

Minesashvili, Salome

Working Paper

European identity discourses in the contested neighborhood of Europe and Russia: The case of Ukraine

Discussion Paper, No. 2/20

Provided in Cooperation with:

Europa-Kolleg Hamburg - Institute for European Integration

Suggested Citation: Minesashvili, Salome (2020) : European identity discourses in the contested neighborhood of Europe and Russia: The case of Ukraine, Discussion Paper, No. 2/20, Europa-Kolleg Hamburg, Institute for European Integration, Hamburg

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/224926>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

**Discussion Paper
No 2/20**

**European Identity Discourses in the Contested
Neighborhood of Europe and Russia: The Case
of Ukraine**

Salome Minesashvili

August, 2020

**Europa-Kolleg Hamburg
Institute for European Integration**

The *Europa-Kolleg Hamburg* is a private law foundation. The foundation has the objective of furthering research and academic teachings in the area of European integration and international cooperation.

The *Institute for European Integration*, an academic institution at the University of Hamburg, constitutes the organisational framework for the academic activities of the *Europa-Kolleg*.

The *Discussion Papers* are designed to make results of research activities pursued at the Institute for European Integration accessible for the public. The views expressed in these papers are those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect positions shared by the Institute for European Integration. Please address any comments that you may want to make directly to the author.

Editors:

Europa-Kolleg Hamburg
Institute for European Integration
Prof. Dr. Jörg Philipp Terhechte, Managing Director
Dr. Andreas Grimmel, Research Director
Windmühlenweg 27
22607 Hamburg, Germany
<http://www.europa-kolleg-hamburg.de>

Please quote as follows:

Europa-Kolleg Hamburg, Institute for European Integration, Discussion Paper No 2/20,
<http://www.europa-kolleg-hamburg.de>

European Identity Discourses in the Contested Neighborhood of Europe and Russia: The Case of Ukraine

Salome Minesashvili

Abstract

Since the 1990s, the notion of belonging to Europe has been embedded in a number of the former Soviet states' domestic discourses. These European identity discourses are highly contested, both domestically and internationally, and operate beyond the European Union community, giving the European identity concept its peculiar character. At the same time, these states have been through turbulent times and numerous crises since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, due to a lack of comparative and longitudinal studies on these discourses, not much is known whether and how these reconstructed images of the European Self have been changing. This paper examines the development of European identity discourse based on the case of Ukraine. The posed question is empirically explored by a study of Ukrainian mass media discourse on European identity for the period of 2004-2017. Changes in the discourse are examined in the context of domestic and foreign political developments in order to uncover the conditions that instigate change in identity notions and contestation around them. The paper finds that while the contestation persists over time, it can fluctuate depending on the event. During the given time period, the Orange Revolution and the war with Russia have resulted in the most significant changes when the contestation changes in favor of the pro-European discourse, which becomes dominant on the expense of the anti-European one.

Keywords:

European identity, Ukraine, color revolution, Russo-Ukrainian war

* * * * *

About the Author:

Salome Minesashvili was a visiting fellow at Europa-Kolleg Hamburg within the "Europe and Beyond" Fellowship Program which is part of the cooperation between Europa-Kolleg Hamburg and Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt Foundation and is financed through the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Ms. Minesashvili holds a doctoral degree in Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin (FU Berlin) and currently is a lecturer of Politics and International Relations at the FU Berlin and ESCP Europe.

Contact information:

Salome Minesashvili
s.minesashvili@transnationalstudies.eu

1. Introduction and Research Question

The collapse of the Soviet Union compelled its former members to redefine themselves not only domestically, but also on international arena including their relative location and belonging to a region (Fawn, 2006, p.1). The notion of belonging to Europe has actively emerged among some countries, presented as a belonging to not only a political but also to a cultural community. As a result, interrelationship between the national and European visions of community had to be “negotiated specifically in the context of national and European identity discourses” (Kaschuba, 2007, p.25) and the process is still ongoing. The process of “restructuring of belonging” (Darieva and Kaschuba, 2007, p.18) was nested not only within democratic and market-economic transitions but also operated in a highly dynamic regional and international context. How these reconstructed images of the Self as European have been developing over time and under what conditions have they seen change are to be studied in this research. Therefore, the study proposes the following research question:

Under what conditions do European identity discourses change in the post-Soviet states?

European identity concept has become a large part of research on European integration. The question of what happens to European collective identity in times of crisis-ridden European Union has become especially pressing in the recent times (Kaina et al, 2016). Among others, the recent events of Euro crisis, Brexit and migration crisis are discussed also in the context of European identity crisis and its potential change (for example, Siedentop, 2011; Karolewski, Kaina and Kuhn, 2016; Galpin, 2017). However, majority of European identity research is EU-centric, undertaken within the boundaries of EU integration project, focused on EU member states or EU-specific and EU-bound events (White et al, 2008; Beck and Grande, 2007; Krzyzanowski, 2009; Cirlanaru, 2016). The membership element however, is missing for the case of the former Soviet states that hold European identity discourses on the “margins of Europe” (Darieva and Kaschuba, 2007). Therefore, the research is innovative as it studies European identities beyond community where societies are not directly exposed to European institution and at the same time discourses operate in a highly turbulent environment.

On the other hand, while the collapse of the Soviet Union is an agreed point of change for European identity discourses (Kuzio, 2002; Fawn, 2003; Darieva and Kaschuba, 2007; Kaneva, 2011), the scholarly literature on the post-Soviet states lacks longitudinal study that would systematically and comparatively analyze other developments responsible for variation of the discourses. Most of the literature deals with incidental case studies (White and Feklyunina, 2014) while limited comparative or longitudinal identity studies exclusively focus either on political discourses (i.e., Kuzio, 2001; Wolczuk, 2000; Wydra, 2010; Orlova, 2017; Kakachia et al, 2018) or public identification through opinion polls (i.e. White et al, 2002; White et al, 2008; Muller, 2011; Mestvirishvili and Mestvirishvili, 2014). In compensation, this research studies European identity discourses as public discourses in a dynamic sense for a longer time period between 2004 and 2017. Public discourse captures identity positions of not only a single elite group (such as political for instance) but also a rather complex contestation existing around the European identity notion by inclusion of other elite groups as well. Studying identity constructions in the post-Soviet states acquires high importance because these constructions are intertwined not only with their foreign policy choices but also with the choices of state/society structures and paths of development.

2. *Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses*

The goal is to systematically establish conditions of change when it comes to public European identity discourses. Grand theories of constructivism and Social Identity Theory (SIT) inform definition of change within European identity discourse that include different types of development such as changes in: content and contestation of identities (Abdelal et al 2006). Since there is no overarching theory of identity change and its conditions, for establishing conditions of change the study proposes a framework combining premises from multiple approaches and theories. For this purpose, I deductively identify and test conditions of change proposed by Historical Institutionalism (HI) and mid-range theories such as legitimacy and communications theories.

Public identity discourse is studied as mass media discourse which is a platform where different identity discourses meet each other, attempting to gain public attention (Val Aelst and Walgrave, 2016; Galpin, 2017). However, public discourse reflected in media is still considered as an elite discourse, since media is selective in terms of its speakers that is often determined by structural powers (Risse, 2014). Thus those who make it to the media discourse are the elite groups with power and the public European identity is an elite construction of identity. Identity discourse is a medium through which elites communicate with public and deliver the message that legitimates and establishes their own versions of identity. Therefore, change in identity construction is affected by any event, which is challenging or declining legitimacy of certain elite groups. Accordingly, several conditions can be deduced that produce domestic or external challenges to elites in the country:

Critical junctures: Novel and uncertain environment is a context for identity change and even more so for change in identity construction. These shifts are often referred as critical junctures, a notion emerging from Historical Institutionalism (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Critical junctures pertain to crisis due to novel information, experiences of failure, traumatic experiences and massive inconsistencies between cognitive schemas and beliefs (Giesen, 1993). This “commonly destabilizing shock” gives rise to an ideational vacuum and previously held ideas no longer provide a base for problem solving and policy-making (Marcussen, 2000). Critical junctures such as war and revolutions that Georgia and Ukraine went through also challenge elite legitimacy that affects identity construction discourse. *Hypothesis 2: European identity discourse changes during critical junctures.*

External actor reaction: Identities are not constructed in a vacuum and can be engaged by both internal and external actors (Goff and Dunn, 2004, p.241). As Flockhart (2006) notes for the case of socialization, “not only the socialize must identify with the in-group, but the socializing agent must accept the aspiring in-group member as an acceptable candidate”. Elites can maintain legitimacy in front of domestic audience if the referred external actors conform with their discourse. In such cases, reactions of both Europe as part of the Self and of Russia as an Other for the “European Self” are important. Examples would be when Europe/European Union recognizes country as European and offers the country what the elites promise their societies (for instance, visa liberalization). Examples from the Russian side include economic embargos, gas supply cuts or opening its market for Georgia and Ukraine. *Hypothesis 3: European identity discourse changes when external actor reaction changes.*

Other than testing the identified conditions, the study remains open to other conditions as well by explorative approach. Therefore, it takes both deductive and inductive approach with constant move between the theory and empirics and aims to also identify other events that can intensify or change content and contestation of identity discourse.

3. Methodology

From the post-Soviet countries (excluding Baltic States that are members of the EU), the discourse of European belongingness to different extent has presence in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova (White et al, 2008), Georgia (Kakachia, 2012; Gvalia et al, 2011) and Armenia (Darieva and Kaschuba, 2007). Among those Ukraine is one of the promising cases for exploring the research questions since it has been through various events, including critical junctures such as revolutions and war with Russia. Therefore, Ukraine is selected as a case study and its public discourse on European identity is followed in a longitudinal manner between 2004 – 2017.

In terms of data analysis, the study follows a research design primarily based on the methods of qualitative and more specifically, content analysis. European identity construction is studied as a discourse but instead of concentrating on a specific elite group such as political, economic, cultural etc., the target of analysis is public discourse, believed to be better grasping contestation among different actors. Public identity discourse is studied as mass media discourse for the time period of 2004-2017. Media is considered as a “master forum” of public debates, which unlike other forums, includes virtually everyone in media audience (Pfetsch and Heft, 2014, p.33). Media is understood as a communication platform (Val Aelst and Walgrave, 2016; Galpin, 2017) but other than mirroring social conflicts (Risse, 2014), media is also an independent actor (Strath and Wodak, 2009) thus conveying positions of different elite groups including journalists themselves.

Studying European identity discourse through media is based on the database created from national newspaper articles. The database includes over 600 articles from two Ukrainian newspapers (Zerkalo Nedeli and Gazeta 2000) The newspapers are sampled so that they capture European identity discourse specifically and are coded in MAXQDA program as well as divided into pro and anti-European elements.

Analysis and hypothesis testing are performed in the following order. In order to establish conditions of change, by exhaustive literature review I identify major events events in terms of crisis, EU and Russia reactions and I test the hypotheses by analyzing public European identity discourse during these vents. Three potential critical junctures are included in the analysis: Orange Revolution, Euromaidan and war with Russia. From external actor reactions (from Russia and the EU), I select four events with Russia and five with Europe. Public discourse is examined in detail during the identified events to detect major categories that persist during the events but also changes in comparison to the previous discourse. For this purpose, the discourse during each event is firstly quantitatively analysed by comparing frequency changes within pro-European and anti-European discourses. Frequency analysis allows for detecting major trends such as whether discourse becomes more or less European or whether contestation increases or decreases. In the second part, qualitative analysis is performed by detailed review of codes and texts to examine what exactly changes within identity content.

4. European identity discourse in Ukraine until 2004

Ukraine`s European identity until 2004 is usually characterized as a highly contested notion, emerging in the milieu of Ukraine`s struggles domestically and internationally. The concept is incorporated among some of the identity categories but its meaning is subject to multiple interpretations by different groups. The concept and its use vary due to domestic and external developments, especially in response to reactions from Russia and the West/EU.

On Act on Declaration of Independence of Ukraine was adopted on 24 August 1991 by the Ukrainian Parliament that also called for a referendum on independence. Majority supporting independence, it was the Ukrainian referendum that defined the fate of the Soviet Union on 1 December 1991. The dissolution of the USSR has become a starting point for debates on national identity and nation building in Ukraine since it was the imperial collapse that provoked popular movement to sovereignty and not the other way around (Michajlyszyn, 2008). At the start of the new millennia, this identity questions have become inseparable from foreign policy and especially figuring out the place between Europe and Russia (ibid).

Being a post-communist state, Ukraine was regarded as post-colonial country with inherited “inferiority complex” that contributed to uncertainty and contested nature of its identity (Kuzio, 1998; Melnykovska et al, 2012; Riabchuk 2002). At the same time identity questions were closely intertwined with domestic and foreign policies since definition of Other largely influenced these issues (Kuzio, 2001). In Ukrainian national identity two Others vary among different discourses: Russia and Europe (Shulman, 2004). Independence is necessarily related to nation-building that builds on differences from neighbors and in Ukraine`s case from Russia. Russia is the closest in terms of history, culture and language therefore, the need to distance in comparison to central Europeans is even larger (Kuzio, 2001). In fact, Ukraine`s nation “is constructed through the constant reiteration of its differences from Russia” (White and Feklyunina, 2014, p.138). Russia is an important part in making the Ukrainian nation, “fostering of the Ukrainian nation within the boundaries of a newly independent state has compelled the un-making or, at least, re-making of the notion of the `Russian nation” (Dragneva and Wolczuk, 2015, p.12). Most Ukrainian leaders created a narrative explaining difference between Ukraine and Russia which also incorporated their closeness (ibid). That is why even the president Leonid Kuchma, who was considered as more Russophile, still continued the nation-building policies of his predecessor Leonid Kravchuk (Kolsto, 2000; Janmaat, 2000).

Cultural and historical affinity with Russia has shaped Russia`s perception of Ukraine on the one hand and Ukraine`s identity debates on the other. Ukrainian language belongs to Eastern Slavic language group along with Russian. Sharing historical origins with Russia further entangles the two nations. Kyivan Rus, the East Slavic state that existed between 11th and 13th centuries became a place from where Russian Tsars descended. Correspondingly Russian narrative treats it as the first Russian state (Michajlyszyn, 2008). But located in what is now Ukraine, Ukrainians and Belarusians have the same right to its legacy. These affinities produce Russian perception of Ukraine as “little Russians” and Ukraine`s competing narratives starting from sharing the Russian narrative to completely rejecting it.

On the other hand, western Ukraine`s different historical experience with its origins in Galicia, forms another stand among identity discourses (White and Feklyunina, 2014). Being under the

rule of Polish and Lithuanian Kingdoms, western Ukraine is distinguished by pro-European stand. After the independence, the perception of the EU as a civilizational and geopolitical entity was largely widespread among the post-communist states and Ukraine, among them that also became slowly supplemented with a perception of the EU as a community of values, norms and standards (Dragneva and Wolczuk, 2015). These different identity positions before 2004 are usually grouped in three major categories by the scholars. Each defines not only extents of Otherness of Russia and Europe, but also the Self in terms of national identity.

The first category combines those who are called Russophiles and Sovietophiles, who characterize Russia as a leading Eastern Slavic nation, while Ukraine is not considered as a separate ethnic group (Kuzio, 2006). This radical left perceives the West as the Other and believes that the latter reduces Ukraine to a colonial state (Kuzio, 2001). Russia as an elder brother is believed to be inheriting the Kiev Rus legacy. These two groups either advocate for a reconstituted USSR or consider Ukraine as “little Russians” (Kuzio, 2006). On the political level Sovietophiles belong to Communist and Progressive Socialist Parties of Ukraine. In terms of foreign policy, this school treats Russia as a strategic partner and advocates for integration into the Russia-led unions, for the Sovietophiles a symbol of the USSR revival (ibid). Europe is the Other and neither Ukraine nor Russia are considered to be in Europe (Kuzio, 2001).

The second, Ukrainophile category disentangled Ukrainian and Russian identities including their political cultures and seeking break from Russia. This narrative portrays Ukraine as primarily a European nation whose development was distorted by Russification and Sovietization and strives to “return to Europe” similar to the central and east European states (Riabchuk, 2012). The main Other is Russia seen “as having a history and culture estranged from individualistic and freedom-based development models” (Riabchuk, 2012, p.6). The Russian Other is defined in ethno territorial terms including Russian state and its citizens who deny Ukraine as a separate ethnic group and its right to independence (Kuzio, 2001). The debate goes back to the Kievan Rus, which is claimed as a homeland to Ukrainian nation (ibid).

The third Eastern Slavic category or centrists is more of a reaction to the other two categories, particularly against the Ukrainophiles, perceiving them too nationalist (Kuzio, 2006) and places itself in the middle of the other two categories, based on two ethnic groups – Ukrainian and Russian (Schulman, 2004). The Eastern Slavic group considers complete disentangling from Russia as a deviation from “scholarly” objective standards (ibid, p.413). This school emphasizes common features with Russia including language, mutual history and culture but promoting equality among eastern Slavs without giving hierarchical priority to Russia and at the same time supporting Ukraine`s independence. Therefore, this version of identity bases its views on bi-cultural, bi-ethnic, bi-lingual premises. Domestically it advocates for policies that give equal stand to Ukrainian and Russian languages and culture (Schulman, 2004). In foreign policy, they do not deny integration with the EU but only together with Russia (Kuzio, 2006).

