

**“Reachable zone” or “a Nightmare behind the Misery Curtain”?:
the EU and Ukraine**

Further enlargement to the east and south has become the next strategic goal of the European Union (EU) -- the EU sees its expansion as above all chance to spread peace and stability east and southwards across its continent. The goal's centrality is assured by the conclusions of the European Council in Nice, December 2000: “the historic significance of the European Union enlargement process and the political priority which is attached to the success of that project”.

Regardless of the reassuring declarations, the enlargement process entails a lot of the ambiguities and hesitations. There are still a number of fundamental questions left to be addressed (see Wallace 2001): what is the character of enlargement, what are its consequences for the EU, what are its impacts on the aspiring candidates, and what are the potential effects on not-yet-or perhaps never candidates among the next neighbours in Europe. Those issues need to be addressed both empirically and theoretically, using unconventional approaches.

In this study I intend to compare the mass media image of the Central and Eastern European ex-communist candidates for enlargement (further referred as CEE candidates) with the image of Ukraine as one of “not-yet-or perhaps never” aspirants among the “next neighbours” in Europe. The CEE countries of the “first” and the “second” waves for accession are Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Although we acknowledge the important differences between communist systems of those countries in the past, as well as crucial differences in democratic heritage from the pre-communist era in these countries (Berglund 2001: 3-4), we still speak about the integrative mass media image of CEE countries, as the former Warsaw-Pact countries they share many common features in their history and development, and they are EU accession candidates at the present moment.

The comparative perspective is brought forward since Ukraine's geopolitical, economic, and historical development carries a lot of commonalities with the

development of the ex-communist candidates to the EU. The recognition of these common features solidifies Ukraine's aspiration to "return to Europe", however, at the moment, there is no question of Ukraine joining the European Union: "For objective reasons the EU is not ready to speak of membership for Ukraine" (IP/99/944). Profiling Ukraine's image is consistent with the EU's view on it as the second most important region of the post-Soviet space after Russia: "The European Council highlights the crucial importance it attaches to the European Union common strategy for the further extension of the already close-knit network of relations between the European Union and Ukraine" (*Bulletin EU 6-1999*).

CEE candidates and Ukraine account for their externally created image -- an aspirant country has to fight to favourable attention, once won it pays political and economic dividends, once lost it dooms those countries to stay on the EU's periphery outside of European security, stability and prosperity. The proposed study is a comparative investigation of the externally created images of aspiring candidates and of Ukraine endorsed through 64 articles from *The Economist* magazine in 2001. The eclectic methodological approach of "social cognitive science" (Turner, 2001) in which cognitive science and social science are brought together under the umbrella of the study of meaning, reason, choice, concept change, and concept formation has been employed. The findings are discussed in the light of the role of news in public opinion formation process about enlargement perspectives.

EU and Ukraine

Current enlarging of the EU borders -- including up to 13 new members -- introduces many challenges to the European Union integration process. To top over, one of the most complicated and potentially explosive subjects for the EU is the avowed goal of the "new Eastern Europe" states (Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova that once built the western flank of the former USSR) to integrate into Western institutions. The grounds for the EU's cautious attitudes are those countries' internal socio-economic instability, significant external debt, lack of well-established and secure framework of statehood, weak civil society and unclear perspectives on development (see Prizel 1998; *European Economy, Supplement A*. 1999; Bordachev 2000; Berglund 2001).

In principle, the EU documents state that any "European" state may claim its membership to the European Union (see "Under Article O of the Treaty of European

Union”, January 1995). There is of course no clear definition of the word "European". As the Commission rightly says, the expression “embraces geographical, historical and cultural elements which contributes to the European identity. It would therefore appear neither possible nor desirable [for the inside] to lay down once and for all the borders of the European Union, which will need to emerge gradually over an extended period of time" (Ibid.). A previous Commission report on the Criteria in June 1992 went farther in line with it: "The shared experience of proximity, ideas, values, and historical interaction cannot be condensed into a simple formula, and is subject to review by each succeeding generation. The Commission believes that it is neither possible nor opportune to establish a definition" (Bordachev 2000). In other words, although currently the Ukraine’s membership to the EU has been denied, it has not been rejected completely.

At the moment an orientation towards reserved cooperation with Kiev prevails. The goal of Western countries is to keep Ukraine within the "reachable zone" and not closing the door to its inclusion in the "expanded Europe" in the longer-term (Ibid). “The aim must be to work constructively through the existing Partnership and Co-operation Agreement... relationship to be built up over time” (*IP/99/944*).

Unfortunately, for years the EU had not been paying attention to Ukraine it deserved (Persson 2001): most of the EU’s attention was channelled to the CEE countries. The principle policy line of the EU towards Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus has been to support the sovereign status of the “new Eastern European” countries, as well as the development of democracy and market mechanisms within them. However, lately Ukraine has been singled out and paid more attention by the EU. In December 1999, at the Helsinki summit in the document entitled “A Common Strategy for Ukraine”, the EU congratulated Ukraine on its pro-European orientation and called for increased economic political and cultural cooperation. The ongoing EU support to Ukraine’s integration to the European community was also mentioned in the EU Parliament resolution #12657, March 2001, as well as at the Presidency Conclusions at Goteborg European Council, July 2001, which stated that stable political and economic development of Ukraine is a strategically important for Europe. The Union recognizes the European orientation of Ukraine and will continue to support democratic changes, human rights advancement, legal and free market reforms in it.

However, current EU initiatives show that Ukraine constitutes a strategic but not a priority goal, still staying on the margins of the EU interests.

