



SERGIY KORSUNSKY: THE GEOPOLITICS OF “INTERESTING TIMES”

**WITOLD WASZCZYKOWSKI, CHAIR OF THE EU-UKRAINE
DELEGATION IN THE EP: “THERE ARE MYTHS AND NAIVETÉ
IN THE WEST TOWARDS RUSSIA”**

**MARIA MEZENTSEVA, HEAD OF PERMANENT DELEGATION OF
VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE TO PACE: “WE REMAIN AN
OUTPOST OF UKRAINIAN INTERESTS”**

**TO START FROM SCRATCH:
BUSINESS STORIES OF IDPS**

Online:

www.promoteukraine.org

Publisher:

NGO “Promote Ukraine”

www.promoteukraine.org

Address:

Velyka Zhytomyrska 33
Office 611
Kyiv 01601

Address of the

Belgian NGO “Promote Ukraine”

Veldstraat 24
1731 Relegem
Belgium
ISSN 2736-4224

Email:

journal@promoteukraine.org

Editor-in-chief:

Marta Barandiy

Editors:

Evhenia Kolomiyets-Ludwig
Natalia Richardson

Illustrations and page making:

Anna Chernysh-Poltoratska

Journal “Brussels Ukraïna Review” is distributed free of charge among researchers, experts, opinion leaders, government officials and politicians of Ukraine and the European Union.

Reproduction of the materials of the Journal is permitted only with the reference to the Journal. Opinions and other content published by the authors in the Journal, do not necessarily reflect the position of the Board of Editors. Author is solely responsible for the content of the material he/she provides. Author is only responsible for the material, provided in the original language. Translation of the materials is made by a third party on the request of the Publisher. The Publisher is not responsible for the goods and services, advertised within the publication. Photos are from open sources.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

AN INTRODUCTION TO UKRAINIANS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Ukraine has celebrated the 30th anniversary of its independence. Within this period, generations of people were born and formed as individuals in the free state. At the same time, a significant part of the population is made up of those who still remember the USSR with hatred, or nostalgia, or neutrality being the times of their youth, which, unfortunately, “will never return.” How did the mosaic of Ukrainian society develop during these 30 years? What is Vox Populi, the “voice of the people,” calling for? Sociology might be the only source of an objective and scientifically sound answer to these questions.

The results of dozens of surveys have become a colourful collage of public revelations of the population of one of the largest neighbours of the European Union.

So, what are we, Ukrainians? Here are the most interesting questions and the most [un] expected answers. According to the open-source results of social polls, conducted and published by the “Sociological Group “Rating,” the “Social Monitoring Center,” the “Ukrainian Institute of the Future,” the “Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation” together with the “Razumkov Center,” and “The EU NEIGHBOURS East” Project, here comes the following sociological matrix of modern Ukraine:

Today, 80 percent of respondents would support the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence. Only 15 percent would not support it; 5 percent would hesitate to answer. 75 percent of respondents identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine (11 percent do not feel that way), while 26 percent identify themselves as Europeans and 21 percent as a “Soviet person.” [1]

55 percent of respondents believe that after 30 years of independence, Ukraine is really independent, while 34 percent say “no” and another 11 percent say “difficult to answer.” [2]

The two main emotions they feel while thinking about Ukraine are sadness (37 percent) and pride (34 percent). 20 percent feel interest, 18 percent - joy and shame, 16 percent - fear. Only 5 percent feel indifference and anger. [1]

50 percent of Ukrainians consider the slogan “Glory to Ukraine!” to be a credo of modern citizens of the country. [3]

The vast majority of respondents (72 percent) are rather or very proud of Ukrainian citizenship. Only 18.5 percent say they are rather not or not at all proud of this fact.

54 percent of respondents believe that democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine.

53 percent of respondents are convinced that people in Ukraine can freely express their political views, and a fifth of respondents do not think so.

Relatively successful areas of transformation since independence are gender equality, freedom of speech, formation of the Ukrainian nation, equality of national minorities, democracy, civil society and defence in the country. [4] In other words, we can state that European democratic values and the corresponding perception of the world and a person have become our indisputable heritage of the last three decades.

Ukraine has been the least successful in the fight against corruption, the formation of a fair judiciary, the crime control and the establishment of social justice. [4] Vox Populi reminds us that social transformations and institutional reforms, especially in the sphere of justice, are rather slow and need to be intensified.

The dominant foreign policy vector in Ukraine is European and Euro-Atlantic integration. In all questions concerning the views on Ukraine's future in the international arena, at least half of the respondents confirmed their pro-Western aspirations. Thus, 64 percent are in favour of joining the EU and 54 percent in NATO. [1]

51 percent of Ukrainians have a positive image of the EU, and 64 percent of Ukrainians believe relations with the EU are good. More than 63 percent of Ukrainians recognise the EU's fundamental values and identify with the values of 'peace, security and stability', 'human rights', 'economic prosperity', 'rule of law' and 'individual freedoms.'

66 percent of people in Ukraine trust the European Union, and only 26 percent trust the Eurasian Economic Union. 62 percent of Ukrainians are aware of the EU's financial support, and 46 percent of them believe that the support is effective. [5]

Therefore, we can state a "geopolitical shift" in the public consciousness of Ukrainians, most of whom are focused on integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures and overcoming the "multi-vector" inherent in our country in previous years.

However, a sustainable substitute to European integration is the demand for equal distance from the West and Russia, not so much the pro-Russian vector - this option was chosen by 35 percent. Among opponents of EU accession, only a quarter are in favour of moving towards Russia. Others support independent development. [1]

The attitude of Ukrainians to the leaders of the pivotal states and our neighbours is fairly indicative.

Among the key world leaders, Ukrainians have the best attitude regarding German Chancellor Angela Merkel (73 percent - positive, 19 percent - negative) and the US President Joseph Biden (64 percent - positive, 19 percent - negative). At the same time, over the past few months, attitudes toward the President of the United States have improved somewhat, and attitudes toward the German Chancellor have deteriorated somewhat.

President of France Emmanuel Macron was positively assessed by 57 percent and negatively by 19 percent, while 23 percent could not evaluate or do not know him. The President of Poland Andrzej Duda was positively assessed by 54 percent, negatively by 10 percent; 37 percent could not evaluate or do not know him.

Instead, the Ukrainians' attitude towards the leaders of Belarus and Russia is mostly negative. Thus, 59 percent of respondents have a negative attitude to Alyaksandr Lukashenka; 34 percent have a positive attitude. At the

same time, over the last year the attitude towards the President of Belarus has deteriorated from 45 percent to 34 percent, and, for the last two years, it deteriorated from 67 to 34 percent.

81 percent have a negative attitude towards Vladimir Putin, and only 15 percent have a positive attitude. [6]

The value spectrum of Ukrainians is dominated by universalism, kindness, conformism, and security.

41 percent feel that their best years are still ahead, 24 percent are experiencing them now, and 31 percent said that their best time is over.

Ukrainians willingly declare the importance of universalism and kindness, but they have not shown much tolerance to the block of tolerance research. 47 percent have a negative attitude towards the LGBT community, 42 percent have a negative attitude towards the childfree (people who have decided not to have children), about half of the respondents have a neutral attitude towards both LGBT and childfree, and 7-8 percent treat them both positively.

Among the regions, Kyiv is the most tolerant. But East and West are similar in their conservatism, the only difference is that the religious West is less tolerant of non-believers, and Donbas is less tolerant towards the LGBT community.

When choosing a desired job, the most important criteria are salary (75 percent), followed by social guarantees (31 percent), team relationships (26 percent), and work schedule (22 percent). The least important are career (14 percent) and prestige together with social status (10 percent).

Ukrainians dream of good health (58 percent), while half of Ukrainians said that they do not go for regular medical examinations but address the doctor just in the case of the disease. In the second place, there is the dream of increasing salaries and pensions (41 percent). For the poor, it is their number 1 dream, for them. It is even more important than health. The dream of children and grandchildren is in third place (40 percent). Almost everyone is interested in traveling, except the oldest.

14 percent of respondents dream of happy love, and for men it is more important: for example, at the age of 25-40, only 14 percent of women dream of love, while among men it is 22-24 percent. Even after the age of 60, every 10th man still dreams of happy love, while among women of this age almost no one dreams of it. [1]

And what are YOU dreaming of, dear Reader?



The material is arranged by Sergiy Kurbatov, Doctor of Philosophy, Advisor to the Presidium of the National Academy of Educational Sciences of Ukraine, and Evhenia Kolomiyets-Ludwig, PhD in Law, editor of the "Brussels Ukraïna Review", on the results of the following open-source social polls:

1. Sociological survey "GENERATION OF INDEPENDENCE: VALUES AND MOTIVATION," conducted and published by the Sociological Group "Rating" on 19 August 2021.

http://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/pokolenie_nezavisimosti_cennosti_i_motivacii.html

2. National survey "30 years of Ukraine's Independence" conducted and published by the "Social Monitoring Center" on 18 August 2021. <https://smc.org.ua/30-rokiv-nezalezhnosti-ukrayiny-2936/>

3. Sociological survey "Glory to Ukraine!" - the credo of modern Ukrainians," conducted and published by the Ukrainian Institute of the Future on 24 August 2021. <https://uifuture.org/publications/slava-ukrayini-kredo-suchasnyh-ukrayinciv/>

4. The nationwide survey "30 years of independence: what achievements and problems of growth Ukrainians see and what they hope for in the future," conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with the Razumkov Center's sociological service.

https://dif.org.ua/article/30-rokiv-nezalezhnosti-yaki-zdobutki-i-problemi-zrostannya-bachat-ukraintsi-y-na-shcho-spodivayutsya-u-maybutnomu_2

5. Opinion Survey 2020: Ukraine, published on 16 June 2020. <https://www.euneighbours.eu/en/east/stay-informed/publications/opinion-survey-2020-ukraine>

6. Sociological survey "Assessment of individual international policy issues (2-4 September 2021)," conducted and published by the Sociological Group "Rating" on 9 September 2021.

http://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/ocenka_otdelnyh_voprosov_mezhdunarodnoy_politiki_2-4_sentyabrya_2021.html

02 Editor`s Foreword

INTERNAL POLICY

06 Ukraine: With Zelensky or
After Him
Vitaly Portnikov

UKRAINE-WORLD

10 The Geopolitics of
“Interesting Times”
Sergiy Korsunsky

**UKRAINE-EUROPEAN
UNION**

14 Chair of the EU-Ukraine
delegation in the EP Witold
Waszczykowski: “There are
myths and naiveté in the West
towards Russia”
Natalia Richardson

18 Rebecca Harms: “I was
shocked about the way the US
and Germany made a deal on
Nord Stream-2”
Natalia Richardson

**MOUTHPIECES OF THE
KREMLIN**

22 Kremlin’s Baltic Mouthpiece
Inna Krupnyk

26 Kremlin’s Cultural
Mouthpiece
Inna Krupnyk

**UKRAINE, RUSSIA AND THE
COUNCIL OF EUROPE**

28 Maria Mezentseva, Head
of Permanent Delegation of
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to
PACE: “We Remain an Outpost of
Ukrainian Interests”
Kateryna Bratko

PEOPLE AND THE WAR

34 In the Dark. How Do CADLR
Residents Survive?
Stepan Nazarenko

38 To Start from Scratch:
Business Stories of IDPs
Inna Krupnyk

INTERVIEW

44 Foundation “IZOLYATSIA”:
on cultural decentralization and
projects feared by the occupiers
Marta Barandiy

ONLINE SURVEY

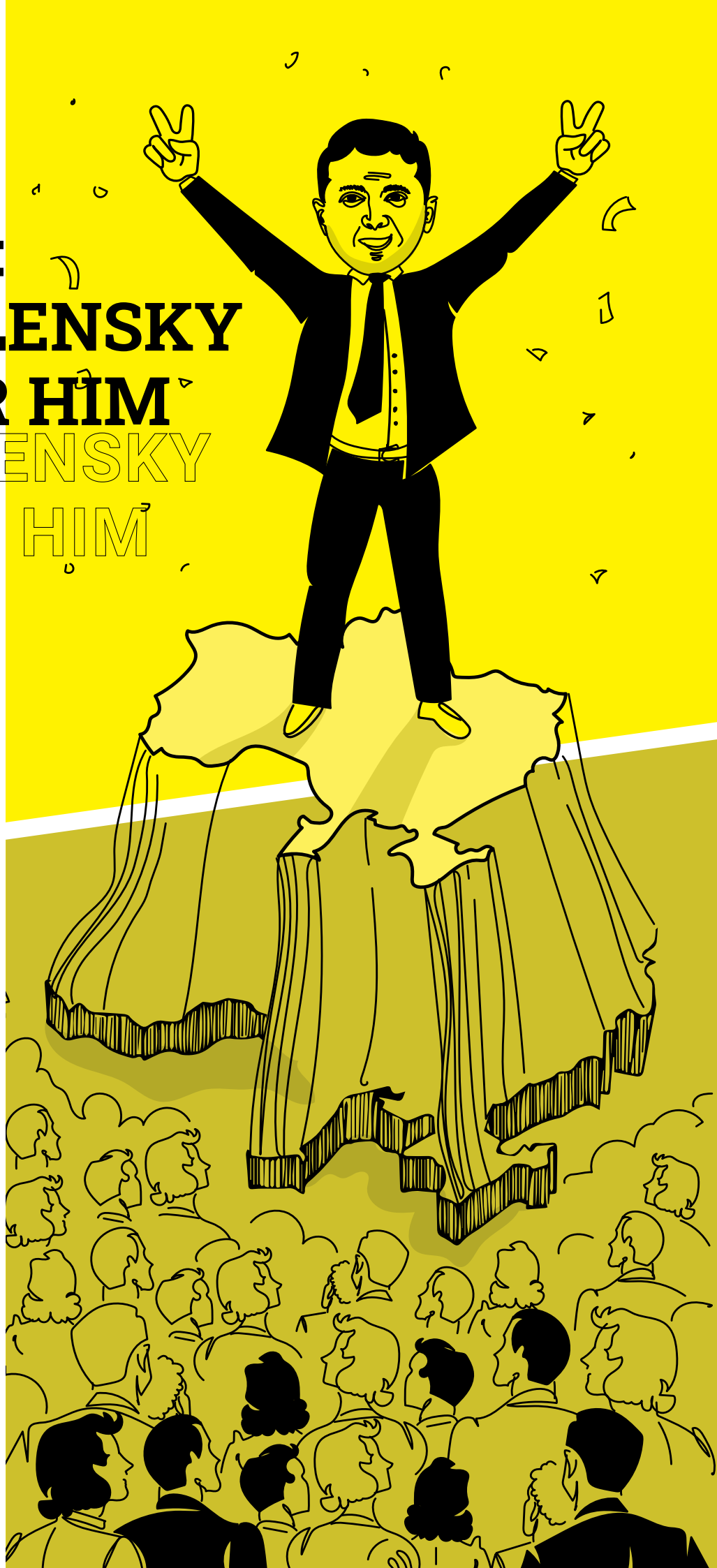
48 Report on the online
survey results about the
attitude of the population to
the “voluntary declaration” and
comments

CULTURAL PAGES

54 Victor Korsak: “We don’t
set a goal to show somebody
up, we just do our job.”
How the largest museum of
contemporary Ukrainian art
works
Ivanna Malchevska

UKRAINE:
WITH ZELENSKY
OR AFTER HIM
UKRAINE:
WITH ZELENSKY
OR AFTER HIM

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS





**VITALY PORTNIKOV,
UKRAINIAN
JOURNALIST,
POLITICAL
COMMENTATOR,
AUTHOR AND
OPINION-MAKER**

A month after celebrating the 30th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, incumbent President Volodymyr Zelensky remains the most popular Ukrainian politician. Although his rating has been steadily declining since winning the presidential election, sociology suggests that even now Zelensky would have defeated any potential rival in the second round of the presidential election. And with a score that is not much different from his victory in the presidential election. At that time, 73 % of Ukrainian voters balloted for Zelensky and 24% for President Petro Poroshenko. Zelensky would have beaten Poroshenko, who remains his main rival, with a score of 65 to 35. At the same time, according to the latest polls, 31% of voters would have voted for Zelensky in the first round. This is almost the same as in the first round of the 2019 election - 30%. So, as we can

see, electoral preferences do not change. Thirty percent is the upper limit of Ukrainian populism. Why was a person who received 30% of the vote in the first round able to get as much as 73% and now can win with 65% of the vote?

It is easy to explain this phenomenon. Voting for Zelensky was and remains a vote "against" Ukrainian politicians in general, and not just against former President Petro Poroshenko, as is commonly believed. The Servant of the People project, launched on the TV channel of Ihor Kolomoisky, Zelensky's former business partner and patron, as well as an influential oligarch, preached precisely hatred of the ruling elite as such, portraying it as a corrupt gang and opposing this elite to a "man of the people" in a naive performance by Zelensky, a television comedian who tried to become a TV actor but instead became president. Therefore, the voter of every Ukrainian politician running in the election can still imagine the one he voted for as an honest and principled person, considering others to be thieves. That is why the choice between Zelensky and any other politician is always a populist's success. In addition, the hope for a miracle rooted in the post-Soviet space was well played. Zelensky did not promise anything to anyone before the presidential election, the most quoted being his phrase "I do not owe anyone anything." But the future president spoke about political problems as an ordinary citizen, which was the reason for chil-

dren's hopes. Indeed, if your neighbour becomes president, and even from TV, won't he stop the war, force officials to stop stealing, which will automatically make the country rich and successful, and achieve justice for a "little Ukrainian"? Well, politicians probably won't do that.

Three years later, it can be stated that the expectations of the "little Ukrainians," of course, have not come true – and the trust in the political elite has not increased either. That is why, for the time being, Zelensky remains the favourite of the presidential ratings and strengthens his own vertical power. And there are only three ways out of this situation.

The first is that Zelensky will continue to disappoint Ukrainians (and most of the country's citizens are sure that Ukraine is moving in the wrong direction), but they will still vote for him again, just to prevent a "bad" politician from coming to power, who will steal everything. Let these simple guys, "servants of the people" from the presidential party, do this.

