

# NEWSLETTER

ISSUE #2

2019

30  
years

Through  
Leader's  
Faces



Ukrainian Day  
on Parliament Hill  
*Prayer for Peace*

**2019**



**2020 CUPP**

celebrates 30 years in  
the HOUSE of COMMONS



Canada  
Philippines  
*program*

*Return to Kharkivskiy Pravopys*



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

velut arbor ævo





CUPP 2019 Interns meet with the Prime Minister of Canada – Justin Trudeau, Liberal MPs and Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada – Andriy Shevchenko

## about CUPP



The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) is an internship program for Ukrainian university students and active young graduates in the Canadian Parliament. In 1991, Toronto lawyer Ihor Bardyn established CUPP by agreement with John Fraser, Speaker of the House of Commons. For 29 years Mr. Bardyn has travelled annually to Ukraine to select students for the program. On their return to Ukraine, they become involved in civil society projects and organizations and have become politically active. The current Minister of Infrastructure of Ukraine Volodymyr Omelyan is a CUPP graduate. In 2018 the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada became a sponsor of the CUPP program.

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 CUPPCANADA

We are always open for cooperation  
with all CUPP interns!

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CUPP 2020 Applicants

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CUPP 2019 interns at the celebration of Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill.

## UKRAINIAN DAY ON PARLIAMENT HILL

The interns of the 2019 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program organized PRAYER FOR PEACE IN UKRAINE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, as well as a PARLIAMENTARY RECEPTION, usually held in the Macdonald Building but because of the extensive renovations on Parliament Hill, held in the Services Building of Parliament. This annual event organized by CUPP Interns since 2014 is known a UKRAINIAN DAY ON PARLIAMENT HILL and attracts a large number of MPs & Senators.

The same day a Vyshyvanka Day united Canadians parliamentarians, Senators, members of the Embassies, Ukrainian community representatives and all the friends of Ukraine throughout the world in wearing authentic embroidered Vyshyvanka shirt. This year Interns of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program have joined this initiative to celebrate and preserve Ukraine ancestral traditions and pay homage to its vibrant heritage. Interns

were also honored to share their Vyshyvanka Day's celebration with Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, leader of the Conservative Party Andrew Scheer, leader of the NDP party, Jagmeet Singh, the Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada, Andriy Shevchenko, Members of Parliament, as well as the members of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group and members of the Ukrainian community (UCC and UNF).

This year the special Guest of Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill was, Mustafa Dzhemilev, Member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Commissioner of the President of Ukraine for the Affairs of Crimean Tatars, and former Chairman of the Mejlis (assembly) of the Crimean Tatar People. Other notable guests were Akhtem Chiyihoz, Deputy of the Head of the Mejlis (Assembly) of the Crimean Tatar People, Nariman Ustaiev, advisor to Mr. Dzhemilev and Mr. Chyigoz former head of state service on Crimean affairs as well as Members of Parliament, Representatives of



The Crimean Tatar delegation headed by **Mustafa Dzhemilev** and **Akhtem Chiygoz**, **Nariman Ustaiev**, advisor to Mr. Dzhemilev, **Borys Wrzesnewskyj** and the representatives of Ukrainian Embassy to Canada at the celebration of Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill.

the Estonian, Croatian and Ukrainian Embassies, Canadian leader of the Crimean Tatar National Movement and members of the Ukrainian Canadian community and Media press.

The evening program was masterfully chaired by CUPP Interns Maryna Larina and Maksym Dvorovyj. Greetings were delivered by the members of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group, MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj and MP Linda Duncan. Mustafa Dzhemilev delivered the keynote address to mark the 75 anniversary of the forced deportation of Crimean Tatars by the Soviet Government. Additional remarks were delivered by Anatoliy Shatkovskyy, the President of the UNF's Ottawa-Gatineau Branch, and Yuri Kushnir President of the CUPP Alumni Association and Dr. Antin Kushnir Director of the Anna Mazurenko Children's Health Centre in Lviv, a CUPP sponsored project.

Earlier that day CUPP Interns Pavlo Bryliak and Mykola Antoniuk organized inter-faith Prayer for Peace in Ukraine and Throughout the World at the Peacekeeping Monument, nearby to Parliament Hill. Representatives of Islam Imam Ali Masjid, Lutheran

Church of Canada Reverend Elina Salonen, Catholic Church Reverend James Scheer, Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Father Petro Tsenov. The Choir of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of Ottawa accompanied the prayer service.

CUPP was established in 1991 by Toronto jurist Ihor Bardyn, as an internship program for Ukrainian university students in Canada's Parliament. It is intended to give the Ukrainian students an opportunity which students from Canada, USA, France, Israel, the Philippines, Poland and others, to observe and understand the Westminster model of government and hopefully prepare Ukraine's future leaders in the art of the operation of a parliamentary democracy.

Over the span of 29 years, over 1000 young Ukrainians have experienced a life-changing experience at the House of Commons and afterwards have moved on to become change-makers in Ukraine. **CUPP**

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Victoria Chumenko, CUPP 2019 Coordinator and Intern to Borys J Wrzesnewskyj, MP for Etobicoke Centre, Ontario.



CUPP 2019 interns and alumni Yuri and Antin Kushnir together with CUPP director – Ihor Bardyn at the 2019 Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill celebration, Ottawa.



CUPP interns greet Mustafa Dzhemilev and Akhtem Chiygoz at the annual celebration of Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill.  
from left to right: Anna Mysyshyn, Natalia Lavrova, Sofia Kuzminska, Khrystyna Myhasiuk, Pavlo Bryliak, Maksym Dzhyhyry, Bogdan Kolchenko, Mustafa Dzhemilev, Bohdan Puchkov, Valentyna Kalich, Maksym Dvorovyi, Yulia Holopoteliuk, Akhtem Chiygoz, Maryna Larina, Mykola Antoniuk.



