

ТЕОРІЯ ТА МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ СОЦІОЛІНГВІСТИКИ. ЗВ'ЯЗОК СОЦІОЛІНГВІСТИКИ З ІНШИМИ НАУКАМИ

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LANGUAGE, PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR, NATIONAL SECURITY

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«Power is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new shapes of your own choosing». George Orwell «1984»

Soft power security extends primarily to the societal and political sectors of national security and uses words and ideas to modify the manners in which persons view themselves, each other and the world around them. This article uses the framework of soft power security analysis to consider if selected actions of the former Ministry of Education of Ukraine under the leadership of Dmytro Tabachnyk impacted Ukraine's soft power security. The framework for soft power security analysis is presented to show how aggressive soft power actions can promote separatism inside a given state.

Key words: soft power, security, education, separatism, psychological warfare.

The purpose of this article is to show how language usage can be an instrument of soft power aggression which targets the national security of states – even to the extent of promoting separatism. The elements of national security which constitute soft power security are presented to facilitate understanding of why hard military power alone does not satisfy a separatist strategy. To this end, it is necessary to know which elements of national security must be targeted by soft power (psychological) operations which foment separatism.

The second purpose of this article is to consider some of the ways the actions Ukraine's Ministry of Education under leadership of former Minister of Education and Sciences, Dmytro Tabachnyk, targeted Ukraine's soft power security. It is foreseeable that they aimed at modifying the perceptions Ukrainians held of themselves, each other and the world around them – particularly fomenting distrust between those living in Donbas and the rest of Ukraine.

It is noteworthy to mention that Mr. Tabachnyk is reputedly closely connected to Kremlin's ideologue Vladislav Surkov [1]. Surkov was the Deputy Chief of the Russian Presidential Administration (1999–2011), and, personal advisor to Putin on relations of other Russian-backed separatist territories including Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This relationship is indicative of the Kremlin's deep penetration of those belonging to «Ukrainian» political echelons who worked against Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity – people whose oppressive actions led to the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine and

the current international conflict. Importantly, Mr. Surkov has been identified by the Head of the SBU as a leading figure-head behind the massacres of EuroMaidan demonstrators in 2014 [2].

Soft Power Warfare

The relationship between national security and hard military power is relatively easy to understand. However, the relationship between soft power and national security remains greatly opaque. To facilitate the analysis of soft power operations, the main elements of soft power are identified below. Before doing so, it is important to note that already in 1977, Ray Cline, a former senior CIA analyst, identified intangible power (i.e. national will and national strategy) as the most important components of state power [3: 37].

According to the Copenhagen School of thought, national security is not limited to the military sector. Rather, it extends to include societal, political, environmental and economic security as well. Intangible power correlates to the political and societal sectors of national security [4: 62]. The constituent components of these two security sectors are identity ideas, and, the perceptions held within a given population, particularly: perceptions of the shared common history, self-perceptions, the 'we' identity, and shared common interests. According to Buzan et al [5: 144], political security threats use *ideas* to target the ideas on which political institutions are built; the political system; unifying principles and ideologies. Successful political soft power threats challenge the legitimacy or recognition of the state: internal legitimacy of the political unit which relates primarily to ideologies and other constitutive ideas and issues defining the state, and; external recognition of the state (i.e. its external legitimacy – other states no longer recognize the targeted state as a player). The end game is the loss of recognition and legitimacy of the state.

Societal security threats use *ideas* to target the «*we identity*»: Ethnicity, language, cultural habits, religion, the common memory; leading to the demise of the targeted group – potentially through armed conflict [5: 119]. The end game of *horizontal competition* is the assimilation of the targeted group by larger, more powerful one (eg. Québécois fears of Anglo Canada and more generally Canadian fears of Americanization) [5: 121–122].

These identity-related ideas and perceptions are the fundamentals of the intangible components of state power and are directly connected to (a) the level or degree of national integration (i.e. cultural-ethnic, linguistic, religious, territorial integration and the collective memory), (b) the effective strength of national leadership (i.e. government policy capability and the response norm) and (c) the perceived relevance of national strategy to national interests (i.e. common interests and ideology) [4]. Together, these constitute the categories and elements of soft power security [4].

Soft power operations convert or eliminate perceptions and ideas deemed 'undesirable' by an intervening (state) actor. In geopolitical competition and war, the ultimate objectives of aggressive soft power operations are the limitation or destruction of the targeted cultural reproductive capacity and/or the subversion of the internal or external legitimacy of the targeted state. The members of a selected populace are strategically targeted with perception-forming identity ideas which attract them away from the interests of the nation-state to which they belong towards the interests of the intervening actor.

It is pertinent to note here that *vertical competition* (of which separatism is the end game) is the result of strategically organized, intentional, programmatic and political integrating / secessionist projects that influence self-identification [5: 125]. It follows that aggressive, Hobbesian actors use identity ideas to take territory from other states by

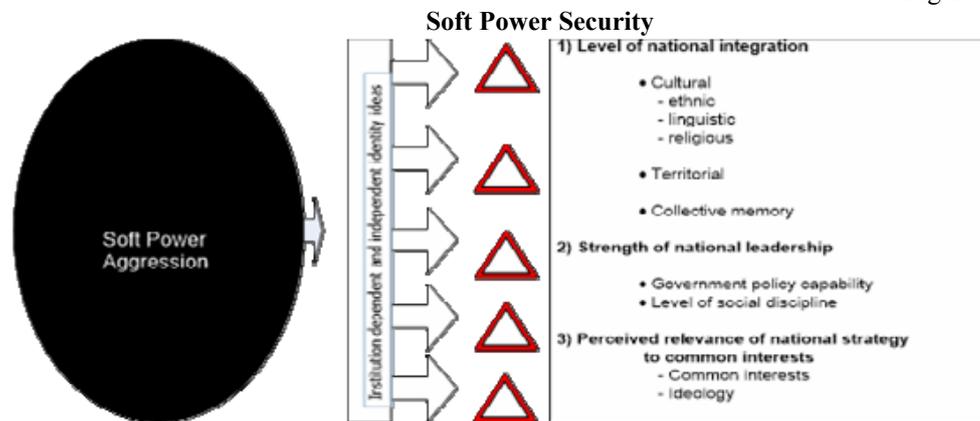
shifting loyalties away from one political center to another – to the extent of promoting separatism and even war.