After independence, Ukraine, willing to attach its identity to supra-national identities, had two versions to choose from, one provided by “elder brother” Russia in the form of Eurasian/Slavic identity and European on the other hand (Melnykovska et al, 2012). These identity options are not neutral but each relates to the type of governance (democracy or autocracy) and is influenced by external actors, EU and Russia that “pull countries towards opposite foreign orientations” (ibid, p.133). Therefore, these categories were closely intertwined with both

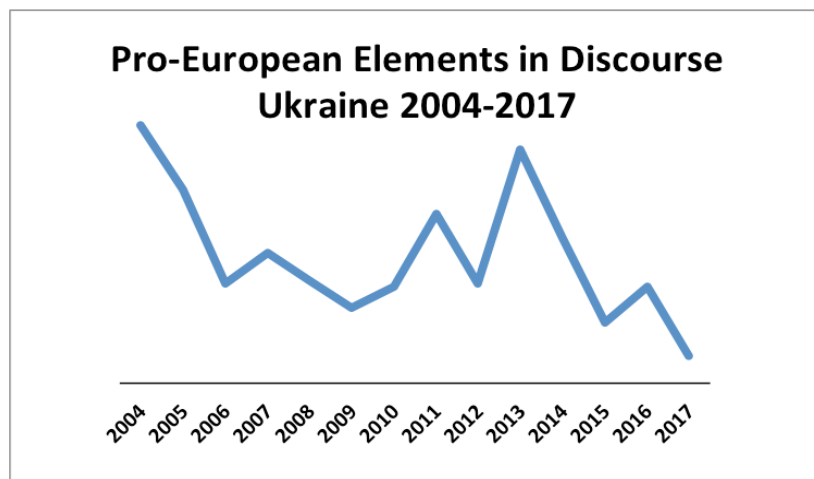
domestic and foreign policies of Ukraine between 1991 and 2004, reflected in political discourse and policy choices with varying degrees and interchangeably. Willingness to attach itself to either of the supranational identities was determined by multiple of factors, but also by foreign policy and integration processes with the Western institutions (Melnykovska et al, 2012) as well as with Russia.

5. Empirical analysis: European identity discourse 2004-2017

General trends

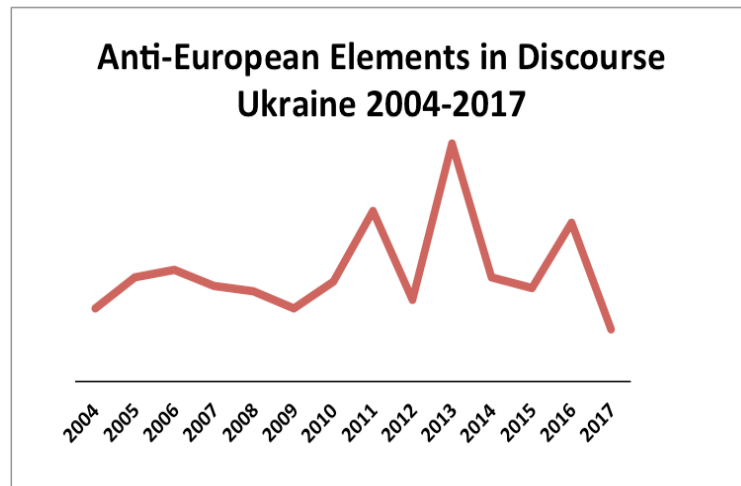
First step of analysis follows general trends and developments in the discourse. The aggregated pro and anti-European elements are examined by frequency analysis of codes by each year during 2004-2017. The results allow for general comparison between the years, for capturing the major changing points as well as for contestation between them.

Pro-European elements



Analysis of pro-European elements shows that the discourse went through multiple of changes during the selected 14 years. The discourse is characterized by everything but stability, with fluctuation each year. The highest pick points appear to be firstly in 2013, followed by 2004, 2005, 2011 and 2016. On the other hand, the lowest points are noticeable for 2015 and 2009.

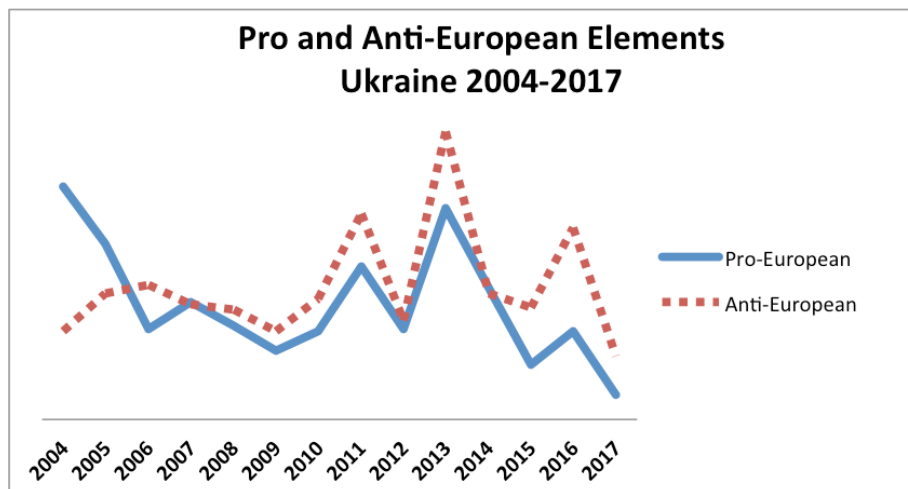
Anti-European elements



Anti-European elements are also characterized with high instability. The change, in terms of increase in frequency, take place in the years of 2013, 2011 and 2016. Highest decreasing trends occur in 2012 and 2014-2015. But in general the lowest point in comparison to other years is 2004.

It is also interesting to see how each discourse changes in comparison to each other. This could give a general idea about the contestation level in the overall discourse on European identity.

Pro- and anti-European elements



In general, the discourse remains highly contested, meaning that usually pro and anti-European elements elevate or decrease in similar periods. In 2011, 2013 and 2016 both discourses seem to be elevating. The only exception remains 2004 where there is a huge gap between the two discourses and pro-European elements seem to be dominating the overall discourse. Accordingly, preliminary assumption based on first glance at data suggests that the contestation was the lowest in 2004 and highest in 2011, 2013 and 2016.

As next step, I delve into each group of selected events to see the type of change, if any, that takes place during the sampled events.

European identity discourse before 2004 (January - October, 2004)

Analysis of the discourse before the Orange Revolution reveals that contestation is present since there is no agreement about what Europe is, what kind of Europe country belongs to, who is the

Other, Europe's vision of the country, extent of its support and willingness to accept country as well as suggested policies with Europe.

Definition of Europe and defining its borders vary within the discourse. Europe is referred as part of a larger entity, the West as well as simply Europe. But more specific reference of European Union is also part of the discourse. In general, there are three major paradigms to which Europe belongs to: cultural, economic and political. Europe as a cultural entity provokes different normative positions within the identity discourse: whereas on the one hand it is referred to as a great civilization and country is claimed to be belonging to it in terms of shared culture and values as well as aspiration. The other side claims difference based on Eastern Orthodoxy as a major differentiating point between Ukraine and Europe. There is a third position that refuses such binary definition and states that the country is in fact a mixture of Asian and European cultures. There seems to be an agreement that political culture of Ukraine is not European yet, being yet far from European democracy and the latter seems to be the major attribute of fully European self. Lastly, when it comes to geographical belonging to Europe, the speakers seem to be treating perception of Europe as essential, especially the country's geographical location. The argument that Ukraine is not simply at the edge of Europe but it is within Europe is part of the discourse.

In terms of economic dimension, also contested views emerge. Whereas one part of discourse claims that Europe is economically prosperous community, the other presents the opposite, even stating that in terms of economy, Europe is behind Russia.

Within the political dimension, three major critical points emerge. First point rests on the argument that Europe is an entity with a sense of superiority that looks down on other countries. The other two points fall within the idea that Europe is part of a geopolitical game with the east. According to the first one, Europe is a weak entity and is not capable of independent behavior, especially without the US. The other category places Europe within this competition and criticizes it for building a union similar to Russia's. The European Union is even compared to the USSR as similar in its structure and goals.

Within the category of those who support integration or cooperation with Europe, they would like to belong to one or several of types of Europe including cultural, civic and economic. The goals of becoming European/joining Europe can be divided into two major arguments. The first primarily focuses on the value system of Europe and the benefits of becoming part of it, including becoming democratic and acquiring good governance system. The second major argument focuses on such goals as uniting Ukrainian nation within Europe and securing the country. Becoming part of Europe is perceived not only as a result of domestic reforms but as a subject of a larger geopolitical context and closely intertwined with Russia, since one of the goals for opening up integration chances is to free the country from dependence on Russia. European reaction is also considered important, claiming that Ukraine must interest Europe in the country so it opens its doors.

The opposite category that rejects the idea of integration with the EU, develops two major categories: that the EU has unacceptable values and that the country will only acquire secondary status within the Union.

There is no common discourse on the Other as well. It should be noted though that Europe as Other does not exist yet. Despite the complains about Europe's superiority feeling towards the country and lack of interest, it is not characterized as a threatening Other. However, liberalism and ultra liberalism are mentioned as country's others that can be indirectly related to European values. European self also has multiple others from which Russia stands out. Ukrainians also believe that Soviet past and Soviet mentality as well as leftover legacies are also obstacles on the country's way to Europe. But besides these domestic or external Others, political elites are also named as another impediment to European self.

The worldviews of surrounding environment, relations with Europe as well as solutions to existing issues seem to be correlating with the previous parts of identity discourse. The running theme remains Europe's attitude towards the country, country's position in relations with Europe and prospects of success in this relation goals. Major complain remains the Europe's attitude towards Ukraine, looking down at country, presenting harsh demands and putting country in a begging position. Within this critical position, Europe is also blamed for lack of knowledge about Ukraine, disinterest, considering it as a buffer zone, lack of support and avoiding membership perspective/closed doors. This lack of importance is countered by a claim that developments in Ukraine are in fact affecting Europe and thus it deserves enough attention. Europe on the other hand sees the country as irrelevant perceiving it as Asian and far from European standards.

This category is contested by claiming the opposite that Europe is interested in the country. While the former recognizes Ukraine as part of European family, it recognizes Ukraine's European perspective and the chances of joining Europe are also high. Three major policy proposals are accommodated in the discourse. First proposes a clear-cut choice, with the basis that Russia is on the opposite edge of Europe and suggests that the country chooses Europe over Russia. Second position suggests multivector foreign policy that accommodates both of the external actors. The third is more divided without a clear position, but suggests to carefully review the integration option with Europe and critically think about its worth without taking it as granted.

Building up on this discourse as a starting point, I will now follow the identified events in detail. First, I examine whether change took place or not to see if identified conditions conform the theory and then once the change is detected, what type and extent of change occurred. For this purpose, I look at the direction of change: whether it has become more or less pro-European (what happens to the opposite categories) and at the extent of change by looking at change in content, which parts of content change and to what extent. I examine not only the points of change and what is happening in the identified month/s but also I compare discourse at this point with the previous discourse to identify which arguments are foregrounded in discourse but also to see what changes within the categories in comparison to previous periods.

European identity discourse during the selected events

Critical junctures

Frequency analysis of pro and anti-European elements in the discourse confirms that changes occur during the crisis events. During each of the events either increase or decrease occurs in each of the elements, affecting the balance between the categories. Therefore, the static

condition or no change does not characterize any of the events. But interestingly enough none of the events mark disappearance of the opposite category, meaning that crisis events in Ukraine did not bring a complete transformation in the European identity discourse. Thus, at first glance we can say that crisis events in Ukraine account for partial change. But which direction does partial change take? Does it become more or less pro-European? The following section discusses frequency changes during each event; afterwards identifies major themes and arguments during those events and compares discourse with the previous periods to see if the event introduced or foregrounded the already existing discursive arguments.

Orange Revolution (November 2004 – January 2005)

Frequency analysis shows that during the event a gap between the pro and anti-European discourses is significantly high, which means that the pro-European discourse was prevailing in terms of intensity during the revolution. Qualitative analysis shows that in its larger part, European identity discourse builds up on the previous discourse. The content change has not been a major sweep through the previously existing arguments but some of the settled arguments were in fact foregrounded while others backgrounded. However, to some extent there have also been changes.

Some of the critical characterizations of Europe such as comparison to the USSR, blaming on preferring interests over values, being economically behind and unable to act independently disappeared. Instead, Europe's economic prosperity and its attempt to act independently by escaping the US influence are emphasized. Geographical and other technical characterizations of country's Europeanness disappears and Europeanness on the level of civic culture remains. However, completely new to the older discourse, what becomes underlined is country's historical Europeanness as well its special and unique role in European civilization. Country's aspirations are claimed to be grounds for belonging to Europe. Along with cultural and historical belongingness, another novelty is emphasis on country's importance to Europe. The speakers underline that what happens in country is affecting Europe. The opposite category once again continues with the argument that Europe is hub of inequality for its members and also sense of superiority towards other countries.

All the critical arguments disappear including the argument that Europe has unacceptable values. On the other hand, Europe becomes an entity, which is claimed to be irreversible choice and without alternative if Ukraine wants good future. Being more confident in country's grounds to belong to Europe, discourse emphasizes that the change to become a member is to change political elites, whereas reforms and democracy building as a prerequisite disappears from discourse.

Major Others for the discourse during the Orange Revolution are Russia and Eurasian civilization as well as political elites of the country. Emergence of Eurasia as a cultural Other is new in comparison to the previous periods. Being the biggest Other, Russia is characterized as undemocratic.

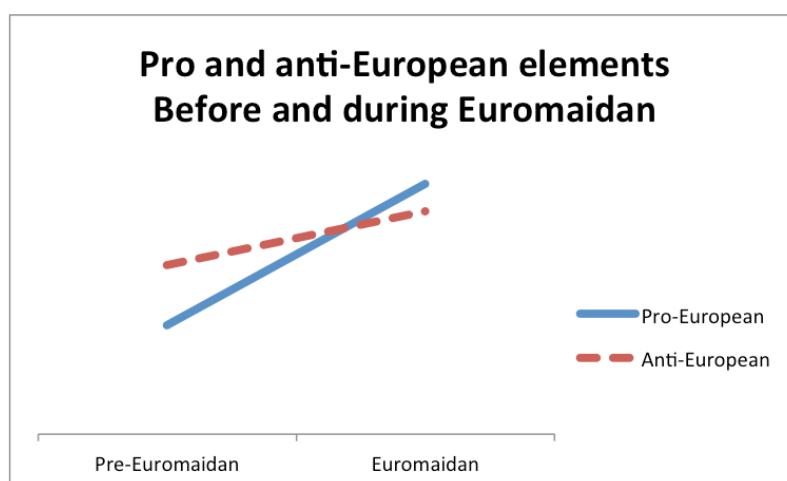
. How Europe views the country is once again contested with opposite arguments that Europe considers Ukraine to be part of European family, while opposite discourse claims that Europe places Ukraine at the edge, as its neighbor and not as its member. Critics that country will never join Europe also emerges in discourse as well as that Europe does not care about Ukraine. This

is countered with the opposite arguments that Europe realizes country's importance. On the former side, two major policy suggestions remain. One continues the argument of multivector policy and the second, newer, introduces the idea of independent, patriotic policy that is neither directed towards the West nor to East.

Overall, it can be concluded that the discourse became more pro-European by foregrounding Europe-favouring arguments while many of anti-European arguments either disappeared or softened. Pro-European discourse introduced further value-based arguments on country's historical belonging to Europe and Othering Eurasian culture. This category also became more confident about belonging to Europe, claiming special role of Ukraine in European civilization and also importance of the country to Europe. The opposite discourse remained critical, but the major arguments emphasized Europe's unwillingness to accept country and its indifference, but lost the arguments on unacceptable European values and incompatibility because of Eastern Orthodoxy. Maintaining multivector policy as an option, a new argument of patriotic policy, which is more nationalist in character without choosing any direction.

Euromaidan (21 November 2013 – 21 February 2014)

Euromaidan event lasted for three months in Ukraine from 21 November 2013 to 21 February 2014. These three months were selected for the target of analysis and firstly they were compared to the discourse during the preceding three months to detect frequency changes in pro and anti-European elements within the discourse. Afterwards, I outlined major categories and elements in the discourse during these three months and lastly, compared to the overall discourse from January 2004 to 21 November 2013 to detect changes that the event provoked in the identity categories.



Frequency analysis showed that the event marked quite a sharp increase in both, anti and pro-European discourses. This indicates at the increased contestation level and that Euromaidan did not necessarily result in any dominant discourse, but the opposite, on further increase in disagreement. Further changes within contestation and direction of change can be detected through qualitative analysis of texts.

The discourse marks quite radical arguments and high contestation over meanings of Europe and country's Europeanness. Whereas one category characterizes Europe as merge of positive values including democracy, the critical category calls Europe imperialist, compares it to the USSR, describes it as being in not only political and economic but also in value crisis and says

that Europe is even betraying true European values. Something new that the discourse introduces is in fact within the pro-European camp saying that Europe is more than just economy, it is unity of certain values and even high Christian values among them.

Referring to this value crisis that the critical category emphasizes, they portray Ukraine as being even more European than Europe itself. The extent of country's belongingness towards Europe is again debated varying from culturally, historically European (which also says that Ukraine has a unique role in European civilization) to mixture of European and Asian and with different mentality from Europe. Being culturally more close to Russia is also part of the discourse. Revolution is again brought as an example for demonstrating country's Europeanness and belonging to this entity, while being European for the critical discourse means stirring a civil war, similar to Syria.

Main purposes for joining Europe are characterized within such terms as reforms, modernization, achieving high social standards but also for realizing country's historical dream. This position also includes arguments that in European family Ukraine can contribute spiritually. The main goal to be achieved in order to join Europe (unlike previous periods when it was reforms) is to in fact construct a firm nation that is united with the idea. The skeptic stand refers to economic threats from Europe, that expectations will not be fulfilled from integration and that the country can develop also without integration.