The second option is that some new Zelensky will appear who will repeat the accusations of the old one, but against the current government. He will also be a "man of the people" and will be supported by some oligarch – most likely, Rinat Akhmetov, who is fabulously enriched by the current market situation. And the population will happily vote for another new face, and the country will go through the usual round of disappointments and expectations of the next miracle.



And the third option is the return of professionals to power and hard work to restore the institutions that degraded during the populist rule - also, the continuation of reforms that will sooner or later bring Ukraine to Europe.

It may become clear this fall which option Ukraine is close to. The country faces many challenges. Among them are possible problems in the social sphere - all the more so if prices for housing and communal services have to be raised against the background of Moscow's steady provocation of a shortage in the global gas market; the need to build trust in relations with the United States - Zelensky's visit to Washington showed that the real "chemistry" between the Ukrainian president and his American counterpart Joseph Biden is still far away; and the importance of returning to reforms, without which there will clearly be no international financial assistance, which will also affect the social sphere. And, of course, Russia. Putin is again escalating tensions in Donbas, and it is already clear that the Kremlin has decided to ignore Zelensky and is not going to look for ways to resolve the conflict and end the war.

Will Zelensky be able to meet these challenges and how will society perceive his efforts? If the president's rating falls and he no longer looks like the undisputed winner of the second round of voting, then supporters, opponents of the president, Western creditors of Ukraine, and the Kremlin's destabilisers of the political situation in the country will have to think about what will Ukraine be like after Zelensky and who will replace him. Well, if the incumbent president continues to hold unconditional leadership in opinion polls, then it will be necessary to think about something completely different: what will Zelensky's second term look like?

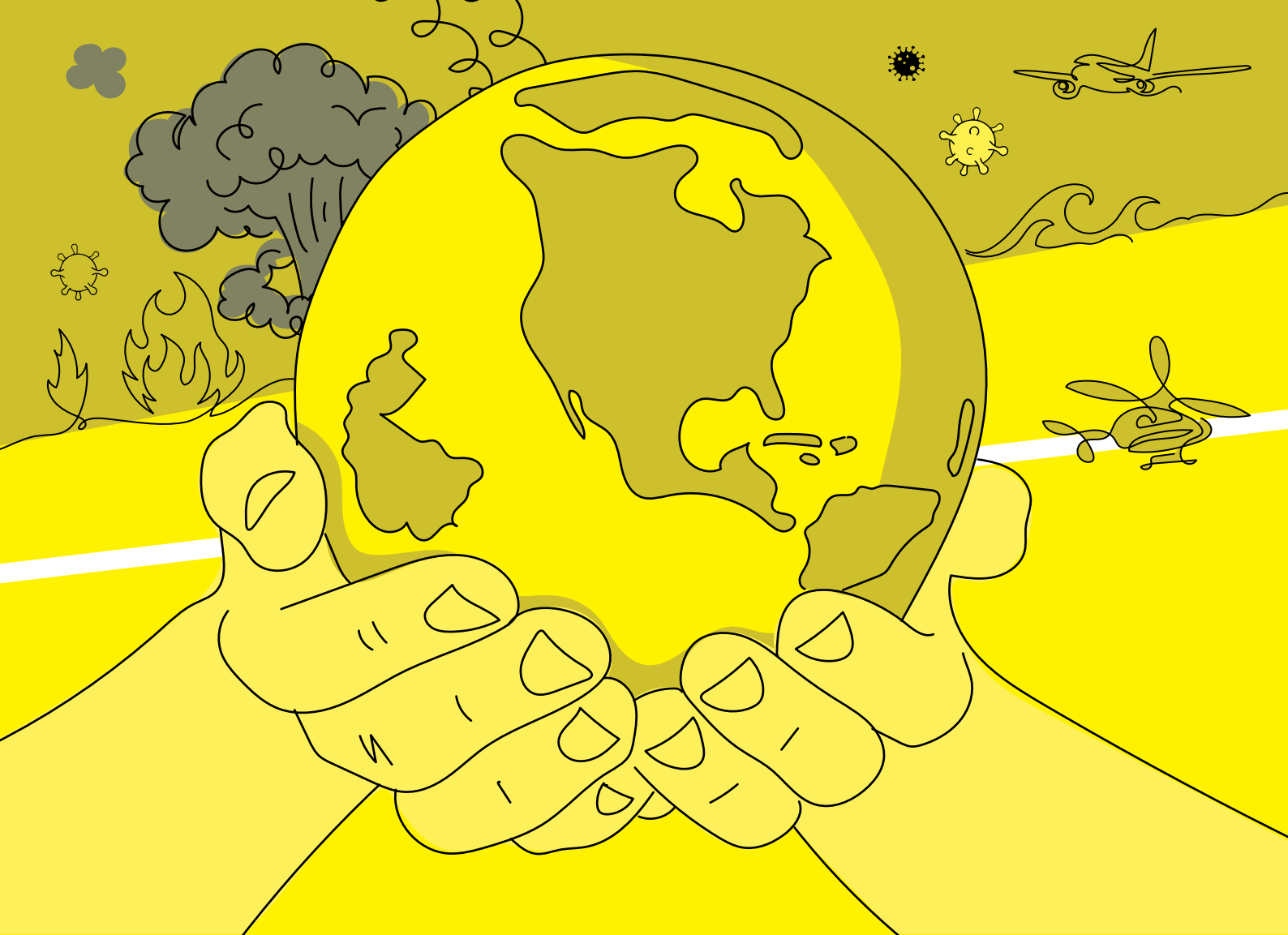
Three years later, it can be stated that the expectations of the "little Ukrainians," of course, have not come true – and the trust in the political elite has not increased either. That is why, for the time being, Zelensky remains the favourite of the presidential ratings and strengthens his own vertical power.



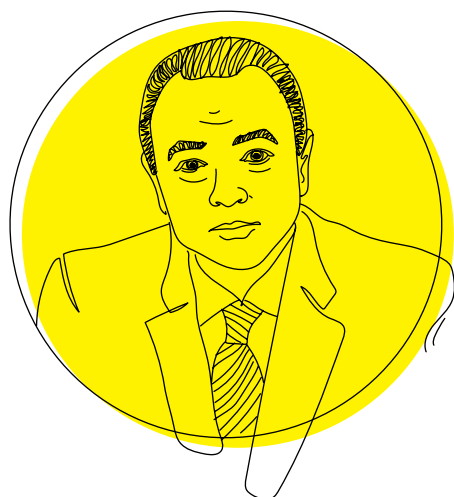
CEO CLUB UKRAINE

**INTELLECTUAL CLUB
FOR BUSINESS OWNERS**

**+38 044 22 888 13
info@ceoclub.com.ua
ceoclub.com.ua**



THE GEOPOLITICS OF “INTERESTING TIMES” “INTERESTING TIMES”



**SERGIY KORSUNSKY,
UKRAINIAN SCIENTIST
AND DIPLOMAT. HONORED
ECONOMIST OF UKRAINE.
DOCTOR OF PHYSICAL
AND MATHEMATICAL
SCIENCES. AMBASSADOR
EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF
UKRAINE TO JAPAN**

UKRAINE- WORLD

Speaking in Cape Town in 1966, U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy gave a brief but meaningful description of the geopolitical situation at the time: "There is a Chinese curse which says 'May he live in interesting times.' Like it or not, we live in interesting times. They are times of danger and uncertainty, but they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history". The times that humanity is going through today are no less interesting than the '60s of the last century, and no less open to creative thinking. For Ukraine, which has been in a state of war against its will and lost vast territories, resources and economic potential, it is crucial to realize the outlines of a new world being born in the post-liberal era. Whether Ukraine will be able to take its prominent place in the future world order depends on this realization.

The 19th century was the century of Europe. The 20th, no doubt, took place under decisive American influence, and the 21st will be the century of Asia. China's unprecedented rise; the shift of world centers of production, consumption and technological innovation to Southeast Asia; and Russia's transformation back into the past, into imperial ambitions at their worst - all this

determines the modern geopolitical landscape of world politics. The main confrontation between the U.S. and China, taking into account a Russian factor; the EU crisis that manifested itself in Brexit, the inability to solve a refugee issue and prevent the coming to power of populist and largely anti-liberal regimes in a number of EU countries - all these factors are decisive in modern "axes", "triangles" and more complex geometries of relationships between the main world powers. For the United States, China, which has been the world's second largest economy since 2010 and which continues to grow despite the coronavirus pandemic and its unfavorable image outside the Great Wall of China, is the biggest challenge. China poses not only an economic but also a technological and military threat to the interests of the United States, its allies and partners. Russia, which seeks to disintegrate the liberal world order, is not only creating security challenges for the United States, but is also strategically moving closer to China. Even Beijing's 'younger brother' status allows Putin to effectively blackmail Washington, where Russia-China relations have been closely monitored since Nixon's time. Fortunately, the interests of Moscow and Beijing do not always coincide in everything, so there is room for some manoeuvre. Unfortunately, the EU practically does not take part in such a manoeuvre. After several years of strong support for Ukraine in the confrontation with Russia, Berlin has decided to build a highly controversial Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline, which will not only deprive Ukraine of much-needed earnings, but also eliminate an important safeguard that deterred the possibility of a significant escalation of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. This project, as well as a range of other issues, including the observance of liberal freedoms and manifestations of

national selfishness during the pandemic, led to a crisis in the European Union, which in fact fell out of the world's major powers. The departure of German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the Afghan crisis only exacerbated an already difficult situation. However, the biggest challenge was the actual decision of the White House to move closer to Russia, hoping to weaken Moscow's almost allied relations with China. This wrong path, no doubt, will still be felt, and above all, for Ukraine.

First of all, Ukraine should understand that strengthening defense capabilities, eradicating corruption, and realizing untapped potential in many sectors of the economy are the most important components of success in the confrontation with Russia. Conducting a conscious and well-balanced foreign policy should include the development of a set of proposals for the main partners, taking into account their interests. For example, an almost decisive factor for the United States in its confrontation with China is access to rare earth metals, the actual production monopoly of which is held by Beijing. Ukraine has powerful reserves of lithium, cobalt, copper, graphite, etc., which are used for the production of lithium batteries for the automotive industry and other equipment. At present, these reserves exist only in the form of potential for development. Given the spread of de facto famine in the world, including that caused by the pandemic, Ukraine could offer the world's leading countries that have interests in Africa and Asia strategic cooperation in the production of agricultural products and food.

Ukrainian developments in the field of information technologies and software could be of great interest to many high-tech sectors of the world's leading economies.

At the geopolitical level, it is already worth developing a renewed vision of cooperation with Germany, since a new chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany will not necessarily have the same sentiments towards Russia as Angela Merkel. The de facto agreement of the United States not to interfere in the implementation of the Nord Stream 2 project, of course, made the completion of the construction possible. At the same time, the Greens' position and the EU energy directives make a rapid launch of the pipeline problematic.

Strange as it may seem, the U.S. decision to withdraw from Afghanistan, despite all the tragedy of the events taking place around Kabul airport and related to the rollback of the country's social life to the level of decades ago, has a certain positive for Ukraine. From now on, Russia, which, unlike the United States, is in close proximity to Afghanistan, will have to appropriate significant resources on deterring Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism, which are likely to experience a renaissance not only in Afghanistan but throughout South Asia. Also, China will have significant interests in Afghanistan, and clashes between Moscow and Beijing over this are not ruled out. The fact is that in addition to opium, Afghanistan has significant mineral deposits and is strategically located along the routes of China's Belt and Road Initiative. China has invested tens of billions of dollars in Pakistan, which is perhaps


most interested in stabilizing Afghanistan. It should be expected that in the coming months, if not years, the world community will be forced to pay considerable attention to Afghanistan, both in terms of refugees and the intensification of ISIS, as well as the possible launch of a new civil war that will make control over the supply of opium impossible. The countries of Central Asia, primarily Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, could actually be destabilized in the event of large-scale hostilities and clan clashes in Afghanistan. All this will require the intervention of Russia, which will henceforth be forced to restrain the "southern front" around its borders.

Against the background of security and political challenges, the world is actively entering a phase of formation of a new technological order, when artificial intelligence technologies and business based on the analysis of large databases are gradually pushing both machine-building and resource companies out of the leading positions on world exchanges. It is to be expected that, under the pressure of climate change and the challenges posed by the pandemic, the very concept of capitalism and economic growth, based on constant GDP growth, will be reconsidered. Glaring social inequality in the world's leading economies will require drastic decisions on a fairer distribution of public goods, mandatory consideration of the needs of the social environment, but not just the interests of corporations and



The 19th century was the century of Europe. The 20th, no doubt, took place under decisive American influence, and the 21st will be the century of Asia.

their owners. The transformation of the post-World War II liberal world order that is familiar to the current generation began after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, and virtually everything that is happening today is the result of global shifts caused by the political and military power of the United States. But the current situation is different. The United States has a powerful rival - China. The world has realized the mistakes and miscalculations of the 20-year fight against terrorism, and the coronavirus pandemic has revealed the weaknesses of globalization capitalism and unipolar dominance. In the near future, the outlines of a new geopolitics will become a reality, and in this process the winners are those whose internal cohesion and reasonable use of available resources will allow to find a balance between their own interests and the interests of major world powers. Indeed, we live in interesting times.



Conducting a conscious and well-balanced foreign policy should include the development of a set of proposals for the main partners, taking into account their interests. For example, an almost decisive factor for the United States in its confrontation with China is access to rare earth metals, the actual production monopoly of which is held by Beijing.

CHAIR OF THE EU-UKRAINE DELEGATION IN THE EP WITOLD WASZCZYKOWSKI: "THERE ARE MYTHS AND NAIVETÉ IN THE WEST TOWARDS RUSSIA"

UKRAINE- EUROPEAN UNION

Ukraine can still count on the US Congress to be against the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, but it looks like there will be no leverage to stop the project in Germany. This is an opinion of the Polish MEP Witold Waszczykowski (European Conservatives and Reformists Group), chair of the Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee, former minister of foreign affairs of Poland. In an exclusive interview to Brussels Ukraïna Review, Mr. Waszczykowski spoke about conflicts in Donbas and Crimea, suggested introducing sanctions against the larger Russian population and regretted that Ukraine made a mistake when, according to him, it neglected Poland.



**NATALIA
RICHARDSON,
JOURNALIST,
EDITOR AT
BRUSSELS
UKRAÏNA
REVIEW**



A court in Dusseldorf ruled recently that Nord Stream 2 must comply with the European Union's gas directive, and 50% of this pipeline's capacity should be available to other suppliers, not just to Gazprom. But is it still possible to stop this project? Many people think that it's just a political weapon of the Kremlin.

The only way to stop the project completely is to press Germany because this is the most important country involved in this project. Of course, we have no instruments to press Russia. We tried to use the United States, so to speak, as a country that can put pressure on Germany. During the Trump era, we were quite successful because his administration and the Congress were on our side, and the Congress tried to impose sanctions on this project. But Biden needs Germany for other political challenges, like China and he thinks that by making concessions to Russia and Germany on Nord Stream 2 he will gain support of both Russia and Germany to compete with China. So, we cannot count on the Biden administration anymore. Maybe we can still count on the Congress because it shows bipartisan support against this project.

In Germany, the only political force we can count on is the Greens. This is a party that is against this project, and this is the party that objects to the growing influence of Russia in Europe. But the power of the Greens and their influence is getting weaker. The election was won again by the coalition of CDU and SPD. And Greens are not going to be a part of the government. So, we will not gain an instrument, and we will not have leverage in Germany to stop the project. The last option, of course, is the European Commission. But again, the Commission is under the great influence of Berlin. The President of the Commission is the former German minister of defense Ursula von der Leyen. So, even if we have a wide European decision, I think that German politicians inside the European institutions will try to sabotage

this verdict, in order to promote the German national interest. So, in the near future, I don't see the possibility of stopping the project.

Do you see that the West lacks determination in this regard? They are not so active.

I think that there are myths and there's naiveté. Some people believe that Russia is important because it is a big economy. And, in the near future, they can make a lucrative deal with the Russian economy. This is a myth because the Russian economy is getting weaker and weaker. Not so many people know that economic cooperation between Germany and Poland is far greater than between Germany and Russia, that economic cooperation between Germany and the Visegrad countries is bigger than between Germany and France. But they still think that maybe in the future, Russia will be better off, and it is good to maintain contacts with them for future economic deals. So, this is a myth. Also, there is an illusion and naive posture that cooperating with Russia will impose some rules and standards, especially democratic standards, on Russia. That's naive because Russia is doing the opposite; it is corrupting Western politicians. Take Gerhard Schröder, take the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria, the former Prime Minister of France Mr. Fillon and others. The western part of Europe does not have enough power to impose rules and standards on Russia. It is the opposite way: it is Moscow that is able to corrupt and weaken the standards and norms of Western Europe.

There is another important issue where we can see that the West is not active enough. It's Donbas. And recently, Ukraine announced that the United States would take part in talks on resolving the war in Donbas and the de-occupation of Crimea. So far, we do not know the details. But do you think that this new format with American participation is exactly what we need now, that the current Normandy format is non-effective?

Yes, in my opinion, both formats - the Normandy formula and Minsk peace process - are not effective, mildly speaking. So, I think we are supposed to think about what is sometimes called the Geneva format, which includes the Americans. When we look at the history of the 20th century in Europe, we couldn't solve any conflict without the Americans: World War I, World War II, the Balkan crisis, the Balkan wars. We managed to solve these conflicts only with the help and assistance of the United States. We can see how cases without them go: for instance, Moldova, Transnistria, Crimea and Donbas. But I don't see right now the willingness and eagerness in Washington to join negotiations on Donbas. Mr. Zelensky visited Washington recently. Yes, he was invited. He was hosted by Biden but, as I understand, Zelensky got some promises of financial support, but not too many promises to help to solve the problem politically.