This shifting of loyalties is induced by ‘institution-dependent’ and ‘institution-independent identity ideas’. Institution-dependent identity ideas are fostered by the state and its structures, whereas institution-independent ideas arise from shared history, culture and civil society. However, certain states modify what *should* be institution-independent ideas (i.e. oppressing a language, falsifying history, limiting media freedoms etc.) to serve their (geo) political needs. Thus, soft power operations are psychological.

Figure 1 shows how aggressive soft power operations use the aforementioned ideas to influence the soft power security of the targeted state. Importantly, the promotion of separatism and ethnic conflict is prohibited by national and international laws. Thus, it is foreseeable that Hobbesian soft power operations that provoke vertical competition rely on covert, if not informal, structures. Conversely, there are many good aspects to genuine, peace-building, Kantian, soft power operations. They, and their soft power activities, aim at peace and are generally covered by so-called Friendship Treaties. However, due to the intangible nature of soft power, the line between the two is often unclear. This is why it is important to consider Nye’s assertion that the manner in which soft power operations are perceived often depends upon the eye of the beholder [6].

When talking about soft power aggression, we are talking about shaping perceptions, the way citizens view themselves, each other, the territory to which they belong, and, the world around them. In the realm of international security relations soft power aggression can often be categorized as belonging to the realm of *psychological warfare*.

Figure 1



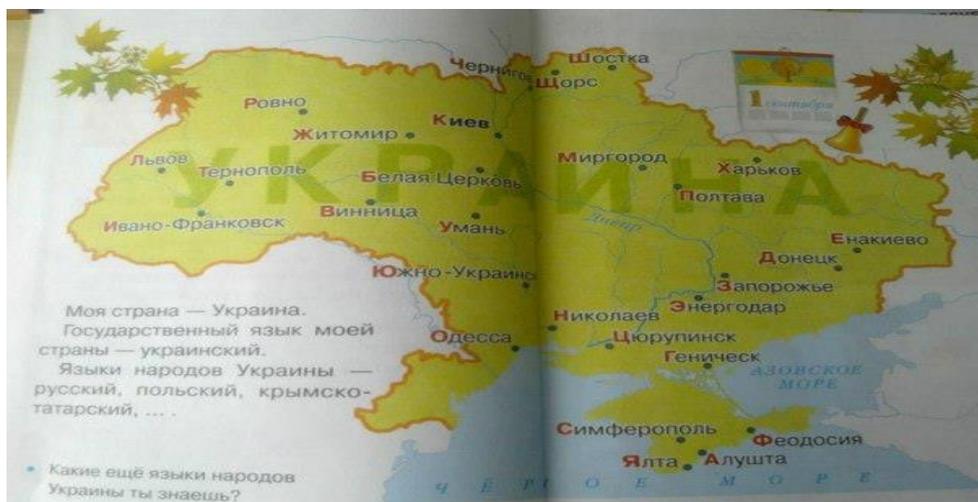
Government policies on education, language, and religion have taken on strategic importance, as they help shape the views of the population, particularly the younger generation. In the following section some of the materials gathered by the Anti-Tabachnyk Coalition [7], consisting of over 23 (inter)national civic groups and over 300 Ukrainian politicians, cultural and societal figureheads and international experts, are presented [8]. Then they are placed into an analytical framework of how the identified actions specifically targeted elements of Ukraine’s soft power security. This qualitative presentation of facts

shows a majority of presented actions used soft power to deteriorate, rather than strengthen Ukraine's state power potential.

Soft Power Action 1: 30 April 2013 – A book scandal erupted in the Donetsk region. In the 9th grade history textbook on «Local History», Ukrainians were called «khokhols» and also ridiculed the hard-working miners. It was a shocking look at the history of Donetsk and included an essay by Russian writer Vincent Veresaev called «Underworld Empire» [9].

The piece published in the students' textbooks outraged historians. «The Donbas – is Ukrainian. Ukrainians were the first settlers» in Donetsk – commented historian Volodymyr Kachur «School No. 27 is the only school where the scandalous textbook is available in Donetsk. Obviously, under the supervision of the Minister of Education Tabachnyk, ethnic hatred has become a fashionable topic and some people consider it normal to call Ukrainians «kholkhols» in school history textbooks» [9].

Five more examples of such «educative» books issued by the Ministry of Education which targeted Ukraine's soft power security were later presented by the periodical «Tyzhden» – in one such book, Ukrainian school children were presented a foreboding map of Ukraine – one in which strong elements of Russia's current geopolitical ambitions are illustrated. The map of Ukraine did not note Luhansk, Kirovohrad, Lutsk, Sumy, Cherson, Khmelnytsk, Uzhorod, Chernivtsy and Cherkassy Oblasts. Rather ironically, the text accompanying this skewed map of Ukraine is in the Russian language, teaching children that the state-language is Ukrainian and asks children to consider how many other national languages are used in Ukraine.



