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## Priorities of foreign policy: in documents and in reality

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### **Instead of Prologue**

I remember how I was pleasantly surprised, when I received news about my scholarship from Heinz-Kühn Foundation and realized how great was a chance to spend six months in Germany. Although I have already been there couple of times. My first trip to Germany in 1991 was also my first trip abroad, out of borders of the former USSR. The place of my first date with so-called capitalistic world was München. In that time I was impressed by unspeakable atmosphere of internal freedom, which I felt when I was just walking through the streets, when I was smiled back to people who smiled to me. You could feel yourself totally free in your acts and wishes, you just turned into one piece of that multicolored crowd. You felt that strength and complexes slowly melted and than disappeared at all. But in the event of the Heinz-Kühn Foundation it was going to be different. I knew that during six months I would not be just a tourist, guest, to whom usually is shown only the best: famous museums, fashionable stores and cozy restaurants. Of course, I was going to be, relatively for a short time, but anyway a member of that society, who lived according to its laws and rules. Moreover, I had one more important task - to learn German. Because without it I could be only foreigner, „Ausländerin“, who was deaf and dumb, who had no possibility to hear and to be heard. And I especially needed German because the last two months of my staying in Germany I had to take the experience of my German colleges, to find out about their styles of working and about ways how journalism is working under conditions of real freedom of the press. It was expected that the place of my journalistic practical training would be „Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung“ in Essen.

## Testing by Iserlohn

I am a city person. I was born and grew up in Kyiv. I have got used to permanent cars' noise, crowd, hustle and broad streets. I like this crazy life. But the Goethe-Institut, where I studied German, was situated in Iserlohn, a small German town, not far from Dortmund. It was pretty cozy and quiet. Although after eight o'clock it looked like a dead town and it seemed to me you could hear the echo of your steps in the opposite side of Iserlohn. But if you want to have an average picture of life in Germany, and want to see typical representatives of German society, you better should go to Iserlohn. Because there are hundreds of towns like Iserlohn in Germany and I dare say, there you can watch the typical German life style. Actually in Iserlohn our friendship with Reham and Bashir from Palestine, Iveta from Latvia, Ivan from Croatia, Nenad from Macedonia appeared and got rather close. We were students from Heinz-Kühn Foundation. Maybe it sounds trivial but during these four months we were really like one family. Except of everyday life we were united by one common profession. We spent a lot of time, discussing the question – in what country it is more difficult to work as a journalist: in Latvia, Croatia, Palestine, Macedonia or in Ukraine. Speaking about political and economical conditions of our states was a long conversation for many hours. In spite of some differences between our countries they hardly can be called welldeveloped and stable democracies of the world. Our countries are only trying to find their ways. By the way, in Iserlohn first time I've acknowledged, that some people in Germany pretty often judge about you and make impression about you according to the Level of economic development of the country, where you come from. Your education and personal features are scarcely important to them. It happened to me like this. After a couple of days in Goethe-Institut I decided to change my room. I am not a kind of indoor girl, spoiled by very rich parents. My room was really bad. It was in the basement, had a small, half-in-the-ground window, and the worse was, it was always dark and wet. When I told, that I would like to have another place to live in, one very respectable Lady from the Goethe-Institut said, „Are you complaining, that your room is dark and wet? But as far as I know you have come from a country, where it is not always sunny and dry“. I answered that nevertheless the people in my country did not live in basements.

Interesting, that this at the first glance banal and trifling story with accommodation had the continuation. Finally I moved to a much better room. And the person, who was put into my former basement room was Fee from Thailand. She was not satisfied because of the room too, but she was told in the Goethe-Institute administration, that there was not other choice (which was not true). We studied with Fee in the same group in the Institute and were friends. She told me a lot about her mysterious and exotic of her country and taught me how to cook Thai soup with coconut milk. Close to the end of the course Fee, her boy-friend Denis (he was a German) and I went to the Kneipe. To be frankly, I did not remember exactly after how many beers Denis told me „Do you know, that Fee is a famous actress in Thailand?“. From my astonishment

he understood that I did not know anything about that. So it turned out, that last year Fee, who studied in the Bangkok University TV-design, played the main role in the film, which won the first prize on the national Thai film festival. Smiling shy, Fee told that she was tired of permanent people attention, because many of her fans recognized her on the streets, so that she could not have a private life at all. She decided to learn German and to study in a German University. (By the way, Fee's Mom is a German, she already lived in Thailand for a long time. Fee asked me not to tell people in Goethe-Institut about her mystery. But I think, now I have right to do it. Of course, the respectable Lady from the Goethe-Institute did not know all these exiting details, when she puts Fee on my place into the basement. She probably again made judgement about person according to her stereotypes about economic and political situations in Thailand. Fake logic. And I got reversed conclusion from this situation - coming from well-developed country does not mean automatically high intelligence.

