verkhovna Rada	subject	international security	world community	training
adopt declaration	consular	equal participant	full-fledged	education
State Sovereignty	trade	bilateral cooperation	main achievement	Oriental studies
international law	missions	international relations	positive results	recommendations
direct relations	recognition	diplomatic relations	universal peace	guidelines
agreements	network	bilateral relations	legal documents	basic directions
diplomatic	membership	European structures	new generations	state institutions

2. Read the text about the modern stage in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy. Choose the most suitable heading from the list (A – F) to each part (0 – 5) of the article. There is one extra heading which you do not need to use. There is an example at the beginning.

A.	What has been done	
B.	The main objectives	
C.	The main guidelines	
D.	A new beginning	0
E.	The staff problem solution	
F.	A direct involvement	

A new stage in the development of Ukrainian foreign service began on 16 July 1990, when the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of the UkrSSR adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine.

PARAGRAPH	0	HEADLINE
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The Declaration stated that Ukraine “as a subject of international law shall establish direct relations with other states, conclude agreements with them, exchange diplomatic, consular and trade missions, participate in activities of international organizations...”. Ukraine “shall act as an equal participant of international relations, actively promote strengthening of universal peace and international security, and directly participate in all-European process and European structures”.

PARAGRAPH	1	HEADLINE
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After the historic Act of Independence of Ukraine had been adopted on 24 August 1991, the national Ministry of Foreign Affairs faced new tasks dealing with the recognition of Ukraine by the world community, establishment of diplomatic relations, creation of an effective network of its own diplomatic and consular missions, establishment of full bilateral relations with foreign states, acquiring membership and becoming a full-fledged member of leading international organizations.

PARAGRAPH	2	HEADLINE
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The main achievement of Ukrainian diplomacy is that during 11 years of the country's independence it has attained positive results in all of those important areas. During the 11 years of its independence Ukraine was recognized by more than 170 foreign states. It has established diplomatic relations with almost all of them as it continues to develop bilateral cooperation. Missions of 134 foreign states and international organizations work in Ukraine. Ukraine today is a member of more than 90 international organizations. It has concluded more than 2,000 international legal documents.

PARAGRAPH	3	HEADLINE
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Today, the Foreign Ministry system has the staff of over 1,800, which is 18 times more than in 1990. The MFA attaches great importance to the training of new generations of Ukrainian diplomats. Among key higher educational institutions of diplomatic service are the Diplomatic Academy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Institute of International Relations of the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University, L'viv Ivan Franko National University, Kharkiv National Yaroslav-the-Wise University of Law and Kharkiv Collegium Institute of Oriental Studies and International Relations.

PARAGRAPH	4	HEADLINE
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On 2 July 1993, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved the "Basic Directions of Ukraine's Foreign Policy" containing recommendations and guidelines for the government and executive authorities, the diplomatic and consular missions of Ukraine abroad, as well as for other state institutions participating in realization of a foreign policy course.

PARAGRAPH	5	HEADLINE
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4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2 and answer the questions in them once again.

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

Новий етап; розвиток українського зовнішньополітичного відомства; Декларація про державний суверенітет України; суб'єкт міжнародного права; здійснювати безпосередні зносини з іншими державами; укласти договори; обмінюватися дипломатичними, консульськими, торговельними представництвами; брати участь у діяльності міжнародних організацій; рівноправний учасник міжнародного спілкування; активно сприяти зміцненню загального миру і міжнародної безпеки; безпосередньо брати участь у загальноєвропейському процесі; європейські структури; прийняття історичного документу; Акт про незалежність України; поставати; цілком нові завдання; визнання міжнародним співтовариством; встановлення дипломатичних відносин; створення ефективної мережі власних дипломатичних і консульських представництв; розбудова повноцінних двосторонніх відносин з зарубіжними країнами; набуття членства; утвердження в провідних міжнародних організаціях; досягнення позитивних результатів; закладення основних концептуальних засад зовнішньої політики України; головний здобуток української дипломатії; активно розвивати двостороннє співробітництво; представництва іноземних держав та міжнародних організацій; закордонна установа; система МЗС; підготовка нових поколінь українських дипломатів; навчальний заклад; давати вищу дипломатичну освіту; член міжнародної організації; міжнародно-правовий документ; основні напрями зовнішньої політики; рекомендаційний документ; робота уряду; органи виконавчої влади; дипломатичні і консульські представництва; державні установи; брати участь у реалізації зовнішньополітичного курсу.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 4.

1. In 1990A the Ukrainian _____ service started a new _____ in its development. 2. The Ukrainian Parliament adopted the _____ of State Sovereignty of Ukraine. 3. Ukraine became a _____ of international law and was planning to establish _____ relations

with other states. 4. It was also going to conclude _____, exchange diplomatic, _____ and trade missions, take part in a _____ organizations. 5. Ukraine viewed itself as an _____ participant of international relations. 6. Ukraine was planning to promote _____ of universal peace and international _____, and directly participate in all-European _____ and European structures. 7. The Act of _____ of Ukraine was adopted in 1991. 8. The Ministry of _____ Affairs' tasks included the _____ of Ukraine by the world _____, establishment of diplomatic _____, creation of a _____ of diplomatic and consular _____, establishment of full bilateral _____ with foreign states, acquiring membership and becoming a _____ member of leading _____ organizations. 9. The Ukrainian diplomacy has had a lot of _____ since the declaration of independence. 10. Ukraine was _____ by more than 170 foreign states. 11. Ukraine has _____ diplomatic relations with most of them. 12. Ukraine continues to develop _____ cooperation. 13. Ukraine has _____ of 134 foreign states and international _____ working in the country. 13. The Foreign _____ system has the staff of over 1,800, which is 18 times more than in 1990. 14. The MFA has organised _____ of Ukrainian diplomats. 15. The main educational _____ of diplomatic service include the leading National universities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv. 16. Ukraine has a _____ in more than 90 international organizations and has concluded more than 2,000 international _____ documents. 17. The "Basic _____ of Ukraine's Foreign Policy", approved by the _____ Rada of Ukraine, provides recommendations and _____ for the government and _____ bodies, diplomatic and consular _____ of Ukraine, as well as for other state _____ taking part in the Ukrainian foreign policy.

7. Render the following proper names into English.

Верховна Рада України; Дипломатична Академія при МЗС України, Інститут міжнародних відносин Київського Національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, Львівський Національний університет імені Івана Франка, Національна юридична академія імені Ярослава Мудрого у Харкові, Інститут сходознавства і міжнародних відносин "Харківський колегіум".

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the text on the modern stage in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

0. Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine.
1. Ukraine as a subject of international law
2. The new tasks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. The main achievement of Ukrainian diplomacy
4. Training of new generations of Ukrainian diplomats.
5. The “Basic Directions of Ukraine’s Foreign Policy”

9. Read the text (adapted from the articles by Serhiy SOLODKY and Viktor ZAMYATIN in *The Day* of April 20, 2004) and answer the following questions: What are the main directions of Ukraine-NATO cooperation? What are the main problems in this field? What measures are being taken at the moment? What are the prospects of this cooperation?

Confirming the Course

On April 14 a joint session of the NATO Political and Military-Political Steering Committees with Ukraine-NATO Military Reform Working Group took place at NATO Headquarters. The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk. The head of the Defense Ministry presented the participants a draft Strategic Defense Bulletin for the period to 2015. This document presents a so-called white book evaluating the condition of Ukraine’s Armed Forces and determines the directions for reforming them in the period to 2015. The Defense Ministry states, “The Strategic Defense Bulletin is a step toward implementation of the intentions for European and Euro-Atlantic integration declared by Ukraine.” An important element of this document is detailed forecasts on defense expenses. In part, in 2015 defense expenditures are to be UAH 17.186 billion compared to this year’s UAH 5.658 billion. In addition, the document anticipates reducing Ukraine’s Armed Forces from 355,000 to 200,000 by 2006 with further reductions by 2015. Deputy Head of the Armed Forces of Ukraine General Headquarters Leonid HOLOPATIUK told about the results of the document’s presentation by phone from Brussels:

“The participants in the meeting took special note of the fact that they received open and transparent materials. NATO representatives confirmed

that the very format of this meeting was unprecedented: for the first time in the alliance's history the meeting was held by the NATO Political and Military-Political Steering Committees and the Ukraine-NATO Military Reform Working Group on such a high level. Our delegation enjoyed absolute support, getting very positive feedback. Simultaneously, professional issues were touched upon, dealing with the implementation of our plans for the military reform, namely, its financial and resource provisions. Our work was highly evaluated by representatives of the United States, Poland, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Turkey. Everyone was impressed with the Ukrainian experts' analysis. The alliance countries' representatives said that with this step Ukraine has confirmed its commitment to its Euro-Atlantic course. They also received positively the fact that we have calculated in detail the consequences of the military reform. Our delegation was able to give clear explanations with examples regarding social guarantees and also Ukraine's plans for liquidating military equipment and ammunition. There were also questions about democratic control. The meeting participants viewed positively not only our thoroughly elaborated document but also our reasoned and convincing explanations. They stressed that it was the first time that Ukraine has sent such a strong team to the NATO Headquarters: representatives of the Ministry of Defense, General Headquarters, National Security and Defense Council, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration. Such a respectable and well— informed delegation is in itself evidence of Ukraine's dedication to its Euro— Atlantic course. It is important that, rather than criticism, we heard friendly advice demonstrating our common concern about implementing the plans set.”

Istanbul View

Yesterday new NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, former foreign minister of the Netherlands, visited Kyiv. The visit was primarily of a get-acquainted character, although Secretary Scheffer has already met Ukraine's ministers of foreign affairs and defense. This time he came to familiarize himself with Ukraine as “NATO's special partner,” its ambitions, potential, correlation between its declared goals and reality, and especially with the country's domestic situation on the elections eve. The special feature of the new Secretary General's visit is that it took place immediately after seven countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania) had joined the alliance. Visits of the alliance's high representatives to Ukraine, which in the last decade have become common, never ceasing even during Ukraine's diplomatic isolation, have a simple

explanation: Ukraine is NATO's special partner, and the latter gives considerable attention to this relationship.

In his address after the meeting at Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs the secretary-general stressed that the alliance attaches great importance to the strategic partnership between NATO and Ukraine. In his words, the sides have good relationship but it can become even better. He said that yesterday they discussed [at the Foreign Ministry] precisely the measures able to improve interaction between Kyiv and Brussels. Scheffer stressed Ukraine's practical contribution to global security, in part, our peacekeepers' missions in Iraq and Kosovo. Foreign Minister Hryshchenko, in his turn, informed the high guest on considering the documents important for securing effective interaction between Kyiv and Brussels. He mentioned that the memorandum On Using Ukraine's Military Transport Aircraft is to be ratified soon.

One of Scheffer's major messages was that Ukraine should give attention to such values as democracy, the rule of the law, and the freedom of the press. Obviously, both the probability of a Ukraine-NATO Commission meeting during the June 28–29 Istanbul Summit and the level of Ukraine's representation at this summit will depend on how well these instructions are implemented. Diplomats from individual NATO countries hinted that the meeting could fail to take place for various reasons. Some connect such a course of events with Ukraine's pre-election situation, others, with the still undefined agenda of the summit. It is not ruled out that it will be completely devoted to Iraq. Therefore, the meeting's participants might simply reject negotiations in a special format (as is the case with Ukraine and Russia). Scheffer stated that during the Kyiv negotiations the parties have briefly touched upon the Istanbul Summit. Pointing out that NATO is an organization working on the consensus basis, meaning that the decision will be made by all its members, the secretary-general said that so far no decision has been made as to the level of Ukraine's representation at the Ukraine-NATO commission meeting. However, he stressed that a meeting on a high level is not impossible, adding that a positive decision on this subject will depend not only on NATO but also on Ukraine.

Today Ukraine can demonstrate to NATO certain achievements. In part, Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk has presented the draft Defense Bulletin in Brussels, the work on which began as early as two years ago with a support from the NATO Headquarters representatives along with separate alliance member states. NATO's Political and Military and Political Committees, it

is reported, highly praised the document. The bulletin contains, in part, data on the Armed Forces and ideas concerning the state's further need in the Armed Forces in terms of their functions. After revision, the document will be presented to the National Defense and Security Council of Ukraine. It is to be approved by the president of Ukraine.

Speaking about NATO's evaluation of Ukraine's performance regarding the Action Plan and Target Plan 2004, ratified in Prague, while, on the one hand, in the words of Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Oleh Shamshur, "NATO partners' evaluation is highly harsh and critical," on the other, the alliance recognizes that Ukraine has made considerable effort and "achieved fundamental progress".

Perhaps in international diplomatic language this means simply, "it didn't fail... but we cannot be completely satisfied," the diplomat says. Not all the laws required by the Target Plan 2003 were adopted; there also remain problems connected with the course of the election campaign (democratization and securing free elections are among Ukraine's priority tasks according to the documents signed with NATO) and the freedom of speech (the same refers to it). Some of the clauses not implemented were, in Mr. Shamshur's words, "incorporated" into the Target Plan 2004, which had recently been made public. By this document Ukraine is to, in part, approve 37 new laws.

The defense reform in Ukraine traditionally receives positive feedback in the West. However, much remains to be done in terms of implementing civilian command over the Armed Forces and reforming law enforcement bodies and special services, which at present are almost totally closed.

Chairman of the ad hoc parliamentary Committee on Cooperation with NATO and First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on European Integration Oleh Zarubinsky states that "a tendency has been formed in Ukraine for slowing down the rate of movement toward NATO." In his words, the deputies have not seen yet the complete text of the Strategy of Ukraine's Relations with NATO; moreover, "It is still unclear whether this text exists at all." The deputy also spoke about the virtually nonexistent information policy regarding the Ukraine-NATO relations along with the fact that leading television channels present information on NATO in either neutral or critical form, which, in his view, is absolutely unacceptable, unless the state policy aimed at Ukraine joining the alliance has changed.

Representatives of the United States of America, Great Britain, and Poland continue to make statements on their countries' support for Ukraine's intentions to join the North Atlantic alliance. Similar statements can be heard from representatives of the leadership of Turkey, the Baltic States, and Bulgaria. Ukraine-NATO relations were among key topics of the recent Kyiv negotiations with US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. Simultaneously, there is no clear idea of how these relations are to further develop or whether the 1997 Charter on Special Partnership is sufficient for their legal securing. There is no clear answer to the question, how Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic prospects can be affected with its not always understandable steps in its relations with Russia, which, demanding a truly special status in its relations with NATO, in fact denies such a right to anyone else. However, yesterday the secretary-general stressed that other countries have every right to take even decisions to which the Kremlin might develop a political allergy, expressing his confidence that Russia will treat this with understanding.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the present relations of Ukraine and NATO and the prospects of their development.

UNIT 7

BASICS OF UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY



1A. What are the fundamental national legal documents which regulate Ukraine's foreign policy?

1B. Who is in charge of the foreign policy of Ukraine? Who represents Ukraine in international negotiations? Who concludes international treaties? Who makes decisions on recognition of foreign states? Who assigns and dismisses heads of diplomatic missions of Ukraine? Who accepts credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states in Ukraine?

1C. What is the central executive authority that that conducts the foreign policy of Ukraine? What are the main tasks of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine? What is Ukraine's strategic course in international relations?

1D. What executive authority conducts negotiations with EU and NATO? Who coordinates the participation of other executive authorities in this process? Who assists in in adapting Ukrainian legislation to the EU standards? What is Ukraine's policy as regards the neighbouring states? What is a frozen conflict? What is Ukraine's policy to the frozen conflicts on the territory of the former USSR? What is Ukraine's policy towards the participation in the international peace keeping operations?

2. You are going to read four short texts on the basics of Ukrainian foreign policy. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

legal succession	regulate	powers	coordination	reliable
legal documents	concept	be in charge	support	predictable
foreign affairs	Decree	delegated	national interests	partner

Basic Directions	stability	negotiations	cooperation	authority
diplomatic mission	represent	Constitution	beneficial	favorable
national security	measure	recognition	peaceful	independence
Military Doctrine	assign	legal entity	community	sovereignty
Law of Ukraine	accept	citizen	maintain	self-dependence
Diplomatic Service	dismiss	promotion	peacekeeping	territorial integrity
international treaties	image	credentials	external relations	protection
executive authorities	treaty	Regulation	Consular Statute	effective legislation
international law	economic	integration	strategic course	rights and interests
partnership	social	monitor	adapt	national legislation
settlement	regional	interregional	unprejudiced	consistent
frozen conflicts	friendly	participant	significant role	international activities

3. You are going to read four short texts on the basics of Ukrainian foreign policy. For questions 1–20 choose from texts A-D. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

Which of the texts (A-D) mentions or describes:

	A	B	C	D
Basic directions of Ukraine's foreign policy	0	•		
The central executive authority that conducts the foreign policy of Ukraine	1			
Acceptance of credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states	2			
The consular statute of Ukraine	3			
Monitoring the issues of Ukraine's integration to EU and NATO	4			
The dismissal of Ukrainian diplomatic missions heads	5			
The program of integration of Ukraine into the European Union	6			
The Military Doctrine of Ukraine	7			
The importance of regional and interregional cooperation	8			
The issues related to the settlement of frozen conflicts	9			
The issues related to the recognition of foreign states	10			
The issues of the legal succession of Ukraine	11			
The issues of the promotion of ties with Ukrainian communities abroad	12			
The issues related to Ukraine's image as a reliable and predictable partner	13			

Adaptation of Ukraine’s legislation to the European standards	14
The issues related to international peacekeeping activities	15
The issues related to the preservation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine	16
The coordination of executive authorities’ actions in Ukraine’s foreign policy	17
The representation of Ukraine in international relations	18
The issues related to the international treaties of Ukraine	19
Peaceful and beneficial cooperation with other countries	20

A

Ukraine’s foreign policy is regulated by the following fundamental national legal documents:

- Constitution of Ukraine dated 28 June 1996
- Basic Directions of Ukraine’s Foreign Policy dated 2 July 1993
- Concept (the Fundamentals of State Policy) of National Security of Ukraine dated 16 January 1997
- Military Doctrine of Ukraine dated 19 October 1993
- Law of Ukraine “On Diplomatic Service of Ukraine” dated 20 September 2001
- Law of Ukraine “On International Treaties of Ukraine” dated 22 December 1993
- Law of Ukraine “On Legal Succession of Ukraine” dated 12 September 1991
- Law of Ukraine “On Participation of Ukraine in International Peacekeeping Operations” dated 23 April 1999
- Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Regulations about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine” dated 3 April 1999
- Decree of the President of Ukraine No.841/ 96 “On Measures to improve Coordination of Actions of Executive Authorities in the Field of External Relations” dated 18 September 1996
- Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Consular Statute of Ukraine” dated 2 April 1994
- Order of the President of Ukraine “On Regulations about Diplomatic Mission of Ukraine Abroad” dated 22 October 1992

B

According to Article 106 of the Constitution of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine is in charge of the foreign policy of Ukraine, he represents the country in international relations, conducts negotiations and concludes international treaties [of Ukraine], makes decisions on recognition of foreign states, assigns and dismisses heads of diplomatic missions of Ukraine to foreign states and international organizations, and accepts credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states.

C

According to the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On Regulations about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine” dated 3 April 1999, “the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is a central executive authority of Ukraine that conducts foreign policy of the state and coordinates the activities in the field of external relations in accordance with powers delegated to it”. The main tasks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine are:

- participation in securing national interests and ensuring security of Ukraine through maintaining peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation with the members of international community;
- promoting stability of Ukraine’s international position, raising its international authority, spreading throughout the world Ukraine’s image as a reliable and predictable partner;
- creation of favorable external conditions for strengthening independence, state sovereignty, economic self-dependence and preserving territorial integrity of Ukraine;
- ensuring integrity and coordination of Ukraine’s foreign policy according to the delegated powers;
- protection of rights and interests of citizens and legal entities of Ukraine abroad; promotion of ties with Ukrainian communities abroad and provision of support and protection for such communities according to international law and effective legislation of Ukraine.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is implementing Ukraine’s strategic course towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration and is guided by the following documents:

- Program for Ukraine's Integration to the European Union (approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine of 14 September 2000)
- Address by the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of 18 June 2002 "European Choice. Conceptual Grounds of the Strategy of Social and Economic Development of Ukraine for 2002–2011";
- Ukraine's Strategy as regards the Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine of 8 July 2002).

D

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs ensures the negotiating process with the EU and NATO structures, it also monitors and reacts to all sensible issues of Ukraine's integration to the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance, coordinates participation of executive authorities in this process, provides assistance in adapting the national legislation to the EU standards and actively cooperates with the EU in consular and political/security spheres.

Ukraine attaches paramount importance to building friendly relations and partnership with neighboring states and the development of regional and interregional cooperation. Ukraine is an unprejudiced and consistent participant in the settlement of the so-called frozen conflicts (Transdniestrian and Georgian/Abkhazian); it also plays a significant role in international peacekeeping activities.

4. Go back to exercises 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

A. 1. Зовнішньополітична діяльність; 2. засадничі нормативно-правові акти; 3. основи державної політики; 4. концепція національної безпеки; 5. основні напрями зовнішньої політики; 6. воєнна доктрина; 7. дипломатична служба; 8. міжнародні договори; 9. Правонаступництво; 10. міжнародні миротворчі операції; 11. указ Президента; 12. Положення про Міністерство закордонних справ; 13. заходи щодо вдосконалення; 14. координація діяльності органів виконавчої влади; 15. сфера зовнішніх зносин; 16. консульський статут; 17. розпорядження Президента; 18. дипломатичне представництво за кордоном.

Б. 1. Згідно зі статтею 106 Конституції; 2. здійснювати керівництво зовнішньополітичною діяльністю держави; 3. представляти країну в міжнародних відносинах; 4. вести переговори; 5. укладати міжнародні договори; 6. приймати рішення про визнання іноземних держав; 7. призначати та звільняти глав дипломатичних представництв; 8. приймати вірчі грамоти дипломатичних представників іноземних держав.

С. 1. Центральний орган виконавчої влади; 2. відповідно до наданих повноважень; 3. проводити зовнішню політику держави; 4. координувати діяльність у сфері зовнішніх зносин; 5. участь у забезпеченні національних інтересів і безпеки країни; 6. підтримання мирного і взаємовигідного співробітництва з членами міжнародного співтовариства; 7. сприяння забезпеченню стабільності міжнародного становища України; 8. піднесення міжнародного авторитету; 9. поширення у світі образу України як надійного і передбачуваного партнера; 10. створення сприятливих зовнішніх умов для зміцнення незалежності України; 11. державний суверенітет; 12. економічна самостійність; 13. збереження територіальної цілісності; 14. відповідно до наданих повноважень; 15. забезпечення цілісності та узгодженості зовнішньополітичного курсу України; 16. захист прав та інтересів громадян і юридичних осіб України за кордоном; 17. сприяння розвитку зв'язків із зарубіжними українськими громадами; 18. надання українським громадам підтримки і захисту; 19. відповідно до норм міжнародного права; 20. відповідно до чинного законодавства України; 21. визначений керівництвом України; 22. втілювати стратегічний курс; 23. курс України на європейську і євроатлантичну інтеграцію; 24. керуватися програмою; 25. Програма інтеграції України до Європейського Союзу; 26. затверджувати указом Президента; 27. Послання Президента до Верховної Ради; 28. Європейський вибір; 29. концептуальні засади; 30. стратегії економічного та соціального розвитку України; 31. стратегія України щодо Організації Північноатлантичного договору (НАТО).

Д. 1. забезпечувати переговорний процес зі структурами ЄС і НАТО; 2. відстежувати і реагувати на всі чутливі питання інтеграції України до ЄС і НАТО; 3. координує участь у цьому процесі органів виконавчої влади; 4. адаптація національного законодавства до норм ЄС; 5. активно взаємодіяти з ЄС у консульській та політико-безпековій сферах; 6. надавати особливого значення; 7. розбудова дружніх і партнерських відносин з сусідніми країнами; 8. розвиток регіональної і міжрегіо-

нальної співпраці; 9. неупереджений і послідовний; 10. врегулювання заморожених конфліктів; 11. відігравати помітну роль; 12. міжнародна миротворча діяльність.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

A. 1. Ukraine's foreign policy is _____ by a number of _____ national legal documents, the most important among which being the _____ of Ukraine; Basic _____ of Ukraine's Foreign Policy; Concept (the _____ of State Policy) of National Security of Ukraine; Military _____ of Ukraine; Law of Ukraine "On Diplomatic _____ of Ukraine"; Law of Ukraine "On International _____ of Ukraine"; Law of Ukraine "On Legal _____ of Ukraine"; Law of Ukraine "On Participation of Ukraine in International _____ Operations"; Decree of the _____ of Ukraine "On Regulations about the Ministry of Foreign _____ of Ukraine"; _____ of the President of Ukraine No.841/ 96 "On Measures to Improve _____ of Actions of Executive Authorities in the Field of _____ Relations"; Decree of the President of _____ "On Consular _____ of Ukraine"; •Order of the President of Ukraine "On Regulations about Diplomatic Mission of Ukraine Abroad".

B. 1. _____ to Article 106 of the _____ of Ukraine, the _____ of Ukraine is in _____ of the foreign policy of Ukraine, he represents the country in _____ relations, conducts _____ and concludes international _____, makes decisions on recognition of _____ states, assigns and _____ heads of diplomatic missions of Ukraine to foreign states and _____ organizations, and accepts _____ of diplomatic representatives of foreign _____.

C. 1. Following the _____ of the President of Ukraine "On _____ about the Ministry of _____ Affairs of Ukraine", the _____ of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is a central _____ authority of Ukraine that _____ foreign policy of the state and _____ the activities in the field of external _____ in accordance with powers _____ to it. The main _____ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine are: participation in _____ national interests and _____ security of Ukraine through maintaining peaceful and mutually _____ cooperation with the members of international _____; promoting _____ of Ukraine's international position, raising its international _____, spreading throughout

the world Ukraine's image as a reliable and _____ partner; creation of favorable _____ conditions for strengthening _____, state _____, economic self _____ and preserving territorial _____ of Ukraine; ensuring integrity and coordination of Ukraine's _____ policy according to the delegated _____; protection of rights and _____ of citizens and legal _____ of Ukraine abroad; promotion of ties with Ukrainian _____ abroad and provision of support and _____ for such communities according to _____ law and effective _____ of Ukraine".

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is _____ Ukraine's strategic _____ towards European and Euro-Atlantic _____ and is guided by the following documents: Program for Ukraine's _____ to the European Union (_____ by the _____ of the President of Ukraine of 14 September 2000); Address by the _____ of Ukraine to the _____ Rada of Ukraine of 18 June 2002: European Choice. Conceptual _____ of the Strategy of Social and _____ Development of Ukraine for 2002–2011; Ukraine's _____ as regards the Northern Atlantic _____ Organization (approved by the Decree of the President of _____ of 8 July 2002).

D. The _____ of Foreign Affairs ensures _____ with EU and NATO, it also _____ and reacts to all _____ issues of Ukraine's integration to the European Union and the North Atlantic _____, coordinates participation of _____ authorities in this process, assists in _____ the national legislation to the European _____ and actively cooperates with international bodies in _____ and political/security spheres. Ukraine _____ great importance to building _____ relations and partnership with neighboring _____ and the development of regional and _____ cooperation. Ukraine is an _____ and consistent participant in the settlement of _____ conflicts; it also plays a significant _____ in international _____ activities.