Soft Power Action 2: 10 January 2011 – Iryna Zajtsev was appointed Head of the Center for Staff Assessment, which carries out independent external testing and controls the entrance standards in Ukrainian universities. Experts have called the appointment «one of the most notorious personnel decisions of Tabachnyk's. Zajtsev is known for her radical pro-Russian orientation rather than her scholarly work» [10].

«The Director of the Ukrainian Center for Educational Quality Assessment is someone who has never had any relation to the educational system but has certain ideological views and always openly lobbies for them – this places the Russian language in the Ukrainian educational system and the interpretation of historical events», – said the Coordinator of the «Knowledge Society» for the direction of government changes, Lilia Hrynevych [11].

Soft Power Action 3: 25 February 2013 – Tabachnyk compared one of Ukraine’s best universities, the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, with «Russian socialite» Ksenia Sobchak: «You know there is a known socialite in Russia – who doesn’t know how to sing, nor dance, nor act on stage. But a scandal in any secular area supports a certain questionable level of attention... So, we have such a socialite in academia – the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy» [12]. Many link Tabachnyk’s public contempt toward the leading university in the country, who in 2010 took first place in testing students with a conscious Ukrainian orientation, with his anti-Ukrainian perspective. Ksenia Sobchak replied to Tabachnyk accusing him of being bad, stuck in 2004 and continued: «...Mohyla – it’s the best university in Ukraine, with its free-thinking and talented students. Comparisons – OK» [13].

Soft Power Action 4: 24 January 2013 – Tabachnyk replaced Soviet dissidents with Soviet partisans. The Ministry of Education excluded the following names of Ukrainian dissidents from the external testing program for students: Stepan Bandera, Roman Shukhevych as well as various others dissidents from the 1960s. The 2012 program also excluded the following politicians from the Ukrainian People’s Republic: Kost Levytsky, Dmytro Vitovsky and Yurii Tiutiunyk; but also Mykhailo Volobuiev (the economist who advocated economic independence from the Soviet Union). The sections on the development of Ukraine between 1945 to the beginning of the 1950s, de-Stalinization, and the end of the repression were also removed [14].

The aforementioned dissidents were replaced by Soviet military leaders and Communist party activists. Students were asked about the exploits of the Red Commander during the Civil War, Nikolay Shchors, the activity of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Georgy Pyatakov and the Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Uk.SSR, Grigory Petrovsky.

The Ministry of Education also excluded from their program questions regarding the Activities of the 1960s dissidents including the writer and political prisoner Evhen Sverstiuk, the artist Alla Horska, literary critic Ivan Dziuba and poet Ivan Svitlychnyj [14].

As a result, the Ministry of Education under Tabachnyk’s leadership attempted to adjust history by erasing the names of Ukrainian heroes who fought for Ukrainian independence from the textbooks and memories of Ukrainians.

Soft Power Action 5: 16 January 2013 – Under the title «Tabachnyk figures out how to get more students to learn Russian», Ukrainian media sources reported that Tabachnyk hopes to advance the Russian language in Ukraine [15].

Tabachnyk ordered a nationwide student competition in the Russian language called «Lukomoria» for students in the 2–11 grades. The main objective of the competition was to increase student’s interest to study the Russian language and culture; deepen and structure the students’ knowledge of the Russian language; introduce extra-curricular work in the Russian language [15]. At a time when the official state language (Ukrainian) continues to be in a deplorable state of neglect after several hundred years of repression and prohibitions,

Tabachnyk's support of the Russian language compared to that of the Ukrainian one (see below) can be regarded as a betrayal of national interests.

Soft Power Action 6: 28 March 2013 – Tabachnyk was «for» the massacre of power against the opposition MP's of Ukraine.

After the speeches of the Udar MP Serhiy Kaplin and the Svoboda MP Edward Leonov in the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, in which consistent violations of the law on behalf of the cabinet were addressed, Tabachnyk took the floor and said that under the Criminal Code this (the MP's behaviour) was paramount to arbitrariness and this article should be used against any members who interfere with the work of the Cabinet [16].

Tabachnyk is well known for his inclination for «power solutions» against dissidents. As the Head of President Leonid Kuchma's Presidential Administration, Tabachnyk ordered the forcible removal of an existing deputy of Ukraine, including Stepan Khmara, from the administration which led to his resignation.

Soft Power Action 7: 13 September 2012 – Donetsk students are given Soviet textbooks which validate and boast about the discredited Bolshevik leader, V. Lenin.

In Makiivka, college students were given books entitled «Ukrainian Soviet Literature» which were published in 1986. These «retro-textbooks» were composed of poetry from the 1930s which praise the communist leader and the party. Local residents were outraged: «That the young people were given these teaching tools when their opinions have not been fully formed» – wrote one outraged citizen [17].

Soft Power Action 8: 28 August 2012 – A private publishing house «Osvita» received one third of the funds to print first grade textbooks – i.e. 21 out of 64 million HRV. Notably, this “publishing house” had recently been taken over by the former CEO of the state publishing house, Tamara Tkachenko. This move left the state publishing house with virtually no orders. Curiously – under Tkachenko's leadership the state publishing house did not print any books in 2010 and had run out of paper – thus was unable to print [18].

Soft Power Action 9: 21 August 2012 – The price of school textbooks is extremely prohibitive. Some books cost the same amount as half a month's pension. The most expensive book in Ukrainian language schools is the Polish language textbook costing 647 HRV per copy. A co-author of the books is the mother of Valeria Khoroshkovsky, a senior official connected to questionable political figures. A division of the Ministry of Education signed a number of agreements to print the 1st Grade textbook for a total of 61.13 million HRV [19]. Interestingly, foreign, European language textbooks were notably more expensive than others; foreseeably limiting access to the knowledge of EU languages.

