

# NEWSLETTER

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UKRAINE IS  
MARIUPOL



CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM  
ПАРЛЯМЕНТАРНА ПРОГРАМА КАНАДА-УКРАЇНА  
PROGRAMME PARLIAMENTAIRE CANADA-UKRAINE







The Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau together with the Deputy Prime Minister of Canada Chrystia Freeland visited Irpen in the Kyiv region. Source: Ukrpravda.com

## 1991 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program 2022

On July 16, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty, which declared that Parliament recognized the need to build the Ukrainian state based on the Rule of Law.

On August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Declaration of Independence, which the citizens of Ukraine endorsed in the referendum of December 1, 1991. Also, in 1991, Canadians celebrated the Centennial of Ukrainian group immigration to Canada. To mark the Centennial, Canadian organizations planned programs and projects to celebrate this milestone in Canada's history.

The Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation of Toronto marked the Centennial by establishing in the Canadian Parliament, the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) for university students from Ukraine. CUPP gives Ukrainian students an opportunity to observe parliamentary democracy and government and gain experience from which generations of Canadian, American and West European students have benefited.

Since 1991 over 1,000 university students have participated in the CUPP internship programs and the Model Ukraine Conferences at universities in Ottawa, Toronto, Washington USA, Oxford UK, Lviv and Kyiv.

In its first year of operation in 1991, Chris Axworthy of the New Democratic Party welcomed Ivan Tkachenko as his Intern. Jesse Flis of the Liberal Party welcomed Maryana Drach as his Intern. Alan Redway of the Progressive Conservative Party welcomed Solomia Khmara as his Intern.

The 2022 CUPP program began on May 2, with the arrival of 40 Ukrainian students, after 2-year delay because of the covid pandemic. CUPP is in its 31st year of operation in the House of Commons. CUPP is an internship program for university students from Ukraine which over the past 31 years has also brought students from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Russia.

Since their arrival the Interns have organized the Day of Shame demonstration on May 9 in front of the Russian Embassy, participated in the CUPPPARLIAMENTARY PARTNERSHIP Reception on May 11 and are have planned a reception at the Embassy of Ukraine for parliamentary Interns.

The Prayer for Peace in Ukraine is planned, at the Eternal Flame on Parliament Hill, for June 25.



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# Russia's Spheres of Influence

21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY CLUTTER OF NEAR ABROADS, ORBITS,  
BUFFER ZONES, SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, ZONES OF  
PRIVILEGE, RUSSIAN MIRS, MEDIEVAL VASSAL STATES.  
RUSSIA'S DEPENDENCE ON VASSAL STATES.  
**PERISH THE THOUGHT!**

**I**n ancient times, vassal lands surrounded the ruler's castle. The ruler collected tithes and controlled the serf's lives. Today so-called Orbit States continue to serve the ruler's purpose, to control the political and economic lives of citizens of the Orbit State.

Proponents of Orbit States continue to justify these, based on Russia's exceptional identity and needs.

## **RATIONALE FOR ORBIT STATES**

"Let us imagine a person healthy in body and strong, talented and not unkind – for such is quite justly the general view of the Russian people. We know that this person or people are now in a very sorry state. If we want to help him, we have first to understand what is wrong with him. Thus we learn that he is not really mad, his mind is only afflicted to a considerable extent by false ideas approaching folie de grandeur and a hostility towards everyone and everything. Indifferent to his real advantage, indifferent to damage likely to be caused, he imagines dangers that do not exist, and builds upon them the most absurd propositions. It seems to him that all his neighbours offend him, that they insufficiently bow to his grandness, and in every way want to harm him. He accuses everyone in his family of damaging and deserting him... imagining that

neighbours want to bury his house and even attack it by force of arms, he proposes to spend huge money on the purchase of handguns and rifles, on the iron fences and gates."

These lines were written not by a Russophobe but by the 19th-century philosopher and one of Russia's great thinkers, Vladimir Solovyov.

Russia's other prominent 19th-century thinker and novelist, Ivan Turgenev wrote, "Russian people are not accustomed to thinking independently, or acting consistently."

## **RUSSIA'S DEPENDENCE ON ORBIT STATES, TODAY**

Peter Pomerantsev, author of: "Nothing is True and Everything is Possible: the Surreal Heart of the New Russia", in an April 2015 Guardian Newspaper article wrote: "Since the end of the cold war, Russia had been preoccupied with the need to match the capabilities of the US and its allies."

In 1999, Russian Defence minister Igor Sergeev, admitted that Russia could not compete militarily with the West and suggested that Russia needed to search for "revolutionary paths" and "asymmetrical directions" to meet the challenges to Russia from western NGOs and media.

In 2013 Russian Armed Forces Chief Valery Gerasimov claimed that it was now possible to defeat enemies through a “combination of political, economic, information, technological and ecological campaigns.”

### SUPPORTERS OF ORBIT STATES

In a Foreign Affairs article, University of Chicago political scientist John J. Mearsheimer argued that the Ukraine crisis was the West's fault. He wrote: “According to Western spokesmen the Ukraine crisis can be blamed almost entirely on Russian aggression. Russian President Vladimir Putin, the argument goes, annexed Crimea out of a long-standing desire to resuscitate the Soviet empire, and he may eventually go after the rest of Ukraine, as well as other countries in eastern Europe. In this scenario the ouster of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukhovich in February 2014 merely provided a pretext to Putin's decision to order Russian forces to seize part of Ukraine.”

According to Mearsheimer, this analysis is wrong: “the United States and its European allies share most of the responsibility for the crisis. The taproot of the trouble is NATO enlargement, the central element of a larger strategy to move Ukraine out of Russia's orbit and integrate it into the West.”

Another admirer of Orbit States is Professor Emeritus Stephen Cohen. He argues: “Beginning with the Clinton administration, and supported by every subsequent Republican and Democratic President and Congress, the US-led West has unrelentingly moved its military, political and economic power ever closer to post-Soviet Russia.”

Coming closer to Russia, according to Cohen and Mearsheimer, was an invasion of Russia's orbit.

### ORBIT STATE, ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

Oxford Professor of Russian history Andrey Zorin, in a January 2006 article titled, “Why We Don't Like Ukraine”, published in Russia's Daily Online Newspaper, Kommersant, wrote: “Missing the empire is not just missing the territory, it's missing the history.”

It seems that the Russian public, right up to its

political elite, is beginning to realize that Ukraine's statehood is an irreversible reality. This is a painful process and it has certain characteristic complexes associated with it, such as a separation complex and infantile resentment. One of the reasons for this reaction is that the imperial syndrome is rooted in the understanding of history that has reigned supreme in our national consciousness for the last 200 years.”

### RUSSIAN PRIDE IN ITS IMPERIAL HISTORY

The 2015 January conference of the Academies of Science of Turkey and Russia at Antalya International University brought together Turkish and Russian intellectuals to discuss issues of relevance to both countries.

Russian intellectuals explained Russia's “managed democracy ” and why, according to Vladimir Putin, the “European model of democracy does not work for Russia”. Russian Academy of

Sciences president Vitaly Naumkin, in discussing Russia's managed democracy, the role of culture and protection of Russia's exceptional identity, said that both Turkey and Russia, because of their proud imperial histories, should share them with the world. Doing so, said Naumkin, is a natural desire for great nations. Russia's managed democracy and Russian Mir rules out any foreign influences.

### SHARING RUSSIAN MIR

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, former Prime Minister of Denmark and Secretary General of NATO, in April 2015, disclosed that Russian authorities threatened to aim nuclear missiles at Danish warships if Denmark joins NATO's missile-defense system. This was a sinister threat against a country that has no intention of attacking Russia. But it also reflects a more fundamental factor in the Kremlin's foreign policy: desperation to maintain Russia's strategic influence.

Russian politicians, intellectuals, politicians and rulers, declare that there is no place for Western style democracy in Russia.



They posit that Russia needs Orbit States to remain in place or be returned to its orbit; that buffer zones protect their managed democracy and that the US-led West must respect Russia's spheres of influence.

### RUSSIA'S CURRENT WAREHOUSE OF CHAOS AND FROZEN CONFLICT ZONES

Russia has promoted frozen conflict zones in Moldova (Transdnistria), Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh), Georgia (Abkhazia & South Ossetia), and now Ukraine (Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk). Messrs. Mearsheimer and Cohen argue that the US-led West has encircled Russia and is preventing it from asserting its historic privileges over its orbit states, buffer zones and spheres of influence. Russia's history in the 20th century was to create conflict zones and to perpetuate conflict and chaos. Wherever they intervene, today Syria or Venezuela this pattern of perpetuating chaos continues.

### THE NEED FOR ORBITS

Vladimir Putin demands the US-led West's recognize Ukraine as belonging to Russia's orbit. He relies on the unique Russian interpretation of East European history Europe, in which Ukraine is considered a part of the Russian Orbit or Russian Mir, in perpetuity.

The need to control the vassals inside the vassal state is as important as to control the vassals from outside influences, especially western influences.

### TOOLS OF MANAGED DEMOCRACY

Periodic deadly accidents, murders of journalists and opponents of the ruler, and imprisonment, keep dissenters of the Russian regime on the defensive.

Periodic invasions by Russian troops or little green men, to support Russian language speakers, in the Orbit States result in the creation of 'frozen conflict zones', which serve the purposes of Putin's managed democracy.

### BREAK-UP OF SOVIET EMPIRE

On September 27, 2015, in the Sixty Minutes TV interview, Putin stated that the breakup of the Society Union was the greatest geopolitical tragedy of the 20th century.

During the interview, Putin claimed that after the breakup, 25 million Russians found themselves living outside of Russia's borders.

Mikhail Kasyanov, Prime Minister of Russia from 2000 to 2004, has written that goals of the doctrine of managed democracy are: "The concentration and holding of political power and property at any cost. This results in the steady destruction of private and public institutions and abandonment of the rule of law democracy and the free market".

To preserve Russia's sphere of influence, Putin believes he has the authority vested in him by Russia's former empire status, to intervene directly or through little green men, to occupy orbit states or at least control them through frozen conflict zones.

Vassal States, orbits, buffer zones, and spheres of influence of empires past, are mythical designs of by-gone days.

"It is said that an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to craft for him a sentence to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented to him the words: "And this too shall pass". *Quoted by Abraham Lincoln, 16th President of the United States of America.*

written by  
**Andrey ZORIN**, Professor of Russian History, Oxford University

Published as of January 25, 2006  
 Source: Kommersant, Russia's Daily Online

# WHY WE DON'T LIKE UKRAINE?

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*Missing the empire is not just missing the territory,  
 it's missing the history*

**T**here is a new New Year's lark in Russia. In the last weeks of the old year, it assails Ukraine over Cape Tuzla, which no one had ever heard of before. We tried to make them observe falsified election results and were sincerely nonplussed at their unwillingness to do so. We nearly quintupled the price of natural gas for them. And you always have to make up for it in the new year. The regularity of those attacks and the broad public support they received rule out the possibility that it was all just someone's incompetence or greed. The causes lie deeper.

It seems that the Russian public, right up to its political elite, is beginning to realize that Ukraine's statehood is an irreversible reality. This is a painful process and it has certain characteristic complexes associated with it, such as a separation complex and infantile resentment. One of the reasons for this reaction is that the imperial syndrome is rooted in the understanding of history that has reigned supreme in our national consciousness for the last 200 years.

## NEW COUNTRY, OLD HISTORY

When Peter I turned the state he ruled upside down, he was convinced that he was creating a completely new power. However, his successors, still in the 18th century, felt the need to prop up their legitimacy with their ancient origin and they began to propagate the myth of the single chain of historic succession that connected Kievan Rus with the Moscow kingdom and the St. Petersburg empire.

Karamzin's History of the Russian State gave the Romanov pretensions canonicity. A quarter of a millennium of history, from the fall of Kiev to the Standoff on the Ugra, was written off as Tatar and Lithuanian-Polish occupation. Some modern ideologues try to do approximately the same thing with the Soviet period.

After October 1917, the Bolsheviks themselves tried to begin a "new era" with a clean slate. But soon enough Stalin restored the traditional historical mythology, setting the USSR on the timeline of Russian history – from Kievan Rus to the Land of the Soviets. The founding fathers of the Russian Federation do not even try to portray themselves as founders of a new state. They prefer to play the role of princes, kings, emperors and general secretaries all at the same time. The result is that today Russian citizens are convinced that they are the direct and sole bearers of a thousand-year-old tradition, a powerful shoot surrounded on all sides by dried up branches.

## RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE

There have been many Russian states and each one of them had its own history, and not one of them followed another directly. Great Novgorod, the Golden Horde, the Great Principality of Lithuania (otherwise known as Lithuanian Rus) were all Russian states, and there were many more. Moscow was no more the successor of Kiev than Vilna or Kazan.



It is not quite as bad to speak of the Russian Empire as the successor of the Kingdom of Moscow. Here there was a dynastic and religious unity. Between the Romanov empire and the USSR it is impossible to see any connection. A state that changes its capital, symbols, borders, state religion, political system and name becomes another state.

Of course, if some form of the state from the past is close to our heart, we can declare ourselves its successor. At various stages of history, various Russian states traced their genealogy to ancient Rome, Byzantium, classical Greece, Germanic tribes and even, as we recall from Soviet textbooks, Urartu.

There is nothing wrong with that. But it is a good idea to keep in mind that our neighbors have rights of inheritance as well. They love to recall the etymological meaning of "Ukraine" ("on the edge") in Russia today. But the question of who is on the edge and who is in the center of Rus is all and only a matter of where you are looking from. About a year before the Orange Revolution, a Kiev taxi driver, an ardent fan of Yushchenko, told me that he felt that he was more Russian than people who live in the Urals.

### THE BURDEN OF CONCEIT

Unfortunately, these are not abstract considerations. In the consciousness of the modern Russian, Ukraine is increasingly taking the place of

Poland as the unfaithful brother, betraying its Slavic origins for the West. We see what that perception has led to in Russian-Polish relations. The past is not primogeniture passing to the single lawful heir. It is a symbolic resource that everyone can use when they need it. It cannot be monopolized, and attempts to do so can be ruinous.

Fortunately for states and peoples, there is another way. Norway was first a province of Denmark, and then of Sweden, and obtained its independence only at the beginning of the 20th century. Relations between the three states are simple and calm today, and their geographical, cultural and linguistic ties are underpinned by a multitude of successfully functioning institutions. And this is in spite of the fact that Norway refused to join the EU and Sweden did not join NATO. And the imperial past has not prevented Russia from building adequate relations with Finland.

Looking at the history of national statehood as a chain of direct succession uniting a mythic past with the present, we almost unavoidably exaggerate our own place in it. The Kingdom of Muscovy was enthralled with that conceit, seeing itself as the Third Rome and, maybe to a slightly lesser extent, so was the Russian Empire and, in hyperbolic proportions, the Soviet Union. The price for such ambitions was huge every time. **CUPP**





## ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT




*Our CUPP 2001 alumnus, **Vasyl Myroshnychenko** has joined Ukraine's foreign service. On March 9, 2022, Vasyl has been appointed to serve as an Ambassador of Ukraine to Australia and will focus on enhancing Ukraine-Australia bilateral relations with a focus on military cooperation, trade, and investments, culture, education, and tourism.*

 **Vasyl MYROSHNYCHENKO**, CUPP 2001 alumnus, visited ceremony at the Governor-General's House on April, 1, 2022

*French President Emmanuel Macron met Melitopol mayor Ivan Fedorov along with a delegation of the Ukrainian Parliament, Verkhovna Rada, presented by our prominent CUPP 2013 alumna, **Alena Shkrum**. Together with other representatives of Ukrainian delegation, Alena discussed the urgent issues surrounding sanctions and the need to strengthen them.*



 **Alena SHKRUM**, CUPP 2013 alumna, met with the President of France **Emmanuel MACRON** at the Élysée Palace in Paris on April 1, 2022



“For business leaders, this is the moment to come together and stand up for Ukraine’s sovereignty. Even if it comes at a price, all of us should send a clear message that unilateral aggression is always unacceptable and that the global business community will support the full range of sanctions against any nation that seeks to violate the sovereignty of another.”