7. Render the following names and realia into English.

1. Конституція України; Основні напрями зовнішньої політики України; Концепція (основи державної політики) національної безпеки України; Воєнна доктрина України; Закон України "Про дипломатичну службу України"; Закон України "Про міжнародні договори України"; Закон України "Про правонаступництво України"; Закон України "Про участь України в міжнародних миротворчих операціях"; Указ Президента України "Про Положення про Міністерство закордонних справ

України”; Указ Президента N 841/96 “Про заходи щодо вдосконалення координації діяльності органів виконавчої влади у сфері зовнішніх зносин”; Указ Президента України “Про Консульський Статут України”; Розпорядження Президента України “Про дипломатичне представництво України за кордоном”; Програма інтеграції України до Європейського Союзу (затверджена Указом Президента України); Послання Президента до Верховної Ради від 18 червня 2002 р. “Європейський вибір. Концептуальні засади стратегії економічного та соціального розвитку України на 2002–2011 роки”; Стратегія України щодо Організації Північноатлантичного договору (НАТО) затверджена Указом Президента України; Європейський Союз (ЄС); Північноатлантичний Альянс (НАТО); Придністровський конфлікт; грузино-абхазський конфлікт.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts on the basics of Ukrainian foreign policy to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

A. The fundamental national legal documents which regulate Ukraine’s foreign policy
1. Basic Law
2. Conceptual Documents (3)
3. Laws of Ukraine (4)
4. Decrees of the President of Ukraine (3)
5. Order of the President of Ukraine
B. Presidential Responsibilities
C. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
1. The main tasks (5)
• participation
• promoting, raising and spreading
• creation and preserving
• ensuring and coordination
• protection, promotion and provision
2. The main documents Ukraine’s integration into EU and NATO is based upon (3)
• Program
• Address
• Strategy
D. The main functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

9. Read the interview with the Foreign Minister of Ukraine Kostiantyn Hryshchenko (adapted from the interview by Oleh IVANTSOV and Serhiy SOLODKY in *The Day* of December 23, 2004) and answer the following questions: How would Saddam's arrest affect the process of postwar political and legal settlement in Iraq? When could one expect contracts on Ukraine's participation in rebuilding Iraq? Was the decision of dispatching the Ukrainian peacekeeping contingent to Iraq justifiable? What should Ukraine do to make the NATO Membership Action Plan look more realistic at the Istanbul summit? Can the predicted increase in anti-NATO public sentiment in Ukraine faced with the presidential campaign impede the NATO integration process and affect the campaign? How should Ukraine respond to Tuzla-like approaches? Is there a possibility of changing Ukraine's habitual defensive stance? What is the status of the Azov-Kerch delimitation talks? Is there any progress in understanding between the negotiating parties in these talks? What are the SES prospects? Could Ukraine go further than the free trade area? What kind of Russia will we say goodbye to at the end of The Year of Russia and what will we see next year? Does Ukraine have the domestic political prerequisites to implement consistency as the first and foremost foreign political rule? Comment on the Ukrainian president's recent edict *On Measures to Increase the Efficiency of the Nation's Foreign Political Endeavors*?

Reading notes

The passing year has been very tense for Ukraine in terms of foreign policy; it has also yielded tangible results. Next year may well prove even more complicated. Official Kyiv, while obviously banking on strong personalities, appears capable of coming up with initiatives and taking effective steps. Among such strong personalities one ought to mention Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko. The Tuzla crisis and SES controversy were his baptism of fire, reaffirming the newly appointed minister's professional reputation. Although it would be premature to say that his domestic and foreign policy trials are history. Below Mr. Hryshchenko answers *The Day's* questions addressing the rules and principles of the foreign policy game.

Basing on his recent visit to Iraq, Foreign Minister thinks Saddam's arrest will serve to ease tensions and that it could happen quite soon, but will have

long-term consequences. It will add to that country's stability and improve the situation in terms of security. Those engineering acts of terrorism in Iraq may have subconsciously expected Saddam's return to power. In addition, no one knew whether he was actually in command of those acts that were carried out on a regular basis. The dictator's being at large was an actual threat factor. Therefore, Foreign Minister believes that Saddam's arrest could help assert stability in Iraq.

There are several levels of financing postwar Iraqi reconstruction. The first, the immediate one, consists in what is being paid by the US government to rebuild the Iraqi infrastructure, strengthen its security and educational system. Contracts in that domain will be awarded primarily to countries directly involved in the Iraqi stabilization process. In other words, owing to our peacekeeping presence in that country, Ukraine has a real opportunity to take part in postwar Iraqi reconstruction. Otherwise this matter would not be discussed at all. At this first level, US companies will have priority, of course. This is in keeping with US legislation, and is only natural, for payments are being made from the US federal budget. Ukraine had from the outset meant to win subcontracts, so we could take part in large projects. All this will be done in accordance with US and internationally recognized standards: holding tenders where the bidders have to conform to certain international requirements. We must prove that we have the needed experience, and we must present business projects in line with a more comprehensive program. Moreover, companies taking part in the competition will have to offer price and reliability guarantees. We don't have many such companies in Ukraine, but enough to prove they can operate in Iraq and show an adequate performance. Some of their executives accompanied Foreign Minister on his trip to Iraq. They represented business entities actually capable of adequately performing at that level, having sufficient resources and international experience, so their presence in Iraq would not be a matter of formality, but an opportunity to win such contracts and proceed to cooperate.

However, the biggest obstacle today is the situation in Baghdad and in most other Iraqi regions – security. Returning to your question concerning Saddam's arrest, Foreign Minister would like to point out that, yes, we expect the situation to improve considerably, so we will be able to dispatch our civilian experts on a more or less acceptable risk basis. Such people would, of course, be aware of the risks involved and would be free to accept or reject such missions. So far we don't have this balance. No one is going to dispat-

ch experts to face unpredictable risks. This won't be done by the Ukrainian government or by any Ukrainian companies. After all, who would be willing to put his life on the line in a situation like this?

The next level of cooperation with Iraq is not only US spending, but also what we know as credit resources. In the initial phase this could mean the involvement of international financial institutions, including the World Bank, commercial banks, and a possible consortium. Iraqi needs are immense, they cannot be ignored. Here the task of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry is in assisting all possible business associates with comprehending the risks involved, assessing their capacities, and figuring out what should be done in the first place to meet certain standards; also helping those with the required potential, infrastructure, political will as well as endurance, so they can win the competition and assert their lasting presence on the Iraqi market.

Foreign Minister thinks that we must always assess the risks involved and how all this can serve our national interests – and this is something that can't be measured in terms of only tangible assets. After toppling Saddam's regime, it became clear that urgent steps had to be taken to rebuild that country, not only financially, but also in terms of security and stability. That task could be carried out only by concerted action on the part of the international community of nations, by a broad coalition. One could become a security consumer, but then one's country would not be seriously considered by anyone in the international arena; in that case one's country would become a target of someone else's bargaining; it would remain a territory but no longer a real player as an entity of international relations; it would become simply fictitious. In this context, our participation in peacekeeping missions elsewhere in the world is the most significant signal to our partners (wherever they are, in the East or West); we have our potential and can put it to the best use; we can operate on a par with those having great potentials; we have sufficient resources to keep pace with those we consider our true friends. We demonstrated all this at a very complicated period. We succeeded in demonstrating to the Americans, British, and Poles, to all those having to cope with Iraq's daily problems, that our contingent in Iraq is manned by true professionals capable of carrying out not only military, but also other, far more complex; that we are well prepared and equipped to meet most threatening challenges. Our military intelligence in Iraq timely warned against a number of complicated situations. We are being reckoned with and duly respected. Foreign Minister met with the interim civilian authorities and he-

ard words of genuine appreciation about our peacekeepers. The sector under our control is marked by law and order, as well as by carefully balanced approaches to the local situation. I am personally convinced that this is what makes the Ukrainian responsibility sector in Wasit province register the smallest number of dangerous outbursts.

Foreign Minister thinks that Ukraine have been taking a number of important steps in the direction of making the NATO Membership Action Plan look more realistic at the Istanbul summit. The recent Ukraine-NATO Commission meetings at the foreign and defense minister level showed that there was a clear vision of this ultimate goal and are prepared to achieve it. We simply have to comply with the existing schedules. We must be consistent. We cannot afford to make any deviations from such plans as we may have set for ourselves, for the sake of politics. And this concerns the military as well as other realms. If we act the right way, I think we'll be able to get the ball running and transfer to a higher level of relations with NATO. Foreign Minister would say that the fact of our presence in Kosovo, our courage and farsightedness when deciding to dispatch a peacekeeping contingent to Iraq have played a very important role with regard to Ukraine's Euro- Atlantic and European integration prospects. This attitude served as a signal telling our partners that we are prepared to measure up to their standards; that we can do more than just declare our being prepared to act shoulder to shoulder with them. Some might regard this decision as not too complicated, yet assuming responsibility for security and stability in another country's province – in this case Iraq, with its fifteen provinces – could be shouldered by few other countries.

Foreign Minister believes that long-term national interests and Ukraine's overall foreign policy should be kept separate from any tactical planning, in the context of presidential, parliamentary, or any other political campaigns, as some political forces or other would always be eager to use them for their own purposes in trying to gain more votes. Such campaigns in Europe and North America are known to have shown steps being taken contrary to logic and common sense. It is also true that those coming to power would seldom try to make their campaign mottos come true. Being in power always requires an acute awareness of one's personal responsibility. All political forces displaying a responsible attitude to Ukraine's future cannot deny the validity of its current European choice. A closer look at Ukrainian history, as well as the current political realities considered worldwide shows that the

global process affects the destinies of states and those of every individual in those countries; it is time we realized that we have no alternative. This does not mean that we have to bang our heads on closed doors. We should seek opportunities to serve our interests precisely where we feel these interests could be served, where we could expect to be rewarded for our efforts. However, the main guidelines have been outlined by the president and Verkhovna Rada. They are accepted by all those genuinely concerned about the future of this country; they are accepted by the younger generation. Our young people agree that their future is in Europe. They know that the kind of living standard they can achieve will determine the degree to which they will be able to implement their individual selves. We know where the living standard is not just higher, but where it answers our Ukrainian spirit.

Any country should adopt a consistent and self-confident foreign policy course, showing that its actions served its own interests as well as those of its neighbors or partners. It is necessary to establish a line of conduct and then unswervingly adhere to it, proving one's stand to one's partners, using substantial arguments, appealing to common sense and international experience; if need be – and I would like to stress the same consequence – even by turning to international institutions. The latter should be asked for assistance only when the situation actually demands this, not when one's feelings are hurt, the more so when the situation needs to be figured out first. Given these prerequisites, Foreign Minister believes that we will always be in a position to defend our interests. But if we prove inconsistent, if we respond to external challenges, acting on the spur of the moment rather than sober contemplation (and it's true that there may develop situations hard to understand at first), we will betray our weakness, vulnerability, inability to adequately respond to challenges. In our case, Foreign Minister thinks, we have demonstrated precisely the right kind of consistent approach.

There is a degree of rapprochement in the Azov-Kerch delimitation talks, yet there is a certain distance to be covered between rapprochement and understanding. I wouldn't want to repeat the principles the Ukrainian side adheres to. We are prepared to look for balanced solutions to certain problems, in a way that would not hinder Ukrainian interests and would meet the vital needs of the people on both banks of the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait. There is still a very considerable amount of things to be done, but there is also the desire of both sides to make headway. This desire is not always made public – and with reason, for steering a middle course is something few rallies would be able to achieve.

Concerning SES, a decision has been made and we have a document. This document must be implemented, but only within the limits it contains. We made our attitude clear from the outset; we want the SES idea to be made a reality with the emphasis on a free trade area, so our partners' markets provide the best possible access for Ukrainian goods. After that we could move to further integration stages, depending on how well the first one performs. It is of principal importance for us to see just how far our partners are prepared to go in that direction.

We must first pass the initial phase. We must understand precisely how far we can get there, so we can figure out our next steps. Let me remind you that SES is a framework agreement, meaning that its implementation calls for making dozens of other specific agreements. Experts are working on this, but the issue cannot be left unnoticed by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

As far as The Year of Russia is concerned, we are not bidding goodbye to Russia. We know that country the way it is. It remains our closest neighbor, with its immense potentialities and its interest in Ukraine. It can still lend us a hand in difficult situations, as was the case with the grain crisis, when Russia promptly came to our rescue. On the other hand, we must continue studying Russia; we should not be afraid of that country, we should establish relations so we could really understand each other and remain true friends. We must build these relationships not on a subservient basis, but proceeding from the obvious fact that we will have to coexist as [equal] states, being divided by borders but not by a solid wall. Russia is a country whose problems will concern our posterity, so we must work to make this legacy less burdensome.

As for the Ukrainian president's recent edict *On Measures to Increase the Efficiency of the Nation's Foreign Political Endeavors*, it's an edict, duly issued and signed by the Head of State. It must be implemented. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry reserves the right – in fact, it is its duty – to submit its own proposals to the president, aimed at upgrading such foreign policy efforts.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the basics of Ukraine's foreign policy.



UNIT 8

***THE STRUCTURE OF
THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
THE MINISTER AND
HIS OFFICE***

1. What do you know about the functions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs? What are the functions of the State Secretary, the State Secretary for European Integration and their Deputies? What does the Minister’s Private Office do? Who researches and prepares materials for meetings and negotiations? Who oversees the process of implementing the Minister’s decisions and instructions? What are the functions of the Rapid Response Center? What subdivision provides protection of the rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens abroad? What subdivision studies the latest news reports by the world media? What subdivision analyses information from Ukrainian consular and diplomatic missions abroad? What are the functions of the State Protocol Department? What subdivision maintains the Ministry’s contacts and correspondence with foreign diplomatic missions in Ukraine? What subdivision takes care of functioning and protection of privileges and immunities of foreign diplomats and diplomatic missions? Who organizes the meetings of heads of foreign diplomatic missions with high-ranking Ukrainian officials? What are the functions of the Press Service and the Press Club? What is the difference between them?

2. You are going to read a text about the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the-text? Why or why not?

media	representative	long-term	situation reports	legal issues
subdivision	threat	delegation	international events	accreditation
briefings	dynamic	consular	media coverage	correspondence
exequaturs	challenge	protection	information needs	protocol services

signature	balanced	crises	foreign communities	coordination
immunities	department	implement	official messages	diplomatic corps
emergency	incorporate	oversee	press center	credentials
monitor	model	negotiations	mission abroad	news reports
response	approximate	experience	rights and interests	honorary consul
efficient	rapid	administer	diplomatic missions	special tasks
oversight	ambassador	advisor	information	inspector

3. You are going to read a text about the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The names of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' structural subdivisions and positions as well as of some other state agencies have been removed from the article. Choose from the names (A – S) the one that fits each gap (0 – 19). There is an example at the beginning (0).

	Names of the structural subdivisions and positions	
A	Inspector General	
B	Directorates-General	0
C	Ministry of Internal Affairs	
D	First Department	
E	State Secretary	
F	Department of Ambassadors-at-Large and Chief Advisors	
G	Verkhovna Rada	
H	Press Club	
I	Deputies of State Secretary	
J	State Protocol Department	
K	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	
L	State Secretary for European Integration	
M	Head of the Press Service	
N	Minister's Private Office	
N	Cabinet of Ministers	
O	Rapid Response Center	
P	Ministry of Defense	
Q	Press Service	
R	Ministry for Emergencies	
S	Security Service	

Present-day structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (MFA) took shape as a result of the reform implemented in 2001. Following major structural changes, the methods of work of the Ukrainian foreign policy agency now closely approximates classical European models. The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs today comprises six _____ (0) incorporating more than thirty departments. Among the newly created posts are _____ (1) and _____ (2) and their deputies. This is a dynamic and balanced structure, which ensures smooth functioning of the whole foreign policy service of Ukraine and allows it to respond rapidly and efficiently to contemporary challenges and threats. The _____ (3) of Ukraine is administered by the Minister with participation of the State Secretary, State Secretary for European Integration and _____ (4). Everyday activities of the head of the foreign policy agency are ensured by the _____ (5). The average age of staff in the Minister's Office is thirty years. Its nine staff members speak a total of some 30 foreign languages. Almost all of them have had experience of a long-term mission abroad. The Office researches and prepares materials for meetings and negotiations with the Minister's participation; it also oversees the process of implementing his decisions and instructions. Each day, about a hundred various documents are submitted for the Minister's signature.

_____ (6) (RRC) operates under the Minister's Private Office. This subdivision was created to increase the effectiveness of the Ministry's response to international events, to monitor crises and emergencies, and ensure rapid and effective protection of the rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens abroad. The Rapid Response Center is manned 24 hours a day. Several times a day the Center prepares situation reports on the latest international developments, studies latest news reports by the world media and analyses information coming from Ukrainian consular and diplomatic missions abroad. The Center carries out its activities in close coordination with relevant subdivisions of the _____ (7), _____ (8), _____ (9), _____ (10) and other state agencies of Ukraine.

The performance of the _____ (11), which is considered one of the most responsible directions in any foreign policy service, is also closely connected with activities of the Minister and the Ministry. The Department is responsible for preparing and holding foreign visits of Ukrainian governmental delegations headed by the Foreign Minister. It acts in close coopera-

tion with the protocol services of the President, the _____ (12) and _____ (13) of Ukraine in matters related to visits of foreign delegations in Ukraine. The State Protocol Department maintains the Ministry's working contacts and correspondence with foreign diplomatic missions accredited in Ukraine. Other functions of the Department include accreditation of representatives of foreign diplomatic corps, as well as issues of functioning and protection of privileges and immunities of foreign diplomats and diplomatic missions. The Department provides protocol support for the presentation of credentials to the President and the presentation of copies of credentials to the Minister by foreign ambassadors and the granting of exequaturs to foreign honorary consuls. It also renders assistance in organizing the meetings of heads of foreign diplomatic missions with high-ranking Ukrainian officials, the leadership of the MFA – at the level of Minister, State Secretaries and their deputies – as well as with heads of other executive authorities.

The Minister's working day begins with a meeting with the _____ (14) who briefly informs him about the latest developments in the world according to reports from the foreign media. The _____ (15) is a comparatively young subdivision of the Ministry, as it started its activities in 1999, when the Information Department was reorganized. Main tasks of the Press Service lie in meeting information needs of Ukrainian and foreign communities concerning both foreign policy activities of Ukraine and day-to-day work of the MFA. The service also works closely with representatives of Ukrainian and foreign media. The Press Service prepares and disseminates official messages of the MFA, holds weekly briefings, arranges media coverage of visits by foreign officials to our country, as well the MFA leadership's visits abroad. If necessary, this office creates and supports activities of field press centers, makes arrangements for interviews and publications of the Ministry's leadership, and also accredits representatives of foreign media in Ukraine and assists them in their work.

The _____ (16), opened in 2001 at the MFA, has become a qualitatively new form of communication with media representatives. Outfitted with modern office equipment, including computers, the Club provides an inviting and informal setting where journalists can meet with Ukrainian and foreign diplomats conduct interviews or work on their stories. The Press Club gallery hosts a permanent exhibition of works of contemporary Ukrainian artists and sculptors. Another important event in the Ministry's

communications efforts was the launch of its redesigned Website. The Press Service continuously adds information to the Website and works to improve its usability and visual attractiveness. From the MFA's Website pages Internet users get information on the current activities of the Ministry, learn about the development of our country's diplomatic relations with foreign states and obtain data relating to consular and legal issues.

The Minister directly oversees three other subdivisions, which perform functions related to several special tasks and responsibilities: the _____ (17); the _____ (18) (protection of information), and _____ (19) (oversight of Ukrainian missions abroad).

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Сучасна структура Міністерства закордонних справ; 2. викристалізуватися в результаті реформи; 3. внаслідок значних структурних змін; 4. організація діяльності зовнішньополітичного відомства; 5. впритул наблизитися до класичних європейських зразків; 6. департаменти, що об'єднують понад тридцять управлінь; 7. запроваджувати посади; 8. Державний секретар; 9. Державний секретар з питань Європейської інтеграції; 10. заступник; 11. стабільність і збалансованість; 12. забезпечувати роботу; 13. ефективно реагувати; 14. сучасні проблеми та загрози; 15. Кабінет (патронатна служба) Міністра закордонних справ; 16. володіти іноземними мовами; 17. мати за плечима довгострокові закордонні відрядження; 18. готувати і опрацьовувати матеріали; 19. зустрічі і переговори за участю Міністра; 20. контролювати процес виконання доручень та вказівок; 21. подавати на підпис; 22. Центр оперативного реагування (ЦОР); 23. створювати структуру; 24. з метою підвищення ефективності реагування; 25. події у світі; 26. моніторинг кризових та надзвичайних ситуацій; 27. забезпечення швидкого і дієвого захисту прав та інтересів українських громадян за кордоном; 28. працювати цілодобово; 29. декілька разів на добу; 30. готувати оперативні повідомлення; 31. найсвіжіші міжнародні події; 32. вивчати повідомлення зарубіжних ЗМІ; 33. аналізувати інформацію; 34. дипломатичні та консульські установи; 35. тісна координація; 36. відповідні підрозділи; 37. Міністерство оборони; 38. Міністерство внутрішніх справ; 39. Міністерство з надзвичайних ситуацій; 40. Служби безпеки; 41. державні структури; 42. діяльність Міністра; 43. бути тісно

пов'язаним; 44. Управління державного протоколу; 45. найбільш відповідальний; 46. відповідати за підготовку і здійснення зарубіжних візитів урядових делегацій; 47. на чолі з главою зовнішньополітичного відомства; 48. протокольні служби Президента, Кабінету Міністрів та Верховної Ради України; 49. питання прийому іноземних делегацій; 50. робочі контакти Міністерства; 51. листування; 52. іноземні дипломатичні представництва, акредитовані в Україні; 53. акредитація представників зарубіжного дипломатичного корпусу; 54. захист привілеїв та імунітетів іноземних дипломатів та дипломатичних представництв; 55. протокольне забезпечення; 56. церемонія вручення іноземними послами копій вірчих грамот Міністру та вірчих грамот Президенту; 57. вручення екзектур іноземним почесним консулам; 58. сприяти в організації зустрічей; 59. керівники іноземних дипломатичних представництв; 60. високі посадові особи; України, 61. на рівні Міністра; 62. керівники виконавчих гілок влади; 63. Прес-служба; 64. керівник Прес-служби; 65. проводити брифінги; 66. останні події у світі; 67. за повідомленнями зарубіжних ЗМІ; 68. порівняно молоде управління; 69. реорганізація Управління інформації; 70. головне завдання; 71. задоволення інформаційних потреб; 72. зарубіжна громадськість; 73. повсякденна робота; 74. співпраця з українськими та іноземними засобами масової інформації; 75. готувати і розповсюджувати офіційні повідомлення МЗС; 76. проводити щотижневі брифінги; 77. організувати висвітлення в ЗМІ; 78. візити офіційних представників зарубіжних країн; 79. створювати та забезпечувати роботу виїзних прес-центрів; 80. організувати публікації та інтерв'ю; 81. акредитувати та сприяти роботі мас-медіа; 82. якісно нова форма спілкування з представниками ЗМІ; 83. Прес-клуб; 84. оснащений оргтехнікою; 85. невимушена атмосфера; 85. спілкуватися з дипломатами; 86. опрацьовувати інформаційні матеріали; 87. експонувати виставки; 88. оновлений веб-сайт; 89. робота з інформаційного наповнення; 90. поточна робота МЗС; 91. безпосередньо підпорядковуватися; 92. виконувати специфічні функції; 93. виконанням особливих завдань і доручень; 94. Управління Послів з особливих доручень та Головних радників; 95. захистом інформації; 96. Перший відділ; 97. контроль за діяльністю закордонних установ; 98. Генеральна інспекція.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The present structure of the Ministry is a result of the reform _____ in 2001. 2. Following major changes, the methods of work of the Ukrainian foreign policy _____ now _____ European models. 3. The Ministry has six _____ incorporating more than thirty _____. 4. The Ministry is dynamic and balanced, which ensures functioning of the foreign policy _____ of Ukraine. 5. The Ministry _____ rapidly and efficiently to the present-day _____ and threats. 6. The Ministry is _____ by the Minister with assistance of the _____ Secretary, State Secretary for European _____ and _____ of State Secretary. 7. Minister's Private _____ supports Minister's day-to-day work. 8. The average age of _____ in the Office is rather low. 9. All of them have had _____ of a long-term mission abroad. 10. The Office _____ and prepares materials for meetings and _____ with the Minister's participation. 11. The Office oversees the process of _____ the Minister's decisions and instructions. 12. Hundreds of documents are _____ for the Minister's signature. 13. Rapid _____ Center operates under the Minister's _____ Office. 13. This Center allows effective Ministry's response to _____ events. 14. The Center also provides for the _____ of crises and emergencies. 15. The Center is responsible for effective _____ of the rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens abroad. 16. The Rapid Response Center prepares _____ reports on the latest international _____. 17. This Center studies latest news reports by the world _____ and analyses data from _____ and diplomatic missions abroad. 18. The State _____ Department is considered one of the most responsible structures in any foreign policy service. 19. The Department prepares foreign visits of Ukrainian _____ delegations headed by the Foreign Minister. 20. The State Protocol Department maintains the working _____ and correspondence with foreign diplomatic _____ accredited in Ukraine. 21. The Department takes care of _____ of representatives of foreign diplomatic corps. 22. The State Protocol Department is also responsible for the protection of privileges and _____ of foreign diplomats and missions. 23. The Department provides protocol support for the presentation of _____ to the President and the presentation of copies of credentials to the Minister by foreign _____ and the granting of _____ to foreign honorary _____. 24. The Department organizes meetings of heads of foreign _____ missions with high-ranking Ukrainian

_____. 25. The Head of the _____ Service informs the Minister about the latest world _____. 26. The Press Service is a comparatively young _____ of the Ministry. 27. The main task of the Press Service is _____ information needs of Ukrainian and foreign communities. 28. The Press Service prepares and _____ official messages of the Ministry. 29. The Press Service creates and supports work of field _____ centers. 30. The _____ Club is outfitted with modern office equipment. 31. From the MFA's Website pages Internet users get information on the _____ activities of the Ministry. 32. The Minister directly _____ three subdivisions, related to several special responsibilities: the Department of _____ at-Large and Chief Advisors; the _____ Department (protection of information), and _____ General (oversight of Ukrainian missions abroad).

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine: General Background
2. The Minister and His Private Office
3. The Rapid Response Center
4. The State Protocol Department
5. The Press Service
6. The Press Club and MFA's Website
7. Subdivisions with Special Tasks and Responsibilities

9. Read the texts (adapted from the articles by Viktor ZAMYATIN in *The Day* of January 20 and April 27, 2004) and compare the aims and spheres of Ukraine's cooperation Euro-Atlantic countries and Russia.

Diplomatic Reconnaissance

The aim of Ukrainian Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko's recent negotiations in Brussels with new NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and EC Commissioner G J nter Verheugen is an open secret. First, Hryshchenko went to meet the new NATO Secretary General in person. Second, he attempted to find out what Ukraine can count on during the NATO Summit in Istanbul next May and negotiations on the Ukraine-EU Action

Plan that will begin shortly. Third, of late Western diplomats have been saying openly that they find it difficult to understand what is now happening in Ukraine. The foreign minister found himself in a difficult situation: he is required to explain something that cannot be explained using plain logic and make sure Ukraine continues its gradual movement toward Europe or at least avoids drifting away from it. In any case, thus far it seems that Kyiv still has a chance to be heard, but diplomacy has increasingly fewer possibilities for objective reasons.

The first part of Hryshchenko's European tour, a visit to London, could perhaps be considered quite successful. British Foreign Minister Jack Straw yet again thanked Ukraine for its contribution to the peacekeeping effort in Iraq (last week came reports that Ukrainian peacekeepers managed to quell public unrest). According to news reports, Straw stressed the role of the Ukrainian force in ensuring stability in the zone of its responsibility in Iraq. He also assured Hryshchenko of Britain's support for Ukraine's participation in the postwar reconstruction of Iraq. It will be recalled that several Ukrainian companies have been registered for participation in reconstruction projects that will be run by US companies.

Jack Straw also wished Ukraine success in its European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations. Apparently, this will prove more difficult. Despite the fact that Great Britain has in recent years expressed sincere support for Ukraine's intentions to join the EU and NATO, and down the road London might even become Kyiv's lobbyist, this requires certain commitments by Ukraine. We are reminded of this at each meeting, forum, and international conference. In particular, in London Donald Anderson, chairman of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, told Minister Hryshchenko that Ukraine's European aspirations should be realized by means of implementing reforms. Diplomats, lawmakers, and experts are more straightforward in unofficial discussions: it is time to decide what Ukraine really needs — to risk another period of isolation or finally implement fundamental reforms.

As for the future action plan, much remains unclear for various reasons. The European Commission, whose representatives are negotiating with Ukraine, is not authorized to make political decisions, that is, to determine the ultimate goal of this plan. So far it is only clear that the document will be binding on both sides and drafted based on the results of bilateral negotiations. In their interviews with *The Day*, EC Commissioners Verheugen and Patten pointed out that the document should bring Ukraine closer to the four freedoms

of the EU. It should contain certain stages, by fulfilling which Ukraine will continue its progress in its relationship with the enlarged EU. However, it is not stated anywhere nor will it be stated that after fulfilling this plan Ukraine will have a chance to be recognized as a prospective EU member. Precisely this issue is avoided now in the EU and with good reason.