Actually, problems of foreigners in Germany are very popular, everybody writes or talks about them: journalists, politicians and normal people. I do not want to repeat well known facts about problems of the eight-millions foreign community in Germany and the points of view of different political parties about them. As I have already told, I'm speaking as a foreigner, Ausländerin, who lived in this country for six months. One evening I was going from the supermarket to my dormitory with heavy packets and two boys, approximately 12-13 years old passed me. They asked, how to find a certain street. I answered, that I unfortunately did not know that and kept walking. I heard them talking behind my back „Look at these foreigners! They do not know anything, except where to buy food!“. Doubtfully, that this mean phrase was born in these still childish heads. Where they have heard it?! From their parents? At school? On the TV or from friends? I was trying to find an answer, but I could not. Theoretically, all ways were possible.

Certainly, now I am not going to count how many times somebody was friendly or not friendly to me only because I was a foreigner. I just would like to say, that in general in my memories polite and friendly person will be associated with the image of the average German. I pretty often received a good advice, patient explanation or just a warm smile from people I scarcely knew, random Germans on the street.

I was lucky to be in Germany in the year of elections, I dare say, in the year of historical elections. Almost everybody waited for the finish of so-called Helmut Kohl era and connected the hope for the better future with Gerhard Schröder's name. Who knows, maybe if I would have been in Kyiv at this time, I would come to Bonn for journalistic trip from my newspaper, to watch the elections from the huge journalists' crowd. But on 27th September I was not in Bonn, but in Iserlohn. In the evening of this day I went to the Rathaus, where, as I was told, the information center „Elections-99“ was situated. I was astonished to see a lot of people there. They looked very attentively at the monitors with the results of voting. I was astonished even more, when I realized, that the monitor showed results not of all Germany, but only of Iser-

lohn and a couple of other small towns. It was a phenomenon, how the federal system of Germany worked. Not only the political level, but also the people's conscientiousness. Economical strength and political stability of whole Germany depend on the welfare of Iserlohns. A little bit later the deputy from SPD, who had balloted in Iserlohn, also came to the Rathaus. It was already known, that she would be in the Bundestag, and the people in the Information center met her with applause. This picture looked like common celebration. But frankly speaking, lately I told this story to one of my German friends and she said it was possible that people in the Rathaus were just local members of parties, which won elections. They celebrated their victory.

In Iserlohn we studied a lot and we traveled a lot. Step by step Germany was becoming for me more close, it got colors, smells and tastes, I started to feel her. Münster, Weimar, Bremen, Bonn, Dortmund, Düsseldorf...

Moreover in Iserlohn I mean, in Goethe-Institut I had a unique opportunity, communicating with its students, to open for myself other world's countries. It is a really precious experience. We were so different in our habits, behavior and at last in our religious and cultural ideas. On the other hand we were similar, because we were sad and happy, went to parties or studied hard in Mediotek, discussed in the kitchen movies and sense of a human being... How many times, when somebody put me probably the most common question in the Goethe-Institut „Woher kommst du?“ I answered „Aus der Ukraine“ and heard immediately after that. “Wo ist denn das?“ And how many times I showed on the map, hanging in our class-room. Kyiv and Ukraine's borders? And how many people found out from me about Ukraine and could tell in Ukrainian „Budmo“ what means „Prost!“ now. I guess, a lot.