Thus, once again, I'm not very optimistic about this because it is also the Western Europe, especially Germany and France, who is blocking access of the United States to a new formula, to a new format. Both of these countries are convinced that they're supposed to emancipate themselves from the grip of Washington. They are still thinking that this is a debate we have had for years in the European Parliament about something that is called "European strategic autonomy". They prefer that Europe goes along without the Americans and does not include the US in every solution. This idea was reinforced recently after the collapse of Afghanistan when the Americans pulled out troops. Soon after, Europe and Brussels started a discussion that if the Americans were so ineffective in Afghanistan, then we should come back to the idea of a

European army, European strategic autonomy, without the Americans. So, there is no chance in the near future for a more active role of the United States in solving the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

What is the best way to resolve this conflict?

First of all, Ukraine should be stronger, able to defend itself. Certainly, the country will not be able to win the military conflict with Russia. But Ukraine must be strong enough to prevent the escalation of the conflict. Because the Russians may not have the ambition to occupy the whole of Ukraine, but they may have the ambition to fragment Ukraine farther and take some other parts of the country – for example, Mariupol to cut off Ukraine from the Azov Sea or maybe even Odesa to cut off Ukraine from the Black Sea. So, Ukraine should be ready to defend the rest of the territory. But, on the other side, we should also put pressure on the Europeans and the Americans to create a real, viable and effective format to deal with Russia. We also need to strengthen the sanctions on Russia.

I think there are a lot of things to do in terms of sanctions. We have to impose sanctions on the larger Russian population. Many Russians are supposed to know the price of the war. Celebrities, sportsmen, people of culture, businesses are not affected by the fact that Putin is waging war against Ukraine. If we cut them off from Western markets, from institutions, from games, theatres, movies, football matches on our territories, they will appreciate the real price of the war. We can get rid of the Russians, for instance, interpreters, assistants in the European institutions; we have to close possibilities for interns or scientists. In some cases, we should close off the resorts where Russians spend holidays. And this is still a peaceful solution but, I would say, the Russian society would feel it very strongly if they are marginalised, ostracised from western societies. I cannot accept, for example, the situation that Russian soldiers,

young guys in their 20's are shooting at people in Donbas, and, at the same time, we are watching Spartak Moskva playing football in Paris. These may be the very same people. They are playing football today, but tomorrow they will be in Donbas. Or the opposite: yesterday they were in Donbas, and tomorrow they learn how to play football in Paris at the Stade de France. So, as I said, they have to learn the real price of waging the Putin's war.

Mr. Waszczykowski, do you think that more sanctions should be targeted against the regime in Russia and its supporters?

The regime is doing quite well. They can travel, they can participate in international conferences, Putin can host Madame Merkel, as if nothing happened. Can you imagine the situation 80 years ago during the Second World War with the Nazis and fascists fighting the war with half of Europe and the other half of Europe maintaining a normal relationship with them? Now, Putin is an imperialist. He attacked Georgia, he attacked Ukraine. He tried to partition Ukraine, and he must be punished for this. We cannot maintain contacts with him.

Recently Putin's press secretary Dmitriy Peskov warned about countermeasures if Ukraine joins NATO. And here we see a vicious circle. If Ukraine were a member of NATO, probably the war wouldn't have happened in Donbas. But if Ukraine wants to join NATO, that might not be possible because of the current war. Even if Kyiv joins the Alliance, we will have another escalation. How do we break this circle?

Right now, it's an artificial discussion, of course. This discussion was legitimate in 2008. In 2008, there was a real possibility of granting Ukraine something that was called the Membership Action Plan (MAP). But of course, some countries like Germany and others were scared that this would

provoke Russia. So, Ukraine was not granted this path to membership. It was not membership itself, but it was at least a road to NATO membership. Right now, with unsecured borders, with an unsettled situation in Donbas, of course, there is no discussion about the membership of Ukraine. The only discussion is about some kind of neutralisation or some sort of Finlandisation of Ukraine, in order to protect the independence of this country without NATO membership. But, of course, even this kind of status is not acceptable for Putin because maybe he doesn't want to occupy the whole country, but rather subordinate it and be sure that Ukraine is not on the side of the West.

The Kremlin engaged people with Russian passports in occupied territories in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in the elections to the State Duma in September. Is it acceptable from a legal point of view?

I'm not an expert on this kind of international law. I understand that if they decided to get a Russian passport, of course, they became Russian citizens with all the legal rights to participate in the Russian political life. Certain parts of Donbas are fully controlled by the Russians, so they can do whatever they want right now. Certainly, we are not going to recognise any change in the status of Donbas. But yes, people living in Donbas with the Russian document can do whatever they want regarding the situation in Russia: vote in the Russian elections for a Russian politician in Moscow. We cannot stop them.



*In the near future,
I don't see the
possibility of
stopping the
Nord Stream 2.*

Let's speak about the situation in Ukraine. What are the best reforms in this country and what do you consider as the worst ones?

I am trying not to judge. Ukraine is a sovereign country. And all its reforms are its responsibility. We, the European Union's members, have not offered Ukraine an EU membership. So, unless we do it, we have no right to impose any suggestions, ideas on how you are supposed to reform your country. If you start the process of accession and negotiations with the EU in the future, then, of course, we'll have to interfere, to show you all *acquis communautaire*. In this case, the European Union and EU institutions will have the right to judge, to monitor the progress of the reforming of Ukraine.

Unofficially, we can certainly discuss this at conferences and share our experience with you, tell you how we reformed our countries. For instance, our administration in Poland, in the Czech Republic, and other countries will gladly share ideas with you on how to fight corruption. But it is up to you to decide what kind of suggestions to pick from us. Poland has been quite active in recent years, trying to show our successful reforms over local governments, local institutions, "gromady" as in Ukraine. So, if you'd like to copy or import some of the results of our reforms, of course, you're welcome to do this. But you are the sovereign of your country, and you are responsible for specific reforms.

But do you like any particular reform in Ukraine?

I do care about your independence, of course. So, I care about your security reforms, how you spend money on security, train troops and educate your army. I think the Ukrainian armed forces are much, much stronger right now than six or seven years ago. Especially in Poland, we were absolutely shocked when the "little green men" showed up in 2014 on the Crimean Peninsula, and you lost this territory without a single shot. Your men, your army or military personnel leaving there were supposed to defend your country, but they just gave up everything. For us Poles, fighting for centuries for our independence, it was a shocking situation. I think this will never happen again because you are changing the posture of your army right now. And your army is going to defend Ukraine. I really admire your reforms in the security and military sectors.



Do you have a message for Ukrainians?

Yes. You made a mistake. I mean Ukrainians committed a mistake at the beginning of your last revolution at the Maidan because you put all the trust in Berlin and Paris and neglected Warsaw. You thought that because Ukraine was so important for Poland as kind of a buffer state that separates us from Russia. So anyhow, you were taking support of Poland for granted. And you concentrated mostly on Berlin and Paris. And you lost. We sort of discovered this marginalisation, this negligence of Kyiv, its decision to rely on German and French support. Yeah, you have it on paper. But in reality, you don't. So, do not try to look for friends in remote areas. Try to find friends around you.



REBECCA HARMS: "I WAS SHOCKED ABOUT THE WAY THE US AND GERMANY MADE A DEAL ON NORD STREAM 2"

The US-German agreement on the Nord Stream-2 pipeline increased doubts about the reliability of Ukrainian friends, said German Green Party politician, former MEP Rebecca Harms, in an interview with Natalia Richardson for Brussels Ukraïna Review. According to her, the Federal Network Agency should involve Ukraine, Poland and other countries in the procedures before the approval to operate. Mrs. Harms also shared her thoughts about the current challenges in Ukraine, lessons of the Maidan and possible further support of Germany.



**NATALIA RICHARDSON, JOURNALIST,
EDITOR AT BRUSSELS UKRAÏNA REVIEW**



The era of Angela Merkel as a German chancellor is nearly finished.. What can it mean for Ukraine?

From a European perspective and a perspective of a friend of Ukraine, I can say that the major topics, challenges and also positive ideas about the development of Ukraine will remain pretty much the same. The biggest challenge is the Russian occupation, and the never-ending war or war-like situation in Donbas. In this context, I liked the idea of the Crimea Platform. I very much hope that the decision by the President and the government of Ukraine to make it a bigger issue in Ukraine and in the world will be reflected in more support for Ukrainians, especially for Crimean Tatars living under Russian occupation and suffering from political persecution.

For Donbas, I think the last year brought more clarity to the fact that Ukraine cannot win alone against Russian aggression. How can international support be strengthened? This question existed last year, and it still will be relevant next year. The other internal big challenge is the reform process. So, when the EU and Ukraine signed the Association Agreement in 2014, I knew that the reforms agreed upon would not go fast and easy, but they are the only winding path to the future. I was sure that it would be a bumpy road for both sides of the agreement, that there would be challenges. Last year proved it again.

Actually, we have experienced the same since 2004: Ukraine makes one step forward, and at least half

a step back. Anti-corruption institutions are established, and Ukraine meanwhile has a perfect institutional framework - better than in other countries facing similar threats. But some of the same old powers in Ukraine manage to disturb or weaken the anti-corruption institutions. So, last year was a bit the same as the years before. But in late August-early September, I visited Kyiv after a long break, and after many meetings, at the Crimean summit or outside of it, I saw that progress still takes place, and positive change goes on.

Frau Harms, you are one of the most famous Western politicians in Ukraine. People know you as one of the active supporters of the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan, and you were there many times. What mistakes did Ukraine make after these revolutions? What lessons can we learn?

The Maidan had some core ideas that I will never forget. Ukrainians wanted their country to be a normal state, in which the citizens are all equal towards the law. They saw the association agreement as a way to get rule of law and a place in the EU. They wanted to escape the impact and political pressure from the Kremlin, Putin and his cronies. Putin decided to start a war against this strong will of Ukrainians to make the way to functioning democracy and establishing the rule of law as difficult as possible. This was against the backdrop of Putin's war, since the Maidan Ukrainians managed to achieve major progress for the reforms. I think Ukraine could be much more successful in re-

forms, for example, reforms of the judiciary. Establishing functioning institutions and creating a good framework against corruption would be much easier if the grip of the oligarchs on politics and industry and economy could be overcome. I'm convinced that we really need a better separation of interests and more transparency. People with the biggest financial interests have by far too much influence on politics in Ukraine.

On top of all these challenges, Ukraine also has a situation with the Nord Stream 2 pipeline that is practically finished. What can we do now? Is it still possible to stop or pause the Kremlin project?

Oh, yes and no. No, and yes. Also for me, as a member of the European Parliament, a European politician from Germany, it was a tough time. Some colleagues in the Green Party and I have been fighting for years against fossil fuel infrastructure projects. This pipeline is even more problematic not only in the context of global warming but also because it's increasing Gazprom's and Putin's negative influence on the EU. Nord Stream 2 is an instrument of power and a threat against Europe and especially against Ukraine. I was very disappointed that in Germany, our resistance against the project was never successful. During the last year, I was doubting more and more whether we can really stop it forever. But I had hoped that we could at least achieve a break, a pending situation, and not give Putin

this success finishing the pipeline as a new weapon against Ukraine. When this compromise was made in the United States, I was really surprised. Not about the fact that Washington also was looking for a compromise, but about the fact that it was so easy for the Germans to escape from the prepared US sanctions.

I felt devastated by the way the agreement was prepared and publicly communicated. It is an awful failure that two countries, very important friends for Ukraine - Germany and the United States - agreed, without involving Ukraine, without involving the president, the government and the parliament before going public.

I think this increased doubts about the reliability of the friends of Ukraine. I met many people who asked me whether Germans and Americans still take the Russian threat seriously.

So, it's a failure and a mistake. But Ukraine, nevertheless, should continue to try to have an impact. Poland asked to be included in the decision in the approval procedures, which are now in the hands of the Federal Network Agency. And I also think Ukraine should be involved to ensure full transparency and the full guarantee that the EU gas directive is respected. This is now the least that the Germans have to do also as Member State of the EU.



The Maidan had some core ideas that I will never forget. Ukrainians wanted their country to be a normal state, in which the citizens are all equal towards the law.

Can Germans give Ukraine more support also in the question of Donbas? Several months ago, during a conference with the Ukrainian Free University, you said that Ukraine must receive weapons from Germany for Donbas. It was quite surprising to hear it from a "green" politician. What are the chances that Berlin can give these weapons to Ukraine?

I think I'm in a minority position with this although one of the co-presidents of my party, Robert Habeck, visited Ukraine, and we discussed the issue before he travelled. At the frontline, he said Germany at least has to think about more robust support including weapons for defence. We know that there is a list of military equipment Ukraine wants to buy from Germany. The debate in Germany after the Ukraine visit of our party leader was not very successful. But at least the question of the lack of support is again on the political agenda, and we have to continue it. A new and connected issue is how Berlin in the next years will support NATO presence in the Black Sea if we refuse the delivery of vessels for Ukraine's navy.

This is one of the examples where I think the German position is doubtful because the



requirements of the Ukrainian Navy are quite obvious. We would have the means to support the better equipment of the Navy. But if we don't do it, then we, Germans, have to think about how to strengthen our or other NATO states' military presence in the whole Black Sea region. We have Bulgaria, we have Romania, and these would be the first countries I would think about. So, we could go on if Germany would still refuse to deliver directly. I am convinced that EU and NATO interests for security are very much the same as the Ukrainian interest especially in the Black Sea. It is good that the Crimea Platform was a reminder.

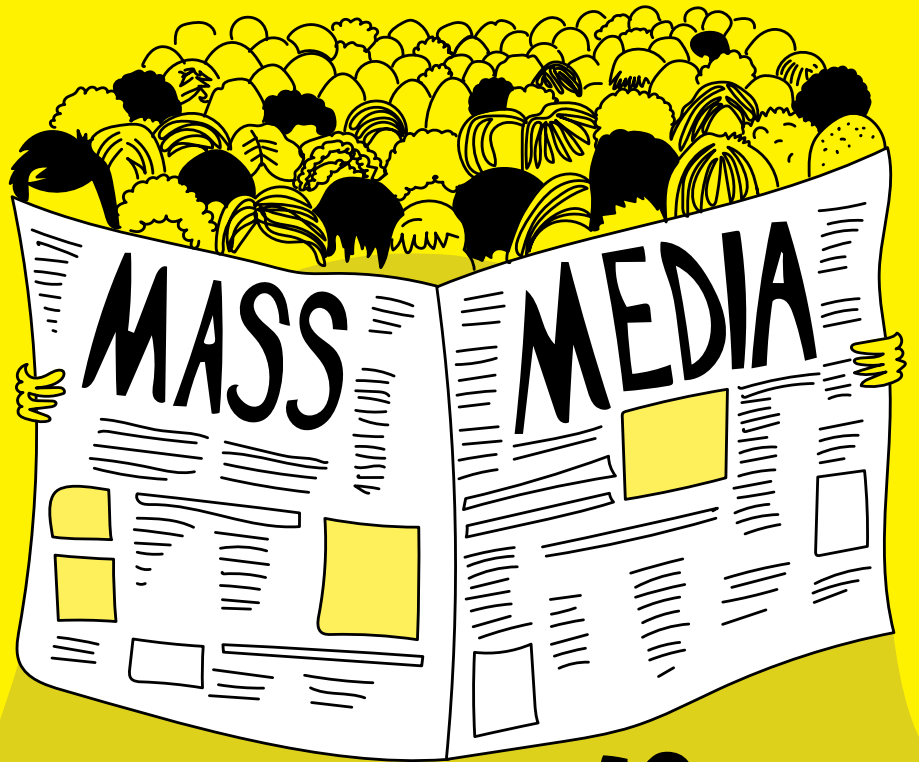


This was against the backdrop of Putin's war, since the Maidan Ukrainians managed to achieve major progress for the reforms. I think Ukraine could be much more successful in reforms, for example, reforms of the judiciary. Establishing functioning institutions and creating a good framework against corruption would be much easier if the grip of the oligarchs on politics and industry and economy could be overcome.

KREMLIN'S BALTIC MOUTHPIECE



INNA KRUPNYK, FREELANCE JOURNALIST, COMMENTATOR AND COPYWRITER. SHE HAS MORE THAN 15 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN MARKETING AND ADVERTISING BOTH AS A PART OF STAFF IN A SYSTEM COMPANY AND AS A FREELANCE MARKETING ENTREPRENEUR. SPHERES OF JOURNALISTIC INTEREST: NATIONAL REVIVAL, REFORMS, HISTORICAL PARALLELS, CULTURAL PROCESSES, MICROECONOMIC PROCESSES IN UKRAINE, GENDER EQUALITY. PARTICIPANT IN CONFERENCES, FORUMS AND SEMINARS IN MATTERS RELATED TO POLITICAL PROCESSES AND REFORMING THE ECONOMY



**MOUThPIECES
OF THE
KREMLIN**

The Kremlin has enough propaganda experience to advance its agenda, and sow chaos and disagreement, in conjunction with the techniques of media and psychological influence. Apart from Ukraine, which the Kremlin is trying most actively to keep in the orbit of the “Russian world”, the target audience of the Moscow media is European countries, especially the former Soviet Baltic republics: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia.

The Kremlin uses fakes to heat up mostly Russian-speaking people, receptive to Moscow’s propaganda, or national minorities. These are both residents of the region who identify themselves as ethnic Russians, and representatives of other minorities – Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles – who speak Russian as an everyday language. Most Moscowphiles live in Latvia – about 35% of the population. In Estonia, 29% of the population can be included in this target group. Only 6% of the population in Lithuania are ethnic Russians, but the percentage of all nationalities exposed to Russian media is estimated at 14-16%. With such an ethnic structure, the Russian language becomes a natural cultural link through which Russia can easily reach other sections of the Baltic population.

The main fakes about the Baltic states pile up around Russia’s strategic disinformation theses, tested over the years: the rampant Russophobia, the pressure on Russian speakers, the revival of fascism, the decline of European civilisation. They also try to manipulate the minds

and hearts of the pro-Russian population of the Baltic states through such postulates as “Europe has turned away from the Baltics,” “NATO is going to leave Lithuania and Latvia.” “Baltics should not be afraid of the Kremlin.”