Soft Power Action 10: 1 October 2012 – In a joint Ukraine-Russia history textbook, the Holodomor (Stalin's man-made famine-genocide in the early 1930s) and the UPA were removed. Intergovernmental working groups created a manual for Ukrainian teachers which excluded all events that would «cause any disagreement in Ukrainian history with Russia». The authors decided not to mention any of these controversies. The period from 1600 to 1946 were completely absent from the textbook as are the Activities of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa, the existence of Ukraine within the Russian Empire, the Civil War, the Holodomor, the Second World War and the OUN–UPA [20]. This targeted removal of historical facts fosters the development of citizens who do not know their own history.

Soft Power Action 11: 1 October 2012 – Amid a policy of shutting down (mostly Ukrainian-language schools). The Cabinet approved a new decree that allowed Ukrainian

educational institutions to be converted to – or open up to – auto shops, spas or even dry-cleaning places. Rooms were rented out to businesses through the Department of Education. German was taught for free, while computer, dancing and Polish were not. Ukrainian parents were dejected by the so-called «voluntary» obligations to pay for what should be state funded education [21].

Soft Power Action 12: 15 September 2012 – This year’s freshmen at the Makiivka Polytechnic College studied from textbooks published in 1986. Excerpts from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union program and poems about Lenin were on the first page.

The school turned to the Soviet textbooks due to a lack of modern ones, noted their director of the school. Since the collage only receives textbooks on a loan basis from the Ministry of Education. On average there is one book for every three students and are therefore used rarely [22].

Soft Power Action 13: 11 June 2012 – Tabachnyk publically called the Ukrainian language «unnecessary».

Tabachnyk boasted to teachers from Russia that he no longer imposes «unnecessary language» requirements (that is, Ukrainian) in the regions during a meeting with some Russian teachers. This is evidence by a video of the Minister, which was shot in Kyiv in May 2012 at this teachers meeting [23].

It is foreseeable that this kind of statement made by any minister in Europe is likely to have led to an inquiry or even dismissal. Even the Adviser to the President, Hanna Herman responded: «Every nation, every people or ethnic groups along a small road and having similar languages, communicate with each other. And to say that there are books written on an unnecessary language, even if this is in a figurative sense – is a scandal» [23].

Soft Power Action 14: 18 April 2012 – One has to buy Tabachnyk’s new books for a «fantastic» price. The Ministry of Education bought mathematics textbooks for the first grade for 506 HRV close to the pension rate. Tabachnyk’s budgetary behaviour has been linked to the low level of education in Ukraine, which is chronically underfunded [24].

Soft Power Action 15: 7 April 2012 – Tabachnyk secured a «Russian language» textbook in Odesa for 160% of the region’s schools. Schools in the Odesa region received a number of «Russian language» textbooks for the 10th grade, providing 160% of them. However, the same 10th grade could not wait to receive 34 other textbooks and teachers had to use blank forms.

When the Lviv province ordered first-graders grammar books, they were prepared by three different groups of authors. The regional managers gathered teacher’s applications and identified: 90.3% received the most popular votes and the other received only 5.7% and 4%. In the same region, only one textbook was bought – oddly, it was the one that received the lowest place in the ranking. Only 1120 of those books were ordered but 24 thousand were delivered – 21 times more. The entire ministry, which was headed by Tabachnyk, sent 50 thousand textbooks to the Lviv region, which the school did not order [25].

Soft Power Action 16: 30 November 2012 – In the Donetsk Technical University there was not enough money to pay the utility fees, since the continued existence of the institution was threatened.

The Council of the Donetsk National Technical University (DNTU), which included the rector, vice-rectors and deans of faculties, distributed information on the expected problems among university employees, in particular: «In this regard, our university must

prepare for a test of strength: expect power and heat outages (the 6th campus has already turned off its heating); buy warm clothes to survive the harsh winter...» [26].

Soft Power Action 17: 30 November 2012 – Employees of the Donetsk National Technical University were informed by the dean of the university, Volodymyr Strunilin that the same problems (action 16) were faced by other universities in the country, in particular the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute. The lack of electricity and heat provision to educational institutions affected a large segment of Ukraine [26].

Soft Power Action 18: 24 October 2012 – In the run-ups to the parliamentary elections, the Minister of Education, Dmytro Tabachnyk unlawfully campaigned for student and faculty votes at the Taurida National University. He promoted the Party of Regions [27].

Soft Power Action 19: 3 September 2012 – Tabachnyk predicts that without Russia, Ukraine would collapse. He claimed the commonwealth of Russia and Ukraine has become a civilizational choice of Ukraine. In an interview with the «ShO» journal, the Minister of Education, Tabachnyk, said: «Russia for me, is not only the ancestral name of our land, but I consider it as an abbreviation – the Russian-Ukrainian community. It has become a community response to our common civilizational challenges for a third of the millennium. If it does not continue, than we will have the same sad fate of a dying civilization before our very eyes...» [28].

Individually and publicly, Minister Tabachnyk has been opposed to the strategic course of Ukraine's European integration and tried to intimidate the «sad fate» of Ukraine if it will not stick as closely as possible to Russia, despite the backwardness of the latter.

Soft Power Action 20: 28 August 2012 – Acquisition of faulty school buses in questionable tender. In 2010, the Minister of Education announced a tender, which the Kherson Anto-Rusfaction won. Tabachnyk's office rejected the other project proposals, including one by the Boryspil Automobile Plant (3 million less). Money made on the buses was allegedly transferred to front companies and when most of the buses were delivered they did not even meet even basic specifications. One of the buses burned with school children in it (no fatalities) other buses were used as city buses not school buses [29].