## **Das Gespenst des Kommunismus**

„Why did you destroy the USSR?“, asked me Khadiga from Morocco. In Soviet times the friendship between the USSR and Arab's world was strong. It was so-called international support and solidarity. „My father is a member of the communist party. I was supposed to study in Moscow or in Kyiv. But when all this had happened, my father forbade me to go there“. I have actually forgotten such sort of discussions, because on Ukraine they are not popular anymore. Of course, there are USSR's fans, but even they have understood, that there is no way back. And I started to explain to Khadiga as clear as it was possible with my German, about everyday life of simple soviet citizen. „But they all were equal, all had jobs, salary, medicine and education were free of charge! We do not have it!“, Khadiga's arguments were serious. I told her about permanent lines in the stores, ridiculous low salary, lying newspapers, KGB, russification. „Are you happy in your independent Ukraine now? Do not lie, I have read that the situation in your state is very difficult“, she put me into the deadlock. I explained that present Ukraine's economical problems were not a result of the USSR's breakdown, but consequence of the over 70 years Soviet Union's existence and domination of command-admini-

strative economic system. „Soviet Union was a strong state. It could resist to the USA“, she gave me an argument she obviously had heard from her father. I told that 15 republics worked for the Military Industry of the Soviet Union, reminded her of „cold war“ and of the divided world, but finally I did not reassure the young USSR’s supporter from Morocco Machinery of soviet propaganda worked well. I admitted it. Even its inertia eight years after collapse of Soviet empire was amazing.

Generally, it turned out, that in Iserlohn I spoke about the USSR much more, then I did it in Kyiv. As I told, there is another time in Ukraine, life goes on. And here people keep calling the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as the USSR or just Russia and do not try to take seriously the new political order there. I was surprised by the irony of many Germans, when they were speaking about new independent states. I could not understand the reason of their skeptical tone in phrases like this „Oh, it is so difficult to get used to the names of these new states“.

„Wenn ich mich mit Gorbatchov treffen würde, würde ich...“. This is the sentence from the exercise, which was given us by our teacher in the Goethe-Institut when we studied the grammatical topic Konjunktiv II, nonreal wish. Today Gorbatchov is still beloved by Germans. It looks like they always be in his debt. They are sure, that the reunification of Germany and the fall of Berlin’s Wall happened thanked to Gorbatchov. Almost every German family I visited had a different editions of books about Mikhail Gorbatchov. Strange, because our observers call Gorbatchov „politician of the historical moment“ and there is an opinion, that Gorbatchov hardly suspected, when he had started perestrojka and glasnost, that it would lead to the collapse of the USSR, which political and economical by itself was close to its end. The last soviet president is not popular anymore. Sometimes he is invited as a guest on the TV talk-shows, from time to time he gives interviews, in Moscow is founded the Gorbatchov Foundation and he has lectures in the universities abroad. That was all I could remind me of Gorbatchov, when Germans asked me about him (and they did it often). When I was listening to the ode in his honor, I started to think, that we really had to be thankful to Gorbatchov. Germans - for reunification, we now that he anyhow made the end of „Evil’s empire“ more close.

One more thing made me think a lot about the USSR. It was communication with our wonderful teacher from Goethe-Institut Barbara Frankenberg. She is a super teacher and great specialist. She was the only in Iserlohn’s Goethe-Institut who had a degree „Doctor“. She came from the Eastern Germany. Moreover she escaped from the East in 1986, when Germany was still divided. That is why we had a lot of similarities. When we had the lesson topic „History of FRG“, she told students about life in the Eastern Germany, lines and so-called communal apartments. I did not need her explanations. Although I think that I belong to the post-soviet generation, but I remember very well all realities of soviet life. And I should just compared the ugly signs of socialist regime in our both countries.

In the Eastern Germany it was forbidden to watch Western Germany programs and the Western-TV signals were jammed. But in spite of that it was possible in some towns and villages on the East. And people sometimes watched TV program from the West. But when somebody rang on the door at that moment, TV channel was changed, because you never knew what kind of unexpected guest could visit you, said Barbara. Teachers in schools had to control the level of ideological upbringing of little citizens of socialist Germany. They discovered their own method to check if this ideological upbringing in pupils' families was good enough. Usually before the start of information programs of the Western German TV channel on the T-set's screen appeared the watch with small strips near the digits, but on the Eastern German TV channel - the watch had dots, in the morning, the teacher in the class asked, for example, Barbara, „Well, tell us: Frankenberg, what kind of watch did you have yesterday in your TV, with strips or with dots?“

Usually in Leipzig every year took place big books' fairs. And bookhouses from the Western Germany were also invited to take part in these fairs. People from the Eastern Germany, who had no opportunity to read western newspapers and books, just stole western books from the fairs' stands. But on the entrance security checked everybody and if for example, they had founded in the pocket of a student one book by western author, he was chucked from the University away, said Barbara.