The rubaltic.ru media platform has been one of the Kremlin’s main mouthpieces in the Baltic states since its launch in January 2013. It positions itself as an analytical and information portal, created on the initiative of scientists from Kaliningrad and Moscow who allegedly specialise in studying the socio-political processes of the Baltic region (the Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University). Thus, they demonstrate affiliation with the academic community and independent discourse as opposed to media explicitly funded from the federal budget (for example, Sputnik). It is easy to guess the real areas of research of such “scientists.” It is no coincidence that Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and even Poland have become the points of interest of rubaltic.ru as an analytical and DISinformation resource.

The portal traffic is quite high: more than 200,000 unique visitors per month, more than 415,000 views, 100,000 clicks. Geography of traffic is foreseeable: 52% – Russia; 22% – Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia; 11% – Ukraine and Belarus. At least 25 up-to-the-minute fakes, manipulative op-eds, and pro-Russian analytics appear on the portal every day. And all this is constantly updated in the news services of search engines. It is no coincidence that the op-eds, interviews, and running commentaries were chosen as the genres of rubaltic.ru content. Such genres, by definition, assume the most subjective approach to the presentation of material and allow rejection of any criticism of the objectivity of journalists. Since 2013, the editor-in-chief of the portal is Sergey Rekeda, who is actually the head of the Center for Study of Socio-Political Processes in the Post-Soviet Space, which operates at the Moscow University and works closely with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This fact reveals the close connection of the portal with the Russian federal authorities.

Rubaltic.ru takes the most aggressive attitude against Lithuania. Apart from manipulative analytics, the outlet does not hesitate to use derision, insults, emotional memes, openly false information and denial of official data. The Kremlin's aggressive rhetoric against the Baltic states is not new. But the beginning of Russian aggression in Ukraine in 2014 marked the intensification of the Kremlin's information warfare against the Baltic states. Western analysts have repeatedly drawn attention to security shortcomings, primarily drawbacks of information security, in the Baltic region and to media threats posed by the Kremlin.



The rubaltic.ru media platform has been one of the Kremlin's main mouthpieces in the Baltic states since its launch in January 2013. It positions itself as an analytical and information portal, created on the initiative of scientists from Kaliningrad and Moscow who allegedly specialise in studying the socio-political processes of the Baltic region.

Numerous newly-created TV programmes, websites, and Russian disinformation portals have outpaced the Baltic media market. In addition to aggressive media materials intended primarily for the Russian-speaking population of the region, the Russian Federation resorts to intelligence activities and military provocations.

One of the highlights in the rhetoric of rubaltic.ru is the accentuated demonstration of differences between the Baltic states themselves and between the Baltic states (as new EU members) and old Europe. The portal presents Balts as dependent recipients of aid from the United States, unable to build countries on their own. At one time, the dispute between Lithuania and Estonia over the synchronisation of power grids was covered as a serious conflict between the two countries over the distribution of EU funding. And the construction of Nord Stream 2 was portrayed as an attempt by the United States to destroy the common energy market of the EU and Russia. The Kremlin's experts have similarly hammered the Eastern Partnership programme, which was presented solely as an attempt by the West to drag countries historically linked to Russia (the Baltic states, Eastern Europe, and the Caucasus) to its sphere of influence.



A large portion of the portal's materials is dedicated to Ukraine. At some point, infamous journalist Andrei Babitsky (a former employee of Radio Liberty, a current employee of the separatist media in Ukraine, in particular, ukraine.ru portal) gave an interview for the portal in light of the launch of New Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's transmitter in Lithuania. According to Babitsky, Radio Liberty is a source of "Western mainstream propaganda that seeks to besmirch Russia," in which information pluralism allegedly exists in contrast to Europe. Babitsky and other authors often resort to historical fakes, presenting the times of the USSR as the only times of prosperity for the Baltic states, fueling differences between the countries (in particular, the issue of Poland's demand for reparations from Lithuania for lost Eastern border areas during World War II puffs up). In light of President Zelensky's recent visit to the United States, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov was quoted as saying that the United States "continues to turn Ukraine into an anti-Russia and Ukraine's possible accession to NATO is a direct threat to Russia's security."

Of course, the critical mass of the Baltic states' population, especially European youth, remains deaf to the Kremlin's mouthpieces. However, it is not worth waiting for the "soft" influence of Russia on the audience of these countries to stop. This is so far the only available form of Russian aggression in this territory. The ability to stop the spread of this aggression depends on the strength of the European information society.

Numerous newly-created TV programmes, websites, and Russian disinformation portals have outpaced the Baltic media market. In addition to aggressive media materials intended primarily for the Russian-speaking population of the region, the Russian Federation resorts to intelligence activities and military provocations.

KREMLIN'S CULTURAL MOUTHPIECE

Russia, as a growing revisionist state, will continue to be a destroyer of the world order based on Western values. Russia's global economic influence will weaken in the long run amid many political, economic, and social changes in the country itself, but the Kremlin will keep making efforts to shatter and destabilise the world and spread fake information.

The sphere of culture is one of the most popular areas of the Kremlin's propaganda. The first and foremost reason for that is the excellent opportunity to communicate the message cultivated over the years about "the difference between Russia's cultural identity and the global context." Another point of emphasis is that "the world does not understand the peculiarities of the Russian soul."

Russia Beyond (RB) outlet does not trail far behind among the megaphones of cultural greatness and differences of Moscow. Formerly known as Russia Beyond The Headlines (from its launch in 2007 to September 2017), RB is a Russian multilingual project (14 language versions) run by the non-profit news agency TV-Novosti, founded by the Russian state news agency RIA Novosti. Russia Beyond is rather an aggregator that offers readers news, comments, opinions, and analysis of culture, politics, business, science, and social life in Russia prepared by "professional journalists who

are passionate and knowledgeable about the country." reads the outlet's profile on LinkedIn.com. Russia Beyond The Headlines was launched in 2007 by **Rossiyskaya Gazeta**, one of the most popular media outlets of the Russian federal government. This fact is important to understand in what context, what presentation, and through what funding RB works as the "cultural" mouthpiece.

RB's declared mission is to "promote a better understanding of Russia in the world, be it ordinary citizens, civil servants, public opinion experts or entrepreneurs." To achieve this goal, the outlet does not just cover cultural life but rather presents innovative reviews and analytical materials about life in Russia. The emphasis in almost all materials is laid on the fact that Russia is a country difficult for foreigners to understand, undergoing a stage of transformation, and "is still coming to terms with its long (sometimes painful, sometimes bizarre) history, which cannot be understood in the context of stereotypes disseminated in the West."

First of all, RB aims to present the Kremlin's revisionist intentions and aspirations in a beautiful "cultural" wrapper, so that this candy is undoubtedly consumed by a tolerant Western society. Here you will be offered the recipes of Russian dishes: borscht stolen from Ukrainian cuisine or Siberian dumplings. You will be encouraged to assess the greatness of Peter I against

the background of Ukrainian "traitor" Mazepa and other military victories of Russian weapons or to flip through the list of the 100 best Russian artists, many of whom are of Ukrainian descent. All the articles are of purely cultural content, without any politics. Almost all material is presented in the context of common cultures, fraternal peoples of multinational Russia, common 300-year history, etc.

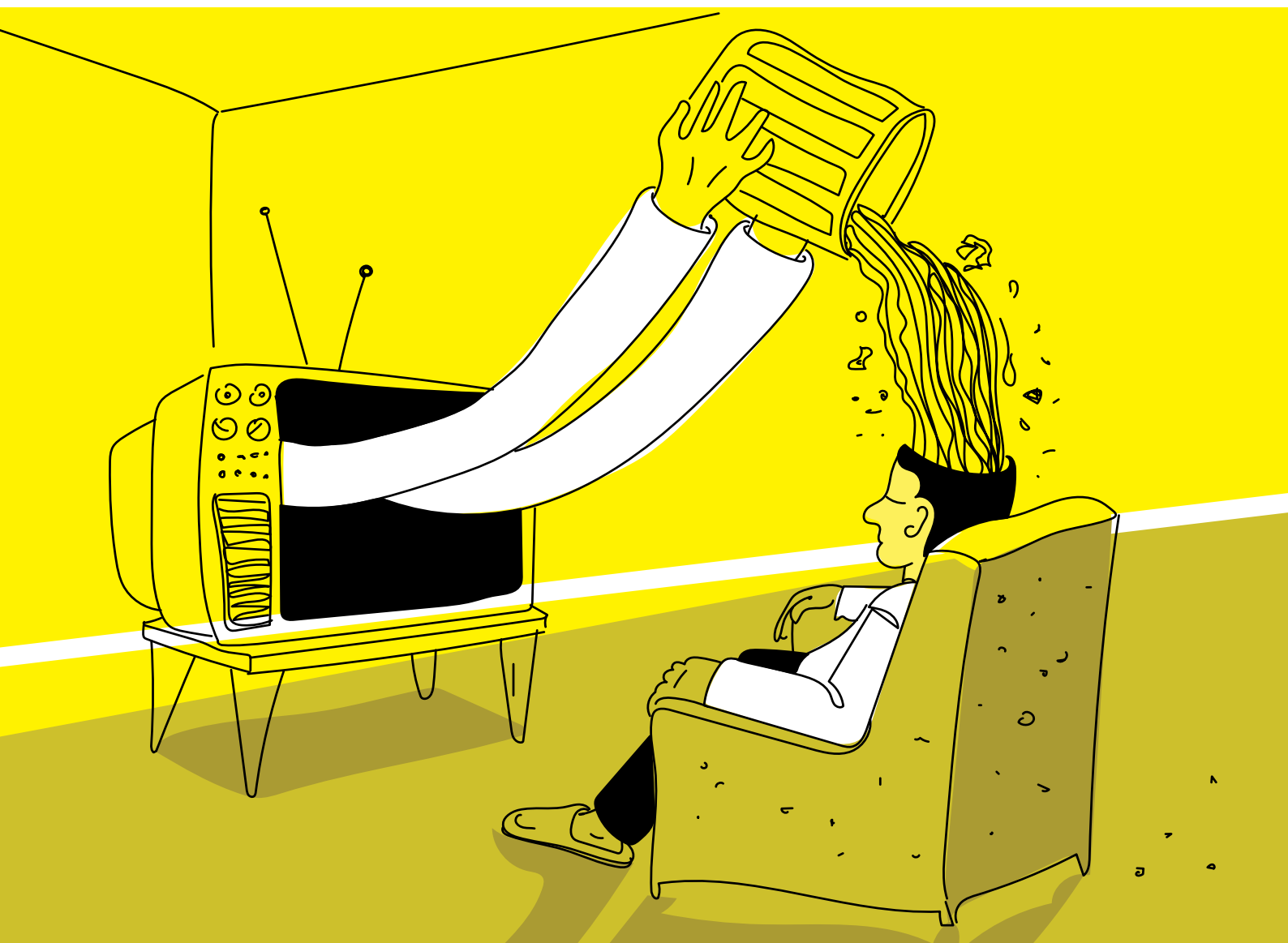
In 2014-2017, journalists of independent Western media outlets repeatedly blamed RB for outright propaganda, not to mention disinformation veiled in the cultural context. Roy Green-slade, the media commentator for **The Guardian**, did so in 2014, and former **Slate** journalist Jack Schaefer – in 2017. The materials claim that RB paid many people in Europe for distributing and republishing their articles: the **London Daily Telegraph**, **Le Figaro** in France, the **Sued-deutsche Zeitung** in Germany, and the Italian daily **La Repubblica**. In the US, RB collaborated with **The Washington Post** until 2015. Russia Beyond materials were most often distributed as inserts in these newspapers. In particular, **The Wall Street Journal** and **The New York Times** published the Russia Beyond insert regularly in 2018. According to journalists, Russia Beyond the Headlines paid the **Daily Telegraph** £40,000 a month for distribution over the weekend, and the Daily Telegraph website released content from the RBTH website.

The monthly Russian-themed insert first appeared in **The Daily Telegraph** and the **Washington Post** under the title “Russia Now” back in 2007. After the downing of MH17 in Donetsk region in 2014, the **Daily Telegraph** was severely criticised for publishing paid-for, pro-Russian materials denying Russia’s involvement in the tragedy. Many European media outlets provided evidence that the outlet received £900,000 a year for republishing the materials of Russia Beyond the Headlines. Republication of an article by BBC journalist John Simpson later appeared in the travel section of the same outlet. In his article “John Simpson: Crimea’s charms uncovered,” the author called on Britons to visit Crimea

in violation of Ukrainian law, emphasising that it is possible to get to Crimea and enjoy its beauties, which flourished during the Russian occupation, only from the territory of Russia. Simpson’s article and appeals drew the fire of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and **The Economist** editor Edward Lucas.

In general, the independent Western journalists often hammered the position of the Telegraph Media Group (whose flagship newspaper is the **Daily Telegraph**) for its double standards. On the one hand, there was harsh criticism of the Putin regime and calls for tougher sanctions against Russia, especially after the downing of

MH17. On the other hand, the editorial staff had a long-term contract with RB (or rather with the owner of this outlet – the **Rossiyskaya Gazeta** governmental newspaper) to publish the RB insert with articles about the Russian community in London and other manifestations of Russian culture.



MARIA MEZENTSEVA, HEAD OF PERMANENT DELEGATION OF VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE TO PACE: "WE REMAIN AN OUTPOST OF UKRAINIAN INTERESTS"

UKRAINE AND THE SCOURGE OF EUROPE

Despite all the obstacles on the part of aggressive Russia, which defiantly rejects all European values, Ukraine is confidently walking the path of European integration. In particular, our country is represented in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. At this platform, Ukraine is constantly raising topical issues related to the temporary occupation of Crimea, the loss of control over its territories in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the murder of human rights defenders and much more.

In January, the Ukrainian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe was headed by Maria Mezentseva. In an interview with Kateryna Bratko for the **Brussels Ukraïna Review** journal, she spoke about the adoption of the resolution "Human rights violations committed against Crimean Tatars in Crimea," which is extremely

important for Ukraine. Also, with the proactive participation of our delegation, our country has finally ratified the Protocol on Ukraine's accession to the Pompidou Group of the Council of Europe, an international initiative to combat drug abuse.





**KATERYNA BRATKO,
FREELANCE
JOURNALIST, OBSERVER,
INTERVIEWER WITH
MORE THAN 15 YEARS
OF EXPERIENCE IN
JOURNALISM. AREA OF
EXPERTISE: INTERVIEWS
WITH POLITICIANS,
HIGH-RANKING
OFFICIALS, OPINION
LEADERS, EXPERTS,
ATHLETES**

Ms. Mezentseva, you are the head of the Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada to the PACE and you are in favour of changing the approaches and strategies of Ukraine. How do you see them in such a difficult time for our country?

We must clearly realise that temporary occupation, loss of control over our territories, and killing of defenders are our sore points. Therefore, it may seem that Ukraine raises only the issue of punishing Russia. In fact, this is not the case. The issue of Russia is a matter of the values and foundations of the Council of Europe, which has been daringly undermined over the past 70 years. It is also a matter of promoting democracy and human rights, vaccination and the environment,

sustainable development and displaced persons. That is, there are many problems that are relevant to us.

One of the promising tracks in the works may be the issue of gender equality. In order to complement a number of Ukrainian achievements in this area, a campaign for ratification in the parliament of the Istanbul Convention of the Council of Europe, signed in 2011, will be held. We have already held a number of initiatives, round tables, negotiations, and so on.

Our delegation is also reviewing a number of initiated, but not completed, initiatives. Therefore, with the proactive participation of our delegation, Ukraine has finally ratified the Protocol on Ukraine's accession to the Pompidou Group of the Council of Europe, an international initiative to combat drug abuse.

The participation of Ukrainian experts in the work of the Group will facilitate the creation and implementation of programmes for addiction treatment, care and rehabilitation of people with substance abuse disorders, as well as the exchange of information on trends in drug trafficking and use. I will only add that Ukraine has been working on completing the procedure for joining this institution for almost 10 years, and we have succeeded.

How would you describe Ukraine's new approach to working in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in the fight against Russia?

Russia was "returned" to the PACE for dialogue, as we all remember, but this is not happening. Instead, Moscow claims through its representatives that it thumbs its nose at the opinion of this internationally respected institution, in fact, the first pan-European parliamentary assembly in the post-war period. Therefore, the main thing for us

is to constantly keep the issue of Crimea and Russian aggression on the agenda. We remain at the outpost of Ukrainian interests. The resumption of contacts with the Russian Federation, as well as attempts to establish cooperation, as they claim, is possible only after the return of all occupied territories to Ukraine, demilitarisation, and payment of fair compensation.

Separately, I would like to note that almost every statement addressed to them, to which each of the parliamentarians is entitled, is considered "offensive" and is disputed by representatives of the Russian delegation. In other words, they write "slander" and "denunciations" against members of the Ukrainian delegation. We are trying to respond to this with reasonable methods, but the last time, when the head of the Russian delegation, Petr Tolstoi, allowed himself to declare that all Ukrainians who disagree with their position and have patriotic sentiments "should be hung on lanterns" we, according to the Code of Conduct for members of the Parliamentary Assembly, sent a relevant, thoroughly legally worked out complaint to the President of the Assembly. It is currently being considered.

So, what are the main messages the Ukrainian delegation intends to convey to the PACE?

The main message is our proactive foundation: Ukraine is for the Council of Europe and the PACE, and not vice versa. The Russian Federation was "returned" to the PACE for the sole purpose of conducting a dialogue and trying to persuade it to adhere to the basic values enshrined in the Statute of the Council of Europe (Article 3). However, their cynicism lies in the fact that they do not cooperate with the Assembly and the problems covered by monitoring are not resolved. Instead, they believe that their restoration of rights is permanent, and they celebrate it.

Relations with Russia are the pain of the Ukrainian people. What results has our delegation to the PACE already achieved in this direction?

The most important thing we succeeded with in the last session was the adoption of the resolution “Human rights violations committed against Crimean Tatars in Crimea”. The Ukrainian delegation has done an incredible job of consolidating support for this issue among European parliamentarians and received it. The resolution says that since 2014, Russia has been temporarily occupying Crimea, which is part of the territory of Ukraine. Crimean Tatars experience serious violations of their rights; face killings, torture, and inhuman treatment. The work of journalists and the freedom of speech and assembly are unjustifiably restricted.