*From the article written by  
Richard Branson “My thought  
on Ukraine and Russia”  
published on January 27, 2022*



***Volodymyr OMELYN**, CUPP 1999 alumnus, with  
**Richard BRANSON**, British billionaire, entrepreneur and  
business magnate*



Written by  
**Bohdan VITVITSKY**

Member of the Advisory Board of VoxUkraine Law  
Former Federal Prosecutor, U.S. Department of Justice, New Jersey, USA

# A No-Fly Zone and the Budapest Memorandum, Again

President Biden, Secretary Blinken and NATO General Secretary Stoltenberg have each on numerous occasions reiterated the Article 5 mantra about our unwavering collective commitment to defending “every inch of NATO territory.” That, of course, is as it should be, and the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles and other frontline states in the current war in Europe are lucky that some of them in 1999 and some in 2004 had succeeded to squeeze into NATO. But a few years earlier in 1994, the West, led by the United States, prevailed upon Ukraine to give up what was after the U.S. and Russia the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world and to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, thereby forswearing nuclear armaments in the future.

What did Ukraine want in return, and what did it get in return? As former ambassador to Ukraine and former State Department officer Steven Pifer has written, Ukraine wanted guarantees or assurances that its security and territorial integrity would be secured once it agreed to get rid of the nuclear arms on its territory. So in the 1994 Budapest Memorandum signed by Ukraine, the United States, the United Kingdom and Russia, Ukraine received “security assurances.” Security assurances are not quite the security guarantee provided by Article 5 in the NATO Treaty, but, according to Pifer, who certainly was in the know, U.S. officials told their Ukrainian counterparts that, were Russia to violate the security assurances, the U.S. “would take a strong interest and respond.”



In anticipation of and after Russia's latest attack on Ukraine, the U.S. has provided Ukraine with much in terms of aid, intelligence and by the mobilization of NATO, EU and even Asian democracies for the imposition of very significant economic sanctions on Russia. But, under the current circumstances, is that enough? Is that a strong enough interest and is that a strong enough response given that Russia is now trying to bomb Ukraine back into the Stone Age?

As vividly captured and transmitted to our television screens and to our mobile devices, Ukraine is being pummeled by Russian bombs, missiles and rockets. Russia is indiscriminately firing on civilian targets, including schools, hospitals and apartment buildings the explosions and flames from which cause us all to gasp. They have even fired upon the largest civilian nuclear facility in Europe, the complex at Zaporizhia. The Ukrainians are putting up stiff resistance, but they are outgunned in the air and, therefore, desperately need and have urgently and repeatedly asked for a NATO-imposed no-fly zone. Given that Ukraine is under an entirely unprovoked attack and is being bombed and targeted from the air, that request is entirely justified.

Article 1 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation provides that "every State has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory." This means that Ukraine, not Russia, has complete and exclusive sovereignty over Ukrainian airspace. Ukraine has invited, nay begged, NATO to enter that airspace.

NATO has thus far declined on the basis that it does not want to risk provoking direct military conflict between NATO and Russia. That obviously is a very reasonable and valid concern, but if we just stop at simply this first point in the analysis we may unintentionally be risking more than we are risking by choosing inaction.

It would obviously be foolhardy for NATO jets to suddenly start flying over Ukrainian airspace and confronting Russian jets and Russian anti-aircraft batteries. But that is not the only way to do a no-fly zone. NATO could and should provide Russia with 24 or 48 hour advance notice that

NATO will, as of day and hour x, impose a no-fly zone as it has been asked to do by the lawful owners of Ukraine's airspace. NATO should also inform the Russians that NATO jets or drones would not come any closer than, say, 10 or 20 miles of Russia's borders and that NATO jets would not attack any Russian ground forces or anti-aircraft batteries unless they themselves were threatened or fired upon. As such, this mission would mainly be humanitarian.

Would any such arrangement create risk? Yes, of course. There is always risk involved in any military action, and obviously the risk is increased in any war zone. But the risk of allowing an international terrorist to set the rules of the game as he wishes and to allow him to continue to engage in mass murder also poses risks, and these risks outweigh the risks involved in doing something that can directly mitigate Russia's ability to continue to conduct mass murder.

*“Either that or everything we've ever repeated about “Never Again” with respect to the mass murder of civilians in Europe has been completely meaningless.*

Second, when we prompted the Ukrainians to sign on to the Budapest Memorandum and the Non-Proliferation Treaty in exchange for our security assurances, it can't be that—even though we have imposed significant sanctions and are now providing large shipments of arms—we can now even with the best of intentions stand on the sidelines and watch the Ukrainians get slaughtered.

And third, every day that Russian aggression continues and Ukraine and Ukrainians are destroyed is yet another nail in the coffin of non-proliferation. For after this debacle, how could anyone seriously expect any country's leader to surrender his nuclear arsenal to anyone? **CUPP**

## ON THE VOLUNTEERING FRONT LINE

Since March 2022, our CUPP 2022 intern, Alena Palyenko, has joined Nantucket Cares team as an interpreter to help Ukrainian people fleeing from war to get a safe place in Europe.

Nantucket Cares is a community organization founded initially by Tom McCann, Carlos Castrello and Tracy Long. After Russia invaded Ukraine, Nantucketers team traveled to Poland in order to support displaced Ukrainian families with food, clothing, and medical supplies and logistics.



*In April, the rules for Ukrainian refugees in Poland changed. Now people who DO NOT have stamps have to BUY tickets to travel by train. And men whose age is from 18-to 64 also have to BUY tickets no matter if they have a stamp of crossing the border. Many Ukrainians left their home, and now it's their first time abroad. Many of them speak only Ukrainian and Russian, have a phone with buttons, and don't even know how to use translate or ask somebody to help them. They do not have much money to afford to house.*

Little girl, Anna is going to Berlin with her Mother Vera and sister Sofia. This wonderful 8- years old girl has Down syndrome, but when you look into her eyes, you see her big heart and a pretty soul. We have her sweets and lunch meal package for her family and bought three tickets from Warsaw to Berlin.

07.04.2022



16.04.2022



Old woman Yulia and her husband Serhiy went from Mariupol on their way to Berlin, where their daughter is living. This lady has an injured leg and cannot walk easily. But her son is still staying in Ukraine and fighting for our freedom. We bought the ticket to Berlin, helped them get on the train, and gave them food and drinks.





This family are going from Kharkiv to Lion (France). Nantucket Cares team bought them ticket on bus, to get easier and direct to their destination.

06.04.2022



06.04.2022



These two beautiful friends' families, Semeniha and Evkovu came from the little town Chuguev (Kharkiv oblast) and went to Kaunas (Lithuania). Nantucket Cares team bought them direct tickets on the bus as it was the most convenient way to get there, mainly because one of the member is using crutches.





**Anna MYSYSHYN**, CUPP 2019 alumna  
CEO at the Institute of Innovative Governance

## “WE CAN'T BE FRIENDS OR BROTHERLY NATIONS.

In 1914, my ancestor was the commander of the Ukrainian Army (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen) and in 1939 he was executed in Moscow and falsely accused of being a national terrorist by the USSR.

My grandmother had been hiding from the Nazis and communists all her youth. She survived the terror-famine Holodomor of 1932-33 and the Second World War. In 1939, the Russians deported her mother to Siberia where she died.

As a child, I would drink tea and listen to my grandmother's stories about how the war started and how she was forced to hide because of the bombs...stories about all the atrocities that the damned communists committed against Ukrainians.

To the younger me, this was a different reality...I used to think about how lucky I was to not have been alive during such times.

But now history is repeating itself. I'm hiding from bombs and rockets, tea does not help me calm down, and everything that is happening now is not a story, but my present reality. I knew from childhood who our enemy was, but only now I've met him in person.

We will definitely tell our children and grandchildren stories about this war. And it is up to us to decide what types of stories will be shared.

But now EVERYONE should know that Russia is the enemy and the responsibility is on all of us to do everything to ensure that this war is the last war in Ukraine, and our children not have to experience the same terror that we do. The world must stop cooperating with the aggressor, close its businesses, and terminate all contracts.

Everyone should understand that supporters of the Putin regime and those like them are not friends...they are vile creatures who, at any opportunity, will stab each other in the back, as they have been accustomed to doing so for centuries. If people think that there is a possibility to compromise in war, there is NOT!! History has proven that the enemy always returns, no treaty has restrained Russia from committing atrocities, because it has only one goal - destroying peaceful nations.

And it's not just the war in Ukraine...most conflicts and wars in the world are sponsored by Russia, millions of people are dying because of Russian orders. Therefore, the world must unite, and put an end to this global evil forever!

We are asking EU to provide us with necessary weapons and support, stop business with Russia, support full embargo on Russian oil and gas!

If you help us, Ukrainians and Ukrainian army will do the rest - protect democracy, and restore peace in Europe!

**Glory to Ukraine!**”

**Posted on April 10, 2022**



# PHOTOS OF UKRAINE ... TAKEN BEFORE PUTIN. KYIV.

*Photo Credit to Bohdan  
SHULAKEWYCH*



ZOLOTI VOROTA METRO STATION



SAINT NICHOLAS CHURCH ON WATER



REVIVAL MURALS



KONTRAKTOVA PLOSHCHA



Written by  
**Timothy SNYDER**  
 the Richard C. Levin Professor of History at Yale University

# Russia's genocide handbook

The evidence of atrocity and of intent mounts

Published on April 8, 2022

Source: [Thinking about](#)

Russia has just issued a genocide handbook for its war on Ukraine. The Russian official press agency "RIA Novosti" published last Sunday an explicit program for the complete elimination of the Ukrainian nation as such. It is still available for viewing, and has now been translated several times into English.

As I have been saying since the war began, "denazification" in official Russian usage just means the destruction of the Ukrainian state and nation. A "Nazi," as the genocide manual explains, is simply a human being who self-identifies as Ukrainian. According to the handbook, the establishment of a Ukrainian state thirty years ago was the "nazification of Ukraine." Indeed "any attempt to build such a state" has to be a "Nazi" act. Ukrainians are "Nazis" because they fail to accept "the necessity that the people support Russia." Ukrainians should suffer for believing that they exist as a separate people; only this can lead to the "redemption of guilt."

For anyone still out there who believes that Putin's Russia opposes the extreme right in Ukraine or anywhere else, the genocide program is a chance to reconsider. Putin's Russian regime talks of "Nazis" not because it opposes the extreme right, which it most certainly does not, but as a rhetorical device to justify unprovoked war and genocidal policies. Putin's regime is the extreme right. It is the world center of fascism. It supports fascists and extreme-right authoritarians around the world. In traducing the meaning of words like "Nazi," Putin and his propagandists are creating more rhetorical and political space for fascists in Russia and elsewhere.

The genocide handbook explains that the Russian policy of "denazification" is not directed against Nazis in the sense that the word is normally used.

The handbook grants, with no hesitation, that there is no evidence that Nazism, as generally understood, is important in Ukraine. It operates within the special Russian definition of "Nazi": a Nazi is a Ukrainian who refuses to admit being a Russian. The "Nazism" in question is "amorphous and ambivalent"; one must, for example, be able to see beneath the world of appearance and decode the affinity for Ukrainian culture or for the European Union as "Nazism."

The actual history of actual Nazis and their actual crimes in the 1930s and 1940s is thus totally irrelevant and completely cast aside. This is perfectly consistent with Russian warfighting in Ukraine. No tears are shed in the Kremlin over Russian killing of Holocaust survivors or Russian destruction of Holocaust memorials, because Jews and the Holocaust have nothing to do with the Russian definition of "Nazi." This explains why Volodymyr Zelens'kyi, although a democratically-elected president, and a Jew with family members who fought in the Red Army and died in the Holocaust, can be called a Nazi. Zelens'kyi is a Ukrainian, and that is all that "Nazi" means.

On this absurd definition, where Nazis have to be Ukrainians and Ukrainians have to be Nazis, Russia cannot be fascist, no matter what Russians do. This is very convenient. If "Nazi" has been assigned the meaning "Ukrainian who refuses to be Russian" then it follows that no Russian can be a Nazi. Since for the Kremlin being a Nazi has nothing to do with fascist ideology, swastika-like symbols, big lies, rallies, rhetoric of cleansings, aggressive wars, abductions of elites, mass deportations, and the mass killing of civilians, Russians can do all of these things without ever having to ask if they themselves on the wrong side of the historical ledger. And so we find Russians implementing fascist policies in the name of "denazification."





*A girl looks back as she is being evacuated from Irpin. Many civilians who remained in that Kyiv suburb were murdered by Russian servicemen. According to local officials, their bodies were then crushed with tanks.*

The Russian handbook is one of the most openly genocidal documents I have ever seen. It calls for the liquidation of the Ukrainian state, and for abolition of any organization that has any association with Ukraine. It postulates that the "majority of the population" of Ukraine are "Nazis," which is to say Ukrainians. (This is clearly a reaction to Ukrainian resistance; at war's beginning the assumption was that there were only a few Ukrainians and that they would be easily eliminated. This was clear in another text published in RIA Novosti, the victory declaration of 26 February.) Such people, "the majority of the population," so more than twenty million people, are to be killed or sent to work in "labor camps" to expurgate their guilt for not loving Russia. Survivors are to be subject to "re-education." Children will be raised to be Russian. The name "Ukraine" will disappear.

Had this genocide handbook appeared at some other time and in a more obscure outlet, it might have escaped notice. But it was published right in the middle of the Russian media landscape during a Russian war of destruction explicitly legitimated by the Russian head of state's claim that a neighboring nation did not exist. It was published on a day when the world was learning of a mass murder of Ukrainians committed by Russians.

Russia's genocide handbook was published on April 3, two days after the first revelation that Russian servicemen in Ukraine had murdered hundreds of people in Bucha, and just as the story was reaching major newspapers. The Bucha massacre was one of several cases of mass killing that emerged as Russian troops withdrew from the Kyiv region. This means that the genocide program was knowingly published even as the physical evidence of genocide was emerging. The writer and the editors chose this particular moment to make public a program for the elimination of the Ukrainian nation as such.

As a historian of mass killing, I am hard pressed to think of many examples where states explicitly advertise the genocidal character of their own actions right at the moment those actions become public knowledge. From a legal perspective, the existence of such a text (in the larger context of similar statements and Vladimir Putin's repeated denial that Ukraine exists) makes the charge of genocide far easier to make. Legally, genocide means both actions that destroy a group in whole or in part, combined with some intention to do so. Russia has done the deed and confessed to the intention. **CUPP**

## Vladyslava ALEKSENKO

Intern to **Francesco SORBARA**  
MP for Vaughan—Woodbridge, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Kharkiv, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:**

**V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University**

International Economic Relations Department

Master of International Economic Relations with honours

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, French, German, Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Long Walk for Freedom" by Nelson Mandela.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Учітесь, читайте, і чужому навчайтесь, й свого не цурайтесь" – Тарас Шевченко.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Be the change you want to see in the world" – Mahatma Gandhi.