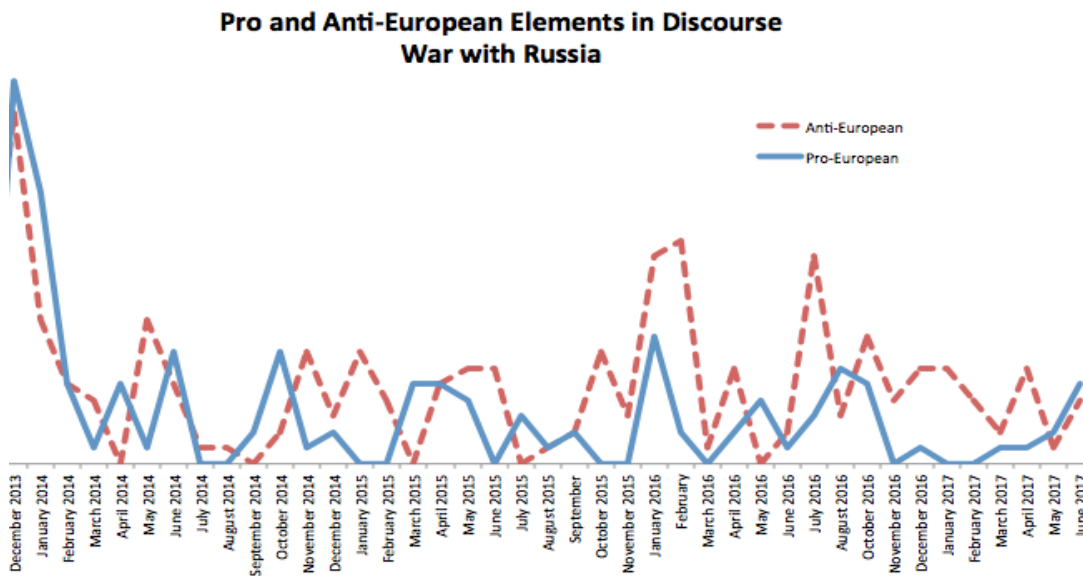
The main Others for the European self are Eurasian civilization, Soviet mentality and political elites of the country. In line with the previous discourse major threats from Europe remain threats to economy and sovereignty of Ukraine. But here the discourse also introduces new elements. First time, country's nationalists become Other to the Self. On the other hand, another novelty is portrayal of Russia as being dependent on Ukraine for maintaining Europeanness, stating that Russia would become Asian power without Ukraine. Also novelty is Russia's characterization as viewing Ukraine as source of its interests.

Europe's image of the country and perception of relations with Europe are again highly contested. While one category thinks that Europe considers country as part of European family and important country, others claim that Europe views the country as only second world state and considers it as source for its interests. In addition, the argument that for Europe country is connecting Europe and Asia also persists. As for the relations, positions vary also radically. The following arguments appear in the discourse: Europe intentionally pushes country towards degradation, country is begging Europe whereas Europe will not allow country to join, Europe does not support country enough, absence of support is also an example from the past, Europe is country's role model for development. In terms of policy, all the possible policy options show up during Euromaidan. A new element that appears in discourse which refers to Euromaidan as expression for European values and fight for them which Europe itself has forgotten what it is like. Therefore, Ukraine has become a moral check for Europe. In relation with the latter another new element is a proposal that country should have its own values instead. The first insists on Europe's active policy and that it should do more in terms of support. Here, the new element of the policy proposal is that Europe should in fact follow European values in relation with country. Second claims that country should not just copy things from Europe. In terms of Russia, there are two policy proposals. First proposes that Russia in fact is included in the European integration process by Ukraine. Second simply chooses Russia over Europe and

proposes that Ukraine gets along with its neighbor. Alternative policy is also part of the discourse in which speakers suggest that Ukraine should create a new European space. And lastly, there is an option of choosing neither Russia nor Europe.

War with Russia (21 February 2014 –30 June 2017)

War with Russia is counted from the time that annexation of Crimea started. The events started developing already after Yanukovych fled the country and with escalations at some points and de-escalations it has been going on since then. However, since my data collection ends with 30 June 2017, this date is also the last point of analysis, including 40 months of war with Russia as major target for examination.



Firstly, I performed frequency analysis of the anti and pro-European elements. Overall, there is a large fluctuation during these 40 months when either of them interchangeably differ in terms of frequency however, none of them disappears and eventually both elements remain within the discourse. This means that the event did not cause disappearance of contestation. But to what extent contestation over content has changed is analyzed qualitatively below. Since the data is vast due to large time period, the analysis mainly focuses on appearance or disappearance of certain elements within the discourse and also general mapping of discourse but in a less detailed manner.

In terms of attributes to Europe, while pro-European category underlines Europe as a desirable entity to be part of, with successful harmony of different nations and hub of freedom, critical discourse increases emphasis on value part of Europe. The major arguments underline that Europe is in value crisis, betraying true European values, interests take over values and thus modern Europe is different from the previous one. However, referring back to history Europe is still portrayed as immoral even back then with exploitative characteristics calling Europe a historical enemy that continues today in its imperialist character and sense of superiority. Being in crisis, Europe is considered to be disintegrating. A new element that enters the discourse is that Europe is building walls and closing up. The opposite discourse has completely opposite arguments that in fact Europe is a successful project and it is progressing.

Country's belonging to Europe is again contested, varying between mixture of European and Asian and being historically, culturally and politically European (the latter is also contested). At the same time the argument that country is more European (since Europe is betraying its values) than Europe is also part of the discourse. The new elements appearing are stating that Europe is also partly Slavic and east and west Europeans differ.

Country's position in Europe is again portrayed with a unique role of Ukraine in European civilization and emphasizing that what happens in country affects Europe. The new argument appearing is that country can offer solution to European value crisis. Being European is portrayed as being tolerant and first time, compatible with country's nationalism. For the critical discourse, being European means losing traditions, feeling inferior to Europe, isolation and conflict with Russia, economic issues, split within country, allowing homosexuality. For the first time critical discourse emphasizes the following arguments of being European: integration has only brought disappointment and worse conditions than before, Ukraine is the poorest country in Europe, loses freedom and independence and only feeling European does not bring any results.

Grounds for belonging are largely value and culture based emphasizing common culture, common history, vision and aspirations and the justification that revolution abolished obstacles for joining. Completely opposite is claimed by anti-European discourse that country does not belong to Europe because of different history, Eastern Orthodoxy and different mentality.

Grounds for belonging to Europe in the future include people's wish to join, that country will be secure and solve conflicts and Ukraine will realize its historical dream. The opposite includes arguments that country will take secondary status within Europe, it will threaten its economy and Europe has unacceptable values. Moreover, country will reject other alternatives.

In order to join, Europe is also named as an important actor to actually open its doors and recognize country's achievements. But also change in mentality is another means for joining. To get along with Russia for this goal is also part of discourse. Opposite visions are present in the discourse about country's position within the European family. While one claims that the country will have equal and dignified place among other members, the opposite that country will have inferior and secondary status is also claimed.

Nationalists are again named as Others for the country. Eurasian civilization, Russia and Soviet mentality remain main Others for European self. Threats from Europe include both economic, sovereignty and value threats to identity by threatening religion. For the first time, Russia is brought as an example of higher values since it resisted homosexuality.

Europe is considered to be viewing country as part of European family and part of European history and developments. On the other hand, critics say that Europe views country as source of its interests. Chances of joining Europe remain on pessimistic level that they are vague or country will never join Europe. In relations with Europe, it is considered that developments in country affect Europe, country has become moral check for Europe, Europe's problems are country's problems, in some areas country is superior and in some Europe. The new elements also appear including the arguments that Europe does not need country's reforms (it is country that needs them), Eurocentric world is over and country has made up its mind while Europe is indecisive. Europe is also blamed for the events in country, for the conflict and intentional push

towards degradation, that Europe cares only for its own interests with double standards towards Ukraine, people were told lies about Europe and country is begging Europe while serving its interests while Europe gives country instructions; people are not all pro-European. For the first time the arguments appear that people were misinformed about true European values. On the positive side, country is considered in the middle of European developments, Europe is a role model and they have mutual interests. Europe is portrayed as divided over willingness to let country join or not willing at all. There are three opinions over Europe's support: Europe does support, does not support and Europe is limited in its capabilities and is confused.

Lastly, policy options vary from modifying values by getting rid off some outdated ones and merging European and local values to getting along with Russia, Europragmatism and rejecting illusions about Europe, to no black and white approach (not ideal constructions of European or enemy of European) and relations both with Europe and Russia and to more Europe in country and more country in Europe. A new element is to understand Europe well as well as its problems. What does not appear any more is to choose Russia over Europe. Even though getting along with Russia is still part of the discourse, it only remains until May 2014 and disappears afterwards.

Overall, the discourse during the war remains contested as both pro and anti-European elements remain within the discourse and it can be said that also quite radical arguments coexist within the categories. One thing that overall softens the critical position is losing the foreign policy proposal of choosing Russia over Europe. Instead, they argue for Euroscepticism and careful consideration of integration since the latter is considered to be the cause of the conflict and split within the country as well as disappointment overall in its results. The option of keeping relations both with Europe and Russia remains in the discourse. But the major debates within the discourse are not only around conflicts but they are excessively value-oriented. Europe is largely becoming portrayed as being in value crisis, betraying European values and becoming a hub of unacceptable values such as homosexuality. First time ever, the discourse uses Russia as a role model for resisting homosexuality in the country. In this context, Ukraine is portrayed as a country that is even superior to Europe in values and can offer solution to this ongoing value crisis.

The opposite discourse still continues to support integration with Europe with major focus on conflict solution and security that are considered as solvable by integration. Being European and European self are portrayed as being compatible with nationalism (mentioned first time) in Ukraine meaning the split within identities since Europeanness means tolerance.

Most of the discourse remains skeptical to Europe for being disinterested, not considering country as important, not supporting. Small number of speakers praise Europe for support or justify it with not having necessary means for action. Another major debate persists around inferiority/superiority issue that country will only remain on the secondary status level within Europe. And finally, first time in the discourse the critical category states that it is the end of Eurocentric world.

External actor reaction

EU reactions

Out of multiple events that Ukraine and the European Union shared during the observed 14 years, I have selected five that are not exhaustive but can demonstrate general trends of development within the discourse. Since all of them are one day events, I decided to sample articles during one week before the event since debates would already start beforehand and a month/four weeks after the event. Overall five weeks around each event. To show general trends of development, I performed frequency analysis of codes during these five weeks in comparison to the previous five weeks. Afterwards I had a look at the overall data to qualitatively examine major arguments during these events and compare them not only to each other but also to the whole previous period (since January 2004 until the event) in order to detect changes within discourse and its categories. The following five events were analysed:

1. ENP: European Neighbourhood Policy adopted by the EU and Ukraine - 21.02.2005
2. EaP: Eastern Partnership (EaP) inaugurated - 07.05.2009
3. Association Agreement (AA): AA – 30.03.2012
4. DCFTA: DCFTA came into force - 01.01.2016
5. Visa: The EU granted visa liberalization - 11.06.2017

Frequency analysis shows that during all the five events both anti and pro-European elements remain. In fact, in majority of cases anti-European elements elevate along with pro-European. This means that contestation does not disappear but in fact increases. This trend supports the argument that EU reactions even though they are all positive in this case, provoke not only supportive categories within the identity discourse but also critical stands.

Qualitative analysis shows that none of the five events changed the discourse dramatically. Despite some new elements that they introduced, most of the discourse still relied on the previous existing identity categories. Contestation remains on all the levels except about country's Europeanness. The change is mainly detected over increase and foregrounding of some already existing arguments and few new ones.

Within defining Europe and its attributes, belonging or not belonging to Europe and justification for that, critical category underlines material side of Europe and that interests often take over the values within this entity (EaP, AA and DCFTA). Over time the initial idea that Europe is not an independent player disappears and it is replaced with a negative connotation of European policies that its aim is monopolization (AA and DCFTA). Since 2012, the events foreground an argument that modern Europe radically differs from the previous Europe to which in fact Ukraine wanted to belong but now feels the opposite. During the last two events (DCFTA and Visa) Europe is mainly characterized as an entity in political, economic and even value crisis. The events always activate debates on the level of countries Europeanness. In this terms several different arguments emerge: that country is not European (because of different historical experience, Eastern Orthodoxy) (ENP, DCFTA, Visa), neither European nor Russian (Visa), that country is a mixture between European and Asian cultures (ENP), country partly European, either culturally or historically (EaP, AA, DCFTA, Visa) but all agree that Ukraine is not politically European and the latter does not change throughout different events. The category that claims country's Europeanness states that country's current vision and future aspirations are good enough justification for belonging to Europe (EaP, AA, DCFTA) often brought revolutions as examples of such aspirations.

Those who choose Europe, mainly foreground the justification that Europe is the only choice and other alternatives only account for bad future for the country (EaP). The opposite category mainly constructs European integration as an illusion that will fail to fulfill expectations (ENP, AA) and they mainly refer to economic issues that will follow either closer cooperation or integration (ENP, EaP, DCFTA). Related issue that emerges especially after 2016 is also economy related and stems from the idea that getting closer to Europe will result in demographic decline. Second biggest threat and reason for not joining Europe that emerges in discourse is threat to sovereignty and independence (ENP, EaP, DCFTA). Even though material interests dominate in countering European integration, value-based arguments also emerge especially during the last events (DCFTA, AA). These arguments include the idea that becoming European means losing traditions, including those related to religious practices.

Russia remains the main Other in the European identity discourse. Russia is usually countered by Europe that is pictured to be threatening country's economy, sovereignty and traditions/religion (ENP, EaP, AA, DCFTA).

Vision of the political, economic and social conditions differ in the discourse during the selected five events. But in two issues categories intersect. There is an agreement to some extent that Europe is closed towards the country, it does not support Ukraine, is not interested and seeing the country as only a neighbor, membership perspective is quite vague (ENP, DCFTA) despite Ukraine being a frontrunner among the Eastern Partnership countries (EaP). Second agreement falls on the topic that Europe is encountering problems (DCFTA, Visa) but whereas the critical category then proposes avoiding close relations, pro-European discourse suggests to try and understand Europe well including its problems (DCFTA). Critical discourse also emphasizes value issues and crisis that Europe encounters and in this context Ukraine is characterized as superior in relation to the values that it holds and can offer. In fact, the country is even portrayed as a moral value check for Europe (Visa). Proposed policies also differ between the options of integration with a slogan of "more Europe in Ukraine and more Ukraine in Europe" (Visa), act on its own and solve its own issues without integration (EaP), allow some European but also maintain its own (AA) and choose Russia over Europe (AA).

Overall, besides the change in terms of increased contestation/fluidity, there are some new elements that discourse around these events introduced and that were not part of the previous discourse. Threats from Europe towards country's economy and sovereignty first emerge during the ENP event. During active European participation, critical discourse is also introducing the arguments that Europe views Ukraine as source for its interests and Europe is aiming at monopolization (EaP, AA). During the AA event, also critical discourse introduces the idea that modern Europe is already different from its previous version and in fact, it was the previous Europe that Ukraine wanted to belong to. And lastly, during the DCFTA event, which is economic in character, the argument that Europe is in economic and political crisis also became part of the discourse.

Russian reactions

Four events were selected representing Russian reactions towards Ukraine. The events can be grouped into negative and rather positive reactions. The first two include "gas wars" when Russia cut off gas supply to Ukraine. The other two events are more mixed, since signing the

Kharkiv Pact was a mutual agreement between the two countries that extended Russian presence in Ukraine but in exchange of more favourable gas tariffs (at the time, even though later it was not put in action). The last event of Putin`s visit to Kiev includes an offer to join the Customs Union which is also a mixed event in its character and supposing to stir some debates around it. Time period for each event is the month of their happening. The gas wars started on the beginning of months, therefore I account for the actual day of gas cut off and the next four weeks. For the agreement and visit, even though they took place in the second and third week of the months, selecting the whole month for the analysis will include debates proceeding as well as the event and at least one week afterwards. Therefore, the targeted months of analysis were January 2006, January 2009, April 2010 and April 2011. Firstly, discourse in these months was compared to the discourse in the preceding one month to detect elevation or decrease of the discourse in terms of frequency. Secondly, qualitative analysis was performed in which I compared the discourse during each of the selected months to the whole preceding discourse from January 2004 until the month of the event to detect changes that were introduced. Lastly, I looked at the whole discourse during all the events to detect what type of arguments are foregrounded and which are silenced.

The events include:

1. I gas war - First “gas war” - 01- 04.01.2006
2. II gas war - Second “gas war” – 2 - 20.01.2009
3. Kharkiv - Kharkiv Pact – 21.04.2010
4. Visit - Putin`s visit to Kiev and offer on Customs Union – 12.04.2011

Frequency analysis shows that in all the selected cases pro-European elements tend to elevate in discourse while anti-European elements decrease. This means that contestation decreases while anti-European category within the discourse becomes more silenced and pro-European elements take over. Russian reactions seem to be provoking more pro-European elements. The extent of change can be defined within the qualitative analysis.

The discourse around the events relies on the previous discourse elements but also introduces new elements. Disagreement over characterizing Europe continues. The features vary from community of civic values, great civilization and economically prosperous community (I gas war, Kharkiv, Visit), hub of freedom (Visit) to a community which is in value crisis (Kharkiv), promoting wrong values such as homosexuality (Kharkiv) to being imperialist and hub of inequality with sense of superiority towards other countries (Visit). Country`s belonging to Europeanness however, is not completely denied. The levels of belonging though are different. Mostly Ukraine is considered not to be politically European yet, exception being the Visit. Otherwise Ukraine is claimed to be culturally European (I gas war, Visit), historically European (Visit) and mixture of European and Asian civilizations (Visit). New elements that the events provoke in discourse include self-reference as post-communist, that striving to be European causes split within the country and most importantly, debate over country`s location and its importance. The latter argues that country has a special location between Russia and Europe and plays/can play an important role in their relations.

Country`s grounds for belonging to Europe is stated to be economic prosperity (I gas war) but also because Europe is the country`s irreversible choice without any alternative. In order to join Europe, Ukraine has to aim mainly at interesting Europe in the country (I gas war, II gas war)

but also at developing economically and democratically (Visit). The events provoke the arguments about country`s vision in European family and here seems to be having a special role and position within Europe. Ukraine can become center of European civilization (Kharkiv) and a role model of symbiosis of Eastern and Western culture (Visit). The new element that enters the discourse relates to Europe being in spiritual and value crisis. In this regards, Ukraine is portrayed as a country in opposite condition that can contribute to Europe with its values (Kharkiv).

