### **ARTICLES**

# THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION **IN THE PROGRAMMES** OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT



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ursuant to Article 92 of the Constitution of Ukraine, Parliament passes laws that lay down the fundamentals of regulation of education and science, approves the state budget of Ukraine, including education expenditures, and exercises parliamentary control. Hence, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine possesses rather broad powers for formulating and implementing of the state policy in the sphere of education.

This article analyses the programmes of 22 political parties that ether on their own or within blocs have overcome the 4-% barrier and are represented in the Verkhovna Rada of the 4th convocation<sup>1</sup>. Naturally, election programmes did not pay sufficient attention to the issues of education for various, sometimes, quite serious reasons<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, we have analysed long-term party documents (Table "Issues of education in the programmes of the parties represented in Parliament"). The survey was performed in order to examine the possibility of legislative changes in the sphere of education.

#### **Fundamentals of state policy** in the sphere of education

It is noteworthy that some political parties, in their party documents, give priority not to the interests of the individual but to national (state) interests in the sphere of education. For example, the programme of the SDPU(u) stresses that the system of education should develop "with account of the state and national interests in pursuance of the social order for upbringing citizens of a free democratic society".

On the other, right wing, this position is backed by the People's Rukh of Ukraine, which believes that "education and upbringing should be organised in strict compliance with the political, economic and cultural interests of our state". The NDP makes emphasis, inter alia, on the needs of the regions.

CPU, Ukrainian People's Rukh, Sobor and ChPU are sure that progress in the sphere of education should be a priority of the state policy. USDP views a high educational level of citizens as a precondition of the

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text: APU — Agrarian Party of Ukraine; Batkivshchyna — All-Ukrainian Association Batkivshchyna; FU — Party "Forward, Ukraine!"; CPU — Communist Party of Ukraine; CUN — Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists; LPU — Liberal Party of Ukraine; YPU — Youth Party of Ukraine; NDP — People's Democratic Party; NRU — People's Rukh of Ukraine; PIEU — Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine; **PR** — Party of the Regions; **R&O** — Party "Reforms and Order"; **RCP** — Republican Christian Party; **SDPU(u)** — Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united); **Sobor** — Ukrainian People's Party **Sobor**; **Solidarity** — Party "Solidarity"; **SPU** — Socialist Party of Ukraine; **LU** — Party "Labour Ukraine"; – Ukrainian People's Rukh; URP — Ukrainian Republican Party; USDP — Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; ChPU — Party "Christian People's Union".

CPU, SPU and SDPU(u) overcame the barrier on their own. Viktor Yushchenko's Bloc "Our Ukraine" brought to Parliament ten parties: FU, CUN, LPU, YPU, NRU, R&O, RCP, Solidarity, UNR, ChPU. Election bloc "For a United Ukraine!" brought together five parties: APU, NDP, PIEU, PR, LU. Yuliya Tymoshenko's Bloc united four parties: Batkivshchyna, Sobor, URP, USDP. Sobor and URP have recently announced their merger, but the process is not yet completed.

Given the legislative limitation of the size of election programmes (7,800 characters), they deal only with basic principles of state policy in the field of education.

ISSUES OF EDUCATION IN THE PROGRAMMES OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT				
Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Fundamentals of state policy in the sphere of education	Funding of education and raising the social status of teachers	Accessibility of education	Priorities of education reform
1. Viktor YUSHCHENKO's Bloc "OUR	UKRAINE". Leader — Viktor YUSHCHE	:NKO		
Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists Leader — Yaroslava Stetsko Programme approved on 28.06.1998, reaffirmed 26.11.2000	tion.  Balancing of national and international programme components in the educational process.	<ul> <li>Provision of priority budget funding of education in the forthcoming years, its reformation on the sufficient level and with sufficient remuneration of labour of pedagogues.</li> <li>Improvement of co-operation of educational establishments among themselves and with financial institutions.</li> </ul>		Attention to the system of primary military training with employment of teacher-officers — Ukrainian patriots, and to sports and patriotic upbringing of the youth.  Specialisation of establishments of managerial education on the basis of the branch and functional management needs.  Mastering of methods of feedback and interaction with graduates of higher educational establishments.  Resolution of problems arising in connection with accreditation and certification of non-governmental educational establishments (national and international).  Creation of a single information space for higher educational establishments using up-to-date communication systems.
Liberal Party of Ukraine Leader — Volodymyr Shcherban Programme approved on 19.12.1998	the authorities on educational establish-	<ul> <li>Enhancing material and technical support for general education schools, vocational schools and colleges; material support for preschool establishments and development of their alternative forms.</li> <li>Creation of a multi-channel system of funding of higher educational establishments.</li> <li>Raising the level of remuneration of labour and social welfare of teachers.</li> </ul>	system of preschool education of children.  Creation of equal conditions for educational establishments of all forms.	<ul> <li>Preservation and expansion of the existing form of preschool upbringing of children.</li> <li>Expansion of independence of higher educational establishments in specialisation, organisation of the educational process, training of the professor corps, appointment of graduates and training of entrants, strengthening of the scientific base, international and inter-university contacts.</li> <li>Creation of an effective system of exchange of knowledge with developed countries of the world.</li> <li>Expansion of participation of Ukrainian representatives in international festivals, contests, conferences, competitions, etc.</li> </ul>
Youth Party of Ukraine Leader — Yuriy Pavlenko Programme approved on 24.04.1999	_	_	Guaranteed free public education.	_