Soft Power Action 21: 22 August 2012 – Tabachnyk admitted that he removed Ukrainian-language books from schools. «For the second year in a row, all of our school textbooks were ordered according to the state order in the language of instruction» – said Tabachnyk [30]. This decision was apparently an unfounded, politicized decision aimed to infringe the rights of Ukrainian citizens and conduct overtly Russified policies in order to divide modern Ukraine.

Soft Power Action 22: 15 August 2012 – With the 2 million textbooks that were purchased by Tabachnyk for the younger classes, 1.9 million were in the Russian language. «With 3.6 million textbooks, 1.9 million are in Russian and I don't think there are any problems here» – said the Minister of Education, Dmytro Tabachnyk, when asked about the possible difficulties that might be encountered in the student's learning process [31].

These distortions in ensuring the needs of Ukrainian students by the Ministry of Education is worthy of attention.

Soft Power Action 23: 6 July 2012 – Tabachnyk continued to use «official» licence plates despite his change in position. The Minister of Education, Dmytro Tabachnyk, continued to use Parliamentary funds, even though the mandate of the deputy was lost two years ago. There are photos that prove this taken by journalists from Ukrainska Pravda

near the Presidential administration. In the pictures, an assistant of Tabachnyk opens a rear door for him and he sits in the most expensive S-class Mercedes, with the state license plate AA 1028 BP [32].

Soft Power Action 24: 7 June 2012 – According to information received by the Deputy Speaker of Parliament Mykola Tomenko, the Minister of Education Tabachnyk was accused with corruption. «Contrary to current legislation on the printed textbook market, the intermediary structure has never worked and the production facilities of the so-called ‘Pobut elektrotehnika’, with these secret names, were forced to enter into an agreement with this structure» – said the Deputy Speaker [33].

Soft Power Action 25: 14 April 2012 – Tabachnyk was accused of manipulating the facts about Russian language schools in Kyiv. According to the «Dzerkalo Tyzhnia. Ukraïna», Tabachnyk said that there were no Russian language schools on the Left-Bank of Kyiv when in fact there were 5 such schools [34].

Soft Power Action 26: 21 February 2012 – Tabachnyk prevented the adoption of a revised draft law «On Higher Education». This was stated by a member of the working group, the president of the National University of ‘Kyiv-Mohyla Academy’, Serhiy Kvit. According to him, the new version of the bill would take into account all the proposals of the student unions and representatives of the academic community. Meanwhile, the Minister of Education, Tabachnyk, according to Kvit, opposed the adoption of this law. «Those who oppose this option, engage in anti-state politics and try to keep our country’s education within the Soviet framework» – Kvit stressed [35].

Soft Power Action 27: 3 February 2012 – Tabachnyk lied about his support for a bill from Europe. «We have also made the examination of a draft law to the Committee on Education and Science of the Council of Europe and received a positive opinion» – the Minister assured the public on the eve of the educational project registered in Parliament. However, according to MP Lesia Orobets, not only is there no such structure within the Council of Europe with that name, but the relevant European agencies have never seen this Ukrainian bill. The conclusion was drawn that Tabachnyk simply lied [36].

Soft Power Action 28: 13 October 2012 – Tabachnyk called upon the Ukrainian nationalists to repent. Thereby, Tabachnyk called upon those who fought for the independence of Ukraine criminals as they fought against the communist parties during Soviet times and caused many deaths of innocent Ukrainians [37].

Soft Power Action 29: 9 November 2011 – «Students against Tabachnyk!»

Displeased with the Ministry of Education’s centralized policies, a first-year student of the Faculty of Humanities at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Daryna Stepanenko during a summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States’ Education Ministers, struck Tabachnyk with a bouquet of flowers in his face. On 26 October, 5 thousand students from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute came to the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports building. They demanded a meeting with the Minister but he did not arrive. Participants presented toilet paper for the Minister of Education [38].

Soft Power Action 30: 14 September 2011 – Tabachnyk stated that Ukraine was part of the «Russkiy Mir / Russian World» and said that «Malorossiya / Little-Russia» was not an insult to Ukraine but rather term of endearment.

The Minister of Education, Tabachnyk, did not believe that the word «Little-Russia» was humiliating for Ukraine – on the contrary, he insists it’s an endearing one. «From the beginning, the word ‘Little-Russia’ – was meant with tenderness and reverence to the

homeland by Russia... In fact, today the position is being distorted, viewing Ukraine as something insignificant and humiliating in the eyes of the Russian World» – said the Minister.

In an attempt to clarify what he meant by the phrase «Russian World», the Minister replied: «The Russian world – is quite a natural concept that does not contract the political independence of its constituent parts... Due to the fact that Ukraine is part of the Russian World, we are able to contribute to the vast all-Russian literature, to the world's greatest intellectual depths» [39].

Tabachnyk's desire to wipe Ukraine from the face of the earth was evident when he said that he believes he lives in Russia and not Ukraine. The incident occurred as part of a regional conference pedagogical staff in the Dnipropetrovsk region, according to TSN. During his speech, Tabachnyk compared the development of education in Ukraine and Russia. «According to a study published by the World Economic Forum in Davos, Ukraine is in 56th place and we are in 72nd» – said Tabachnyk. Therefore, according to this study, Russia was in 72nd place.