Interestingly, during these events Eurasian Economic Union becomes an Other (I gas war). At the same time, ideological Others are also mentioned including Soviet past (I gas war, Visit) and authoritarianism (Visit). During the Putin`s visit Russia is also characterized as somewhat European historically and by its experience in some areas as Europe itself recognizes so.

Disagreement about Europe`s attitude and offers towards the country remain within the discourse. The positions vary from Europe being reluctant and trying to avoid membership (I gas war, II gas war, visit) to Europe being divided on the topic (II gas war) and Europe in fact recognizing Ukraine`s European perspective and offering more support by more active involvement (I gas war, II gas war). The critical elements also include the argument that not only Europe is absent now but also in the past. The discourse also accommodates the criticism towards the EU policy that Ukraine is placed within a wrong group, meaning Eastern Partnership group (Visit). During the Kharkiv event, the element that nationalist in the country provoke conflict between Russia and Europe emerged. In terms of proposed policies, here the positions also vary. One category places all the weight on Europe and proposing that the EU should offer membership (Visit). Others claim that Ukraine itself should engage with more active policy with Europe (I gas war) and choose other alternative by remaining in between Russia and Europe and instead play a role of their connector economically (Kharkiv). The new elements that appeared during these events included that Europe is interested in Ukraine only for the sake of its own interests (I gas war), that Europe views the country as other Europe and not necessarily as its part (Visit), the proposal of increased interaction from the country`s side (I gas war) and that country is capable of spiritually contributing to Europe (Kharkiv).

Overall, during the Russian reactions, the discourse is generally becoming dominated by pro-European elements. However, anti-European elements do not completely disappear. The new elements emerge within the both categories and concern both value and materialistic reasoning. During the events, Europe becomes blamed for caring for its interests in relation to Ukraine, that it does not really view Ukraine as proper European. In fact, Europeanness and strive for it is claimed to be causing split within the country. While European value crisis is part of the discourse, the new initiative includes the proposal that Ukraine can offer proper values to Europe and in fact contribute spiritually. Other position comes closer to the idea, claiming that Ukraine can become part of European civilization within the European family. What emerges in terms of policies, is the idea that Ukraine itself should be engaged with more active policy with Europe. And lastly, during the Putin`s visit and offer on joining the Customs Union, the idea about Ukraine`s special function and location and linking Russia and Europe becomes a new element within the discourse.

6. Conclusion

Analysis of the European identity discourse in Ukraine during 2004 – 2017 showed that the discourse remains contested over time as different events unfold. Both pro- and anti-European elements remain and compete with each other, however, with some fluctuation depending on the event. At the same time, while contestation varies, content hardly changes. Different actors use the previous arguments and narratives to reinterpret the events and few new elements largely fall within the major mood of each identity category. Therefore, while some events, especially the potential critical junctures do instigate change, the extent of change is rather partial rather than a complete transformation.

During all the selected events at least one of the categories (pro-European and anti-European) become activated, which confirms their relevance for the European identity discourse. Out of the two event groups, the critical juncture events are capable of instigating the most change. While the Euromaidan has tremendously increased the frequency of debates of Ukraine's belonging to Europe, it was the Orange Revolution and the war with Russia that introduced the relative dominance of the pro-European discourse.

During the *Orange Revolution*, pro-European discourse has increasingly foregrounded the arguments of country's historical belonging to Europe and perceived the revolution as a confirmation of Ukraine's dedication to European values. Accordingly, going to such an extent for European values (democracy, freedom, etc.) has demonstrated the country's special role in European civilization. While the opposite discourse has also persisted, it has silenced some of its critical arguments or softened them. The arguments over unacceptable European values have disappeared but the criticism of Europe's unwillingness to accept Ukraine has elevated. Thus, they still found a room for their proposal of a multivector foreign policy in opposition to exclusively pro-European policy. As a result of losing some critical arguments, contestation has somewhat decreased in favor of the pro-European identity discourse. On the other hand, *Euromaidan* saw a stark frequency increase in both pro- and anti-European elements. The event, similar to the Orange revolution, was interpreted as a special achievement of Ukraine and its dedication to European values. In response, pro-Europeans demanded more support and recognition from Europe. The opposite discourse constructed the protestors as nationalist and fascist enemies and criticized Europe for their support. While the European identity discourse has become prominent in the country, the contestation persisted and despite a few new elements, the event was also interpreted within the pre-existing arguments. Lastly, the *war with Russia* also saw persistence of both pro- and anti-European elements. However, a significant change has taken place in the propositions for country's foreign policy. As a result of the war, the option of choosing Russia over Europe as a main ally completely disappears from the discourse. The only opposite choice of pro-European policy remains rejection of Europe or trying to settle relations with Russia while also holding a pro-European direction. Therefore, contestation has changed in favor of the pro-European discourse.

External actor reactions also activated the European identity discourse, however, without any dramatic changes. During the *events from the EU*, both pro- and anti-European elements increase in quantity, meaning that the EU policies in the country, even if positively perceived by pro-Europeans, also provoke critical stands. Despite few new elements, both discourses largely relied on the previous core identity arguments. Some new elements include the threats

from Europe to country`s economy during the ENP; Europe attempting to monopolize its interests in Ukraine during the EaP and the AA and that modern Europe is different from the historical one in a negative way, thus less desirable. During the DCFTA, the argument about Europe being in an economic crisis has also emerged. During the *events from Russia*, it is pro-European elements that are especially provoked. Some new elements emerge within both discourses. According to anti-Europeans, the strive to be claimed as European is creating conflicts and divisions in Ukraine. On the other hand, Ukraine, with its special role in European civilization, is believed to be able to contribute and offer a solution to Europe`s value crisis. During the Russian offer to join the Customs Union, the idea of Ukraine`s special function of linking Russia and Europe also appears.

In sum, European identity discourse remains contested in Ukraine. Such large events as the Orange Revolution and the War with Russia has somewhat skewed this contestation in favor of the pro-European discourse. However, the opposite discourse similarly persisted, even though with less frequency. On the other hand, external actor reactions do instigate some respond but any considerable change. An interesting finding is that, foreign actor actions especially find response in critical discourses. While the EU causes reactions from Eurosceptics, Russia-related events are particularly picked up by pro-Europeans. In general, despite some fluctuation in the contestation over European identity, identity content seems the hardest to change. The anti- and pro-European discourses maintain their core elements over years and despite a few new ideas, their understanding of belonging to Europe or major Other persist. Actors seem to stick to their discourses despite different events and try to adjust to the new reality by paraphrasing the old narratives.

Bibliography

- Abdelal, R., Yoshik, M.H., Johnston, A.I. and McDermott, R. (2006). Identity As a Variable. *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(4), pp.695-711.
- Beck, U. and Grande, E. (2007). *Das kosmopolitische Europa*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Cirlanaru, K. (2016). A Europeanisation of identities? Quantitative analysis of space-based collective identities in Europe. In: Kaina, V., Karolewski, I.R. and Kuhn, S. (eds.). *European identity revisited: new approaches and recent empirical evidence*. Abington: Routledge
- Darieva, T. and Kaschuba, W. (2007). Introduction: Politics and Identities on the “Margins” of New Europe. In Darieva, T. and Kaschuba, W.(eds.). (2007). “*Representations on the Margins of Europe: Politics and Identities in the Baltic and South Caucasian States*”. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dragneva, R. and Wolczuk, K. (2015). *Ukraine between the EU and Russia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fawn, R. (2006). Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 19(3), pp.1-41.
- Flockhart, T. (2006). Complex socialization: a framework for the study of state socialization. *European Journal of International Relations*. *SAGE Publications and European Consortium for Political Research*, 12(1), pp.89-118.
- Galpin, C. (2017). *The Euro crisis and European identities: political and media discourse in Germany, Ireland and Poland*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goff, P.M. and Dunn, K.C. (2004). *Identity and Global Politics: Empirical and Theoretical Elaborations*. New York: Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Gvalia, G. Siroky, D., Lebanidze, B. and Iashvili, Z. (2013). Thinking Outside the Block: Explaining the Foreign Policies of Small States. *Security Studies* (22), pp.98-131.
- Hall, P.A. and Taylor, R.C.R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44 (5), 936-957.
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, community and cues: public opinion on European integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(4), pp.419-443.
- Janmaat, J. G. (2000). *Nation-building in post-Soviet Ukraine. Educational policy and the response of the Russian-speaking population*. Amsterdam: Netherlands Geographical Studies.
- Kaina, V., Karolewski, I.R. and Kuhn, S. (eds.). (2016). *European identity revisited: new approaches and recent empirical evidence*. Abington: Routledge.
- Kakachia, K. (2012). Georgia’s Identity-Driven Foreign Policy and the Struggle for Its European Destiny. In *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, 37, pp.4-8.
- Kakachia, K., Minesashvili, S. and Kakhishvili, L. (2018). Change and continuity in the foreign policies of small states: elite perceptions and Georgia’s foreign policy towards Russia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70(5), 814-831.
- Kaneva, N.(ed.). (2011). *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the New Europe*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Kaschuba, W. (2007). Old and New Europe: Representations, Imaginations, Stagings. In Darieva, T. and Kaschuba, W.(eds.). (2007). “*Representations on the Margins of Europe: Politics and Identities in the Baltic and South Caucasian States*”. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kolsto, P. (2000). *Political construction sites. Nation-building and the post-Soviet states*. Boulder: Westview.

- Krzyżanowski, M. (2009). Europe in crisis? Discourses on crisis events in the European press 1956-2006. *Journalism Studies*, 10(1), 18-35.
- Kuzio, T. (1998). Ukraine: coming to terms with the Soviet legacy. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 14(4), 1-17.
- Kuzio, T. (2001). Identity and nation-building in Ukraine: defining the “Other”. *Ethnicities*, 1(3), 343-365.
- Kuzio, T. (2002). History, memory and nation building in the post-Soviet colonial space. *Nationalities Papers*, 30(2), 241–264.
- Kuzio, T. (2006). National identity and history writing in Ukraine. *Nationalities Papers*, 34(4), 407-427.
- Marcussen, M. (2000). *Ideas and elites: the social construction of Economic and Monetary Union*. Aalborg: Aalborg University Press.
- Melnykovska, I., Schweickert, R. and Kostiuhenko, T. (2012). Balancing national uncertainty and foreign orientation: identity building and the role of political elites in post-Orange Ukraine. In: Lane, D. (ed.). *Elites and identities in post-Soviet states*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mestvirishvili, N., & Mestvirishvili, M. (2014). “I am Georgian and therefore I am European:”: Researching the Europeanness of Georgia. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 8(1), 52–65.
- Michajlyszyn, N. (2008). From Soviet Ukraine to the Orange Revolution: European security relations and the Ukrainian identity. In: Schmidtke, O. and Yekelchik, S. (eds.). *Europe`s last frontier? Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine between Russia and the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Orlova, D. (2017). “Europe” as a Normative Model in the Mediatized Discourse of Ukrainian Political Elites. *Europe - Asia Studies*, 69(2), 222–241.
- Pfetsch, B. and Heft, A. (2014). Theorizing communication flows within a European public sphere. In: Risse, T. (ed). *European public spheres: politics is back*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Riabchuk, M. (2002). Culture and cultural politics in Ukraine: a postcolonial perspective. In: D`Anieri, P. and Kuzio, T. (eds.). *Dilemmas of state-led nation-building in Ukraine*. Westport: Praeger.
- Riabchuk, M. (2012). *Ukraine`s “muddling through”*: national identity and postcommunist transition. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 45(3-4), 439-446.
- Risse, T. (2010). *A community of Europeans: Transnational identities and public spheres*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Risse, T. (2014). European public spheres, the politicization of EU affairs and its consequences. In: Risse, T. and van de Steeg, M. (eds.). *European public spheres: bringing politics back in*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schulman, S. (2004). The contours of civic and ethnic national identification in Ukraine. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 56(1), 35-56.
- Sidentop, L. 2011. A crisis of belief: a new generation does not share the old idealism about Europe. *Prospect*, July 2011, 33-34.
- Strath, B. and Wodak, R. (2009). Europe-discourse-media-history: constructing crisis? In: Triandafyllidou, A., Wodak, R. and Krzyżanowski, M. (eds.). *The European public sphere and the media: Europe in crisis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- White, S. and Feklyunina, V. (2014). Identities and foreign policies in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus: the other Europes. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- White, S., Korosteleva, J. and McAllister, I. (2008). A wider Europe? The view from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(2), pp.219-241.

White, S., McAllister, I., Light, M. and Lowenhardt, J. (2002). A European or a Slavic choice? Foreign policy and public attitudes in post-Soviet Europe. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 54(2), pp.181-202.

Wolczuk, K. (2000). History, Europe and the “national idea”: the “official” narrative of national identity in Ukraine. *Nationalities Papers*, 28(4), 671-694.

Wydra, D. (2010). Splitting a Nation: European Identity-building in Ukraine. Paper presented at SGIR 7th Pan-European Conference 2010.

Index

List of Media Sources

Mirror Weekly

Неправительственные Аналитические Центры: Предложение На Фоне Отложенного Спроса. [Non-governmental analytical centers: offer on the background of postponed demand] Mikhail Pashkov and Valeri Chalii. *Mirror Weekly*. 9-16 January 2004.

Нелегкий Путь К Рынку Европейского Союза. Not an easy way to the EU market. Aleksandr Baranovski and Vladimir Sidenko. *Mirror Weekly*. 9-16 January 2004.

- На Пути В Европейское Образовательное Пространство. On the way to European educational space. Irina Martsinkovskaia. Mirror Weekly. 9-16 January 2004.
- Право №6, Или Бедные Люди. Right №6 or poor people. Liudmila Shangina. Mirror Weekly. 30 January-6 February 2004.
- Раскольники Европейской Ориентации. Dissenters of European orientation. Roman Yakel. Mirror Weekly. 6-13 February 2004.
- У Вас Своя Евроинтеграция, А У Нас Своя. You have your own Eurointegration, we have – ours. Alena Gatmanchuk. Mirror Weekly. 20-27 February.
- Александр Грановский: «Верю, Что Украина Станет Прекрасным Европейским Государством!» Aleksandr Granovskii: I believe that Ukraine will become a wonderful European state. Aleksandr Artemenko. Mirror Weekly. 20-27 February.
- Дэвид Одсон: Если В Украине Будут Демократические Процессы, То Мы Готовы Поддержать Ее. David Odson: if there will be democratic processes in Ukraine, we will be ready to support them. Vladimir Kravchenko. Mirror Weekly. 27 February-5 March 2004.
- Just do it. Alena Getmanchuk. Mirror Weekly. 27 February- 5 March 2004.
- Что Украине Делать С Еэп? What does Ukraine have to do in EES? Vladimir Vasilenko. Mirror Weekly. 2-9 April 2004.
- Украина — Не Европа? Ukraine-not Europe? Aleksandr Pavlovich. Mirror Weekly. 14-21 May 2004.
- Членство Украины В Вто Приобретает Геополитический Характер. Ukraine`s membership in WTO acquires geopolitical character. Vladimir Granovskii. Mirror Weekly. 28 May-4 June 2004.
- Пределы Стереотипов О Пределах Европы. Stereotype limits about limits of Europe. Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly. 28 May-4 June 2004.
- Александр Быструшкин: «Культура — Это Прежде Всего Вопрос Совести». Aleksandr Bistrushkin: culture is first of all the question of conscience. Zoia Vishnevskiaia. Mirror Weekly. 28 May-4 June 2004.
- Об Украинской Национальной Идее. About Ukrainian national idea. Rostislav Koterlin. Mirror Weekly. 9-16 July 2004.
- Париж И Берлин В Поисках Ускользящей Европы. Paris and Berlin in search of creeping Europe. Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly. 13-20 August 2004.
- В Европу Вместе С Россией Или В Россию Через Европу? In Europe with Russia or in Russia through Europe? Vladimir Poselskii. Mirror Weekly. 3-10 September 2004.
- Хотели По-Европейски, А Вышло Как Всегда. Wanted European way but turned out as always. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 September 2004.
- Украина: Испытание Свободой, Или Чем Обусловлен Прогресс Нации. Ukraine: test of freedom or what causes progress of the nation? Nikolai Jhulinski. Mirror Weekly, 24 September-1 October 2004.
- Бермуды Евразии В Дискурсе Чумы. Eurasian Bermuda in the plague discourse. Oksana Pakhlevskaia. Mirror Weekly, 5-12 November 2004.
- Об Уникальном Положении Украины Между Федерализмом Брюссельским И Московским. On unique position of Ukraine between Brussel and Moscow federalism. Michel Laskin. Mirror Weekly, 12-19 November 2004.
- Шредер и Ширак — за волеизъявление украинцев. Schröder and Chirac – for the will of Ukrainians. Mirror Weekly, 3-10 December 2004.
- Томас Илвес: «Путин намекает, что внутренние дела Украины — это внутренние дела России, но мы категорически отвергаем это». Thomas Ilves: Putin hints that internal affairs of Ukraine are internal affairs of Russia, but we categorically reject this. Mirror Weekly, 3-10 December 2004.
- Ноябрь. Киев. November. Kiev. Vitalii Portnikov. Mirror Weekly, 3-10 December 2004.
- Как мы стали гражданами. How we became citizens. Anna Kotlyar. Mirror Weekly, 3-10 December 2004.
- Революция индивидуальностей. Revolution of individualism. Andrey Bondar. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 December 2004.

Освобождение народа. Французские интеллектуалы — в защиту украинской демократии. Freeing the nation. French intellectuals in protection of Ukrainian democracy. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 December 2004.