The document reaffirms that the international community does not recognise the attempted annexation of Crimea, and that Russia must be held accountable for gross mass human rights violations committed in the territory under its de facto control.

Cooperation with Belgium is also important for Ukraine. Maybe we need to remind Europe about the occupation of part of our territory more often?

As Co-Chair of the Parliamentary Friendship Group with Belgium, I would like to note that our relations are at a high level.

Belgium supports Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, as well as its path to European integration. Since the beginning of Rus-

sia's military aggression against Ukraine on 23 February 2014 and the subsequent occupation of part of Ukrainian territory, Belgium has consistently supported all phases of restrictive measures imposed by the European Union on Russia. Belgium provides humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons in Ukraine and participates in the financing of the UN Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine. Their representatives work in the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission.

Recently, with our active participation, Ukraine and the Kingdom of Belgium signed a memorandum of understanding on the protection and reproduction of water and the rational use of water resources.

With this document, the Belgian side confirms its readiness to transfer the Belgica research vessel to Ukraine free of charge. The 1984 vessel is in good condition and has unique, built-in equipment such as high-precision echosounders. The memorandum provides for strengthening cooperation between Ukrainian and Belgian scientists on the joint study of the Black Sea, in particular the problem of raising the level of hydrogen sulfide. At the same time, the Belgian side invites Ukrainian experts to join the research work in the North Sea.

We also have ideas for strengthening cultural cooperation between our countries.

Angela Merkel has stepped down as chancellor. Do you think that relations between Germany and Ukraine will require transformation in this regard?

Germany really wants to see a stable, democratic and economically successful Ukraine, which is why their government has given us such a high level of support. Since 2014, Germany has provided Ukraine with a total of more than EUR 1.8 billion. This country is one of our most important trade and investment partners. They are the second largest supplier of Ukrainian imports and a key market for our exports.

After leaving the political life of such an important figure as Angela Merkel, who ruled one of the most powerful EU countries for 16 years, I believe that Ukraine should build harmonious relations with all its possible successors now and clarify its position on controversial issues to them. The focus of this reorientation must be more decisive than deepening Ukrainian relations, not only with the German government but also with a large political elite, industrial companies, and civil society. Also very revealing in this regard is a quote from a very important study conducted by Ukrainian analysts from the New Europe Centre: “The first step would be to audit the existing toolkit, i.e. to assess and possibly update the tools, frameworks or sectors related to Kyiv's assistance received from Germany since 2014. The second recommendation would be to establish a high-level communication platform to maintain a permanent political dialogue on many aspects of the relationship.”

Recently, you, together with delegates from different European countries, visited Kherson, Crimean entry/exit checkpoints, met with the families of Crimean Tatars and internally displaced persons. What conclusions did the delegates make after this visit?

The main thing is that our international colleagues, both for themselves and for the whole world, have reaffirmed: Crimea is Ukraine. They visited two checkpoints. They saw that since 2019, the Ukrainian authorities have

been able to build a modern Administrative Services Centre, providing more than 70 digitalised services, assessed the process of crossing, because now the Kalan-chak entry/exit checkpoint can serve 2,500 people per day. They once again realised that this is the only legal way to Crimea, which can also be done by Commissioner for Human Rights in the Council of Europe Dunja Mijatović. Although we have been hearing about the obstacle on the part of Russia for two years, the crossing is completely open and she could have seen with her own eyes the flagrant violations of human rights on the peninsula. We are upset that this is not happening.

It was very important for our colleagues to communicate with journalists, representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, and students from the peninsula who study on the mainland. Everything they heard is already contained in the June resolution. That is completely true!

What impressed them the most?

Probably, the guests were most impressed by the personal stories of the Crimean people. They listened to them with bated breath. Let me remind you that after the occupation of Crimea by Russia, the security forces regularly carry out searches on the peninsula and detain activists and journalists. The invaders are especially aggressive towards members of the Mejlis, which is considered a banned organisation. People are very often accused of a fictitious article on terrorism, which the occupation authorities have made synonymous with freedom of thought, expression, use of their native language, and the like.

So, they got the emotions. They heard that Crimea lacks information about what is happening in Ukraine and in the world in general. We remembered once again how it all began.

It was very important to attend the Crimea Platform forum together with the presidents, ministers, and dignitaries.

Kyiv has already hosted the largest international event since Ukraine's independence, the Crimea Platform forum, despite the fact that Russia has repeatedly protested against it being held. This is not surprising, because the forum discussed ways to return the peninsula annexed by Russia. What results have been achieved at this forum?

The official launch of the Crimea Platform was a historic and important day. The Verkhovna Rada finally passed important bills "On Indigenous Peoples" and repealed the discriminatory law "On the Crimea Free Economic Zone," which also aroused a wave of emotions in Russia and beyond.

The international community has loudly stated that no one will put up with the established order

on the peninsula and that Russia is the only one responsible for the occupation. This was evidenced by the powerful statements of delegates from 46 countries at four discussion panels, and the work will continue in the following areas: strengthening the international policy of non-recognition of Crimea; imposition of sanctions; counteracting human rights violations; ensuring the safety and freedom of navigation; and overcoming the economic and environmental consequences of the occupation, because the nature of the peninsula is simply being destroyed.

The Crimea Platform Telegram channel has even been created to inform more widely about all achievements, plans and opportunities. We should not forget about the most important humanitarian aspect and the large number of those illegally imprisoned in Crimea, missing persons and those awaiting the verdicts of Russian courts. All these stories have specific names. Human rights activists and lawyers are working with them and, of course, we all hope that they will be released soon!



The pandemic has made adjustments in everyone's life. What have you had to change in your life?

You know, being sick with the Delta coronavirus right now and having a little more time for sleep, books, in general for myself, I was once again convinced that health is the main thing, and if you don't take care of yourself, nobody else will! The coronavirus has changed the life of the planet. Whenever we plan a trip or a large-scale international conference, the first thing we think about is restrictions. The world has definitely changed and we need to get used to the new reality. For me, the beginning of the pandemic was a time of manifestation of humanity, well-coordinated teamwork (when we were looking for the first ventilators, oxygen stations, masks and gloves), and total control of our actions. As for the Verkhovna Rada, we have more time for work.



Ukraine's relations with Belarus are also difficult. Do our country's diplomatic relations with this neighbour, which so actively supports aggressive Russia, require a revision?

We are trying to be active on this issue in the international arena, like in the PACE, for example. It was our delegation that actively promoted several resolutions on Belarus, as well as the creation of a special commission on events observed since the presidential election, and, after the forced landing of the Ryanair plane with the activist Roman Protasevich on board last May, participated in the debate on this topic, and actively promoted amendments to the files. The delegation even had a conversation with Ms. Tsikhanouskaya. The revision of relations is definitely needed. A real humanitarian catastrophe is ripe in Belarus, which has already caused waves of migration to the Baltic states and Poland. We will discuss this at the next PACE session. I would also say that Russia has found a haven for

military exercises, various tactical plans, and potential control over a wider part of the border with Ukraine via Belarus, so we need to keep our finger on the pulse.





**Business
Woman
Club**

Жінка може все!

www.businesswomanclub.org

+38 (050)-663-01-32

IN THE DARK.

HOW DO CADLR

IN THE DARK.

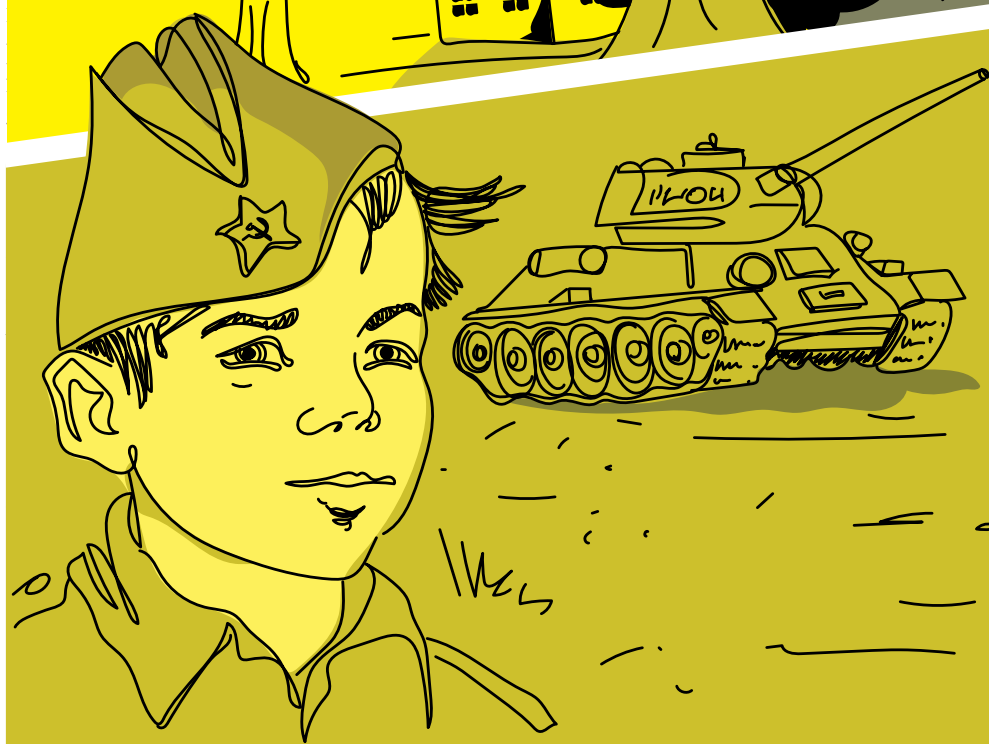
HOW DO CADLR

RESIDENTS SURVIVE?



**STEPAN NAZARENKO,
UKRAINIAN
JOURNALIST,
PUBLICIST,
VOLUNTEER**

PEOPLE
FOR THE
WAR



The occupied Donbas is a sort of a time machine. Since 2014, the region has rolled back either to Soviet times or the early 1990s. On the one hand, it sees reprisals, censorship, intimidation through controlled media, pathetic paraphernalia, children in pioneer ties; on the other is mass unemployment, the shutdown of factories and mines, wage arrears, and rampant crime. Curfews in Donetsk and Luhansk were lifted only this June. At the same time, conscription into the “army” was announced. Until now, the service in the ranks of the so-called militia was voluntary. Now, the locals will be drafted, although the leaders of the militants promise that recruits will not be sent to the front. Few believe it.

It is difficult to find out the real state of affairs in CADLR [certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions]: all local media are engaged in propaganda, local public pages often disseminate fakes and panic sentiments. People living under the occupation are very reluctant to talk about their lives, especially to Ukrainian journalists. However, we managed to communicate with a few locals.

Alevtyna, 55, Donetsk: “I was born and live in the Donetsk region. I tried to leave the city several times when the war started. But my mother and I have two apartments that need to be taken care of. Otherwise, they will be taken away or looted. Mom is 86 years old. She drew a pension in Ukraine but did not go there for the last two years, so the money probably is still on her account. She also receives a pension from the ‘DPR.’” Housing is one of the most important arguments for people who have decided to stay in the self-proclaimed republics. According to online sites, a two-room apartment in Donetsk now

costs \$12,000-16,000, the prices in Luhansk are roughly the same. In Dnipro, a similar flat is twice or thrice as expensive.

Today it is difficult to name the exact number of people living in the occupied Donbas. According to a study conducted in October 2017 by the Delovaya Stolitsa media outlet, jointly with the Centre for Russian Studies, from 2.6 million to 3.7 million people live in CADLR (before the war, 3.9 million people lived in the two regions). The region’s demographics definitely changed. On the one hand, many people left their homes due to hostilities and moved deep into Ukraine or chose Russia as their place of refuge. At the same time, various functionaries, military personnel, and “volunteers” who had come to fight for the “LPR-DPR” moved from the Russian Federation to the occupied Donbas. Alevtyna says: “Many new men have appeared. There are new families in the yards, children. They speak Russian, but not the way we are accustomed to. There are some new holidays, which are rather scary. Some strung-up people walk, they shout something, put forward some slogans.”

Varvara from Luhansk, 47: “Luhansk has always been a rather orthodox city for me, a city where changes do not happen often, and radical changes happen even less often. But even judging by our street, a lot of changes happened and we’ve got used to that. The neighbours opposite finally sold their house because they do not plan to return here from Kyiv where they have lived for the past seven years. This means that we will have new neighbours who, like us, do not plan radical life changes, only changing their homes, considering that their state is a “republic” – a strange geographical di-

mension, which the whole world takes in quotation marks. Then, to our right, a neighbour from Tyumen, where she has lived for the past seven years, arrived for the summer. For her, Luhansk is a city where she spends her holidays. Next to her is another neighbour who returned to her parents from Lviv for the summer. She often uses Ukrainian words, but our street as well as the city as a whole has a tolerant attitude. Such is life. ‘Our Lviv guest’ will take parcels from us to deliver to relatives in Ukraine. When you see this geography of the new cities of your recent neighbours, you wonder why this war is waged. Almost every family has children who have gone all over the world but they return to their old parents’ houses, speak a mixed Ukrainian and Russian, compare the prices for a new life, and together raise glasses for a meeting and a common childhood on our old and quiet street.”

Against the background of relative calm on the front, the pandemic and healthcare became the main topic both in the occupied Donbas and the rest of Ukraine. Anton from Khartsyzsk: “What scares me the most now is the risk of contracting COVID-19. And also a pension, which I have not received in Ukraine since 2016.”

Alevtyna: “We have a problem with healthcare. Authorities brag about free treatment for those who live in Ukraine, but, in fact, they do not treat even locals. A neighbour went to Kirovohrad for surgery. It seems that this city is now called something different [Kropyvnytskyi]. Many had the coronavirus, but doctors diagnosed ‘pneumonia’ and performed no tests.”

The dire healthcare situation is something that human rights activists who monitor the situation in Donbas constantly draw attention to.

There are no objective statistics on the COVID-19 rate in CADLR. Locals receive exclusively Russian Sputnik vaccine jabs. At the end of July, the Russian Federation delivered Sputnik Life, a type of vaccine that is not recommended for people aged 60 and over, to the occupied Donbas. Moreover, the pandemic led to the closure of entry-exit checkpoints. Under the pretext of the pandemic, the militants effectively blocked residents of the occupied territories from entering Kyiv-controlled territory. The only option for residents of self-proclaimed republics is to enter Ukraine through Russian territory (through the Ukraine-controlled border area).

Reasons for entry are: return to the place of residence of Ukrainians and members of their families, family reunification, serious illness, death of close relatives, need for medicines and medical devices or treatment for serious and/or chronic diseases, departure from the temporarily occupied territory for permanent or temporary residence in another country or need to arrive there to inherit property, entry of parents with children under 16 to draw up identity documents and proof of citizenship of Ukraine for children, as well as entry of entrants to pass external, independent tests.

When the checkpoints were open, there was a lively movement: many elderly people went to the controlled area to receive pensions, on "shopping tours" to buy goods that are scarce in the "republics," to meet with relatives, or undergo treatment. This "border movement" gave rise to many new "professions" such as people selling queue positions, people carrying goods through checkpoints (dividing luggage by the number of kilograms allowed by militants), people providing currency exchange or withdrawing money from Ukrainian bank

cards. All this simple business ceased to exist with the closure of checkpoints, so it became even harder for the occupied Donbas inhabitants to survive.

The assets of local pensioners, "militia members," and employees of occupation administrations can be called relatively stable. These so-called state employees receive small (several hundred dollars' worth) but guaranteed payments, which in turn are possible, thanks to subsidies provided by Russia to support CADLR. As for the rest of the working population, the situation is uncertain, if not critical. Most industries are either shut down or operate intermittently and therefore have significant wage arrears. **Anton from Khartsyzsk** describes the situation in the city as follows: "*The wage arrears at the rope factory today totals RUB 400 million [UAH 144 million]. Khartsyzsk pipe works, which once employed 4,000 residents of our town, belonged to Rinat Akhmetov before the war and has not worked for two years. Its workers massively left for Russia to find a job at similar enterprises.*"

Mass closure of enterprises results in social collapse. As Denys Kazansky, a well-known Ukrainian blogger and journalist, highlighted in his investigation, mines are flooded in the town of Krasnyi Luch (named Khrustalny after de-Sovietisation), which meant complete de-industrialisation and, consequently, a mass exodus of the population that has already halved since the war. Occasionally, spontaneous strikes break out at dying enterprises: workers demand payment of wages. So, in recent years, protests have erupted in Antratsyt, Krasnodon (now Sorokine - ed.), Alchevsk, and other towns. The occupation authorities react differently to the strikes: either disperse the protesters by force as in Krasnodon, or allocate funds from Russian subsidies at a critical moment.



It is difficult to find out the real state of affairs in CADLR [certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions]: all local media are engaged in propaganda, local public pages often disseminate fakes and panic sentiments. People living under the occupation are very reluctant to talk about their lives, especially to Ukrainian journalists. However, we managed to communicate with a few locals.

Document management is another source of major concern for the residents of the occupied Donbas. Some locals may have three passports: Ukrainian (since pre-war times), of a “citizen” of “DPR” or “LPR”, as well as Russian, which is strongly encouraged here. According to the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine, Russia already has issued 630,000 passports in Donbas. Elections to the Russian State Duma took place in September, in which CADLR residents also took part. However, not everyone is in a hurry to become Russian citizens: the so-called state employees are forced to do so in the first place. Those who live outside this system avoid this “passportisation.”

Alevtyna: “We are not interested in politics. Maybe we will manage to live peacefully somehow, although poorly, of course. We did not receive Russian passports. My mother only received a ‘passport’ of ‘DPR.’ But the Ukrainian one was not taken away. My boss at work does not require [that I get Russian or ‘DPR’ passport], and I do not look for it.”