Soft Power Action 31: 14 June 2011 – The international human rights organization «Freedom House» recommended to President Yanukovich to dismiss Tabachnyk from his position as Minister of Education. The Freedom House report «Beating the Alarm in Defence of Democracy in Ukraine» identified him as perhaps the most controversial figure in the government as he is sowing unnecessary and dangerous divisions in Ukraine on issues of identity, language and education». «Some see the government bill on education as an attempt to present the Russian model of education in Ukraine, strengthen the ties of the Russian and Ukrainian educational circles and at the same time 'build a Berlin Wall between the Ukrainian and western education systems'» [40].

Soft Power Action 32: 18 May 2011 – The Attorney General's Office found numerous violations in the way the Ministry of Education provides schools with textbooks. 65 thousand more copies of the Russian language textbook were printed than were necessary. Instead, only 83.4% of the Ukrainian language textbooks were printed. According to the letter of Deputy Prosecutor General, Viktor Zanzfirov, the Ministry of Education did not provide the proper exercise books for students.

According to the Prosecution, the procurement of these textbooks was set up improperly and the real needs, as proposed by educational institutions of the regions were not considered [41].

Soft Power Action 33: 27 January 2011 – In the Bukovyna region, Tabachnyk began to discriminate against Ukrainian-language schools.

In the Chernivtsi region, Ukrainian language schools were given sufficient textbooks. However, all the Russian-language schools received their orders completely. In the Chernivtsi region, only 82% of elementary schools with Ukrainian language instruction were given textbooks, 71% were given readers, only 74% were given textbooks for mathematics and 66% were given books on the Ukrainian language. However, schools with Russian and Romanian languages, were given 100% and 120% of their textbooks, respectively. This was reported in the Chernivtsi region administration [42].

Soft Power Action 34: 5 August 2010 – Minister of Education and Science failed to deliver new textbooks before the beginning of the school year. It was projected that pupils may have to wait up to three months to receive books» [43].

Soft Power Action 35: 12 October 2010 – Tabachnyk initiates the introduction of extra services at universities and he said that they were signs of civilization. President Yanukovich spoke against the resolution and said to cancel them [44].

Soft Power Action 36: 3 February 2011 – Tabachnyk falsified the Literary Education Concept.

Some of the ideas that were approved by the Ministry of Education were made without the knowledge of the developers of the Literary Education Concept. This was reported on «Radio Liberty» as stated by Doctor of Philosophy, corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature, Nicholas Sulima – one of the developers of this concept. «The idea of the special role of the Russian literature in the Literary Education Concept was, so to speak, an underground idea. First, the concept was posted anonymously on the website, than it had our signatures even though I did not endorse this concept», – he said [45].

Soft Power Action 37: 29 January 2011 – Tabachnyk sided with the Communists and supported the creation erection of a large monument to Stalin. The monument was erected in the Zaporizhia Regional Committee of the Communist Party in May 2010. On 28 December, an unidentified assailant cut off the head from Stalin's bust and on New Year's Day the monument was destroyed by an explosion.

At the same time, Tabachnyk criticized the unveiling of a monument to the commanders and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in western Ukraine, saying that, «...As long as they keep money in the state budget in order to build monuments that insult two-thirds of the population, they have no right to teach others who to worship» [46].

Soft Power Action 38: 15 November 2010 – Tabachnyk banned a textbook that called Russians and Ukrainians different ethnic groups.

The Ministry of Education no longer recommended the «History of Ukrainian Law» by Ivan Hrytsenko to universities. This was announced by the Educational Minister on «Inter» TV Channel. «Yes, indeed, there are several things that cause fear in any normal man. It is written there that the Russians and Ukrainians differ in mental, ethnic and genetic senses» – said Tabachnyk [47].

Soft Power Action 39: 12 November 2010 – Minister of Education and Science, refuses to apologize to the Galicians about his false and divisive article on Western and Eastern Ukraine.

The article, published in September, stated «separately, the Galician province was not able to support itself including Lviv». «Millions of fugitive-aliens from the pseudo-Piedmont simply have nothing to eat and nowhere to work in the metropolis, not like Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Zaporizhia, Odesa, Crimea and other regions», – said the Minister [48].

These views clearly show a divisive approach to Ukraine's territorial and national integration.

Soft Power Action 40: 30 September 2010 – Tabachnyk is «proud» of closing down schools. In the prosecutor's office, local authorities complain that the Minister of Education and Science believes his decisions as a positive trend. This was stated by Deputy Prosecutor General Viktor Zanirov, speaking at the intergovernmental meeting.

According to Zanfirova, local authorities do not take measures to preserve schools, and this year alone 80 secondary schools closed and for the last 5 years two thousand schools were closed and liquidated [49].

Soft Power Action 41: 1 September 2010 – The Minister of Education, Dmytro Tabachnyk, called the definition of the Holodomor as genocide of the Ukrainian people as a foreign invention by historians. He voiced this opinion in a telephone conversation on «Arguments and facts in Ukraine» [50].

In his statement, Tabachnyk ignored and neglected the judgement of the highest legislative body of the state, the Supreme Council of Ukraine, which on 28 November 2006 adopted the law «On the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine», which recognized the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people.

Soft Power Action 42: 6 August 2010 – A Ukrainian language exam required for admission to graduate studies is removed. Tabachnyk justified this move saying he saw no need for the examination of Ukrainian language skills as a precursor to being admitted to post-graduate studies in Ukraine [51].

Soft Power Action 43: 4 August 2010 – The Minister of Education ordered the liquidation of the sector that promotes education in native languages. «Dzerkalo Tyzhnia» uncovered this from a source in the Ministry. The educational sector that promoted this within the division of the Department of Secondary and Primary Education was effectively eliminated under the Tabachnyk decree [52].

Soft Power Action 44: 28 May 2010 – Tabachnyk called the teaching of the Holodomor as genocide, «rubbish», likewise, calling the decision of the Ukrainian Parliament as «rubbish».