Культура как капитал. Culture as a capital. Aleksandr Butsenko. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 December 2004.

Декабрь. Брюссель. December Brussels. Vitalii Portnikov. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 December 2004.

Президент Литвы Валдас Адамкус: «Украина — Европейская Страна». President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus: Ukraine is a European country. Velarya Bondarenko. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 December 2004.

Маркус Меккель: Украина напомнила Европе о свободе. Markus Mekkel: Ukraine reminded Europe about freedom. Vladimir Kravchenko. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 December 2004.

Европейский выбор Украины и русская рулетка. European choice of Ukraine and Russian roulette. Vyktor Vozhenar. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 December 2004.

Анатолий Кинах: «После выборов должна быть сформирована власть абсолютно нового качества». Anatoliy Kinakh: a government of a completely new quality should be formed after the elections. Olga Chernaya. Mirror Weekly, 24-30 December 2004.

Золотое сияние Оранжевой Революции, или Как архистратиг Михаил заступился за Украину. Golden shine of the Orange Revolution or how Archangel Michael stood up for Ukraine. Andrey Okara. Mirror Weekly, 24-30 December 2004.

С Новым годом и Рождеством Христовым! Happy New Year and Merry Christmas. Konstantin Grishenko. Mirror Weekly, 29 December-14 January 2004.

Европейские контракты зрелых «помаранчевых». European contacts of mature “orange”. Andrey Bondar. Mirror Weekly, 29 December-14 January 2004.

Позитивный сигнал. Positive signal. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 January 2005.

Нарисуй дверь в Европу. Paint a door to Europe. Oleg Smal. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 January 2005.

Формула оранжевой победы: заметки непосторонних наблюдателей. Formula of the Orange victory: notes of non-partisan observers. Igor Zhdanov and Yurii Yakimenko. Mirror Weekly, 21-28 January 2005.

Ассоциированное членство Украины в ЕС к 2007 году — реально. Associated membership of Ukraine in European Union for 2007 is real. Mirror Weekly, 28 January-4 February 2005.

Заявка На Членство В ЕС: Сроки И Варианты Для Украины. Application for EU membership: dates and options for Ukraine. Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly, 4-11 February 2005.

Уроки Прагматизма. Lessons of pragmatism. Aleksandr Bogomolov and Galina Yavorskaia. Mirror Weekly, 18-25 February 2005.

Соглашение Об Ассоциации С ЕС: Так Ли Уж Необходимо? Agreement on association with the EU: is it already required? Aleksandr Sushko and Vasiliy Philipchuk. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 March 2005.

Европейскому Государству — Европейское Качество Жизни! European state – European quality of life. Nina Grigorenko. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 April 2005.

Украина—Молдова: Общие Проблемы На Фоне Европейских Перспектив. Ukraine-Moldova: common problems on the background of European perspectives. Evgeny Enin and Dmitry Levus. Mirror Weekly, 22 April-6 May 2005.

Ритуальная Инициация. Ritual initiation. Vladimir Kravchenko. Mirror Weekly, 22 April-6 May 2005.

Конец «Оранжевой» Сказки: 100 Дней Спустя. End of the “Orange” tale: after 100 days. Andrey Okara. Mirror Weekly, 6-13 May 2005.

Доктор, Исцели Самого Себя, Или О Качестве Евроинтеграционной Политики В Исполнении Новой Власти. Doctor, heal yourself or about the quality of Euro integration politics in the execution of new government. Genadiy Druzenko. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 May 2005.

Украина — Россия: Не Медовые 100 Дней. Ukraine – Russia: not honeymoon 100 days. Valeri Chali. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 May 2005.

Наше Село На Фоне Глобальной Деревни. Our village on the background of global villages. Aleksandr Rutkovskiy. Mirror Weekly, 27 May-3 June 2005.

Евротрэш, Или Симуляция Нового. Eurotrash or simulation of a new one. Vasiliy Cherepanin. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 June 2005.

Помешает Ли Интеграции Украины В Ес Ее Вступление В НАТО? Will Ukraine's integration in the EU be an obstacle to its integration in NATO? Anatoliy Pavlenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 10-17 June 2005.

Украинская Культура: Нехватка Денег Или Нехватка Желания? Ukrainian culture: lack of money or willingness? Irena Stetsura. *Mirror Weekly*, 8-15 July 2005.

Конец Медового Месяца? Украина Исчерпала Революционные Авансы На Международной Арене. End of the honeymoon? Ukraine exhausted revolutionary advances on the international arena. Aleksandr Sushko. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-29 July 2005.

Высокая Цивилизация Для Украины? High civilization for Ukraine? Lidya Korsun. *Mirror Weekly*, 19-26 August 2005.

Пробный Камень, Киев И Тбилиси Выстраивают Ось Демократических Стран. Touchstone, Kiev and Tbilisi are building the axis of democratic states. Vladimir Kravchenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 28 August-2 September 2005.

Яцек Ключковский: «Сегодня Просто Твердить «Наша Цель — Европа» Уже Недостаточно». Jacek Klyuchkovsky: today just stating "our goal is Europe" is no longer enough. Savelii Potekhin. *Mirror Weekly*, 23-30 September 2005.

Микола Хвильевый: Азиатский ренессанс и Психологичная Европа. Mykola Khvileviy: Asian renaissance and psychological Europe. Ivan Dziuba. *Mirror Weekly*, 14-21 October 2005.

Переход Украины к государственному- национальному самосознанию и оранжевая революция. Ukraine's transition to state national identity and the Orange Revolution. Oleksandr Omelchenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 14-21 October 2005.

«Своевольная» Украина. Freedom Ukraine. Vasilii Balushok. *Mirror Weekly*, 11-18 November 2005.

Накануне Саммита Украина—Ес: Итоги Ради Перспектив. On the eve of Ukraine-EU summit: results for the sake of perspectives. Gennadiy Druzenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 25 November – 2 December 2005.

Украина Между Россией И Западом: Какую Свободу Мы Выбираем? Ukraine between Russia and the West: what type of freedom will we choose? Svetlana Senenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 9-16 December 2005.

Возвращение В Азию. Return to Asiupе. Oleg Pokalchuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 91-6 December 2005.

Украина—Ес: На Пути К Новому Соглашению. Ukraine-EU: on the way to a new agreement. Nazar Bobitskiy. *Mirror Weekly*, 13-20 January 2006.

Чтение Моралей. Reading of morals. Olek Pokalchuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 20-27 January 2006.

Дорога Ложка К Обеду, Или Украина На Евразийском Перепутье. Road spoon to dinner or Ukraine on the Euroasian crossroad. Genadiy Druzenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 27 January-3 February 2006.

Трудности Перевода. Difficulties of translation. Taras Pano and Ekateryna Pano. *Mirror Weekly*, 27 January-3 February 2006.

В Поисках Оптимальной Стратегии Евроинтеграции. In search of optimal strategy of Eurointegration. Vladimir Poselskiy. *Mirror Weekly*, 10-17 February 2006.

Украина На Экспорт. Ukraine on export. Ekateryna Botanova. *Mirror Weekly*, 17-24 March 2006.

Европа Заждалась. Europe was waiting. Leonid Khorin. *Mirror Weekly*, 21-28 July 2006.

Урок Истории. Lessons of history. Mykola Veresen. *Mirror Weekly*, 21-28 July 2006.

Зарубежная Пресса О Событиях В Украине: Разнообразие Единодушия. Foreign press about developments in Ukraine: diversity in unanimity. Taras Kuzmov. *Mirror Weekly*, 28 July-4 August 2006.

Здесь Украина, Нич Салта! Here is Ukraine, Нич Салта! Oleg Smal. *Mirror Weekly*, 4-19 August 2006.

Нам Никто Ничего Не Должен, Кроме Нас. There is no one obliged with us except us. Svetlana Kabachyskaya. *Mirror Weekly*, 1-8 September 2006.

Осторожно: Двери Закрываются. После Румынии И Болгарии Евросоюз Временно Приостановит Прием Новых Членов. Careful: doors are closing. After Romania and Bulgaria the EU temporarily suspends admission of new members. Ivan Sagaidachniy. *Mirror Weekly*, 29 September-6 October 2006.

Good Bye, Амер... Европа, Оу, Где Я Не Буду Никогда... Good bey, Amer... Europe, ou, where I will never be... Oles Andriichuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 13-20 October 2006.

Человек И Образование В Измерениях Экономической Цивилизации. Man and education in the dimension of economic civilization. Vasiliy Kremen. Mirror Weekly, 20-27 October 2006.

Украинский Фасад В Европе. Аспекты Мышления И Мировосприятия. Ukrainian façade in Europe. Aspects of thinking and perception. Aleksandr Lyashev. Mirror Weekly, 1-8 December 2006.

Агрессивная Религия Секуляризма. Aggressive religion of secularism. Ekateryna Shetkina. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 December 2006.

«Демократия Победила! Да Здравствует Король?» — Два Года Спустя: «Размышления У Разбитого Коряга?». Democracy won! Long live the kind? Two years later: reflections on the broken trough? Vladimir Dubrovskiy. Mirror Weekly, 12-19 January 2007.

Южный Ключ К Европейским Дверям. South key to the European doors. Sergeiy Grinevetskiy. Mirror Weekly, 23 February-2 March 2007.

Джефф Хун: «Перспектива Членства В Ес Должна Быть Открыта Для Стран Юго-Восточной И Восточной Европы, Включительно С Украиной» Jeff Hoon: the EU membership perspective must be open for south-east and eastern Europe, including Ukraine. Tatyana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 23 February-2 March 2007.

Германские Промахи Европрагматика. German slips of Europragmatism. Alena Getmanchuk. Mirror Weekly, 2-7 March 2007.

Куда Ведет Украину «Дорожная Карта» Евроинтеграции. Where is “expensive map” of Eurointegration pulling Ukraine? Mikhail Pashkov and Valerii Chalii. Mirror Weekly, 16-23 March 2007.

Страна Утраченных Шансов. Country of lost chances. Irina Kirichenko. Mirror Weekly, 3-20 April 2007.

Европейцы, Здравствуйте! Europeans, hello! Olga Vladimirskaaya. Mirror Weekly, 6-13 April 2007.

Сценарии Для Украины. Scenarios for Ukraine. Vladimir Litvin. Mirror Weekly, 27 April-11 May 2007.

Микола Плавыюк: «Есть Национализм Времен Освободительных Соревнований И Национализм Времен Построения Национального Государства» Mikolay Plavniuk: There is Nationalism in the Times of Liberation Competitions and Nationalism in the Times of Building a National State. Olga Dubovyk. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 May 2007.

Усталость От Непрогнозируемой Страны. Tired of country without prognosis. Aleksey Yaroshenko. Mirror Weekly, 1 June 2007.

Кто Выводит Ведущих Политиков Украины На Международную Сцену? How do Ukraine’s politicians lead on the international arena? Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 June 2007.

Станет Ли Украина Членом Ес, Зависит От Нас Самих. Wether Ukraine becomes member of the EU or not depends on us. Oksana Bilozut. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 July 2007.

Евросоюз Присматривается К Украине. European Union is watching Ukraine. Mirror Weekly, 31 August-8 September 2007.

Украина—Ес: Некоторые Размышления Накануне Киевского Саммита. Ukraine-EU: some reflections on the eve of Kiev summit. Mikhail Pashkov and Valeriy Chaliy. Mirror Weekly, 7-14 September 2007.

Европейская Политика Для Неудачников. European politics for losers. Alena Getmanchuk. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 September 2007.

Европа И Ее Безопасность. Опасности, Вытекающие Из Приостановления Действия Довсе. Europe and its safety. Dangers arising from the suspension of action dove. Frank-Volter Steinmeier and Bernar Cushner. Mirror Weekly, -10 November 2007.

«Культурный Суверенитет» Нации В Эпоху Постмодернизма, Или Как Перекодировать «Локальную» Культуру. Cultural sovereignty of nation in the post-modern era or how to recode “local” culture. Andrey Okaga. Mirror Weekly, 10-18 November 2007.

Европейская Интрига Правительства Тимошенко. European intrigue of Tymoshenko’s government. Genadiy Druzenko. Mirror Weekly, 21-28 December.

Мид Попросит Ес Отменить Визы Для Украинцев. Ministry of Foreign Affairs will ask the EU to cancel visas for Ukrainians. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 January 2008.

Дорога К Храму Упирается В Киев. The road to the temple is in Kiev. Aleksandr Sergienko. Mirror Weekly, 1-8 February 2008.

Аке Петерсон: Украинцы Стали Больше Знать, Что Такое Ес И Нато, Но Хуже Понимать, Что Такое Евроинтеграция. Aka Peterson: Ukrainians are more aware what is the EU and NATO but understand even worse what Eurointegration is. Oksana Prikhodko. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 February 2008.

Путешествия По Союзу. Заметки Евроскептика. Travel around the Union. Eurosceptic notes. Roman Shuka. Mirror Weekly, 2-29 February 2008.

Украине Нужна Конституция Национального Развития. Ukraine needs a constitution of national development. Viktor Yushchenko. Mirror Weekly, 22-29 February 2008.

Роман Шпек: Украина И Ес Двигаются К Соглашению Об Ассоциации. Roman Shpek: Ukraine and the EU are moving towards the Association Agreement. Mirror Weekly, 29 February-7 March 2008.

Другая Украина: Подмена Понятий. Other Ukraine: substitution of concepts. Evgeniy Shibalov. Mirror Weekly, 7-14 March 2008.

Еврокомиссар Даля Грибаускайте: «Время Подготовки Ко Вступлению В Ес — Золотое Время Для Любой Страны» European Commissioner Daria Gribaускаite: time to get ready for the EU membership – golden times for any country. Aleksa Pidlutskiy. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 March 2008.

Ес Или Нато — Смена Приоритетов Украины? The EU or NATO – change of priorities of Ukraine? Vinfrid Schneider-Deters. Mirror Weekly, 21-28 March 2008.

Кличко: После Выборов Киевского Мэра Украине Стоит Забыть О Европе. Klychko: after the elections of Kiev mayor Ukraine will forget about Europe. Mirror Weekly, 30 May-6 June 2008.

Украина—Ес: Ждем Начала 2009-Го. Ukraine – EU: waiting for the beginning of 2009. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 July 2008.

Национальная Культура — Это И Есть Национальная Идея. National culture is a national idea. Vasiliy Vovkun. Mirror Weekly, 18 July-1 August 2008.

«Киев» Уже В Европе, Очередь За Страной. Kiev is already in Europe, now it's the country's turn. Roman Arkhipov. Mirror Weekly, 2-29 August 2008.

Европейская Перспектива Киеву Заблокирована? Is European perspective of Kiev blocked? Mirror Weekly, 5-12 September 2008.

Украина В Трех Соснах: Нато—Россия—Ес. Ukraine in three pines: NATO-Russia-EU. Tatyana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 26 September-3 October 2008.

Кинах: Для Украины Лучше Европейская Система Коллективной Безопасности, А Не Трансатлантическая. Kinakh: for Ukraine, the European collective system of safety is better than the transatlantic one. Mirror Weekly, 10-17 October 2008.

Еще Раз О Толерантности. Once again about tolerance. Inna Tereshenko. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 November 2008.

Джеймс Шерр: Европа Не Сможет Обеспечить Свою Безопасность, Не Поддержав Украину. James Sher: Europe cannot provide its own security without supporting Ukraine. Mirror Weekly, 23-30 January 2009.

Северное Измерение Евроинтеграции Украины Какие Перспективы? Northern dimension of Ukraine's Eurointegration: what are the prospects? Yakub Loginov. 30 January-6 February 2009.

О Патриотизме И Достоинстве. Субъективно. Отрывочно. Ненаучно. About patriotism and dignity. Subjectively. Sketchy. Unscientific. Andreiy Fialko. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 February 2009.

Валенса: Европа Без Украины — Неполная. Walesa: Europe is incomplete without Ukraine. Mirror Weekly, 27 February-6 March 2009.

Украина — Ес: В Поисках Утраченного Времени. Ukraine-EU: in the search for lost times. Andreiy Fialko. Mirror Weekly, 4-12 April 2009.

Украина И Ес: Партнерство — Ассоциация — Членство. Ukraine-the EU: partnership – association – membership. Constantin Eliseev. Mirror Weekly, 29 April-15 May 2009.

Украинский Феномен. Ukrainian phenomenon. Yuriy Sobolev. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 May 2009.

Европейский Вклад В Недуги Украины. European contribution to Ukraine's ailments. Andread Umland. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 August 2009.

Украина В Меняющемся Мире. Ukraine in a changing world. Anatoliy Zlenko. Mirror Weekly, 21-28 August 2009.

Национальный Интерес Сегодня. National interest today. Taras Stetskiv. Mirror Weekly, 28 August-4 September 2009.

Цензура В Украине: Вопрос Культуры Или Цивилизации? Censorship in Ukraine: a question of culture or civilization? Vladislav Sykalov. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 September 2009.

До Стандартов Евростолицы Нам Еще Как До Неба. To the standards of European capitols for us is like a distance to the sky. Olga Skripnik. 9-16 October 2009.

Украина—Ес—Нато: Мифы И Реалии. Ukraine-EU-NATO: myths and reality. Aleksandr Malynovskiy. Mirror Weekly, 16-23 October 2009.

Украинская Безопасность: От Деклараций К ГарантIAM. Ukrainian security: from declarations to guarantees. Taras Stetskyv. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 November 2009.

Открытое Письмо К Коллегам — Участникам Движения Сопrotивления В Восточной Европе И К Нашим Партнерам В Европе Западной. Open letter to colleagues – to the participants of resistance movement in eastern Europe and our partners in western Europe. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 December 2009.

Будет Ли У Украины Лиссабонский Договор По-Украински? Will Ukraine have a Lisbon agreement in Ukrainian way? Genadiy Druzenko and Svetlana Druzenko. Mirror Weekly, 29 January – 4 February 2010.

