

Content

<i>Preface</i>	11
<i>Introduction</i>	15
1. Loyalty toward the small large language	39
1.1. “Ridna mova”	39
1.2. Actual language usage	49
1.3. The citizens’ views of language policy	61
1.4. Advocates of “bilingualism”	69
2. The European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages in Ukraine	71
2.1. The adoption of the Language Charter in Ukraine	71
2.2. The major mistake	74
2.3. The measures according to the Language Charter as agreed upon by Ukraine	79
2.4. The establishment of regional languages	88
3. Viktor Yanukovych and the Ukrainian language	89
3.1. Coming to power	89
3.2. Victory Day 2011	96
3.3. The President and the Ukrainian language	103

4.	The Russian World and the “compatriots”	123
4.1.	The Ukrainian population of the Russian Federation	123
4.2.	Fighting the “Orange Revolution”	135
4.3.	<i>Ruskiy Mir</i> and “historical truth”	140
4.4.	<i>Sviataya Rus’</i>	155
4.5.	Official Russia’s impact on Ukraine and Ukrainians	162
4.6.	The ultimate turn—Ukrainians as Russians	170
5.	The hawk in Ukrainian language policy: Vadym Kolesnichenko	181
5.1.	Kolesnichenko and “linguistic tolerance”	181
5.2.	Kolesnichenko the “human rights activist”	192
5.3.	Kolesnichenko on guard for <i>Ruskiy Mir</i>	200
6.	Dmytro Tabachnyk and the Ukrainian language in the educational sphere	211
6.1.	Ukraine’s Minister of Education	211
6.2.	Ukrainian-Russian history	222
6.3.	Promoting the Russian language	225
6.4.	Decreasing Ukrainian in the schools	234
6.5.	Restructuring higher education	241
6.6.	Decreasing Ukrainian in the preschools	243
7.	Olena Bondarenko and the Ukrainian language in the electronic media	247
8.	The draft law of 7 September 2010	261
8.1.	On the way to the draft law of 7 September 2010	261
8.2.	Regulations of the draft law of 7 September 2010	266
8.3.	Criticism in Ukraine	269
8.4.	The Venice Commission’s alleged “positive assessment”	275
8.5.	The OSCE High Commissioner’s assessment	276

8.6.	The Venice Commission's assessment	279
8.7.	Reactions to the failure	284
8.7.1.	The OSCE High Commissioner's letter	284
8.7.2.	Reaction to the Venice Commission	286
9.	Anticipating the law: Serhiy Kivalov, the Constitutional Court, and the Ukrainian language in the courts of law	291
10.	Vadym Kolesnichenko's and Serhiy Kivalov's draft law "On Principles of the State Language Policy"	297
10.1.	Promoting and protesting Kolesnichenko's and Kivalov's draft law	297
10.2.	The Venice Commission's Opinion on Kolesnichenko's and Kivalov's draft law	312
10.3.	Reactions to the "Opinion"	318
10.4.	Reaction to the OSCE High Commissioner's unpublished assessment	323
10.5.	Pushing through the draft law—the initial attempt	327
10.6.	Pushing through the draft law—the adoption in its first reading	346
10.7.	Pushing through the draft law—the adoption in its "second" reading	348
10.8.	Reactions to the adoption in Parliament	353
10.9.	The Parliamentary Speaker's signature	367
10.10.	The President's signature	374
10.11.	Entering into force	385
10.12.	Amendments of the President's Working Group	395
11.	Summary and outlook	413
	<i>Bibliography</i>	419