Ukraine: enlargement from within

This is a historical moment for Ukraine which stands on a “crossroads”. On the one hand, Ukraine is prone to return to Russian orbit – Ukraine’s close economic ties with Russia permit one to speak of the “phenomenon of an “expanded” Russian neighbourhood” (Bordachev 2000). On the other hand, Ukraine considers itself (and is eager to be considered by others) foremost within the context of Europe.

As it was stated before, Ukraine shares many common aspects with the ex-communist candidates for accession (see Richmond 1996(1), 1996 (2); Wilfried 1998; Wilson, 1997; Prizel 1998). First, all these countries express different degree of the adhesion or the non-adhesion to economic and political principles accepted by the EU members. Second, they all go through the process of “casting off” their communist past that includes the intensive process of redefining new national identities. This process is usually accompanied by sensitive attitudes towards newly acquired sovereignty after decades under the influence of different powers. Third, all these countries are going through the process of creating a new significant «other» against which they try to define themselves. After the collapse of the USSR, the West and the EU in particular have become those significant “others” for CEE countries. Finally, Central and Eastern Europe resents its treatment as peripheral European civilizations and its marginalization within the international system. These states take the West’s inability to speed up the process of opening the European Union as a sign of continuing indifference (Prizel 1998: 24). All these commonalities reinforce Ukraine’s intention to join the aspiring candidates in their “return to Europe” -- more than any other time in history, Ukraine aspires to shed its “Eastern” image by integrating into the community of Western nations, claiming common heritage and common business.

Ukraine’s “deficit of realism” (Sherr 2001, 58) in regard to entering the EU in the nearest future gave way to a more “pragmatic approach” (see the interview with Andriy Fialko, the Head of External Affairs Department at the Ukraine’s President Administration in *National Security and Defence*, #11, 2001: 32) and more realistic outlook, bordering on pessimism. For instance, 40% of surveyed in 2001 Ukrainians believes that only in 20 years Ukraine will be able to join the Union, and 20% of

population believes that Ukraine will never be able to enter the EU (*UCEDP Analytical report 2001*: 14).

Ukrainian policy-makers and broad public give account to the fact that the country does not meet most of the Copenhagen criteria (1993) for the membership in the EU, the lack of efficient progress in economic reforms being the leading factor. Thus, rather than focusing on institutional recognition of Ukraine's "Europeanness" in the form of membership in the EU (Wolzcuk 2000: 685), Ukraine's decision-makers are involved into reordering priorities in dealing with the soon-to-be-enlarged EU. It is expected that immediate neighbouring of the EU countries (1400 km of common borders with the EU (*UCEDP Analytical report 2001*: 27)) will challenge norms and standards in all spheres of Ukraine's life: Ukraine is encountering possible consequences of enlargement in political, economic, trading, financial and migration fields. It also foresees changes in the fields of scientific and technical exchanges, as well as security and environmental cooperation.

It is important to note that there is a potential as for enforcing Ukraine's European orientation within its citizens: 66% of population expresses its support for Ukraine to enter the EU in the next five-ten years, 31% of Ukrainian population supports contacts with the EU (*Ibid.*: 14). 18% sees progress in Ukraine's relations with the EU. However, 21% sees Ukraine - EU relationship as stagnating, and 15% as worsening (Pashkov & Chalyj 2001).

Nevertheless, even in the light of Europe's lukewarm reception (the EU did not include Ukraine into the list of the "second wave" candidates (Sherr 2001: 60)), mild positive support of contacts with the EU among its own citizens (36% of respondents expresses its sceptical approach towards Ukraine - EU relations), and growing Russia's influence, Ukrainian policy-makers remain optimistic (see interview with Vasyl Rogovyj, Vice-Premier-Minister of Ukraine in *National Security and Defence*, #11, 2001: 30). Ukraine keeps its European policy orientation, and the Ukrainian elite still proclaims Ukraine's rightful place in European civilization, as opposed to the east Slavic, post-Soviet or Eurasian civilizations. However, this process is challenging since the country's elite bolsters its rhetoric on Ukraine's European identity while at the same time remaining beyond key European institutions (Wolzcuk 2000: 685).

External image and mass media

Similar to its CEE neighbors, Ukraine is looking for the West more than to the East, and chooses the EU as a significant Other against whom the country tries to define the Self. The externally imposed definition is extremely important for Ukraine since being one of the successor states of the dismantled USSR, it is still closely associated with Russia. The image abroad is the real worry and a matter of survival for Ukraine -- the country faces the necessity to present itself to the Other that will be credited. The external representation influences whether the country will be accepted by the European community. Moreover, it affects its self-perception and formation of identity from within -- narratives of the reflective compositioning of Self are considered to be the rhetorical tools in mobilizing the nation, producing national identity and constituting and legitimizing national politics.

Modern images are produced and reproduced in variously mediated forms, and the imprecision of a country's image does surface in respective discourses and can be exposed. Ukraine, which seeks to establish itself, is increasingly focusing on "the role of international media while basing its claims for international respect" (Righter in *The Problem*). International media are too powerful – they operate too widely and effectively; they represent an alien viewpoint, which they impress upon nations trying to build an independent, modern identity (Righter 1978).

According to *Eurobarometer* survey (*Bulletin Quotidien Europe* # 8208, 2002), 46% of Europeans reads newspapers five to seven times a week, and 60% of those questioned reads magazines once a week or more. Thus, we may suggest that the print media becomes the custodian of the collective memory and the repository of images and attitudes of the EU citizens, particularly in regard to accession candidates and Ukraine.