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Leader — Hennadiy Udovenko Programme (new edition) approved on 6.05.2001	<ul> <li>Organisation of education and upbringing in strict compliance with the political, eco- nomic and cultural interests of our state.</li> <li>Providing for education development on the basis of the principles of accessibility and obligation.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Provision of full-fledged, not "last in line" budget funding of state and municipal educational establishments, their supply with up-to-date training technologies and equipment.</li> <li>Establishment of a decent level of salaries for pedagogical, scientific-pedagogical and scientific personnel and unconditional observance of that level by the executive branch.</li> </ul>	zens, irrespective of their social origin and status, nationality, ideological convictions and place of residence.	<ul> <li>Restoration and development of a network of public preschool educational and upbringing establishments, including those working pursuant to author's methods and family-type orphan asylums.</li> <li>Variability of the traditional system of educational establishments, state encouragement of the network of private educational establishments.</li> </ul>
Leader — Volodymyr Musiyaka	<ul> <li>Perfection of the system of education.</li> <li>Disavowal mechanical reduction of public educational and upbringing institutions.</li> </ul>	_	<ul> <li>Provision of state guarantees for secondary vocational and higher education.</li> </ul>	_
Party "Reforms and Order" Leader — Viktor Pynzenyk Programme approved on 11.10.1997	_	<ul> <li>Establishment of special budget allowances for schools with special needs contingent — boarding schools, institutions for handicapped or gifted children.</li> </ul>	within the system of higher and special	<ul> <li>Gradual transition to a system of school vouchers that would give parents the possibility of choosing an educational establishment.</li> <li>Support for state (municipal) primary and secondary educational establishments, encouragement of private schools.</li> <li>Legislative provision for autonomous and self-governing status of universities.</li> </ul>
Party "Solidarity" Leader — Petro Poroshenko Programme approved on 28.02.2001	_	<ul> <li>Provision of priority funding of education, unconditional observance of the requirements of the Law (of Ukraine — ed.)</li> <li>"On Education" in the state budget.</li> </ul>	_	_
Leader — Volodymyr Stretovych	<ul> <li>Creation of an education system where knowledge is not just obtained but acquired mainly through one's own work.</li> </ul>	_	<ul> <li>Provision of generally accessible and free education.</li> </ul>	_
Leader — Mykola Porovskyi Programme approved on 3.06.2000	<ul> <li>Reformation of education, perfection of the system of state standards of education.</li> <li>Development of and support for the programme of development of education on a state level.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Development of a mechanism of preferen- tial crediting of education.</li> </ul>	_	<ul> <li>Legislative support for private educational establishments.</li> <li>Adoption of the laws on universities and institutes to grant those institutions the status of non-profit public organisations acting on the principles of self-government with preservation of the right to budget subsidies and donations.</li> </ul>
Leader — Yuriy Kostenko Draft programme passed in general on 9.06.2001	Guarantees of the nation-wide secular character of state educational and upbring- ing institutions that should be independent from political parties, public and religious organisations.	Improvement of the financial standing of secondary and high school, gradual approach of that sphere to the standards of the developed countries.	tees of higher education at the expense of	<ul> <li>Creation and urgent publication of sub- stantially new textbooks, training manuals and programmes.</li> </ul>



Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Fundamentals of state policy in the sphere of education	Funding of education and raising the social status of teachers	Accessibility of education	Priorities of education reform
	❖ Definition of education as a priority sphere of state activity for raising the intel- lectual level of the people.	<ul> <li>Provision of complete state maintenance of special educational and upbringing institutions for persons that require social assistance or rehabilitation.</li> </ul>	Ukraine's citizens for acquisition of higher	<ul> <li>Deepening the humanisation and "humanitarisation" of the educational process, use of the experience of advanced countries in establishing an optimal ratio between natural and mathematical disciplines, on the one hand, and humanitarian disciplines, on the other.</li> <li>Development of pedagogical initiative and experiments.</li> <li>Transfer of higher education to lecturing on the state language.</li> <li>Preservation of achievements of the Ukrainian school, Ukrainian universities and technical higher educational establishments, especially of fundamental training in natural studies.</li> </ul>
2. Bloc "FOR A UNITED UKRAINE!".	Leader — Volodymyr LYTVYN			
Agrarian Party of Ukraine Leader — Mykhailo Hladiy Programme approved on 5.02.2000	<ul> <li>Terminating the closing of general edu- cation schools and preschools, especially in rural areas.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Increase in the share of the national income spent on education.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Preservation of a wide and accessible network of free education, including higher, secondary and vocational education.</li> <li>Development of a state system of professional conversion training and retraining.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>❖ Creation of techno-polises — zones of innovative development and technical breakthrough — on the basis of universities, scientific-research institutes and scientific-production associations.</li> <li>❖ Teaching of theological disciplines at educational establishments.</li> </ul>
People's Democratic Party Leader — Valeriy Pustovoitenko Programme (new edition) Approved on 22.04.2000, Amended on 2-3.12.2000	needs of the regions and the state as a whole and with the new demands of society.  Provision of a wide network of autonomous and self-governed institutions of different forms of property — national, municipal, co-operative and private.	<ul> <li>Increase in the share of the national income spent on education.</li> <li>Introduction of effective methods of multichannel funding of science and education.</li> <li>Employment of extra sources: local budgets, funds of enterprises and institutions, contributions of individuals, funding on the basis of grants, public funds, etc.</li> <li>Establishment of apprehensible tax preferences for promotion of education.</li> <li>Raising the social status of brainworkers, especially of lecturers and teachers.</li> <li>Personal support for scientists and pedagogues of high qualification, purposive support for young scholars and lecturers of the high school.</li> </ul>	preschool, as well as complete secondary and vocational education; the right of free acquisition of higher education at state and municipal higher educational establishments.  • Granting preferential credits for acquisition of higher education.  • Preparation of specialists, first of all, in high-demand fields of specialization and areas critical for further strategic development of the state, at the expense of the state budget.	<ul> <li>Development of the country school, its provision with computers and textbooks.</li> <li>Development of non-governmental scientific and educational establishments, their co-operation, partnership and interaction with public institutions.</li> <li>Development of various forms of training and provision of the freedom of choice for every person, first of all, in the sphere of education; unimpeded competition of schools and trends.</li> </ul>
Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine Leader — Anatoliy Kinakh Programme approved on 9.02.2000	_	_	<ul> <li>Provision of equal opportunities to obtain education for all young people, irre- spective of their material standing.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Deepening of study of economics and law at secondary and higher educational establishments through organisation of intellectual contests and Olympiads.</li> <li>Expansion of training in advanced specialities, organisation of traineeship at leading educational establishments and enterprises of Ukraine and foreign countries.</li> </ul>