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Ludwig van Beethoven - Piano Sonata No. 14.

**FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:**

**The Carpathian Mountains** are clipping the country's southwest corner endowing Ukraine with a crinkled region of forested hills, spectacular mountain lakes, fast-flowing rivers and picturesque waterfalls. Here rises Mount Hoverla – Ukraine's highest peak, 2061 m. This is the land of the Hutsuls, whose colourful folk culture runs through villages along wide valley floors. This is rural Ukraine at its best, where tiered wooden churches dot hillsides. The Carpathian Mountains fascinate with their beauty regardless of the time of year or weather.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to contribute towards the continuous, deep, and trustworthy cooperation between our two countries. This is also an opportunity to spotlight where the government – and the community as a whole – needs to redouble its efforts to meet current and future challenges. The work of the Government of Canada will continue to play an important role in the political and economic emancipation of Ukraine. Conversely, promoting and strengthening bilateral ties, and dialogue with our sovereign state can be beneficial for the Government of Canada. Such relations, based on respect and concern for national, political and ethical interests within and across countries, will shape the new stage of Ukraine's democratic development, where diversity exists with strong unity and peace.

## Diana BABII

Intern to **Kevin LAMOUREUX**  
MP for Winnipeg North, Manitoba



**BORN IN:** Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:**

**Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX) alumna.**

**Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas**, Technical translation.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, French, German, Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:** "1984" by George Orwell.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Ти ждеш іще народження для себе, а смерть ввійшла у тебе вже давно." - Василь Стус, «Палімпсести»

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "It's no shame to be born stupid. Only to die stupid." by Erich Maria Remarque, "Three Comrades" .

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Lizza "Good as Hell"; Michael Jackson "Earth Song".

**FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:**

**Lviv High Castle.** Vysokiy Zamok is a multipurpose place. Firstly it serves as a motivation, because in order to get to the top one has to spend a good deal of physical resources. Secondly it works as a mediator between nature and human, since it opens a breathtaking pano view on the symbiosis of City and wildlife. Thirdly, High Caslte takes its visitors a few decades back in the history, which gives an opportunity to take a moment of appreciation for the life given us by ancestors commitment.



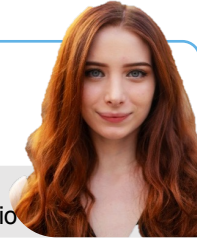
### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to look and see the ways for youth to contribute in Ukrainian prosperity. There are great examples of successful CUPP Alumni, who made their way to political sphere and now are performing for the good of our country. The 30th anniversary of CUPP is a milestone to check the achieved results and to establish new goals for future generation of alumni. Since there is always room for improvement - there is motivation to move towards set aims.



## Olha Louise BOLEYN

Intern to **Peter Fonseca**  
MP for Mississauga East—Cooksville, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Dnipro, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:**

**University of Warsaw,**  
BA in American Studies 2020.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Polish, Russian, French

**LAST BOOK READ:** "12 rules for life" by Jordan Peterson

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Нащо даремнії скорботи?

Назад нема нам воріття!

Берімося краще до роботи,

Змагаймося за нове життя!" – Леся Українка

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"A child said What is the grass? fetching it to me with full hands; How could I answer the child? I do not know what it is any more than he." – Walt Whitman

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

"Playing with fire" by Blackpink

"Let it be" by The Beatles

"Не питай" by Ocean Elsy

**FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:**

**Taras Hill (Cherkasy Oblast, Ukraine )** is the hill where one of the most beloved people in Ukrainian literature and history – Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko – found his last resting peace. The view from his grave fulfils all his wishes from his famous poem "The Testament":

When I am dead, bury me

In my beloved Ukraine,

My tomb upon a grave mound high

Amid the spreading plain,

So that the fields, the boundless steppes,

The Dnieper's plunging shore

My eyes could see, my ears could hear

The mighty river roar.

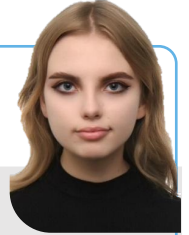


### CUPP at 30

CUPP at 30 is an opportunity to observe Western democracy in action and acquire the necessary experience and knowledge that will help to transform and lead Independent Ukraine to a brighter future.

## Iryna BOZHESKU

Intern to **Francis DROUIN,**  
MP for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Chernivtsi, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Chernivtsi, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Yuri Fedkovych National University of Chernivtsi,**  
Bachelor in Philology.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, French, Romanian, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:** Margaret Thatcher "Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Кожен є той, чие серце в нім: вовче серце – справдешній вовк, хоч обличчя людське; серце боброве – бобер, хоч вигляд вовчий; серце вепрове – вепр, хоч подоба бобра." - Григорій Сковорода

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards." - Soren Kierkegaard

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Nena "Irgendwie, irgendwo, irgendwann".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

I may seem mundane, but in the light of recent events it is important that we talk more about our natural heritage which is being taken away from us. Ukraine is one of the most naturally diverse countries in the world in terms of flora and fauna yet thousands of animals and plants go extinct because of man's endless ambitions. It is time we stopped making everything about ourselves and started caring more about the environment which is now in jeopardy. I cannot bear the thought of whole ecosystems having to suffer because of us and I know many Ukrainians stand in solidarity with this cause. [#savekarpaty](#) [#savetheplanet](#)



### CUPP AT 30

The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program has proven how a whole generation of CUPP alumni can reshape Ukraine's history. This program helps to raise intercultural awareness and strengthen the ties between our fraternal nations.

It is an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to observe and participate in the ongoing process of justice being carried out.

I believe every CUPP intern's goal is to acquire a more global perspective reflected in the Canadian parliamentary system and implement it in the Ukrainian politics for the betterment of our communities. So far, commendable outcomes have been achieved and I am honored to even be able to apply for this program.

## Dariia (Darka) HARNYK

Intern to **Gord Johns**  
MP for Courtenay—Alberni, British Columbia



**BORN IN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Lishnya, Ternopil oblast, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**Ukrainian Leadership Academy 2017**,  
Western NIS Enterprise Fund scholarship recipient;

**Ukrainian Catholic University**,  
Bachelor of the program "Ethics.Politics.Economics" 2021,  
Academic Scholarship "Believe in yourself" recipient  
2017/19, Academic Scholarship Adrian Slyvotskyi, recipient  
2019/20.

**Florida Gulf Coast University**,  
Bachelor of Political sciences 2021,

**Global UGRAD** 2019 Scholarship recipient  
2020, Southern Scholarship Foundation  
recipient 2020,  
Eastern European Linkage Institute scholarship recipient 2020.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, German, Spanish, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:** Robert Pirsig "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Racing".

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:

"Іван Багряний" - Іван Багряний

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:

"In any right action there should be joy from its accomplishment, passion, naked feeling and keen attention. Life is when death is behind the shoulder. If you are safe, you are not learning." - Slava Kurilov

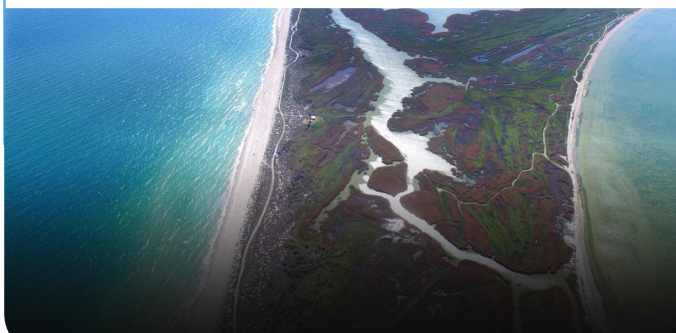
### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Vance Joy - "Riptide".

### FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:

**Tuzly Lagoons National Nature Park** is a Protected area located in Tatarbunary Rayon of Odesa Oblast, southern Ukraine in the interfluvium of the Danube and the Dniester. The length of the embankment that separates the estuaries from the sea is 36 km, its width in different areas varies from 50 to 350-400 meters.

There is a research center in the structure of the park, where the flora and fauna of the region are studied. More than 700 of fauna species and 260 birds under surveillance of the most popular botanists and ornithologists of Ukraine.



## CUPP AT 30

The 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program is a perfect time to seize the opportunity to meet upcoming challenges together with the perspective of co-creation.

The relationships between these countries should expand from diplomatic support to stable connections in terms of education, organizations, and business. We should make our own Sustainable Development Goals which we will accomplish in the next decade. For instance, we can establish an internship program for Canadian students in the Verkhovna Rada, pursue academic and professional exchanges between countries, advocate for CUFTA and non-visa agreement, as well as for affordable business cooperation between countries in terms of taxes. This anniversary is an accomplishment of the sign of power we have in our hands to make a change.

## Kseniia HLADKIKH

Intern to **Brad VIS**  
MP for Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon, British Columbia



**BORN IN:** Donetsk, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**,  
Bachelor Degree in International Relations and English translation

**McMaster University**,  
Master of Arts in Sociology candidate;

**University of Wyoming**  
(Global UGRAD scholarship) - exchange semester.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Spanish, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:** Dale Carnegie "How to Win Friends and Influence People".

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:

"А ви думали, що Україна так просто. Україна – це супер. Україна – це ексклюзив. По ній пройшли всі катки історії. На ній відпрацьовані всі види випробувань. Вона загартована найвищим гартом. В умовах сучасного світу їй немає цінни" - Ліна Костенко.

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Michael "Jackson Earth Song";

Whitney Houston "I Will Always Love You".

### FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:

**Sviatohirsk Lavra.** Among the chalk hills covered with the relict forest of the Holy Mountains National Nature Park, on the right bank of the Donets River lies the architectural ensemble of the Sviatohirsk Lavra. To get to the top of the cliff you have to walk more than a kilometer through caves that were carved in chalk more than a thousand years ago. During the Soviet period, the temples were destroyed by the Bolsheviks. After the fall of the USSR, the monastery was restored, and all temples, caves and surviving buildings were returned to the Lavra.

Sviatohirsk is a resort of Donetsk region. Before the beginning of the Russian aggression, it was a mecca for Donetsk residents, who would come here to enjoy the glorious view of the Lavra, located on the slopes of the picturesque chalk mountains overlooking the river.



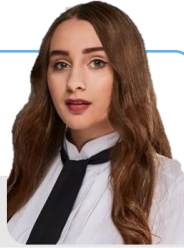
## CUPP AT 30

The 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the CUPP combined with the achievements of alumni speaks volumes about the success of the program. This is a new opportunity to strengthen Canada-Ukraine relations. Over the thirty years, outstanding Ukrainian youth has been able to acquire hands-on experience in the Canadian parliament and explore the best democracy practices. A great network of thinkers and leaders has been created. It would now be beneficial to give Canadian Ukrainian youth the opportunity to dive in their Ukrainian heritage and see how the government operates in Ukraine. It is my impression that oftentimes Ukrainian Canadians have a somewhat distant idea about how Ukrainian structures work and why Ukraine is experiencing difficulties. This opportunity would bring both cultures closer, and allow to fill in the gaps and further mutual understanding and cooperation.



## Diana HORBATIUK

Intern to **Robert OLIPHANT**,  
Don Valley West, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Rivne, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Warsaw, Poland.

### EDUCATION:

**Lazarski & Coventry University**,  
Faculty of Economics and Management,  
International Relations & European Studies,  
2022;

**Ukrainian Leadership Academy**,  
Alumna, 2017;

**Computer Science Academy "STEP"**,  
Speciality Web-design and graphics, 2018.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, Polish, French (basic).

**LAST BOOK READ:** Michelle Obama "Becoming"

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:

"Любіть Україну у сні й наяву, вишневу свою Україну, красу її вічно живу і нову і мову її солов'їну." - В.Сосюра

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:

"There is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountaintop of our desires" - Nelson Mandela

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Kodaline - All I want;  
Jay-Z - Empire State of Mind.

### FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:

**The Carpathians** are certainly a place of power for many Ukrainians. It is the epicenter of Ukraine's rural folk culture as well as the number one holiday destination for numerous international travelers. You can observe incredible mountain lakes, fresh air of dense pine forests and adorable alpine villages. The local peaks are very popular with hikers and skiers. So far, a place of inspiration for soul and harmony. Special emotions when you feel the full grandeur of the earth and try to remember every second being 100% happy.



## CUPP at 30

Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program offers immeasurable value for the most powerful young leaders with pro-Western views. They are professional and ethical, active in public and political life, with proper values and a clear vision of Ukraine. With an increasingly connected world, students are building stronger cooperation between Ukraine and Canada. Significantly, there is a need to mention the constructive role of the diaspora. The program helps to expand cross-cultural understanding, increase global awareness and understanding the impact of global trends on local economies and local communities.

Alumni communities for almost 30 years have demonstrated drive, passion and a willingness to step outside of comfort zones for the better development of Ukraine as an independent and democratic country! So far, Ukrainians are grateful for the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and wish the CUPP program

## Yuliia HRABENKO

Intern to **Todd DOHERTY**  
MP for Cariboo—Prince George, British Columbia



**BORN IN:** Shyshaky, Poltava oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Poltava, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**,

Faculty of Economics, International Economics;

**Future Leaders Exchange, Alumna(2014-2015), NH, USA.**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, French.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Origin" by Dan Brown

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Подався доганяти без надії догнати. Але – сміливі завжди мають щастя." - Іван Багряний

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." - Nelson Mandela

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

The Hardkiss "Журавлі", "Rain";  
Three Days Grace "Never Too Late".

### FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:

**Sobornosti street** is among most visited places in Poltava. It is the coziest and the nicest route to go for a walk with friends or on your own. You walk this long street, pass the main park with the monument of the Golden eagle as a symbol of the victory in Poltava Battle in 1709. You walk past cozy cafes, theatre, parks, big church, and Halushka monument. From the right, you see an old house of Ukrainian writer Ivan Kotlyarevskyi. Then you come to hill with the White Rotonda. This is my favourite place in Poltava with incredible views.



## CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to one more time emphasize on the importance of this program, to cherish the memories and achievements of the CUPP alumni during 30 years and of course – to meet with new CUPP finalists to unite and create common goals and plans to make positive changes in our country. It is also an opportunity to share our unique experience, which each of us has managed to obtain, among ourselves that will allow us to learn from each other. I believe, this is a special anniversary of the program that exists through the history of Independent Ukraine and keeps educating young talented Ukrainians about parliamentary democracy, transparent governmental system, and opportunities that we can get or create in the future. The more interns there are, the more changemakers we will have in the future.

## Daryna HRYHORIAK

Intern to **Tom KMIEC**,  
MP for Calgary Shepard, Alberta



**BORN IN:** Marynychy, Chernivtsi region.

**HOMETOWN:** Vyzhnytsia, Chernivtsi region.

### EDUCATION:

**Lviv Polytechnic National University**,  
Faculty of International Relations.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, German (basic), Russian.

### LAST BOOK READ:

Jonathan Safran "Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close".

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:

"Ми досі ще рятуємо дистрофію тіл, а за прогресуючу дистрофію душ - нам байдуже." - Василь Стус

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:

"Get it down. Take chances. It may be bad, but it's the only way you can do anything really good." - William Faulkner

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDINGS:

John Legend "All of me";  
Coldplay "Don't Panic".

### FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:

**Tract of Protyate kamynya (Sokolyne oko).** This tract is located in the Roztoky village, so-called "Bukovynian Switzerland" which is one of the 19 unique villages in Ukraine. Sokolyne oko is a giant stone arch that resembles the eye from the downward view. The eye is located in a rock about 40 meters high. Protyate kamynya is a group of rocks formed of broken layers of sandstone and permeated with various holes and passages inside, large boulders with caves. The best view can be spotted at the top of Sokolyne oko.



## Anna ILIASHENKO

Intern to **Chandra Arya**  
MP for Nepean, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Pischane village, Kremenchuk district, Poltava oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**,  
Master of Laws.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Good strategy, Bad strategy" by Richard Rumelt.

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:

"Єдиний, хто не втомлюється, - час. А ми живі, нам треба поспішати" - Ліна Костенко

### FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:

"Everything you can imagine is real." - Pablo Picasso

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Pablo Picasso "Де би я";  
Sting "Shape of my heart".

### FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:

**Stanislavkyi cliffs, Kherson oblast.** It is the place where Stanislavkyi nature reserve with an area about 700 hectares is located. Incredible landscapes attract people from all over Ukraine. Historians suggest that in ancient times there was the temple of the ancient Greek goddess Demeter, which was worshiped by the inhabitants of Olbia.



## CUPP at 30

CUPP 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary shows us that one person can really make changes. The opportunity that Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program gives Ukrainian youth and Ukraine overall had been proven for 30 years. Now, when Ukraine is facing especially hard times, the chance to observe, how government structures work in one of the most democratic, economically developed, and with tight Ukrainian connection countries of the world is truly underestimated by the Ukrainian government. As Canada was always there to bond with Ukraine, this is also a good chance for the Canadian community to establish such ties.

I hope that in the next 30 years CUPP will thrive. I hope that Ukrainian government should become the first sponsor of CUPP. I also believe that in the next 30 years alumni of CUPP almost all of which are prominent people in Ukraine and abroad will help with donations so the program can expand. I think that during the last 30 years Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program was able to bring up a whole generation of young, motivated, and patriotic Ukrainians. So, we should remember the past in order to reach the highest

## CUPP at 30

The 30th anniversary is a good point to summarize activity and set up new ways for the program's development. CUPP nurtured new generations of Ukrainian leaders and can continue do so many more times. Proactive Ukrainian youth is ready for actions but it lacks experience in practical democracy, which CUPP provides. The program has the potential to expand its activity, to establish intergovernmental, inter-parliamentary, and interuniversity connections, to organize cultural and educational events. It is capable to take on challenges of upcoming decades. Considering its success, CUPP should continue its activity to grow new Ukrainian leaders.



## Olena KHOVOSTYK

Intern to **Marilène GILL**  
MP for Manicouagan, Quebec



**BORN IN:** Chervonohrad, Lviv region, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:**

**Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University**

Faculty of Foreign Philology, Language and Literature (French),  
Bachelor (2014-2018)

Faculty of International Relations, Master (2018-2020)

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, French

**LAST BOOK READ:** Ліна Костенко «Записки українського самашедшого»

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «А ви думали, що Україна так просто. Україна — це супер. Україна — це ексклюзив. По ній пройшли всі катки історії. На ній відпрацьовані всі види випробувань. Вона загартована найвищим гарттом. В умовах сучасного світу їй немає ціни.» – Ліна Костенко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** “Tell me and I will forget, show me and I may remember, involve me and I will understand.” – Confucius

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Queen “Bohemian Rhapsody”, Phil Collins “Another Day in Paradise”, Eric Clapton “Autumn Leaves”.

**FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:**

**SYNEVYR** is the largest and one of the most beautiful mountain lakes in the Carpathian Mountains. It is also called “Sea Eye” or “Pearl of the Carpathians”. Looking at the lake from a Bird’s Eye view, a picturesque vista opens before your eyes, the mirror like water surface among green forest. The lake attracts tourists with crystal clear waters and unique landscapes. There is a beautiful legend that this lake was formed from the tears of the count’s daughter Syn, on the place where her father had killed her beloved - a shepherd Vir. Now only two wooden statues of lovers remind us of that story. There I find motivation, inspiration and strengths to move on.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity, which will benefit Ukrainian leaders’ future studies and help them in their prospective careers. Furthermore, I consider CUPP to be a marvelous opportunity to get in touch with Canadian culture and the principles of democratic government and parliamentary procedures. Interns get to experience the workings of Parliament at first hand and to see how MPs interact — not only with one another but also with the external environment: constituency, government and interest groups.

By observing the busy schedule of MP’s, we, interns will have an opportunity to develop leadership skills such as management, communications and problem-solving. Furthermore, participants will learn how to cope in a demanding environment. The more they do so successfully, the more confident they become.

In conclusion, CUPP program enables them to feel a sense of belonging to the broader education community and how to make decisions that they believe are best for furthering the advancement of knowledge, their local community, and society.

The CUPP program is a gift to Ukraine.

## Anna KIKESHEVA

Intern to **Julie DABRUSIN**  
MP for Toronto—Danforth, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Vasylivka, Odes’ka oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Friedrich-Alexander University,**

School of Business and Economics,  
Master of Science in International Business Studies;

**Groningen University,**

School of Business and Economics, Exchange semester;  
**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,**

Institute of International Relations,  
Bachelor of Arts with honours in International Business;  
**Heilbronn University of Applied Sciences,**  
Faculty of Economics and Business, Exchange Semester.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, German, Dutch, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:** “Milk and Honey” by Rupi Kaur.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** “Наша дума, наша пісня / Не вмере, не загине... / От де, люде, наша слава, / Слава України!” - Тарас Шевченко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** “Adults keep saying: “We owe it to the young people to give them hope.” But I don’t want your hope. I don’t want you to be hopeful. I want you to panic. I want you to feel the fear I feel every day. And then I want you to act.” - Greta Thunberg

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Johann Strauss “The Blue Danube”; Квітка Цісик “Я піду в далекі гори”; Один в каное “Вулиця”.

**FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:**

**Black Sea shore in Odesa** is my place of peace and internal strength. Visiting Odesa every summer to enjoy vibrant city beaches as well as hidden coastal areas has been an indispensable part of me growing up. Given my father’s occupation as a chief boatswain, I always enjoyed watching ships sailing into the port of Odesa and guessing if my dad was aboard one of them. The Black Sea is my personal favourite among Ukrainian landscapes.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program is marking the beginning of a new promising 2020s decade. The decade when actions are to be taken and changes are to be driven. It is the time for Ukraine to start a new page in its development and growth. This year even more interns from all over Ukraine will be able to exercise their potentials at the Parliamentary Hill in Ottawa.

For almost 30 years now, proud CUPP alumni have been contributing to the development of their motherland while CUPP institutors have been working to make this program happen. Now, with more than 500 program alumni proactively engaged in all spheres, one can state that the fruits have been borne.

The 30th Anniversary is a perfect chance for CUPP to look back at what this program has already achieved for Ukraine as well as Canada and open a new chapter for further accomplishments. And the next batch of motivated and talented CUPP interns will eagerly embark on these.

## Tetiana KONDAKOVA

Intern to **James BEZAN**  
MP for Selkirk—Interlake—Eastman, Manitoba



**BORN IN:** Makiivka, Donetsk oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

### EDUCATION:

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**,  
Law Faculty (Administrative Law), LL.B.,  
**Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University**,  
Law Faculty (Business Law), LL.B.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** Russian, English, Polish.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Anarchy in the UKR" by Serhii Zhadan

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "На світі той наймудріший, хто найдужче любить життя." — Василь Симоненко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "In all affairs, it's a healthy thing now and then to hang a question mark on the things you have long taken for granted." — Bertrand Russell

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Alt-J — "Matilda"; Один в каное — "Демони"; Ludwig Goransson — "The Mandalorian".

### FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:

**Dzharylhach Island** in Kherson Oblast is the biggest island in the Black Sea. The amazing views and transparent blue water earned the island the name of Ukrainian Maldives. It is said that Achilles was born here and that Odysseus came to the island after the Trojan War. Today the island is uninhabited but hosts campers. This place is amazingly peaceful and is a perfect retreat for the urban soul.



## Khrystyna KORETSKA

Intern to **James MALONEY**  
MP for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Novyi Rozdil, Lviv oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**Memorial University of Newfoundland**,  
Master of Arts in Political Science.

**Ukrainian Catholic University**,  
Humanities Faculty, Bachelor of Arts in History.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, Polish.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Atlas Shrugged" by Ayn Rand

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Сміливі завжди мають щастя", — Іван Багряний.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "For with God nothing shall be impossible", — St. Luke

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Плач Єремії "Ти втретє цього літа зацвієш";  
Скрябін "Старі фотографії", "Мам";  
Без обмежень "Бо без неї ніяк", "Наш шалений листопад".

### FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:

**Ukrainian Carpathians** are my place of strength and inspiration. The mountains teach me to be careful and responsible for yourself and others. At the same time, the mountains help to relax and give me the strength to climb further along the road of life.



## CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the CUPP is an opportunity to consider the results of this enduring program. For years young Ukrainians acquired invaluable experience, understanding of democratic principles and personal responsibility. They returned to Ukraine wiser and more prepared to make changes and contribute to the development of their country. They have acquired Canadian values, and these values are essential for ongoing confrontation with the unscrupulousness of those who have not yet realized that there is no return to soviet days. The 30th Anniversary is a great opportunity to demonstrate that the investments made in Ukraine's future leaders were worth making. A great number of CUPP alumni have become government and business leaders who are more committed to their homeland than the previous generations. It is time to be proud of the motivation of CUPP.

## CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to summarize achievements and results. To understand CUPP's starting point; where we stand today; and where we are heading. CUPP emerged at the time when Ukraine was leaving the Soviet Union and Ukrainians voted for independence.

At that time, we lacked qualified government officials. CUPP took on the job of cultivating a new generation of leaders. The seed has sprouted. CUPP's Alumni aspired to and are beginning to assume leadership in the highest state institutions. They have founded numerous NGOs and Civil Society projects. They are transforming Ukraine from a corrupt soviet backward entity into a European country.

The 30th Anniversary of CUPP is an opportunity to assess our progress, share our achievements and make plans for the future. The job is not finished. We are proud of our efforts and must continue to work to complete the job of building a prosperous and rule of law country.



## Mariia KOTSIURBA

Intern to **Ben LOBB**  
MP for Huron—Bruce, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Lutsk, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Lutsk, Ukraine

### EDUCATION:

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**,  
Institute of International Relations,  
Bachelor of International Law with honors (2020), Master of  
International Law (expected in 2022).

**Saarland University, Germany**,  
Erasmus+ Study Mobility Program

**Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX)**,  
Program alumna of 2014-2015, Ohio, USA.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** Russian, English, German, French (basic).

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Why Nations Fail" by Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Сміливі завжди мають щастя" by Ivan Bahrianyi.

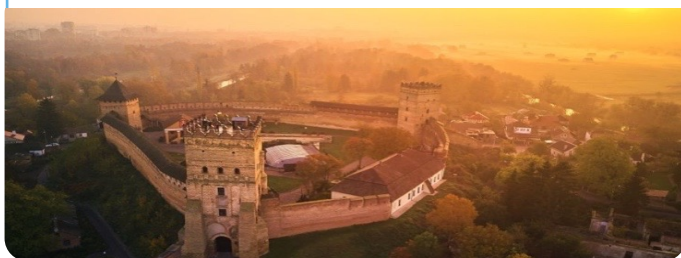
**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Equality and freedom are not luxuries to lightly cast aside. Without them, order cannot long endure before approaching depths beyond imagining." – Alan Moore.

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

John Lennon – "Imagine";  
Один в каное – "Човен";  
Jamala – "Шлях додому", "Крила".

### FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:

There is no other place like home, that is why the historic center of my native city Lutsk with its Lubart's castle will always hold a special place in my heart. Some say the city is too quiet, but I think it is nothing else but its coziness that makes me want to come back here every time I am away. Lutsk is quite an old city with a very rich and complicated history. The historic center is the soul of it. Once one of the most powerful fortresses of Volyn region, now the Lubart's castle is the main symbol of Lutsk and a home to countless festivals and fairs that annually attract many tourists and locals. It has been chosen as one of the "Seven wonders of Ukraine" and even appears on the 200-hryvnia bill. Nowadays Lutsk successfully manages to combine modern buildings with such historical sites, so I recommend everyone to visit my ancient and charming city at least once in a lifetime – you will not regret it!



## CUPP at 30

The 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to showcase the visible impact CUPP has had on Ukrainian interns, their communities, and Ukraine in general, with many alumni now becoming opinion leaders and working as high-level governmental officials. Having seen and directly experienced great Canadian example of real democracy, they have been changing Ukraine for the better and ensuring Ukraine's further independent and democratic development.

CUPP community unites people who are truly willing and able to take responsibility for Ukraine's present and future, and at this time it is our duty to make this community stay more bonded than ever. On the occasion of the Program's Anniversary, it would be our honor to express gratitude to every single person who has been making the Program possible and to emphasize the importance of its continuation.

## Iryna KUKHTA

Intern to **Dave MACKENZIE**  
MP for Oxford, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Zhydachiv, Lviv oblast.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

### EDUCATION:

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy**,  
Faculty of Law

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Voices from Chernobyl" by Svetlana Alexievich

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** "Несвобода не пахне, вона – стерильна, як тюремна камера." by Serhiy Zhadan

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Perhaps those who are best suited to power are those who have never sought it." by J. K. Rowling

### FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:

Inshe misto by Dakh Daughters

### FAVOURITE LANDSCAPE:

**Dzharylhach Island** is the least populated island in Ukraine. In the past it was a spit that Greeks called "Achilles Run". The island has clean sandy beaches and mineral springs. The unique flora and fauna of Dzharylhach have been very well preserved, which makes it a truly remarkable and a unique place in Ukraine.



## CUPP at 30

Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity for Ukrainian young professionals to work alongside decision-makers in one of the most effective democratic system of government.

As Ukraine gained its independence from the USSR, it was crucial to break the old habits and Soviet mindset of people in power and invest in a new generation of leaders, who would see the Western world as partners, and not as a threat. And CUPP was a program to build these bridges.

Over the last 30 years CUPP proved that the most effective way to straighten cooperation and gain democratic world's support to Ukraine is to have pro-European well-educated Ukrainians working as Ukraine's ambassadors in the programs like this one.

## Anna LACHYKHINA

Intern to the **Hon. Judy SGRO**  
MP for Humber River—Black Creek, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", 2009-2015

Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, 2013-2015

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, German, Russian, Polish, French.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Reclaiming Conversation" by Sherry Turkle,

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«І все на світі треба пережити, бо кожен фініш — це по суті старт. І наперед не треба ворожити, і за минулим плакати не варт», - Ліна Костенко. / "Everything on earth you have to go through, because every finish is, in fact, a start. And you don't need to guess the future, so as you shouldn't cry for the past", Lina Kostenko.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

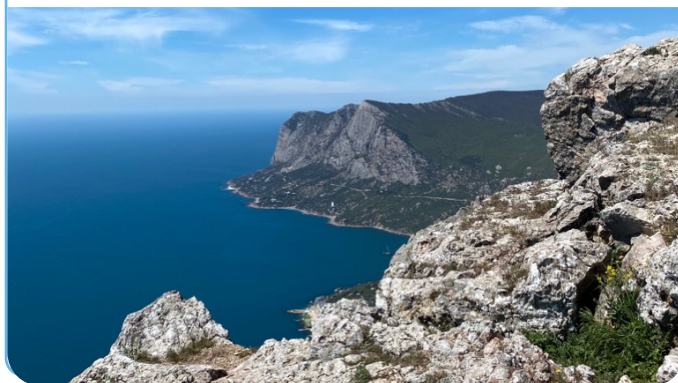
"Speak your mind even if your voice shakes", Maggie Kuhn

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Imagine by John Lennon.