...In the USSR there was no way you could get western mass-media information (except of jammed western radio voices). On the book-shelves in the stores were western translated books, but only by the authors, who were communist party members and wrote about, „mean capitalism's face“...

I remember, how many contradictory emotions were caused in me by the movie „Das Versprechen“ („The Promise“), which was shoot by the Western Germany film-makers. We watched this movie in the Goethe-Institut. It was a love story. She, because of some fatal circumstances, came to Western Berlin, he stayed in Eastern Berlin. It was the story of tragic love on the political background. Berlin Walls went through peoples lives. Movie was pretty touchable and tears making, but as I have said, my impressions were rather contradictory. „Das Versprechen“ reminded me in some moments of American movies about USSR in the „cold war“ times; permanent snow, „babushkas“ in the wool scarfs on the heads, always drunk men poverty. Many things were exaggerate and primitivied. To make clear, what I mean, I give an example. Little daughter of the main hero in the movie „Das Versprechen“, who lived with the family in Eastern Berlin, received the present from the Western Berlin - panda Teddy-bear. And main hero in the night dyed white spots on the Teddy-bear's fur with black paint. He did that because in the Zoo in Eastern Berlin were no panda bears, that is why the toy-industry of the Socialist Germany did not produce them, and he was afraid that „stasis“ (Ministerium für Staats-Sicherheit, Ministry of State Security of GDR, twin of the soviet KGB) would find out about this present from the Western Berlin. It looked, of course, touchable, but exaggerated and hardly truth worth.



One more moment. The „stasis“ representative kept „a convincing“ conversation with the main hero. In the movie this „stasis guy“ was fat, mean and stupid (in comparison with the main hero). Unfortunately, many people in the security service under socialistic regime had perfect education, were good psychologists and had a talent to convince. In the other way this political system, under which fear of security service invisible power played one of the main role, wouldn't have existed so long. And that attempt to show Good and Evil was pretty naive and primitive. And I just want to remind that this movie was shoot by the famous German movie producer Marguerite von Trotta after the „cold war“ when it wasn't difficult to gather truthfull materials for it.

„I can not tell, that everything was so gray and gloomy“, agreed Barbara with me. „It seems to me people in the Eastern Germany were more united more close and were ready to help you at any minute“ said Barbara.

Of course, I have no right to judge how bad or good life was „behind the Berlin's Wall“. And the tragedy of one nation, artificially divided into two enemy parts, is unspeakable. But would like to tell that both pro-regime kitsch and anti-regime kitsch is not fair.

I also was surprised that some of eastern Germans I met did not want to talk Russian. Actually I did not eager to do it by myself, because I missed speaking Ukrainian very much, but all of them, when they found out I came from Ukraine, said, that in spite of that, they learnt Russian in schools, but they wanted to forget it.

In the Goethe-Institut was one guy, Frank, who had his civil service there. During four months he was a good friend and adviser for me and other students. He came from the Eastern Germany, as he described, from the small vilage not far from small town, which was near Berlin. In my first day in Iserlohn, when he helped me with my luggage I started to talk to him in English, but he answered me in Russian. I made a compliment to his language's skills, but he answered that he spoke Russian seldom and not willingly.

I, as Ukrainian, have more reasons not to like Russian language, which in Soviet time was prevailing. I prefer to talk my native language, Ukrainian, and Russian is also a foreign language for me. For many people now, as well as for Eastern Germans, Russian language turned into sign of aggression. Unfortunately this language has brought itself into discredit. But there is one old proverb: how many languages you know so many times you are a Person.

### **Phenomenon of „non-noticing“**

Among priorities of Ukrainian foreign policy Germany has one of the first places. Many times on the official levels was stressed that Ukraine and Germany are strategic partners. „Strategic partnership“ isn't just a goodsounding term from international diplomatic vocabulary. Announcement of strategic partnership between two states really means that these two states develop their tight bilateral relationship, taking account of comon interests.

The fact that Germany is a strategic partner of the Ukraine you can here not only during official visits of Germany dignitaries to Kyiv. Image of Germany always presents in Ukrainian mass-media. Certainly, Germany is one of the most powerful European states, member of the „G7“ and this fact also explains why news from Germany and about Germany appear nearly every day in the newspapers columns. But frankly speaking, I still can't fully understand what's caused the ignorance of Ukraine in German mass-media which I call „phenomenon of non-noticing“.