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Party of the Regions Leader — Volodymyr Semynozhenko Programme approved on 3.03.2001	_	<ul> <li>Provision of the up-to-date technical level and proper funding of preschool educational establishments.</li> <li>Attraction of investments into new educational technologies.</li> <li>Change of the model of funding of education, redistribution of funds in favour of regional and local budgets.</li> </ul>		_
Party "Labour Ukraine" Leader — Serhiy Tyhypko Programme approved on 19.05.2000	_	<ul> <li>Financial assistance to educational establishments.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Provision of free primary and secondary education.</li> <li>Encouragement of higher education of adult citizens.</li> </ul>	_
3. Yuliya TYMOSHENKO's Bloc. Lead	ler — Yuliya TYMOSHENKO			
All-Ukrainian Association Batkivshchyna Leader — Yuliya Tymoshenko Programme approved on 27.04.2001	<ul> <li>Provision of a high level of education of the population by combining education with upbringing and labour.</li> </ul>	_	<ul> <li>Provision of accessible and free preschool, general secondary, vocational and higher education at state and municipal educational establishments.</li> <li>Granting state credits for education of the youth.</li> <li>Creation of equal social conditions for education for all citizens, irrespective of the state of local budgets and material standing of families.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Provision, in the future, of general higher vocational education.</li> </ul>
Ukrainian People's Party Sobor Leader — Anatoliy Matviyenko Programme approved on 25.12.1999, amended on 18.02.2001	Approval of a doctrine of development of national education that would define educa- tion as a priority sphere of state policy.	<ul> <li>Priority funding of education, inadmissibility of allocation of funds in the last turn.</li> <li>Creation of effective mechanisms of attraction non-state and off-budget funds into that sphere.</li> <li>Raising the social status of education professionals.</li> </ul>		<ul> <li>Encouragement of the system of school and university self-government, development of secondary and higher education student and pedagogical partnerships and associations.</li> <li>Development of different forms of ownership and different forms of study, including remote study.</li> </ul>
Ukrainian Republican Party Leader — Levko Lukyanenko Programme approved on 30.04.1990 Amended on 2.06.1991,1.05.1992, 1.05.1993, 10.09.1994	* Attaching particular priority to education as a mighty means of national upbringing and the basis of Ukraine's economic growth.	_	_	_
Ukrainian Social Democratic Party Leader — Vasyl Onopenko Programme approved on 3.10.1998, amended on 4.03.2000	<ul> <li>Diversification of forms of teaching through creation of conditions for the development of non-governmental educational establishments.</li> <li>Development and implementation of state educational standards.</li> <li>Perfection of the state system of assessment of quality and control of activity of educational establishments of all types and forms of ownership, including attestation, licensing and accreditation.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Repudiation of the principle of funding of education and science in the last turn.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Provision of free and unimpeded access to educational establishments of all levels.</li> </ul>	_



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4. COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE.	4. COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Petro SYMONENKO						
Communist Party of Ukraine Leader — Petro Symonenko Programme approved on 12.03.1995	"On Education" as anti-popular and dis- criminatory, reflecting the intentions of anti-	<ul> <li>Attachment of priority significance to the development of and state support for priori- ty development of education, its funding, material and technical support.</li> </ul>		Strengthening of state care of young pupils, students, creation of conditions for their study and rest.			
5. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF U	JKRAINE (united). Leader — Viktor ME	DVEDCHUK					
Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) Leader — Viktor Medvedchuk Programme approved on 17.06.2000	in pursuance of the social order for upbringing citizens of a free democratic society, formation of high social values and ideals, professional and personal properties.  Legislative protection of the system of education from the political environment and influence of any ideological organisations.  Investment into a human being, its knowledge and capabilities as the most effective means of encouraging economic and social progress of the state.  Restoration and expansion of the system of preschool education, raising the level of its coverage of preschool children to European standards — 60%.  Particular attention to preschool education and upbringing in rural areas.  Reduction of the school age to 6 years and increase of the term of school study to	cal base of public educational establishments of all levels.  Provision of pupils of general education schools with free textbooks for the entire period of study.  Establishment of differentiated studentships for students not below subsistence level.  Maintenance and servicing of pupils' and students' canteens, hostels and other elements of household infrastructure in education at a level sufficient for high quality education.	tional and higher education, equal access to knowledge, irrespective of material standing and incomes.  Development and introduction of a system of long-term preferential credits for the youth.	<ul> <li>Revival and expansion of the cultural and social functions of school, first of all, in rural areas.</li> <li>Control of operation of non-governmental educational establishments.</li> <li>Application of international standards to the system of education and upbringing in Ukraine with preservation of the best traditions and achievements of the national education system.</li> <li>Structural transformation and substantial adjustment of the system of human resources, material and informational support for the activity of educational institutions.</li> <li>Encouragement of co-operation between educational establishments of Ukraine and other countries.</li> <li>Preservation of the human potential of the education system as a national heritage.</li> </ul>			
6. SOCIALIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Oleksandr MOROZ							
Socialist Party of Ukraine Leader — Oleksandr Moroz Programme (new edition) approved on 20.05.2001		<ul> <li>Creation of conditions for the career of young teachers and pedagogues.</li> <li>Introduction of reduced transport fares for pupils of schools, vocational schools and students of higher educational establish- ments, establishment of studentships not below real subsistence level.</li> </ul>		Restoration and development of the system of teenage and youth clubs, groups, sections, non-traditional forms of rest and summer recovery of teenagers and youths.			