Undoubtedly, the quality and depth of the enlargement coverage varies from one country to another, from one media source to another due to different external and internal factors, e.g., the political system of a country, or the editorial policy of a news organization, or a different audience, etc. My choice of *The Economist* as a source of media texts to reconstruct the aspiring countries images is conditioned by several factors. First, *The Economist* is a high circulation weekly international journal of news, ideas, opinion and analysis, that exists in printed and online versions. Second, *The Economist* is an accepted authority in the field of international politics. Third, *The Economist* treats enlargement in an ongoing and in depth way. Finally, *The Economist*,

being a political magazine published in Great Britain, is the source of information well recognized internationally. The material for analysis comes from 54 texts focusing on ten CEE countries and ten texts focusing on Ukraine. Ratio wise ten articles on Ukraine constitute a substantial sample representations (compare it with eleven articles focusing on Poland, five articles on Hungary, five on Bulgaria, three on Czech Republic, two on Slovakia, two on Romania, one on Slovenia, and one on Lithuania).

Conceptual Metaphor

In the opinion of Anthony Judge in his e-publication *Experimental articulation through a dynamic system of metaphors*, media communicability and created through it imagery have become increasingly important to the life of political initiatives. Recent theoretical tools developed in cognitive semantics may provide useful insights into the study of media created images. One of those tools is the analysis of texts in terms of conceptual metaphors (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff 1993).

Metaphor cannot be given a good definition (Nalimov 1981, 78). For the purposes of this discussion, I restrict the idea of metaphor to the notion of conceptual metaphors. Those metaphors are viewed as a cognitive process that ensures the acquisition, formation and expressing of a new knowledge and new meanings, and enables and conditions most thought processes (*Dictionary of Cognitive Terms*, 1996). Conceptual metaphors also serve as vehicles in the interaction with public opinion, and are used to articulate strategic options that are both useful and viable (see Judge's e-publication).

It is the peculiar strength of metaphor that it can convey the essential without excessive oversimplification. Metaphors have the tremendous advantage of being grounded in what is familiar. As such, not only do they facilitate rapid comprehension, but they often suggest new dimensions to what is being conveyed through them. This research explicated that a great number of various metaphors has been activated in *The Economist* texts in regard to the CEE candidate and Ukraine. This finding could be attributed to the fact that CEE and former USSR countries are still not well known for the Western broad public -- they stayed in the behind-the-Berlin-wall zone for several decades, consequently, the notions of them are a challenge to comprehend.

Metaphor is a classic device through which a complex set of elements and relationships can be rendered. Any conceptual metaphor could be presented in the form of a model that contains the following elements: 1) the notion which is metaphorized;

2) the notion which is involved for comparison; 3) the metaphor basis (common feature); 4) the context (see Kolesnik1996).

e.g. reforming governments if they inflicted necessarily *harsh medicine* on their voters, even though they may have set their country on the road towards a *recovery* that cannot be instant (*The Economist* 23/06/01)

Conceptual metaphor “sickness” has been employed in the above mentioned example:

- 1) the notion which is metaphorized: *reforms in a country*;
- 2) the notion involved for comparison: *physical condition of a human being*;
- 3) the common feature: *need for intervention: sick person needs medicine // developing country needs reforms*
- 4) the context: *The Economist* articles about CEE candidates on accession, year 2001.

Conceptual metaphors are categorial by nature, i.e. they produce expressions from the same analogy. Thus, metaphors belonging to the same analogy build sets (rows) (Bessarabova 1990). The sets could be generalized in terms of a two-part paradigm: **1. HUMAN BEING** ---- **2. PHYSICAL WORLD**. Consequently, every conceptual metaphor located in *The Economist* texts focusing on CEE candidates and Ukraine could be classified according to the following paradigm:

1. HUMAN BEING -----	2. PHYSICAL WORLD
1.1. Physical Condition	2.1. Objects and Nature Phenomena
1.2. Physical actions	2.2. Artifacts
1.3. Social Relations	

The following examples from *The Economist* texts form the two set paradigms for CEE candidates (Section I.) and Ukraine (Section II.) respectively. Section III presents the comparative analysis of two paradigms.

Section I. Conceptual Metaphors for CEE Candidates for Accession (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia)

1. HUMAN BEING

1.1. Physical State of a Human Being

1.1.1. SICKNESS

SICK PERSON = applicants

countries that have yet to *recover* from the double bashing of communism and its collapse (23/06/01)

a health system near *collapse* (09/07/01) (about Slovakia)

= opposition in Hungary

The Centrist Alliance of Free Democrats and the Conservative Democratic Forum are also both *in poor shape* (28/6/01)
Hungarian Justice and Life Party has been *wrecked* by corruption scandal (28/6)

MEDICINE = reforms

reforming governments if they inflicted necessarily *harsh medicine* on their voters, even though they may have set their country on the road towards a *recovery* that cannot be instant (23/06/01)

DISEASE = resistance to enlargement

a problem that *plagues* the whole of the EU (8/12/01)

= lack of reforms in aspiring countries

Lithuania's delays, especially in making legal and administrative changes, are causing *headaches* in Brussels (25/08/01)

PAIN = EU political decisions

it was always plain that enlargement would involve some *painful* political decisions (26/05/01)

AILING PARTS = parts of the countries

Silesia is particularly *hard-hit* (31/03/01)

HEALTHY PERSON = Hungary

a continuously *healthy* flow of investments from abroad (08/09)
Hungary's newfound economic *health* (08/09)

CLOGGED ARTERIES = roads in Central Europe

most of Central Europe's *arterial* roads are *clogged* (26/05/01)

Physical Actions of a Human Being

1.2.1. MOVEMENT

MOVEMENT FORWARD = reforms in aspiring countries

the commission regularly issues check-lists of how each aspirant country is *progressing* in various respects (03/02/01)

getting around the problems of agricultural and regional funds will be next year task (17/11/01)

for sure, some *strides have been taken* towards enlargement (23/06/01)