First, it will be years before the consequences of the first large-scale EU enlargement can be seen. Second, many in the West point to the fact that no political decisions regarding Ukraine will be made until it becomes clear which way the country is developing, where its major policy vector is headed, and how its words translate into deeds. So far the West shows a lack of understanding for the processes underway in Ukraine. Kyiv insists, however, that the recent push to create a Single Economic Space has in turn resulted in an attempt to advance economic relations between Ukraine and the EU.

What concerns the relationship between Ukraine and NATO, much will also depend on the general political processes in Ukraine and not merely the presidential elections of 2004. American diplomats pointed to this quite openly, although Washington simultaneously says its aim is to promote Ukraine's accession to the alliance. Ukraine hopes to be included in the Membership Action Plan during the NATO Summit in Istanbul. Yet no NATO member is promising that this will happen. They only say that everything will depend on the assessment of Ukraine's progress in fulfilling the Action Plan and Target Plan of 2003, Ukraine's defense reform, and, most importantly, democratic processes in the country. The latter poses major problems for Ukraine, and it will be very difficult to convince NATO states otherwise, especially considering the fact that there are not too many countries lobbying for Ukraine's accession. In particular, nobody is hiding the fact that Ukraine will have to exert itself to win the support of such countries as France, Spain, and Germany. Incidentally, recently Germany's Defense Minister Peter Struck told an international conference that Russia will certainly join NATO, while Moscow says it has no such plans. Meanwhile, Ukraine's membership is not even discussed as yet.

On the other hand, all this looks like only the beginning of a process that could have started years ago under different conditions. At least prospects of Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic integration are received seriously in the West and gradually begin to be discussed. Obviously, this process will take more than one year and will see many teams of politicians and diplomats replace one another on either side. The road that lies ahead of Ukraine will

undoubtedly be more difficult than the road taken by Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. And yet this is not the highest possible price Ukraine could have to pay. Sooner or later we will have to make serious decisions about our relationship with Russia and the possibilities that will appear in the west, east, north, and south.

The results of Minister Hryshchenko's visit will not be negative provided Ukraine does not pose as a faithful disciple of Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan. Incidentally, the latter countries face no major criticism precisely because of the openness of their positions. Moreover, there might be no other Iraqi opportunity for Ukraine.

Presenting the New Face of Russian Diplomacy

Russia's Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov spent less than a day in Kyiv before flying on to Dublin. The official results of his talks with Ukrainian counterpart Kostiantyn Hryshchenko and meeting with President Kuchma are as follows: the parties have discussed the issues of coordinating the ratification of international agreements and transferring to Ukraine part of former Soviet real estate properties abroad, along with international security issues and the situation in Iraq (at this moment reports came of the release of Ukrainian hostages who worked in Iraq under contracts with a Russian company). Aside from these official results, the talks were essentially a presentation of Putin's new foreign policy.

The only public statement by Minister Lavrov during the Kyiv talks that deserves special note is that the sides have agreed that the whole range of issues on common European security, including relations with NATO, will be solved by Kyiv and Moscow transparently, based on mutual notifications, consultations, and coordination. Lavrov's multilevel and abstruse statement was accompanied by a thesis to the effect that "episodes will not affect the [Russo-Ukrainian] relationship." By episodes he meant the memorandum recently ratified by Verkhovna Rada, which allows NATO forces quick access to Ukrainian territory for international exercises. This decision was not well received in Moscow, with Russian diplomats and military top brass stating that such a move by Kyiv goes beyond the bounds of Russo-Ukrainian partnership. According to Hryshchenko, during the Kyiv talks the ministers reached "complete understanding of the fact that despite all our similar approaches to many international policy issues, there are issues that we

see differently.” Hryshchenko believes that this is neither a tragedy nor an obstacle for the development of the relationship.

Thus, caution and rigidity is the first thing that Lavrov has demonstrated not so much to his long-time colleague Hryshchenko (the two go back to the time of Lavrov’s permanent representation of Russia in the UN) as to the public at large. After nine and a half years in New York and his stint as deputy of Russia’s pro-American Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Lavrov is versed in the flows and currents of the international politics, is familiar with policy architects in the leading countries, and is proficient at using the instruments of the diplomatic and legal casuistry. Lavrov’s record also includes the pacification process in the Balkans (ending the war in Bosnia and signing the Dayton Peace Accord; the Kosovo crisis and the signing of the peace agreement), handling the 9/11 crisis, and the Iraqi crisis. There are also more recent examples such as his direct involvement in the handling of the Ajaria crisis.

Lavrov promises a consistent foreign policy and states (in an article carried in *The Wall Street Journal*) that Russia is a powerful country with its own interests to protect. In this article he refers to the former USSR as a “zone of vital interests” for Russia and describes the main course of Russia’s policy in this region as the “development of integration.” President Vladimir Putin made a similar statement in his first news conference after reelection. Ukraine was not mentioned in either case, which prompts the conclusion that, while Moscow considers the US, EU, Japan, and China as its equals in the arena of international politics, the CIS is rather a “space,” in which it can play according to its own rules. Obviously, in its talks with the world’s leading players Moscow, represented by Lavrov, will continue to assert its rights to dictate its own rules of the game in this region.

“There is no place for empire” — such is the gist of the first several messages of Minister Lavrov. Indeed, the empire in the old sense or even a liberal empire is not discussed anymore. What exactly is discussed will become known soon. Quite probably, Lavrov’s visit to Kyiv, which could not be other than a get-acquainted visit for both sides, will change something in the approach to events in neighboring countries. Russia has already suffered the consequences of its traditional approach in Georgia. Obviously, Russia’s attitude toward the elections in Ukraine and its relations with the Ukrainian elite will require adjustment on both sides of the border, which might result from Lavrov’s first visit and future contacts. Lavrov is characterized as

an inflexible and assertive diplomat, and could be expected to instruct his subordinates to get the Ukrainian leadership to ratify as soon as possible the agreements on the creation of the Single Economic Space and on the status of the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait. Obviously, given the possibility of a change in power and ruling elites in Kyiv, the ratification by Verkhovna Rada of these documents, which are crucial for Moscow, could be stalled indefinitely, the more so that Ukraine is yet to see the benefits of joining the SES, while the agreement on the joint use of the Sea of Azov hastily signed by Presidents Kuchma and Putin is debated in both Kyiv and Moscow. Moreover, it is quite possible that with a change in the ruling elites the issues and problems in the Russo-Ukrainian relationship could be no longer solved by the presidents and their confidants behind closed doors.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the functions of the Foreign Minister and his Office.

UNIT 9

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



1. What do you know about the functions of the Directorate General for European Integration? What are the functions of the European Union Department and the Council of Europe Division? What does the European Union Department do? Who studies and analyses experience of candidate countries for the EU accession? Who elaborates proposals relating to conclusion of other international treaties and international legal documents between Ukraine and the European Union? What is the work of the Council of Europe Division aimed at? What subdivision works on international legal documents of the Council of Europe? What subdivision studies the latest news reports by the world media? What subdivision supports activities of Ukraine's official delegations at the bodies of the Council of Europe? What are the functions of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning, Department for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Department for the UN and Other International Organizations and Department for Armaments Control and Military Cooperation? What department analyses current situation in the world, international developments, situation in crisis spots of the world, and formulates position on issues affecting Ukraine's interests? What department has the task of ensuring Ukraine's integration to the NATO and OSCE? Who is in charge of political aspects of Ukraine's activities at the UN? Who protects the state policy in the field of arms control ?

2. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for European Integration. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

framework	integration	Permanent Mission	European Union	dynamics
cooperation	elaborate	candidate countries	partnership	accession
initiative	experience	international treaties	consultations	expertise
deliberate	conformity	legal documents	conventions	strategic
promote	participation	normative acts	participation	relevant
safeguard	expedient	statutory bodies	competence	elaborate
think-tank	full-fledged	official delegations	elections	expert
crisis spots	all-European	Armaments Control	implementation	military
affect	Euro-Atlantic	Military Cooperation	enhancement	technical
candidature	key issues	security system	state policy	aspect
field	executive	General Assembly	functional body	position

3. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for European Integration. The names of the Directorate’s structural subdivisions, documents and positions as well as of some other state and international agencies have been removed from the article. Choose from the names (A – S) the one that fits each gap (0 – 19). There is an example at the beginning (0).

	Names of the structural subdivisions and positions	
A	European Union Department	
B	Directorate General for European Integration	0
C	Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe	
D	European Union	
E	Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the Council of Europe	
F	Parliamentary Assembly	
G	Department for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation	
H	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement	
I	Department for Armaments Control and Military Cooperation	
J	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe	
K	Council of Europe	
L	Committee of Ministers	
M	Council of Europe Division	
N	UN General Assembly	
N	North Atlantic Alliance	
O	Department for Political Analysis and Planning	
P	Department for the UN and Other International Organizations	

Directorate General for European Integration is one of key subdivisions of the Ministry; its activities are aimed at the implementation of state policy in the field of European integration. The _____ (0) comprises the European Union department and the Council of Europe Division. The _____ (1) analyses results of Ukraine's foreign policy activities aimed at its European integration and the dynamics of its cooperation with the EU. It is here that Ukraine's position and initiatives are deliberated in the context of its European integration and proposals are elaborated to optimize the mechanisms of implementing the _____ (2) (PCA) between Ukraine and the EU. This subdivision studies and analyses experience of candidate countries for the EU accession and holds regular consultations with them. The Department elaborates proposals relating to conclusion of other international treaties and international legal documents between Ukraine and the _____ (3). It participates in carrying out expertise of draft normative acts of Ukraine to verify their conformity with effective Ukrainian legislation concerning Ukraine's European integration as a component of its foreign policy. The Department promotes realization of Ukraine's international treaties concluded with the EU, ensures participation in joint Ukrainian-EU bodies and their working structures in respect of issues within its competence.

Work of the _____ (4) is aimed at developing and intensifying cooperation between Ukraine and the _____ (5), safeguarding our state's interests in main statutory bodies of the Council of Europe, i.e. the _____ (6), the _____ (7), and the _____ (8). The Division also works on international legal documents of the Council of Europe to find if Ukraine's participation in them is expedient, and to ensure domestic implementation of the conventions and agreements of the Council of Europe to which Ukraine is a party. The Division, in cooperation with the _____ (9), carries out work necessary for supporting activities of Ukraine's official delegations at the bodies of the Council of Europe.

The Directorate General consists of the following Departments: _____ (10), _____ (11), _____ (12) and _____ (13).

The Department for Political Analysis and Planning may be described as the Ministry's think-tank. It analyses current situation in the world, interna-

tional developments, situation in crisis spots of the world, and formulates position on issues affecting Ukraine's interests.

The main purpose of the Department for Euro-Atlantic Integration is ensuring strategic direction of Ukraine's foreign policy aimed at full-fledged participation of our state in shaping an all-European security system. Thus, the main task now facing the Department is ensuring Ukraine's integration to the _____ (14) (NATO), as well as its participation in 'activities of the _____ (15) (OSCE).

The Department for the UN and Other International Organizations is in charge of political aspects of Ukraine's activities at the UN, in particular within the framework of the _____ (16). The Department coordinates issues relating to the preparation and participation of Ukrainian delegations in political activities of the UN and other international organizations. It prepares relevant positional and information materials on key issues within the UN competence and develops measures for implementation of political initiatives of our state proclaimed within the framework of the UN forums. Another important aspect of its work is to promote the candidature of Ukraine and Ukrainian experts to executive and functional bodies of the UN and other international organizations, as well as to elaborate Ukraine's position at such elections.

The Department of Arms Control and Military Cooperation safeguards state policy in the field of arms control, promotes the development and enhancement of Ukraine's international cooperation with other states in the military and military/technical spheres.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Департамент європейської інтеграції; 2. ключовий підрозділ; 3. реалізацію державної політики; 4. сфера європейської інтеграції; 5. Управління Європейського Союзу; 6. Відділ Ради Європи; 7. аналіз результатів зовнішньополітичної діяльності; 8. євроінтеграційний напрям; 9. динаміка співпраці; 10. обґрунтовувати позицію та ініціативи України; 11. в контексті європейської інтеграції; 12. розробляти пропозиції; 13. оптимізація механізмів імплементації; 14. положен-

ня Угоди про партнерство і співпрацю; 15. співпраця між Україною та ЄС; 16. вивчати і аналізувати досвід країн-кандидатів на вступ до ЄС; 17. проводити регулярні консультації; 18. розробляти пропозиції; щодо укладення міжнародних договорів та документів міжнародно-правового характеру; 19. брати участь у здійсненні експертизи проєктів нормативних актів; 20. експертиза предмет відповідності чинному законодавству; 21. євроінтеграційна складова зовнішньої політики; 22. сприяти реалізації міжнародних договорів; 23. укласти договір; 24. забезпечувати участь у спільних з ЄС органах; 25. робочі структури; 26. питання, що належать до будь-якої компетенції; 27. розвиток і активізація співпраці; 28. забезпечення інтересів держави в головних статутних органах; 29. Комітет міністрів; 30. Парламентська асамблея; 31. Конгрес місцевих та регіональних влад Європи; 32. опрацьовувати міжнародно-правові документи; 33. доцільність участі; 34. забезпечення внутрішньодержавної імплементації конвенцій та угод; 35. Постійне Представництво України при Раді Європи; 36. забезпечувати участь офіційних делегацій України в органах РЄ; 37. Управління політичного аналізу та планування (УПАП); 38. Управління євроатлантичного співробітництва (УЄАС); 39. Управління ООН та інших міжнародних організацій (УООН); 40. Управління контролю над озброєннями та військово-технічного співробітництва (УКО ВТС); 41. мозковий центр; 42. аналізувати ситуацію у світі; 43. перебіг міжнародних процесів; 44. ситуація в кризових точках планети; 45. формувати позицію; 46. питання, що стосуються інтересів України; 47. забезпечення стратегічного напрямку зовнішньої політики; 48. повномасштабна участь у формуванні загальноєвропейської системи безпеки; 49. забезпечення інтеграції України до Північноатлантичного Альянсу; 50. Організація з безпеки та співробітництва в Європі (ОБСЄ); 51. забезпечувати політичну сторону діяльності України в ООН; 52. в рамках Генеральної Асамблеї ООН (ГА ООН); 53. координувати питання; 54. пов'язаний з підготовкою та участю делегацій України в політичних заходах; 55. по лінії ООН та інших міжнародних організацій; 56. готувати позиційні та інформаційні матеріали з ключових питань; 57. в компетенції ООН; 58. розробляти заходи з реалізації політичних ініціатив; 59. важлива складова діяльності; 60. просування кандидатури України та українських експертів до керівних і функціональних органів ООН; 61. вироблення позиції

української сторони на виборах; 62. забезпечувати державну політику у сфері контролю над озброєннями; 63. сприяти розвитку і поглибленню міжнародної співпраці; 64. військовій та військово-технічній галузі; 65. контролювати виконання Україною своїх зобов'язань; 66. в рамках багатосторонніх угод і домовленостей; 67. питання контролю над озброєннями; 68. нерозповсюдження зброї масового знищення; 69. реалізовувати заходи експортного контролю; 70. спрямований на; 71. запобігання несанкціонованій передачі зброї; 72. запобігання виробництву товарів і технології подвійного використання; 73. здійснювати заходи, спрямовані на зміцнення довіри і безпеки.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. Directorate General for _____ Integration is a _____ subdivision of the Ministry. 2. The work of the Directorate is aimed at the _____ of the official policy in European integration. 3. The Directorate General consists of the European _____ department and the _____ of Europe Division. 4. The EU Department analyses results of Ukraine's foreign policy aimed at its European _____. 5. Ukraine's position and initiatives are _____ in the context of its European integration. 6. The EU Department _____ proposals to implement the Partnership and _____ Agreement (PCA) between Ukraine and the EU. 7. The EU Department studies experience of candidate countries for the EU _____ and has consultations with them. 8. The Department elaborates proposals relating to _____ of other international treaties and international _____ documents. 9. The EU Department carries out _____ of draft normative acts to check their _____ with effective Ukrainian legislation. 10. The Department promotes Ukraine's international _____ concluded with the EU. 11. The EU Department takes care of Ukrainian _____ in joint bodies and the EU _____ structures. 12. The _____ of Europe Division aims to develop and intensify cooperation with the Council of Europe, protecting our interests in main _____ bodies of the Council of Europe, i.e. the Committee of _____, the Parliamentary _____, and the Congress of Local and Regional _____ of Europe. 13. The Division studies _____ documents of the Council of Europe to determine if Ukraine's participation in them is _____. 14. The Division ensures

_____ implementation of the _____ and agreements of the Council of Europe to which Ukraine is a party. 15. The Division cooperates with the Permanent _____ of Ukraine to the Council of Europe to support Ukraine's official delegations at the _____ of the Council of Europe. 16. The Directorate General consists of the Department for Political _____ and Planning, Department for Euro-Atlantic _____, Department for the UN and Other _____ Organizations and Department for _____ Control and _____ Cooperation. 17. The Department for _____ Analysis and Planning is the Ministry's _____. 18. The Department analyses _____ situation, international _____, situation in _____ spots, and formulates position on issues _____ Ukraine's interests. 19. The Department for _____ Integration monitors the strategic direction of Ukraine's foreign policy aimed at _____ participation in an all-European _____ system. 20. The Department's aim is Ukraine's _____ to the North Atlantic _____ (NATO), and its participation in the Organization for _____ and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). 21. The Department for the _____ and Other International Organizations is responsible for the _____ aspects of Ukraine's participation at the UN, especially in the framework of the UN _____. 22. The Department _____ the participation of Ukrainian delegations in the UN and other _____ organizations. 23. The Department prepares _____ and information materials on issues within the UN competence. 24. The Department takes measures to implement Ukraine's political initiatives at the UN forums. 25. The Department _____ Ukraine and Ukrainian experts to the UN and other international organizations' bodies. Department _____ Ukraine's position at different elections. 26. The Department of Arms _____ and _____ Cooperation safeguards the official policy in the field of _____ control. 27. The Department _____ the development of Ukraine's international _____ in the military and military and technical fields.

7. Render the following abbreviations into English.

ЄС; УПАП; УЄАС; ООН; УООН; УКО ВТС; НАТО; ОБСЄ; ГА ООН.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the Directorate General for European Integration to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Directorate General for European Integration: General Background
2. The European Union Department
3. The Council of Europe Division
4. The Department for Political Analysis and Planning
5. The Department for Euro-Atlantic Integration
6. The Department for the UN and Other International Organizations
7. The Department of Arms Control and Military Cooperation

9. Read the texts (adapted from the articles by Viktor ZAMYATIN in *The Day* of February 3 and March 16, 2004) and describe the directions, problems and prospects of Ukraine's European Integration as well as the measures which have already been taken and should be taken to reach the aim.

Europe's First Warning

Last week Ukraine received from Europe its first real warning in recent years, which augurs major losses for Ukraine. This was in spite of the fact that negotiations on the Ukraine-EU Action Plan finally began early last week. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) has issued a sharply worded resolution on Ukraine followed by a statement from Ireland on behalf of the EU. Both organizations have voiced concern over attempts to amend Ukraine's Constitution half a year before the presidential elections and questioned the transparency and fairness of presidential elections under such conditions, calling on the Ukrainian leadership to respect its own Constitution. PACE has recommended appointing a special envoy for Ukraine and is considering putting the question of suspending Ukraine's membership in the Council of Europe back on the agenda. Ukraine is urged to react in a positive way to the conclusions of the Venetian Commission of the Council of Europe on the bills on Constitutional amendments in Ukraine.

Under such conditions one can pass oneself off as a saint all one wants, complain that Europe does not want to embrace us, accuse European institutions

of applying double standards and the opposition of foul play. Yet the country's reputation would not have suffered a major blow — self-inflicted for the most part — if someone had not been “playing with the rules.” Over a year and a half ago EU High Commissioner for Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana called on Kyiv to “play by the rules” and stop “playing with the rules.” Moreover, the PACE resolution states clearly that in joining the Council of Europe Ukraine has undertaken certain commitments, which it should honor. For this reason, the resolution calls the statement by Ukraine's Foreign Ministry on “interference in Ukraine's domestic affairs” by the PACE Monitoring Committee rapporteurs unfounded and unjustified. Incidentally, during Kuchma's second term in office the Ukrainian leadership has not made similar statements with respect to Russia, even though it has had ample reason to do so.

Meeting one's commitments has always been a weak spot for those in power in Ukraine. Suffice it to recall the prolonged debate with PACE on banning the death penalty. Recall the arguments put forward by the then Ukrainian leadership. The question of stripping Ukraine's delegation of its vote and suspending Ukraine's membership in the Council of Europe was raised then, but apparently this time everything is much more serious. Of the thirty critical remarks prepared by the Ukrainian delegation only one has been taken into account. That Ukraine's Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko — who planned to attend the Ukrainian-Polish consultations on European Integration instead — and his first deputy Oleksandr Chaly joined the Ukrainian delegation did not help matters. The arguments advanced by the majority representatives and Communists did not particularly impress anyone. Allegations that the opposition is to blame for obstructing normal work in Verkhovna Rada fell on deaf ears. Moreover, one clause of the PACE resolution expresses “disappointment over for the measures to which the opposition resorted to obstruct the usual work in the parliament.”

One can say for a fact that representatives of the West do not understand or know the specifics of Ukrainian politics, this being a popular argument in Kyiv. Yet this is not the reason why Kyiv faces problems where no problems should have arisen a priori.

The PACE resolution and statement from Ireland on behalf of the EU (also signed by prospective EU members Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Norway, and Liechtenstein) not only appear to be timed to coincide but also express a common view of the problem. This view, to put it

bluntly, conveys extreme distrust of the current Ukrainian ruling elite. This distrust has been accumulating for years, and although the Ukrainian opposition's recent appeal to the Council of Europe structures did the trick, it was more a catalyst than a direct cause of the resolution. What is much worse is the fact that only sixty deputies attended the PACE session addressing the so-called Ukrainian question, which could be evidence of Europe's waning interest in Ukraine. Worse still, they did not overlook the fact that participants of the political game in Ukraine have apparently decided to exclude the Ukrainian people from this game.

At least the signal from the EU is evidence of Europe's interest in the events unfolding along its borders. The bottom line of the statement is that any rapprochement can be discussed only after Ukraine passes a test, which will certainly not be viewed as Ukraine's domestic affairs anymore. Understandably, if Kyiv waited for some signal from the EU then it was definitely not this kind of signal. This is not and cannot be considered a failure of Ukraine's diplomacy. A country's foreign policy cannot be more successful than the country's overall development, and in this case diplomacy becomes the hostage of domestic affairs. If the diplomats attempt to explain to their Western partners that Ukraine's declared course toward NATO and the EU in fact remains unchanged but this is not happening, then perhaps the problem is the real orientation of the course itself and the difference between words and deeds. As a result, the prospects of another wave of international isolation are not all that unrealistic.

Ukraine cannot afford to miss a step in its dialog with NATO. However, Ukraine's hopes of joining the Membership Action Plan can now materialize perhaps only at the summit following the forthcoming NATO Istanbul Summit at best. It is unlikely that work on the Ukraine-EU Action Plan will be suspended, yet the general climate could have been more favorable. The US will follow events in Ukraine with as much attention as the EU and Council of Europe. Ukraine's progress toward both NATO and the WTO will largely depend on the stand taken by the US. Thus, Ukraine's losses could outweigh gains.

That the participants of the political process in Ukraine are urged to solve their problems peacefully can hardly be seen as evidence of the maturity and dignity of the state. Ukraine's chances to be received in the world the proper way, which have never been very high, will now decrease with each unsuccessful or incomprehensible step taken in the domestic realm. On the

other hand, examples of Slovakia and Croatia suggest that changing political course at the right time is neither a tragedy, nor an impossible thing to do, but simply a norm.

Any Grounds for Euro-Optimism?

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych has announced that Brussels will approve the Ukraine-European Union Action Plan on May 18. The plan, if fulfilled, is supposed to result in the establishment of a Ukraine-EU free trade area and the beginning of talks over signing a European-type agreement on Ukraine's associated membership in the EU. As traditional practice has it, no details have been revealed about the ongoing active negotiations on the Action Plan. The only information is that the parties have agreed in principle on a compromise that the document will be valid for two to three years. As to their specific commitments under the agreement, the consensus still seems to be far off. The European Commission, which is negotiating with Ukraine the signing of the Action Plan (EU Commissioner Chris Patten told *The Day* it could be signed well before the elections in Ukraine) has just no mandate to discuss the possibility of Ukraine's association with, let alone prospective entry into, the EU.

Yet, Oleksandr Chaly, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, is full of optimism. In his words, the EU is already aware that as soon as the ten-year Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, signed in 1994 and brought into force in 1998, expires, it should be replaced with an entirely different legally binding document. He believes that even now there is an understanding between both sides (Ukraine and the EU) that they will not extend the existing agreement. As to the new budget the EU is working on, the adoption of it may be preceded with establishment of new relations with Ukraine. The point is there is no consensus in the EU about the essence of these new relations. While Ukraine is and will be supported by the new EU members — Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary — and some of the old ones, such as Austria and Britain, most of the other EU member states show pessimism over the Ukraine's immediate prospects. Nobody hides any longer that this is connected not in the least with the development of the political situation in Ukraine, especially the presidential elections, although official EU structures and representatives of the EU member states keep reiterating that all they care about is a democratic, fair, and open election. According to deputy minister Chaly, it would be realistic to start negotiating a new EU agreement (other than the Action Plan) as soon as in

2006. It does not matter whether the document's title will include the word *association*. What really matters is Ukraine's aspiration to follow the way of its neighbors.

On this road, Ukraine must solve several fundamental problems which are still the subject of a tough dialogue. It is impossible to establish an area of free trade with the EU unless Ukraine is granted market economy status and joins the World Trade Organization. In spite of Prime Minister Yanukovich's optimistic statements, there are no visible signs of progress in this issue. There are more than one reason for this. For example, the latest session of Verkhovna Rada's Committee for European Integration noted that one of the obstacles on this road is the current export duty, thirty euros per ton, on scrap metal defended by the pro-governmental parliamentary majority. Another factor is the likely introduction of an automobile import duty (the law passed has not yet come into force).

According to Borys Tarasiuk, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for European Integration, the cabinet has submitted to Verkhovna Rada eleven bills whose provisions run counter to European legislative norms and WTO requirements. There are other problems as well. Mr. Chaly defines as "extremely difficult" the ongoing dialog on liberalizing the Ukraine-EU visa regime, including the problem of transferring Ukraine from the "black" into the "white" list of the Schengen zone. Ukraine is still waiting for an answer to the unilateral lifting of visa requirements for bearers of diplomatic and special purpose passports.

Meanwhile, the Expanded Europe-New Neighborhood concept, the basis of the EU's current dialog with Ukraine, provides for extending the four fundamental EU freedoms – cross-border movement of people, goods, capitals, and services – to the "neighbors". Incidentally, the EU has already begun talks with Russia on this subject.

Diplomats from the current and prospective EU members states still fail to understand how Ukraine's pro-European declarations fit in with its intention to form the Single Economic Space with Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus, despite government assurances that this "space" will be just a complement to the Europe-bound course. Most analysts and diplomats privately admit that Ukraine has already lost any chance to qualitatively improve its relations with the EU this year due to the domestic situation, especially on the eve of the elections, and the expansion-related problems of the EU itself.

As the parliamentary committee's session confirmed, short-term losses due to EU enlargement are still on the agenda: the Cabinet estimates these at \$250-350 million. The EU refuses to discuss this subject, and it is up to the Ukrainians themselves how to go out of this situation.

INCIDENTALLY

The European Parliament is calling upon the Ukrainian government to conduct transparent and democratic presidential elections in October this year, respect the freedom of speech, take continuous and effective measures to prevent and punish interference in the work of free and independent mass media. This is the gist of the resolution on the political situation in Ukraine voted for by 59 European Parliament members. The document notes, among other things, that the Expanded Europe-New Neighborhood concept recognizes the importance of Ukraine as a country that maintains close historical, cultural, and economic ties with the EU member states. The resolution points out that this document is based on the Action Plan to be drafted by the European Commission in the spring of 2004 and to include proposals aimed at supporting the political and institutional reforms which will allow Ukraine to be gradually joining EU policies and programs. The European Parliament called upon the Council of Europe and the European Commission to closely watch the situation in Ukraine, monitor the October presidential elections, and support the OSCE's integrative efforts. This resolution will be handed to the Council of Europe, the European

10. Write a 300-word essay on the Directorate General for European Integration, the content of its work and the functions of its subdivisions.