Визовая История. О Бюрократии И Человеческом Факторе. Visa history. About beaurocracy and human factor. Taras Vuk. Mirror Weekly, 4-12 February 2010.

Зленко: Украине Стоит Вернуться К Многовекторности, Не Забывая О Евроинтеграции. Zlenko: Ukraine is worth going back to multi-vectorness, not forgetting Eurointegration. Mirror Weekly, 19-26 February 2010.

Европарламентарий: Политическая Методология Бандеры Не Отвечает Европейским Ценностям. Europarliamentarian: Bandera's political methodology is not within European values. Mirror Weekly, 12-19 March 2010.

Турчинов: Заключение В Объятия Януковича, Европа Надеется Удержать Украину. Turchinov: in the embrace of Yanukovich, Europe hopes to hold Ukraine. Mirror Weekly, 19-26 March 2010.

Мы Сами Открыли Ворота, Мы Сами... We have ourselves opened the gates, we will ourselves... Alla Eremenko and others. Mirror Weekly, 23-29 April 2010.

О Европейской Языковой Хартии И Украинской Национальной Политике. About European Language Charter and Ukrainian national politics. Vitaliy Nakhmanovich. Mirror Weekly, 18-25 June 2010.

Украина–Ес: Стратегический Курс Или Фасадная Интеграция? Ukraine-EU: strategic course or façade integration? Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly, 18-25 June 2010.

В Тупике «Внеблоковости», Или «Новое Малороссийство» Украинской Внешней Политики. In the dead end of “off-blockage” or “new little Russianism” of Ukrainian foreign policy. Vladimir Ogrizko. Mirror Weekly, 6-13 August 2010.

Переворот Без Революции. Coup without revolution. Aleksandra Primachenko. Mirror Weekly, 20-27 August 2010.

Украина На «Визовой Карте» Европейского Союза. Ukraine on the “visa map” of the EU. Aleksandr Sushko. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 September 2010.

Украина + Ес + Россия = Синергия. Ukraine-EU-Russia=Synergy. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 September 2010.

Украинско-Русский Диалог: Иллюзии, Коллизии, Аллюзии. Ukrainian-Russian dialogue: illusions, conflicts, allusions. Olga Syngaevskaya. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 September 2010.

Письма В Защиту Демократии. Письмо Второе. A letter in defense of democracy. Second letter. Anna German. Mirror Weekly, 29 September – 5 October 2010.

Украина В Мире Или Украина Между Двумя Мирами? Ukraine in the world or Ukraine between two worlds? Miroslav Marinovich. Mirror Weekly, 12-19 November 2010.

Эпоха Скромных Ожиданий. Era of modest expectations. James Sherr. Mirror Weekly, 26 November-3 December 2010.

- Админреформа В Украине — Шаг Навстречу Ес? Adminreforms in Ukraine – a step to meet the EU? Olga-Shumilo Tapiola. *Mirror Weekly*, 10-17 December 2010.
- Украинский Путь. Можно Ли Сохранить Государство, Возвращаясь К Феодализму? Ukrainian path. Can one maintain government while returning to feudalism? Nikolai Kniazhitskiy. *Mirror Weekly*, 24-29 December 2010.
- Украина Как Общевропейский Фактор. Ukraine as a common European factor. Constantin Grishenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-21 January 2011.
- Золотое Десятилетие Начинается? Golden decade begins? Sergeiy Nemirich. *Mirror Weekly*, 26 February-4 March 2011.
- «Украина — Европейское Государство, Она Не Может Стать Страной Третьего Мира» Ukraine – European state, it cannot become a third world country. Sergeiy Kuyun. *Mirror Weekly*, 12-18 March 2011.
- Украина Между Западом И Востоком. Начало Пути. Ukraine between the West and East. Beginning of the road. Anatoliy Orel. *Mirror Weekly*, 1-8 April 2011.
- «Русский Мир»: Новая Реальность Старого Мифа. “Russian World”: new reality of the old myth. Vladimir Gazin. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-22 April 2011.
- Back In The U.S.S.R? Вперед К Европе! Back in the USSR? Forward to Europe! Yulia Timoshenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-22 April 2011.
- Европейская Функция Украины, Или Как Украина Может Стать «Общевропейским Фактором». European functions of Ukraine or how Ukraine can become a “common European factor”. Vinfrid Schneider-Deters. *Mirror Weekly*, 28 April-13 May 2011.
- Четыре Измерения Украинской Интеграции В Европу. Four dimensions of Ukrainian integration in Europe. Andreas Umland. *Mirror Weekly*, 13-20 May 2011.
- «Вишневый Сад» Украинского Традиционализма. Cherry garden of Ukrainian traditionalism. Andreiy Ermolaev and Aleksandr Levtsun. *Mirror Weekly*, 10-17 June 2011.
- Неоизоляционизм, Или Есть Ли Предел Многовекторности? Neo-isolationism or is there a limit to multi-vector policy? Vadim Karasev. *Mirror Weekly*, 1-8 July 2011.
- Выгоды И Риски Соглашения Об Ассоциации С Ес. Benefits and risks of the EU Association Agreement. Nikolai Kapitonenko. 15-22 July 2011.
- Кому Мешает «Вишневый Сад» Украинского Традиционализма? Who is interfering in the “cherry orchard” of Ukrainian traditionalism? Pavel Kuprienko. *Mirror Weekly*, 12-19 August 2011.
- Двадцать Лет Украины: Наш Путь Только Начинается. Twenty years of Ukraine: our path is just starting. Viktor Yanukovich. *Mirror Weekly*, 19-26 August 2011.
- Двадцать Лет Независимости: Противоречивые Итоги. Twenty years of independence: contradictory results. Ann De Tengi. *Mirror Weekly*, 19-26 August, 2011.
- Посол Германии В Украине Ганс-Юрген Гаймзет: «Перспектива Появится Тогда, Когда В Украине Будет Построена «Европа». German ambassador to Ukraine: perspective will show up when Europe will be built in Europe. Tatiana Silina. *Mirror Weekly*, 21-28 October 2011.
- Пан-Хозяин Как Квинтэссенция Психокультуры Украинцев. Pan-master as quintessence of Ukrainian psychoculture. Taras Marusik. *Mirror Weekly*, 2-9 December 2011.
- Альтернативы Евроинтеграции Нет. Eurointegration has no alternatives. *Mirror Weekly*, 29 December-13 January 2011.
- В Поисках Утраченного Понимания. In seek of lost understanding. Ann Tregub. *Mirror Weekly*, 17-24 February 2012.
- Европерспективы Юрия Луценко. European perspectives of Yuria Lytsenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 2-9 March 2012.
- Пятилетка Патриотизма В Процентах. Percentage of five years of patriotism. Vladislav Grinevich. *Mirror Weekly*, 2-9 March 2012.
- Реформы И Устойчивость: Европейские Уроки Для Украины. Reforms and sustainability: European lessons for Ukraine. Philip De Yure. 9-16 March 2012.

- Стратегическое Равновесие Как Шанс Украины В Многополярном Мире. Strategic balance as Ukraine`s chance in multi-vector world. Konstantin Grishenko. Mirror Weekly, 9-16 March 2012.
- Занимательная Реформистика, Или Почему Власть Не Хочет И Не Может Делать Реформы? Entertaining reformism or why the government does not want and cannot do reforms? Vladimir Dubrovskiy. Mirror Weekly, 16-23 March 2012.
- Звездное Время Украинской Нации. Star time for the Ukrainian nation. Taras Marusik. Mirror Weekly, 23-30 March 2012.
- Продвижение Соглашения Об Ассоциации Украина—Ес Зависит От Киева. Promotion of Association Agreement of Ukraine-EU depends on Kiev. Mirror Weekly, 30 March-6 April 2012.
- Парадоксы И Реалии Национального Информационного Поля. Paradox and reality of national information field. Viktor Nabrusko. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 April 2012.
- О Модернизации, Евроинтеграции, Равновесии И Эквilibристике. On modernization, Eurointegration, equilibrium and equilibristic. Aleksandr Pavliuk. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 April 2012.
- Конституционная Модернизация: Прогресс Или Стагнация? Constitutional modernization: progress or stagnation? Nikolai Onishuk. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 June 2012.
- Янукович Закрывает Окно В Европу? Yanukovich closed the window to Europe. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 June 2012.
- «Потому Что Здесь Было Великое Княжество Литовское...» Because there was grand duchy of Lithuania. Nikolai Pashkovets. Mirror Weekly, 3-10 August 2012.
- Страна Детской Мечты. Country of childish dreams. Oksana Onishenko. Mirror Weekly, 22-31 August 2012.
- Массовое Сознание: Колебание И Прогресс. Mass consciousness: oscillation and progress. Irina Kirichenko. Mirror Weekly, 9-16 November 2012.
- Евроинтеграция: Ускорить Нельзя Медлить. Eurointegration: acceleration never lingering. Valerii Khoroshkovskii. Mirror Weekly, 7-21 December 2012.
- Украина, Европа И Хамство, Или Несколько Слов «Ни О Чем». Ukraine, Europe and greediness or several words about nothing. Mirror Weekly, 7-21 December 2012.
- Обратный Отсчет. Countdown. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 February 2013.
- Евроинтеграция Как Вызов: За Скобками Дискуссии. Eurointegration as a challenge: behind the discussion brackets. Vladimir Dubrovski. Mirror Weekly, 6-15 March 2013.
- Украинское Время. Ukrainian time. Oleg Pokalchuk. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 March 2013.
- На Распутье? At the crossroads? Anatoliy Orel. Mirror Weekly, 29 March-5 April 2013.
- Новые Смыслы Киева. New meanings of Kiev. Vasiliy Kuibida. Mirror weekly, 29 March-5 April 2013.
- Украина И Стратегические Перспективы Европы: Ответ Евроскептикам. Ukraine and strategic perspectives of Europe: answer to Eurosceptics. Vladimir Gorbulin and Evgenii Bersheda. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 May 2013.
- Анатолий Гальчинский: Евроинтеграционная Стратегия Нашей Страны... Исключает Альтернативы. Anatoli Garchinski: Eurointegration strategy of our country...excludes alternatives. Yurii Skolotiani. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 May 2013.
- Do You Speak По-Русски? Do you speak Russian? Oksana Onishenko. Mirror Weekly, 7-14 June 2013.
- История Прекратила Течение Свое, А Значит Настало Время Размышлений. History stopped its own, time has come to reflect. Sergiy Nemirich. Mirror Weekly, 26 June-5 July 2013.
- Кем Быть (Навеяно Лисапетной Моей Украиной). Whom to be (inspired by my Ukraine`s lisapet)? Aleksandr Pashkaver. Mirror Weekly, 9-16 August 2013.
- Какое Будущее Ждет Украину. What kind of future awaits Ukraine. Vasiliy Filipchuk. Mirror Weekly, 6-13 September 2013.
- Кочка Зрения Как Национальная Идея. Hummock as a national idea. Oleg Pokalchuk. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 September 2013.
- Патриарх Кирилл И Евроинтеграция: Атака Или Выжидание? Patriarch Kiril and Eurointegration: attack or waiting? Ekaterina Shetkina. Mirror Weekly, 4-11 October 2013.

- Проблема Выбора Направления. Problem of choosing a direction. Evgeni Sverstiuk. Mirror Weekly, 11-18 October 2013.
- Что После Вильнюса? What after Vilnius? Andreas Umland. Mirror Weekly, 18-25 October 2013.
- Конфликт Мировоззрений. Conflict of worldviews. Evgenii Shibalov. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 November 2013.
- Общая Внешняя Политика Ес: Испытание Украиной. Common EU foreign policy: testing Ukraine. Nikolai Karitonenko. Mirror Weekly, 8-15 November 2013.
- Студенческий Евромайдан: Кровь И Гром. Student Euromaidan: blood and thunder. Lidia Surzhik. Mirror Weekly, 6-13 December 2013.
- Ноябрьский Срыв Еврольвова. November disruption Eurolvov. Ostan Drozdov. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 December 2013.
- Гражданское Общество: Процесс Необратим? Civil society: process irreversible? Alla Kotlyar. Mirror Weekly, 13-20 December 2013.
- Писатель Мирослав Дочинец: Евромайдан — Это Не Сказочка. Writer Miroslav Dochinets: Euromaidan is not a fairy tale. Ekateryna Konstantinova. Mirror Weekly, 20-27 December 2013.
- "Не спешите вы нас хоронить". Don't hurry burying us. Yurii Butusov. Mirror Weekly, 27 December-17 January 2013.
- Один Дома В Ночь Перед Рождеством. Home alone before Christmas. Aleksandr Sharov. Mirror Weekly, 27 December-17 January 2013.
- Феномен Украинского Майдана: Историческая И Генетическая Память. Phenomena of Ukrainian Maidan: historical and genetic memory. Marya Pavliukh. Mirror Weekly, 27 December-17 January 2013.
- Время Удивляться. Время Удивлять. Time to be surprised. Time to surprise. Mirror Weekly, 27 December-17 January 2013.
- Майдан Forever Vs Стоп Майдан. Maidan forever vs. stop Maidan. Evgeniy Zarudni. Mirror Weekly, 27 December – 17 January 2013.
- Недопонимая Украину, Переоценивая Россию. Misunderstanding Ukraine, reevaluation of Russia. Andreas Umland. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 January 2014.
- Голос Майдана Евгений Нишук: Две Революции На Одну Жизнь — Это Много. Voice of Maidan Evgeniy Nishuk: two revolutions in one life. Ekateryna Konstantinova. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 January 2014.
- Анатомия Революции: Заметки Ученого. Anatomy of revolution: notes of a scientist. Anatolii Galchinski. Mirror Weekly, 17-24 January 2014.
- Камень, Источенный Каплями. Stone drenched. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 31 January-7 February 2014.
- Евромайдан: Несшиваемый Раскол Между Властью И Обществом. Euromaidan: unbreakable split between power and society. Irina Kirichenko. Mirror Weekly, 31 January-7 February 2014.
- Бернар-Анри Леви: Если Украину Силой Вернут В Советскую Обойму, Европа Будет Духовно Кончена. Bernar-Anri Lev: if Ukraine is returned to Soviet clip with force, Europe will be spiritually finished. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 7-14 February 2014.
- Судетский сценарий: Готов ли Запад идти по стопам "миротворцев" Чемберлена и Даладьё? Sudeten scenario: is the West ready to follow the "peacemaking" footsteps of Chamberlain and Daladier? Sergey Makhun. Mirror Weekly, 6-14 March 2014.
- "Семейное дело", или Второй шанс. Family matter or a second chance. Yurii Shapoval. Mirror Weekly, 14-21 March 2014.
- Ампутация Иллюзий. Amputation of illusions. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 21-28 March 2014.
- Украина — разрушительница империй. Ukraine – destroyer of Emperies. Evgen Zarudni. Mirror Weekly, 28 March-4 April 2014.
- Точка над "i". Dot on the i. Valentic Tkach. Mirror Weekly, 28 March-4 April 2014.
- Западная Украина — на выход. Western Ukraine is out. Ostan Drozdov. 11-18 April 2014.
- Верховный Архиепископ Украинской Греко-Католической Церкви Святослав Шевчук: Мы Все По-Новому Должны Осознать Место Украины В Мировом Контексте. Archbishop of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic

Church Sviatoslav Shevchuk: we have to once again understand Ukraine's place in the world. Ekaterina Shetkina. *Mirror Weekly*, 18-25 April 2014.

О децентрализации, федерализации и малограмотных сепаратистах. On decentralization, federalism and illiterate separatists. Anatoli Tkachuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 16-23 May 2014.

Бернар-Анри Леви: Если Потонет Украина — Потонет И Вся Европа. Bernar-Anri Levy: if Ukraine sinks, Europe will also sink. Tatiana Silina. *Mirror Weekly*, 22-30 May 2014.

Плотность Изменений В Общественном Сознании. Destiny of change in public consciousness. Irina Kirichenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 13-20 June 2014.

Принуждение к Украине. Compulsion to Ukraine. Ekaterina Shetkina. *Mirror Weekly*, 20-27 June 2014.

Европа В Составе Украины. Почем Жилье? Europe as part of Ukraine. How much is housing? Vadim Bashta. *Mirror Weekly*, 20-27 June 2014.

Жить По-Европейски: Оценка Влияния На Окружающую Среду И Качество Жизни. Live European: assessing the impact on environment and quality of life. Andrei Andrusevich. *Mirror Weekly*, 20-27 June 2014.

Как 500 Лет Назад Остановили Российской Агрессию. How Russian aggression was stopped 500 years ago. Roman Yakel. *Mirror Weekly*, 12-19 September 2014.

Анатолий Гальчинский: Национальная Идея — Построение Украины В Украине. Anatoli Galchinski: national idea – building Ukraine in Ukraine. Yuri Skolotyaniy. *Mirror Weekly*, 3-10 October 2014.

Украина Возвращается В Европу. Ukraine is returning to Europe. Irina Kirichenko. *Mirror Weekly*, 31 October-7 November 2014.

На Пути К Европе Знаний. Towards Europe of knowledge. Oleg Zubchik. *Mirror Weekly*, 7-14 November 2014.

Год Украины. Year of Ukraine. Andrey Klimenko and others. *Mirror Weekly*, 26 December-16 January 2014.

Великая Европейская Стена. Great European wall. Oleg Pokalchuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 27 March-3 April 2015.

Оксана Пахлёвская: Украина Может Существовать Лишь В Одном Цивилизационном Измерении — Европейском.. Oksana Pahlivskaia: Ukraine can exist only in one civilizational dimension – European. Irina Nikolaichuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 24 April-15 May 2015.

Посол Польши В Украине Генрик Литвин: Из Всех Европейских Наций Из Своего Культурного Наследия Больше Всего Потеряли Украинцы И Поляки. Polish ambassador in Ukraine Genrik Latvin: out of all European nations Ukrainians and Polish lost the most of their cultural heritage. Oleg Vergelis. *Mirror Weekly*, 24 April-15 May 2015.