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national progress. URP stresses that education presents a mighty instrument of national education and the basis of economic progress of Ukraine. It is noteworthy that LPU, pursuant to its ideology, makes emphasis on "elimination of bureaucratic pressure by the authorities on educational establishments".

Therefore, the state policy in the sphere of education is not left unheeded by separate political parties, and some of them see it as a priority direction of their parliamentary activity.

## Funding of education and provision of its accessibility

Given the insufficiency of funds allocated to the system of education in Ukraine, many political parties stand for the **change of mechanisms of its budget funding.** At that, emphasis is made on the increase of the share of the national income spent on education, provision of its priority, inadmissibility of the practice of "last-turn" funding of education, financial assistance to educational establishments, etc. (APU, CPU, CUN, LPU, NDP, NRU, PR, *Sobor*, "Solidarity", LU, UNR, USDP and others).

Some parties (LPU, NDP, PR, SDPU(u), Sobor, LU) propose creating a system of multi-channel funding of education involving non-state funds, international grants, investments, etc.

As we may see, parties of different ideological trends support this stance. This gives reason to hope that Parliament of this convocation may finally decide on priority budget funding of the system of education and attraction of non-state funds. At the same time, said provisions of party programmes may remain pure declarations, since not a single party proposes real mechanisms of their attainment, and the former Verkhovna Rada failed to resolve those issues, despite repeated declarations of party leaders (it is noteworthy that many of them again came to Parliament).

Some parties stress the necessity of raising the social status of lecturers and increase of their salaries. This issue is mentioned in party documents of APU, FU, CUN, LPU, NDP, NRU, PR, SDPU(u), Sobor, "Solidarity", SPU.

Party programmes pay particular attention to the problem of guarantees of accessibility of education, exercise of the constitutional right to free higher education, including through creation of a system of preferential credits for the youth. This issue is dealt with in the programmes of APU, *Batkivshchyna*, FU, LPU, YPU, NDP, NRU, PIEU, PR, R&O, RCP, SDPU(u), SPU, LU, UNR, USDP, and ChPU.

At that, APU, NDP, PR, SDPU(u), SPU, and LU make emphasis on the need of **special support** for young scholars and talented students. CPU insists of state

support for pupils and students. R&O put forward quite an acceptable proposal of gradual introduction of school vouchers that would give parents a possibility of choosing an educational establishment.

The author believes that the tasks of preservation of the system of free higher education in Ukraine and introduction of a system of preferential long-term credits for the youth are pressing. The analysis of the party programmes gives hope for the solution of those problems. Let us hope that adoption of relevant laws will allow talented youth (irrespective of the incomes of the parents) to obtain knowledge and receive proper education. This, in turn, will help consolidate the intellectual potential of the nation.

#### Some priorities of the educational reform

Taking into account the development of advanced information technologies, the demand for specialists with a new way of thinking, the need of extension of international contacts of Ukrainian higher educational establishments, some parties (CUN, LPU, PIEU, RCP, and SDPU(u)) propose expanding training in advanced specialities, improvement of the state education standards, their approach to the world standards, creation of a single information space at higher educational establishments using up-to-date communication systems, etc. In this connection, APU emphasises the need of creation of zones of innovative development and technical breakthrough on the basis of universities.

LPU, NDP, R&O, RCP and *Sobor* see it expedient to **strengthen independence of higher educational establishments** and their self-administration, in line with the practice of developed democracies.

Parties of the national-democratic trend (CUN, NRU, RCP, Sobor, UNR) make emphasis on the need of priority development of **the national education**, the Ukrainian language at educational establishments, issue of new textbooks not overshadowed by the burden of the totalitarian past. It is noteworthy that URP draws attention to the denationalised nature of the present education system.

The most radical stance was taken by CPU that demands revision of the Law of Ukraine "On Education" as "anti-popular and discriminatory, throwing the system of popular education in Ukraine back by many decades". However, this proposal of the Communists is unlikely to find support of other parliamentary forces that adhere to more moderate views.

Summing up, it may be said that the performed analysis proves the possibility of change in the priorities of state funding of the education system in Ukraine, its reform and introduction of preferential credits for acquisition of higher education. The majority of parties realise the need of such changes, but time only will show whether relevant legislative acts will be adopted.