UNIT 10

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR BILATERAL COOPERATION



1. What do you know about the functions of the Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation? What matters does the Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation deal with? What do the desk-officers do? Who studies and analyses experience of candidate countries for the EU accession? Which Department is responsible for the relations with the Russian Federation? Which Department deals with Ukraine's participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States? Which Department oversees Ukraine's bilateral relations with the West European countries? Which subdivision pays special attention to the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine? What are the functions of the Third Territorial Department? Which Departments focus on the development of relations with the states neighboring with Ukraine? Which subdivision deals with the problems of minimizing negative consequences of the EU? Which Department is responsible for the relations with the North American states? Is there a separate department to monitor the relations with the USA? What are the functions of the Fifth Territorial Department? Which Department deals with Ukraine's advancement to the Middle East and African markets? What are the functions of Special Envoy of Ukraine to the Middle East?

2. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for European Integration. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

Turkey	USA	South Europe	participation	responsible
focus	Japan	Russian Federation	Balkan region	Canada
territorial	Poland	CIS	minimizing	cooperation

Slovakia	Caucasus	West Europe	enlargement	Middle East
bilateral	China	NATO	integration	India
package	desk-officer	North Europe	competence	Special Envoy
Hungary	key issues	European Union	humanitarian	Asian-Pacific
relations	Africa	Euro-Atlantic	consequences	Central Asia
negative	division	Central Europe	strategic partner	Southern Asia
agenda	economic	East Europe	advancing	neighboring
Reform	markets	political issues	Caribbean	Latin America

3. You are going to read seven passages about the Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation (DGBC). For questions 1–20 choose from texts A – G. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

A. DGBC in general

Which of DGBC Departments:

B. The First Territorial Department

C. The Second Territorial Department

D. The Third Territorial Department

E. The Forth Territorial Department

F. The Fifth Territorial Department

G. The Sixth Territorial Department

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
emerged following structural changes	0	•						
has a separate division responsible for the relations with one country only	1							
is responsible for the bilateral relations with Armenia	2							
takes into account issues related to NATO	3							
oversees the bilateral relations with Latvia	4							
deals with the problems the EU enlargement	5							
is responsible for the bilateral relations with Argentina	6							
deals with the bilateral relations with Indonesia	7							
pays special attention to the relations with the neighboring states	8							

deals with economic and humanitarian aspects of bilateral relations	9								
oversees Ukraine's bilateral relations with the Far Eastern countries	10								
is responsible for the bilateral relations with Australia	11								
monitors Ukraine's bilateral relations with Nigeria	12								
deals with the bilateral relations with Iran	13								
is responsible for bilateral relations with all countries of the world	14								
oversees Ukraine's bilateral relations with the West European countries	15								
has a Special Envoy	16								
pays special attention to the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine	17								
focuses on the relations with Russia	18								
oversees the bilateral relations with Cuba	19								
deals with Ukraine's participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States	20								

A The Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation was created as a result of the latest structural reform of the Ministry in 2001. Matters falling within the scope of the Department relate to building bilateral relations with all countries of the world. As a rule, there is a desk-officer for each foreign country or a group of states. Activities of territorial departments, as well as those of the Directorate General on the whole, are not limited to a package of political issues, as the Departments analyzes information on Ukraine's cooperation with other countries in economic and humanitarian spheres as well.

B The First Territorial Department covers relations with the Russian Federation. Another big package of issues dealt with by the Department are those relating to Ukraine's participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

CThe Second Territorial Department oversees Ukraine's bilateral relations with the West, North and South European states. The majority of countries, covered by the Department, are the EU and NATO members, that is why particular attention is attached to the development of relations with them in the context of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

DWork of the Third Territorial Department is focused on relations and cooperation of Ukraine with the states of East and Central Europe, the Balkan region, the Caucasus and Turkey. The Department's special attention is focused at the development of relations with the states neighboring with Ukraine, in particular with Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, which are successfully advancing in their course toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The problem of minimizing negative consequences of the EU enlargement for the development of bilateral relations is on the agenda of relations with those states.

EThe Forth Territorial Department is responsible for Ukraine's bilateral relations with the USA, Canada, Latin American and Caribbean states. One of key issues within the Department's competence, which is dealt with by a separate division, is building relations with Ukraine's strategic partner – the United States of America, as well as with Canada.

FThe Fifth Territorial Department covers bilateral relations with the states of Asian-Pacific region and Central and Southern Asia. Its competence in particular extends to relations with China, Japan and India, as well as with new independent states of Central Asia, which emerged on the political map of the world after the collapse of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan).

GThe Sixth Territorial Department is charged with issues concerning relations with the Middle East and African states. The role of this Department is increasing in the context of Ukraine's gradual advancement to the markets of these states. Day-to-day activities of the Department are coordinated with a recently created institution of Special Envoy of Ukraine to the Middle East.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Департамент двостороннього співробітництва; 2. в результаті структурної реформи; 3. до компетенції Департаменту належать питання; 4. розбудова двосторонніх відносин з усіма країнами світу; 5. в основу роботи Департаменту покладений принцип; 6. геополітичний розподіл відповідальності; 7. ключові структурні складові; 8. територіальне управління; 9. відповідальний співробітник; 10. Не обмежуватися виключно комплексом політичних питань; 11. узагальнювати інформацію щодо стану співробітництва; 12. економічна та гуманітарна сфери; 13. блок питань; 14. участь України; 15. Співдружність Незалежних Держав; 16. країни Західної, Північної та Південної Європи; 17. члени Європейського Союзу і НАТО; 18. приділяти особливу увагу; 19. в контексті європейської і євроатлантичної інтеграції; 20. країни Центральної та Східної Європи; 21. Балканський регіон; 22. Кавказ; 23. Туреччина; 24. сусідні з Україною держави; 25. Польща; 26. Словаччина; 27. Угорщина; 28. успішно просуватися обраним курсом; 29. європейська та євроатлантична інтеграція; 30. на порядку денному; 31. проблема мінімізації негативних наслідків розширення ЄС для України; 32. посідати особливе місце; 33. США; 34. Канада; 35. країни Латинської Америки; 36. країни Карибського басейну; 37. основні питання, що належать до компетенції управління; 38. питання, яким відає окремий відділ; 39. стратегічний партнер; 40. країни азійсько-тихоокеанського регіону; 41. країни Центральної та Південної Азії; 42. належати до сфери компетенції; 43. Китай; 44. Японія; 45. Індія; 46. нові незалежні країни Центральної Азії; 47. з'являтися на політичній карті світу; 48. розпад СРСР; 49. Казахстан; 50. Туркменистан; 51. Узбекистан; 52. країни Близького та Середнього Сходу; 53. Африканські країни; 54. роль управління зростає; 55. в контексті поступового виходу; 56. ринки країн; 57. повсякденна діяльність; 58. координувати; 59. нещодавно створений; 60. інститут Спеціального Представника України на Близькому Сході.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The Directorate General for Bilateral _____ was created as a result of the latest structural reform of the Ministry. 2. The Directorate's tasks relate

to building _____ relations with all countries of the world. 3. There is a desk _____ for each country or a group of states. 4. The Directorate's tasks are not limited to political _____, as it also analyzes Ukraine's cooperation with other countries in economic and _____ spheres. 5. The First Territorial Department _____ relations with the Russian Federation. 6. The First Territorial Department is also responsible for Ukraine's participation in the _____ of Independent States. 7. The Second Territorial Department deals with Ukraine's _____ relations with the West, North and South European states. 8. The Second Territorial Department attaches a particular attention to the issues of European and Euro-Atlantic _____ of Ukraine. 9. The Third Territorial Department _____ on relations of Ukraine with the states of East and Central Europe, the Balkan region, the Caucasus and Turkey. 10. The Third Territorial Department focuses on the development of relations with the _____ states. 11. Poland, Slovakia and Hungary successfully _____ toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration. 12. The Third Territorial Department deals with the problems of minimizing negative _____ of the EU enlargement. 13. The Fourth Territorial Department is responsible for Ukraine's _____ relations with the North and Latin Americas. 14. The Fourth Territorial Department has a separate _____ for the development of relations with Ukraine's _____ partners — the USA and Canada. 14. The Fifth _____ Department covers bilateral _____ with the of Asian-Pacific region and Central and Southern Asian states. 15. The Fifth Territorial Department is responsible for Ukraine's relations with Far Eastern countries and the new _____ states of Central Asia, which appeared on the _____ map of the world after the _____ of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan). 16. The Sixth Territorial Department monitors the relations with the _____ East and African states. 17. The Sixth Territorial Department's role is increasing because of Ukraine's advancement to the markets of Asian states. 18. The Sixth Territorial Department's performance is _____ by a recently created institution of Special _____ of Ukraine to the Middle East.

7. Render the following into English.

СНД; ЄС; країни Західної, Північної та Південної Європи; НАТО; країни Центральної та Східної Європи; Балканський регіон; Кавказ; Туреччина; Польща; Словаччина; Угорщина; США; Канада; країни Латинської Америки; країни Карибського басейну; країни Азіатсько-

Тихоокеанського регіону; країни Центральної та Південної Азії; Китай; Японія; Індія; нові незалежні країни Центральної Азії; СРСР; Казахстан; Туркменистан; Узбекистан; країни Близького та Середнього Сходу; Африканські країни; Близький Схід.

8. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation: General Background
2. The First Territorial Department
3. The Second Territorial Department
4. The Third Territorial Department
5. The Forth Territorial Department
6. The Fifth Territorial Department
7. The Sixth Territorial Department

9. Read the texts (adapted from the articles by Viktor ZAMYATIN in *The Day of March 30* and Marina OLIYNYK, Natalia TROFIMOVA and Volodymyr SONIUK in *The Day of April 27, 2004*) and compare Ukraine's problems in bilateral relations with different countries.

1. Forging a Mature Relationship

The visit to Kyiv of US Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage and Assistant Secretary of State, Elizabeth Jones, and the participation of US former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in a Kyiv international conference a month ago and her recent article in *The New York Times*, and the Foreign Policy Committee session earlier this month in Washington are sure signs of Washington's renewed interest in Ukraine.

Although most of the US-Ukrainian problems are still the same as they were about five years ago, the overall level of bilateral relations is quite far from that of the late 1990s.

Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is inclined to believe that Washington has come to the conclusion that it should maintain a meaningful dialogue with Ukraine and that the period of a cool relationship is over. Non-governmental experts in both countries claim that marked changes in the attitude

toward Kyiv were also caused by what is going on in Russia. They point out that Russia is now a far longer way from a democratic society than it was a few years ago: the state is attempting to restore an empire and attacking big business (re: the Khodorkovskiy case). It is for this reason that Ukraine is again being considered a key state in the region. Many experts say unofficially that "Ukraine must not be lost." What can be considered indirect proof of the fact that the White House is at least taking these ideas into account is recent public criticism of Russia by US Secretary of State Colin Powell that despite Russia still being of great importance for the United States in terms of international security. That the US seems to have revised some priorities in its policies toward Eastern Europe means that it is closely watching domestic developments in this region's countries, especially in Ukraine. It is an open secret that this kind of attention reaches its peak during times of parliamentary and presidential elections, and it is quite clear from this perspective why there were and will be so many visits and why the press has evinced much more interest in Ukraine than before. Washington wants to know who and what it will deal with to map out its policies and defend its interests, what rules it will have to play, and to what extent the dialog can be sincere. Approaches like this were once applied to Central Europe, Russia, and Turkey.

As things stand today, it would be in US interests if Ukraine were successfully developing according to overall European standards, which could in turn set the likely limits of relations, that is, partnership for achieving certain concrete goals, long-term partnership and prospective alliance, or just an equitable relationship. It is clear from this perspective why the United States considers every presidential and parliamentary election in Ukraine as crucial: this will show what rules will be established, who will take certain commitments, and the way the latter should be met.

It is for this reason that US officials, while admitting that Ukraine's decision to send a brigade to Iraq as part of the multinational stabilization force helped the relations to thaw out, have increasingly emphasized of late that Iraq is only one side of the coin, which is not enough to achieve success.

The problems in the relations between the two states can be divided into several blocks.

As to relations in the field of security, the most telling example of their development is Iraq and the fact that almost all US officials have been in-

dicating in the past few months that Washington supports Ukraine's aspiration for the fullest possible Euro-Atlantic integration. Nobody has ever said, however, what decisions NATO's Istanbul summit in June will make with respect to Ukraine, for example, whether the NATO Membership and Intensified Political Dialog Plan will be applied to Ukraine. This being a purely political question, Western and Kyiv sources are convinced that the decision will not be made this year. It goes without saying that the United States still continues to play the crucial role in making decision about the future of NATO as a whole, in spite of an apparent crisis of relations in this trans-Atlantic organization. As the United States has never stopped working with Ukraine at the level of experts, one can suppose that US interest in Ukraine's integration with the Euro-Atlantic space is not just a declaration — especially against the background of the Black Sea region and Middle East situation as well as uncertainty over the development of relations between the West and Russia.

Both political and international security relations contain a number of sensitive points stemming exclusively from the Ukrainian domestic policy. Among them is the closure of Radio Continent, cancellation of the contract between Radio Dovira and Radio Liberty, a conflict between the pro-governmental and opposition groups of Ukrainian politicians, and a logic not always clear of some decisions made by the Ukrainian government.

Over and over again, US official representatives as well as the NATO leadership stress that further dialog with Ukraine will depend exclusively on its domestic development. There is nothing extraordinary in the demands to obey the rules accepted in the community which Ukraine is trying to enter, and it is not at all necessary to devise any ways of our own in this respect.

Economic relations, considered quite good in both countries, might in reality be far better. Ukraine still does not enjoy market economy status, is formally subject to the Jackson-Vanik amendment (it is annually suspended by a special Congress decision at the US president's request). Ukraine and the US have not yet fully agreed to sign a protocol on mutual access to the markets of goods and services, a must for joining the World Trade Organization. The United States believes Ukraine has not yet achieved the required level of intellectual property protection, does not allow companies to adequately defend their rights in court, and failed to create a favorable and law-governed investment climate. Yet, Washington continues to express its support for Ukraine's WTO membership. Therefore, the question lies again in the politi-

cal plane, and Ukraine is expected to take difficult but necessary steps. This would in turn strengthen Kyiv's ability to protect its own interests as in the much-publicized antidumping cases.

Another aspect of economic cooperation still remains fairly hypothetical: words of thanks for the participation of Ukrainian servicemen in the Iraq stabilization operation have not yet materialized into concrete reconstruction contracts. We know that more than thirty Ukrainian companies have already filed bids for various Iraq reconstruction projects. We also know that this is a difficult thing to do even in the United States itself — suffice it to recall the recent refusal to award an Iraq reconstruction contract to the Halliburton Company. Although the White House keeps promising political support, no tangible signs of progress are in sight.

It is perhaps later that Europe will adequately assess the importance of the Odesa-Brody-Polish territory oil pipeline for its energy needs. This project might have been dead in the water had the US not intervened (also instructive is the story of the attempts to use this transit route in the reverse mode).

Diplomatic sources report that Ukraine takes a calm view of the emphasis the US administration puts on problems of the domestic situation and freedom of expression, for the main thing is to concentrate on specific goals. The problem, however, is that we will certainly not make any progress in achieving these “specific goals” unless we obey a certain set of rules that are the same for all “novices.”

Naturally, a thaw in the current US-Ukrainian dialog can in itself be considered as an achievement for both sides. However, practical results will remain a burning issue even after the elections in Ukraine and the US, which will might have a Democratic administration. All we can assert is that the romantic period in the US-Ukrainian relations has long sunk into history, while a mature relationship requires a basis still to be built.

2. Duma Does Not Have to Deliberate for Ukraine

Diplomatically speaking, the Russian Duma acted in an unexpected manner the very next day after ratifying the SES agreement with Ukraine, adopting a message to Verkhovna Rada, expressing concern over the memorandum of understanding between Ukraine and NATO, as well as the National Television and Radio Council's recommendations to the effect that television and

radio broadcasts be only in the Ukrainian language. The document stresses that the Duma deputies are “perplexed by Verkhovna Rada’s ratification of the Ukraine – NATO memorandum of understanding, it being another practical arrangement relating to NATO eastward movement plans... The attempts to administratively crowd out or ban the Russian language in Ukraine, a language that has for centuries served as a means of interethnic communication on the territories of our countries, ignore the Ukrainian – Russian bilingual tradition that took shape there, and damage civil rights in Ukraine, deserving criticism on the part of responsible Ukrainian politicians.” Below are Ukrainian deputies’ commentaries on the Duma’s message. It should be noted, however, that the Russian Duma has created a questionable information background for the Russian President who began a two-day visit to Ukraine, April 22.

Leonid KRAVCHUK (SDPU(O)):

I am constantly surprised by the Russian Duma’s stand. Now they are busy dealing with Sevastopol, then the Crimea, then Tuzla. This time they decided to recommend what kind of policy we have with regard to NATO and the official language. If we acted that way, in the same imperial spirit, we would supply them with a number of observations and admonitions. To our credit, we do no such things. We respect the Russian state and its stand. No one forbids the Russian language in Ukraine, it’s just that we would rather hear Ukrainian on the national channels. We’ve heard so much, for so long about some seventy-five percent songs being sung here in languages other than Ukrainian, that Russian is the only language spoken in the Ukrainian sports world, let alone the unfortunate condition of Ukrainian book-publishing. There are spheres of life where you almost never hear Ukrainian. It got so that we only see and hear Alla Pugacheva and Filip Kirkorov at the Ukraine Palace. Yet the instant someone tries to raise this matter, there are shouts about pressure, that such matters must be resolved only on a voluntary basis. We have our laws, our constitution. It is clearly laid down that the official Ukrainian language must be used in official places, such as the Verkhovna Rada, Cabinet of Ministers, Presidential Administration, local authorities. Daily usage is another matter. No one makes you speak Ukrainian at home, in the kitchen, having tea or sharing drinks with friends. You know English? Welcome to use it. Or French, German, Russian. That’s your private business. But on official premises, in offices, you can’t do as you wish, otherwise why enact all those laws, why proclaim

that Ukrainian is the official language? I am firmly of the opinion that the Russian Duma should not really bother deliberating things for Ukraine. I can only describe their current stand as a manifestation of foreign political primitivism and provincialism, for they apparently consider their strategic neighbor part of their sphere of influence. We have people and structures entitled to make decisions, and we shall conduct the kind of domestic policy we deem necessary, a policy answering the national interests of Ukraine and the foreign political concept, including the European choice and the law on Ukrainian as the official language.

Mykola ZHULYNSKY (Our Ukraine):

We are witness to the Russian Duma's constant attempts to teach us what kind of domestic policy we should carry out. Ukraine must focus on consolidating Ukrainian society in the first place. The language is an important consolidating factor. Our highest priority is to establish the status of Ukrainian as the official language. We must consider ways to introduce Ukrainian as the official language of instruction in school, college, and university, also in the latter-day technologies, so the Ukrainian people can finally have access to our nation's books and radio... SES is apparently a tool, with which Russia wants to take a firm hold of Ukraine, not only economically, but also politically. Their attempt to prove that Ukraine is upsetting the Ukrainian-Russian bilingual harmony is a bottomless argument, for there is actually no such harmony; Ukraine is dominated by the Russian language and this dominance is clearly apparent. The Duma's current stand is nothing new. In 1995, the then President Boris Yeltsin signed a document relating to Russia's policy with regard to the CIS countries. It reads that Russian television and radio must be extended to the countries in Russia's immediate neighborhood, that Russian publications must be supported, and that Russian must train cadre for the CIS countries. What's the difference between these clauses and the policy waged by the late Soviet Union? Practically none. However, the current Duma's statement is like when your neighbor visits to tell you that the pieces of your furniture are in the wrong places, that your lamp shade is the wrong color, that you should rearrange your potted flowers, and finally, that you're speaking the wrong language, that you must communicate with him in the language your neighbor uses at home. I don't think that any parliament, in any civilized country, would deem it possible to respond to the domestic situation in a neighboring country the way the Russian Parliament did. It's now perfectly clear why Russia needs that single

economic space. As a basis on which to restore the Soviet Union. We know from history that the treaty forming the USSR was preceded by Russia's economic policy strongly reminiscent of today's. Ukraine's only alternative is NATO and EU membership, the sooner the better, so we can rid ourselves of Moscow's offhand interferences.

Serhiy SHEVCHUK (NDP):

The Russian Duma formed only recently. They are faced with many domestic and foreign policy problems, so I was amazed at the speed with which the Duma responded to Ukraine's foreign economic and domestic strategic initiatives, the more so that Ukraine has long worked to carry them out and made no secret of them. We believe that we are on the right path, moving in the direction of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. Our parliament supported the initiatives of the Ministry of Defense and the political leadership with a majority of votes; therefore, this statement of the Russian Duma can be regarded as a delicate (so far) interference into Ukrainian internal affairs. Needless to say, it will have a sequel, but I think it won't be successful, that our parliament and the political leadership will not alter the course proclaimed by the president in his message, and laid down in other strategic documents.

As for the language, on my way to parliament, I'd tuned my car radio in to a dozen FM stations and heard Ukrainian on one or two. The rest were in Russian. Meaning that Russia is just trying to add fuel to the fire. Russia should better consider securing millions of ethnic Ukrainians their rights the way the Russians in Ukraine have them. Otherwise it is a brutally asymmetrical approach to the language issue and we must reject it.

Borys OLIYNYK (CPU):

The Russian Duma can't tell us what to do, and we don't censor their decisions. I have personally opposed and will continue to oppose Ukraine's NATO membership, for I have witnessed them in action when I got under their bomb raid in Kosovo. Yet I stress that the resolution of our parliament is an expression of will of a sovereign country.

Volodymyr HOSHOVSKY (People's Choice Groups of People's Deputies):

This is evidence of not only the expansion of Russian capital in Ukraine, but also Russia's interference in Ukrainian political affairs. This is not

admissible. I think that the Duma had no right to come out with such statements if Russia really wants to have neighborly relations with Ukraine. But if Russia has other objectives in mind, any citizen of Ukraine, whatever his attitude toward Russian politics, will say mind to your own business. Of course, this statement will infuriate the Ukrainian Parliament.

Stepan KHMARA (BYuT):

This is flagrant interference in Ukrainian internal affairs. I wish our parliamentary majority had made the proper conclusions and revised their attitude toward SES. Russia is impudently mounting pressure on Ukraine, already openly meddling in our affairs. I think that our Foreign Ministry must forward a stern note in response to the Russian Duma's statement, and the Ukrainian Parliament should, of course, show its reaction.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the Directorate General for Bilateral Cooperation, the content of its work and the functions of its subdivisions.



UNIT 11

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR CONSULAR SERVICE

1. What do you know about the functions of the Directorate General for Consular Service? What matters does the Directorate General for Consular Service deal with? Who protects the constitutional rights of Ukrainian citizens and legal entities abroad? Who coordinates the work of Ukrainian consular missions abroad? How many consular missions of Ukraine are there abroad? How many honorary consular missions of Ukraine are there abroad? Who works out the concept of developing migration and visa policy of Ukraine? How many subdivisions does the Directorate General for Consular Service consist of? What are they? What are the functions of the Consular Department? What are the functions of the Department of Consular and Legal Support? What are the key issues the Ukrainian consular service deals with? Which subdivision pays special attention to the protection of Ukraine's state property abroad? Which Department is responsible for the protection of ship and aircraft crews at foreign ports? Which Department deals with releasing Ukrainian ships from arrest? Which Department renders urgent assistance in repatriation of Ukrainian citizens? Which Department takes measures in crisis situations the Ukrainian nationals find themselves in abroad? Which subdivision deals with issuing visas, applications concerning citizenship, issuing passports, legalizing documents, performing notarial acts and those related to civil registration? Which Department holds negotiations on creating favorable conditions for free movement of people, goods, services and capital?

2. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for Consular Service. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

goods	application	national interests	key issues	legal entities
abroad	citizenship	reciprocal voyages	crisis situations	urgent assistance
citizen	coordinate	honorary consular missions	state property	legal support
ship	settlement	Ukrainian nationals	migration policy	foreign ports
border	alienation	constitutional rights	issuing visas	aircraft crew
release	protection	favorable conditions	notarial acts	free movement
exchange	visa policy	consular missions	issuing passports	services
arrest	repatriation	European integration	civil registration	foreign services
concept	experience	non-staff (honorary)	foreign nationals	negotiations
resolve	simplified	legalizing documents	consular sphere	procedures

3. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for Consular Service. 8 paragraphs have been removed from the article. Choose from the paragraphs (A – F) the one that fits each gap (0 – 5). There is an example at the beginning (0).

PARAGRAPHS		
A	in the context of our state's course toward European integration	
B	aimed at settlement of crisis situations	
C	ensuring protection of constitutional rights of our state's citizens and legal entities	0
D	Ukrainian consular missions abroad	
E	preserving maximally simplified procedures	
F	and non-staff (honorary) consuls	

0 Activities of the Directorate General for Consular Service are aimed at the provision for Ukraine's national interests in the consular sphere, in particular _____ during their stay beyond the Ukrainian borders.

0	Paragraph:	C
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1 The Directorate General coordinates activities of Ukrainian consular missions _____ of our state abroad, as well as activities of MFA missions to regions in matters relating to consular sphere.

1	Paragraph:	
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2 Today, more than 90 consular missions of Ukraine work abroad. Furthermore, about 50 honorary consular missions of Ukraine work abroad. The Directorate General forms the concept of developing migration and visa policy _____. The Directorate General consists of the Consular Department and the Department of Consular and Legal Support.

2 Paragraph:

3 The key issues being resolved by the Ukrainian consular service include preventing alienation of Ukraine's state property, ensuring protection of Ukrainian ship and aircraft crews at foreign ports, releasing ships from arrest, rendering urgent assistance in repatriation of seamen, etc. It also takes measures _____ in which Ukrainian nationals find themselves abroad.

3 Paragraph:

4 The Directorate General and _____ carry out work related to issuing visas to foreign nationals, considering applications concerning citizenship, issuing passports, legalizing documents, performing notarial acts and acts relating to civil registration, etc.

4 Paragraph:

5 The Ukrainian consular service holds active negotiations on consular problems and exchanges experience with similar foreign services. This work is carried out, in particular, with the purpose of _____ of reciprocal voyages of citizens and creating favorable conditions for free movement of goods, services and capital.

5 Paragraph:

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Консульське управління; 2. Управління консульсько-правового забезпечення; 3. Департамент консульської служби; 4. реалізація національних інтересів України; 5. консульська сфера; 6. забезпечення захисту конституційних прав громадян та юридичних осіб; 7. під час перебування за кордоном; 8. координувати роботу консульських установ;

9. позаштатний (почесний) консул; 10. представництва МЗС у регіонах; 11. питання, які стосуються консульської сфери; 12. почесне консульство; 13. формувати концепцію; 14. міграційно-візова політика; 15. в контексті євроінтеграційного курсу; 16. ключові питання; 17. недопущення відчуження державного майна України; 18. забезпечення захисту екіпажів українських морських та повітряних суден в іноземних портах; 19. звільнення суден з-під арешту; 20. надання екстреної допомоги у репатріації моряків; 21. вживати заходи; 22. з метою розв'язання; 23. кризові ситуації, в яких опиняються українські громадяни за кордоном; 24. забезпечувати роботу; 25. оформленню віз іноземним громадянам; 26. розгляд клопотань з питань громадянства; 27. видача паспортів; легалізація документів; 28. вчинення нотаріальних дій та з реєстрації актів громадянського стану; 29. вести активний переговорний процес; 30. консульська проблематика; 31. обмін досвідом; 32. аналогічні служби зарубіжних держав; 33. збереження максимально спрощеного порядку взаємних поїздок громадян; 34. створення сприятливих умов для вільного пересування товарів, послуг та капіталів.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The Directorate General for _____ Service works to provide for Ukraine's national _____ in the consular sphere. 2. The Directorate _____ for Consular Service protects _____ rights of Ukrainian citizens and legal _____ during their stay abroad. 3. The Directorate General for Consular _____ coordinates the performance of Ukrainian _____ missions and non-staff (_____) consuls of Ukraine abroad. 4. The _____ General for Consular Service also supervises the work of MFA missions to _____ in _____ sphere. 5. There are more than 90 _____ missions of Ukraine abroad. 6. There are also about 50 _____ consular missions of Ukraine abroad. 7. The Directorate General _____ Consular Service develops the concept of the _____ and visa policy in the context of Ukraine 's ambition toward European _____. 8. The Directorate General for _____ Service consists of the _____ Department and the Department of Consular and _____ Support. 9. The key _____ the Ukrainian consular service deals with include preventing _____ of Ukraine's state property, ensuring _____ of Ukrainian ship and aircraft _____ at foreign

ports, releasing ships from _____, rendering urgent assistance in _____ of seamen. 10. It also takes measures aimed at settlement of crisis situations in which Ukrainian nationals find themselves abroad. 11. The Directorate _____ for Consular Service and Ukrainian consular _____ abroad issue visas to _____ nationals, consider _____ concerning citizenship, _____ passports, legalize _____, perform _____ acts and acts relating to civil _____. 12. The Ukrainian _____ service negotiates on consular problems and exchanges _____ with similar foreign _____. 13. The purpose of this work is to preserve _____ procedures of _____ voyages of citizens and creating _____ conditions for free _____ of goods, services and capital.