Соседство С Россией. Neighbrouhood with Russia. Evgeniy Bersheda. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-22 May 2015.

Хосе Казанова: Я Не Верю В Нации, Но Верю В Силу Духа Украинцев. Khose Kozanova: I don't believe in a nation, but I believe in the power of Ukrainian soul. Alla Kotlyar. *Mirror Weekly*, 15-22 May 2015.

Евросоюз Подал Креативный Сигнал Украинской Культуре. European Union gave a creative signal to Ukrainian culture. Oleg Vergelis. *Mirror Weekly*, 10-17 July 2015.

Европейский Пасьянс И Российский Карточный Домик. European Passeans and Russian card house. Vasillii Kukhar. *Mirror Weekly*, 14-21 August 2015.

Эхо Украины. Echo of Ukraine. Oleg Pokalchuk. *Mirror Weekly*, 25 September-2 October 2015.

Украинская Дипломатия: На Пути К Европейским Стандартам. Ukrainian diplomacy: on the way to European standards. Andrei Veselovski. *Mirror Weekly*, 22-29 January 2016.

Ярослав Грицак: Путин Проиграл Украину. Yaroslav Gritsak: Putin lost Ukraine. Oksana Zagakailo. *Mirror Weekly*, 22-29 January 2016.

Анатолий Гальчинский: Реформы Ес — Действительно Вопрос Сегодняшней Повестки Дня. Anatoly Galchinski: EU reforms – indeed the question of today's agenda. Yurii Skolotiani. *Mirror Weekly*, 29 January-5 February 2016.

Каким Же Быть Киеву? How can Kiev be? Vladimir Nudelman. *Mirror Weekly*, 5-12 February 2016.

Кирилл Галушко: Главное Оружие Украинского Историка — Факты И Просветительство. Kiril Galushko: main weapon of a Ukrainian historian – facts and enlightenment. Sergei Makhun. *Mirror Weekly*, 26 February-3 March 2016.

- Как Понять Украину. How to understand Ukraine. Igor Tishkevich. Mirror Weekly, 18-25 March 2016.
- Прозрачность Совместной Аграрной Политики В Ес: Эмпирические Доказательства. Transparency of the joint agrarian policy in the EU: empirical evidence. Elena Borodina. Mirror Weekly, 15-22 April 2016.
- Постреволюция. Postrevolution. Vadim Novinski. Mirror Weekly, 28 April-13 May 2016.
- Дэниэл Фрид: Мы Не Просим Украину Сделать Все, Когда Россия Не Делает Ничего. Deniel Frid: we don't ask Ukraine to do everything when Russia does not do anything. Tatiana Silina. Mirror Weekly, 20-27 May 2016.
- Украинская История: Какой Ей Быть? Ukrainian history: how should it be? Petr Kraliuk. Mirror Weekly, 4-11 June 2016.
- "Варяги" и "греки"-3: извилистый путь в Европу, или Европейские принципы против европейских норм. Varyangs And Greeks-3: A Tortuous Path To Europe, Or The European Principles Against European Norms. Vladimir Dubrovski. Mirror Weekly, 16 July-5 August 2016.
- Цивилизационный Выбор Украины В Глобализованном Мире. Civilizational choice of Ukraine in globalized world. Sergei Pirozhkov. Mirror Weekly, 13-19 August 2016.
- Зачем Нужны Украинцы, Или Как Разорвать Круг Истории? Why are Ukrainian needed or how to break a circle of history? Aleksandr Zinchenko. Mirror Weekly, 20-26 August 2016.
- Социальные Реформы: Невежество, Популизм Или Циничное Преступление? Social reforms: ignorance, populism or cynical crime? Vladimir Petrovski. Mirror Weekly, 1-7 October 2016.
- Модернизация? Модернизация! Modernization? Modernization! Tatiana Orlova. Mirror Weekly, 1-7 October 2016.
- Украинский Ренессанс: Сможет Ли Наша Страна Стать Новой Италией? Ukrainian renaissance: can our country become new Italy? Roman Skliarov. Mirror Weekly, 29 October-4 November 2016.
- Что Дала Реформация Европе И Украине? What did reformation bring to Europe and Ukraine? Petr Kraliuk. Mirror Weekly, 10-16 December 2016.
- Нам Бы Ночь Простоять. We would stand a night. Aleksandr Sherba. Mirror Weekly, 29 December-14 January 2016.
- Украина Как Аргумент Для Евроскептиков. Ukraine as an argument for Eurosceptics. Yaroslav Zhalilo. Mirror Weekly, 18-24 February 2017.
- Анатолий Гальчинский: Конец Евроцентризма: Что Дальше? Anatoli Galnichinski: end of Eurocentrism: what is next? Yuri Skolotiani. Mirror Weekly, 4-10 March 2017.
- Безвиз: За Шаг До Победы. Visa free: for a step to victory. Kateryna Zarembo. Mirror Weekly, 8-14 April 2017.
- Трипольская Культура: Новые Открытия Против Старых Иллюзий. Tripol culture: new opening against old illusions. Natalia Mikhailova. Mirror Weekly, 13-19 May 2017.
- Без Жупанов, Или Наше Возвращение В Европу. Without Zhupanov or our return to Europe. Sergei Makhun. Mirror Weekly, 27 May-2 June 2017.
- Больше Европы В Украине И Больше Украины В Европе. More Europe in Ukraine and more Ukraine in Europe. Margot Valstrem and Linas Linkiavichius. Mirror Weekly, 10-16 June 2017.
- Национальный Вопрос: Украина Как Европа. National question: Ukraine as Europe. Igor Gryniv. Mirror Weekly, 17-23 June 2017.

Gazeta 2000

- Russia and Ukraine will better understand each other. Veleriy Govgalenko. Gazeta 2000, 23 January 2004.
- Kuchma: ultimatums are not appropriate. Gazeta 2000, 23 January 2004.
- Zvarich: we are poor sheep, nobody will help us. Natalya Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 6 February 2004.

Europe and America remained behind? Taras Minin. *Gazeta* 2000, 19 March 2004.

Putin's "demarcia" and conclusions for Ukraine. Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 19 March 2004.

End of racing in Europe. Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 April 2004.

Ukrainian-Polish interests and the EU constitution. Sergeiy Ponomarev. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 April 2004.

Return to Europe and run away from the second world. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 April 2004.

Saga of democracy and its future. Maksim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 April 2004.

On the way to Europe. Vladimir Kolichev. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 April 2004.

Fragile center of continental axes: Ukraine does not fit NATO because of its geopolitical status. Aleksandr Golichev. *Gazeta* 2000, 9 April 2004.

Kuchma and Putin are not waiting for weather at the sea: they are making it themselves. Sergeiy Lozunko. *Gazeta* 2000, 30 April 2004.

Yushchenko has no politics. Sergeiy Lozunko. *Gazeta* 2000, 4 June 2004.

Camo rigde of new Ukrainian nationalism. Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 4 June 2000.

Strategic mistake. Valeri Govgalenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 2 July 2004.

Polish will fight for leaving the EU. Evengiy Melnik. *Gazeta* 2000, 17 September 2004.

Ukraine will become a platzdarm? Leonid Kiriliuk. *Gazeta* 2000, 29 October 2004.

If Yushchenko wins and if Yanukovich wins. Sergeiy Burlachenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 12 November 2004.

Repeating Herberstein and horsey. Vladimir Senchikhin. *Gazeta* 2000, 26 November 2004.

Stable Europe is impossible without stable Ukraine. *Gazeta* 2000, 3 December 2004.

Ukrainian police is better than Russian. *Gazeta* 2000, 10 December 2004.

Orange insurrection was lead from Portugal. Aleksandr Golichev. *Gazeta* 2000, 17 December 2004.

Ukraine of Leonid Kuchma: to market and democracy with its own path. Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 24 December 2004.

New mania of Europe? *Gazeta* 2000, 24 December 2004.

Orientation: not philosophical approach. *Gazeta* 2000. 25 February 2005.

Heavy bolt of Europe: did not we get stuck at the door? Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 25 February 2005.

Whole industries are turning into ruins. Aleksandr Datsiuk. *Gazeta* 2000, 4 March 2005.

"Beautiful" far European Union. Vasili Gorbali. *Gazeta* 2000, 4 March 2005.

Humanity of Ukrainian origin. Valeri Rumilov. *Gazeta* 2000, 18 March 2005.

Deepen, improve and expand Eurointegration. Sergeiy Burlachenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 25 March 2005.

And European antichrist in eyes. Evgeni Sedikh. *Gazeta* 2000, 25 March 2005.

Evgeniy Kushnarev: the new opposition has a strong stimulus. *Gazeta* 2000, 25 March 2005.

Let's talk about Ukraine. Marian Kaluski. *Gazeta* 2000, 1 April 2005.

Ukraine – "poster-boy" of the USA. Leonid Reshodko. *Gazeta* 2000, 15 April 2005.

Anti-Russian "rym" headed by Yushchenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 22 April 2005.

Vilnius as headquarter of NATO and of future revolutions? Elena Masneva. *Gazeta* 2000, 29 April 2005.

These people do not need a payment: Europeans don't want to live in the EU. Evgeniy Melnik. *Gazeta* 2000, 29 April 2005.

Integration – apple of contention. Natalia Kichigina. *Gazeta* 2000, 13 May 2005.

The European Union will have the same faith as the Soviet Union. Dmitri Koriandov. *Gazeta* 2000, 20 May 2005.

Why we like Euro and not NATO. Maxim Mikhailenko. *Gazeta* 2000, 27 May 2005.

Are we going to Europe? Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 17 June 2005.

Europe: contradiction. Gazeta 2000, 1 July 2005.

From orange love to black hate. Elena Masneva. Gazeta 2000, 23 September 2005.

Baltics found out the price of anti-Russionism. Vladas Siritavichius. Gazeta 2000, 23 September 2005.

Notes of a severe sceptic. Yuri Chernetski. Gazeta 2000, 14 October 2005.

Multi vector policy – not a curse for Ukraine rather its road map. Elena Masneva. Gazeta 2000, 28 October 2005.

Freedom instead of solidarity. More America means less Europe. Aleksandr Leontiev. Gazeta 2000, 25 November 2005.

What kind of national idea do we need? Yuri Apukhtin. Gazeta 2000, 2 December 2005.

Geography of democratic choice. Aleksandr Leontiev. Gazeta 2000, 9 December 2005.

New gas pipes of Europe. Evgenii Melnik. Gazeta 2000, 3 February 2006.

PACE is acquiring power of MacCarthyism. Sergei Lozinko. Gazeta 2000, 3 February 2006.

Ukraine-EU: mission possible. Sergei Astakhov. Gazeta 2000, 24 February 2006.

Boris Ivanovich not adequate (diagnosis from the EU). Nikolai Chernii. Gazeta 2000, 24 February 2006.

Boris Ivanovich not adequate (diagnosis from the EU). Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 24 March 2006.

Energy – ticket or a Schlagbaum? Path of Ukraine in Europe lies in Moscow. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 31 March 2006.

Question of morality in politics. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 7 April 2006.

Grey zone: bankruptcy of Ukraine. Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 21 April 2006.

European values stumbled on Russian language. Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 19 May 2006.

Kill the soul in the EU. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 2 June 2006.

Our independence. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 18 August 2006.

Budapest rebellion: not everythin is Europe that shines. Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 29 September 2006.

Constructive two-sidedness. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 13 October 2006.

Democracy and nationalism: two non-local things? Vadim Kirpichev. 20 October 2006.

Roman Shpeck: they only want to hear one thing from you: than you, all is well. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 8 December 2006.

(Back) forward to multi-vector policy. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 29 December 2006.

Basis of laws. Dmitri Tabachnik. Gazeta 2000, 12 January 2007.

Brussels does not know what to do with us. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 26 January 2007.

Aleksandr Leontiev. Gazeta 2000, 26 Janaury 2007.

Revolution continues, but no longer on squares. Yuri Demin. Gazeta 2000, 2 February 2007.

In Kiev – state chaos. Gazeta 2000, 6 April 2007.

Chasing Putin. Daniel Larison. Gazeta 2000, 20 April 2007.

Priviledge Eurasian neighbor. Aleksii Popov. Gazeta 2000, 18 May 2007.

Who invented Russophobia? Vladimir Kornilov. Gazeta 2000, 15 June 2007.

National idea: when can we be happy? Nikolai Liubchenko. Gazeta 2000, 6 July 2007.

Towards European state or European province? Viktor Naidenov. Gazeta 2000, 10 August 2007.

Armed neutrality: Ukraine`s change to have an influence? Gazeta 2000, 24 August 2007.

Ukraine – the most famous neighbor of the EU. Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 5 October 2007.

Война Олигархов Вместо Национального Единства. War of oligarchs instead of national unity. Leonid Grach. Gazeta 2000, 21 October 2007.

- Социал-Демократия Возродит Украину! Social-democracy will revive Ukraine. Gazeta 2000, 16 November 2007.
- Близнец На Том Краю Европы. Twin on the edge of Europe. R. Kalashnikov. Gazeta 2000, 11 January 2008.
- Как Нам Обустроить Украину. How to equip Ukraine. Vitali Bashubski. Gazeta 2000, 11 January 2008.
- Хроническая К Выборам Любовь. Chronic love of elections. Gazeta 2000, 28 March 2008.
- Европейская Миссия «Украинского Пьемонта» European mission “Ukrainian piedmont”. Oleg Kachmarski. Gazeta 2000, 4 April 2008.
- К «Европейскости» Левой Идеи. Europeanness of the left idea. Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 18 April 2008.
- Все Стабильно: «Їдять Немовлять»! Everything is stable. Gazeta 2000, 25 April 2008.
- Фюрер Украины? Fuhrer of Ukraine? Dmitri Tabachnik. Gazeta 2000, 23 May 2008.
- Юля Уже На Четвереньках. Yulia is already on all fours. Gazeta 2000, 4 July 2008.
- В Какую Европу Идти, Если Ее Центр — В Украине? What kind of Europe go to when you are the center? Aleksandr Panchun. Gazeta 2000, 18 July 2008.
- Кричали, Кричали — И Докричались. Screamed, screamed and screamed out. Evgeni Kushnarev. Gazeta 2000, 22 August 2008.
- Нет На Европу Де Голля. No to De Gaulle`s Europe. Aleksandr Golichev. 29 August 2008.
- Паноптикум К Перевыборам Готов. Panopticon for re-elections ready. Gazeta 2000, 10 October 2008.
- Европейские Химеры. European Chimera. Rostislav Volin. Gazeta 2000, 28 November 2008.
- Похищение Европы И Интеграция России. Kidnapping Europe an dintegration of Russia. Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 19 December 2008.
- Национальный Суверенитет - Привилегия Избранных. National sovereignty – privilege of the chosen ones. Igor Alekseev. Gazeta 2000, 15 May 2009.
- Еврохолопы. Eurolackeys. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 26 June 2009.
- История Повторяется... History repeats. Sergei Zarvovski. Gazeta 2000, 17 July 2009.
- О Евростандартах. On European standards. Aleksandr Fidel. Gazeta 2000, 16 July 2009.
- Вся Страна Фигней Страдает. Whole country suffers of bullshit. Gazeta 2000, 14 August 2009.
- Страна Без Истории – Страна Без Будущего. Country without history is a country without future. Dmitri Tabachnik. Gazeta 2000, 15 September 2009.
- Демократическая Украина – Это Пророссийская Украина! Democratic Ukraine is pro-Russian Ukraine. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 16 September 2009.
- «...На «Оранжевых» Ребятах И Пробы Не Поставишь: «Мертвые Души» Отдыхают!» On orange guys and samples you don`t deliver: dead souls are resting. Gazeta 2000, 2 October 2009.
- Масштаб Маразма Как Сила Оргазма. Scale of insanity as power of orgasm. Gazeta 2000, 16 October 2009.
- Сны Про Майдан В Виде Тяжелой Дороги. Maidan dreams in the view of difficult road. Aleksandr Leontev. Gazeta 2000, 29 October 2009.
- Свиногриппозная Битва. Swine flu battle. Gazeta 2000, 13 November 2009.
- Кто И Что Мешает Интеграции В Евразии. What and who is dreaming about integration in Eurasia. Maxim Mikhailenko. Gazeta 2000, 11 December 2009.
- Штабные Портки. Staff ports. Gazeta 2000, 25 December 2009.
- Украина Реагирует На Деградацию И Беспредел Симпатией К России. Ukraine is reacting on degradation and lawlessness with sympathy to Russia. Yuri Pakhomov. Gazeta 2000, 19 February 2010.
- Прощание С Евросказкой. Goodbye to European tale. Vadim Kirpichev. Gazeta 2000, 22 December 2009.
- Отставные Тигрюли Барабанщики. Retired Tigruli drummers. Gazeta 2000, 11 March 2010.

Евросказка — Ложь, Но В Ней Намек. European tale – a lie but with a sign. Valerii Fedorov. Gazeta 2000. 17 March 2010.

Бабу С Воза — Кабмину Легче. Gazeta 2000, 25 March 2010.

Европа, Украина, Россия: Бракосочетание Грядет В Киеве. Europe, Ukraine, Russia: marriage coming in Kiev. Maxim Mikhaïlenko. Gazeta 2000, 30 March 2010.

Будущее Украины И Мира В Свете Пассионарной Теории. Future of Ukraine and world in the light of Passionarni theory. Gazeta 2000, 7 April 2010.

И Дождь Смывает Все Следы. And rain deletes of traces. Gazeta 2000, 20 May 2010.

Ммм: Не Мычи — Не Мочи — Не Молчи. Gazeta 2000, 28 May 2010.

Ес Пора Взглянуть На Украину Без Очков, «Подобранных Для России». It is time that the EU looks at Ukraine without glasses “selected for Russia”. Natalia Kichigina. Gazeta 2000, 3 June 2010.