= Swedish presidency actions in relation to enlargement

they can make a decisive *breakthrough* on enlargement during their presidency (Swedes) (10/02/01)

during the six months in which Sweden held the EU's agenda setting presidency, things did *move along*, even in some boggy areas - free *movement* of labor and capital (23/06/01)

= success of negotiations

concluding negotiations in 2002 is not a promise but is still conditional on the negotiations' actual *progress* (23/06/01)

= reforms in Estonia

In the 1990 while Estonia *rushed* to privatize, reform and woo foreign investment (25/08/01)

STOP ON THE WAY = legislation reform

the sheer technical *slog* of connecting some 8000o pages of EU law (17/11/01)

= state of economic affairs in different countries:

in Poland

in the matter of job creation, the 39 mln Poles have had to run just to *stand still* and now they may be flagging (31/03/01)

in Romania

its economic reform has *stalled* again and again (23/0/016)

in Slovakia

with unemployment *stuck* above 20% in much of the country (09/07/01)

A PERSON IN FRONT OF THE CLOSED DOOR = aspiring countries in their effort to join EU

most are from Central Europe and have been *knocking at the gate* (17/11/01)

it may *swing open* (17/11/01)

the *door creaks open* (17/11/01)

if the EU keep its *doors shut* (21/04/01)

reward him for his efforts (the president of Romania) by *opening the doors* to the West's club (1/31/01)

MOVING AWAY PERSON = Slovenia parting from Yugoslavia

managed to *slide away* peacefully out of what was Yugoslavia and into something that more closely resembles Austria (20/04/01)

LAGGING BEHIND PERSON = candidates for enlargement

some of the candidate *fail to keep to the timetable*

Poland is a relative *laggard* (17/11/01)

Bulgaria and Romania, two notorious *laggards* (01/12/01), (23/06/01)

It (Romania) is still *the laggard* of all the former Warsaw Pact countries, *slipping behind* even Bulgaria, its battered Balkan rival (1/31/01)

Lithuania is the biggest but most *backward* of the three Baltic states (25/08/01)

Lithuania needs a huge amount of reform chiefly *to speed up* the economy (25/08/01)

WAY, PATH

PATH, WAY = enlargement

ten countries well be concluded by the end of the next year *paving the way* for them to enter as early as 2004 (17/11/01)

the prospect of «concluding negotiations» by the end of 2002 had already been *laid out in a «road/map»* for enlargement set out by the European Commission (23/06/01)

= post-communist reforms

Lately Mr. Nastaase has taken his «new improved Romania» *on the road* (28/07/01)

OBSTACLES ON THE WAY = conditions in aspiring countries that stand on the way of enlargement

all of the countries that aspire to finish negotiations next year have *big hurdles* to jump (17/11/01)

= actions of Spain and France

Spain is threatening it will *block* internal EU agreement on other sensitive topics, such as free movement of labor (26/05/01)

if France could *block* the club's expansion (01/12/01)

the *snag* is (01/12/01)

a *blocking move* (from France) (01/12/01)

- = declarations of EU members
 - any advances for the cause of EU's expansion rest in tiny nuances of language of the sort that would delight a Talmudic scholar the declarations are all **hedges** with conditions and weaselly escape clauses (23/06/01)
- = questions of free movement of labour
 - during the six months in which Sweden held the EU's agenda setting presidency, things id move along, even in some **boggy areas** - free movement of labour and capital (23/06/01)
- = aspiring countries to EU's budget
 - the applicant countries could be a big **strain** on the EU's budget
- = environment issues in negotiations about joining EU
 - despite worries that this (environment) would be a **sticking point** (09/06/01)
- = economy in Romania
 - Certainly, Mr. Nastasse has **mountains to move** (28/07)

WAY THAT NEVER ENDS = decision on joining EU by aspiring countries
 the candidates fear that they may get **sucked into a never ending tunnel** (09/06/01)

SHOWDOWN, TRAP = promise of exact date of enlargement
 a firm date could **lock** the EU into a promise it regrets (09/06/01)
 It would be nice to think that the prospect of enlargement could be used to force the existing 15 to reform both the CAP and the regional funds in advance, but that could be a **trap** (26/5/01)

MOVEMENT UP

- = state of economic affairs in applicants overall
 - the economies of post/communist Central Europe after sinking into degradation the first five years or so after communism collapsed are beginning to **perk up** (23/06/01)
- = economic situation in Poland
 - unemployment is **rising**, economic growth has slumped down badly (29/9/01)
- = economic situation in Hungary
 - GDP **grew** last year by about 5.5.%, industrial output may have **risen** more than 20%, spending on social services should **rise**, the minimum wage is **going up** some 60% (27/01/01)
- = economic situation in Romania
 - economy is **perking up** helped with competitively priced exports(28/07/01)
- = economic situation in Slovakia
 - Slovakia was recently admitted to the OECD, the economy is **going up**, foreign investment is rising (09/07/01)

MOVEMENT DOWN

- = economic situation in Poland
 - unemployment is rising, economic growth has **slumped down** badly (29/9)
- = inflation in Romania
 - inflation is **edging down** (28/07/01)
- = economic situation in Slovakia
 - Slovaks recall how he (Vladimir Meciar) **drove the country into the ground** during his years as prime minister from 1993 to 1998 (09/07)
- = politics in Czech Republic
 - a splurge of scandals eventually **brought** his (Mr.Claus) government **down** (03/02)

1.2. Social Activities of a Human Being

1.2.1. COOKING = enlargement

COOK/CHEF = EU

to *concoct* an EU offer that will be *palatable* to the applicants countries (17/11/01)

FOOD = aid

the *juiciest* subsidies will go to regions of countries like Poland and Hungary (26/05/01)

the Spanish can see that the *fiesta* may be over (26/05/01)