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the text on the Directorate General for Consular Service to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

0. The provision for Ukraine's national interests abroad
1. Coordination of MFA's consular activities
2. Developing the concept of migration and visa policy
3. The key issues being resolved by the Ukrainian consular service
4. The kinds of work the Directorate General and Ukrainian consular missions do
5. The purpose of the work by the Directorate General

9A. Read the interview of Marek ZIOLKOWSKI, Polish Foreign Minister (adapted from the interview by Oleh IVANTSOV, Serhiy SOLODKY, Vitaly KNIASHANSKY, Varvara ZHLUKTENKO in *The Day of March 16, 2004*), and answer the following questions:

1. Ukraine and Poland are strategic partners that quite actively cooperate in various spheres. Considering Poland's NATO membership, we would like to broach the issue of defense. Ukraine has done much in the way of Euro-Atlantic integration, which has been repeatedly stressed in Brussels. Kyiv wants to advance its cooperation with the alliance to the Membership Action Plan format at the upcoming Istanbul Summit. What should Ukraine do to fulfill its partners' expectations?

2. Will the Warsaw conference defense ministers of NATO members and Ukraine become a sort of decisive hour, when the decision on Ukraine will be prepared?
3. NATO members are now discussing a joint stance. Word has it that Germany and Holland are convinced that it is much too early for Ukraine to move to a Membership Action Plan and that the level of annual target plans is sufficiently high. Simultaneously, Poland, the US, and Great Britain seem to feel more positive about increasing the level of Ukraine's cooperation with the alliance. Does the Polish Foreign Minister confirm or deny this? And why exactly such groups of countries?
4. What is the Polish Foreign Minister's assessment of the role of the Ukrainian peacekeeping force and the level of Ukraine's cooperation with Poland in Iraq?
5. Poland has helped Ukraine on the Odesa-Brody issue. Its policy has been friendly and encouraged Kyiv to implement this project in the direction of Europe one step at a time. Now Ukraine has approved the decision on the forward operation of the pipeline. Is Poland absolutely certain that this decision will be implemented in Ukraine? How deep is Poland's involvement in this project? In what way will Poland participate in building the pipeline all the way to Plock?
6. "Will Poland's Pern Concern participate in the consortium to operate the oil pipeline if Ukraine decides to create one?"
7. Time is needed to develop a business plan and attract investment for the Odesa-Brody project. Can the supporters of back-pumping might use this delay and continue pressuring the Ukrainian government to reverse the oil flow?
8. What will be Poland's specific steps in the way of contracts for the reconstruction of Iraq? What kind of cooperation with Ukraine is possible in this respect?
9. Does the Industrial Union of the Donbas still have a chance in the controversial privatization issue in Poland?
10. What kind of cooperation aside from military cooperation is possible between Ukraine and Poland in Iraq?
11. What do Polish businessmen in Ukraine complain about most?

A Special Partner

“In the past twelve or thirteen years we have managed to quite significantly enhance Poland’s image in Ukraine. It is very important that in recent years Ukrainians’ trust in Poland has increased to such a high level, which no one could have dreamed of fifteen or twenty years ago. Now we would like to show Poland in one year and in a more integrated way as a modern European state. This is required for our strategic partnership and above all for our peoples, so that Ukrainians and Poles could look at each other not through the prism of history, which is also important, but above all through the prism of modernity. The Year of Poland will see dozens of various events, through which we would like to show the achievements of Polish composers and theaters. Nearly fifteen economic exhibitions will be held. We will also stage the Poland- 2004 national exhibition in Kharkiv. Moreover, we will work actively at the regional level in terms of cooperation among oblasts and wojewodstvos [a Polish administrative division corresponding to a province]. We hope to attract Ukrainians’ attention to all these events. Geographically, they will span all of Ukraine, east to west and north to south. We hope that after all these events we will leave in Ukrainians’ mind a mark of today’s Poland.”

NATO: SEARCH FOR A COMMON APPROACH

“You should look at the great experience of our cooperation with Ukraine as part of NATO efforts. Ukraine is one of the most active countries that cooperate with NATO. Yet a major discussion is underway in both NATO and Ukraine concerning the Istanbul Summit. I’ve talked to representatives of your country and NATO ambassadors. It appears there are as many concepts of future cooperation as there are discussions. I assure you that even Ukraine does not have a single concept. Ukraine and NATO are only beginning to look for a common approach. Undoubtedly, cooperation might reach the level of the Membership Action Plan or that of an intensified dialog. It should not be ruled out that the current format of the Action Plan or the annual target plans could be maintained. Incidentally, discussion is still underway on the level of the Ukraine-NATO Commission session at the Istanbul Summit. What should be taken into account? Above all, you must fulfill all the domestic tasks required under the documents signed with NATO. Ukraine is implementing its defense reform above all for itself and not someone else. We are pleased that this reform is progressing very successfully. Yet

there are reservations concerning the fulfillment of the political preambles of the Action Plan. We must know what level of fulfillment of the political preambles we can expect from Ukraine. Thus far it is too early to speak of the future result of Ukraine's meeting with NATO at the Istanbul Summit. I think it is important to discuss the events that will precede the Istanbul Summit. Above all, the visit by the new NATO secretary general to Ukraine this April will be decisive to some extent. Second, Poland has undertaken to invite defense ministers of NATO members and Ukraine to a conference in Warsaw this May, the same conference that was held in Washington last year and Berlin the year before. We would like to exchange views at an informal level. There are many possibilities but no single concept."

"I would not call this conference a decisive hour. It just would be good to find out where Ukraine stands in its dialog with NATO a month before the Istanbul Summit. Recall the recent events when everything was decided in the final hours before the 2002 Prague Summit. Now the atmosphere is completely different, and there are no reasons to temporize."

"There are no triangles or quadrangles. Discussion is underway both among NATO ambassadors in Brussels and in Kyiv. There are no new axes, neither old nor new Europe. There is no division, say, some countries treat Ukraine more favorably than others. The search for a concept continues. And there are more similar ideas than those you have mentioned, the first being the maximum that Ukraine can achieve, meaning Membership Action Plan status. Another concept is individual dialog. Yet another one, proceeding from the Distinctive Partnership Charter signed six years ago, could be termed as Special Partnership for Membership. This is a new format. Why not give it a try? Then comes the minimalist approach: everything might go no farther than the Action Plan, and cooperation will continue in the format of annual target plans. Thus, there are four or five concepts. And now absolutely anything is possible. Poland is inclined toward the maximum approach, that is, it wants to see the Ukraine-NATO relationship advance to the Membership Action Plan level. Some other countries also support our concept, but all this is under discussion. Everything will depend on the political realities of this dialog."

"At all forums our embassy emphasizes the effectiveness and experience of the Ukrainian force in Iraq. This is a sign that Ukraine has learned a new philosophy: the peacekeeping philosophy is higher than a simple military philosophy. The Ukrainian peacekeepers are appraised highly."

OIL

“As to the first part of your question, I can say for a certainty that negotiations are underway on the forward operation of the Odesa-Brody pipeline. There are several options for pumping oil, in particular through Slovakia, the Czech Republic, or Germany. We want to begin this project by means of delivering several thousand tons of oil by rail to Southern Poland this May. As for our means of participation, this is above all our political support for the project. For example, important talks are underway among the representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish governments and representatives of other countries that might join the project. That the dialog among all the interested parties – Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, and Russia – is picking up momentum is a persuasive argument. Already this month a contract could be drafted to create a joint venture between Ukrtransnafta and Poland’s Pern Concern, which will be specifically involved in completing the stretch of the pipeline from Brody to the Polish border and from there to Plock. Another issue is attracting investors. Neither Ukraine nor Poland wants this project to be funded from the budget. A business plan must be developed not only for the Odesa-Brody pipeline, but for the entire project, beginning with deliveries from the Caspian deposits and ending with the companies at the receiving end. Work on this is underway. How much faster can it proceed? I can’t answer this question. I can only say that I’ve just returned from Brody. They are really waiting for this oil. All the technical equipment is ready.”

“Most probably it will. And it would be only natural for Pern to join such a consortium. Perhaps there will be other companies and banks. The business plan is developed to secure loans and find money. Both American and Kazakh companies could be involved in the consortium. However, now it is much too early to discuss this, since the consortium will attract partners depending on the profitability of the project. Now that there is no definitive business plan it is difficult to say specifically how this work will proceed and who will join the consortium.”

“There is nothing unusual about such statements. Our conclusions depend solely on the actions of the Ukrainian side. Thus, it is not up to us to evaluate the possibility of back-pumping. Moreover, we are not interested in the reverse operation of the pipeline neither in theory nor practice. Undoubtedly, the issue of time is relevant, but your government and president support the

decision on the forward operation. The time factor is a matter of months or half a year. Moreover, very soon it will be possible to pump technical oil and begin work that is feasible at the current stage. Oil can be transported by rail. Oil can be also pumped from Brody via the Druzhba pipeline. Currently, all this is being discussed, and the plans to implement this project by means of rail transport are feasible.”

COMPETITION AND MONEY

“Last April our government appointed a former state property minister Poland’s special envoy in Washington. He is working to promote the interests of Polish companies and establish contacts with American companies that look for subcontractors to work on reconstruction projects in Iraq. Second, Poland’s former vice premier Prof. Marek Bielka is chief financial administrator in the Iraqi Provisional Administration. He forms the Iraqi budget based on the resources available. Whenever President Kwasniewski met with President Bush, in particular last January, Poland’s prospects in the reconstruction effort in Iraq were stressed repeatedly.

“However, the case of the Bumar Company shows that tenders are tenders. As you may know, the US government announced a tender to select a supplier of arms for the new Iraqi army under a contract worth half a billion dollars. Four companies made it to the final stage of the tender. Poland was certain that our company, Bumar, had a good chance of winning. Yet an American company, Noor, which does not manufacture weapons but instead buys them from various suppliers, has been named the successful bidder. This company bid a much lower price than Bumar. Bumar has filed a claim in the court of arbitration. As a result, the contract with Noor has been temporarily suspended. The court will decide whether to allow Noor to continue supplies under the contract or announce a new tender. Thus, Bumar still has a chance.”

“Our arbitration procedure is similar to that of the US and Europe. Without doubt, such procedures should be used.”

“Neither Poles not Ukrainians have any definitive prospects for participation in the reconstruction of Iraq. We can only be subcontractors of US companies. Meanwhile, other countries will compete for this right. Of course, it is not ruled out that our countries could compete in some tender.”

“There is an opinion that after Poland joins the EU, companies unable to compete in European markets will relocate to Ukraine.”

“It’s hard to say whether more Polish investment will come to Ukraine or whether it will remain at the current level. Presently Poland invests an annual \$140 million in Ukraine. This is a very high index for Poland. Why do Polish investors come to Ukraine? Above all because of the cheap labor force. Moreover, there is a possibility to export goods manufactured in Ukraine to Russia, Poland, and world markets. Yet, as a rule, potential Polish investors in Ukraine’s economy already have factories in Russia, France, or even Mexico. They work on the world market and not only in Ukrainian or Polish markets. Thus, some investors have told me that the development of investments in Ukraine will depend more on Ukraine’s export possibilities than work force. Poland entered the EU market in the early 1990s but began investing in Ukraine only several years ago. We should ask economists as to what will be better for Polish companies — to remain on the European market or relocate to Ukraine. Judging from my discussions with businessmen who work in Ukraine, one cannot say for a certainty that Polish investment in Ukraine will grow.”

“They complain about the uncertainty of the financial system. The unsolved problem of VAT rebates affects exporters. Meanwhile, as I have mentioned, Polish investors come to Ukraine to later export goods manufactured here. Moreover, they complain about bureaucratic complications. All economies struggle with red tape, but Ukraine is bogged down in it. It takes months or even years to obtain all permits to start a business. Polish investors are forced to open their affiliates here, since there is no other way to start their business here quickly. Complex customs and certification procedures also stand in the way. There are several arrangements on mutual recognition of certificates, but for 80–90 % of goods one has to register certificates, which significantly complicates trade.”

9B. Read the text (adapted from the article by Serhiy SYROVATKA in *The Day* of March 16, 2004), and answer the following question: What problems of Ukrainians currently working in Russia may the Consular service deal with?

Barbed Wire on Transparent Border

Various sources point to some 90 % Ukrainians currently working in Russia as illegal immigrants, meaning they are not officially registered, pay no

taxes, and that these people can hardly expect old-age pensions or anyone to defend their civil rights — even if some of them are paying into Russia's pension fund, for Russia is not likely to pay them in return. At times, respectable Ukrainians become such illegal immigrants, failing to file for registration within the legally required three-day timeframe. **Ivan KUKHTA**, head of the Ukrainian consulate in Moscow, told *The Day* about how such problems are expected to be solved in Ukrainian-Russian relations.

The recent tragedies in Moscow are referred to as acts of terrorism. Are we to expect the Russian authorities to tighten the screws on the status of foreign nationals?

KUKHTA: We have no information about any such measures being taken by the Russian authorities. Such matters are regulated by bilateral Ukrainian-Russian agreements. There are talks underway to upgrade such agreements, aimed at softening, rather the toughening the status of Ukrainians currently in Russia. I think that an agreement providing for simplified border-crossing and customs-clearance procedures will be signed this summer, making life easier for people residing in border areas.

Should we expect changes in the legal procedures relating to the registration of Ukrainians as foreigners in Russia?

KUKHTA: Under the current procedures, a foreigner must register with the competent Russian authorities within three days from his date of arrival. In practice, this clause is very difficult for the man in the street to carry out. Russians arriving in Ukraine have to get registered within ninety days — and they don't have to do so if their stay is shorter than ninety days. During our talks we intend to correct this disproportion. By the way, people visiting Russia from Belarus can stay there as long as they want. We suggest that the Russian Federation extend the term of registration for Ukrainians for at least ninety days. Thus a kind of balance would be achieved.

How has the Russian side responded to the Ukrainian initiative?

KUKHTA: There are expert consultations underway and we can notice a positive attitude on the Russian side. I think that the matter can be resolved in Ukraine's interests. It is no great secret that a large number of Ukrainians are earning their living in Russia as illegal immigrants.

Do you plan to solve this problem at the international level?

KUKHTA: Matters pertaining to the employment and social protection of Ukrainians are more complicated, but we are negotiating them nevertheless. Officially, 94,000 Ukrainian nationals received employment permits in Russia last year; Russian experts, however, point to some 800,000 Ukrainians working there. My unofficial sources read some million and a half Ukrainians (I wrote my MA thesis on the subject and had studied the problem in depth). Ukrainians seek jobs mostly in Moscow, in Moscow and Tiumen oblasts, as well as in south Russia, where most Ukrainians are hired as seasonal workers. We understand the Russian government's position; we agree that this sphere needs to be legalized. This can be accomplished only by signing new agreements, as the current ones are no longer relevant. There is an agreement on temporary employment in the CIS states, but times are changing. There are no legal clauses on how Ukrainians can make payments to the Russian pension fund, how they can receive medical aid, and many other things. A draft agreement on Ukrainian employment and social protection in Russia is being actively elaborated at the labor ministries in both countries. It's a very complicated issue, so it's too early to predict the outcome. Here one is confronted with economic problems in the first place. Ukraine, however, has such an agreement with Portugal and others are being drafted, involving Italy, France, and other countries. After signing such an agreement, officials on both sides find it easier to solve issues such as granting work permits, and illegal employment will no longer be a pressing issue.

How would this employment agreement help Ukrainians illegally working in Russia?

KUKHTA: This agreement, if and when signed, will contain clearly defined employment quotas relating to various industries in need of such manpower. The interested ministries will study them and submit the relevant information. Such quotas will be allocated for all regions, so that, say, the governor of Krasnoyarsk will be prepared to accommodate 200,000 Ukrainian laborers, meaning that he will also assume full responsibility for their social protection. In Moscow, this issue has been settled in the transport domain. The Moscow Transport Department is happy to employ Ukrainians as trolley drivers — mostly people from Luhansk, Donetsk, Kharkiv, and Chernihiv oblasts. Now you can seldom find a streetcar or trolley driver

in Moscow who actually comes from Russia. They are paid \$500 a month, something nobody acting in the same capacity can earn in Ukraine. True, their working conditions are hard, sometimes they have to work 18–20 hours per shift. But they return home with enough money to buy an apartment in their respective district centers. By the way, we are negotiating the establishment of a Russian migration office in Kyiv, in order that our citizens could get Russian work permits there, so people could receive six-month employment cards in Kyiv and then go to Russia and work there unmolested by the authorities.

10. Write a 200-word essay on the work of the Directorate General for Consular Service.



UNIT 12

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR LEGAL AFFAIRS

- 1. What do you know about the functions of the Directorate General for Legal Affairs? What matters does the Directorate General for Legal Affairs deal with? What subdivisions does it consist of? What are the functions of the Legal and Treaty Department, the Chief Legal Advisor Service and the Official Translation and Interpretation Department? Who keeps records and systemizes international treaties concluded by Ukraine? Who gives proposals about mechanisms of implementing rules of international law? Who carries out legal expertise of international treaties and political documents? Who prepares international legal explanation of Ukrainian position and initiatives in the process of its foreign policy activities? Who focuses on legal and treaty arrangement of the Ukrainian state borders? Who deals with the problems of adapting the Ukrainian legislation to that of the European Union? Who provides protection against claims in foreign courts and international arbitration institutions? Which subdivision analyses and generalizes materials concerning enforcement measures in international law? Who provides for the comprehensive legal support of the MFA of Ukraine? What is the main task of the Chief Legal Advisor Service? Who arranges and carries out activities related to claims? Who focuses on the consistence of Ukrainian legislation with the rules of international law? Who carries out legal expertise of documents drawn up by legal entities of Ukraine? Who provides official translations of international treaties of Ukraine? Who deals with authenticity of texts of Ukraine's international treaties?**
- 2. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for Legal Affairs. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?**

application	legal support	international treaties	comprehensive	international law
draw up	keep records	national legislation	independent	legal expertise
submit	keep track	political documents	law-making	state borders
sphere	assistance	legal explanation	harmonizing	foreign courts
member	proposal	practical measures	entry into force	legal entities
claims	objectives	protection of rights	competence	consistent
adapt	observance	international arbitration	implementation	consultative
systemize	economic	effective legislation	methodical	interpretation
initiative	enforcement	sanction regimes	translation	official meeting
social	subdivision	legal consequences	authenticity	delegation
official	diplomatic	mechanism of implementing	high-ranking	contribution

3. You are going to read four passages about the Directorate General for Legal Affairs (DGLA). For questions 1–20 choose from texts A – D. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

A. DGLA in general

**Which of DGBC
Departments:**

B. Legal and Treaty Department

C. Chief Legal Advisor Service

D. Official Translation and Interpretation Department

		A	B	C	D
provides legal support for the foreign policy activities of Ukraine	0	•			
provides a comprehensive legal support to the MFA of Ukraine in fulfilling its objectives	1				
prepares international legal explanation of Ukrainian position and initiatives in the process of its foreign policy activities	2				
takes part in law-making activities	3				
provides for the legal and treaty arrangement of the Ukrainian state borders	4				
conducts legal expertise of documents drawn up by legal entities of Ukraine and foreign states	5				
takes practical measures in adapting the Ukrainian legislation to that of the European Union	6				

provides official translations of international treaties of Ukraine	7				
provides for the protection of Ukraine's rights and interests as to claims against Ukraine submitted to foreign courts and international arbitration institutions	8				
Contributes to the proposals on harmonizing Ukrainian legislation with the rules of international law	9				
carries out legal expertise of draft international treaties and foreign political documents of Ukraine	10				
has a status of an independent structural subdivision of the Ministry	11				
keeps track of the entry into force of the international treaties and their implementation	12				
supervises the observance and application of the effective Ukrainian legislation in official, economic and social spheres of activities of the MFA and diplomatic missions abroad	13				
elaborates proposals concerning mechanisms of implementing rules of international law into the national legislation	14				
provides assistance to the Ministry's subdivisions and Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad on issues concerning the national legislation of Ukraine	15				
assists in the implementation of MFA's functional tasks	16				
arranges and carries out work related to claims	17				
keeps records and systemizes international treaties concluded by Ukraine	18				
carries out the law-making activities	19				
analyses and generalizes materials on enforcement measures in international law and the legal consequences of their application, including sanction regimes	20				
establishes authenticity of the texts of Ukraine's international treaties	21				

A The main function of the Directorate General for Legal Affairs, which consists of the Legal and Treaty Department, Official Translation and Interpretation Service and Chief Legal Advisor Service,

is legal support of foreign policy activities of Ukraine, in particular of functional tasks set before the MFA

BThe Legal and Treaty Department keeps records and systemizes international treaties concluded by Ukraine; it also keeps track of their entry into force and implementation. The Department elaborates proposals concerning mechanisms of implementing rules of international law into national legislation and carries out legal expertise of draft international treaties and foreign political documents of Ukraine. The Department prepares international legal explanation of Ukrainian position and initiatives in the process of its foreign policy activities. One of important directions of the Department's work is legal and treaty arrangement of the Ukrainian state borders, as well as contribution to practical measures aimed at adapting the Ukrainian legislation to that of the European Union within the Ministry's competence. This subdivision arranges and coordinates protection of Ukraine's rights and interests with regard to claims against Ukraine submitted to foreign courts and international arbitration institutions. The Department analyses and generalizes materials concerning enforcement measures in international law, as well as legal consequences of their application, including sanction regimes.

CThe Chief Legal Advisor Service was created to improve legal work within the MFA system; the Service has a status of an independent structural subdivision of the Ministry. The main task set before the Chief Legal Advisor Service is to ensure comprehensive legal support of the MFA of Ukraine in the course of fulfilling its objectives. In particular, the Service ensures observance and application of the effective Ukrainian legislation in official, economic and social spheres of activities of the Ministry and diplomatic missions abroad. It also participates in law-making activities, arranges and carries out work relating to claims. Besides, the Chief Legal Advisor Service promotes elaboration of proposals on harmonizing Ukrainian legislation with the rules of international law. The Service fulfills legal expertise of documents drawn up by legal entities of Ukraine and foreign states to find if they are consistent with the Ukrainian legislation in force and rules of international law. It also renders methodical, consultative and information assistance to the Ministry's subdivisions and Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad on issues concerning the national legislation of Ukraine.

DThe Official Translation and Interpretation Service provides official translations of international treaties of Ukraine, as well as interpretation during official meetings of Ukrainian high-ranking officials and members of official delegations. Another task of the Service is establishing authenticity of texts of Ukraine's international treaties.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Правовий департамент; 2. Договірно-правове управління; 3. Служба головного юридичного радника; 4. Служба офіційних перекладів; 5. правовий супровід; 6. забезпечення зовнішньополітичної діяльності; 7. функціональні завдання, що стоять перед МЗС; 8. облік та систематизація укладених міжнародних договорів України; 9. стежить за набуттям чинності міжнародних договорів України; 10. стежить за практикою застосування міжнародних договорів України; 11. розробляти пропозиції щодо механізмів імплементації міжнародно-правових норм у внутрішнє законодавство України; 12. здійснювати правову експертизу проєктів міжнародних договорів та зовнішньополітичних документів України; 13. готувати міжнародно-правове обґрунтування позиції та ініціатив України; 14. в процесі здійснення зовнішньополітичної діяльності; 15. важливий напрям роботи; 16. забезпечення договірно-правового оформлення державного кордону України; 17. участь у практичних заходах з адаптації законодавства України до законодавства Європейського Союзу; 18. в межах компетенції міністерства; 19. організувати та координувати процес захисту прав та інтересів України; 20. у зв'язку з поданням позовів проти України до іноземних судів та міжнародних арбітражних органів; 21. аналізувати та узагальнювати матеріали, що стосуються примусових заходів у міжнародному праві; 22. вивчати правові наслідків застосування примусових заходів; 23. режим вживання міжнародних санкцій; 24. з метою удосконалення правової роботи; 25. мати статус самостійного структурного підрозділу; 26. комплексне правове забезпечення МЗС України; 27. виконання завдань, покладених на МЗС; 28. забезпечувати дотримання та застосування чинного законодавства України; 29. службова, господарська та соціальна сфера діяльності Міністерства; 30. діяльність закордонних дипломатичних установ; 31. здійснювати законотворчу діяльність;

32. організувати та вести претензійну роботу; 33. сприяти розробці пропозицій щодо приведення чинного законодавства України у відповідність до норм міжнародного права; 34. проводити правову експертизу документів юридичних осіб України та іноземних держав; 35. на предмет дотримання чинного законодавства України та норм міжнародного права; 36. надавати методичну, консультативну та інформаційну допомогу підрозділам Міністерства; 37. надавати допомогу закордонним дипломатичним установам України з питань внутрішнього законодавства України; 38. забезпечувати здійснення офіційних перекладів міжнародних договорів України; 39. забезпечувати усний переклад під час офіційних зустрічей вищих посадових осіб України та членів офіційних делегацій; 40. встановлювати автентичність текстів міжнародних договорів України.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The main function of the Directorate General for _____ Affairs is legal _____ of foreign policy activities of Ukraine, in particular of _____ tasks set before the MFA. 2. The Directorate General for Legal _____ consists of the Legal and _____ Department, Official Translation and _____ Service and Chief Legal _____ Service. 3. The _____ and Treaty Department _____ records and systemizes international _____ concluded by Ukraine. 4. The Legal and Treaty _____ keeps track of the entry into _____ and implementation of the international treaties. 5. The Legal and Treaty Department _____ proposals concerning mechanisms of _____ rules of international law into national _____ and carries out _____ expertise of _____ international treaties and foreign political _____ of Ukraine. 6. The Legal and Treaty Department prepares international _____ explanation of Ukrainian position and _____ in the process of its foreign _____ activities. 7. The Legal and Treaty Department is involved into the legal and treaty _____ of the Ukrainian _____ borders, and into the contribution to practical measures to _____ the Ukrainian legislation to that of the European _____ within the Ministry's _____. 8. The Legal and Treaty Department arranges and coordinates _____ of Ukraine's rights and interests with regard to _____ against Ukraine submitted to foreign _____ and international _____ institutions. 9. The Legal and Treaty Department analyses and

_____ materials concerning _____ measures in international _____ and the _____ consequences of their application, including _____ regimes. 10. The Chief Legal _____ Service was created to improve _____ work within the MFA system. 11. The Chief _____ Advisor Service has a status of an _____ structural subdivision of the Ministry. 12. The main task of the _____ Legal Advisor Service is to provide _____ legal support of the MFA of Ukraine in fulfilling its _____. 13. The Chief Legal Advisor _____ ensures observance and _____ of the _____ Ukrainian legislation in official, _____ and social spheres of activities of the Ministry and diplomatic _____ abroad. 14. The Chief Legal Advisor Service is also involved into law-_____ activities. 15. The Chief Legal Advisor Service _____ and carries out work _____ to claims. 16. The Chief Legal Advisor Service promotes _____ of proposals on harmonizing Ukrainian _____ with the rules of international _____. 17. The Chief Legal Advisor Service conducts _____ expertise of documents drawn up by legal _____ of Ukraine and _____ states to find if they are _____ with the effective Ukrainian _____ and rules of _____ law. 18. The Chief Legal Advisor Service provides methodical, consultative and information _____ to the Ministry's subdivisions and Ukrainian diplomatic missions _____ on issues concerning national _____ of Ukraine. 19. The Official Translation and _____ Service provides official _____ of international _____ of Ukraine, as well as _____ during official meetings of Ukrainian high-_____ officials and members of official delegations. 20. The Official _____ and Interpretation Service also establishes _____ of texts of Ukraine's international _____.