One of the reasons hides in the nature of journalism as itself. Well, we can talk about classical conception of journalism, that journalists in their activity must accept human values as an general orientation. But practical journalism shows that first of all events, connected with wars, disasters and catastrophes attracted journalists' attention. And it is not a choice and wish of journalists. Some days one of my college from the „Deutsche Welle“ („German Wave“ - German Broadcasting Station) told me, journalism - it is one of the public service's brunch, journalists task is to professionally search and present news. It is not a secret that audience, people, journalists work for, has a high interest in certain news from so-called „hot points“, places of earthquake and plain's crash. So, service works for its client. Client is a king.

Ukraine's territory size is often compared with France. Yes, Ukraine ist a big European country with 52-millions poplulation. But thanks to God after the USSR collapse there have not appeared „hot points“, famine or earthquakes. And the way the West (Germany) accept Eastern and Central European states, including Ukraine, I would compare with the relationship of teacher with school pupils. Excellent pupils are always as pattern for others and the teacher always praises them. Really bad pupils receive the special tuition, the teacher organizes consultations for their parents. And quiet pupils, who as a rule received satisfactory „3“, study actually bad but not bad enough to cause teacher's worry. So, till now the West treats Ukraine as a quiet pupil with permanent mark „3“, not good and not bad enough to pay special attention to.

Five-six years ago on the West was one bitter, but stable association with Ukraine - Chornobyl. But today, after almost thirteen years since the day of its explosion, the memory of average German citizen not always recalls the word „Chornobyl“. Because instead of fashionable early in the western mass-media reportages from the 30-kilometers Chornobyl's „estranged zone“ now has come articles that Ukraine blackmails the West and demands to give her money for the closing of Chornobyl nuclear power station....

Average German citizen knows very well on what stage is the peacemaking negotiations about regulation of arabic-israeli conflict. Many times I was a witness, when Germans with sympathize put the question to my friends Reham and Bashir „And how things are going now in Palestine?“ after every new information about talks between Arafat and Nethanyahu which appeared in the evening news program. Well, I understand, of course, this uneasy situation in that region and also complicated attitude of Germans to all things, concerning Israel and Jews. And me either with understanding and compassion listened to Reham and Bashir stories about political situation in Palestine

and just about their not easy everyday's life and journalistic activity in Bethlehem and Ramallah. But the thing I am trying to tell that nobody asked me about destiny of Ukraine, which is just to reach in a two hours by airplane from Germany.

On the other hand it would be fair to ask: why the earth Germans have to care about Ukraine? They have enough more important things to care about.

It's true. And exactly this thing I was told by one German journalist from the „Handelsblatt“ newspaper. He said that Ukraine as object of journalistic attention is not interesting and not so important as, for example, Russia, which is huge, unpredictable and has a nuclear weapon.

I remember when I was in Germany in the group of journalists for so-called informational trip, organized by German Embassy in Kyiv. We had a meeting in „Der Spiegel“ magazine. And the editor of political department told us that they recalled „Der Spiegel“'s correspondent from Kyiv, because after Ukraine had refused from its nuclear weapon there was not need to have correspondent in Kyiv. „Der Spiegel“'s correspondent in Moscow could write about both countries.

It is a well known fact, that after the „cold war“ former USSR lost its image of enemy and simultaneous the interest of the West to new founded states went down. Permitted fruit is not sweet anymore. And now not only „Der Spiegel“ looks at Ukraine through the „Moscow's glasses“, forgetting that they are two different states, sometimes with difference interests and different points of view at the some international political problems.

I argued with my German colleague from „Handelsblatt“ newspaper. I told him that real democratic Ukraine in the center of Europe with stable economy can protect Germany from unpredictable Russia. Now Ukraine has two ways of development. The first - deep European integration: close partnership with European Union and other international structures. The second one - more close relationship with Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS), tight cooperation with Russia and, who knows, maybe in the future the fate of Belorussia. The western mass-media, unifying Ukraine with Russia, pushing Ukraine to the second way. And I don't think that is in the West's interests.