Возлюбившим Западную Демократию... Gazeta 2000, 25 June 2010.

Культ Наличности. Cult of cash. Gazeta 2000, 15 July 2010.

Подводный Камень Европейского Выбора. Underwater stone of European choice. Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 25 August 2010.

Европейский Ветер С Востока. European wind from the east. Dmitri Karakat. Gazeta 2000, 10 September 2010.

Сближение С Россией И Курс В Ес? Getting close to Russia and a course towards the EU? Aleksandr Fidel. Gazeta 2000, 11 September 2010.

«Отношения Украина — Ес: Вызовы Сегодняшнего Дня». Ukraine-EU relations: today`s challenges. Anatolii Orel. Gazeta 2000, 1 October 2010.

Европа В Сердце Не Нуждается. In heart, Europe does not need. Sergei Kichigin. Gazeta 2000, 22 October 2010.

Европейская Хартия Нужна Не Европе. It is not Europe that needs European Charter. Dmitri Skvortsov. Gazeta 2000, 24 November 2010.

Не Мозг Нации. Not the brain of nation. Gazeta 2000, 30 December 2010.

Патриоты «Оранжевые» И Подлинные. Orange patriots and authentic. Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 17 January 2011.

Недавнее Пошлкое. Gazeta 2000, 20 January 2011.

Не Стоит Смотреть На Европу С Позций: Кто «Наши», А Кто «Не Наши». Not worth looking at Europe from the position of “who is ours” and “who is not”. Liudmila Fedorova. Gazeta 2000, 24 February 2011.

Призрачность И Популизм Украинской «Европейскости». Illusion and populism of Ukrainian “Europeanness”. Gazeta 2000, 2 March 2011.

Европейский Выбор. European choice. Aleksandr Ponomarenko. Gazeta 2000, 6 April 2011.

Калибр Вокруг Принципов. Caliber around principles. Gazeta 2000, 21 April 2011.

Кирпич Для Европы. Brick for Europe. Gazeta 2000, 26 May 2011.

Проглотим Ли «Глубокую Демократию»? Will we swallow “deep democracy”? Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 2 June 2011.

Россия И Украина: Почему Остановилась Интеграция? Russia and Ukraine: why has integration stopped? Yurii Lukashin. Gazeta 2000, 9 June 2011.

На Дураках Воду Возят И В Европе. Gazeta 2000, 24 June 2011.

Какая Украина Нужна Европе? What kind of Ukraine does Europe need? Aleksandr Fidel. Gazeta 2000, 20 June 2011.

Рад Бы В Европу... Aleksandr Baev. Gazeta 2000, 13 July 2011.

«Соединенные Штаты Европы»: Столица — Киев. United states of Europe: capital – Kiev. Gazeta 2000, 13 July 2011.

Динамократия. Gazeta 2000, 13 July 2011.

Кич Эпохи. Kitsch of the era. Gazeta 2000, 8 September 2011.

Не То Чтобы Кстати. Gazeta 2000, 15 September 2011.

«П» И Три Точки. P and three dots. Gazeta 2000, 22 September 2011.

В Европу По Российской Дороге. To Europe with Russian way. Aleksandr Danilov. Gazeta 2000, 28 September 2011.

Цивилизационный Выбор? Civilizational choice? Petr Tolochko. Gazeta 2000, 5 October 2011.

Внутренний Кризис Ес — Лучший Аргумент Против Курса На Евроинтеграцию. Internal crisis of the EU – the best argument against the Eurointegration course. Dmitri Galkin. Gazeta 2000, 27 October 2011.

«Русский Мир» — Единственный Шанс Украины. Russian world – the only change for Ukraine. Aleksandr Grodan. Gazeta 2000, 11 November 2011.

Чего Ждать От Саммита Украина — Ес. What to expect from Ukraine-EU summit. Vladimir Shevchenko. Gazeta 2000, 15 December 2011.

Что Кроется За Разговорами О Цивилизационном Выборе Украины? What lies behind the talk on civilizational choice of Ukraine. Georgja Kriuchkov. Gazeta 2000, 21 December 2011.

Украине Готовят Революцию-2. Revolution-2 is prepared in Ukraine. Yuri Lukashin. Gazeta 2000, 22 December 2011.

Золотые Гири «Евроинтеграции». Golden gears of Eurointegration. Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 22 December 2011.

Желебатонная Логика Ключева. Gazeta 2000, 13 January 2012.

Евроидиотизм. Euroidiotism. Gazeta 2000, 5 April 2012.

Дьёни Габор: «Мы Стремимся В Другую Европу». Dioni Gabor: we were striving to different Europe. Dmitri Galkin. Gazeta 2000, 12 April 2012.

Победыносцы. Gazeta 2000, 13 May 2012.

Украинский Ясырь И Европейский Выбор. Ukrainian cheese and European choice. Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 20 May 2012.

Максим Шевченко: Либералы — Это «Ельцинизм» В Самой Крайней Форме. Maksim Shevchenko: liberals – is “Yeltsinism” in its extreme form. Yuri Lukashin. Gazeta 2000, 30 May 2012.

Русскость И Европейскость. Russionism and Europeanism. Aleksandr Eremenko. Gazeta 2000, 30 May 2012.

«Русский Мир» И Украина. Russian world and Ukraine. Petr Tolochko. Gazeta 2000, 7 June 2012.

Александр Проханов: «Евразийский Проект — Единственная Альтернатива Деградации И Распаду». Aleksandr Prokhanov: Eurasian project is the only altenrative to degradation and fall. Dmitri Galkin. Gazeta 2000, 16 August 2012.

Петр Симоненко: «Хватит Платить За Евроинтеграцию!». Piotr Simonenko: enough paying for Eurointegration. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 6 September 2012.

«Украина — В Бред!». Ukraine- forward. Gazeta 2000, 20 September 2012.

На Чужой Воровай Карман Не Разевай. Do not pick a pocket of the foreign thief. Gazeta 2000, 18 October 2012.

Уважуха. Gazeta 2000, 26 October 2012.

За Победу Домкратии. To the victory of democracy. Gazeta 2000, 2 November 2012.

Оборзимо. Gazeta 2000, 7 December 2012.

Циновники. Gazeta 2000, 11 January 2013.

Интеграция И Безопасность Украины. Integration and security of Ukraine. Valery Muntian. Gazeta 2000, 24 January 2013.

В Ес Рассчитывают На Саботаж Украины. In the EU, they count on the sabotage of Ukraine. Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 14 February 2013.

Европеизация — Это Новая Религия. Europeanization is a new religion. Dmitri Skvortsov. Gazeta 2000, 28 February 2013.

Разврат С Ндс. Gazeta 2000, 27 April 2013.

Маразм. Роттердамский. Gazeta 2000, 17 May 2013.

Истериические Мысли. Vi В. До Н. Э.. Gazeta 2000, 31 May 2013.

Еще Один Предохранитель От Украины. One more saver of Ukraine. Roman Gubrienko. Gazeta 2000, 30 May 2013.

Спецкоры. Между Строк. Gazeta 2000, 7 June 2013.

Горят Ярким Пламенем «Европейские Ценности». Burning with a flame “European values”. Dmitri Korolev. Gazeta 2000, 12 June 2013.

Вопросы Националисту. Questions to a nationalist. Aleksandr Demidovich. Gazeta 2000, 26 June 2013.

Моротворцы И Демократологи. Сокращенно — Зад. Peacekeepers and democratologists. Gazeta 2000, 27 June 2013.

Не Мешайте! Не Смейте! Gazeta 2000, 12 July 2013.

Высокие Начхальники. Gazeta 2000, 19 July 2013.

Рассосемся По Европе. Let`s deal about Europe. Aleksei Chrnish. Gazeta 2000, 4 September 2013.

Путь В Европу: Дорожная Карта Библии. Road to Europe: expensive map of bible. Leonid Kisterski. Gazeta 2000, 4 September 2013.

Рефрешинг-С. Gazeta 2000, 4 September 2013.

Спиридон Килинкарров: «Если Ес Попросит наших Оппозиционеров Принять Закон Об Их Кастрации, Они И За Это Проголосуют». Gazeta 2000, 13 September 2013.

Формалин 3+1. Gazeta 2000, 5 October 2013.

Афферендум. Gazeta 2000, 10 October 2013.

Министр Культуры Болгарии: «Европа Отказывается От Нравственного Христианского Фундамента». Culture minister of Bulgaria: Europe is rejecting true Christian basis. Nikolai Belous. Gazeta 2000, 10 October 2013.

Глобализация По-Евро-Американски И Крушение Традиционного мироустройства. Euro-American globalization and the collapse of traditional world order. Petr Tolochko. Gazeta 2000, 23 October 2013.

Russia is not Ukraine. Vitali Darenski. Gazeta 2000, 22 November 2013.

“European” instruments without a goal. Dmitri Galkin. Gazeta 2000, 27 November 2013.

Euroromantism, Europragmatism. Gazeta 2000, 27 November 2013.

Ukraine will not sign the Association Agreement. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 12 December 2013.

“Europetura” eyewitness impressions. Aleksandr Sasovski. Gazeta 2000, 12 December 2013.

Crack of the civilization. R. Shavanov. Gazeta 2000. 12 December 2013.

Geopolitics is not for poor. Aleksei Arefev. Gazeta 2000, 12 December 2013.

Eurobrothers. Aleksandr Leontev. Gazeta 2000, 20 December 2013.

A trinity that strives to ruin the union. Desia Dubenko. Gazeta 2000, 20 December 2013.

European values and what to do with them. Kiril Cherkashin. Gazeta 2000, 27 December 2013.

From the day of an idiot to the one of social fairness. A.Golota. Gazeta 2000, 10 January 2014.

Ukraine is the end of Russia. Konstantin Vasilkevich. Gazeta 2000, 21 January 2014.

“Pereiaslavskaiа” Rada and European choice. Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 17 January 2013.

Borderless Europe. Gazeta 2000, 31 January 2014.

Euromaidan doom. Gazeta 2000, 7 February 2014.

- Petr Simonenko: Rukami kriminala novaia vlast raspravliaetsia so svoimi politicheskimi oponentami. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 8 March 2014.
- The Guardian: Collision of Crimea is a product of Western expansion. Gazeta 2000, 12 March 2014.
- New post-Soviet scenario. Gazeta 2000, 12 March 2014.
- Petr Simonenko: Ukraine lost its political sovereignty. 9 March 2014.
- Get up, country! Gazeta 2000, 29 March 2014.
- Тортилла. Gazeta 2000, 11 June 2014.
- Национализм Означает Войну. Nationalism means a war. Petr Tolochko. Gazeta 2000, 11 June 2014.
- Визит К Бабушке. Visit to a grandmother. Gazeta 2000, 10 July 2014.
- Демократические Блудни. Gazeta 2000, 7 August 2014.
- Сначала мир — потом новый парламент. First peace, then a new parliament. Gazeta 2000. 5 September, 2014.
- Великая Украинская Стырим-Стена. Gazeta 2000, 11 September 2014.
- Зиму Не Переживем — Зато Не Замерзнем! We won't last the winter but we will not freeze. Gazeta 2000, 18 September 2014.
- Когда-Нибудь Люстрируют Героев Майдана. Once heroes of maidan will be illustrated. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 9 October 2014.
- Разгул Демократии. Rampant democracy. Lev Galitski. Gazeta 2000, 29 September 2014.
- Глазки Евгения — Глазки Народа. Evgeny's eyes are nation's eyes. Gazeta 2000, 20 November 2014.
- Тс И Ес — Где Же «Пространство Свободы»? Customs Union or the EU – where is the space of freedom? Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 20 November 2014.
- Правительство Янычар. Gazeta 2000, 11 December 2014.
- Сбылась Мечта. Dream came through. Gazeta 2000, 11 December 2014.
- В Рамках Дурьбы. Gazeta 2000, 13 January 2015.
- Майданная Украина Vs «Я — Шарли». Maidan Ukraine vs. I – Charlie. Sergei Lozunko. Gazeta 2000, 21 January 2015.
- Сдвиг Не По Фазе. Gazeta 2000. 30 January 2015.
- И Нынешняя Жизнь Еще Малиной Покажется. Gazeta 2000, 6 February 2015.
- Жуть Стала Веселее. Horror became more fun. Gazeta 2000, 20 February 2015.
- Как Водка С Гуся. Gazeta 2000, 10 April 2015.
- Гордо Понурим Головы. Gazeta 2000, 17 April 2015.
- Виселее. More cheerfully. Gazeta 2000, 24 April 2015.
- К Отстойной Жести. Gazeta 2000, 2 May 2015.
- Высокий Уровень Мьгарства. High level of ordeal. Gazeta 2000, 15 May 2015.
- Дулявлоб. Gazeta 2000, 22 May 2015.
- На Паперти В «Версаче». Gazeta 2000, 12 June 2015.
- О Смотрителях И Сожителях Желтого Дома. On caretakers and lodgers of a yellow house. Gazeta 2000, 26 June 2015.
- Этнографии Украины. Ethnography of Ukraine. Yaroslav Dmitrenko. Gazeta 2000, 14 May 2015.
- Зосвоторга. Gazeta 2000. 4 September 2015.
- Не Страшнее Яценюка. Gazeta 2000, 2 October 2015.
- Евроосень. Euroautumn. Gazeta 2000, 9 October 2015.
- Демократия В Концертном Виде. Democracy as a concert. Gazeta 2000, 22 October 2015.

- Отцы Не Северного Потока. Fathers not the north stream. Gazeta 2000, 13 November 2015.
- Оппозиция. Opposition. Aleksandr Fidel. Gazeta 2000, 25 December 2015.
- Украина: Обретение Европы Или Потеря Себя? Ukraine: finding Europe or losing itself? Petr Tolochko. Gazeta 2000, 27 January 2016.
- Голландский Референдум: Украина Активно Помогает Похоронить Соглашение Об Ассоциации С Ес. Dutch referendum: Ukraine is actively helping to bury the Association Agreement with the EU. Vladimir Kornilov. Gazeta 2000, 4 February 2016.
- Будущее России — С Европой И Западом. Future of Russia- with Europe and the West. James Stavridis. Gazeta 2000, 25 February 2016.
- 25 Шагов Навстречу Самоликвидации. 25 steps towards self-liquidation. Valntin Simonenko. Gazeta 2000, 25 February 2016.
- Очень Логичная Потеря: Как «Мягкая Сила» Не Помогла Бы России Удержать Украину. A very logical los: how soft power did not help Russia keep Ukraine. Aleksei Popov. 31 March 2016.
- В Чем Искать Национальную Идею? Where to look a national idea? Aleksandr Fidel. Gazeta 2000, 16 June 2016.
- Не Хочу Быть Третьим Сортom. I don't want to be the third type. Aleksandr Vasilevich Riabishev. Gazeta 2000, 29 June 2016.
- Как Два Года Назад Украина Сползала В Большую Войну. How two years ago Ukraine crawled into a big war. Aleksei Popov. Gazeta 2000, 6 July 2016.
- Дмитрий Киселев: При Хороших Отношениях Крым Ваш. Dmitri Kiselev: with good relations, Crimea is yours. Maksim Vedernikov. Gazeta 2000, 14 July 2016.
- Эпицентр Мирового Кризиса Сосредотачивается В Европе. Epicenter of the world crisis is concentrated in Europe. Aleksandr Leontev. Gazeta 2000, 10 August 2016.
- Открываем Глаза Европе. Opening eyes to Europe. Aleksandr Leontev. Gazeta 2000, 5 October 2016.
- Визовый режим с Россией - это удар по нам, украинцам, - Новинский. Visa regime with Russia – it is a hit to us, Ukrainians – Novynskiy. Gazeta 2000. 7 October 2016.
- Не в силах насолить соседу — покарай своих. Unable to annoy your neighbor – punish yours. Sergei Rebrov. Gazeta 2000, 14 October 2016.
- Заложники линии. Hostage line. Sergei Burlachenko. Gazeta 2000, 21 October 2016.
- Путаем Европу С Рифмой. Confusing Europe with a rhyme. Gazeta 2000, 20 October 2016.
- Круговорот Пенделей В Народе. Gazeta 2000, 26 October 2016.
- Молдавские Выборы Как Урок Для Киева. Moldavian elections as a lesson for Ukraine. Dmitri Karaban. Gazeta 2000, 10 November 2016.
- Что ждет Вадима Новинского? What awaits Vadim Novynskiy? Gazeta 2000, 11 November 2016.
- Кто-То «Несповна Розуму». Gazeta 2000, 2 December 2016.
- Демократия Строгого Режима. Democracy of a strict regime. Gazeta 2000, 13 January 2017.
- Европа: Вперед — К Былой Модели Национальных Государств. Europe: to the older model of national states. Yakub Grigel. Gazeta 2000, 19 January 2017.
- Альтернативный Склад Ума. Gazeta 2000, 19 February 2017.
- 60 Лет Римскому Договору: Евросоюз Готовится К Пенсии? 60 years of Rome agreement: the EU is getting ready for retirement? Andrey Martinov. Gazeta 2000, 31 March 2017.
- Лучше Повод, Чем Без Повода. Better reason than without any reason. Gazeta 2000, 14 April 2017.
- Николай Азаров: Украине Угрожает «Усталость Конструкции». Nikolai Azarov: Ukraine is threatened by “fatigue of construction”. Aleksandr Krizhanovski. Gazeta 2000, 5 April 2017.
- Безвиз: ожидание праздника лучше самого праздника. Without visas: expectation of a celebration is better than the celebration itself. Aleksandr Fidel, Gazeta 2000. 7 April 2017.

Морковка с ГМО. Carrot with GMO. Aleksandr Leontiev. Gazeta 2000, 17 May 2017.

Фрайкор! Еще фрайкор?! Gazeta 2000. 19 May 2017.

Острог Свободы. Gazeta 2000, 25 May 2017.

Безвиз И Ирония Истории. Visa free and irony of history. Maksim Klimentev. Gazeta 2000, 14 June 2017.