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the Directorate General for Legal Affairs to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Directorate General for Legal Affairs: General Background
2. Legal and Treaty Department
3. Chief Legal Advisor Service
4. Official Translation and Interpretation Service

8. Read the text (adapted from the article by Kseniya MELESHKO in *The Day* of March 30, 2004) and answer the following question: What are the main problems in the adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to the European one?

Why Do Ukrainian Officials Not Study European Law?

A joke something like a parable says, “A young man is asking a fortuneteller to predict his future. ‘You’ll be a pauper until you are thirty,’ the fortuneteller replies. ‘And then?’ ‘Then you’ll get used to it’.” It is the same with us: while dreaming of a personal deck chair in Hawaii, we are missing our chance to come closer to an affluent and sensible life.

Ukraine had this kind of a chance two years ago, when the TACIS program, subsidized by European taxpayers, launched a project called Legal Education in Ukraine: Kyiv and the Regions. This is by not some boring course for narrow specialists. Everything is much more serious: Europe’s best experts teach European Union law to Ukraine’s “pivotal” people, such as university professors and ministerial functionaries, who will in turn pass on their knowledge to people entrusted with adopting viable laws in this country. But almost a half of the invited civil servants do not come to get this most precious — and free — knowledge! Besides, the classes are conducted during office hours.

POLITICAL UNDERTONES

Lectures in European Law often trigger heated debates because, as a rule, our experts have never come across European law in practice. Nor is this subject taught in Ukrainian universities and colleges. Moreover, it is even unclear how this country has so far been able to address the problems of trade with the European Union, for we have practically no specialists in European law.

“We have already finished training fifty teachers from four Ukrainian universities and are going to continue teaching 240 civil servants and seventy private lawyers in 2004,” says Jolanta Taczynska, project manager and professor of Lodz University’s Department of European Law in Poland. “Naturally, this number of people is a drop in the ocean, but we are doing our work in such a way that the knowledge gained could later be put to use by a wide circle of people.”

Of course, one can ask the question of to what extent will EU canons suit us. For Ukraine is, in a way, an eastern country and its residents have a different mentality. But is it not worthwhile to bring our life into line with European standards? They are better, especially as far as fundamental human values are concerned.

The EU knows all too well that Ukraine lacks money to study European law. This is why they are ready to teach us free of charge and invite Ukrainian experts to Europe – also at EU expense – to gain hands-on experience in European law. Yet, it would be wrong to exult over the project as an absolutely free enterprise. As we know, nothing is free in real life. Since Ukraine is becoming the European Union’s immediate neighbor, this also causes serious concern for the Europeans, for they want civilized neighbors.

“The closer Ukraine approaches the European Union’s borders, the more intensively the Europeans are letting us into the circle of their problems,” says Liudmyla Holibardova, a project expert. “For is better to have a good and predictable neighbor... But, unfortunately, there are very few people in Ukraine who rely think about the prospects. From this perspective, it is difficult to overestimate the EU’s role: we are being given a most powerful impulse to be able to take care of our tomorrow and drop outdated stereotypes. Incidentally, Russia has not yet had any similar project as part of TACIS.”

HOW DOES THE PRINCIPLE OF TRANSPARENCY LOOK?

Later in March Kyiv is to host a European management conference intended for representatives of Ukraine’s “upper echelon,” that is, people directly involved in shaping our legislation by which this country’s behavior is judged on the international arena. It was originally planned to hold the conference in October. At that time, however, Ukraine was hesitating again whether to go East or West.

Today, Ukraine seems to have made its choice, which attaches still greater importance to the issues to be discussed at the March conference. For example, what is the difference between managerial and governmental functions? It turned out that many Ukrainian experts are still in the dark about this subject. What is the role of government and non-governmental organizations in the establishment of a law-governed state? What does the principle of transparency mean in the governance of a country? Very much in our lives depends on the proper understanding of these issues.

Meanwhile, Ukraine has signed a memorandum on establishing the Association of Higher Educational Institutions, which is drawing up courses on European law. The project will help launch a distance learning program that will make it possible to gain knowledge in European law for practically everyone who wants to.

University libraries are to very soon receive the most up-to-date literature on European law, a thing Ukraine has yet to see at all. The project provides, among other things, for the publication of a badly needed glossary of European legal terms in Ukrainian, Russian, and English.

The project is picking up steam, but some civil servants are still asking their instructors, “What’s the use of European law if Ukraine is moving in the opposite direction?”

Note: Before the EU was formed, the laws of European countries functioned on their own. In 1957, the treaty was signed on the establishment of the European Economic Community, and since then all economic matters have been addressed under European law, which is constantly evolving. Experts from all EU member states take part in working out common European rules of the game. It would be wrong to say, however, that European law is based on the experience of one specific country. European law is the law of all the EU countries. European law has precedence over national laws should a dispute arise between them.

COMMENTARY

Oleksandr SHNYRKOV, Professor and deputy director of the Institute of International Relations, Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University:

“While earlier it was said that politics is the art of the impossible, under our conditions it is more the art of the possible. One can no longer think today in the categories of national laws only. One should take a realistic approach to the situation: all the fundamental issues connected with access to the European market are subject to the norms of European and not national law. Thus, irrespective of any changes in Ukraine’s foreign policy priorities, I do not think we have any other option from the strategic viewpoint: in our era of globalization, Ukraine must in one way or another work with Europe. Moreover, it is desirable not just to cooperate but to integrate with Europe.”

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Vitaliy KNIASHANSKY in *The Day* of January 20, 2004) and answer the following question: What are the main problems in implementing international laws against money laundering in Ukraine?

Shadow of FATF

On January 15 a mission of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) arrived in Ukraine. Addressing a cabinet meeting the day before, Premier Viktor Yanukovich informed the ministers about the mission's visit, accentuated the work of the law enforcement services, and said that he briefed their chiefs earlier in the week.

As we know, the campaign against money laundering in Ukraine is run by the State Department of Financial Monitoring in the Finance Ministry, which also coordinates the activity of all other departments in this direction. The FATF mission has obviously been instructed to determine whether Ukraine has done enough to be removed from the FATF blacklist. The government expects this to happen in February 2004 after it successfully demonstrates to the FATF mission how it implements the money-laundering laws.

That Yanukovich briefed the uniformed services on this issue could be evidence of some new requirements put forth by the FATF and the resulting shift of accents in this work in Ukraine. It was no accident that Yanukovich stressed that this year the government faces a difficult task of bringing the Ukrainian economy out of the shadows. Quite probably, in the measures taken to this end the government will alter the ratio between economic and forceful methods in favor of the former. Such changes are long overdue. Yet care should be taken not to allow our law enforcement to overdo it, as is often the case, and prevent them from cracking down on private structures that have fallen into disfavor of the authorities.

"I would like us to include in the cabinet action plan measures that envision combating the shadow economy in the country. We must make this step, and the FATF visit will be the first step," the premier thus specified the goals of state structures. In his view, a program drafted to this end should envision both preventive action by the uniformed services and the drafting of bills that would create transparent mechanisms enabling the economy and citizens' incomes to come out of the shadows. According to him, 47 % of Ukrainian businesses are losing money. "Why? On the one hand, this ques-

tion goes to the local government, businessmen, and industrialists, and on the other hand, it is a nationwide problem,” the premier stressed.

Recently, when introducing the new Zhytomyr Governor Serhiy Ryzhuk, Yanukovych already touched on the issue of combating the shadow economy. He then said that some businesses “conceal their incomes, which move into the shadows.” In particular, according to Ukrainian experts, nearly 40 % of Ukraine’s economy is in the shadows. The premier cited this fact to justify the need for reforms in the country, in particular a fiscal and pension reform. “The task of the day for local government is to work on the transparency of enterprises of various forms of ownership,” he said, adding that such tasks are extremely difficult “since this year is also a year of political rivalry” (referring to the presidential elections). “Our priority is to improve people’s welfare. Let us strictly carry out our commitments,” he stressed. Speaking of the possible mechanisms of bringing the economy out of the shadows, Yanukovych said there is foreign experience that we will draw upon, taking into account the possibilities of the legislation in force and its constant improvement in the sphere of combating the shadow economy.

As for world experience, it was recently brought to Ukraine by World Bank expert Theodore Greenberg, who visited Ukraine on the invitation of First Vice Premier and Finance Minister Mykola Azarov. No reports have been made on his conclusions and recommendations, but one can assume that the crackdown on Odesa’s illegal distilleries that began after his visit was somehow connected with the expert’s conclusions. Yet our law enforcement officers, who have vast information available but are not always authorized to use it, could have made this move by themselves. Moreover, the FATF mission plans to visit Odesa, in which connection all our state agencies that have their divisions or controlled commercial structures in this city ranging from banks to credit unions and pawnshops are bending over backwards to stage various inspections and briefings. Understandably, all their efforts will not pass unnoticed, the FATF decision on Ukraine notwithstanding. Yet it is questionable that this FATF mission will recommend a positive decision for Ukraine, despite some officials’ belief to the contrary. In fact, none of them doubts that visits by similar missions to Ukraine will continue.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the work of the Directorate General for Legal Affairs and the functions of its subdivisions.



UNIT 13

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ISSUES, DOCUMENTATION AND ARCHIVES

1. What do you know about the functions of the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives? What matters does the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives deal with? What subdivisions does it consist of? What are the functions of the General Secretariat, Department for Currency and Finance, Department for History and Archives and Department for Development and Support of Diplomatic Service? Who arranges information exchange within the Ministry's system and ensures its efficiency? Who develops the rules of work with documents? Who controls the electronic system of documents circulation? Who takes care of incoming correspondence and its distribution? Who receives and forwards documents from the Ministry? How many persons does the staff of the General Secretariat consist of? How many employees of the Ministry report to them? Who is responsible for planning proceeds and expenditures of the Ministry? Who channels the finances to the MFA central office? Who channels the finances to the Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad? Who takes care of the Ministry's book-keeping and accounting? Who is responsible for the logistical support of the Ministry? Who takes care of the material and technical basis of the Ministry? Who is responsible for keeping Archives of the Ministry?

2. You are going to read a text about the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

information	planning	General Secretariat	systematization	rules of work
algorithm	financing	electronic system	history	monitoring
analysis	responsible	incoming correspondence	maintenance	registration
currency	accounting	logistical support	documents	submission
control	accumulate	documents circulation	archives	competence
finance	contemporary	material and technical basis	administering	employees
processing	archival units	stock of personal files	efficiency	subordinated
exchange	Main Stock	stock of documentary photos	distribution	expenditures
execution	unique	diplomatic missions	central office	book-keeping
forwarding	legal acts	stock of international treaties	proceeds	archival stocks
staff	catalogue	consular missions	participation	depository
gifts	originals	Book of Honorary Guests	copies	official guest

3. You are going to read four passages about the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives (DGAFIDA). For questions 1–20 choose from texts A – D. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

- Which of DGAFIDA Departments:**
- A. General Secretariat**
 - B. Department for Currency and Finance**
 - C. Department for Development and Support of Diplomatic Service**
 - D. Department for History and Archives**

		A	B	C	D
is one of the oldest subdivisions of the Ministry	0	•			
provides the logistical support of the Ministry's central office and Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad	1				
has almost seven employees of the the central office and Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad subordinated to each of the staff of the subdivision	2				
has over half a million documents	3				
arranges information exchange within the Ministry's system and ensures its efficiency	4				
takes care of the stock of personal files of the Ministry's staff	5				

provides financing for the MFA central office, diplomatic and consular missions abroad and participation in international organizations	6				
functions as a depositary of international treaties and agreements of Ukraine	7				
deals with systematization and maintenance of rules of work with documents	8				
is responsible for keeping the stock of international treaties registered with the UN	9				
is responsible for book-keeping and accounting	10				
is charged with keeping the documents of the UN bodies and specialized agencies	11				
takes care of the control and monitoring of documents execution	12				
keeps originals and copies of documents relating to the most important events in foreign political life of Ukraine	13				
is charged with planning proceeds and expenditures of the Ministry	14				
takes care of the documents and materials of liquidated international organizations	15				
is responsible for the creation, maintenance, analysis and administering of electronic system of documents circulation	16				
was started on the basis of two other structures created before the end of WW II	17				
is charged with receiving and forwarding documents from the Ministry	18				
takes care of the entire material and technical basis of the Ministry	19				
deals with processing and registration of incoming correspondence and its distribution and submission for execution according to the competence of subdivisions	20				
has the Book of Honorary Guests	21				

A The **General Secretariat** is one of the oldest subdivisions of the Ministry. Its main function is to arrange information exchange within the Ministry's system and to ensure its efficiency. Other tasks of no less importance performed by the General Secretariat include systematization and maintenance of rules and "algorithms" of work with documents, control and monitoring of their execution; creation, maintenance, analysis and administering of electronic system of documents circulation; processing and registration of incoming correspondence and its distribution and submission for execution according to the competence of subdivisions; receiving and forwarding documents from the Ministry. Staff of the General Secretariat consists of more than 30 persons to whom about 200 employees of the Ministry, working in the document and information exchange sphere at the central office and Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad, are subordinated.

B The **Financial Department** is responsible for planning proceeds and expenditures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Through this Department financing is provided for activities of the central office of the MFA, Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad and participation of our state in activities of international organizations. The Department is also charged with book-keeping and accounting.

C The **Department for Development and Support of Diplomatic Service** is responsible for logistical support of activities of the Ministry's central office and Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad. The whole material and technical basis of the Ministry is administered by this subdivision.

D The **Department for History and Archives** has passed several stages in its formation. Since the creation of the Ministry in 1944, all documents and materials were accumulated at the Political Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (1944–1951). Later on, in 1951 the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine was created on its basis. That Archive became a basis of the contemporary Department for History and Archives, which started its work in 1993. Archives comprise 56 archival stocks. The total number of archival units amounts to approximately 500 thousand copies. Documents reflecting history of Ukrainian foreign policy activities are kept here, as well as those

documents, which came out in the process of functioning of the Ministry (since 1944) and diplomatic and consular missions (since 1992). These documents belong to the so-called Main Stock. There also exist such stocks as a stock of personal files of the Ministry's staff, stock of documentary photos and stock of international treaties registered with the UN. Documents of the UN bodies and specialized agencies are also kept here, as well as unique documents and materials of liquidated international organizations. In accordance with relevant legal acts of Ukraine, the Department for History and Archives acts as a depositary of international treaties and agreements of Ukraine. In June 2002, the electronic catalogue contained 2855 registered treaties. The Museum of History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was opened on 21 December 2001. The Museum's exhibition tells about traditions and history of establishment of Ukrainian diplomatic service. Its considerable part is composed of gifts presented to the Ministry's leadership during foreign visits and during stay of foreign guests in Ukraine. The Museum keeps originals and copies of documents relating to the most important events in foreign political life of Ukraine. Despite its young age, the Museum already has its own traditions. As a rule, each official guest of the MFA attends the Museum and leaves his/her impressions in the Book of Honorary Guests.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Департамент адміністративно-фінансових питань, документації та архіву; 2. Загальний секретаріат; 3. Валютно-фінансове управління; 4. Управління розвитку та забезпечення дипломатичної служби; 5. Історико-архівне управління; 6. об'єднувати підрозділи; 7. відповідати за забезпечення умов діяльності дипломатичної служби України; 8. основна функція; 9. організація інформаційних обмінів у системі Міністерства; 10. уніфікація та оптимізація інформаційних обмінів; 11. зведення та підтримання правил і алгоритмів роботи з документами; 12. контроль та моніторинг опрацювання документів; 13. створення, підтримка, аналіз та адміністрування системи електронного документообігу; 14. обробка, реєстрація вхідної кореспонденції та її розподіл і передача на виконання згідно з компетенцією підрозділів; 15. організація, прийом та відправлення документів з Міністерства; 16. тридцять співробітників, яким організаційно-методично підпорядковується близько 200 співро-

бітників МЗС; 17. працювати у сфері документування та забезпечення інформаційних обмінів; 18. центральний апарат; 19. закордонні дипломатичні установи; 20. планування доходів та видатків структури Міністерства закордонних справ; 21. здійснювати фінансування діяльності; 22. консульські установи; 23. участь в діяльності міжнародних організацій; 24. ведення бухгалтерського обліку та звітності; 25. об'єднання; 26. Управління дипломатичних установ; 27. Управління справами; 28. матеріально-технічне забезпечення діяльності; 29. матеріально-технічна база зовнішньополітичної служби; 30. Накопичувати документи та матеріали; 31. Політвідділ Міністерства закордонних справ УРСР; 32. створювати на його базі; 33. Архів Міністерства закордонних справ УРСР; 34. ставати основою; 35. архівний фонд; 36. загальна кількість; 37. одиниця зберігання; 38. примірник; 39. висвітлювати історію зовнішньополітичної діяльності України; 40. Основний фонд; 41. фонд особових справ працівників Міністерства; 42. фонд фотодокументів; 43. фонд міжнародних договорів, зареєстрованих в ООН; 44. документи органів та спеціалізованих установ ООН; 45. унікальний за змістом; 46. документи та матеріали ліквідованих міжнародних організацій; 47. Згідно з відповідними нормативно-правовими актами; 48. здійснювати функції депозитарію міжнародних договорів та угод України; 49. станом на червень; 50. електронний варіант каталогу; 51. реєструвати; 52. опікуватися; 53. експозиція музею; 54. становлення дипломатичної служби України; 55. оригінали і копії документів; 56. найголовніші події з зовнішньополітичного життя України; 57. офіційні гості; 58. Книга почесних гостей.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The Directorate General for _____ and Financial Issues, Documentation and _____ comprises those subdivisions of the Ministry, which are _____ for creating conditions for activities and functioning of Ukrainian _____ service. 2. The Directorate _____ consists of the General _____, Department for _____ and Finance, Department for _____ and Archives and Department for Development and _____ of Diplomatic Service. 3. The _____ Secretariat is one of the oldest _____ of the Ministry. 4. The _____ of the General Secretariat is to arrange information _____ within the Ministry's system and to ensure its _____. 5. The General Secretariat conducts

systematization and _____ of rules and “algorithms” of _____ with documents, control and _____ of their execution; creation, maintenance, _____ and administering of electronic system of documents _____; processing and registration of _____ correspondence and its distribution and _____ for execution according to the _____ of subdivisions; receiving and _____ documents from the Ministry. 6. The _____ of the General Secretariat consists of more than 30 persons to whom about 200 _____ of the Ministry, working in the document and information _____ sphere at the _____ office and Ukrainian diplomatic _____ abroad, are _____. 7. The _____ Department is responsible for planning _____ and expenditures of the Ministry. 8. The Financial _____ provides _____ for the MFA central office, Ukrainian diplomatic and consular missions abroad and for the participation in international organizations. 9. The Financial Department also deals with _____ and accounting. 10. The Department for _____ and Support of Diplomatic Service is responsible for _____ support of the Ministry’s central _____ and Ukrainian diplomatic and _____ missions abroad. 11. The Department for DEvelopment and Support of _____ Service administers the material and _____ basis of the Ministry. 12. The Department for History and _____ has passed several stages in its _____. 13. Since 1944, all documents and materials were _____ at the Political _____ of the Ministry. 14. Later the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign _____ of Ukraine was created on its basis. 15. The Archive became a _____ of the contemporary Department for _____ and Archives. 16. Archives comprise 56 _____ stocks. 17. The total _____ of archival _____ amounts to approximately 500 thousand _____. 18. The documents reflecting history of Ukrainian foreign policy belong to the so-called Main _____. 19. There are also such stocks as a stock of personal _____ of the Ministry’s staff, a _____ of documentary photos and a stock of _____ treaties registered with the UN. 20. Documents of the UN _____ and specialized _____ are also kept here, as well as _____ documents and materials of _____ international organizations. 21. In accordance with _____ legal acts of Ukraine, the Department for History and Archives acts as a _____ of international treaties and _____ of Ukraine. 22. In 2002, the electronic _____ contained 2855 _____ treaties. 23. The Museum of History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is an _____ which tells about traditions

and history of _____ of Ukrainian diplomatic service. 24. The _____ of History keeps originals and _____ of documents relating to the most important _____ in foreign political life of Ukraine. 25. Most _____ guests attend the Museum of History and record their impressions in the Book of _____ Guests.

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. General Secretariat
2. Department for Currency and Finance
3. Department for Development and Support of Diplomatic Service
4. Department for History and Archives

8. Read the text (adapted from the article by Valery LYTVYTSKY in *The Day* of January 20, 2004) and answer the following question: Which factors are the most influential ones to produce currency and financial problems in Ukraine and endanger its international trade?

Price of the Exchange Rate

The precipitous decline of the almighty dollar on international markets and a stronger euro call into question the NBU policy of supporting the dollar. As we know, in Ukraine the dollar remains stable no matter what.

In responding to such criticism, one should above all stress that the Ukrainian currency is tied to the dollar. And by supporting the dollar, the NBU is maintaining the stability of the hryvnia, since it is one way or another devaluating together with the dollar against the euro. Yet because the dollar seems stronger in Ukraine, the hryvnia is not devaluating relative to the euro too rapidly (as of today, the hryvnia lost 20.4 % of its face value against the euro). On the face of it, this means that Ukrainian exports to Europe are stimulated by the hryvnia-to-euro exchange rate. But, unfortunately, they are still limited by quotas and tariff barriers, and this year additional limitations are on their way in connection with EU enlargement. Thus our exporters will not be able to make full use of the devaluation of the hryvnia against the euro. On the other hand, devaluation of the nation's currency carries the

risk of European imports going up in price, including the so-called investment imports (accounting for nearly 40 % of European exports to Ukraine and consisting of machinery, equipment, and vehicles; Europe also accounts for nearly 60 % of all machinery and equipment imported into Ukraine), which can in turn cause both declining imports in this sector and an export of inflation. And this trend is already becoming more discernible, although the exchange rate is not yet a determinant in this process. Suffice it to say that in January-November of 2003 machinery imports to Ukraine declined by almost \$100 million from the previous year. Thus, one should not overestimate the positive influence of the declining hryvnia.

Simultaneously, many of the world's leading financial analysts believe that a weaker dollar and stronger euro could boost American exports and will in the short term buoy up the US economy and strengthen the dollar. For Ukraine this will mean revaluation of the hryvnia relative to the euro. This will make imports from Europe cheaper but will somewhat depress exports to the EU. Under such conditions Ukraine will have only one option: to step up its anti-inflation measures to reach the European inflation rate of 1.5–2 %. We have the major preconditions for this, since the dynamics of the prices of non-food items is already at this level (1.5 %) in Ukraine. This will promote the real devaluation of the hryvnia-to-euro exchange rate without further reducing the face value of our currency relative to the euro.

Thus, all currency and financial problems stem from the inflation rate. Thankfully, in the last months of 2003 after the price surges in November, when annual inflation peaked at 1.9 %, inflation reduced to the January level (1.5 %). The annual inflation rate last year was 8.2 %, thus exceeding government forecasts (7.2 %). The man in the street, in particular the pensioner whose income increased by a mere 4 % as a result of the pension reform, feels legitimate concern over such price dynamics. But for the economy in general, whose growth exceeded the preliminary forecasts almost twofold, such an inflation rate is a quite moderate price for the upturn.

What should be done to prevent excessive inflation this year? Some believe that a major step that would become a strong signal for the economy is to preserve the NBU bank rate of 7 %, the lowest since independence. It is very important not to stop abruptly the growth of the money supply in the first months of the year, which are the most dangerous in terms of inflation, especially after the NBU had to increase the money supply in December. It is also important to regulate the work of the State Treasury to prevent un-

controllable growth of loans to refinance commercial banks and effectively counter inflation. In the first quarter the hryvnia exchange rate will face a few options, but in any case we must control inflation by means of reducing money emissions and even drawing extra cash out of circulation. Will we succeed? This will depend on many factors, in particular on the preservation of the current rates of industrial output and a positive foreign trade balance, which in turn depends on the situation in the global economy.

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Yaroslav ZHALILO in *The Day* of February 3, 2004) and answer the following question: What may be the consequences of Ukraine's WTO membership? Classify them into positive and negative and draw your own conclusions.

Pyrrhic Victory

In a new wave of debate on the consequences of Ukraine's WTO membership of late the emphasis has been traditionally on how this membership will affect the Ukrainian economy. Analyses, however, are reduced to the expected consumer advantages, picturing an unprecedented assortment of superior quality and inexpensive goods emerging on the Ukrainian markets due to international competition.

However, the situation is not as it meets the eye. The said advantages primarily depend on the prospects of the consumers' buying power — in other words, their incomes. This approach allows us to see the direct dependence of the WTO effect on changes in the overall economic situation. The latter will be affected via two main channels. First, it is safe to predict a decrease in the level of domestic market tariff protection, as basic rates will be tied in the course of bilateral talks with Ukraine's trade partners. While tariffs will generally be reduced somewhat, the decrease in tariff protection will be significant in a number of commodity groups. This, in turn, will intensify competition in the pertinent industries. Meat, meat byproducts, sugar, food, pulp and paper, footwear, furniture, and other rates will see an accelerated decrease. Second, the regulatory environment will change in keeping with WTO requirements. In particular, sectoral tax concessions and credit subsidies will be annulled, the system of state procurements will be altered, and so on. As a result, the tax burden on a number of industries will substantially increase and there will be additional sales problems.

These factors will add considerably to the competitive requirements on Ukrainian enterprises. Those failing to observe them will find themselves in adverse economic conditions and some will even have to close. Of course, there will be many such enterprises. Assuming even that it will be possible to revive some mismanaged businesses (through bankruptcy proceedings), medium-term prospects indicate a decrease in the employment rate and in the per capita gross income, which will be socially painful. The situation will be aggravated by the multisectoral structure of a number of Ukrainian regions adding to the interregional disproportion and giving an impetus to economic decline in *depressive* areas. The latter may have a cumulative negative social effect, imposing an extra burden on the local and central budgets responsible for the social maintenance of those territories.

To counteract these negative social effects, Ukraine will have to provide additional job placements and require higher labor productivity from competitive enterprises. This, in turn, will call for actual structural adjustments in the economy and investment-oriented growth, something that actually has nothing to do with WTO and which Ukraine's membership will by no means bring closer. Even competitive companies, sensing an increase in the competition, will have to rationalize their expenditures. In view of today's considerable hidden unemployment, it is easy to predict that such rationalization will entail redundancy manpower reductions, freezing or even lowering net remunerations.

Ukraine's WTO membership will have interesting consequences also in the shadow sector of the economy. Measures being taken to prepare Ukraine for WTO have a tangible positive potential (thus, combating contraband will make it possible to raise the actual level of consumer market tariff protection even as the nominal value of declining imports). However, in the social context, especially until shadow transactions are crowded out by the growing legitimate economy, such measures will mean income losses for persons operating in the shadow (various estimates point to three million Ukrainians involved in or with the shadow economy). Such losses may have a noticeable effect on the buying power of numerically significant groups of the population at the level of actual gross consumer demand. Therefore, the much-advertised consumer advantage [of Ukraine's WTO membership] will show its reverse side, namely, unemployment growth and a slower per capita income growth.

In other words, an increase in the assortment of superior quality and expensive goods remains to be seen. Considerable transaction costs on the

domestic market, Ukraine's international image lacking in attractiveness, tangible transportation costs (especially with regard to food deliveries), etc., will complicate commodity imports. And so domestic products becoming more expensive after nullifying [tax] concessions and enhancing fiscal control may get noticeably ahead of the competition growth due to imports where conditions will be liberalized. As a result, domestic market prices will go up while the population's buying power will go down accordingly, provoking inflation.

However, it is hard to deny the obvious fact that Ukraine's WTO membership is an objective necessity on its road to integration into the world economic community. Yet this does not mean that one should ignore another fact; in the course of this process Ukraine might have to pay a dear social price for all that time wasted going through the motions of economic reform and accumulating tangible structural distinctions from not only leading world economies, but also those of its closest neighbors. Ukraine needs a purposeful economic policy allowing for the peculiarities of its transition economy and being capable of adjusting itself to the WTO membership requirements, so as to make the best possible use of its positive potential, while reducing to a minimum the negative economic and social consequences. This policy must envisage an upgrading of the domestic market protection system and supporting domestic businesses in keeping with WTO requirements. To do so, Ukraine has to master the whole assortment of WTO protective measures and bureaucratic casuistry. Otherwise all advantages of Ukraine's simplified access to markets in other countries will be reduced to nothing.