I have read one interesting article in the newspaper „Die Woche“ (15.01.99). Its title was „Nukleares Mega-Serbian“. The author rather critically spoke about russian-belorussian Union. After he mentioned about visit in Russia one famous Serbian nationalist Voeslav Sheshel, who suggested Russian and Belorussian members of parliaments to create „Union of Slavs“ as „alternative to NATO and European Union“ in spite of that Serbia has no common borders with Russia and Belorussia. The author talk with certain irony about „Union of Slavs“, which used to be a popular idea in the 19th century. But in our days, told the author, this idea is just a ghost. Because, for example, „Ukraine, clings to its Independence, and arranges NATO's maneuvers in the Black see with the USA and Turkey, for what Lukashenko (Belorussia's President) already called her „betrayer“ („Auch die Ukraine klammert sich vehement an ihre Unabhängigkeit, veranstaltet im schwarzen Meer Manöver mit der USA und der Türkei, wurde deshalb von Lukaschenko auch schon des Ver-

rats bezichtigt“). Yes, Ukraine’s relationships with NATO are close. And Ukraine approves the policy of NATO’s enlargement (by the way, Russia officially declare, that she is again of NATO’s enlargement). But the author of the article has not written if it is easy for Ukraine „to cling to its independence“, having so powerful and nervous neighbour as Russia, which can not excuse Ukraine for its being independent till now.

One more article about Ukraine attracted my attention. It was newspaper „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ for October 1998. It was about freedom of the press in Ukraine, to be exact about the absence of it, that Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma started to hunt independent and oppositional mass-media. As an example, in an article was told that the most popular Ukrainian newspaper, which was famous its critical position as to Presedential Administration „Kyivskie-Vedomosty.“ („Kyiv’s News“) was closed, because authorities were not satisfied by its content. I called my friends in Kyiv. I asked about „Kyivskie Vedomosty“. „Yes, they said, it was closed for three days, but then it was opened and now „Kyievkie Vedomosty“ comes out again“. Of course, readers of „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ have not founded out about this fact...

I am not trying to describe my country with rose paint. I have pretty critical points of view as to many things and politicians in Ukraine. And by the way, freedom of the press in my country leaves much to be desired. But there are also fresh way of thinking and acting people, who really want to serve this country, to change it. German newspaper seldom write about them. It is much more exciting to write only about corruption and bureaucracy about Mafia and bad invest climate, because it is readable.

So, that is why there is no wonder that average German has no special interest to Ukraine. It is a sad result of the „phenomenon of non-noticing“, which excists in German mass-media as to Ukraine.

### **„Deutsche Welle“: The birth of Ukrainian program**

„Deutsche Welle“ is German broadcasting station, which is financed from the state’s budget. On the „DW“ are 35 foreign languages radio programs. The state contract between „Deutsche Welle“ and German government say that these foreign languages radio programs „have to inform abroad about political, cultural and economic life of German and Europe at all“. But in all presented books about „DW“ is said, that German government does not interfere in the activity of journalists and does not have any influence or censorship right on the content of „DW“ programs.

Until now among 35 „DW“ programs has an been Ukrainian program is not be found. Although the listeners in the former Soviet Union remember very well programs of Russian section from „DW“, which were pretty popular in the Soviet times, when all radio voices from the West were the only source of truthful information in the USSR that is why they were jammed and to catch them was not very easy.

The main argument of „DW“ authorities in the discussion with the topic „Why there isn't Ukrainian section“ was that listeners in Ukraine could very well understand Russian languages, that's why there wasn't need to open special Ukrainian section, they said. This way of Russia-Ukraine unification was rather critically excepted in Ukrainian mass-media. Because in spite of that Ukrainian listeners could understand Russia Ukraine is different country, with own internal and external policy, and specific of Russian programs is not always suitable for Ukraine.

But from the 1992 the idea of opening Ukrainian programs has become more real. And the finally decision said that Ukrainian program has started to broadcast from 1 February 1999. There was a gossip that it was a political decision. And the authorities of „DW“ was forced to decide to open Ukrainian section, because they received the special notification from Bonn. But the chief of Eastern European section, Miodrag Soric, in his interview told, that the only reason why Ukrainian section was not open before was easy-lack of money (as you will see later this money question will play a fatal role in the future of Ukrainian section). Anyway Mr. Soric told, the opening of new program on the „DW“ costs 2 millions DM, and now the birth of Ukrainian section has become possible thanks to the general director of „DW“ Dieter Weirich. „Völliger Unsinn ist, was ich dieser Tage in einigen Zeitungen las. Danach hätte die „Deutsche Welle“ politischem Druck aus Bonn oder aus Kiew nachgeben müssen und dann das Ukrainische Programm eingerichtet“, he said.

Mr. Soric also told me about the specific of „DW“ journalistic style.

News from „Deutsche Welle“ do not include any journalistic comments. „We are not teachers, we are journalists. We assume that our listeners are clever and intelligent people and they can do their own conclusions by themselves“, he told me. Really, „DW“ news are just pure facts and events, no more. Journalists do not try to present their positions or points of view as to some certain events. They let to do it to the listeners.

As I told I thought that the practical part of my HKS scholarship would be in the „WAZ“, because of coincidence of circumstances (as for me, fortunate coincidence), I came to Köln. I received the opportunity to be the first Praktikantin in the „Deutsche Welle“ Ukrainian program and to watch the birth of new radio program taking part in this exiting process.

My practical training started on January. We have the whole month till the beginning of broadcasting and during this month we make the last preparation. Five Ukrainian journalists were invited for work in Ukrainian section of the „DW“: Juriy, Anna, Zahar, Volodia and Masha. They are professionals. And for me it was a real pleasure to work with them. I am a press journalist, moreover I have never worked on the radio. That is, why everything was new for me. Work in studio, journalistic slang, rhythm of programs and many other things were quite different from newspaper journalism. From the beginning Ukrainian program was supposed to have half an hour of broadcasting time. We had to prepare current news, reviews of the international press, short morning interviews, radio-magazines („Europe and Europeans“, „About Germany from Germany“, „Week-end“, „Topic of the day“ and others), on Sunday liste-

ners of Ukrainian program could hear the radio German language course and even to receive from German embassy in Kyiv free of charge special learning books. We were looking for the correspondents in all big European and world capitals. And finally we found Ukrainian journalists in Rome, Paris, London, Washington, Brussels and of course in Kyiv, Moscow, Minsk and other CIS-states, who with pleasure agreed to do reports for us. I finished a special course of work with AWS (audio working system). And I already could work by myself with correspondents' materials, make telephone interviews and do small radio programs. We chose jingles and invited professional actor to record the title of our radio-magazines.

Our chief, Mr. Soric, organized a big advertising company on Ukraine and officially opened the office of „Deutsche Welle“ Ukrainian program in Kyiv. Almost all big Ukrainian and German newspaper published positive articles about the opening Ukrainian program, commenting this fact as „great input in bilateral ukrainin-german relations“.

### **Storm on the „Deutsche Welle“**

„Добрий ранок, вас вітає „Німецька хвиля“ з Кельна“ (Good morning, you listen to „Deutsche Welle“ from Köln) - this signals of Ukrainian program were supposed to sound first time on the 1st February at 7.30 Kyiv's time in the morning. But it did not happen.

On the eve of this event the cultural representative of a new German Government Michael Naumann suggested to cut the budget of „Deutsche Welle“ by 40 millions DM. Last year its budget was 637 million DM, but 1999 year budget is supposed to be only 596 millions. Consequently of this a few „Deutsche Welle“ programs such as Greek, Polish, Slovak, Check and programs of some other eastern-european countries could be closed.

Michael Naumann's decision was dictated not only by the common policy of economy of state budget money, which is very relevant in a new German government. He told that it is time now to finish with informational influence and hegemony of the West. With this opinion agreed the German newspaper „Handelsblatt“, which wrote that western radio voices „müssen sich auch reformieren. Sie hatten ihre Blüte im „Kalten Krieg“ als Antwort auf die Propaganda des Ost Blocks und brauchen heute neue Aufgaben“. But to find „new tasks“ does not mean to close radio programs. „Handelsblatt“ suggests: „Sie könnten bei der Ost Erweiterung von EU und Nato sowie bezüglich der zu erwartenden Ost-West Migration eine zentrale Rolle spielen und sollten gerade ihre Position in Mittel- und Osteuropa eher festigen statt abbauen“.

Actually this decision of German government to cut the budget of „Deutsche Welle“ has caused strong resonance in Ukrainian as well as in German mass-media. Union of German journalists protested against it. The representatives of the Union critically pointed, that Michael Naumann had not met with the authorities of „Deutsche Welle“ before to make this decision. „Naumann stelle den christdemokratischen DW-Intendanten Dieter Weirich und Außen-

minister Joshka Fischer vor vollendete Tatsachen“, commented „Handelsblatt“ newspaper.