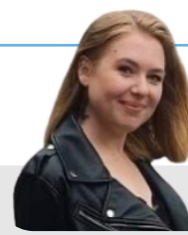
**FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

I love it where the mountains meet the sea. This is where my childhood memories are made. **Crimea, Ukraine.**



## Alina MARCHENKO

Intern to **Marie-France LALONDE**  
MP for Orléans, Ontario



**BORN IN:** Torez, Donetsk'ka oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:** Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,

Institute of International Relations,  
Bachelor's degree in International  
Relations, Specialist in Translation  
(French) 2018;

University of Strasbourg - Sciences Po Strasbourg  
Master's degree in Social and Political Sciences.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, French.

**LAST BOOK READ:** Chin-Ning Chu "Thick Face, Black Heart: The Warrior Philosophy for Conquering the Challenges of Business and Life".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Чужа душа – то, кажуть, темний ліс." - Ліна Костенко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"No" – it is "yes" in perspective." - (Unknown)

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Eternal Eclipse "Dawn of Faith".

**FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Svyati Hory or Slovianohirsk** is a town in Donetsk oblast, Ukraine. The town experienced the Tatar-Mongol invasion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the local legends tell that their gold is still hidden in Svyati Hory. Besides, the Holy Mountains monastery was established in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the Tatar- Mongol's gold has never been found. Since the beginning of war in Donbas in 2014, Slovianohirsk has never been controlled by the pro-Russian forces. As for me, this town remains a symbol of liberty, freedom and peace. The heritage of national importance includes the Holy Dormition Sviatohirsk Lavra, the Holy Mountains National Park as well as the number of other historical and architectural objects, hidden in the divine forests.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th anniversary proves the sustainability, success, and the need for the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program at Parliament Hill. This is an exclusive traineeship program designed for Ukrainian students and young professionals to learn from one of the strongest democracies about good government and the rule of law. At the same time this is a great investment into the beneficial bilateral relations between Canada in Ukraine. It is a special opportunity for Canadian parliamentarians to liaison with Ukrainians in Canada and in Ukraine, as well as with Ukraine's parliament and the government. Among CUPP alumni there are Ukraine's ministers and deputy ministers, members of parliament and regional governors. In 2022 the CUPP has another important mission – in time of Russia's bloodthirsty war in Ukraine the program brings 50 talented young women to train their leadership in order to restore Ukraine after its victory.

### CUPP at 30

The CUPP needs to be continued in the nearest future, as it has a unique value for the preparation of young and promising leaders for the Ukrainian government. It is a unique example of the Ukrainian partisan story that can be considered as a symbol of democracy, freedom of expression, academic excellence and professional performance. Such a powerful training in the multicultural environment can nurture the next generations of Ukrainians and provide them with a particular international experience. I do not doubt that the CUPP program can be transformed into an official Ukrainian parliamentary program, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Referring to the practices of the Members of the European Union and other liberal states, the CUPP initiative can be viewed as an alternative to eventual internships within renowned European institutions, such as the European Parliament, the European Commission, the EU Council and others. Thus, we are likely to implement similar educational practices for young and promising candidates at the governmental level to foster their personal and professional development.



## Daryna OSTROVSKA

Intern to **Corey Tochor**  
MP for Saskatoon—University, Saskatchewan



**BORN IN:** Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

MA in Political Science (expected in 2023)

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine)**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, French.

**LAST BOOK READ:** "Guardian Angel" by Francoise Sagan

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«Якби ви вчилися так, як треба, То й мудрість би була своя», – Тарас Шевченко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"If you want something you've never had, you must be willing to do something you've never done", Thomas Jefferson

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Sviatoslav Vakarchuk "Vyshche Neba"

Bumboks "Zlyva"

Sting "Shape of my heart"

**FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

I would like to describe not just the landscape but the entire region, that now is unfortunately seized from Ukraine. It had a huge impact and significance not only for the history of our country but for my life as well. My childhood memories are filled with the Crimean magnificent nature and its beautiful architecture when I was in Artek. Each part of the peninsula is graced with outstanding landmarks and human creations: Ai-Petri, Balaklava Bay, The Swallow's Nest, Vorontsov Palace etc. By following them, you can trace not only the history of this region, but the history of Ukraine and the whole world: from the early human settlements to the modern big cities. Crimea is unique because it has always been a crossing point of different nations, cultures and landscapes. It may take hours to describe the exact history flow on those lands. Especially now, when it is so painful to discuss the issue of Crimea. Nevertheless, I believe, sooner or later, it will come back to Ukraine, as this is the most natural state for it.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program is an opportunity to be a part of experience through direct involvement in the existing parliamentary mechanisms. It is an opportunity to work alongside Members of Parliament to understand its functioning from within. Wishing for the best future for Ukraine, we should not think that everything would change with the flip of a switch. There is a lot of work ahead. The state is us, its citizens. That is why I believe that the future of Ukraine is in the hands of young and promising people.

The main thing to succeed in this field is honesty. In front of people, in front of yourself, in front of a profession in the field called "the fourth power". The most important thing for this is to overcome the oligarchic monopoly – in power, economy, politics and information. I am sure that working in the Canadian parliament with respectable officials and interacting with other Ukrainian students will widen my perception of the world and public service.

## Alona PALYENKA

Intern to **John BARLOW**  
MP for Foothills, Alberta



**BORN IN:** Poltava, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Poltava, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

BA in Medicine

**Bogomolets National Medical University (Ukraine)**

**National Student Leadership Conference of Medicine and Health Care (Georgia Tech 2018)**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, French, Spanish, Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:** "The 48 Laws of Power" by Robert Greene.

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Є сотня мов, а правда лиш одна", - Максим Рильський

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Be yourself; everyone else is already taken", Oscar Wilde

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Скрябін "Місія щасливих людей";

Сергій Бабкін "Але";

Queen "Under Pressure".

**FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

The pond in small town **Dykanka**. It is a tiny pond located in the heart of Dykanka's forest. This place is a fascinating area of calm and solitude. There opens a wonderful view of the river and to the reflection of the sky. The pond is surrounded by many greens and included the oldest Kochubeyevkiy's oaks which age is more than 800 years. It is the best place to look up the stars during the night time, to swim with friends, to do fishing and just to enjoy yourself and nature.



### CUPP at 30

The 30th Anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program is a smart opportunity for young talented Ukrainians to explore one of the best functioning parliaments in the world, experience political challenges, enhance the cooperation, get new knowledges, open professional potential, unite and enrich connection between Canada and Ukraine. All participants form a big family where the universal values and power are forming. This program is a chance of further positive development of Ukraine. The past three decades of the program have already given tangible results for both countries. I am convinced that the great mission of Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program will succeed and raise revolutionary generation.



# GLOBAL DIASPORA INTERVIEW PROJECT

The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) is an internship program in the Canadian House of Commons for university students from Ukraine. Each year during the Spring or Fall Sitting of Parliament, Ukraine's students come to Parliament Hill, enter the offices of individual Members of Parliament and work with the MPs staff, attend sittings of Parliament and its standing committees and from an insider's vantage point observe how Canadians govern themselves.

More than 1,000 Ukrainian students have taken part in the parliamentary internship, participated in Model Ukraine Conferences in Canada, Great Britain, Ukraine and the USA. Participation in this practical hands on program, has made an impact on Ukraine's youngest leaders.

From CUPP's ranks have come 3 Cabinet Ministers 3 Deputy Ministers, 6 Members of Parliament, a Head of L'viv Oblast Administration and government officials for the office of the speaker of parliament, office of the president's administration and several assistants to Members of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

In 2020 CUPP celebrated 30 years of operation in Canada's Parliament. The expanded program includes the GLOBAL DIASPORA INTERVIEW PROJECT. The following interviews are one of 200 conducted with Diaspora leaders, thinkers and opinion-makers.



Interview conducted by  
CHYZHMAR Khrystyna, CUPP 2021 applicant



— interview with —

## George Sajewych

*Ukrainian translator, radio host, representative of the Ukrainian diaspora in the US. Mr. Sajewych worked for “Voice of America”. He has been a longtime presenter of “Window to America” and a translator of many US presidents. It was he who broadcast the debates of Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich in 2004 for American live television. He also was very active after the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution has started.*

**There have been several Waves of Immigration, out of Ukraine. Can a comparison be made among the DIASPORAS and the impact they made on the homeland?**

The first emigration was at the end of 19 century, both to the US and Canada, and that was an economic emigration. Emigrants were mostly from western Ukraine, I think they didn't have a big impact on the political situation, they were the first ones there, they were just trying to make a living.

After the First World War, there was a wave, a more politically conscious one. They were active, and a good example of it is Koshyts Choir. That was sent by Petlura to spread a word about Ukraine, they traveled all over the world and ended up in the US, and did a great job in popularizing Ukraine choir music. It was a time when the first newspaper for the Ukrainian diaspora was made, also Український Братський Союз was founded. So Ukrainians were getting

organized, especially in the area of the eastern Pennsylvania, the region where coal mines are located. And these support organizations, like Братський Союз and Ukrainian National Association, they were similar to insurance companies. They supported families of the coal miners and on that basis, they turned to cultural and political organizations and they exist till today. So that wave was very active.

And then after the Second World War, there was a big wave, which is even called a political emigration, these emigrants were mostly from western Ukraine as well. That was a village Inteligencia, well-educated people, teachers, priests and so on. And my parents were part of that emigration. My father was a lawyer. At that time, the Ukrainian youth organization Plast appeared in the USA. Plast was a big part of my life, and I am still a member of the organization.

I grow up in Chicago in the Ukrainian village, and this is where this life, this activity, and energy was best manifested in my view.

Also, New York has a similar environment, and other big cities as well. For the number of Ukrainians in the US, these numbers were really small compared with the political impact they have had, because of a good organization.

Much of that impact has been in Congress, which was great, but unfortunately, it didn't extend to the White House. This has been especially true in the last 10-20 years, and very evident after the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine War, where Ukraine had great support from the representatives of the American people, meaning Congress, and not so much in the White House.

So, I was very much a part of that emigration wave, I lived in two worlds, and it was great. My American friends were envious, because they saw me going to the Ukrainian dance classes and speaking Ukrainian, singing Ukrainian folk songs, and getting together and so was the best of two worlds. Also, I remember, my friends and I, we graduated from St. Nicholas Cathedral elementary school and we all decided to go to the very elite high school, the best high school around. To enter high school you have to pass the entrance exam. And all the Ukrainian students got in that high school. We were always together and the whole school knew, that at 6-7 of January, Ukrainians are not going to be at school, because they are celebrating Christmas, so that was a great feeling.

The newest wave, the post-independence one, I think they are different because they are focused mainly on the material part. They are successful, and they are also active, they are forming new cultural clubs, but not in the same way as the

previous generation, for example, very few of them send their kids to Plast, Ukrainian elementary school and so on. But they do support Ukraine, there are a lot of volunteers among them that support Ukrainian soldiers in the East.

**What do you consider to be the most constructive or lasting accomplishment of The Diaspora in the USA?**

*I think it is not possible to point to one, it's just a whole idea of keeping flame alive, and keeping Ukrainian institutions alive, and doing a lot of stuff, that couldn't have been done here, under the Soviet Union, and still, it is not the easiest thing to do.* Like for example, under the issue of Holodomor, the Ukrainian diaspora got Congress to create a special commission to investigate what happened in 1932-33, and a lot of good working on that, when nobody else was doing this. So that is just an example of the creation of organizations, which keep Ukrainian youth very nationally conscious, it is very important for ongoing generations.

When I was in school and somebody asked me: "What kind of name do I have?" and I said: "Ukrainian", and the person said: "Oh, you mean Russian." It was very difficult, so we had to fight against that, and we don't have to do it anymore, and a lot it because of the diaspora.

There is also a religious aspect, the same thing goes for keeping Ukrainian churches alive, whether it is orthodox or catholic.



**Approximately one million Ukrainians leave the homeland every year. What can serve as an incentive for Ukrainians to return to their homeland? Should the return to the homeland be a priority for Ukraine's government?**

It is a tragedy that so many people are left, and it will be a bigger tragedy, an ongoing tragedy if it keeps on happening. Ukraine is going to run out of people. I mean, it has lost millions of people and they are not coming back. Very few are going to come back, after making lives in other countries. But the problem is the Ukrainian economy. If the government focuses on the Ukrainian economy and making a good life for Ukrainians here, it would be great not only in terms of preventing emigration, but also for Ukrainians here, the people who are remaining.

The key is the rule of law, the economy doesn't work, because the rule of law doesn't work. Ukrainians could have a good quality of life, but they do not have it, they not getting it, that is the reason they are leaving, I can't blame them.

But if somebody asks me to help emigrate, I will say no, because I don't like Ukrainians to emigrate, even though my parents are emigrants, but the circumstances were different. The Red Army, the Soviet rule, they had to make a decision, they thought it would be temporary. But it wasn't like that. We had political leaders that had to emigrate, for example, Yaroslav Stetsko and his wife, who never took foreigner citizenship by the way.

So I hate it, that Ukrainians are leaving, they are not coming back. The most energetic and most entrepreneurial are among them, young people. It is a great loss. I think West Europe is encouraging the emigration of Ukrainians, because they have their own demographic and democratic problems, and here they have ready-made Europeans.

That is a tragedy, and one of the things I didn't like about the previous administration is that under Mr. Poroshenko millions left, and nothing was done to stop it. **CUPP**



*Interview conducted by*  
**SHARAPOVA Liubov**, CUPP 2022 intern



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interview with

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## Natalka Haras

*Natalka Haras is Senior Counsel with ADP Canada and currently serves as Co-chair of ADP's Global Compliance and Legal Department's Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee. She is a Leadership Council on Legal Diversity 2022 Fellow. She did her B.A. in history and international and comparative studies at Huron University College (at Western University) and got her M.A. in International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa, as a Paterson Fellow. She then went on to study law at McGill, where she earned degrees in civil and common laws. Before joining ADP, Natalka worked as judicial clerk to the Honourable Mr. Justice Marc Nadon at the Federal Court of Appeal, as an associate lawyer at Baker McKenzie LLP, then in higher education advancement at both McGill University and the Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation.*

*Natalka is a member of the diaspora community in Canada, and among her activities, she has written reflections on the Ukrainian-Canadian experience for the Ukrainian Antiracist Community, been a member of the Plast Ukrainian Youth Association, served as a Parliamentary Election Observer and Administrator for the Donetsk Observer Group for the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in 2007, and was Canadian Coordinator for the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) in 2001. Natalka lives in Montréal with her husband and daughter.*



*Interview conducted in July 2021*

**You were the coordinator for CUPP 2001. Did you envisage the CUPP program continuing for now 31 years?**

I'm not surprised that the CUPP program continues to be relevant! Serving as the Canadian coordinator was a valuable, transformative experience for me at the time, and, also, I believe for the students from Ukraine. CUPP stands out to me for being an innovative and nimble program that demystifies systems, presenting opportunities for experiential learning and widening young people's perspectives about what is possible in their careers and lives depending on their interests.