The Minister of Education promised to prescribe a curriculum on the Holodomor that did not describe it as genocide. «Our Ministry is working on the most challenging of issues – the definition, in educational standards, since this bull-crap is a hyperbole and only one form of the assessment – this is not a reform but rather a deception of students and society» – said the Minister. «Speaking of subjectivity, the teacher must comply with the curriculum but it should be clearly defined that the Famine of 1933 – was a common tragedy of the peoples of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan and indicates how many people died from this disaster in each of the republics» [53].

Soft Power Action 45: 15 April 2010 – Tabachnyk calls Ukraine a «Papuan country».

The Minister of Education stands in favour of transferring all higher educational institutions to the management of the Ministry of Education. «Of course (the transfer is needed). Because we – are only Papuan country, where 28 central authorities execute power over universities» – said the Minister, when asked whether there was an actual idea to the transfer of all universities under the submission of the Ministry of Education [54].

Soft Power Action 46: 7 April 2010 – Tabachnyk lobbies for the interests of a Russian film distribution company. The Minister of Education advocates the abolition of compulsory dubbing of foreign films into Ukrainian. «Deutsche Welle» reports that experts believe that Tabachnyk was lobbying for a Russian film distribution company [55].

Soft Power Action 47: 30 March 2010 – The Minister of Education removed the requirement of the state exams in the Ukrainian language for the Bachelor's degree. According to the order of the Minister, the modifications made to the order of the Ministry of Education «On the organizational study of humanities as a free choice of students» [56].

Soft Power Action 48: 8 October 2009 – The Chernivtsi Regional Council required the Prosecutor General to institute criminal proceedings against Tabachnyk (who was a Party of Regions deputy) for his article in the Russian newspaper «Izvestia», which, according to deputies, infringes upon the territorial integrity of Ukraine. The MP's from Bukovyna were outraged by the following statements in the article entitled «From Ribbentrop to the Maidan. The Paradoxical Effects of Stalin's Foreign Policy»: «...The Galician practically have nothing to do with the people of Great Ukraine, not in mentality nor in denomination nor in the linguistic or political. We have different enemies and different allies» [57].

Members of the regional councils believe that Tabachnyk's statements were a crime as they were an assault on the territorial integrity of Ukraine, ethnic discrimination and an abuse of power.

Soft Power Action 49: 14 September 2011 – Media sources spread excerpts from Tabachnyk's speech that said Ukraine and Russian had a «common humanitarian space – spiritual, historical and cultural» and that the title of Ukraine as «Little Russia» should be treated with «tenderness» [58].

Tabachnyk finds no separate identification of the ancient Ukrainian people and is happy to identify Ukraine with «Little Russia», as he says as a minister of the Government of Ukraine.

Soft Power Action 50: 23 September 2011, Scandal with Tabachnyk – he supports the move to stop supporting the Ukrainian language and recognition of those who fought against fascism in exchange for cheaper gas deals with Russia [59].

Soft Power Action 51: Tabachnyk restores Soviet education in the spirit of «Russian Internationalism». The Ministry of Education intends to restore teacher training in the Institution of Russian Language Teachers. Tabachnyk announced this during a video conference between Kyiv and Moscow [60].

Soft Power Action 52: 10 November 2006 – Tabachnyk denies the importance / need for the development of culture and high art in Ukraine. «Economic unprofitability and cultural unjustifiability inhibits the development of high art and encroaches on Ukrainian democracy». Dmytro Tabachnyk statement delivered on 9 November 2006 [61].

Soft Power Action 53: Tabachnyk protects pro-Russian, Ukrainian MP's by flatly refusing to investigate allegations of that their diplomas are «phony» [59].

Soft Power Action 54: Tabachnyk and the Rector of Tauridia Univesity in Crimea violate national and international elections laws and principles by campaign for the Party of Regions by attacking the Opposition [60].

Soft Power Action 55: Tabachnyk moves to have Ukrainian high school diplomas recognized in the Russian Federation [61]. This move stands in stark contrast to the non-recognition of university degrees gained by Ukrainian students in Western universities.

Soft Power Action 56: Tabachnyk claims Ukraine, together with Russia will join EU in 10–15 years, now the focus must be on closer relations with Russia [62].

Soft Power Action 57: Alleged forced demonstration participation [63].

Soft Power Action 58: The Ministry of Education under Tabachnyk fails to pay out the award for a winner of a Ukrainian-promotion competition winner [64]. The move not to provide the award to a student whose work promotes Ukraine's image stands in stark contrast with the promotion of other Russian-centered language competitions supported by the Ministry.

Soft Power Actions – Soft Power Security

Now, that a set of soft power actions has been presented it is interesting to see how they relate to Ukraine's soft power security. In the following section each action will be pegged for the component of soft power security which it most clearly affects. It is important to note that the list of examples provided in the previous section is not an extensive one. Rather, it is a not-exhaustive indicative list of actions which had been recognized as scandalous or controversial by Ukrainian citizens, institutions and media. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that in soft power security acts often affect more than one component of soft power security. It is expected that the table will show that a majority of the actions identified above directly or indirectly targeted Ukraine's soft power security and Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

The following figure shows the three main categories of soft power security and their sub-components (where applicable). Each of the soft power acts presented above has been placed onto a table, and, the element(s) of soft power security they affected are marked with an «X».

- A) Level of National Integration
 - 1a. Level of Cultural Integration
 - i. Ethnic
 - ii. Linguistic
 - iii. Religious
 - 1b. National Territorial Integration
 - 1c. Collective Memory
- B) Effective Strength of National Leadership
 - 2a. Government Policy Capability
 - 2b. Societal Response Norms
- C) Perceived Relevance of National Strategy to National Interest

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
A	X	X		X	X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X	X		X	
1a	X	X							X	X			X		X				X		X	X			X	
i.	X	X							X	X			X						X		X	X			X	
ii.	X	X			X								X		X				X						X	
iii.																										
1b.	X	X		X			X					X		X	X			X	X						X	
1c.	X			X			X			X		X		X					X					X		
B			X			X		X	X		X	X						X	X	X	X			X	X	X
2a						X		X	X		X	X						X		X	X				X	X
2b	X		X			X		X	X		X							X	X	X				X	X	X
C			X	X			X			X	X	X		X		X	X		X						X	X

		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
A			X		X		X	X					X				X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X
	1a												X														X
	i.						X	X					X				X	X			X	X		X		X	X
	ii.																				X			X		X	X
	iii.																							X			
	1b.				X	X								X			X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	
	1c.		X									X	X			X			X							X	X
B		X		X			X	X	X		X				X					X					X	X	X
	2a	X					X	X	X		X				X					X							X
	2b	X		X			X	X	X						X										X	X	X
C							X	X	X	X		X			X												X

					53	54	55	56	57	58
A							X	X	X	
	1a							X	X	
	i.						X	X	X	
	ii.						X		X	
	iii.									
	1b.						X	X		
	1c.							X	X	
B					X	X		X	X	X
	2a							X		X
	2b					X			X	X
C								X	X	X

From the above table, it is possible to draw the preliminary conclusion that the actions taken by and supported by Mr. Tabachnyk consistently target elements of Ukraine's soft power security. Importantly, the manner in which language use was combined with specific activities to promote perceptions in children, students, faculty members and politicians to promote perceptions which rather than built-up unity and the common, European «we-identity» did quite the opposite. Rather, the actions promoted a pro-Russian alignment and at times a grave disregard for Ukrainian culture and the institution of the Rule of Law.

Conclusion

Soft power is intangible to the extent that it language and acts to influence people's ideas and perceptions. Soft power security is that part of national security which is targeted by psychological operations. Whereas it belongs mainly to the realms of the political and societal security sectors, soft power security acts, when harnessed by a rogue power, can lead to the elimination or absorption of a given ethnic or national group. Soft power aggression can seed distrust among citizens or targeted groups to the extent of even causing conflict, separatism and even war.

In Ukraine, the former minister of education, Dmytriy Tabachnyk was recognized by many Ukrainian citizens as an actor geared toward the oppression of Ukrainian language

and culture. His close connections with the Kremlin and its ideologues, combined with a list of actions presented by the anti-Tabachnyk Coalition called for attention, particularly as some of them seem to have targeted the Ukrainian state identity in a manner which turned it towards Russia's foreign policy and away from a Euro-Atlantic direction.

After placing each identified soft power security act into the framework of soft power security analysis it is possible to conclude that a majority of the acts identified did indeed negatively impact Ukraine's soft power security albeit by targeting the its level of national integration, strength of national leadership or perceived relevance of national strategy to the national interest. The acts presented in the previous sections ridiculed, suppressed elements of Ukraine's political and societal security sectors to the extent that as a whole it is possible to conclude that they aimed at causing disparity rather than commonality and a vision of the «shared we identity». In fact, certain acts arguably fostered distrust between Ukrainians promoting horizontal competition between Eastern and Western Ukraine.

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МОВА, ПСИХОЛОГІЧНА ВІЙНА, НАЦІОНАЛЬНА БЕЗПЕКА**Лада Рослицькі**

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У першій частині цієї статті розглянуто зв'язок між питаннями української національної безпеки та діями посадовців Міністерства освіти під керівництвом Дмитра Табачника. Часто, коли експерти розглядають питання національної безпеки, то вони не враховують ролі «м'якої сили». Тому в першій частині цієї статті «м'яка сила» постає як складова частина соціальних та політичних секторів безпеки.

На противагу іншим безпековим секторам (збройному, екологічному), де такі матеріальні показники, як холодна зброя чи самі гроші фігурують як інструмент боротьби, в сфері безпеки «м'якої сили» зброя нематеріальна. Зброєю в цій сфері радше є невловимі ідеї. Саме вони впливають на думки людей, населення та його сприйняття самого себе і навколишнього світу.

Щоб спонукати людей до певної поведінки, потрібно впливати на спосіб їхнього мислення. До цього потрібно народжувати в них думку. Мова (висловлена) та дії є головними комунікативними інструментами. Вони спроможні впливати на світобачення інших та їхню поведінку.

Очевидно, є висловлювання та дії, котрі спонукають до порозуміння, довіри та миру. І є такі, що, навпаки, зумовлюють непорозуміння, недовіру та війни. На цьому етапі важливо знати, які частини національної «м'якої» безпеки ворожа країна чи сила може атакувати думками, щоб викликати недовіру в суспільстві до такого рівня, щоб спровокувати війну або винищити народ. У загальному відповіддю на це питання є: 1) рівень національної, культурної (етнічної, мовної, релігійної), територіальної інтеграції та спільна пам'ять (collective memory); 2) рівень спроможності влади – можливість творити правильну політику – рівень виконання в населення; 3) усвідомлення релевантності національної стратегії щодо інтересів суспільства.

У другій частині статті в контексті національної безпеки України проаналізовано понад 50 дій (мовних та політичних), висловлених / виконаних у Міністерстві освіти під керівництвом Д. Табачника.

Автор робить висновок про те, що значна кількість визначених дій прямо порушувала національну безпеку України, сприяючи русифікації та територіальному розколу країни.

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