It is important to support export-oriented businesses and upgrade the structure of exports. The experience of Central and Eastern European countries shows that WTO membership did not become a factor increasing their exports and improving their balance of payments. On the contrary, intensified imports added a noticeable amount of red ink to the foreign trade balance. Therefore, target-oriented measures must be taken to stimulate such export businesses, raising their technical level, and stimulating their competitiveness. The more so that Ukrainian exports are in the lead in the GDP structure. While upgrading their structure, it is necessary to increase the specific weight of high VAT level products. The regional leveling-out policy deserves special notice, particularly with an eye to special economic zones and priority development territories.

Nor should one overlook the need to take direct measures to make up for the negative social effects. Social policy should focus on preparations for a tangible increase in the unemployment rate, so as to provide employment for people losing their jobs owing to redundancy. During this period the job market should be shaped with an eye to future demand. In particular, a system of social works financed by local budgets and aimed at developing local social amenities and production infrastructures will have to be developed. An increase in the mobility of manpower may become a necessity (a painful one, owing to the specifics of our national mentality). In fact, people have long been leaving depressed areas, but the process must be civilized. Small business and individual entrepreneurship are meant to be the main social way out of the situation.

Perhaps the above measures will fail to make up for all the negative social consequences of Ukraine's WTO membership, but they will at least allow us to maintain social optimism, which is badly needed in order to make effective use of the opportunities resulting from this membership.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the Directorate General for Administrative and Financial Issues, Documentation and Archives and the functions of its subdivisions.

UNIT 14

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

DEPARTMENT FOR ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC/ TECHNICAL COOPERATION.

DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION



1. What do you know about the functions of the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation? What are the functions of the Secretariat of Ukrainian National Commission for UNESCO? What matters does the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation deal with? Who maintains contacts with international human rights organizations? What are the functions of the Joint Coordination Council? Who focuses on holding international conferences and symposia? Who is charged with the task of Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization? Who deals with attracting foreign investments? Who arranges and carries out activities related to bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of education, culture, youth policy and sports? Who studies ecological problems? Who gives proposals about Ukraine's participation in the activities of regional economic groupings? Who studies the transit potential of Ukraine? Who interacts with international financial, economic and scientific/technical organizations? Who protects Ukraine's foreign economic interests from sectoral and geographic standpoints? Which subdivision analyzes problems in energy and nuclear safety fields? Who analyses problems of bilateral and regional economic cooperation? Who takes care of the positive investment image of Ukraine?

2. You are going to read a text about the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation and the Department for Cultural and

Humanitarian Cooperation. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

accession	international	economic cooperation	institutions	investment image
bilateral	competence	World Trade Organization	ministries	human rights
education	exhibition	foreign investments	relevant	nuclear safety
science	humanitarian	Council of Europe	technology	transit potential
energy	symposia	Ukrainian communities	multilateral	cultural heritage
culture	coordinate	European integration	youth policy	render assistance
sports	executive	UNESCO officials	ministries	cultural needs
embassies	workshop	regional economic groupings	maintain	ecological problems
missions	framework	national commissions	promote	economic interests
forum	Secretariat	Ukrainian delegations	structural	urgent problems
abroad	conference	geographic standpoints	settlement	gender equality

3. You are going to read two passages about the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation and the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation. For questions 1–20 choose from texts A – B. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

Which of the Departments:

A. Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation

B. Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation

		A	B
provides support for Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization	0	•	
provides assistance to Ukrainian communities abroad	1		
is responsible for attracting foreign investments into Ukraine	2		
takes part in activities related to international cooperation within the framework of UNESCO	3		
provides for the interaction with international financial organizations	4		
conducts expertise on Ukraine's multilateral cooperation in the field of youth policy	5		
takes practical measures in the provision of Ukrainian contacts with international economic organizations	6		

provides for Ukraine's cooperation in the field of education	7		
provides for Ukraine's participation in activities of regional economic groupings	8		
contributes to the proposals on the transit potential of Ukraine	9		
carries out cooperation with international human rights organizations	10		
protects Ukraine's foreign economic interests	11		
keeps track of the problems in energy and nuclear safety fields	12		
supervises the Ukrainian interaction with international scientific/technical organizations	13		
elaborates proposals concerning mechanisms of creating a positive investment image of Ukraine	14		
provides assistance to the Ministry of Economy.	15		
assists in Ukraine European integration	16		
arranges and carries out work related to ecological problems	17		
systemizes data on international conferences on humanitarian issues	18		
carries out activities related to Ukraine's bilateral cooperation in culture	19		
analyses and generalizes problems of bilateral and regional economic cooperation	20		

A *DEPARTMENT FOR ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC/TECHNICAL COOPERATION.* Current world economic tendencies predetermine the necessity of “economizing” Ukraine’s foreign policy activities and consequently, specify tasks of the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation. Activities of the Department are aimed at ensuring Ukraine’s accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its European integration; participation in activities of regional economic groupings; interaction with international financial, economic and scientific/technical organizations; realization of Ukraine’s foreign economic interests from sectoral and geographic standpoints. The Department analyses problems of both bilateral and regional economic cooperation. The Department supports activities of the newly created Joint Coordination Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy. Special

importance is also attached to such specific directions of work as attracting foreign investments and forming investment image of Ukraine, analyzing problems in energy and nuclear safety fields, realizing transit potential of our state and studying ecological problems.

B **DEPARTMENT FOR CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION.** Activities of the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation cover Ukraine's bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of education, culture, youth policy, sports, etc. The Department actively cooperates with relevant ministries and institutions, Ukrainian embassies and missions abroad and foreign diplomatic missions to Ukraine in organizing cultural, educational, sports and youth events abroad and in Ukraine, holding international conferences, workshops, symposia, exhibitions and other cultural and humanitarian forums. The Department's competence extends to coordinating cooperation with international cultural, social and human rights organizations, in particular with committees of the Council of Europe for culture, cultural heritage and gender equality. The Department renders assistance to Ukrainian communities abroad in satisfying their cultural needs. The Secretariat of Ukrainian National Commission for UNESCO works within the framework of the Department. The Secretariat coordinates activities of ministries and other executive organs related to participation in international cooperation within the framework of UNESCO and aimed at promoting settlement of urgent problems of Ukraine's development in the humanitarian sphere. This subdivision maintains working relations with structural subdivisions of the UNESCO Secretariat, national commissions of foreign states for UNESCO and international NGOs cooperating with UNESCO. The Secretariat makes preparations for participation of Ukrainian delegations in UNESCO international activities, as well as for visits of UNESCO officials to Ukraine.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

1. Сучасні тенденції розвитку світового господарства; 2. обумовлювати необхідність економізації зовнішньополітичної діяльності України; 3. визначати завдання; 4. Управління економічного та науково-техніч-

ного співробітництва; 5. спрямовувати роботу; 6. забезпечувати вступ України; 7. Світова Організація Торгівлі; 8. європейська інтеграція України; 9. участь у діяльності; 10. регіональні економічні угруповання; 11. взаємодія з міжнародними фінансовими, економічними та науково-технічними організаціями; 12. реалізація зовнішньоекономічних інтересів України; 13. у галузевому та географічному розрізі; 14. проблеми двосторонньої та регіональної економічної співпраці; 15. забезпечувати роботу; 16. новостворений; 17. Спільна координаційна рада Міністерства; 18. приділяти особливу увагу; 19. окремі напрями роботи; 20. залучення іноземних інвестицій; 21. формування інвестиційного іміджу України; 22. аналіз проблем енергетики та ядерної безпеки; 23. реалізація транзитного потенціалу України; 24. вивчення екологічних проблем; 25. Управління культурного та гуманітарного співробітництва; 26. охоплювати; 27. розвиток двосторонньої та багатосторонньої співпраці; 28. у сфері освіти, культури, молодіжної політики, спорту; 29. інші аспекти гуманітарної і соціальної сфери; 30. активно співпрацювати; 31. галузеві міністерства та відомства; 32. посольства і представництвами України за кордоном; 33. іноземні дипломатичні представництва в Україні; 34. питання організації культурних, освітніх, спортивних та молодіжних акцій за кордоном; 35. проведення міжнародних конференцій, семінарів, симпозіумів, виставок; 36. культурно-гуманітарний форум; 37. бути в компетенції Управління; 38. координація співпраці з міжнародними організаціями; 39. у галузі культури, соціальних питань і прав людини; 40. комітети Ради Європи; 41. культурна спадщина; 42. гендерна рівність; 43. надавати сприяння; 44. українські громади за кордоном; 45. питання забезпечення культурно-освітніх потреб; 46. Секретаріат Національної комісії України у справах ЮНЕСКО; 47. координувати діяльність міністерств; 48. центральні органи та установи виконавчої влади; 49. пов'язаний з участю в міжнародній співпраці; 50. в рамках ЮНЕСКО; 51. спрямований на сприяння вирішенню актуальних проблем розвитку; 52. гуманітарна сфера; 53. забезпечувати робочі зв'язки; 53. структурні підрозділи; 54. національні комісії; 55. у справах ЮНЕСКО; 56. міжнародні неурядові організації; 57. співпрацювати з ЮНЕСКО; 58. здійснювати підготовку; 59. участь делегацій України у міжнародних заходах; 60. візити офіційних осіб по лінії ЮНЕСКО; 61. УЕНТС; 62. СОР; 63. УКГС.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. Current world economic _____ make it necessary to “_____” Ukraine’s foreign policy activities. 2. It is important to specify the _____ of the Department for _____ and Scientific/Technical Cooperation. 3. One of the aims of the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical _____ is to ensure Ukraine’s accession to the _____ Trade Organization (WTO). 4. Other aims of the Department include Ukraine’s European _____; Ukraine’s participation in _____ economic groupings; Ukraine’s interaction with _____ financial, economic and scientific/technical organizations; protection of Ukraine’s foreign economic _____. 5. The Department for Economic and _____/Technical Cooperation studies problems of _____ and regional economic cooperation. 6. The _____ for Economic and Scientific /Technical Cooperation supports the newly _____ Joint Coordination _____ of the Ministry of Foreign _____ and the _____ of Economy. 7. The Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical _____ attaches special importance to encouraging foreign _____ and the development of a positive investment _____ of Ukraine. 8. The Department for Economic and _____/Technical Cooperation considers problems in energy and nuclear _____, as well as those related to the transit _____ of Ukraine and its ecological _____. 9. The Department for Cultural and Humanitarian _____ is in charge of Ukraine’s bilateral and _____ cooperation in education, culture, _____ policy, sports and other fields. 10. The Department for Cultural and _____ Cooperation cooperates with ministries and institutions, Ukrainian _____ and missions abroad and foreign _____ missions to Ukraine. 11. The Department for _____ and Humanitarian Cooperation organizes cultural, educational, sports and youth _____ abroad and in Ukraine. 12. The _____ for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation arranges _____ conferences, workshops, symposia, exhibitions and other cultural and _____ forums. 13. The Department for Cultural and Humanitarian _____ coordinates cooperation with international cultural, social and _____ rights organizations. 14. The Department for Cultural and _____ Cooperation maintains contacts with committees of the _____ of Europe for culture, cultural _____ and _____ equality. 15. The Department for _____ and Humanitarian Cooperation helps Ukrainian _____ abroad to meet their _____

needs. 16. The Secretariat of Ukrainian National _____ for UNESCO is part of the _____ for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation. 17. The Secretariat of Ukrainian _____ Commission for UNESCO coordinates executive bodies' participation in _____ cooperation within the _____ of UNESCO. 18. The work of the Secretariat of _____ National Commission for UNESCO is aimed at the _____ of urgent problems of Ukraine's development in the _____ field. 19. The _____ of Ukrainian National Commission for UNESCO has _____ relations with structural _____ of the UNESCO Secretariat, national _____ of other states for UNESCO and _____ NGOs. 20. The Secretariat of Ukrainian National _____ for UNESCO arranges the participation of Ukrainian _____ in UNESCO international events. 21. The Secretariat of Ukrainian _____ Commission for UNESCO conducts all necessary _____ for visits of UNESCO _____ to Ukraine.

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the Directorate General for Legal Affairs to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation
2. The Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation
3. The Secretariat of Ukrainian National Commission for UNESCO

8. Read the text (adapted from the article by Serhiy SOLODKY in *The Day* of March 2, 2004 and Vitaly KNIAZHANSKY in *The Day* of April 20, 2004) and answer the following question: What are the potential advantages and disadvantages of SES for Ukraine?

1. Gryzlov's Mission: Will SES be approved simultaneously and as a package?

On February 26 Russian Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov completed his first foreign visit – to Kyiv. The Russian parliament's leader stressed this was a symbolic step in the development of relations between Kyiv and Moscow. Many are inclined, however, to view this symbolic nature in a slightly different key: Russia is bending over backwards to persuade Ukraine to ratify the

Single Economic Space (SES) agreement. Speaker Gryzlov seems to be a sort of trailblazer entrusted with the mission to lobby for this document.

It would be highly incorrect to say that Russia's top lawmaker made a successful journey, because he received no clear-cut promises from official Kyiv to ratify this document. Yet, if we take into account that Moscow hardly expected Ukraine to quickly show compliance, the visit can be assessed as quite promising. Moscow understands only too well that, after the Tuzla crisis, Verkhovna Rada will not unconditionally approve a document criticized by many experts, diplomats, and ministers. The Russians have opted for a cautious approach to making Ukrainian deputies approve the SES agreement. Concretely, it was agreed upon to establish an interparliamentary working commission which will analyze the documents to be ratified and prepare convincing arguments for the deputies. Incidentally, the second tactical move is that both sides sign agreements not only on establishing the SES but also on the state border and on joint management of the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait.

The Russians suggest that the three documents be discussed simultaneously and voted on "as a package." It will be recalled that *The Day* forecast this course of events a week before Mr. Gryzlov's visit, and the Duma speaker only confirmed our information on February 27: "I think that, in view of the decision to set up the groups that will be working until these documents are put to a vote, we will be able to settle all differences and, moreover, to put all these issues up for parliamentary discussion simultaneously in Moscow and Kyiv in a package." What does this "package approach" mean? The Russian side must be aware that, whatever the pro-SES arguments, there are very slim chances that the agreement in question will be ratified. On the other hand, Russia knows only too well that Ukraine is interested in ratifying the State Border Treaty. This brings points to the following pattern: if Kyiv wants to sign the border treaty, it will have to approve the SES agreement and, vice versa, if Ukrainian lawmakers pull a plug on the SES, they can abandon the hope that Moscow will ratify the border treaty. Yet, it is rather doubtful that Ukraine will accept such a hodgepodge of ratifications, because these documents are absolutely different in essence.

It is not ruled out that Ukraine will try to slow developments. Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich said recently that Ukraine and Russia would be more prepared to establish the SES after Moscow has ratified the free trade

agreement. The main issue here is, in principle, the adoption of a document on setting up an effective free trade area. This is what Ukraine really wants to achieve before joining the SES. However, Russia seems to have a different vision of free trade and the single space.

When will the clock strike on ratification? This remains unclear so far. Of course, Russia would like to get the Ukrainian go-ahead before the March 14 presidential elections. Pres. Putin submitted all the three documents to Duma committees and factions two weeks ago. The Russian electorate would be very glad to add two or three more percent of votes for any candidate in gratitude for the SES being established. Meanwhile, Russian Speaker Gryzlov announced on February 27 he expected the agreement and the two treaties to be voted on in late March. Verkhovna Rada Speaker Lytvyn said in turn that “these matters should be discussed as soon as possible, preferably, before our presidential campaign.” All this makes it appear like Ukraine is heading for a difficult spring full of breathtaking SES debates in the parliament.

Lost in Simultaneity

The Single Economic Space (SES) of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan may be born today if the parliaments of these countries ratify the agreement signed. All four are expected to endure the birth pangs simultaneously.

“This is another success on the way to integration of the four states,” says Sergei Mironov, Speaker of Russia’s Council of the Federation (the upper house of parliament – **Ed.**). As always happens in post-Soviet integration affairs, problems lurk in details. Even if the four parliaments manage to do their job simultaneously, there still will be a host of things to do and a long way to go to reach true success. As participants in the international workshop, *The Single Economic Space: The Legal Groundwork of Formation*, noted in the address to the governments of the SES states, “massive efforts must be made to review the national legislation of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine in order to form the SES and work out priorities for establishing a harmonized legal field.” According to the participants, this field should provide for a free trade area without exceptions and limitations; free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor; and promote early admission of the member states to the World Trade Organization; while the SES itself must be “the nucleus of economic integration on the post-Soviet territory.”

Ukraine has some other special features of its own. The SES agreement is supposed to be ratified simultaneously with those on the state border with Russian and on cooperation in the Azov-Kerch water area. It is good that the package includes no new agreements on Russian Black Sea Fleet bases in the Crimea. As Russian State Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov announced, “we had a long and unpleasant conversation, we discussed in detail the way the Black Sea Fleet agreements are being fulfilled, and concluded that we must draw up and sign another 26 documents.” What also seems to irk many in Moscow is the fact that Ukraine is close to joining the WTO. For instance, Vadim Gustov, chairman of the Council of the Federation’s committee for CIS affairs, noted after the forth session of the Interparliamentary Commission for Cooperation between the Federal Assembly of Russia and Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, “We think Ukraine is making a strategic mistake in this matter.” Incidentally, the same session decided that the two sides would raise no obstacles if one of them joins the WTO earlier than the other. This in fact means that Ukraine undertakes to automatically promote Russia’s WTO membership, which, to put it mildly, does not quite tally with our national interest.

Yet, the Ukrainian parliament’s leadership, while confirming the intention of simultaneous ratification, assumes an air of independence. Speaking in Saint Petersburg after the conference, Verkhovna Rada Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn called for “giving legal and international analysis” to the SES founding document. “We view the SES not as a self-sufficient element but as an instrument for achieving economic goals,” Mr. Lytvyn stressed. He recalled that Ukraine still favors establishing a free trade area without exceptions and limitations. He also emphasized that Ukraine’s readiness to form the SES “tallies with our strategic goals” if this association is of economic nature. Moreover, Mr. Lytvyn asked the audience not to consider the idea of forming a supranational body to govern the Single Economic Space.

Meanwhile, the attitude of Ukraine’s Cabinet seems to have some other special features. For example, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych said on the same day in faraway Cholpon-Ata (Kyrgyzstan), “We have come every close – from all sides – to solving this problem. Ukraine is ready and everything depends on Russia. The problem is in energy resources, oil and gas. This is a matter of principle for us.” The “matter of principle” is to be discussed in Kyiv later in April by the prime ministers of the countries that signed the SES agreement. It is not ruled out that the Ukrainian par-

liamentary-presidential coalition will be allowed to “sniff” not only the Azov-Black- Sea stick but also the oil-and-gas carrot – just to produce a better simultaneous effect.

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Vitaliy KNIASHANSKY in *The Day* of March 16, 2004) and answer the following question: What potential dangers may the work of foreign and joint enterprises present for Ukraine? What aspects of the situation described below should be controlled by the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation

Comrade Reverse or a \$6 company

It appears that something mysterious is cooking in government kitchens with the use of all possible financial and energy flows, the probable culinary delight a new Fuel and Energy Minister is preparing to dish up to the nation any day now. Word has it that one of the main candidates for the job, Yuriy Boiko, the current First Deputy Minister cum Naftohaz Ukrayiny chairman, whom the press has dubbed Comrade Reverse, has been yet again trying on the expensive suit for his long-awaited ministerial post. Will he ever wear it? It will be recalled that when the even more coveted post of the Vice Premier for the Fuel and Energy Complex was for the taking (few will recall that aside from the energy sector the Vice Premier for the Fuel and Energy Complex is also charge of the whole industry), rumor had it that a relevant order had been inked, and someone even prepared a banquet in Moscow perhaps more out of plain gratitude than joy at the imminent appointment. But for some reason things did not work out. Last Wednesday the candidate mentioned prepared to hold a news conference. He obviously did not care much what the conference would be about – either about the fact that the experiment to pump Ukrainian oil (analogous to the Caspian light crude) from Brody to Slovakia could put an end to the forward operation of the Odesa-Brody pipeline, or that Naftohaz does not intend to prevent or disrupt it, or that this experiment is not necessary at all – as long as journalists, and through them the public, were forced to believe that the man before them is a self-confident statesman and king for a day. Some journalists were simply refused accreditation so that they would not ask the wrong questions. Alas, the news conference was canceled because Boiko was urgently needed at

the cabinet. It is not ruled out that there he was told to hold his horses. Since on the following day Premier Yanukovich was to fly down to Odesa, visit the Pivdennyi Oil Terminal, and hold a news conference.

Meanwhile, Vice Premier Andriy Kliuyev has quietly left on an official trip abroad. Circles close to the government claim that he is visiting the Caspian states and then the EU capital. But the ministerial press service was literally gagged, and *The Day* failed to receive an official confirmation of where such a public persona as the Vice Premier for the Fuel and Energy Complex, who still chairs the parliamentary Fuel and Energy Committee, left last Thursday. Yet this is also news and not all that bad, since it proves that another ministerial chair is about to change hands. Whoever said that a Vice Premier cannot sit in two chairs? After all, Mykola Azarov is managing this task quite commendably, while Kliuyev is many years his junior. In any case, the final decision is not expected later than today. It seems that much will also depend on the results of Kliuyev's tour abroad. If he brings home some signed contracts, the country will immediately learn the name of the new minister. If not, then perhaps the first of the candidates mentioned will win. However, if and when this happens the world will again utter the painful word reverse and receive it as yet further proof of the futility of Ukraine's plans to join the Eurasian Oil Transport Corridor.

One former, and probably future, informed politician, whom *The Day's* correspondent asked some tough questions, suggested a journalistic investigation be launched into this matter. Without claiming the laurels of an expert sleuth, this author feels he must say the following. The biggest disgrace, which should be not only spoken or written about, but is something that one must scream bloody murder about, is that today Ukraine has in fact lost its right to manage the Pivdennyi Oil Terminal. This is now done by an off-shore company of dubious origin, incorporated on June 13, 2003 in the British Virgin Islands (the editors have the founding documents and charter). Interestingly, the company's authorized fund is only six dollars US (is this not a disgrace, considering how much pain this country has taken to build this oil-transfer complex?). Meanwhile, we have failed to determine who owns the six \$ 1 shares in this company. Yet we have learned from reliable sources that Collide Ltd. charges \$ 14 per each ton of oil transferred via the Pivdennyi Terminal, thereby frightening away oil traders and owners who plan to take their oil via the Odesa-Brody pipeline to Europe. Of this Ukrtransnafta receives a mere \$ 3.5 per ton, while the contract between Russia's Transneft and Collide Ltd. mentions a figure of \$ 6 per ton.

Most probably we will never learn who has given the Pivdennyi Terminal to Collide Ltd. and its satellite Collide S.A. much like where the rate margin goes. Simultaneously, it is worth recalling the April 23 protocol of intent between Russia's Transneft and Naftohaz Ukrayiny signed for Ukraine by the current candidate for the ministerial post in the Fuel and Energy Ministry Yuriy Boiko and his protégé, Ukrtransnafta General Director Stanislav Vasylenko. It is not ruled out that the signatories simultaneously handpicked a new operator for the oil terminal. At roughly the same time the partnership between Russia's Transneft and Ukrtransnafta was revised. While formerly the Ukrainian company dealt directly with every oil carrier and could sign contracts with each of them, now the Russian side has relieved it of this job. Buckling under Russian influence as it is, Ukrtransnafta is playing a match with a Russian super-monopoly second only to Gazprom, whose result is a foregone conclusion. Suffice it to recall that not so long ago Ukrtransnafta delayed payment to its employees, something that did not happen even during the economic crisis of the mid-1990s. Meanwhile, now Ukrtransnafta does not receive prepayment for pumping Russian oil across Ukrainian territory, a practice that existed until recently. It is paid after buyers collect the oil on Ukraine's western border. There are other issues, which Premier Yanukovich obviously cleared up without traveling all the way to Odesa. Perhaps this is the reason why he cancelled or postponed his visit last Thursday. This could also signal a change in attitude toward Boiko, who would do best to refrain from too much self-advertising in the press. As they used to say, knowledge is strength. This thesis has not been refuted to date.

INCIDENTALLY

According to the newly received additional information on the companies from Serhiy Vynokurov, who, judging from the founding documents, is the director of Collide Ltd. domiciled in Kyiv with a telephone number. "In principle, I have nothing to do with Collide Ltd. I am the director of Collide S.A., Switzerland," Vynokurov told *The Day*. "We only represent the interests of Collide Ltd. here in Ukraine. Meanwhile, it is owned by three companies. As far as I recall, they are Tok Investments, then something like Plus and Fortniks. No natural persons. I know this only because I have the contract of agency. We represent this company in Ukraine, because we have an office here and we have experience. The director of this company is based in Russia, while we cooperate by proxy with Ukrainian organizations on [oil] transport and transshipment." When asked by *The Day* "Why

does your signature in the contract bear the seal of Collide Ltd.? Was it also passed to you?” Vynokurov answered that until late last year he was simply one of the caretaker directors of the company, “since its structure was still being formed.” How did it happen that three companies created a fourth company with an authorized fund of only six dollars US? In his explanation Vynokurov referred to the fact that when incorporating a company that “is not involved in any kind of investment activity” or activity that does not require the use of floating funds, “the authorized capital can be minimal, and there is no point in creating a big authorized fund.” As a closing remark Vynokurov said, “By contrast, the Swiss company Collide S.A. has a minimum authorized fund of 100,000 francs.”

10. Write a 300-word essay on the Department for Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation, the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation and the Secretariat of Ukrainian National Commission for UNESCO. Describe their functions and the main directions of their work.

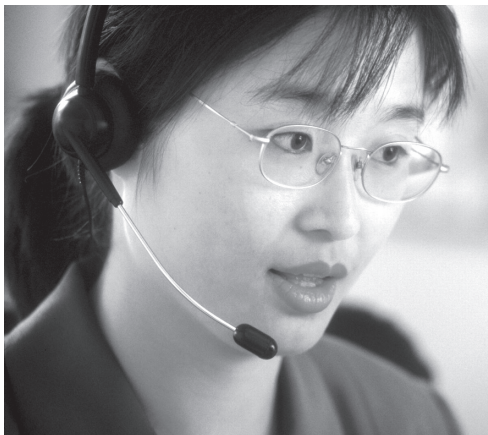
UNIT 15

**THE STRUCTURE OF
THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
DEPARTMENT
FOR STAFF AND
EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS.**

DIPLOMATIC

ACADEMY UNDER

**THE MFA OF UKRAINE. GROUP FOR COORDINATION
OF RELATIONS WITH THE VERKHOVNA RADA,
CABINET OF MINISTERS AND REGIONS OF UKRAINE**



1. What is the main task of the Coordination Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? What do you know about the functions of the Department of Information Technologies? What matters does the Department for Personnel and Educational Institutions deal with? What institutions does it cooperate with? What are the functions of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine? Who is responsible for the work with the staff of Ukrainian foreign policy service? Who generalizes practical work with the staff? Who carries out technical protection of information? What foreign languages do the students of the Diplomatic Academy learn? Who focuses on the introduction of information and telecommunication technologies? Who deals with the unified technical policy for the creation of the up-to-date information infrastructure of the MFA? Who provides training and re-training of experts in international relations? Which subdivision takes care of the implementation of state policy on staff work and diplomatic service? What foreign higher educational institutions does the Diplomatic Academy have partnership relation with? Who provides assistance to legislative and judicial authorities in their maintaining international relations? What major Ukrainian cities does the Coordination Group

of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have Regional Offices at? Who focuses on the interaction between the Ministry and other Ukrainian state authorities? How many foreign languages should the graduates of the Diplomatic Academy speak?

2. You are going to read a text about the departments of Information Technologies, Personnel and Educational Institutions, Diplomatic Academy and the Coordination Group. Which of the following concepts can you expect in the text? Why or why not?

program	monitoring	introduction of information	re-training	diplomatic staff
unified	partnership	executive authorities	judicial	telecommunication
promote	bilateral	Cabinet of Ministers	technologies	infrastructure
generalize	consultation	international events	long-term	higher education
policy	assign	to process information	state policy	Verkhovna Rada
training	legislative	educational institution	agreements	relevant
integral	cooperation	protection of information	up-to-date	advanced training
graduate	charged with	international programs	assist	foreign languages
contract	implementation	international relations	maintain	target training

3. You are going to read four passages about the departments of Information Technologies, Personnel and Educational Institutions, Diplomatic Academy and the Coordination Group. For questions 1–20 choose from texts A – D. The texts may be chosen more than once. When more than one answer is required, they may be given in any order. There is an example at the beginning (0).