Passports are not the only problem. Varvara from Luhansk says: “One of the most discussed topics in the city is the requirement to obtain new ‘republican’ driver’s licenses. Old Ukrainian plastic certificates will be fined from 26 December. And this is a dilemma: to get a new certificate almost without problems in the ‘republic’ or to go to Ukraine to resolve the issue there. It is said that the new Ukrainian certificates will be valid after 26 December. But it may be a rumour.” Anton from Khartsyzsk says that having a car with Ukrainian license plates in his town is simply risky, and it is better to put the “republican” plate.

The residents of Donbas, with whom we managed to communicate, mainly touch upon social issues, saying little about security. They think little about prospects and talk about them even less often. **Alevtyna from Donetsk:** “At first, life in the city was unbearable: there were some gangs, people and cars were kidnapped and stolen, some bacchanalia... Now everything is like in the USSR: party meetings, recently some kind of joint physical exercises were arranged in a park. I’m not interested in that... I read news about Ukraine on the Internet, and here they are trying to instil hatred with some noise. But people believe in that. I do not believe, but I find it hard to imagine that we will ever become one country. People are tired of all this. It seems to me that it was easier in the 1990s. Now the time has stopped and that’s it. We won’t be able to change anything, and young people have to leave.”





TO START FROM SCRATCH: BUSINESS STORIES OF IDPS



INNA KRUPNYK, FREELANCE JOURNALIST, COMMENTATOR AND COPYWRITER. SHE HAS MORE THAN 15 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN MARKETING AND ADVERTISING BOTH AS A PART OF STAFF IN A SYSTEM COMPANY AND AS A FREELANCE MARKETING ENTREPRENEUR. SPHERES OF JOURNALISTIC INTEREST: NATIONAL REVIVAL, REFORMS, HISTORICAL PARALLELS, CULTURAL PROCESSES, MICROECONOMIC PROCESSES IN UKRAINE, GENDER EQUALITY. PARTICIPANT IN CONFERENCES, FORUMS AND SEMINARS IN MATTERS RELATED TO POLITICAL PROCESSES AND REFORMING THE ECONOMY

Business speaks the language of numbers. Life speaks the language of human stories. In particular, the stories of internally displaced persons (IDPs). In recent years, the world has seen tectonic shifts in forced displacement. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the number of IDPs today almost equals the size of the population of such countries as Colombia or Spain, South Africa or South Korea (about 40-50 million people). Outside the most critical region – the Middle East (Yemen, Iraq, Syria) – Ukraine made the list of countries with the largest number of internally displaced persons.

As of 6 July 2021, according to the Unified Information Database on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 1,473,650 IDPs from the temporarily occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea were registered in Ukraine. The highest dynamics of IDP registration was recorded in 2015 (up to 942,000 people). These are only registered IDPs. Their actual number may be higher.

According to the Vostok SOS Charity Foundation, the Concept of the State Targeted Programme for Restoration and Peacebuilding in Eastern Regions of Ukraine, approved in 2016, does not solve many problems of IDPs, including the exercise of the right to participate in elections and the right to free temporary accommodation, regulation of the movement of people across the line of contact, and

compensation for the value of destroyed housing or property. At the same time, the state paid IDPs UAH 252.5 million in financial aid to cover living expenses, housing and communal services (June 2021).

The second most important problem for IDPs after obtaining their housing is the problem of employment. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), “employment is a crucial problem for IDPs as only 35% of people, who moved, have found a job in a new place. People, whose enterprises were completely transferred to the territories controlled by Ukraine (banks, large retail chains, educational or medical institutions), had the least problems with employment”. According to IOM, since the onset of the occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the start of the Anti-Terrorist Operation in eastern Ukraine, 69,600 people have applied for assistance in employment. At the same time, less than 30% of IDPs have been employed. In June 2020, the share of employed IDPs was 46% among all IOM respondents. Out of 46% of employed IDPs, 2% were self-employed or entrepreneurs.

The most active, highly educated and qualified share of able-bodied people left the zone of temporary occupation. During the resettlement, they relied on their abilities, not only on the state. They did not sit idly by but started their own business, often by taking advantage of grant support. And now, they can share their own business experience.

That’s what **Oleh Bozhko, 48**, did. In December 2014, he and his family left occupied Alchevsk (Luhansk region) and moved to a village near Kyiv. Landscape design and gardening were his life’s work. They moved in off-season December, so there was nothing to do for several weeks. The family’s savings and a small financial reward for helping other families of IDPs to move from Alchevsk to the Kyiv region helped them to survive without income. In January 2015, Oleh began to “patrol” the surrounding villages in search of orders, to offer winter tree-trimming services. After a brief silence, he started to receive phone calls. Oleh began to fulfil orders for trimming, planting, and, later, complex landscaping of houses and gardens. The main tool of business marketing at that time was (and remains now) the so-called word of mouth – recommendations from grateful customers. Before moving, Oleh had four



Oleh Bozhko



Svitlana Oleynikova

landscaping workers who quit with the start of hostilities.

Oleh has never applied for grants, relying in the development of his small business entirely by his efforts, demand for landscaping services, and business success in a new place. He even paid off in full the bad tax debt, which could be written off due to the beginning of the Anti-Terrorist Operation in eastern Ukraine.

For the first four years, Oleh worked on his own. Only five clients' estates were under Oleh's gardening care. This brought a monthly income of UAH 10,000. As the number of customers was growing, the issue of attracting new employees arose. *"And my thought immediately ran upon young guys from Alchevsk, who might still have stayed there. It was fundamental for me to try to get at least a few more young people out of the occupation who were born in independent Ukraine and for whom the occupation came as a shock. I managed to transfer and invite several guys from Alchevsk to work. I believe that my small business became a kind of springboard*

for their careers, and Ukrainian passports are not just a piece of paper," Bozhko, already a resident of Kyiv, modestly states. Oleh considers himself not so much a businessman as a self-employed person who will find a job that will feed and make provision in any circumstances. He calls his experience a kind of belated test of humanity, an ability to start from scratch, and his own identity. During these years, Oleh only once risked going to his parents, who stayed in occupied Alchevsk. Once, in the summer of 2014, before moving, he was summoned for questioning by the administration of the self-proclaimed "Luhansk People's Republic" because of an incident when journalists of the Ukrayinska Pravda online media outlet had been hiding in his office during the battles for Debaltseve. Oleh did not want to be summoned anymore, so he left the past in the past and moved.

"I was made certain once again that I can start my landscaping business anywhere. Well, except for Mars or the Moon," Oleh jokes. Now, the income of his family from the family business, with the eloquent name Green Terra, has reached UAH 40,000 without taking into account the salaries of hired professionals and tax payments. Oleh is more concerned with ensuring that customer service is provided in a quality and timely manner, not with scaling the business. *"Don't get too carried away with someone else's success stories, small or big. Always assess your strengths and capabilities before starting a business. Set yourself up to the difficulties. This will make it easier to perceive them,"* Bozhko advises beginners.

The largest number of grant programs for IDPs in Ukraine has been implemented with the support of IOM and its territorial offices in the regions of Ukraine. The peak of grants provided fell in 2015-2016. **Svitlana Oleynikova, 41**, head of NGO "International Agency for Change," shares her personal experience. In the summer of 2014, Svitlana left not only her occupied native Torez (since 2016, Chystiakove, Donetsk region) but also several successful businesses, including a mini English school.

In Kyiv, in July 2014, she started working for Crimea SOS, a non-governmental human rights organisation that provides social and integration support to IDPs. It was Svitlana who in those turbulent times was in the "grant" movement for entrepreneurs from the occupied territories. She helped to get financial assistance for the development of business within the activities of Crimea SOS. Svitlana gained experience in fundraising as a way to attract financial and other resources for business projects before the occupation by assisting her community. She helped to start 150 mini businesses. Later, this experience and deep mastering of fundraising in Kyiv resulted in several business areas: consulting assistance and training on obtaining grant funding "Synergy development consulting," online fundraising training game "TM Funds hunter," and online educational fundraising academy "Synergy academy." In particular, the educational fundraising game, which was released in 2020, became the first proprietary product of Svitlana and her team after several years of hard work in Kyiv.

Svitlana did not consider work as an employee, saying that "an entrepreneur can be no one else but an entrepreneur." Howev-

er, there were some fears that advanced Kyiv would not need her experience and knowledge of fundraising will. However, orders for advice on how to properly apply for a grant kept coming. A need arose to bring private consultations to the level of a business project and recruit teams. Now, Svitlana's projects employ 50 specialists, and the average monthly turnover of companies starts from UAH 500,000. Svitlana did not feel any special difficulties in adapting to the new place because she plunged into a familiar area. She tries to cover her longing for her hometown with entrepreneurial workaholicism. She even says half-jokingly that people become entrepreneurs when they are ready to work for their success twice as much as the standard 24 hours. She believes that the best advice for entrepreneurs is *"not to be afraid to take responsibility for yourself and others, to be ready for almost constant difficulties, not to give up, never get to work without a business plan and a sober understanding of what you move towards."* Mrs. Oleynikova claims that the number and quality of grant aid for the business development of active entrepreneurs among IDPs have significantly decreased compared to the first three years since the beginning of the occupation. There may be a lack of informational support for the fact that it is still needed, and people need resources like never before. Perhaps, this is a natural decline in the interest of donors. However, in order not to forget about the need for grants, Svitlana, for her own pleasure, manages the NGO "International Agency for Change" which also conducts fundraising and training sessions. Given the fact that more grant opportunities have emerged, especially after the EU-Ukraine



Blonsky family, photo by Nikita Zvilinsky for Ukraïner

Association Agreement came into force in 2017, people just need to be able to see them. There are grants for the start and socialisation of business, grants for business development in the five years after the start. The main thing is to find a business path and a grant that would suit you.

Some IDPs continued doing business as they had before the war. But there are also real business start-ups among IDPs, for whom new entrepreneurship has already become life-work. **Maryna and Oleksandr Blonsky, 40 and 33**, now own the Blonsky Family Estate, a craft cheese factory and goat farm. Until 2014, they lived a "home – family – restaurant job" life in Luhansk and there were no plans about crafting, business, farming, cheese making, or leaving Luhansk. As in the stories of other IDPs, the Blonskys left the occupied city at the end of 2014 and moved to Maryna's parents in a village in the Luhansk region to survive the shelling, wait, and then return. Hoping that the war would end soon, all savings were "eaten away" in a year. In good time, Oleksandr suggested the idea of buying fresh milk from neigh-

bours and making craft cheese in their home kitchen. But such a side job of necessity was not enough for a young family. And among thousands of ideas on how to make a living (whether to go abroad or search for a job), the idea of owning a house in a village and starting a cheese dairy won. This is how the village of Vovnianka, Myrhorod district, Poltava region, appeared in the life of the family from Luhansk.

In 2015, the idea of making cheese from goat milk and making craft products as a profitable business in general was perfectly new. Goat milk, for the production of the necessary amount of cheese for sale, was extracted almost as minerals in all neighbouring villages and estates. Later, Oleksandr brought the first goat, then another one. Together, they learned how to raise goats and make cheese. Oleksandr had basic knowledge, thanks to his profession as a food industry technologist. The experience of making cheese in a Georgian friend's restaurant also came in handy.

And his own experiments with milk and periods of ageing cheese resulted in the launch of a signature line. There was no time to go somewhere to study cheesemaking or farming. Therefore, practical business knowledge was obtained by immersion in a real business process. Officially, the business itself, including the purchase of the first equipment and furniture, was launched thanks to the first EUR 6,400 grant. Subsequent grants allowed both to increase livestock and to purchase professional cheese-making equipment. The family even built the only two-storey cheese cave in Ukraine. The locals met the new family and the new business with understanding and help. The issue of allocation of grazing land was not settled with the village council, so the Blonsky family bought an empty plot in front of their house for the farm and goats. At present, these home-stead plots are no longer enough for grazing and fodder procurement, and the Blonskys do not yet have a land share. Therefore, fodder is bought, and this is a significant disadvantage.

"Before becoming a renowned cheesemaker, don't be afraid to start making your first cheese in the kitchen and just try to sell it. So to speak, check the romance of cheesemaking against the business practice. Start small. It is important not only to make a high-quality product, but it is also important to learn how to sell it," Oleksandr Blonsky advises beginners. The first orders came from Facebook, including from IDPs like them. And over the past three to four years, local Myrhorod residents have also become customers. Cheeses and their makers came to fame, among other things, thanks to news reports on well-known Ukrainian



Olena Mialuk

TV channels (Inter, ICTV, Tsentralny, Ukrayina, etc.). In 2020, a popular Ukrainian project released a YouTube video. For the first few years, customers had to wait months for their cheese. In 2016-2019, cheese turnover increased from 80 kg to 200 kg per month. In 2019, the average monthly sales revenue fluctuated within UAH 50,000. However, the COVID-19 period suspended participation in offline fairs and forced people to save on craft products, so sales dropped. Currently, the Blonskys have two assistants for taking care and milking goats. Oleksandr controls all the processes on the farm and is engaged in the procurement of fodder. The milk of their own production is not enough, so Oleksandr also searches for additional suppliers to buy raw material for cheese. Maryna deals with sales, communication, and product marketing; applies for grants; and arranges tours and cheese tasting for the farm visitors.

"Competition in craft cheese making is growing. We have found our niche; we try to hold it. We prepare our cheese in an utmost natural way: we use milk, salt, enzyme, and

different ageing periods. Nothing artificial. We do not try to 'get on the assembly line' and get into big retailers, although we have all the necessary operating permits. We just want to make such a cool and fresh cheese that it is bought up right from the cave without reaching a store. We plan to develop the farm, the estate as a centre of gastro- and eco-tourism. We have ambitions to scale up, expand the line, register our brand. That is why we are actively looking for investors and are seriously considering adequate proposals," says Maryna as shares her plans. From now on, the farm is their lifestyle.

Here is another story of IDP **Olena Mialuk, 46**. She left Donetsk in July 2014 with three children aged 13, 2 years and 1 month. The occupation forced the conscientious Ukrainian to leave her house and close a small business – a lingerie store. No matter how strong the desire was to stay in her native town, the fear for the fate of children, especially when the shelling started, was overpowering. The woman packed only summer belongings and documents.

The town of Koziatyn in the Vinnytsia region became a new place of residence. They went for “a little.” For the first months, Olena communicated only with her children, immersing herself in them. Neighbours in Koziatyn set their watches by her very precise schedule of her children’s lives – sleep, walks, and fairy tales. Apparently, this is how our compensatory brain capacity works – it creates a certain order around us to brush off chaos in the head caused by displacement, stress, and uncertainty. The difficulties of adaptation were compounded by a certain distancing of people, their undisguised caution towards an IDP with three children, difficulties with renting an apartment. In order not to lose control of her nervous system, to settle in a new place that now was her home, Olena decided to attend meetings for IDPs to communicate. There she found out about a possibility to write to the Source of Hope organisation (Vinnytsia) which helped vulnerable groups to get grant assistance and taught them entrepreneurship. Olena had to refresh her memory on her somewhat forgotten profession as a dressmaker. After receiving the first, basic EUR 2,500 grant from IOM for the purchase of equipment, Olena started her business. She opened a mini-workshop for sewing and repairing clothes. Initially, she got small orders on the website rabota.ua. Then, the orders came from neighbours. But later, in addition to local orders, Olena started to receive corporate ones: to make branded clothing for restaurants, shops, and cafes. In total, the businesswoman received three grants: two from

IOM to start and expand business and one grant from USAID. The three grants totalled EUR 6,500. The obtained resources allowed Olena to survive, start her business, fully staff the workshop, and raise the children. The entrepreneur worked almost 24 hours a day for two years. Later, she hired assistants. Olena also opened an online page for her business on the popular marketplace prom.ua and managed to register the LENELI trademark. In 2019, her monthly turnover reached UAH 70,000-100,000. Unfortunately, the assistants quit during the quarantine period due to insufficient orders. Now, Olena resorts to the help of assistants only when necessary. She feels that being busy constantly relieved her sadness and depression and is her main success. Now, the businesswoman knows how to start life from scratch, even at the age of 40, to plan and dream. The experience of displacement and new business perked up the peaceful life of a mother of three children. *“Indeed, it’s an unpleasant experience, but it gave me the impetus for something new. Sometimes, looking at the stable life of people in peaceful Ukraine, I feel grateful that it was in my life that I found a place for a busi-*

ness adventure to find myself again,” says Olena. Of course, she is also grateful for the financial help in the form of grants and business knowledge that she managed to obtain as an IDP. “Never look back, even if the past was good for you.” It is now the motto of Olena Mialuk, an entrepreneur and mother who finds time to look beyond the horizons of Koziatyn in pursuit and dreams of a better life for her family.