LIQUID = aid

think of all the money *poured* into Italy's Mezzogiorno over the years to benefit almost nobody but the Mafia (26/05/01)

SPOILED FOOD = candidates' economy failing to prosper

With Poland's economy *turning quiet sour* after several pretty *sweet* years (3/11/01)

STICKY FOOD = difficult for discussion topics

but the *stickiest* topics - farming subsidies and aid to poorer regions (23/06/01)

1.2.2. SHEPHERD = EU

enlargement *ahoy* (09/06/01)

GROUP OF ANIMALS = EU members (current and future)

to bring divided Cyprus into the *fold* (08/09/01)

beviess of negotiators are working to narrow the differences (03/02/01)

1.2.3. ARMY = current EU members

with far poorer ones *join its ranks*? (26/05/01)

democracy is well *entrenched* (23/06)

a row has broken (26/05/01)

Poland will bring with its *regiments of farmers* (26/05/01)

HOSTAGE = a former republic of the USSR

He (Brazauskas) helped his country *escape* from Soviet *captivity* (25/08)

WARRIOR = leader

Berlusconi is *in the saddle* (26/05/01) (about Italy's opposition to enlargement)

1.2.4. CONSTRUCTION

BUILDER = EU

the sort of Europe being *built* is what counts (03/02)

the commitment to admit the ex-communist countries to the east is being qualified by series of increasingly blatant attempts to *rig* the rules against the newcomers

can the EU expand without *nailling down* the budgetary implications? (26/05/01)

fait accompli *rigged* against them (26/05/01)

the stickiest topics - farming subsidies and aid to poor regions are still *untackled* (23/06/01)

DESTRUCTION = underground economy in Poland

swelling of underground economy that is *eroding* the country's taxbase (31/03/01) (about Poland)

1.2.5. GAMES, SPORTS, RACES, FIGHTING

GAMES = EU politics

PLAYERS = current and aspiring members

it *risks playing onto the hands* of those would like to delay the EU's expansion indefinitely (26/05/01)

Ireland, whose GDP per person is now well above the EU average, knows that the **game is up** (26/05/01)
Once in, they (aspiring countries) could help **make the rules** (26/0/01)
the British and the Germans **play the nationalist game** too (8/12/01)
the government (of Hungary) will **team up** with state owned post office (08/09/01)
Populism is the name of today's **game** in Slovakian politics (09/07/01)
Enlargement may be altogether **stymied** (08/09/01) (about Cyprus situation)
It **plays** the nationalist **card** a lot more convincingly (23/6) (about Hungary)

RACES = joining EU by aspiring countries

Estonia, one of the **front-runners** for early membership (26/05)
if Lithuania stays a **slowcoach**, it will be harder to bring in **go-ahead** Estonia or vulnerable Latvia (25/08)
Poles, **hamstrung** in part by a general election expected in the autumn, are slightly **flagging in the race** to get into the club (09/06/01)
the front-runners - the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians - are indignant (01/12/01)

FIGNINTG/BOXING/DOGFIGHTING = negotiating entrance to EU

a **messy fight** would ensue, but that would be better than forfeiting enlargement (26/05/01) (about newcomers participating in creating rules)
a **raw struggle** for power and money, especially money (26/05/01) (about leader o Of European Union discussion of enlargement)
If this new **round of haggling** gets out of hand, the EU's next expansion, first promised in 1990, could be indefinitely delayed (26/05/01)
only when the EU **grapples head-on** with such issues (23/06/01)
the bureaucrats in Brussels trying to **clinch a deal** (21/04/01) (about Poland)
He knows the **haggling** will be hard (28/07/01) (about Poland's' joining EU)
Czechs should be more **combative** in negotiations (03/02/01)
Dogfights at this EU applicant (09/07/01) (about Slovakia)
Three populists are now **muscling** in on next year's general elections, **snapping** and **snarling** at allegations of government corruption (09/07/01) (about Slovakia)

1.2.6. THEATER/ENTERTAINMENT

state ownership has also **staged a comeback** (08/09) (about Hungary)

DRUMMERS = leaders of aspiring countries

Mr. Orban likes **banging two drums at once** (23/06)
Mr. Kwasniewski will be **drumming up** support for joining the EU (28/07)

1.2.7. RELATIONSHIPS = EU and candidates for enlargement

cheap **date** (23/06/01)
in the **curious relationship** between the European Union and the 12 countries applying to join it (23/06/01)

2. PHYSICAL WORLD

2.1. Objects and Nature and Phenomena

2.1.1.FORCES

EXERTING FORCE = action of the EU

It would be nice to think that the prospect of enlargement could be used **to force** the existing 15 to reform both the CAP and the regional funds in advance, but that could be a trap (26/5)

UNCONTROLLABLE FORCE = enlargement

«**big bang**» enlargement(17/11/01)
their membership of the EU will bring **an uncontrollable influx** of job seeker (26/05/01)

2.1.2. SUBSTANCE

WITH A NEW CENTRE OF GRAVITY

a new kind of Europe with *a center of gravity* likely to nudge eastwards (3/11/01)

SOLID SUBSTANCE = resistance to enlargement

Swedes have made good on their aim *to crack on* with the enlargement negotiations (09/06/01)

the main *nut* that he(Persson) hopes *to crack* is that of free movement of workers between the new EU countries and the current 15 (10/02/01)

UNSTABLE SUBSTANCE = enlargement

The Irish rejection has *shaken* confidence in the enlargement procedure on all sides (23/06/01)

= economic situation in Poland

the *economic shake-up* (21/04/01)

= Bulgaria

Bulgaria risks being *wobbly* for quiet a while (23/6/01)