**Is an internship in the House of Commons important for Ukraine's university students? Do you believe the same parliamentary internship is important for students from more established democracies?**

I think it is key to effective citizenship for young people from any background to be familiar with the legislative process, how laws are made and how power works, in their own country, and also to be familiar with other models of government. As a lawyer, I am biased, but, in my field of employment law, constitutional issues do come up and understanding the policy objectives of laws is crucial. Yet, when I learned civics in high school, I found that these issues can seem really dry. In contrast, a program like CUPP gives students a chance to see the legislative process in Canada in real life. Understanding the work of government and how changes can happen in a society is incredibly powerful. Learning about another country's system underscores that there is not only one way to do things. So, yes, I think multi-jurisdictional and cross-cultural learning is valuable for students, no matter where they come from.

**Could you please share with us the story of how your family came to Canada? I enjoyed reading your column in the spring issue of CUPP Newsletter 2001 where you presented your reflections on the internship of Ukrainian youth. You mentioned that you had not been to Ukraine before you became the coordinator of**

**the program. Did you have an opportunity to visit Ukraine after that? If so, what were your impressions of Ukraine and Ukrainian people? Have you ever considered moving to Ukraine?**

Both of my parents were born in Displaced Persons camps in Germany after the Second World War, and they came to Canada as very young children with my grandparents, in the late 1940s. I grew up in a pretty strong diaspora community outside of Toronto, in Niagara. My life as a child included a lot of Ukrainian activities like dance, narodna shkola (Ukrainian language, literature, history, and culture courses), and Plast summer camps. We also celebrated Ukrainian holidays and practiced traditions at home and at church. My sisters and I also grew up in mainstream Canadian society with school, sports, and other extracurricular activities.

When the opportunity to be the Canadian coordinator for CUPP came up, I was 18 and had just finished my first year of university. It was one of my first chances to interact with young people from Ukraine and also to experience Parliament Hill. At that point in my life, I had met people from Ukraine in the diaspora community and distant relatives who visited Canada, but I didn't know what to expect with students my own age with similar career ambitions, ten years after Ukraine's independence. I remember meeting the students and understanding that, in some ways, our backgrounds were extremely different but in the other ways we were all young people in a world becoming more and more global in outlook.

About a year after I did CUPP, I visited Ukraine for the first time. I spent a few days in Kyiv with friends and also visited Sukhostav, the village of my maternal grandparents. Visiting my relatives was eye-opening. For example, when I met my mother's first cousin for the first time, he spoke with a similar intonation as I have in Ukrainian and his gestures and facial expressions were just like mine. Even though we didn't really know one another, and some values and lived experiences were extremely different, there was a connection.

I have visited Ukraine on a few different occasions since that first trip: as a summer student at a law firm in Kyiv, as an election observer for parliamentary elections, and as a research assistant for David Lametti, who was one of my professors at the time. During those trips, I was able to travel to Donetsk, to Crimea, to Odesa, to the Carpathians and other parts of Ukraine. The different regions underscored Ukraine's beauty and diversity. Every time I have been in Ukraine, I realize how Canadian I am, and, at the same time, Ukraine will always be a part of who I am.

**It is nice that you got a chance to see different parts of Ukraine.**

I will always value that exposure. The media sometimes portrays western Ukraine as a nationalistic part of Ukraine and the east as very Russified, but my experience in Ukraine was a bit more nuanced. I remember meeting people in Donetsk and Crimea who were proud Ukrainian citizens and who didn't speak Ukrainian.

**Also, in your column for the CUPP Newsletter, you mentioned that together with CUPP interns you had to overcome "significant differences - in understanding, behaviour, and background" and you did your best to bridge these gaps. Can you please tell us a little more about these differences? In your opinion, are there any fundamental differences in mindset or worldview between youth in Ukraine and Canada?**

At the time that I worked with CUPP, I think I assumed that because I had Ukrainian heritage and I grew up with all these Ukrainian activities, I would automatically relate to the students from Ukraine. What I was not counting on, was that the circumstances in which some of the CUPP participants grew up in were incredibly different from what I had encountered as a young person in Canada. We all had lived with various challenges that shaped us, but sharing a language didn't necessarily mean we saw the world in the same ways. While we shouldn't generalize about groups, some of the interns were extremely successful and determined people who were extremely direct in their manner. And, as a young Canadian, I was taught to value traits of politeness, civility, and diplomacy almost above

anything else. There were moments when I felt quite shocked to be getting quite direct feedback about aspects of the program from the students. But, as the adage goes, that openness and feedback was a gift and a learning opportunity: any effective program has to meet the needs of its constituents.

**Do you have an interesting story or a special memory related to your experience coordinating CUPP in 2001?**

It was a jam-packed two months for our group, full of memorable experiences. One of the days that stood out was Canada Day, which happened to be our last day in Ottawa. For our group, the Canada Day fireworks felt like celebratory fireworks for the magical time we all had spent together, learning a lot about ourselves and the world.

**You are an active representative of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada, it would be interesting to hear your opinion on the importance of the Diaspora's role in supporting Ukraine's ongoing journey to becoming a democratic country? In your opinion, what areas of cooperation between the Ukrainian Diaspora and Ukrainian government and civil society can be the most beneficial to Ukraine today? How can this cooperation be useful for Ukrainian Diaspora representatives all over the world?**

I think that whenever you try to implement change, the motivation has to come from what people on the ground actually need and want, what makes sense for them. You do not want to center an NGO's or a funding agency's agenda over what people want and need to thrive. And I think projects need to be participatory and as evidence-based as possible to be effective. Regarding the Diaspora's role in supporting Ukraine, I think that if specific members of the Diaspora are actually the best, most competent partners for Ukrainians to achieve their goals, then go for it, invite us. But I don't think that a member of the Diaspora is necessarily better suited to helping Ukrainians navigate what is in front of them than someone with the right skill set and track record from another context, that may in fact have more parallels with Ukraine.



People from the Diaspora may or may not be equipped to help with Ukraine's challenges. You don't have to have Ukrainian heritage to be able to work with Ukraine's people towards effective solutions. In fact, in the corporate world, it's a fact that diverse teams lead to better outcomes; group think is a weakness. I think that Ukrainians have a lot of expertise, human resources, abilities, and resourcefulness that shouldn't be undervalued.

The people of Ukraine have incredible challenges ahead, but I also hope that they will have the agency and freedom to set a path for their country and make progress in peace.

There are so many bright young people in Ukraine that I hope will have the opportunity to contribute to making this world a better place, whether it is through industries like tech, natural resources, the arts, or other areas. I would love for the headlines about Ukraine to be less about conflict and more about interesting innovations to address challenging problems.

### **What piece of advice would you like to give to the next generation of CUPP interns?**

One of the ideas I try to live by is a quote by the late US poet Maya Angelou, from an interview she gave back in the early 1970s: "You belong nowhere, you belong everywhere, the price is high, the reward is great". I take that to mean that we all have something to contribute no matter where or how we grew up, no matter what our story is. And, individually, where there is something you may find the most challenging, that may be where you can contribute the most: maybe that is where you have an interesting perspective. Chip away at your goals over time and act with kindness and integrity to yourself and others. Make space for everyone around you to contribute to the best of their abilities. These are simple ideas but not always easy to live by. And yet, as someone who was born with a life-long health condition, grew up Ukrainian-Canadian in a small Ontario town, has had opportunities to travel, study, and work in many places around the world, and who now lives in a French-speaking environment, working for a global company, I find that these are ideas I come back to again and again. **CUPP**

## DIASPORA

How do you tell your colleague  
You are coping ok,  
When you can't bear to look at that thing right now  
That they need you to do?  
Because despite your day to day, you can't look  
away  
Because it could be you.  
But for fortune, it could be you,  
Or your cousin over there with the unrelenting  
vision  
To be free. Hell, just to be.

How do you tell your neighbour  
Their donated clothing may or may not ever help  
someone  
Unless it is some never-used body armour?  
But they should donate anyway, because you never  
know.

How do you tell your elected folk  
That, of course, they are doing all they can  
And it ain't nowhere near enough to tilt the balance  
In that faraway land  
That feels so near for you and yours?

How do you tell your parents, born stateless,  
Who taught you to plant a garden  
And to learn, and think, and read  
But never to forget your own

There is no telling what may be?  
How do you call your ancestors  
Riding on the steppe,  
Hiding in the forests,  
To protect their land  
Because ghosts may make a difference?

How do you tell your kid  
That all will be ok  
When she paints fortresses  
And plots battle plans  
And you wonder for a minute if she might not be a  
match for  
Any war machine?

But then you check the news  
Kids like her are not ok  
And a shell may be kinder  
Than an invader in the flesh

And the fury rises up -  
You are safe in your home office,  
But your soul knows this danger.  
How do you tell yourself  
You are doing all you can do  
To help your people, through the ages, to stay free?

*by Natalka Haras, March 2022*





Interview conducted by  
**LUCHKA Olha**, CUPP 2020 intern

— interview with —

## Yuri Mencinsky

*Yuri Mencinsky lives in far Australia. Former Chairman of the Ukrainian Youth Association, Chairman of the Ukrainian Communities Association, Major of the League for Ukraine's Liberation, work at the Directorate of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia*

**You There have been several DIASPORAS or Waves of Immigration, out of Ukraine. Can a comparison be made between the DIASPORAS and the impact they made on the homeland?**

These diaspora waves of immigration made huge impact on the homeland, as well as on the various diasporas that existed up to 100 years. In particular, mass migration into Australia occurred after 1948. However, there was a diaspora in Queensland which was Ukrainian in origin, though it was completely submerged by local customs and local interests. And so they stopped having any kind of impact, apart of individuals who simply did not matter.

**Can you perceive the Ukrainian Diasporas existing in the countries of current settlement, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, USA, Australia/New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, France, Germany, UK, Greece, Italy, China, etc. evolving into permanent Diasporas similar to the Jewish Diasporas?**

Absolutely I can because certainly it is seldom to see anybody from Australia coming back to

Ukraine. There are some temporary diasporas in Denmark, Portugal, France, Germany, but they are closer to Ukraine and they may in fact move back from locations they lived to Ukraine itself.

**What would be the benefit to the homeland and the Diaspora, if permanent & active Diasporas take root/hold in those countries?**

In the various countries that is likely to hold or take root mainly in Canada, Australia, United States and New Zealand and possibly some representatives in Brazil and Argentina.

**What do you consider to be the most constructive or lasting accomplishment of the Diaspora in Canada/USA/UK/France, Australia, Argentina, UK, etc**

I am convinced that the presence of the diaspora mainly in Canada, United States United Kingdom and France was very constructive in developing appreciation that's there is Ukraine, there are Ukrainian people, there are diasporas in various locations around the globe. It is very lasting accomplishments of these diasporas that I've just mentioned.

**The global Ukrainian community is playing a critical role in support of national efforts to build a peaceful, prosperous, strong and united Ukraine. How would you in general evaluate the cooperation with Ukraine's government? Is the potential of the Ukrainian Diaspora sufficiently harnessed/used?**

The global Ukrainian community does play a critical support role. The potential of the Ukrainian diaspora is not sufficiently harnessed/used - I don't believe because still there is low engagement of diaspora and Ukraine itself.

**Approximately one million Ukrainians leave the homeland every year, according to former Ukrainian Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin. What can serve as an incentive for Ukrainians to return to their homeland?**

Former Ukrainian Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin has made certain moves in this direction, but they weren't efficient. However, whole efforts of Ukrainian diaspora and the foreign ministry may help clear up various misinformation about Ukraine

**What would you change in the framework of Ukraine's current politics?**

I am so confused, absolutely confused. There is far too much interference by another countries in Ukraine's affairs. For instance, the American political establishment talks about Ukraine all the time but that is not the ideal way that we should develop foreign relations. We can't do so much on this issues, everything depends on Ukraine, it's up to Ukraine to initiate the contacts with the world, because Ukrainians project the image of country.

**Canada and Ukraine are connected by deep and enduring people-to-people ties and growing commercial relations. The entry into force of the Canada-Ukraine Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) in 2017 marked another milestone in a partnership that has been creating prosperity for citizens of both countries. What are the most promising sectors for Canadian Investors in Ukraine?**

I believe it is very useful Partnership for citizens of both countries.

**Russia has been using an advanced form of hybrid warfare in Ukraine since early 2014 that relies heavily on an element of information warfare. How strong is this sociocultural phenomenon in Canada, USA, Australia, Europe?**

Russia is interfering in our positive developments by hybrid warfare, informational warfare aimed on Ukraine.

**Do you think corruption is one of the major challenges that Ukraine faces today? How do you evaluate the role of international partners in establishing the High Anti-Corruption Court?**

Corruption is a reality in most countries and no more just in Ukraine. As far authorities are concerned in Ukraine, they are making headway to end the corruption schemes and Russian schemes. However, current state is satisfactory for western powers because they will always claim we can do more in fighting with high-level corruption.

**Is corruption to some degree, a fact of life or a reality in most countries, and if yes, then why do some countries , some governments and some Diaspora members, single out Ukraine in particular?**

That is absolutely become fashionable for any political commentator or politician to blame Ukraine's state of development on the corruption. But this is the fact of life in every country. In Australia for instance mainly there were so many instances in government, ministries and other commentators supposedly talked about bad situation in Ukraine.

**Should the Diaspora establish a School of Ukrainian Studies (SUS) to support research and student scholarships . The focus of the SUS to be, to increase career/study options by exploring Ukraine and its diaspora in the context of contemporary national and international issues?**

Establishing a School of Ukrainian Studies - that is something that should be commenced. Because in that School they could teach people how to expose the Russian propaganda that has been existed for years. A lot of Ukrainian innovators and geniuses where allegedly named Russians. For instance, Ivan Puliui, a world-famous and absolutely genius scientist who was called in some quarters of his life as a Russian. **CUPP**



Interview conducted by

KONDAKOVA Tania, CUPP 2020 intern

VAVRYSHCHUK Yuliia, CUPP 2020 intern



— interview with —

## Bohdan Nahaylo

*Bohdan Nahajlo (uses Nahaylo when publishing) is a British former senior UN official with over 20 years of experience and achievements in the political, humanitarian, development and refugee/migration-related spheres, author and former research analyst, writer and journalist, and specialist on Ukraine and its neighbourhood. In 1984-1994 Bohdan Nahajlo was a senior analyst and then a director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Ukrainian Service. Bohdan Nahajlo was a Visiting Professor for a semester at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations (February-May 2016), and in May 2016 was appointed by the international non-partisan and Berlin-based NGO Democracy Reporting International as its Country Representative in Ukraine. Later its International Project Advisor. Since 2018 Bohdan is active as a writer, journalist and broadcaster on Ukraine.*

**P**ane Nahaylo, could you please tell us your family's story? How have you or your parents or grandparents become immigrants?

Bohdan Nahaylo: My mother was born in the Kyiv region in the 1920s. She was eventually taken in the early 1940s by the Germans for forced labor as an ostarbeiter. She ended up there, and after the war within the camps for displaced persons. From there she went to Britain in the late 1940s. There she met my father who was from Western Ukraine, from the Ternopil region. He was forced to leave his home during the war and ended up in Britain too. They met there. I was born in 1952 in a provincial industrial British town near Birmingham called Wolverhampton.

**Was there any Ukrainian community in Wolverhampton?**

Bohdan Nahaylo: It had a small community. It was one of about fifty small Ukrainian communities in Britain. Remember that in Britain there were only about 30 000 Ukrainians after the war, which is not a large number, considering that in London alone in Ealing, one area, there were 30 000 Poles. Right? Just to put things in perspective. Plus these 30 000 were scattered throughout the British Isles and had small communities. So, for example,

in Wolverhampton, there were probably a maximum of 300 Ukrainians, maybe 250.