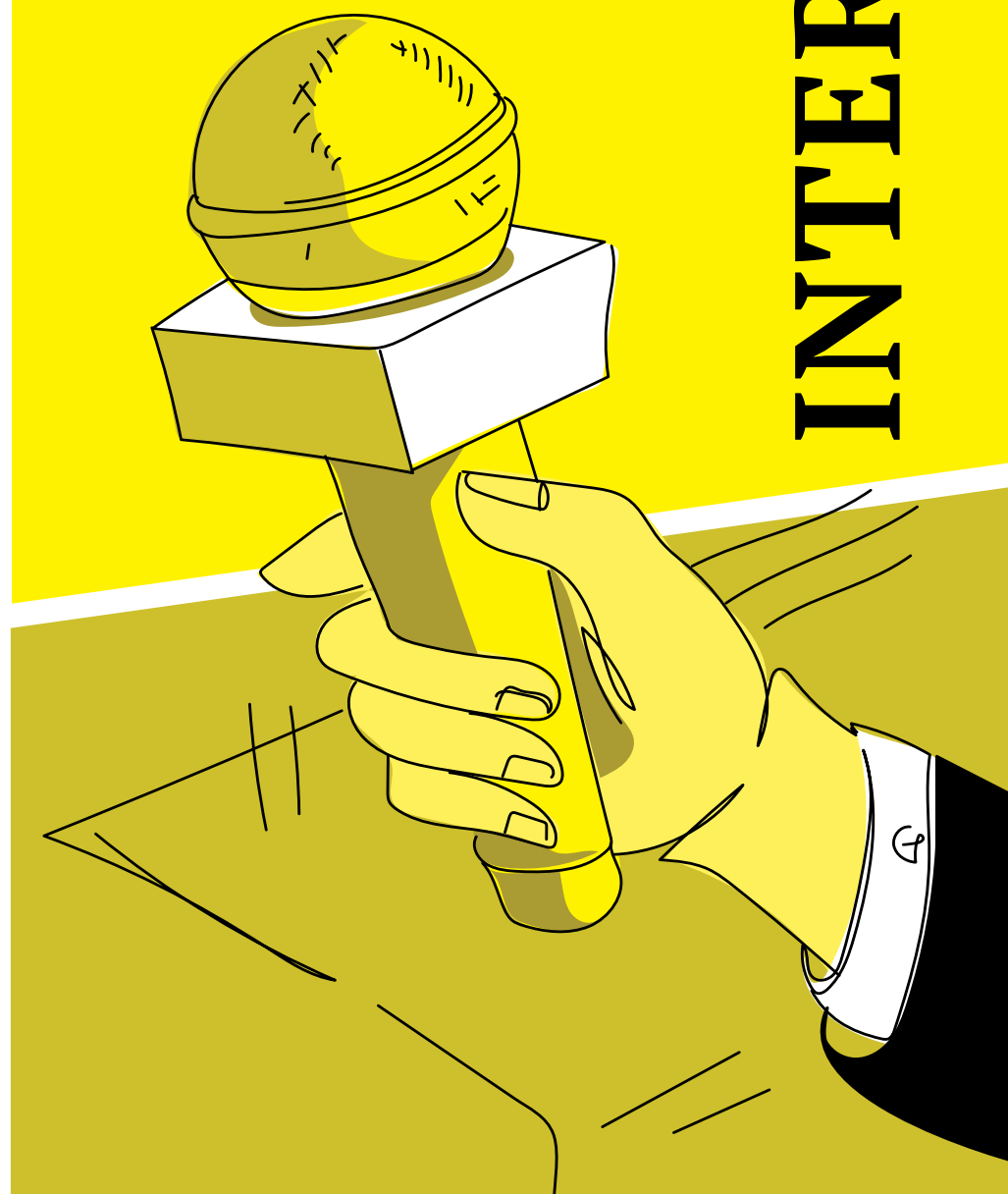
FOUNDATION "IZOLYATSIA": ON CULTURAL DECENTRALIZATION AND PROJECTS FEARED BY THE OCCUPIERS

*Editor-in-chief of the Brussels
Ukraine Review Marta Barandiy
spoke to Mykhailo Glubokyi,
Development Director of the
Izolyatsia International Charita-
ble Foundation, ahead of the
organisation's anniversary.*



**MARTA BARANDIY,
EDITOR IN CHIEF OF
BRUSSELS UKRAINE
REVIEW**

INTERVIEW



Mr. Glubokyi, I know that you are a very busy person as you will organise soon an event from which I actually distract you.

Indeed, this week we mark the anniversary of the date when the Izolyatsia territory in Donetsk was seized and turned into a prison and a military base. Of course, this is not a celebration of the very process of transforming Izolyatsia into a military base but a celebration of the fact that the institution survived and managed to continue its existence, that a new transition to a new page in the history of Izolyatsia took place. In fact, Izolyatsia survived and continues to operate, even on a larger scale than it did in Donetsk. And it is obvious that the people who seized Izolyatsia in Donetsk did not want it to continue to exist and spread its ideas, its vision of Donbas and Ukraine. We are very happy that we were able to escape and continue the existence of the institution. We have been marking this day for seven years. Over the past six years, we did that in Kyiv in our IZONE space, which we opened, and this year we will do this in the town of

Soledar, Donetsk region in eastern Ukraine. Because we believe that cultural decentralisation, decentralisation in general, is a very important issue for the development of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture. In addition, a lot is happening in Kyiv. There are many institutions, organisations, projects, everything. But the regions are not so lucky... Although this is also such a big question. We can say that there are many initiatives in the regions. It is very good that young people are taking over cultural and social life in their cities. But we hope that our appearance there will also stimulate this development a little more and give these organisations more opportunities and support.

Can you tell us more, what is Izolyatsia?

Actually, Izolyatsia is a cultural fund. We call ourselves a “platform for cultural initiatives.” It was founded in Donetsk, in the territory of a former plant of insulating materials, in 2010. At that time there were many factories in Donetsk, industrial premises that were not used, were abandoned and nobody was interested in them. Although there is

great potential for the development of culture, art, creative industries, i.e. for the replacement of the old industry, which existed in Donbas and was gradually dying to some extent. Many factories were closed, there was no great demand for their products. In general, the economic system of Donbas was devised with a focus on other Soviet enterprises, other countries within the Soviet Union. With the collapse of the Union, many of these ties were severed and many businesses simply could not continue to operate. So Izolyatsia wanted to change this situation, giving people the opportunity to work not only in traditional industrial enterprises but also in the field of culture, art, creative industries, services, and more. Of course, the process is joined by education, culture, foreign and local experts who can inspire and share the experience of implementing such projects.

In 2010, there was an idea that the process would be supported by local authorities. There was a German honorary consulate in Donetsk that had long promoted the idea of creating a concept similar to that of the Ruhr area in Germany. However, Donetsk authorities did not really need that. Therefore, we held a large conference in 2010, invited many people from European organisations, who told about their experience, told why the project was necessary and how to implement it. It did not work, so it was decided in 2011 to create such an institution by our own efforts to show how it should be done and that it is possible to be done precisely in Donetsk.

What is your function in the organisation?

I am the Development Director of Izolyatsia. I have been working since 2011. Unfortunately, I did not catch the first project. But I have been working in Izolyatsia for all 10 years and all further projects have already been created with my participation.

** interviewed in June 2021*



What status does Izolyatsia hold? Is it a non-governmental organisation?

It is an international charitable foundation.

Is it membership-based or supported by sponsors and partners?

Our model has changed a bit since the beginning of the war. Until 2014, we had donors among various Donetsk enterprises. Of course, we chose who we would work with. We did not work with controversial companies and those associated with the so-called “Donetsk mafia.” Those were enterprises that saw the development of the Ukrainian Donbas, development towards the West, and enterprises that cooperated with European companies and tried to adhere to European standards in their work. In addition, of course, there were various international sources of support. After 2014, when the war began, all these enterprises stopped working. They are occupied now. So, we didn't have that kind of support anymore, and we changed the model. Now, we have little donor support, but most of the money comes from international funding, various grant programmes, EU and US international programmes. We also created the IZONE creative hub to channel all its profits into the projects implemented by Izolyatsia. Unfortunately, the hub is not working at full capacity due to problems with the coronavirus pandemic. We cannot implement various projects, arrange events. However, it was profitable before 2020. We managed to make a profit, and the income we received was invested in the development of Izolyatsia cultural projects.

What are these projects? What did you do before the quarantine? What events were suspended due to the quarantine?

I need to brief you on these two organisations. We have IZONE which, in fact, was aimed at the development of creative industries. These are pro-

jects that took place in our premises: the British Council programme entitled “Creative Enterprise” to support creative economy entrepreneurs, educational projects, grant support programmes, competitions. For four years, if I'm not mistaken, we were implementing the Creative Business Cup project. It's a Danish initiative of creative economy startups competition. One project is chosen, then it goes to Copenhagen and competes with other organisations from all over Europe. We were implementing this project for four years, and now the House of Europe has been implementing it for two years. This year, we participated as experts in this programme, selected the winners.

So, these are large-scale educational programmes that we have implemented together with international partners, festivals. Unfortunately, now these projects moved to the electronic plane. Everything continues, but online... Of course, the biggest source of income for the creative hub was the lease of the premises we used, and now that source has disappeared for us.

Who is your audience, apart from the creative businesses for which you do projects? Are there children among your audience?

We have a fairly wide audience. It's our goal because we believe that we must change, transform Ukrainian society for the better through culture and art. The Izolyatsia Foundation has been conducting art projects in the IZONE premises for a long time. We invite people to take part in projects, to create them together with artists. And these are the projects that address pressing social issues. For example, a few years ago we did a project dedicated to the Ukrainian service members who belong to the LGBT community. It was a very powerful project! On the one hand, this is a controversial issue. People said, “How can this be?” On the other hand, the real military came out and said, “Yes, we are members of this community.”

We managed to invite representatives of the General Staff, who came and told us about their policies, how they work on this topic, how they deal with prejudices... That is quite unusual, we did not expect them to come, but they came and spoke about the situation quite adequately.

Also, of course, we work with the topic of the occupied Donbas, the topic of war. We draw parallels between what is happening in Ukraine and other countries. For example, we presented a Georgian project done for the Venice Biennale in 2015, if I'm not mistaken. It is dedicated to the borders of Georgia. The Russian Federation is gradually shifting them, capturing new territories in Georgia, and no one can do anything about it. We showed that was not the first and, unfortunately, not the last conflict.

In addition, we worked with the Balkan countries, with Northern Ireland. It's also quite a lot of work. We have a lot of projects, a lot of topics, and we can talk about them endlessly, although every time I just focus on one topic. But there are actually a lot of them: memory, public space, decentralisation, and so on.

Who are the members of your team, and what were the reasons why you joined the organisation? Why do you like working here?

Our team consists of about seven people. It depends on a project. However, we often invite other people to join the implementation. And after the project is over, we are looking for other ways to cooperate... Now, due to the cancellation of projects or the transition to online, our team has become quite compact. I hope that will change over time. But, on the other hand, we have new people in Soledar who work with us, so there are already about 10 people on the team. These people are also involved in production. We organise and make exhibitions and art projects on our own, most of them at least. We have communications, administrative, fundraising teams. We all work on these issues together.

Izolyatsia has a rather chaotic format because we are in a constant “state of emergency.” The events are constantly happening around us to which we have to react quickly. Unfortunately or fortunately, it has become a style of work over 10 years.

I have been working at the Foundation for 10 years, I studied at the Donetsk University. Having graduated, I studied Polish and had the opportunity to go for an internship at the University of Warsaw. When I was in Warsaw, I visited many cultural centres. The dormitory where I lived was right in front of Ujazdów Castle, and I spent a lot of time there, dreaming that something similar might appear in Donetsk one day. I had no idea how I could have a hand in it, what contribution I could make to such a project. When I returned, about a year later, my acquaintances from the university addressed me as they were looking for people to join the team, so I immediately agreed.

But for most of us, Izolyatsia is no longer just a job. We live here and are constantly in context. This may sometimes be bad, but we give 100% of our energy to this project because we consider the work of Izolyatsia to be very important. We have to tell what is happening in Donbas through the prism of our experience. In addition, the ways in which this happens draw us in each time and it is very difficult to keep a distance.

Can you name a project or something else, looking at what you would say, “Yeah, that’s what we’re really working for”?

We did different things. First, it is the development of creative businesses and cultural startups. We see already quite a large number of small organisations created by locals now in Donbas. And many of them were inspired by Izolyatsia or the projects we did. I go to conferences, and people say there, “Yes, of course, Izolyatsia! We respect you very much!” or “Your work inspired us” or “We want to cooperate with you!” This is a big achievement. Moreover, many people moved from Donetsk to other cities and create various initiatives there. It’s nice to see that, it’s inspiring.

In addition, there are many things that we were the first to do in Ukraine, and we see how these ideas are developing. In fact, we were the first organisation in Ukraine to revitalise industrial premises. In 2010-2011, nothing like this happened. And then, when the first “fruit” of this trend began to appear, the Povydl Factory in Lviv and the “Teple Misto” in Ivano-Frankivsk opened. In principle, we participated in those projects, communicated, and consulted them.

So, did you also influence the creation of the Teple Misto platform?

Yes, we did. We once actively communicated with the organisers. Moreover, Alyona Karavay was our employee in 2010-2011. Everything is very much interconnected. Unfortunately, the cultural scene is not as big as we would like it to be. Everyone knows each other... But the circle is expanding, and since 2014 we have worked a lot with local government bodies, the Government, the Ministry of Culture to develop the selection process for the Venice Biennale.

It is a story of its own. We delegated our employees to the Zachęta National Gallery of Art in Warsaw which deals with this issue in Poland so that they could research their experience and bring it to Ukraine. Mrs. Ostrowska-Luta was in charge of this issue at the time. Until 2014, participants were selected for the Biennale in an incomprehensible way without a transparent competition. In 2015, unfortunately, it was the same, because Pinchuk was elected and he said that he would pay for everything because the country did not have money... However, in the following years, open competitions were held, and they are still held. This is something that we have managed to change to a great extent.

Do you now cooperate with the Ministry of Culture?

No, we haven’t cooperated with them for a long time. When constant changes started there after 2015 and it was not clear what was happening, we began to move away from it. Re-

cently, the minister held a press conference and raised the topic of the development of creative industries. And again, in 2015 we talked about that, brought experts, but nobody needed that much back then. This experience could be useful in the future. Although, unfortunately, we see that now a lot of efforts and institutions created in recent years are collapsing, and it is very sad to see.

In the same way, for example, we cooperated with the Kyiv City State Administration when working in public spaces. It’s also the experience that is interesting to talk about. We discussed the first installation on the site of the monument to Lenin, which was demolished in 2014. It’s still empty, nothing was erected there. We made a Social Agreement project: we invited artists to create installations on this site. It was an open competition, we offered an opportunity for Kyiv residents to vote. For some reason, Kyiv residents chose artists from Mexico twice. But those were very powerful projects. Initially, the Kyiv City State Administration was wary of this initiative. But then they saw that everything was good, that it was a great project aimed to unite, that it wasn’t some kind of political provocation, that it was open to interpretation. So, in the end, we still managed to build cooperation with the Kyiv city authorities, which helped with many things.

The same way, we also work in Soledar now. It was also difficult in the beginning, but we have already established cooperation with local authorities. This is very important, because there was actually no such cooperation with local activists, with the non-governmental sector in Ukraine until 2014. Also, many people within society did not understand what they received and how they could influence the development of their communities. On the other hand, it was not clear to the local authorities that such projects were necessary, that people needed to be involved. And fortunately, these are the things we have managed to change.

REPORT ON THE ONLINE SURVEY RESULTS ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE POPULATION TO THE “VOLUNTARY DECLARATION” AND COMMENTS

Since 1 September 2021, Ukrainian citizens have had the right to declare the assets they own and pay a fee to the budget. A voluntary declaration is presented as a chance to unveil the money and assets in a civilised way because it will not be necessary to indicate information about the sources of their origin.

Promote Ukraine conducted an online survey on the attitude of the population of Ukraine to the “voluntary declaration” or, as it is also called – “tax amnesty” and asked experts from law firms to comment on the survey results.

Survey Methodology: The survey was conducted from 15-23 September 2021 by means of the CAWI method and Google forms. The link to the survey was posted on the site of Promote Ukraine, Facebook, and has been mailed to the interested audience.

Development of the survey tools and information processing have been provided by the Institute of Sociological Research at Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman.

The sociological data obtained is descriptive in nature and reflects the general attitude of the Ukrainian-speaking audience to the “tax amnesty.”

The survey was completed by 163 respondents aged 18 and above. Of them, 37.4% are women and 62.6% are men. The most active audience is people aged from 41 to 55 (39.3%) and 56-65-year-olds (32.5%). Of the respondents, 39.9% are taxpayers as they are employed by legal entities – taxpayers; 16% pay taxes as private entrepreneurs; 11% pay taxes as they own taxable assets.

The tables below provide the distribution of responses to the questions of Promote Ukraine’s survey.

ONLINE SURVEY

Distribution of respondents to the question:

“What type of a taxpayer are you? (multichoice is possible)” in %

Taxpayer – a private entrepreneur	16
Taxpayer – an employee of a legal entity which is a taxpayer	39,9
Taxpayer – an owner of taxable assets	11
Not a taxpayer	10,4
Belong to none of the suggested choices	25,2
I’m not sure	5,5

(The total percentage sum might be over 100 as multiple choice was offered)

Distribution of respondents to the question:

“The word-combination “tax amnesty” creates a feeling of...” in %

Optimism	7,4
Discomfort	28,8
Pessimism	49,1
I’m not sure	14,7

Distribution of respondents to the question: “In your opinion, the notion “voluntary declaration” is perceived as ...” in %

A synonym of the “tax amnesty”	18,4
An antonym of the “tax amnesty”	48,5
I’m not sure	33,1

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Do you think that the mechanism of “voluntary declaration” applies to you personally?” in %

Yes	6,7
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	8,0
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	30,1
No	50,9
I’m not sure	4,3

Distribution of respondents to the question: “In your opinion, who should be first to use the mechanism of “voluntary declaration”? in %

Those categories of the population for whom this mechanism was developed and implemented	43,6
All categories of the population, without the exceptions provided by the corresponding regulatory legal acts	19,0
I am not sure	17,2
Other	20,2

The “Other” variants obtained:

- People’s deputies.
- Governmental officials.
- Managers of enterprises of all levels.
- People’s deputies’ relatives (mothers, wives, children, etc.).
- Millionaires and oligarchs.
- Illicit enrichment and tax declaration are incompatible.