ABSORBING SUBSTANCE = EU countries

though Western Europe as a whole will probably easily *absorb a flow* of migrants (21/04/01)

2.1.3. PLANT = enlargement

the *root* of the problem is easily stated (26/05/01)

= corruption

Corruption *sprouted* under governments of all stripes (about Lithuania)

= private sector in Romania

in the countries' *burgeoning* and surprisingly resilient private sector (1/31/01)

2.1.4. DIRT = corruption in Czech Republic

his (Mr.Claus) regime was *stained* with corruption (3/2/01)

2.2. Artifacts

2.2.1. MECHANISM = EU politics in relation to enlargement

In Brussels it is widely seen as a blatant effort *to throw sand in the engine* (01/12/01)
(about Vedrine's remark to take in all 12 of the countries in negotiations)

AMENDED MECHANISM = privatization in Bulgaria

The privatization law has been *amended* to eliminate some unwise privileges for management-employee buy-outs (24/11)

ILL WORKING MECHANISM =Romanian government

Romanian *creaky machinery* of government (1/31)

= Czech politics

now as the Social Democrats begin *to run out of steam* (3/2/)

2.2.2. PLANE THAT TOOK OFF

things really *took off* (20/04/01) (Slovenia)

Section II. Conceptual metaphors for Ukraine

1. HUMAN BEING

1.1. Physical State of a Human Being

1.1.1. SICKNESS

= state of affairs in general

all three countries (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova) are *in a bad state* (02.06.01)

The *affected* countries (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova) (02/06/01)

Hapless, impoverished Ukraine, *plagued* by conyism, incompetence and authoritarianism, notorious for political murders, murky scandals and corruption. (11/08/01)

Many of the country's *ills* (11/08/01)

Ukraine is so big – and so *weak* (20/01/01)

Ukraine's *feeble* standards (as for demonstrating public protest) (05/05/01)

= social life in the country

A different threat is posed by the “new misery curtain”, caused by social *breakdown* and corrupt, incompetent government (02.06.01)

= state of foreign affairs

foreign policy is *shaky* (11/08/01)

= public spirit

public-spiritness is *weak* (20/01/01)

= diaspora

Ukraine's diaspora is having a “*collective nervous breakdown*” in the words of one activist (20/01/01)

HEALTHY PERSON = president

Mr. Kuchma seems to have *a strong stomach* when it to scandal (20/01//01)

1.1.2. SLEEPING

NIGHTMARE = state of affairs in general

Ukraine is a *nightmare* (02/06/01)

WAKING UP = activities of Yushchenko

The government of Ukraine's prime minister Viktor Yushchenko, had *reawakened* hopes that Ukraine was ending a decade of misrul (05/05/01)

1.2. Physical Actions of a Human Being

1.2.1. MOVEMENT

MOVEMENT FORWARD

= state of political system

the *formerly deadlocked* political system now working smoothly (11/08/01)

= reforms progress

the powerful interests that *used to block* reform have changed their mind (11/08/01)

MOVEMENT BACKWARDS = energy industry

But Ukraine's lucrative and murky energy industry in particular seems to be *slipping back* to its bad old ways (11/08/01)

STOP ON THE WAY = diaspora activities

Now the diaspora *is stuck* (20/01/01)

MOVING AWAY PERSON = Ukraine's move from the rest of Europe

GAP = relations with Europe

Ukraine *drifting further into Russia's arms* (17/02/01)

it is not a new iron curtain yet, but the *diving line* looks increasingly solid all the same (02/06/01)

the *gap* with the rest of Europe grows (11/08/01)

WAY, PATH

PATH, WAY

= geopolitical position of Ukraine

a *bulwark* against Russian hegemony in the former Soviet Union (17/02/01)

= development of Ukraine

a new post-Soviet generation takes power. But still looks a *long way off* (10/03/01)

MOVEMENT DOWN

=state of affairs in general

The three republics that once formed the western flank of the Soviet Union are *plunging deeper into a spiral* of authoritarianism and decay (02.06.01)

= Ukrainian currency

Ukraine's currency *dipped* only *slightly* (20/01/01)

1.3. Social Activities of a Human Being

1.2.1. ARMY

PART OF THE ARMY = part of the former USSR

The three republics that once formed *the western flank* of the Soviet Union are plunging deeper into a spiral of authoritarianism and decay (02.06.01)

1.2.2. FIGHTING

=president's action

Mr. Kuchma had been *fighting back* (17/02/01)

= diaspora actions

many seem ready to *give up* (20/01/01)

1.2.3. THEATER/ENTERTAINMENT

= performer

after the decade of independence, this *unhappy trio* – Ukraine (population 50 m), Belarus (10m), Moldova (4.7. mln) - are in shambles (02.06.01)

=state of affairs in general

the three western republics' *dramas* (02/06/01)

1.2.4. RELATIONSHIPS

FLIRT = relations with foreign policy partners

Sometime Ukraine *flirts* with NATO, sometimes with neutrality; sometimes sees fated to become part of a new Russian empire (11/08/01)

2. PHYSICAL WORLD

2.1. Objects and Nature and Phenomena

2.1.1. FORCES OF NATURE = protest in Ukraine

the *wave* of protest over the journalist's death (02/06/01)

2.1.2. SUBSTANCE

IMPENETRABLE SUBSTANCE

= state of political affairs

the **murky** political climate is not attractive to westerners (02/06/01)

Hapless, impoverished Ukraine, plagued by conyism, incompetence and authoritarianism, notorious for political murders, **murky** scandals and corruption. (11/08/01)

=energy industry

the country's **murky** energy business (07/04/01)

= security services

SBU, Ukraine's omnipresent, **murky** and unaccountable security service (17/02/01)