It wasn't a big community but it was well-organized. It has a Ukrainian Saturday School, I went there for ten years. They had church services, they rented a church from a local religious group. But, eventually, in 1988, on the 1000th anniversary of Christianization of Kyiv Rus, they built a church in Ukrainian style, the only one in Britain. There was a very active culture life with a school. Sundays were taken up with Ukrainian cultural, political, religious events after church in the morning.

So, I could say that growing up in Britain in an organized community, it meant that five days a week you were immersed in British life (school or parents working), but the weekends were totally Ukrainian.

**What impact did it have on your life and the life of Ukrainian community?**

Bohdan Nahaylo: The message there is that we had a hybrid existence: we had to strive to be as good as, if not better, to succeed than our English colleagues, and yet we were immersed in this Ukrainian active life.

Only later did we see the pluses and minuses of it, because as a child growing up and even as a young teenager you didn't have much choice. Your parents took you, put you whether in Plast or SUM, or school. Or, for example, me, poor me having to (I'm not a musician, though I love music) having to be in a mandolin orchestra when I was nine or eight or ten. I hated it, you know, but I had no choice. Or to sing in a choir. Some of us are individualists, we don't like standing and repeating things in a choir, in a group set. We prefer doing things on our own. But there was no choice. And also going to Ukrainian school on Saturday was a bit of an imposition. You're tired. I was going to a drama school, I had to do my homework, I wanted some free time for myself, and I wanted to go to the local football stadium, because Wolverhampton Wanderers, my team, played on Saturdays. I could never go to see my local team play, because I had to go to Ukrainian school.

**But thinking of it now, do you consider it to be an advantage?**

Well, as I suggested earlier, that only later do you see the pluses and minuses. Of course, it was an advantage, because it gave me an extra dimension to my life. It exposed me to another culture, history and enriched me as a human being. But I don't think you are so appreciative of it at the time. You take things for granted, and only later do you see the benefits. And the benefits, as I said, made me a full of human being in my development, because I was exposed to other cultural influences, and at the same time it gave me certain advantages over my English friends. I talk about additional knowledge of history, a greater sense of what it meant to be European, not just being limited to the British Isles, you know, obsession with the Tudors, with the

Wars of the Roses. The average Briton growing up at school had never heard of Byzantium, a thousand years of Byzantine history. Europe finished with France always fighting with the English, all with the bloody Germans (I say that the way they were presented in the 19th century). Anybody who got in the way of English and their Empire were regarded as a nuisance and a menacing Europe. But you've never got to hear about Poland that was such a big state, a powerful state for so long. Through the Ukrainian doorway you had this additional richer perspective on what history was about, what Europe meant and where you belonged in the scheme of things.

Let me give you an example. I've always been interested in Mykola Hohol (aka Nikolai Gogol). At one stage I wanted to write a political biography, not literary, but a political biography of him, and I was collecting a lot of material. And at the time I was working for the United Nations, we're talking about 2006. And I was living next door to Geneva in a small place called Ferney-Voltaire, where Voltaire used to live. Imagine, Voltaire in 1731, had written in his first book, which was not about philosophy or literature, it was a History of Charles XII. And in it he has this famous sentence: "Україна завжди прагнула до свободи...". Here's a great European already knowing up to

Mazepa's failure, Pylyp Orlyk. Why am I talking about this? Because in 1836, Mykola Hohol on his first visit abroad (and he stayed for a long time, he spent twelve years abroad) was in Geneva and he went to see where Voltaire used to live. So I went to the mayor, and I said: "Look, so many famous people came to Ferney-Voltaire in the 19th century, why don't you have some sort of metal board or plank in the town giving the dates when famous writers or musicians came here to visit where Voltaire lived? And we can start with Hohol, I can give you the exact dates when he was here, the quotations what he wrote in his letters to his mother and his friends from here." So we organized this event, and the Ukrainian ambassador, who was in Geneva, came. The mayor of the town opened up the chateau. We had literary readings in the local bookshop, and then in the evening we had a symposium. But, this is just a preamble. The night before I was sitting in the Irish pub, and my friend said to me: "Oh, I'd like you to meet my uncle. He is a professor emeritus from Vancouver, a literature specialist."

We started talking, and I said: "You know, tomorrow I've got this event, and maybe you'd like to come, and listen if you're interested in literature." And I asked: "What do you specialize in?" He said: "You know, Bohdan, I don't know if it will be interesting for you. I specialize in writers, particularly, Irish writers who were born in one culture, but wrote in a different language. For example: Yates, Joyce, Beckett etc. The great Irish writers who, because of the imperial conditions, had to express themselves as patriots in another language." I said: "Perfect. Come and talk about Hohol. We have the same problem. Is he Russian or is he Ukrainian? Who does he belong to?"

And so he came, and Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was at that symposium because he lived in Geneva, and many others. But at the end of the day, this professor gave a ten-minute presentation and he said that individuals are strengthened by an additional culture. They learn to adapt to the dominant culture. At the same time they're protective of their inner core, their inner feelings which they sometimes have to mask, because of repression or whatever it is. So they become not even more articulate, because they have to know the grammar and the way of being English or Russian, or German, or whatever it is the dominant culture, but at the same time they have to define their inner essence of being Ukrainian, or being Jewish, or else. Remaining yourself but in a way that you don't lose your inner core. That's a long story. But growing up in Britain, and if you are intellectually-minded, or in Canada, or the USA, it meant you had to acquire certain skills. It didn't matter if you were an expert in Ukrainian history. But as we got to universities, as we started reading, as we started meeting people from Soviet Ukraine those days, we also had to adapt and to become much more sophisticated in our own understanding of what Ukraine was about. And at the same time in the way that we presented it, so that we would not be seen as nationalists, fascists, people just living in a ghetto.



And that was the issue, the big issue was that for many of our older people, the older generation, particularly in Britain, which were from hybrid composition, they wanted to mobilize the community and keep it very politicized. The pluses were that we didn't become assimilated. The minuses were that we had a very narrow point of view of what Ukraine was about. Гетьмани, Бандера, Шухевич. But there was no understanding of what the real Ukraine was about. That the majority of people were speaking Russian. That it was a highly urbanized, industrialized community, not people in the villages.

### **How did that image of Ukraine form in your and older generations' conception?**

Think about this: the intellectual elite that came from Western Ukraine and made such a big impact in Ukraine in the 20s and 30s and those who were lucky enough to escape from the two totalitarian systems and the return of the Soviets, think about how small that group was and what an impact they had. One of my hobbies is Ukrainian retro music in Western Ukraine in the 1930s. The young people like Bohdan Veselovsky and others, who were students, who were 20, 21, 22 and started modern Ukrainian music as a kind of bulwark against polonization. They wanted to be modern, but they wanted to remain Ukrainian. And I was really shocked to find out, having grown up in a Ukrainian community, that the ratio of the population before the war, before 1939, in Lviv, was 3 to be Polish, 2, in proportion, Jewish, and 1 Ukrainian. There were far more Jews and Poles in Lviv, who knows about it from my generation? We didn't know this. And there were about 30 to 35 thousand people who identified as Ukrainians in Lviv. That's a small football stadium. When you see all these things in perspective, and when you realize that Ukraine is not just Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk. And it's not just Kyiv with its golden domes and "князі і гетьмани". When you realize it's Donetsk, it's Chernihiv, it's Odesa etc. All this leaves you to adapt to the new realities. So either you become even more insular and angry, and extreme in your views... Why am I saying this? Because a lot of people in the Diaspora become that way. They think they know better, they are the true Ukrainians. And the tragedy is that in Ukraine itself, the other side of this problem exists. Ukrainians think: "А що вони там знають. Вони тут не жили, вони не наші. Вони не бідували з нами, вони не розуміють наші проблеми." So this "we — they" split which is highly artificial. And one of the big challenges of my generation, for those who were fortunate to get the best of Western education, and yet be open to and try to understand real Ukraine, not the imagined one, is to be that bridge not just with the past, and not just with the West of the outside world, but a bridge between Ukrainians themselves. To be an integrating factor.

### **What are the challenges of becoming this integrating factor?**

I think, one of the big challenges in the 20th and 21st century for Ukrainians, as we were artificially split, was to

remain united, even though all the factors were working to disunite us. And what, I think, is important here is to have clear definitions, what are we talking about when we talk about Ukrainians outside of Ukraine. Is it a Diaspora, as you're asking your questions? Was it an immigration as it was initially in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century? And what is it today? We have this notion of "заробітчани". And how does that tie up with the Jewish notion of Diaspora? How does it compare to the experience of the Irish or the Italians? In America, for example. I think it's a question of self-awareness and self-positioning of those Ukrainians who left, which is determined largely by the reasons "why did they leave?" For a better life? Many did. Those who went to Canada, America, Argentina, Brazil in the end of the 19th - early 20th century, they didn't have land, they were poor, they wanted a new start. But they also were nostalgic and they were patriotic etc. That first wave was very sympathetic to what happened in 1917-1920 in Ukraine, they were obviously shocked by that form the Soviet rule and the Polish rule took, especially the Holodomor, the purges. And then you have this new injection of very politicized Ukrainians who had not experienced Soviet Ukraine. Very few of them had. The new wave that comes after 1945, people who have been in DP camps, that have been formed as nationalists in DP camps out of the sense of frustration they can't go home, anger at what they've seen and what was happening in their Homeland, and wanting to remain together for survival purposes and also to remain within a comfort zone. The first wave was less nationalistic. Of course, it causes splits within the Diaspora itself, especially when the political grouping split. Look at the post WWII nationalists, they split in the early 50s. Even the "banderivtsi" into the "banderivtsi" and "dviykari". The intelligentsia goes off and creates "Сучасність", for example, the journal for the liberal intelligentsia. The others remain like this (narrow nationalists), and for them even the dissidents in the 60s are "троянські коні", "зрадники і марксисты". Look at the suspicion that many of these nationalistic leaders, already with the younger generation, are filling into it, trying to make careers that are parallel to their professional careers in the West, but at the same time they want to make careers and they want to make prestige within the Ukrainian community. So they find top positions within the community, particularly in the nationalist camp.

That causes problems because in the later 80s many of these people regarded Rukh, when it was founded, as again a communist plot to take attention away from Lukyanenko, Chornovil and other prisoners who were returning from the camps. So right now we have the situation where the last 30 years, summing up, there were hopes of greater interaction between the Diaspora and independent Ukraine. But those who came to power in Ukraine largely wanted to exploit the Diaspora financially, and in terms of kudos and opportunities it could provide, invitations abroad for the conferences or business contacts, or whatever. But they weren't interested in fusing, reconnecting, undoing the damage that had been done in history by disuniting us.

## Do you know any successful examples of cooperation between the nation in the Homeland and their Diaspora?

For example, I was the director of Radio Liberty in 1990-1991. In 1988, November the jamming had stopped. All these broadcasts were jammed. Suddenly, millions of people could hear. So one of my purposes was to integrate Ukrainian society to give them the information from within Ukraine. Щоби Донецьк знав, що у Львові відбувається, Чернівці знав, що в Одесі. That's one thing. And to be an amplifier of positive voices from within Ukraine. My colleague working in the Estonian section was Toomas Hendrik Ilves. Toomas Hendrik Ilves, in a few-years-time, became a president of Estonia, though he was an American citizen and gave it up. My Latvian friends, who were working with me, became ambassadors to Germany for independent Latvia. One, I think, was a foreign minister too. В Україні того не було. Ми не були потрібні. That's the reality. "Yes, yes, yes, very nice. Have you brought us some money?" That was the attitude. It wasn't "Have you brought us know-how?", "Have you brought us skills?" "Have you brought us the connections that we want?", "How can we work together?" So we lost an opportunity.

## Is this still the case?

Since then it's got worse. Very few individuals from the Diaspora have made it to Ukrainian politics. In society yes, but it's also this suspicion. Look at the example of Ulana Suprun, high profile, or even those who are not Ukrainian, from another thing. As soon as somebody is successful, the negative forces will press the button "це не наші, це чужі". I was watching Saakashvili on the Shuster's show last week, and what does Boyko say? "You're a political tourist." Політичний турист! It's this non-acceptance, "краще свого кума поставлю і собі зароблю, ніж ризикувати, когось із Заходу обирати". And this is terrible, I would say, demeaning, self-demeaning for Ukrainians who don't know what they're talking about. "Соросята". Soros, for example, as one of those who generously funded a lot of these stipends, grants, and encouraged younger people to acquire these skills, is again, suddenly, in 2020 is being regarded as an anti-Ukrainian force, as something inimical, as something dangerous.

So, have we made progress in thirty years? I would say, individuals have, but on the state level and Diaspora level - no. There is a symbolic fusion, or representatives of certain elites who have common interest in cooperation. But has it gone deep? No. I think there is a lot of disillusionment in those elements of the Diaspora that remain committed to Ukraine. And here, there is a lot of ignorance, lack of proper knowledge and awareness about.

**There are many people in Ukraine who have no idea about the Ukrainian Diaspora and its role. The government officials do not accept help from the Diaspora, they do not want know-how. However, there are many people who are ready to take this help and would be grateful for it, but they don't know that there**

**are any opportunities.**

Let me add as an afterthought to what you have just said. I think the government does not encourage these contacts only ritualistic pro forma ones. On the other hand, within the Diaspora there is a great deal of disillusionment with the way the independent Ukraine has gone. There are a lot of suspicions and fear that if people invest money and time it will just be exploited and not the right people will benefit from it. There are always concerns that the real Ukrainians that deserve that support will not have access to it. And that's the image that has been created over the last twenty years in particular corruption, oligarchs, etc. When you think about it, imagine if you are living in NYC or London, or Toronto and quite often, you can see in the private schools the economic elite, who are not paying their taxes perhaps. They have Ukrainian passports but they do not care about Ukraine; they ripped off the state. And their kids study in the best private schools together with the kids of Russian oligarchs. How do you take these people seriously, how do you want to invest in that country and support morally, politically, or financially? Therefore, it is an issue that needs to be addressed and I would suggest that at some stage what we need is a very frank and accounted conference with not simply the government officials or the officials of the Ukrainian World Congress. You need real representatives who care, you need really frank discussions to determine where we are at in terms of "we - they - us" - "Diaspora - continent - Ukraine". Let me give you an example, I am talking to you right now and I am sitting in Kyiv, but I could be sitting in Toronto or Buenos Aires and having this discussion. So what has changed is the notion of what it means to be Ukrainian. It is not to be physically present in Kyiv; it is to be present "here", to think Ukrainian, even if you do not speak the language. Look how many ethnic Russians now think this way.

So, it is about identifying with Ukraine as a political nation and as a modern state. For instance, during the Maidan I was working still for the UN and I was based in Geneva. My wife and I spent 15-16 hours a day watching everything live with the streaming. I was on one computer, she was on another computer. We were "there", not physically present there, but in our emotions we experienced everything that was happening together with Ukrainians. When we think about the notion of what it is to be a Ukrainian, it is time that we view it outside of that box that we were put in.

We have to think in terms of what it means to be Ukrainian having the Diaspora in the 21st century with social media. We have to modernize our thinking about interrelationship. That is why we need a vehicle for getting the best minds to sit down and say "Where are we at?", "What are the challenges and the opportunities?" and "What are the lessons learned?"

*When we think about the notion of what it is to be a Ukrainian, it is time that we view it outside of that box that we were put in.*



If we could do that, we could be better equipped rather than carrying on pro forma as if nothing has changed. Now we can have interactions whether with Skype or other online media tools, where I could be sitting in Bangkok and talking to someone in Toronto or other parts of the world. That is the opportunity to reunite and reinvent ourselves. But reinvent ourselves outside our own particular ghettos, or so-called comfort zones in Kyiv. Of course, in your own ghetto you're a hero, you read modern Ukrainian literature, attend concerts; you are a patriot. But ask yourself a question "What have you done to shift the attitude of the Russian speaking population in Eastern Ukraine? How have you adapted your sense of Ukrainianism and the content of what you are producing to reach out to a broader audience that is looking to find itself?" Not everybody was born in Kyiv or Ternopil or Lviv, or went to a Ukrainian school. This war has made them feel Ukrainian and the question is "Where did they begin, how did they start?" Obviously, not by being told by Bandera, Shukhevych, etc. So if we want to understand better the interrelationship between the Diaspora and Ukraine we should start with understanding interrelationships between the Ukrainians in Ukraine. If we have the key to the comprehension of what it means to be Ukrainian in Ukraine, we will have a better understanding of this notion in a broader sense in terms of what each of us can give back, whether the language or religion remains important in the 21st century. What is the place of Ukraine in the fast-changing world? Europe has found itself but at the same time, it has started to disintegrate again. If we have clearer ideas of who we are and how we survive in this world, we will understand our interrelationship better despite the places where we find ourselves in.

**There have been several waves of emigration out of Ukraine. Can a comparison be made between the Diasporas and the impact they made on the homeland?**

Let's take the first, very small, political emigration consisting of individuals, Pylyp Orlyk for instance. He had an impact in France and on some awareness that Ukraine as Voltaire quoted "has always aspired to be free and strived to liberty". Where did Voltaire get this? Clearly from Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk and his son.

So Voltaire documented that striving and people picked it up because they read Voltaire. Here we can see how one man and his son had an impact.

In the 19th century we neglected people like Mykhailo Drahomanov, who was into Diaspora. He, just one man, and his family working in Geneva, Switzerland putting out publications. Essentially through publishing works that could not be published in a Russian Empire and getting them smuggled back in, he made a big impact.

So the key point is that we should not be thinking just in terms of the impact of the mass or societal groups representing waves of emigration. Sometimes just individuals can make big impacts. Then, I think we neglect the impact of the early Western Ukrainians who were colleagues of Ivan Franko and who were active in Vienna or elsewhere before the WWI. Solomiya Krushelnytska, a singer, a patriot, had a huge impact on people knowing that Madame Butterfly is Ukrainian, not Polish or Russian. All of these are very important. They are individuals but they laid out the groundwork.

The economic wave that came out essentially from the Western Ukraine in the early 1890s-1900s was neutral politically but they had very few intellectual leaders, who were essentially priests, intellectuals of the day. Their level of Ukrainianism revolved around conservation, keeping traditions going, feeling good about being Ukrainian in the way they understood it.

After 1917-1919 the big waves of political emigrants were obviously politicized. After this period you have more politically-minded Ukrainians who come and say "Look we tried to establish an independent Ukraine, we failed but that idea hasn't failed". During those times, the benchmark was not just culture, it was politics, it was having the Ukrainian state and not just cultural traditions and cultural survival or cultural self-expression. So they had that impact from 1918-1920.

Then clearly what was happening in the Western Ukraine, Ukrainians despite the authoritarian rules of the Poles had a very active political life both those who cooperated with the Poles and those who went to more radical resistance, the younger people. They also had an impact of course on what was happening in the Soviet Ukraine to a limited extent.

As under Soviet rules, due to the total repressions you could not express politically in Ukraine, which meant being dissident or being different in any way that could result in being killed or executed or life in prison. Then in the 1940s the groups who essentially came from the Western Ukraine were even more radicalized, extreme, and nationalist. Most of the first group that came out of Kyiv, UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) are remembered as socialists. They initially were very naive, they had thought that they could find the common language with the Russian democrats. They still had Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky who put democracy first. I'd describe them as national democrats. However, after the experience of Western Ukrainians under the Poles, the Nazis and the Soviets, they became radicalized and they would under the influence of more extreme forms of intolerant nationalism, they injected much more militant script of nationalism in that wave of emigration that came out in the late 40s.

They themselves split in the most militant groups "banderivtsi" and the liberal wing "dviykari" who produced liberal publications like "Suchasnist" ("Сучасність").

In my opinion the problem with both waves of emigration was how to find that place and adapt to the realities of living in foreign countries. The leaders set themselves a task to perpetuate the hope, the political struggle for independent Ukraine. Very little effort and time was spent on thinking about how do we adapt without losing the identity and use the political effectiveness of the external support to further our course. So to simplify, both waves of emigration essentially remained within Ukrainian ghettos in the 1930s.

In the 60s and 70s the children of the latest wave of emigration that came in the 1940s - 1950s ended up in western schools and universities. I think we managed to acquire the skills to tap into, to utilize the system around us. I can be a good example here. I became a journalist. My father told me: "Son, I know that you want to earn a good living and you're thinking of being a lawyer or a teacher. But we need a journalist because Ukraine does not have its voice. Go into journalism". Of course I had concerns about who was going to take me seriously from the provincial town. But I was lucky: right place, right time and I made it to Amnesty International, defending political prisoners, and then writing for the Spectator, the Guardian, the Times, becoming well-known in Britain. But I was learning all the time, so were my friends. We managed to stay through our links, to get the outside world to be more receptive to us. We had to find the way we presented the message, trying to explain what the issues were. We tried to bring attention to the nationality questions, explaining who the Sixtiers ("Шістдесятники") were, stressing that they were people who wanted to express themselves in Ukraine, they were not rapid nationalists or people who were firebombing. After a while, such a method started to have an impact though I don't think it was really appreciated in Ukraine.

One area where the Ukrainian Diaspora has made a big contribution that hasn't been fully appreciated yet is in learning, "наука" (science, scholarship). A very serious approach to "наука", but at the same time one that was driven by the publicist motives. The creation of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was very important. It gave us a seal of legitimacy in the western academic world, including the journalistic world, that we hadn't enjoyed before.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies has also been very important because it gave us a new benchmark, a new level of respectability, which was possible in Canada thanks to people who managed to

play the system to help the Ukrainians. How? When Trudeau introduced the concept of multiculturalism in Canada in a bilingual English-French framework, the Ukrainians said "Just a minute, until the 50s we were the third-largest group, what about us?" And now we have schooling in Ukrainian in Western Canada, we took advantage for the good of Canada and the Ukrainian community. Finding the common interest, that was very important and I don't think it was fully appreciated here.

**You mentioned the Diaspora's contribution to the development of scholarship and education. Ukrainian universities like Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukrainian Catholic University, or Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv are quite well-known and continue developing. Should they establish satellite campuses, similar to New York University?**

I think the priority is to strengthen the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and those local hubs of Ukrainian learning in Cambridge, Oxford. We shall strengthen what we already have, before trying to create something new that would bring additional costs. What is more, the state should not be interfering in education; it should rather be supportive of these institutes. Although such institutes have been self-supported by the Diaspora, the Ukrainian state should also care. It is the representation of Ukraine in the form of cultural diplomacy, which is equally important.

**Is it possible to distinguish the spheres/types of the Diaspora influence throughout the history of the Ukrainian Diaspora?**

I noted for myself that the task for the Diaspora over the last hundred years or more since the modern Diaspora became known as such in the late 19th century - beginning of the 20th century, has been the conservation of cultural, religious and political values, representation abroad at all levels since Ukraine has become independent. Then certainly, I think it is a stimulant, Diaspora has been a stimulant even in the 60s-70s when they were cut off. Works that were published in the West like "Sixty Poets of the Sixties" by Bohdan Kravtsiv had some impact. But the stimulus was more important, for example the efforts made with Holodomor, which forced the parties in the late 80s to open up that question. Holodomor was denied in Kyiv and it was due to a pressure from outside that this issue was opened up. Also, the 1000th anniversary of the Christianization reopened the issue of who we, Ukrainians, are: are we under Moscow, or under Rome, and what about our own church. The role of the Radio Liberty that I worked for had also been important as offering an alternative and a corrective, as a source of checking the reliability of locally produced information.



And as a stimulant, I'd say, that we, in a modest way, contribute to the regeneration of Ukrainian forces and modernization of Ukraine. I'd like to think that there was more, that there was some kind of impact on quality control but I think it would be exaggerating the role of the Diaspora. Also, moral support for us to feel Ukrainians is important. Let me give you an example. I was born in England and I can fluently speak Ukrainian with you. So why is it so difficult to speak Ukrainian in Ukraine? Explanations like "I was born in a Russian speaking family" are just excuses. Make an effort. I have grown up in an English-speaking environment and it is my choice to speak Ukrainian though I know Russian as well. The big issue here is the will. Why can Ukrainians in Argentina or Great Britain, or in Australia speak good Ukrainian even with the accent but reasonably good and better than many Ukrainians who reject the Ukrainian language? That is not something that Diaspora can deal with. This means that the state shall establish a sophisticated and sensitive policy regarding this issue and we could be a good example in this case.

**You have shared some insights about the influence of the Diaspora on the Homeland. And what about financial aid support and assistance?**

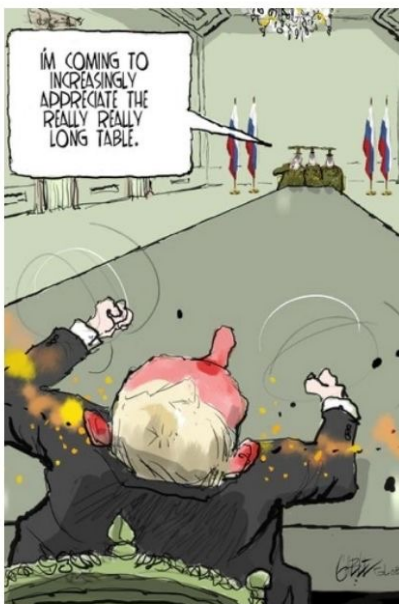
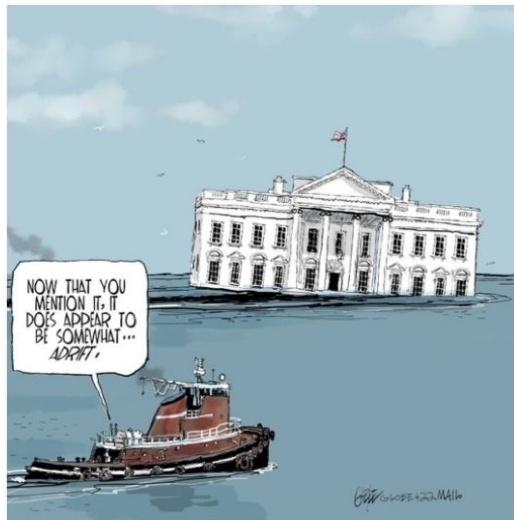
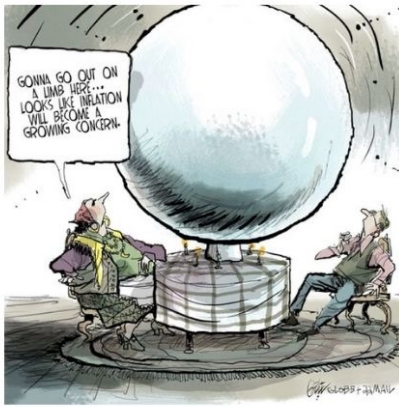
The aid factor has been modernized and rationalized certainly since the Maidan. As a result of revolutions, war with Russia, we had to rethink how we best channel help to Ukraine. It has become about not only the financial help or moral support but also political support, representation, and lobbying. Remember we commemorated Chornobyl. There are quite a lot of groups in the Diaspora, my sister included, who were working for Chornobyl children and victims of Chornobyl in the 90s. That was one of the first real rallying points to help the victims of Chornobyl. Let's not forget that as well. But today it's not organized in any one way. There is no monolithic approach to providing this help. Obviously, there are institutions that represent Ukrainians in different countries, who are united in the UWC. They obviously have made an effort to coordinate and to improve receptivity to needs. In terms of financial support, I don't think that there's naivety anymore. This good will, this willingness of the 90s and maybe later is no longer there, because of the bad reputation that Ukraine has because of corruption. People want guarantees, they want to know where those money are going. We haven't built that level of fundamental trust and openness which would allow us to build on and institutionalize exchanges of serious help. That's tragic.

**Summing up, what would you consider the most prominent influence of Diaspora on Ukraine?**

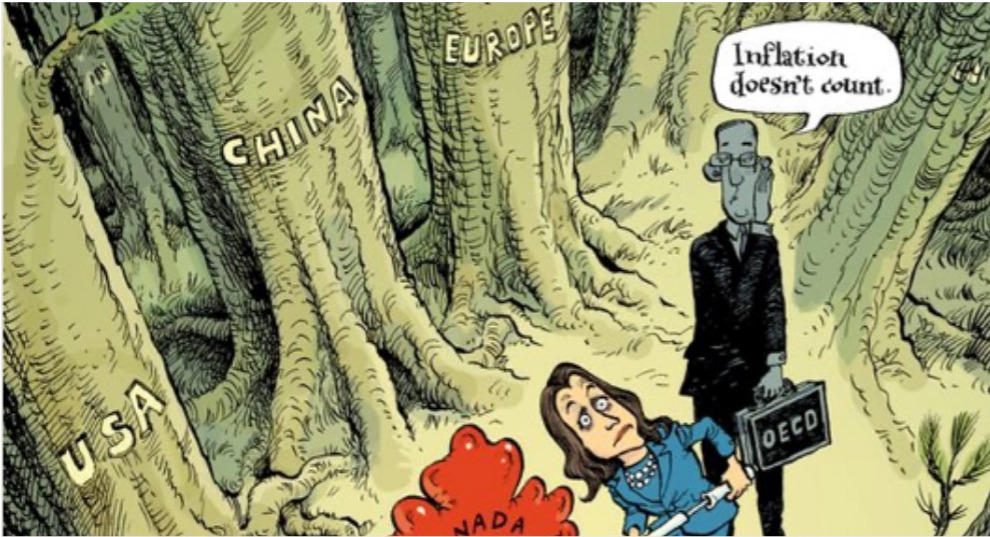
I want to quote the words "Ще не вмерла Україна" ("Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished"). I am not saying that rhetorically. What has the Ukrainian Diaspora contributed? It's summarized in that statement: "Ще не вмерла Україна". This summarizes the prominent influence of the Diaspora, because when Ukraine symbolically existed in the Soviet period, we kept alive in a capsule that image of aspired Ukraine (вимріяної України). **CUPP**













# UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED BY CUPP 2022 INTERNS



National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy



Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv



Ivan Franko National University of Lviv



Ukrainian Catholic University



Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv



Lviv Polytechnic National University



Yuri Fedkovych National University of Chernivtsi



V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University



Vadym Hetman National Economic University of Kyiv



Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas



Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University



Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University



Bogomolets National Medical University



Friedrich-Alexander University



Groningen University



McMaster University



University of Wyoming



Lazarski & Coventry University



Coventry University



University of Warsaw



Memorial University of Newfoundland



Saarland University



Friedrich Schiller University of Jena



University of Strasbourg - Sciences Po Strasbourg



Florida Gulf Coast University