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Is it reasonable that persons who have been civil servants since 2005 and later have no right to use the tax amnesty mechanism?” in %

Yes	34,4
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	13,5
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	6,1
No	36,2
I’m not sure	9,8

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Would the opportunity of tax allocation to local and state budgets influence your motivation to declare your income?” in %

Yes, it would increase my motivation	47,9
No, it would not influence my motivation	41,7
I’m not sure	10,4

Distribution of respondents to the question: “What’s the highest percentage you would agree to pay off your income regularly, with pleasure and in full?” in %

1-5%	30,1
6-10%	22,7
11-15%	6,1
16-20%	3,1
More than 21%	0,6
Zero	27,0
I’m not sure	10,4

Distribution of respondents to the question: “According to the State Tax Service, a citizen can check the information on income received and taxes paid from it by submitting a request. Do you find this service relevant / useful for you?” in %

Yes	30,1
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	10,4
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	10,4
No	44,8
I’m not sure	4,3

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Do you agree with this opinion: “Tax amnesties make sense only when the public really trusts the government” in %

Yes	78,5
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	8,0
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	3,1
No	7,3
I’m not sure	3,1

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Do you agree with the thesis that “tax amnesty” will help increase the tax culture of Ukrainian citizens?” in %

Yes	13,5
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	4,9
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	11,0
No	67,5
I'm not sure	3,1

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Do you think that a “tax amnesty” will fill the state budget?” in %

Yes	9,8
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	8,6
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	23,3
No	54,6
I'm not sure	3,7

Distribution of respondents to the question: “Do you consider the voluntary declaration campaign to be informative enough?” in %

Yes	9,8
Rather yes (more likely yes than no)	8,6
Rather no (more likely no than yes)	19,6
No	50,3
I have no information about that	9,2
I'm not sure	2,5

Distribution of respondents to the question: «Your age:» in %

18-28	5,5
29-40	12,3
41-55	39,3
56-65	32,5
66 and older	10,4

Distribution of respondents to the question: «Your sex:» in %

Female	37,4
Male	62,6

Distribution of respondents to the question: “What level of education have you attained?” in %

Technical and vocational education	9,2
Specialized secondary	17,2
Higher education (bachelor)	19,0
Higher education (master)	45,4
PhD or Doctor of Science	4,7
Other	4,5

Comments on the survey results:

Oleksandr Nagorny,

*a lawyer from the law firm
“Sayenko Kharenko”*

The results of the survey make us conclude that the majority of the society is not aware of the details of the tax amnesty and does not understand its usefulness and, consequently, does not support it. Such a public attitude could prevent the Government from introducing the tax amnesty. However, this attitude matters less in the situation when the amnesty has been launched already. I am convinced that those who could potentially benefit from amnesty are already well informed about the details. We, as legal advisers, do our best for that.

In fact, the state's interest in amnesty is not less than the interest of individuals. Firstly, the state will get a certain part of the funds at once. Secondly, individuals will abstain from inefficient expenses to launder their own money, and more money can be invested in the Ukrainian economy. Thirdly, the transparency of individuals' capital will exercise pressure on the shadow economy making activities there riskier and more uncomfortable. We should also keep in mind that the tax amnesty is an indispensable part of the antitrust amnesty, which will help to increase the transparency of markets.

Oleg Kotliar,

Senior Associate, Tax and Customs practice, INTEGRITES law firm

Hopefully, you will agree that there would be no grounds for a tax amnesty in Ukraine if the respondents had a different opinion [from what we have as the survey results]. However, the survey shows the main reasons for such results – a low awareness of respondents about the amnesty and a low level of trust in government.

As these aspects are two of the four main conditions on which the success of the amnesty depends, Houston, we have a problem!

For other conditions, I would add the quality of the law, in particular, the need for unconditional guarantees of declarants' protection and the inevitability of liability in case of non-declaration of previously untaxed income.

It is interesting that it is the last two conditions that should compensate for the lack of trust in the government. It is a question of the risks that arise from voluntary declaration, and they do exist.

The absence of real and unconditional guarantees of protection for past violations is most acutely perceived by declarants.

They are not insured against unscrupulous, bad-faith actions of law enforcement agencies, which may reveal past violations after declaration; or against financial monitoring of banks, which will need to justify “properly” the source of funds. Furthermore, additional supporting documents for declaring certain

types of assets may not be considered as part of the documents and information protected by the Tax Amnesty Act.

Given the risks, the key question of a potential declarant is “How will I benefit?” For the success of the tax amnesty, the correct answer would be: “No criminal liability in the future.” However, for now the prospect of liability for past tax violations seems illusory to taxpayers.

At the same time, the professional community is actively discussing the possibility of applying indirect taxation methods by the tax authorities, which will be based on the comparison of declared income and actual expenses and taxation of surpluses. And while indirect methods remain at the discussion level, amnesty is also more likely to be talked about than used.





UKRAINISCHE
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT



БУДУЙ СВОЄ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКЕ МАЙБУТНЄ:

вступай в єдиний
українськомовний
університет в Європі.

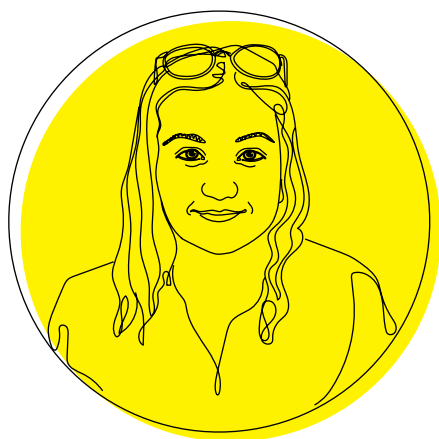
УНІВЕРСИТЕТ

UKRAINISCHE FREIE UNIVERSITÄT
Barellistr. 9a
80638 München
Deutschland

СЕКРЕТАРІАТ

+49 (0) 89- 9973883-0
sekretariat@ufu-muenchen.de
www.ufu-muenchen.de

VICTOR KORSAK: “WE DON’T SET A GOAL TO SHOW SOMEBODY UP, WE JUST DO OUR JOB.” HOW THE LARGEST MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN ART WORKS



*IVANNA MALCHEVSKA, PROJECT
MANAGER AT PROMOTE UKRAINE,
INITIATOR OF THE FLASHMOB
#STOPRUSSIANBRUTALITY*



CULTURAL
PAGES

The Korsaks' Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art impresses Europeans because it features Ukrainian art at a completely different level.

The museum also impresses Ukrainians, because it shows them their contemporary art - unique, deep, meaningful, and something that makes you think, analyse and change.

Ivanna Malchevska, communication manager at Promote Ukraine spoke with Viktor Korsak, a businessman and founder of the largest Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art. In an interview he showcases the philosophy of the museum, its mission, collections, visitors, and plans for the future.

About the museum

The Korsaks' Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art is the largest museum of contemporary Ukrainian art in Ukraine, founded by the Korsaks family in the Lutsk (Volyn region).

The first phase of the museum totals about 5,000 square meters and contains a number of exhibition halls. The area of permanent exposure occupies 3000 square meters.

The museum features works of more than 100 outstanding artists (more than 800 art objects). A collection of the best works of art of the best Ukrainian artists of the 20th to 21st century have been collected here: paintings, graphics, sculpture, installation, and video art.



How did the idea of creating the Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art come about?

Everything in life is stochastically determined. In other words, there is something unknown, unpredictable, random things that give rise to something understandable and predictable. A friend came to me, saw Kumano-vsky's work in my office, which my parents gave me, and said, "I want a painting of this artist!" My father and I went to the artist. He took out 27 works and said: "Take them all." I had no money, but the artist said, "Give it away in a year."

Little by little I gave money. The paintings were in our house. I thought it was unfair that no one saw these works. Something had to be done about it.

I already had the Adrenalin City entertainment centre. We increased the area and opened a gallery...

I travel a lot around the world and see that there are museums of modern art in every country, but not in Ukraine. That's why I decided to do it.

Great! Oksana Zabuzhko said the following words about your museum: "They showed Kyiv up, they showed Pinchuk up."

We don't set a goal to show somebody up, we just do our job. Pinchuk has his own direction: he is tuned to the modern world art. And we - to Ukrainian, national. Pinchuk works more in the exhibition format, and our museum has a permanent exhibition. In addition, we have four halls of variable exposures. We have four different exhibitions of four different artists at the same time. This provides dynamics: we open new names and work with different target audiences.

The Korsaks' Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art is a qualitatively new museum, which is not located in Kyiv or Lviv, where a large flow of tourists, and people are basically used to visiting cultural institutions. How does the museum work with a city with a small flow of tourists? How do Lutsk residents feel about the museum?



Residents of Lutsk are big patriots of the museum! And the city is changing. If you compare the situation three or four years ago, before the opening of the museum, the audience grows, and the museum grows with it. It is noticeable. Earlier people were afraid to even look, and today they visit various exhibitions of different artists.

About Kyiv and Lviv, of course, they are larger cities with larger populations. But Bilbao is not in Madrid either (smiles).

Were there any interesting situations with visitors? Maybe they did not always understand the idea of a museum or individual works of modern art?

Yes, of course, it happens very often. If you take our book of reviews, there will be more objections than agreements with contemporary art. There were even cases when people simply pee on the door because they did not accept this art. But we do a lot of inclusive projects. We had people with musculoskeletal disorders: here (in the entertainment center - ed.) and there was the Ukrainian Chess Championship for them. And at first, they protested, objected, and a week later they took part in master classes and painted abstract paintings.

In the mission of the museum, you talk about reflection, and this is exactly the moment. When people do not understand at first, object, and then come to learn more. Please tell us more about the mission and idea of the museum, Why in Lutsk and for Ukrainians?

This is not for Ukrainians, This is a museum for the whole world. Because Ukrainian art is very multi-faceted, interesting, and it is unique! No matter who says that it is interpretations or something else... Our unique-

ness lies in the fact that artists have strong roots on the one hand - national traditions, European traditions. On the other hand, this pressure of communism for so many years is all reflected in art, and it is somewhat different, different from the world. And we need to talk about Ukrainian art, tell it, show it.

Many people come to us from Europe, and they are surprised that we have such art. They just don't see it anywhere in the world! And here you can see it all in one place. Still, we have a sports and entertainment centre here, There are many championships of Ukraine and the world, and there is a flow of visitors from all over Ukraine. In addition, if iconic projects are presented, whole buses come to us from Kyiv and Lviv! That is, the museum acquires national significance.

How many visitors come to the museum on average during the month?

Two and a half thousand a month and about 30,000 visitors a year.



Did the pandemic affect the work of the museum? Are there new formats of work?

We were physically closed all year. But at this time we were doing online projects. For example, the art project "Immunity." For two months, the artists created works on the topic of biological and spiritual immunity of the nation. After the quarantine, we held an offline meeting, which was attended by 300 artists! 180 of them passed the selection, It was extraordinary! Artists from all over Ukraine came to us, their works... We made an exhibition in the form of DNA: each individual gene is a direction in art.

This year we are doing a similar project - "Your names, Ukraine." This was also originally online. Everyone painted works for the 30th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence. On August 24, we held an offline opening. 152 artists took part. We also run a collective monograph on "Your Names, Ukraine" because everyone has their own reflection in addition to their work. That is, it will be the works of artists and their reflections.



Does the city government support your work?

We do not quarrel and co-operate, We do joint projects. Everything is like in a civilised European city - everything is fine... We are now opening another 2,000 square meters of museum space. It will be something impressive! There will be exhibition areas of 1,000...1,200 meters! Not many artists in Ukraine and in the world can master such an area. It will be Ukrainian iconic artists. It will be a very interesting national project!

Great! Speaking of national projects, are artists from the temporarily occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and Crimea represented in the Museum?

Of course! In our museum, the structure is such that there are halls "Genesis" - a permanent exhibition, which is divided into seven sections: West, Southeast, Kyiv, Odesa, Transcarpathia, Dnipro, Kharkiv. In each section, we have many of the best artists of these regions. There are sculptures by Petro Antyp. He is from Horlivka... The exhibition of Oksana Chepelyk from Luhansk has just ended. We have many artists from this region. We work not only with Kyiv and Lviv, we try to work with the whole of Ukraine. We will have another exhibition from Kharkiv, from Odesa, then from Lviv...

Are there any forbidden topics for the Museum?

It is clear that the topics of popularisation of Nazism, violence against children, that is, all forbidden in the civilised world, are not acceptable, They are outside the culture.

Your job is basically to define something as art. How do you feel about the role of a person who evaluates and decides "yes" or "no"?

It's difficult. Evaluating is a sin, but it is impossible without it. Art differs from kitsch in that it changes a person. It transforms, causes some conflict. And if it does not cause - then it is no longer art...

It is sweet, it is already a topic of conformism... Here you look at the cat, and you have all the emotions that arise in other people, so you join. But when you have a conflict you go to another level of development. Because conflicts take away stereotypes and complexes, purify a person, and then he or she can create something new, think differently.

Is it all about the reflection you set for your mission?

It is.

You remember the protest in Kyiv, which ended with a painted door of the President's Office. Activists later called it a performance, a creative expression of disagreement with current government policies and actions. These doors open a lot of questions. There is no consensus on whether it was right or not. If these doors were sold as an art exhibit, would your museum buy them for the exhibit?

You're asking is this door a work of art?

Yes, would the museum recognise them as artwork?

I think it would be a good exhibit. There you can agree or disagree. The only thing I don't like about this topic is when people are manipulated. This is simple. In fact, the dynamics of social groups are described in textbooks of psychology. Making a herd out of a group of people is very easy in the 21st century. But such artefacts... These doors will still evoke certain emotions people will be interested in. There will be some experiences. That's right or wrong, but it's interesting. I think the door would be no worse than a Duchamp's urinal.

Who are your favourite contemporary artists? Who would you like to see in the museum?

We have a strategy - "Genesis." There we explore all the art centres and the longevity of the generations in each of them. That is, where did modern art come from. In the hall, you can see Fedir Manailo, how he painted mountains, and then Pavlo Kerestey, who 30 years later painted the same mountains in a different way. These phenomena are interesting for us. Therefore, in accordance with this strategy, we have a list of about 150 authors that we want to bring to complete the collection. Besides, we already have 400... But they are all different! Look at "Odesa. There it is light, the sea; look at

"Lviv." There is an expression, more complicated... In the same way in life, we do both, and that, and that...

I love all Ukrainian art. I don't like non-art, I don't like kitsch. I don't like when people do things just to sell them. They don't do what their soul tells them or what God has given them, and it comes out, but they do things to please others. I don't like it, it's not mine.

Mr. Korsak, if we talk about the entrance cost of the Museum, it is quite symbolic - 40 UAH. And it's definitely not about "making money" on art, but "giving" people access to art. Please tell us more about the Museum as a social project and how important it is for you.





As for the entrance fee, UAH 40 is really not a lot of money, but we still have, for example, Wednesday, a free day. And people can just come and visit if they want to. On Friday afternoons, too, it's free entrance, so they don't go to bars, but come and join the art.

As for such a social mission, in fact, everything is very pragmatic. When you have a house, a car, children have studied, you have met all your physiological needs, the idea arises to do something more, something more interesting...

And I get a lot of pleasure that people change after visiting our museum. It's much more interesting than a new car...

Were there specific manifestations of visitors' reflection?

Regular! One professional artist came from Moscow. She and other people have been our friends for a long time. They are wait-

ing for Ukraine to allow, because they want to become Ukrainian citizens... We had an exhibition of Vasyl Bazhay, and this woman comes in and immediately starts crying. This is abstract art... She says how many times she has traveled, she has never seen this happen... She looks at the same picture on the phone - and cries again! And there are many such cases... Such art is not fully researched and is very unpredictable.

How has your life changed since the opening of the Museum?

I used to sleep 6-7 hours, now less (laughs). There are more tasks, but a lot of meetings with artists. They are extremely interesting people! Everyone with their views... It is very interesting to communicate with them on the topic of work. Everyone tells something differently, expresses their thoughts... And such conversations develop me very well.

Who helped you create the concept of the Museum?

I took two suitcases of books and went for two weeks, closed the door, and read the history of Ukrainian art, museum studies. I made five slides, gathered well-known art critics, and showed them a presentation. They agreed. The artist Petro Gulyn helped me very seriously. All his life he dreamed of having a museum of modern art in Ukraine. And he voluntarily, with enthusiasm, called a huge number of artists so that they would be loyal and give their works to the Museum for reasonable money. Petro is one of the key figures in the creation of the Korsaks' Museum of Contemporary Ukrainian Art. He is my friend. We meet, have discussions.

What are you most proud of during the Museum's operation?

I'm not interested in one-time things, I'm interested in strategy. I like that we are developing in the direction we planned. Here we study "Genesis," we adhere to our mission. We change the past because we bring back forgotten names. On the other hand, we create the future because children come to us. I am convinced that among them are the new Picasso, da Vinci, and everyone else. The system itself, the development itself, the sustainability of this development are great merit for me.

You see, we have young staff. We hire students. We also have experienced art critics, for example, Zoya Navrotska... But these children are obsessed with

art and also develop quickly because they communicate with outstanding artists. We are moving in the right direction and regularly do projects that are in line with the strategy. Here we are professionals.

What are your plans for the future, other than the 150 artists you want to see?

We plan to expand "Genesis" by 1,000 square meters, and an additional 1,000 square meters will be for exhibitions. We will also gradually gather the 150 artists we have planned. This is one aspect, such an internal one. Another aspect is international projects. I mean, to show a collection of Ukrainian contemporary art regularly in the world so that people can see what Ukrain-

ian art is. On the other hand, we want to do international project. For example, it would be fantastic to bring here the works of Ukrainian Kazymyr Malevych, Vasyl Kandynsky, who also started in Ukraine ... American artist Andy Warhol spoke Ukrainian, he was of Ukrainian origin. His works could also be brought. That is to move somewhere in this direction. Of course, this takes time and money.

Why should people come from abroad and visit your museum?

Because this is the only place where you can see the works of the best Ukrainian artists in a comprehensive and holistic way. Artworks that you will not see anywhere else in the world!





25 YEARS
REACHING THE STARS
FOR OUR CLIENTS

www.asterslaw.com



СЕРГІЙ КОРСУНСЬКИЙ: ГЕОПОЛІТИКА «ЦІКАВИХ ЧАСІВ»

**ГОЛОВА ДЕЛЕГАЦІЇ ЄС-УКРАЇНА У ЄВРОПАРЛАМЕНТІ
ВІТОЛЬД ВАЩИКОВСЬКИЙ: «НА ЗАХОДІ Є МІФИ ТА
НАЇВНІСТЬ ЩОДО РОСІЇ»**

**ГОЛОВА ПОСТІЙНОЇ ДЕЛЕГАЦІЇ ВЕРХОВНОЇ РАДИ У ПАРЕ
МАРІЯ МЕЗЕНЦЕВА: «МИ ЗАЛИШАЄМОСЯ НА ФОРПОСТІ
УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІНТЕРЕСІВ»**

**ПОЧАТИ З НУЛЯ:
БІЗНЕС-ІСТОРІЇ ВИМУШЕНИХ ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНЦІВ**