

The Analysis of the problem of multiculturalism in the manifestos of ukrainian parties

Events that brought the problem of multiculturalism on the first positions for the international policy were analyzed. Characteristics and indicators of multiculturalism as a theory and policy were defined. Features of the national composition of the population of Ukraine, the main migration routes to European countries and groups of migrants who settle in the territory of Ukraine were examined. Using multicultural indicators manifestos of political parties of Ukraine and statements made by representatives of political parties about multiculturalism, immigrants, racism and xenophobia were analyzed. Attitude of political parties to representatives of cultural/ national/ethnic minorities, problems connected with non-tolerance features and cohabitation of people with different cultures/beliefs within a society and basic directions of their activity in a multicultural area were determined. Research papers of Ukrainian scholar's were examined.

Keywords: multiculturalism, cultural minority, minority, ethnic minority, political party, manifesto.

Аналіз проблеми мультикультуралізму в передвиборчих програмах українських партій

Проаналізовано події які вивели питання мультикультуралізму на перші позиції для лідерів світових держав. Визначення характеристик та індикаторів мультикультуралізму як теорії та політики. Досліджено особливості національного складу населення України, основні шляхи міграції в держави заходу та групи мігрантів які осідають на території України. На основі індикаторів мультикультуралізму досліджено передвиборчі програми політичних партій України та заяви представників політичних партій щодо мультикультуралізму, мігрантів, расизму та ксенофобії. Визначено відношення політичних партій до представників культурних/ національних/ етнічних меншин, проблем пов'язаних з нетолерантністю і особливостям співжиття представників різних культур в межах одного суспільства та основні напрямки їх діяльності в мультикультурній сфері. Проаналізовано дослідження вітчизняних вчених з даної тематики.

Ключові слова: мультикультуралізм, культурна меншіна, національна меншіна, етнічна меншіна, політична партія, передвиборча програма.

The theory and politics of multiculturalism appears in the second half of XX century and acquires a special importance in the beginning of a new century. The problem of migration and peaceful life of the representatives of different cultures is one of the most important problems of west governments. The importance of combined with multiculturalism confirmed in 2011 when the leaders of the western governments announced the failure of multiculturalism policy and the conflicts that appears in societies in case of language, tradition, religion misunderstandings. In 2015 the solution of multicultural aspects reached a new level. Military actions in Syria and uncontrolled migration (more than 800 thousand.) of Islam supporters in Western Europe created new problems such as conflicts between left and right parties, significant financial outlays related with registration and housing of the migrants. One should take to the consideration that the activity of “the Islamic state” and terror that is provided of the representatives of that state create a threat to the security of Western Europe and to the foundation of the positive attitude of the citizens of Western Europe to the representatives of Islam.

We can define the concept of multiculturalism as a concept that is built on the basis of public policy, the main task of which is the development and preservation of cultural diversity.

Main features are:

- The main value is cultural pluralism and the recognition the nation as a cultural society but not as an innocent inhabitance;
- The social justice, cultural democracy and equality of everyone;
- Defines real contributions and achievements of different cultures.¹

Given problem is investigated by such Ukrainian scientists as Popok A.A., Rudakevych O.M., Stadnyk I.A. and others.

Ukraine is on the edge between heterogeneity and homogeneity. The population of the state includes 77, 8 % Ukrainians (in 2001) and the rest 22.2% are representatives of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic minorities². Also across the Ukrainian territory there are migration routes to the west. Some part of migrants settles in Ukraine. Political parties as the representatives of society, people of different classes and groups define their ideology and ideas in their manifestos and give the answers how to reach the given aims. The ideological direction of the party defines the common features of the attitude to cultural minorities. (the right parties stands for national purity at the same time left parties are supporters of cultural variety considering it as a basis of modern state). The most Ukrainian parties are neutral in this case so we can not include them to any of those ideological directions. The political parties of Ukraine do not

¹ Кумлічка В. *Multiculturalism: success, Failure, and the Future*/ В. Кумлічка// Transatlantic Council on Migration, 2012. – 7 р.

² Всеукраїнський перепис населення 2001 року [Електронний ресурс]// Державний комітет статистики України. – 2001. – Режим доступу : <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua>

accept any cultural variety. Questions that can be considered as a multicultural are language questions (Russian language as a state one) and expressions about justice and equality. In given analysis we take to the consideration all aspects of political programs the basis of which are racism, xenophobia, intolerance. We took the election programs of parliament election companies of 1998 – 2002, 2006 – 2014 and local elections 2015 as a basis for comparison.

In 1998 won the Communist Party of Ukraine (left) and the “Rukh” party (right). They differ in their political ideology. However the communists were those who included the even rights of all nationalities³. But it has nothing in common with multiculturalism ideology.

In 2002 such political parties as “Nasha Ukraina”, the Communist Party of Ukraine and “For united Ukraine” party won the elections to the parliament. The only political party that did include the problem of multiculturalism in their election program was party “For united Ukraine” they stood against extremism and intolerance⁴.

Analyzing the elections of 2006, 2007, 2012, 2014 and 2015 we can see the problem of multiculturalism was not examined enough (it was only mentioned that racism and xenophobia are not accepted). In the given period there were two opposite parties in Ukrainian parliament the Communist Party of Ukraine and “Svoboda” and after 2007 we also The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc which defined themselves as centre-right.

In election program of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 2006 it goes about preserving of any kind of national propaganda chauvinism and anti-Semitism, and providing all necessary condition for needs of all nationalities that live in Ukraine. Also they stand for Russian language as a second state language⁵.

In election program of 2007 in chapter about human rights they assure that all social economics language and cultural needs of all nationalities that live in Ukraine will be provided⁶. Also in 2012 year program it goes that racism, xenophobia and national struggle are unacceptable and should be banned. We can see that communists of Ukraine kept their ideology about even rights of different nationalities within the borders of one country. But the only problem that is promoted is the problem of Russian language.

“Svoboda” party in 2012 goes to the parliament. In their program they wanted to create the law about the protection of the Ukrainian language. On the basis of this they offer to support Ukrainian language in books, mass media (up to 78%). Also they give the idea of exams for high officials, and to point the nationality in passports. There were a lot of conflicts on the basis of xenophobia in case of this. О. Тиagnybok was excluded from the party “Nasha Ukraina.” In

³ Передвиборча програма Комуністичної партії України // Вісн.-1998.-№2.-С.46-50

⁴ Вибірчий блок політичних партій «За єдину Україну» [Електронний ресурс] // ЦІВК. – 2002. – Режим доступу: <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vd2002/webproc12v?kodvib=400&cpf7171=195>

⁵ Владу і власність – трудовому народу України!: Передвиборна програма Комуністичної партії України/ Вл. інф. газети // Комуніст. – 2005. – № 97. – 2 груд. – С. 2

⁶ Передвиборна програма КПУ [Електронний ресурс] // Новинар. – 2007. – Режим доступу: http://novynar.com.ua/files/bloki_party/kommunist_party/1515

2010 O. Tiagnybok expressed against migrants: “They will cause the crime because they need to do something for a living. They will be the reason of addiction to drugs. The Europe is full of it and throws them to the Ukraine because they are sure that the better one will remain in Europe and others will send to us”⁷. The representatives of the party don’t think that their ideology have any base of racism.

In the election program of the Party of Regions in 2006 it goes about the unity of east, west, north and south. That culture should unite representatives of all regions and nationalities that live in Ukraine⁸.

They insisted on that fact that they are against the current national policy which unifies all nationalities. Also they advocate for Russian as the second state language.

In program of 2007 parliament elections multiculturalism don’t even mentioned but the question of the Russian language is still on the first place: “We are all different on the north, the south, the east and the west but we are all the citizens of the same state. And this is our power. All regions of Ukraine with their customs and traditions create the culture that we should protect. We stand for the Russian language as a second state language”⁹. The program of 2012 doesn’t even include the question about forming the national political unity as it was in the previous program. It includes only the language problems. In 2014 after the escape of the party leader, party was reconstructed and renamed as Opposition Bloc. Their program contained the problems of language, religion, tolerance etc. For example:” Citizens of all regions of Ukraine must be comfortable in spite of any political religion and any others positions”¹⁰.

But a lot of attention is still on the language question: “Provide the development of Ukrainian language as a state one. Give the opportunity for local governments to define Russian and other languages as a regional. Make the law to control this process”¹¹.

To sum it up we may say that this party among all possible questions point out only the problems of Russian language and difference of Ukrainians.

«The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc» (on elections in 2006-2007 and 2012, 2014 becomes the party «Batkivshchyna») pointed in their program in 2006 the idea of moral growing up of people in patriotic way: “ In case of this we should provide the development of language and culture not only for Ukrainians but for all others nationalities that live in Ukraine”¹². This must be the main reason for unity of citizens.

⁷ Права людини в Україні 2009–2010. Узагальнена доповідь правозахисних організацій: Запобігання дискримінації [Електронний ресурс] – 2009 – 2010. – Режим доступу: <http://khrpg.org/pda/index.php?do=print&cid=1298355452>

⁸ Добробут – народу! Владу – регіонам!: Передвиборна програма Партії регіонів // Голос України. – 2006. – № 31. – 17 лют. – С. 4

⁹ Передвиборча програма Партії Регіонів [Електронний ресурс] // УНІАН. – 2007. – Режим доступу: <http://www.unian.ua/news/206282-predviborcha-programa-partiji-regioniv.html>

¹⁰ Передвиборча програма Опозиційного Блоку [Електронний ресурс] // ЦВК. – 2014. – Режим доступу: <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502:pt001f01=910&pf7171=199>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Програма Виборчого блоку політичних партій „Блок Юлії Тимошенко” // Голос України. – 2006. – № 26. – 10 лют. – С. 4

In elections of 2007 multiculturalism does not mentioned all attention is concentrated on rebirth of the Ukrainian nation idea: "First of all we must have strong spiritual nation: spiritual education, returning church`s property, revival of Ukrainian culture and language, native traditions and national correct history"¹³.

In election program of 2012 in chapter "Ukrainian originality is European choice" the party keep the idea of creating political nation and create the conditions for multicultural aspects: "The forming of modern political nation with original history and common European future will be our priority. We'll make the status of Ukrainian language real. We will use it in all areas of the country media, TV radio magazines show business. We'll create conditions for development of all languages we'll guarantee even rights for all nationalities according to European standards"¹⁴.

In 2014 the question about multiculturalism were not discussed.

In election program of The Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform party the idea of foreign nationalities were not mentioned. But the position about this and about racism and xenophobia we can see in party leader`s speech Vitali Klitschko, he censored "Svoboda" in racism and xenophobia. Besides he mentioned than intolerance and xenophobia are features of racism and are not appropriate for Ukraine and is inappropriate according to democracy and should be firmly avoided.

The The Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform party stands for European values so Ukraine as a tolerant country should prevent the dissemination of racism and xenophobia: "Ukraine for Ukrainians is not our creed we will never follow it"¹⁵. The leader of the party made the example of democratic countries where citizens are not divided by color of skin or name. Intolerance and racism are no acceptable in the development of the modern countries and expressions based on these aspects must be abandoned.

The main task of Ukraine is forming the strong and politically united nation where tolerance is the main idea: "It doesn`t matters what is your nationality, what church do you visit, what language do you speak, the only that matters is do you love this country or not"¹⁶. According to Klitschko statesmen who show intolerance to representatives of different cultures and views are not acceptable in parliament. The democratic country cannot admit it.

On snap parliamentary elections in 2014 we have new political parties such as People's Front, Petro Poroshenko Bloc «Solidarity», Union «Self Reliance» та The Radical Party.

¹³ Передвиборча програма Блоку Юлії Тимошенко [Електронний ресурс] // ДАТА Центр Політичної Інформації. – 2007. – Режим доступу: http://da-ta.com.ua/election_programs/2871.htm

¹⁴ Передвиборча програма ВО «Батьківщина» [Електронний ресурс] // Владометр. – 2012. – Режим доступу: <http://vladometr.org/post/55/>

¹⁵ Кличко: Ксенофобам і порушникам виборчого закону у владі не місце [Електронний ресурс] // УДАР. – 2012. – Режим доступу: <http://klichko.org/ua/news/news/klichko-ksenofobam-i-porushnikam-viborchogo-zakonu-u-vladi-ne-miste>

¹⁶ Ibid.

Only in Petro Poroshenko Bloc «Solidarity» party manifesto it goes about the importance of human rights especially Crimean Tatars that suffered from Russian military actions¹⁷. It should be mentioned that multicultural problems were avoided deliberately by all parties. By that time Ukraine have already had a military conflict with Russia so the main problem was how to avoid the war not the problem of multiculturalism.

At local elections in 2015, political parties and candidates paid attention to such problems as peace in Ukraine, freedom of speech, honest government. Among the parties (leaders of the elections) only party named « Ukrainian Association of Patriots» noted the importance of human rights and freedoms regardless of nationality, language, etc; such parties as the Opposition Bloc and the Petro Poroshenko Bloc “Solidarity” in their programs drew attention to the special status of the russian language and the importance of other regional languages.

In general, all the attention was directed to the current problems of Ukraine among which multiculturalism and building of a multicultural society are not the main issues.

To sum it up we can see that the main activity of the parties during that period was directed to form the law about language aspects. The idea of the law is in widening of regional languages. (if more than 10% of region population consider this language as a native it can become the regional language) this law was perceived differently, the east regions took it positive and made the Russian language regional immediately but the western regions not. According to political parties the parliament opposition was against this law. They mentioned that it is the threat for Ukrainian culture and benefit for Russia. Such ideas as human rights, tolerance, xenophobia, racism remained without taking any measures by political parties.

Summing up we cannot consider the activities of Ukrainian political parties as those which contributes the policy of multiculturalism. All speeches about tolerance, against racism, xenophobia are quite formal, they determine tolerance and liberality of the parties but not the real willingness to solve the problems related with multiculturalism.

¹⁷ Передвиборна програма партії «Блок Петра Порошенка» [Електронний ресурс] // ЦВК. – 2014. – Режим доступу: <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502?pt001f01=910&cpf7171=202>