- Which of the Subdivisions:
- A. Department of Information Technologies
 - B. Department for Personnel and Educational Institutions
 - C. Diplomatic Academy under the MFA of Ukraine
 - D. Coordination Group

		A	B	C	D
provides monitoring of the international events	0	•			
maintains permanent contacts with with higher educational institutions of Ukraine including the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine	1				
has partnership relation with foreign counterparts	2				

takes care of the up-to-date information infrastructure MFA	3				
has the aim to make the relations with other state bodies better	4				
conducts re-training of experts in international relations	5				
takes practical measures to provide for the technical protection of information	6				
provides for the coordination of executive authorities in external relations	7				
provides a two-year course of study	8				
contributes to the introduction of information and telecommunication technologies	9				
carries out the generalization of the practical work with the staff	10				
takes part in many international programs	11				
does not allow to choose freely the foreign languages to be learned	12				
is in charge of the work with the MFA's staff	13				
organizes its work on the basis of a government or a private contract	14				
provides for the implementation of state policy on staff work	15				
requires the command of two foreign languages	16				
has Regional Offices of the MFA in major border cities of Ukraine	17				
keeps records and systemizes data on the implementation of international treaties concluded by Ukraine	18				
carries out the unified technical policy	19				
incorporates foreign citizens	20				

A **The Department of Information Technologies.** Everyday activities of a diplomat require close monitoring of the international events. So an ability to operatively find and correspondingly process necessary information is an integral part of the work of diplomatic staff. Thus the main task of the Department of Information Technologies is an introduction of information and telecommunication technologies and technical protection of information, as well as providing unified technical policy for the creation of the up-to-date information infrastructure of the MFA.

B **The Department for Personnel and Educational Institutions** is responsible for the work with the staff of Ukrainian foreign policy service. This subdivision ensures implementation of state policy on

the staff work and diplomatic service and together with relevant subdivisions of the Ministry, generalizes practical work with the staff. The Department for Staff works in close cooperation with higher educational institutions of Ukraine providing diplomatic education and also with the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine.

C **The Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine** was established in May 1995 and now is the main higher educational institution in the system of training, re-training and advanced training of specialists in the field of international relations. This educational institution started its activities in September 1996, and in July 1998 first 42 specialists for diplomatic service graduated from the Academy. Studies at the Academy are organized according to a government contract or a contract between the Academy and a customer (target training). Training of masters of foreign policy implies mastering of two foreign languages. Besides languages of international communication, students of the Academy learn languages in accordance with their further majoring in matters relating to certain regions and states under orders of the MFA and other central executive authorities. So far the Academy has trained 200 specialists, now working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Among students of the Academy there are citizens of Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Turkmenistan and other countries. The Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine participates in numerous international programs, maintains a partnership relation with higher educational institutions of the USA, Great Britain, Germany, Russian Federation, France, Spain, Belgium, Slovakia, Poland, Austria and many others. The Diplomatic Academy concluded long-term bilateral agreements on cooperation with educational institutions of Croatia, Egypt, Greece, Kazakhstan and the Czech Republic. It established fruitful partnership relations with the International Institute of State Management of France, Vienna Diplomatic Academy, Malta Mediterranean Diplomatic Academy, etc. The Academy established particularly close and effective cooperation with Karl Duisberg Society and Diplomatic School of the Foreign Ministry of FRG within the framework of TRANSFORM consultation and technical cooperation program of the German Federal Government.

D **Group for Coordination of Relations with Verkhovna Rada, Cabinet of Ministers and Regions of Ukraine.** The Coordination Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine was cre-

ated to improve interaction between the Ministry and other Ukrainian state authorities. The Group promotes relations of the Ministry with the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament), the Cabinet of Ministers, respective Ministries and institutions, as well as with regions of Ukraine. One of the main tasks assigned to the Coordination Group is the implementation of the Presidential Decree No. 841, which states that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is charged with coordination of activities of executive authorities in the field of external relations, control of proper fulfillment of Ukraine's commitments in accordance with international agreements to which it is a party, and rendering assistance to legislative and judicial authorities in their maintaining international relations. The Coordination Group closely cooperates with Regional Offices of the MFA of Ukraine in Simferopol, Uzhgorod, Odesa and L'viv.

4. Go back to exercises 1 and 2. Can you answer the questions now?

5. Find in the text the words meaning:

A. 1. Повсякденна робота дипломата; 2. тримати руку на пульсі міжнародних подій; 3. оперативно знаходити необхідну інформацію; 4. відповідним чином; 5. обробляти інформацію; 6. невід'ємна складова; 7. діяльність співробітників Міністерства; 8. основне завдання; 9. Управління інформаційних технологій; 10. впровадження сучасних засобів інформаційних і телекомунікаційних технологій; 11. технічний захист інформації; 12. забезпечення єдиної технічної політики; 13. створення сучасної інформаційної інфраструктури; 14. Управління кадрів та учбових закладів; 15. Бути відповідальним за роботу з персоналом зовнішньополітичної служби України; 16. забезпечувати реалізацію державної політики; 17. з питань кадрової роботи та дипломатичної служби; 18. відповідні структурні підрозділи Міністерства; 19. узагальнювати практику роботи з кадрами; 20. працювати у тісній взаємодії; 21. вищі навчальні заклади; 22. здобувати дипломатичну освіту; 23. Дипломатична академія при МЗС України; 24. головний вищий заклад освіти; 25. система підготовки, перепідготовки та підвищення кваліфікації спеціалістів для роботи у сфері міжнародних відносин; 26. перший випуск спеціалістів для дипломатичної служби; 27. навчання за державним замовленням; 28. навчання за угодою між Академією та замовниками; 29. цільова підготовка; 30. підготовка магістрантів зовнішньої політики; 31. оволодіння двома іноземними мовами; 32. визнані для міжнародного спілкування мови; 33. відповідно до подальшої спеціа-

лізації слухачів; 34. по регіонах та країнах; 35. згідно із замовленням МЗС України; 36. центральні органи виконавчої влади; 37. громадяни зарубіжних країн; 38. брати участь у міжнародних програмах; підтримувати партнерські зв'язки; 39. укласти довгострокові двосторонні угоди про співпрацю; 40. аналогічні навчальні заклади; 41. встановлювати плідні партнерські відносини; 42. Міжнародний інститут державного управління Франції; 43. Дипломатична академія Відня; 44. Середземноморська дипломатична академія Мальти; 45. Товариство Карла Дуйсберга; 46. тісна та ефективна співпраця; 47. Дипломатична школа МЗС ФРН; 48. програма про консультування та технічну співпрацю; 49. Федеральний уряд Німеччини; 50. Група координації зв'язків з Верховною Радою, Кабінетом Міністрів та регіонами України; 51. з метою покращання взаємодії; 52. органи державної влади; 53. питання, пов'язані із зовнішньополітичною діяльністю; 54. галузеві міністерства та відомства; 55. виконання Указу Президента; 56. закріплювати за МЗС координацію діяльності органів виконавчої влади у сфері зовнішніх зносин; 57. контроль за належним виконанням зобов'язань України; 58. згідно з підписаними міжнародними договорами; 59. надання сприяння органам законодавчої та судової влади; 60. в частині здійснення зовнішніх зносин.

Б. США, Велика Британія, Німеччина, Російська Федерація, Франція, Іспанія, Бельгія, Словаччина, Польща, Австрія, Вірменія, Грузія, Казахстан, Монголія, Туркестан, Туркменія, Хорватія, Єгипет, Греція, Казахстан, Чехія, Сімферополь, Ужгород, Одеса, Львів.

6. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the English equivalents of the words and word-combinations from exercise 5.

1. The work of a diplomat require close _____ of the international events. 2. The ability to find and _____ necessary information is an _____ part of the work of diplomatic _____. 3. The Department of Information _____ is charged with the introduction of information and _____ technologies, as well as technical _____ of information. 4. The Department of _____ Technologies works out a unified _____ policy for the development of the up-to-date information _____ of the MFA. 5. The Department for _____ and Educational Institutions is responsible for the work with the staff of Ukrainian foreign policy service. 6. The Department for Personnel and _

_____ Institutions is responsible for the _____ of state policy on staff work and diplomatic _____. 7. The Department for Personnel and Educational _____, together with _____ subdivisions of the Ministry, generalizes practical work with the _____. 8. The _____ for Personnel and Educational Institutions cooperates with higher _____ institutions which provide _____ training. 9. The Diplomatic _____ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is the main _____ for training, re-training and advanced _____ of experts in international _____. 10. The _____ Academy started in 1996, and two years later several scores of diplomatic service specialists _____ from it. 11. The Academy tuition is conducted on the basis of a _____ or a customer contract (_____ training). 11. The Academy graduate training in foreign _____ requires learning two _____ languages. 12. The Academy students have to learn not only languages of _____ communication, but other languages as well, according to the _____ they are expected to work in. 13. The Academy has been _____ not only Ukrainian citizens, but other countries' _____ as well. 14. The Diplomatic _____ of the Ministry of Foreign _____ takes part in many international _____. 15. The _____ Academy has partnership relations with _____ educational institutions of many countries. 16. The Diplomatic _____ has long-term bilateral _____ on cooperation with educational institutions of many _____. 17. The _____ Academy established fruitful partnership relations with the International Institute of _____ Management of France, Vienna _____ Academy, Malta _____ Diplomatic Academy, Karl Duisberg _____ and _____ School of the _____ Ministry of FRG within the framework of a _____ and technical cooperation _____ of the German _____ Government. 18. The Coordination _____ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine was established fo a better _____ between the Ministry and other Ukrainian _____ authorities. 19. The _____ Group is in charge of the Ministry _____ with the Parliament, the _____ of Ministers, other _____ and institutions. 20. The Coordination _____ has to implement _____ Decrees. 21. The Ministry of _____ Affairs is in charge of the coordination of executive _____ in external relations, control of proper fulfillment of Ukraine's _____ in accordance with international _____ it signed. 22. The Ministry of Foreign _____ is also responsible for the help to legislative and _____

authorities in maintaining international _____. 23. The Coordination _____ has Regional _____ of the MFA of Ukraine in major border cities of Simferopol, Uzhgorod, Odesa and L'viv.

7. Work in pairs. Reproduce the texts about the departments of Information Technologies, Personnel and Educational Institutions, Diplomatic Academy and the Coordination Group to your partner. Use the headlines below as the backbone for your story.

1. The Department of Information Technologies
2. The Department for Personnel and Educational Institutions
3. The Diplomatic Academy under the MFA of Ukraine
4. The Coordination Group

8. Read the text (adapted from the article by Serhiy TRUSHCHENKOV in *The Day* of December 23, 2004) and answer the following questions:

- 1. In what way, how effectively, and where do the servicemen that have completed language courses use their language skills?**
- 2. Will soon every enlisted man in Ukraine's Armed Forces be obliged to know a foreign language? Or will such a requirement apply only to servicemen of individual elite detachments?**
- 3. Does anyone help Ukraine's Armed Forces to solve the foreign language problem?**
- 4. What are the short-term prospects for the system of language training of Ukraine's military?**

Coming to Terms

If you ever get a chance, stop by at Kyiv educational center of the British Council, where you will learn about an interesting group of students attending English language courses. What makes it interesting? It is made up of officers of Ukraine's Armed Forces. In the interview carried below, Col. Oleh YATSYNO, chief of the Department for the Implementation of International Programs at the Central Department for Cadre Policy at Ukraine's Defense Ministry, tells why they need it and why so much attention is paid to the language training of the military.

FOUR LEVELS OF TRAINING

“The language courses at the British Council are attended by the servicemen that have been officially granted a leave of absence to improve their foreign language skills. Significantly, the goals our military faces today in connection with Ukraine’s course toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration require Ukrainian servicemen to learn foreign languages. To this end, a foreign languages training system has been introduced in the Ukrainian army, which envisions basic language training of cadets and students at higher education institutions of the Defense Ministry, along with language courses for servicemen on active duty. The latter are divided into night language courses, which the servicemen attend while on active duty and the mentioned intensive language courses at the British Council offices in Ukraine, the Odesa Institute of Land Forces, Sevastopol Naval Institute, Kharkiv Air Force Institute, Lviv Military Institute of the National Lviv Polytechnic University, Military Institute of the Artillery of the Sumy State University, Military Institute of the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University, Zhytomyr Military Institute of Radio Electronics, and Ukraine’s National Defense Academy. This system also envisions language training courses abroad. Thus over 300 officers study English at intensive language courses annually. French and German are taught to the officers at the Military Institute of the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University. Meanwhile, this September, in keeping with the order by the Ukrainian Defense Minister, two groups of servicemen began to study Arabic. They will relieve the Ukrainian peacekeepers currently on their mission in Iraq.”

“The servicemen spend three or four hours a week studying foreign languages at night courses. Such a program enables officers to acquire certain language skills. After this they can enroll in intensive courses that last for four and a half months and help them gain a fundamental command of a foreign language. The effectiveness of such courses is due to the fact that they are taught by professionals – foreign language faculty teachers at higher military education institutions – who help the servicemen to significantly improve their command of a foreign language during 400 or 450 academic hours of teaching. Another component of the language training system is study abroad. Thanks to the efforts of the Defense Ministry the number of Ukrainian officers pursuing education abroad has increased several times over. While in 1992 the Armed Forces could send only one serviceman to study a foreign language as part of international educational programs, this

year seventy Ukrainians study in Canada, Great Britain, Hungary, Slovenia, and elsewhere.” “Since when has Ukraine’s army been giving its due to the language training of the military? What progress have you registered in this direction?”

“Leaving basic training aside, I will say the following. In 1995, only twenty officers completed intensive foreign language courses, for such were the requirements of the army and our capabilities at the time. In subsequent years we taught 19, 32, 65, 102 students and so forth. Today their numbers are in the hundreds. For example, in the first half of this year 180 students completed such courses, and in late December another 215 servicemen will receive certificates on the completion of language courses. I repeat, this applies only to the intensive study courses. Add to this the servicemen attending night classes and those studying abroad. We’ve made significant progress. And today we can say with certainty that owing to the language training system our military has over 1,500 servicemen whose command of foreign languages meets NATO standards.”

WHY WE TEACH FOREIGN LANGUAGES TO OFFICERS

“In late 2001, after the Department for the Implementation of International Programs analyzed how the servicemen that completed language courses in Ukraine and abroad used their language skills, it transpired that the system needed major improvements. The analysis has shown that many officers who have undergone language training occupy posts that do not envision their participation in international cooperation projects. Conversely, posts requiring the knowledge of a foreign language were occupied by officers that do not have an adequate command of foreign languages. To remedy this situation, the Defense Minister has listed the categories of posts to be used by chiefs of military departments to determine how many specialists with the knowledge of foreign languages are required and list the posts available for them. Currently, the Armed Forces have over 2,600 such posts. At present, special care is taken to enroll in language courses only those servicemen that need such training in the line of duty. Thus, recently Col. Gen. Oleksandr Zatyanaiko, chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces’ Headquarters, sent a telegram to all the forces urging the military administrative bodies select more scrupulously the candidates for the language courses. Significantly, we have started active work to select and test officers to relieve the Fourth Detached Engineering and Reconstruction Battalion in Sierra Leone, along with officers at the headquarters of the coal-

tion forces and the multinational force headquarters and command of the battalions of the Sixth Brigade in Iraq. Currently, we need to train nearly eighty officers to fill the positions of translators in peacekeeping units. We may have to send our peacekeepers to Liberia, for which purpose we also have to train specialists. Understandably, under such conditions we cannot afford the luxury of training some officers at language courses and sending others on missions abroad. We must have a clear answer to the question of why we teach foreign languages to officers, and wherein lies the logic, sense, and, most importantly, payback from this training.”

WHO WILL LAY THE FOUNDATION OF OUR MODERNIZED ARMED FORCES?

“Indeed, someday all enlisted men in our army will be obliged to have an adequate command of a foreign language. However, this is a long-term prospect. Understandably, we cannot work miracles and make all servicemen learn a foreign language overnight. Language training is a costly and lengthy process that will bear fruit after a long period. Today we must face the fact that the process of Ukraine’s Euro-Atlantic integration will one way or another set certain requirements for our servicemen, including language requirements. Simultaneously, we cannot crowd all the servicemen into classrooms and teach them a foreign language all at once. The existing language training system can train only a limited number of servicemen: 400 this year and between 500 and 600 in subsequent years. Thus, considering that the process of reducing the numerical strength of the Ukrainian army is underway, we must make sure that the promising servicemen, who have an adequate command of foreign languages, remain in the army. The military command should be more scrupulous in selecting candidates for language training and start teaching foreign languages to those servicemen that will in the future form the groundwork of the modernized Armed Forces. Today, when forming military units we must appoint servicemen to their posts on a competitive basis taking into account not only their professional qualities and skills but also their command of foreign languages. Only in this way can we build modern Armed Forces. Meanwhile, until recently we sometimes taught languages to officers that were about to retire, that is, we wasted time and money on those to be pensioned off. We also taught specialists who did not use these language skills in their line of duty. As a result, we had to retrain them the following year, since any skills decline without daily practice. It is this problem that the officers of the Department for the Imple-

mentation of International Programs are working to solve. We are working to have certain special subjects at military institutes taught to cadets in a foreign language. We know of numerous cases when graduates defended their diplomas in a foreign language. A positive innovation in this respect is the fact that last year studies at the Ukrainian National Defense Academy began with English language courses. For four months running cadets studied English in intensive courses. Significantly, today everybody understands that academy graduates who will fill positions of brigade commanders and higher must know a foreign language, since they will come into contact with representatives of foreign armies and foreign mass media and will participate in joint military exercises. For them command of a foreign language is crucial.”

LANGUAGE OF COOPERATION

“Foreign governments assist Ukraine’s military in teaching foreign languages to our enlisted men, who can improve their language skills as part of international programs, at foreign language courses abroad, and test their skills in practice during multinational military exercises, conferences, and seminars. They use the skills thus acquired during peacekeeping operations and in the system of international cooperation of Ukraine’s Armed Forces. Moreover, thanks to such countries as Great Britain, the USA, France, Canada, Germany, Italy, and Hungary language courses are available not only abroad, but also in Ukraine. In particular, night classes of English are supported by the British Council in Ukraine, which has also funded the creation of computerized self-study centers in regions with a high concentration of military installations (Chernihiv, Sevastopol, Lviv). Currently, eight language laboratories provided by the US as part of an international technical assistance program are being set up at higher educational institutions of Ukraine’s Armed Forces. Also, Great Britain, the USA, France, Canada, Germany and other countries have provided funding for the retraining of teachers of foreign languages working at military institutes. Thus far, 160 teachers have undergone such training. Significant funding has been provided for the re-equipment of foreign language faculties at institutions of higher military education.”

“Speaking of prospects, it is noteworthy that this year a new structure was formed at the Armed Forces of Ukraine — the Department for Scholarly and Methodological Provision of Language Training and Testing, which is a logical step toward uniting all components of the language training system

of our Armed Forces — from organizing language training of the enlisted men to helping servicemen preserve their language skills throughout their careers. Under the Ukraine-NATO Target Plan for 2003, specialists of our department have drafted a Program to Expand Language Teaching to the Enlisted Men of Ukraine’s Armed Forces for 2004–2005, which has been submitted for the approval of Ukraine’s Defense Minister. This document sets out the priorities, major directions, and specific goals of the further development of our language training system. Thus the action plan has been drafted. We have every reason to believe that the goals that the Ukrainian army has set in the sphere of language training will be achieved. Significantly, this system is being formed taking into account the positive experience and with the support of the NATO member states.”

9. Read the text (adapted from the article by Petro MATVIYENKO in *The Day* of December 23, 2004) and answer the following question: What aspects of the situation described in the article might fall under the responsibility of the Department for Personnel and Educational Institutions of the MFA of Ukraine?

New Posters Likely to Make Kharkiv Astir

Not so long ago, Kharkiv’s State Institute of Art elected a new rector, Prof. Tetyana Verkina, a gifted pianist, noted teacher producing virtuoso performers, and a well-known public figure. She is the author of the international festival Kharkiv Assemblies, marking its tenth anniversary this year, serving as Kharkiv’s autumnal calling card. She is the city’s second female rector (Kharkiv has over thirty institutions of higher learning).

Her legacy is truly burdensome. Over the past couple of years, the Institute of Art, as a major venue of Ukrainian culture, has experienced numerous hardships. A number of gifted graduates worthy of occupying places of honor on the teaching staff, have left Ukraine, while the institute’s equipment (including musical instruments and audio/video facilities) has fallen into decay. Worst still, the ground floor, being an officially protected architectural site, has been leased out for private businessmen using the premises as casinos, shopping centers, and business offices.

Owing to such “bona fide care” of the institute’s previous management, the students have lost the cafeteria, gym, and opera studio. The lessees quickly

did what is locally known as European repair, turning the place into precisely what they wanted it to be, leaving no trace of the historical site in the heart of Kharkiv. Apparently, the businesspeople concerned care nothing about the students — among them future talents of the 21st century of Solovyanenko's, Richter's and Oistrakh's caliber — struggling to learn works by Lysenko and Tchaikovsky in unheated classrooms with peeling walls.

***The Day:* Prof. Verkina, aren't you afraid of inheriting this gruesome legacy?**

Prof. Verkina: Let me tell you that I have of late witnessed amateur concerts performed at well-to-do institutions of higher learning. Regrettably, our own symphony, chamber, and folk orchestras are pressed for funds, so they can't afford concerts with an adequate stage setting and in befitting audiences. Yet our posters attract so many residents of Kharkiv.

It's a shame that we have lost several generations of teachers, people aged between 25 and 40 years. We must do our utmost to prevent the generation gap getting any deeper, otherwise we will risk losing the music schools of Kharkiv. This explains our special attitude to the veterans in the field.

Much has to be done. First of all, we must have our classrooms properly heated; we must buy new equipment and have the old facilities repaired, primarily musical instruments and premises. We have turned to the municipal and regional authorities for help.

***The Day:* Are you satisfied with Kharkiv's position on the current cultural map of Ukraine?**

Prof. Verkina: That's a rhetorical question. Kharkiv, as a cultural and music venue, is known on all continents. However, our bureaucracy has kept its Soviet tradition, stimulating culture at the capital city level, practicing the brain-drain tactic, having all talent transferred from the province to the metropolis. Remember our unique Borys Hmyria? He was known as the Ukrainian Chaliapin. Or take Hizela Tshipola, the world's unmatched Madame Butterfly. The creative elite of Kharkiv has never been content with its position in the cultural outskirts of Ukraine. Now that we live in an independent Ukrainian national state, we stand a real chance of changing the situation for the better.

We also have foreign students at the institute, those enrolled under contracts with China and Russia (I don't mean student exchange programs ad-

dressing border regions). Judging by the number of enrolment applications, we could have more foreign students, but there are problems that must be solved in Kyiv. Our colleagues in Great Britain, US, and other countries appear interested in our academic standard. [Prior to this interview, the Kharkiv Institute of Art was visited by the Dean of the Music Faculty of the Royal Northern College of Manchester, UK, who conducted a master class with local students.]

One other point. Our generation was raised on a high musical standard. What's happening on our radio/television channels, the kind of "music" are they playing? Soviet prison songs, for the most part. This "music" has a dreadful destructive force; it helps build a criminal, rather than civil, society. We must restore the best traditions of our institute for the sake of this country's future. Thus we are confident that Kharkiv will be astir, seeing our posters in a couple of years from now. They will mark truly significant cultural events, both in this city and the rest of Ukraine. Otherwise, we shouldn't have begun in the first place.

***The Day:* Some of the higher schools in Kharkiv have introduced Ukraine as the language of instruction, acting in keeping with the language law; however, most others seem content doing official paperwork, using the official language. How do you feel about this problem, in your current official capacity?**

Prof. Verkina: Let me tell you about something that has actually taken place. Our students, while on a concert tour of Switzerland, were, were invited to a VIP party at the Ukrainian embassy. Among those present were many diplomats from other countries. After the concert, our students had an opportunity to communicate with the diplomats; they could tell them about own impressions of the concert tour. Mind you, they spoke Ukrainian and were interpreted using several European languages. It was then that our students realized how important representing their country and using that country's official language was.

We will certainly expand the usage of Ukrainian as the language of instruction, primarily with regard to the general educational subjects. I think, however, that we should not take sharp bends, like making students use Ukrainian when mastering specific disciplines and using the parlance. Otherwise the teaching standard would suffer. On the whole, our graduates must, of course, have a fluent command of the official language.

***The Day:* You are Academician Verkin's daughter. Your father is known as the founder of one of Ukraine's most powerful research centers, FT-INT, and as a physicist of world repute, but also as one with a musical education. Begging pardon for a cliché question, but how much have you taken after your father?**

Prof. Verkina: I was fortunate to be born to a musical family. My father, while enrolled at the University's Physics and Mathematics Department, also attended lectures at the Institute of Art. He was a virtuoso pianist. My mother came from a singing family, she was in love with Ukrainian songs. As a student of the University's Chemistry Department, she had to choose between chemistry and music, as Conservatory Professor Lunts offered her a music career. Well, my mother chose science. My parents would often stage family concerts, and I must have contracted the musical virus. I fell in love with Ukrainian songs and then chose my creative life-path.

After B. I. Verkin became FTINT Director, he set up a Physicists' Philharmonic Society there. At the turn of the 1980s, it became a favorite cultural venue of Kharkiv. Music inspired physicists to make revolutionizing discoveries; among other things, they proved that music, of all the arts, has the strongest positive effect on man.

In the early 1990s, shortly before his passing away, my father told me that the Physicists' Philharmonic Society should be restored, because a decaying culture meant decaying physics and technologies.

I had pledged to carry out his behest, and together with like-minded individuals, we initiated an international festival known as Kharkiv Assemblies. It was held this year for the tenth time, once again proving that the Ukrainians harbor an undying affection for culture.

10. Write a 300-word essay on the departments of Information Technologies, Personnel and Educational Institutions, Diplomatic Academy and the Coordination Group and their functions.

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Медичні науки

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Мороз В. М. та ін. Охорона праці у медицині (навчальний посібник для студентів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Петренко В. І. Фтизіатрія. (підручник для студентів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Сербін А. Г. та ін. Медична ботаніка (навчальний посібник для фармацевтичних факультетів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації).

Сербін А. Г., Сіра Л. М. та ін. Медична ботаніка (підручник для фармацевтичних факультетів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Серкова В. К. та ін. Факультетська терапія (підручник для студентів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Шапринський В. О. та ін. Факультетська хірургія (підручник для студентів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Шевчук В. Г. та ін. Нормальна фізіологія (підручник для ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації).

Шлопов В. Г. та ін. Патологічна анатомія (атлас для студентів ВМНЗ III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Гуманітарні науки

Вийшли з друку:

Левченко Т. І. Розвиток освіти та особистості в різних педагогічних системах /монографія/

Цимбалюк Ю. В. Біблійна мудрість у латинських афоризмах українською та англійською мовами

Висоцька Н. О. та ін. Література західноєвропейського середньовіччя

Готуються до видання:

Зінченко А. Л. Історія дипломатії від давнини до початку нового часу (навчальний посібник для студентів вищих навчальних закладів спеціальностей міжнародні відносини та історія, друге видання)

Технічні науки

Вийшли з друку:

Бондаренко А. А. та ін. Збірник завдань розрахунково-графічних робіт з теоретичної механіки (навчальний посібник для студентів вищих технічних навчальних закладів III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Ладанюк А. П. Основи системного аналізу (навчальний посібник для студентів вищих навчальних закладів спеціальностей напряму “Автоматизація та комп’ютерно-інтегровані технології”)

Шестеренко В. Є. Системи електроспоживання та електропостачання промислових підприємств (підручник для студентів і магістрантів електроенергетичних спеціальностей вищих навчальних закладів III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Готуються до видання:

Мазуренко О. Г. та ін. Трансформатори та електричні машини (навчальний посібник з дисципліни “Електротехніка” для студентів неелектротехнічних спеціальностей вищих навчальних закладів II–IV рівнів акредитації)

Бондаренко А. А. та ін. Основи теоретичної механіки і опору матеріалів (навчальний посібник для студентів немеханічних спеціальностей напряму “Інженерна механіка” вищих навчальних закладів III–IV рівнів акредитації)

Навчальне видання

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