„Die Ukrainer hatten sich schon gefreut. Am 1. Februar 1999 sollte das neue ukrainische Hörfunkprogramm der Deutschen Welle seinen Dienst aufnehmen. Aber in der Ukraine blieb es stumm“ wrote „Tagesspiegel“ newspaper. „Weirich, der DW Intendant, bezeichnet die geplante Kürzung als „lebensbedrohlich“, quoted „Tagesspiegel“.

It is hard to describe the feelings of Ukrainian journalists a new non-born program. It turned out that they suddenly lost their job. And in Kyiv Yuriy and Zahar quited in Kyiv good job because of contracts with „DW“, Masha has not prolonged her contract with BBC Ukrainian service, where she used to work before. The well-equipped radio studio of „DW“ Ukrainian program in Kyiv has turned out to be useless. And the Ukrainian listeners were fooled by advertising. An awful situation.

This topic was very popular in German newspapers. Partly because it is the Naumann's deviation was accept like attack on the freedom of the press. But on the other hand, there was an suspicion that this decision was not dictated only by policy of reasonable spending of state's money. Because Mr. Weirich the former deputy from CDU/CSU party in the parliament, has certain contradictions with new „red-green“ German government and Ukrainian program was just a sacrifice of these political games. Ukrainian mass-media describe it like ignorance of Germany as to Ukraine. „Die Einstellung des ukrainischen Programms noch vor Sendebeginn hatte unter anderem zu Kritischen Kommentaren der Regierung in Kiew geführt. Allgemein verweist die DW auf verheerende Wirkung der Haushaltskürzungen im Ausland“: wrote „Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung“.

Exactly at this dramatic time the minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, Boris Tarasjuk, arrived in Bonn with official visit. He and his German colleague Joshka Fisher were supposed to make speeches during the ceremony of opening the new founded German Ukrainian forum in Bonn. This forum, non-governmental organization, unites German journalists, businessmen, politicians, who are interested in the developing of the relationship with Ukraine. It was an important event in ukrainian-german relationship.

„Die Ukraine darf künftig nicht mehr als ‘Grenzland’ - das ist die wörtliche Übersetzung von „Ukraine“ - sondern als integraler Teil Europas wahrgenommen werden“, said Joshka Fisher on the ceremony. „Die Ukraine ist zu einem gewichtigen Partner in Europa geworden und spielt eine konstruktive und engagierte Rolle beim Aufbau einer gesamt europäischen Friedensordnung“, said the chief of German diplomacy.

„In sieben Jahren der Unabhängigkeit wurde Deutschland zu einem der wichtigsten Handelspartner der Ukraine und nimmt nach dem Handelsvolumen den ersten Rang in Europa ein“, stated Boris Tarasjuk.

Well, friendship and partnership between two states in official speeches as a rule have only positive epithets. And probably this incident with opening of Ukrainian program is small on the general background of ukrainian-german relationship, but...

I met Boris Tarasjuk in Bonn. I asked him, if they spoke with Joschka Fischer about Ukrainian program on the „Deutsche Welle“ during their tet-a-tet meeting. He told me that they actually didn't have so much time to discuss even more important problems, but they „mentioned about Ukrainian program too“. „On the other hand, Ukrainian Minister told me of foreign affairs, we have no right to comment this decision of German government. It is internal bussiness of Germany. We have to respect that, when the government wants to save state's money. But, of course, we would like to hear „Deutsche Welle“ programs in Ukrainian language.“

It was a diplomatic answer. I knew that it was planed before that Mr. Tarasjuk would visit „Deutsche Welle“ in Köln and would give interviews for Ukrainian and Russian programs. But after the postponement of Ukrainian program broadcast he refused to visit „Deutsche Welle“ at all. And diplomatically he was also right.

It looks like all this so-called public opinion has forced Mr. Naumann to check his decision. Anyway Mr. Soric, the chief of the Eastern European Section, was in the last conversation with journalists rather optimistically. He said, that on the 1st April Ukrainian program will start the broadcasting for sure. I'm leaving Köln on the 28th of February. I hope that on the 1st April I would hear in Kyiv: „Добрий ранок, вас вітає „Німецька хвиля“ з Кельна“

### **Words of thanks**

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