FERMENTING SUBSTANCE = political situation

the other came in Ukraine after a long period of political **ferment** (02/06/01)

2.1.2. ORGANISM (plant or animal)

= new economy

The economy having **shrunk** by half after the Soviet collapse, is **growing** at a spanking 10% a year – much faster even than oil-rich Russia's (11/08/01)

Its economy **grew** by 6% in the past year (20/01/01)

The country is **growing** nearly as fast as Russia (7% last year)(20/01/01)

Economy is stable and **growing** ((10/03/01)

= reforms

one of the largest countries in Europe is embroiled in a lurid scandal which could **stunt** reform, threaten independence and bring it back into Russia's orbit (20/01/01)

county's **nascent** reforms (20/01/01)

DECAYING ORGANISM= state of affairs in general

even as their country **rots** (11/08/01)

2.3. Artifacts

2.2.1. FALLING APART BUILDING

after the decade of independence, this unhappy trio – Ukraine (population 50 m), Belarus (10m), Moldova (4.7. miln) - **are in shambles** (02.06.01)

falling apart (17/02/01)

2.2.2. MECHANISM = Ukraine's economics

Tightening the screws on a country already over-dependent on Russian oil and gas (02/06/ 01)

REPAIR = actions of government

but it will take more than fine words and **quick fixes** to dispel the scepticism about Mr. Kinach (new prime-minister) (11/08/01)

2.2.3. LEAKING CONTAINER

= state of affairs in general

It would give the European Union a prosperous and stable neighbor, rather than a bankrupt menace that **leaks** crime, disease and many thousands of illegal immigrants (20/01/01)

2.2.4. GARBAGE =overall situation in the country

yet it (Ukraine) risks becoming a **cesspit** of poverty, crime and disease (11/08/01)

2.2.5. PLANE THAT FALLS DOWN = reform in Ukraine

Ukraine's chance of reform and stability **went down in flames** (05/05/01)

Section III. Comparative analysis

To sum up, the results of media texts analysis in terms of conceptual metaphors could be presented in the following table:

	Conceptual metaphors representing CEE candidates	Conceptual metaphors representing Ukraine
1. HUMAN BEING		
1.1. Physical Condition	1.1.1. SICKNESS SICK PERSON MEDICINE DISEASE AILING PARTS HEALTHY PERSON CLOGGED ARTERIES	1.1.1. SICKNESS 1.1.2. SLEEPING
1.2. Physical actions	1.2.1. MOVEMENT MOVEMENT FORWARD A PERSON IN FRONT OF A CLOSED DOOR STOP ON THE WAY MOVING AWAY PERSON (from empires) LAGGING BEHIND WAY, PATH OBSTACLES ON THE WAY WAY THAT NEVER ENDS SHOWDOWN, TRAP MOVEMENT UP MOVEMENT DOWN	1.2.1. MOVEMENT MOVEMENT FORWARD STOP ON THE WAY MOVING AWAY PERSON (from Europe) MOVEMENT BACKWARDS WAY, PATH MOVEMENT DOWN
1.3. Social Relations	1.2.1. COOKING 1.2.2. SHEPHERD 1.2.3. ARMY 1.2.4. CONSTRUCTION 1.2.5. GAMES, SPORTS, RACES, FIGHTING 1.2.6. THEATER/ENTERTAINMENT 1.2.7. RELATIONSHIPS	1.2.1. ARMY 1.2.2. FIGHTING 1.2.3. THEATER/ENTERTAINMENT 1.2.4. RELATIONSHIPS
2. PHYSICAL WORLD		
2.1. Objects and Nature Phenomenon	2.1.1. FORCES 2.1.2. SUBSTANCE 2.1.3. PLANT 2.1.4. DIRT	2.1.1. FORCES OF NATURE 2.1.2. NOT TRANSPARENT SUBSTANCE 2.1.3. ORGANISM (plant or animal)
2.2. Artifacts	2.2.1. MECHANISM 2.2.2. PLANE THAT TOOK OFF	2.2.1. FALLING APART BUILDING 2.2.2. MECHANISM THAT NEEDS REPAIR 2.2.3. LEAKING CONTAINER 2.2.4. GARBAGE 2.2.5. PLANE THAT FALLS DOWN

The imprecision of the images of Ukraine and the CEE candidates in terms of conceptual metaphors occurs in the identical paradigms -- **1. HUMAN BEING** and **2. PHYSICAL WORLD**, employing parallel metaphoric rows -- SICKNESS, MOVEMENT, FIGHTING, SUBSTANCE, MECHANISM, etc. Consequently, we can make an inference that *The Economist* readers are susceptible to the endorsement of clearly similar images of CEE candidates and Ukraine that entrench closely related categorizations of those concepts.

Despite this commonality, there are certain differences in the metaphoric categorizations of the concepts. First, the metaphoric rows representing the image of CEE candidates are more elaborate from within than the parallel to them metaphoric sets used to categorize Ukraine. For example, conceptual metaphor of MOVEMENT has 12 elaborations for CEE image. By contrast, Ukraine's image recruits only 6. Consider also "Social Activities" category, in which CEE candidates' representation involves 7 conceptual metaphors, and, in contrast, Ukraine's image entails only 4.

This array of metaphors within individual sets could be extrapolated from the fact that the construed integrative image of CEE candidates comes from 54 texts focusing on 10 countries. In the mean time, the image of Ukraine is reconstructed from 10 texts focusing on one country.

Second, in terms of centrality and frequency, different conceptual metaphors are recruited to profile images of CEE candidates and Ukraine respectively. The most frequent conceptual metaphor in relation to the CEE candidates is the one of MOVEMENT. Representation of the concept of movement (or movement along the way) reflects general tendency of the associative thinking where the conceptualization of space and movement in it is the underlying principle of organizing events and states (See Lakoff and Jonson 1980; Jackendoff 1983; Chilton 1988). Usually, movement forward or up is associated with positive connotations, and movement backward or down, or movement encountering obstacles or stops convey negative connotations.

In Ukraine's representation the conceptual metaphor of SICKNESS is the most numerous. N. Fiaclough (1989) noticed that typical enough representation of problems in terms of sickness calls for the associations with a vague mindless force (the ordinary people can't and are afraid to deal with it). An ideological value of this metaphor transfers the problem into the rank of the problem important and appealing

to the whole society. Moreover, metaphors referring to illness can be compared with the utterance and the induction of anxiety: by using them, processes in society are explained analogical to biological processes. These medical images seem to function in a highly manipulative way -- the suggestion induced is that problems could be solved by medical treatments instead of by discussion, and there is a need for a doctor, or an authoritarian leader (Koeller 1975; Koenigsberg 1975).

Third, both images of CEE candidates and Ukraine get evaluations that are slanted towards a negative perspective -- the aggregated negative evaluation taking across those particular media texts could be partially attributed to the mass media discourse peculiarity to employ more negative evaluations, since they have a stronger emotional impact on readers (Snitko 1993: 46). However, the latter image integrates more negative connotations on the assessment continuum. For instance, 4 out of 6 representations of the conceptual metaphor MOVEMENT in Ukraine's case have negative valorisation: STOP ON THE WAY, MOVING AWAY PERSON (from Europe), MOVEMENT BACKWARDS, and MOVEMENT DOWN. Moreover, all conceptual metaphors that represent the "Artifacts" category are of negative assessment: FALLING APART BUILDING, MECHANISM THAT NEEDS REPAIR, LEAKING CONTAINER, GARBAGE, and PLANE THAT FALLS DOWN.

To sum up, the key facts about the ex-communist "first" and "second" wave candidates for enlargement are conceptualized in a series of metaphors that represent the EU public the image of aspiring countries as a "person" who is definitely moving forward along the "way" (enlargement), however, overcoming multiple "obstacles" and making many "stops". As a result of this difficult movement the "person" is lagging behind. Moreover, joining EU is compared with standing in front of a closed door, which may be or may be not open. Another metaphor is a "sick person" (with some exceptions, e.g., Hungary who is "healthy").

Respectively, the EU and EU current members are represented in the image of a "gate/door keeper" who lets or does not let new members in. Other images of EU are a "doctor", a "cook", a "shepherd", a "builder", and an "army strategist". They all introduce EU as a controlling and authority issuing body.

Relations and negotiations between current and new members are conceptualized in terms of "games", "sports", "fighting", "personal relations (date)", and "theater/entertainment".

The key facts about Ukraine are conceptualized in a series of similar metaphors that represent the EU public the image of Ukraine as a “sick” person, that “moves down”, “stops on the way” and “drifts away” from Europe. Conceptualized in terms of social relations Ukraine “flirts” with various geopolitical powers, but is still viewed as a “part” of ex-Soviet “army”. The turmoil in it observed by the European community within a certain distance – like “theater” actions. Artifact metaphors of “falling apart building”, “mechanism that needs repair”, “leaking container”, “garbage” and “plane that went down” contribute to the overall negative evaluation that prevails in presenting Ukraine’s image.

Conclusions

The metaphoric dimension is vital to any sustainable motivation of public opinion – research in cognitive linguistics has demonstrated the cognitive function and influence of metaphors in the most disciplined and rigorous thinking, including image formation (Judge in his e-publication). According to Sofia Brostrom (1994), metaphorical categorizations highlight some properties, downplay some and hide yet others. This seems to be a perfect support for stereotypes and conventional beliefs. No doubt that mass media uses different types of categorizations, but categorization by means of metaphor seems to be the most powerful one.

George Lakoff’s observation in his Internet publication *Metaphor in Politics* (1991) noted that beyond its rhetoric functions, metaphorical thought is most commonly used by the general public in comprehending international politics. It appears that metaphors, whether explicit or implicit, are essential to the ordering of cognitive elements. This metaphors’ ability is particular compelling in cases where recipients of information do not have strong opinions beforehand (Brostrom 1994, 38). This applies also to the situation around the EU enlargement when the Western broad public knows little about the new candidates on accession, and even less about the candidate’s immediate neighbors in Europe.

Given the increasing use of metaphor and imagery in media-based politics, we witness that Western mass media (*The Economist* magazine in particular) provides very specific categorizations day after day, article after article. Those media texts explain (or construct meaning of) a situation, without perhaps conscious understanding of the ramifications (positive or negative) of such backstage cognition. Teun van Dijk (1996) states that those effects play a role in the formation and change

of public opinion, in setting the political agenda, and in influencing social debate, decision making and other forms of social and political action.

If those representations are repeatedly communicated and minimally transformed in the process they end up belonging to the culture and political life. Imagery may easily undermine the best of initiatives -- negative images will live their mark on reality, and this is not what new independent Ukraine or CEE candidates would want or benefit from. Should CEE countries be represented in less negative images, then it could facilitate the appointment of the exact date for accession. Should Ukraine's image be depicted using more positive evaluations of on-going reforms, then it would sooner escape the negative consequences of losing a chance to eventually integrate into the European community.

In this paper I tried to explicate some processes that are implicated in the establishments, maintenance, and transformation of media created images as shared representations. For that purpose I employed the cognitive tool of conceptual metaphor analysis. This tool could be used by scholars studying the EU processes from different approaches, including a cognitive one. Cognitive approach in general makes the studies of the EU enlargement process more interesting for teams of political practitioners and researchers while introducing new methods, strategies and philosophies.

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