Members of Canada-Ukraine Friendship Group, MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj and MP Linda Duncan attend the Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill



CUPP interns meet MP Wayne Stetski and good friends of the program at the Ukrainian Day on Parliament Hill.



#### PHOTO FROM PRAYER FOR PEACE

Prayer for Peace in Ukraine and throughout the world at the Peacekeeping monument, Ottawa. Among participants: Reverend James Scheer (Deacon of the Saint Patrick Basilica in Ottawa), Reverend Elina Salonen (the pastor of St. Peter Lutheran Church in Ottawa), Imam Ali Masjid (Spiritual Leader of the Muslim community), Father Petro Tsenov (the priest of Ukrainian Orthodox Church), choir from Ukrainian Orthodox Church and CUPP director – Ihor Bardyn.



A delegation of Canadian MPs were in Ukraine on April 21st, to observe the second round of the 2019 Presidential Elections in Ukraine. Members of Parliament and CUPP Alumni met and had a fruitful exchange about the consequences of Ukraine's elections, expanding avenues for cooperation between Canada and Ukraine, as well as the continuing involvement of Canada's observation missions to the upcoming elections to Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) in October. Coincidentally, there will be an election to the House of Commons in October as well. CUPP alumni had a unique opportunity to meet the MPs in whose offices they completed their own internship in Ottawa going back to 1998.



# History – just 10 years ago From CUPP 2009 Newsletter

*On November 9, 25 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Interns boarded an Air Canada flight for Kyiv. After a hectic two-month Internship in the House and the Senate, the 19<sup>th</sup> annual program is over.*

The Interns met with high-profile public servants Sheila Fraser, Mary Dawson, Maria Barrados, Speaker of the House of Commons Peter Milliken, Senators Greene, Tkachuk, Andreychuk, and Prud'homme, MPs Brian Masse, Jason Kenney, Joy Smith, Michael Ignatieff, Ed Komarnicki, James Bezan, Borys Wrzesnewskyj, presented a White Paper to the Government on the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and Ukraine, played a friendly soccer match with the MPs team the COMMONERS and beat them.

As well, they attended numerous meetings with Ottawa opinion-makers, participated in events such as the Round Table on Human Trafficking on the Hill and a literary evening to commemorate Ukrainian poet Bohdan-Ihor Antonych. Both last mentioned events

were organized by the Interns.

Have the Interns done some travelling around Canada? Oh, yes. Apart from Ottawa, the group visited Montreal, Quebec City, Niagara Falls, Toronto and several others visited Windsor, Vancouver and Winnipeg.

Many of the meetings have been recorded in two of the three issues of the CUPP Newsletter.

To top off the 2009 program, CUPP Interns held a Reception at the Embassy of Ukraine on November 4. The reception included presentations, Ukrainian dances and songs (with Ihor Ostash, the Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada, playing the guitar) and, of course, Ukrainian appetizers like “nalysnyky” and “varenyky.” The guest list consisted mostly of Senators and MPs including Peter Goldring and

Sen. Prud’homme who made statements in the House and Senate about CUPP. Parliamentary staff was also invited.

*“Don’t go home empty-handed. The souvenirs you acquired may eventually become dust collectors. But, but after the CUPP internship, if you chart out a plan and set goals for yourself and for Ukraine, you will have used your experience and time on Parliament Hill wisely. And if you persevere, you will succeed”. Pan Bardyn shared these parting words with us at the farewell supper.”*

Throughout the two month stay, the Interns witnessed Canadian Parliamentary Democracy in action. “Ukraine has a way to go to reach Canadian standards” say the Interns emphatically. Meanwhile the CUPP 2010 Interns, waiting in the wings, proclaim, “See you in September!”



## Mykola ANTONIUK

**BORN IN:** Berdychiv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv**, Faculty of law, Master of laws.

**2019 Natalie Bundza Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Russian, Polish (basic).

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Fredrik Backman "Things My Son Needs to Know about the World".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Любов виникає з любові; коли хочу, щоб мене любили, я сам перший люблю." - Григорій Сковорода

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Experience is simply the name we give our mistakes." - Oscar Wilde

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Ed Sheeran "Photograph";  
Paolo Nutini "Autumn leaves".

**FAVORITE LANDSCAPE:**

The Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites Order. I like it because this place looks really wonderful and has strong energy. It is located in my hometown, Berdychiv, and I have many warm feelings and memories related with this place. The Monastery was founded in 17th century by a Polish Magnate Yanush Tyshkevich (the owner of the city at that time). Soon he presented it to the monks of the Order of

## Intern to Jim Eglinski MP for Yellowhead, Alberta

Jim Eglinski is a member of the Conservative Party of Canada. He was re-elected in the Canadian federal election, 2015 with over 70 percent of the vote. Prior to his election, Eglinski worked for 40 years as a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer, and served as a councillor and eventually mayor for the town of Fort St. John, British Columbia. He was born in Two Hills, Alberta and raised in Chipman, Alberta on a farm.



Discalced Carmelites who built underground church, cells, vaults and commercial outbuildings, extended the defensive walls strengthening them with towers. Later in honour of the opening of Monastery-fortress of the Order of Discalced Carmelites Yanush Tykevich presented thaumaturgic Icon of Blessed Virgin Mary. It led to a flourishing of both the monastery and the city of Berdychiv.



## Pavlo BRYLIAK

**BORN IN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Ukrainian Catholic University**, Applied Sciences Faculty, IT & Business analytics.

**2016 – 2017 Ukrainian Leadership Academy** alumnus.

**2019 Dr. Taras Fecycz Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, German (basic), Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Adrian Slywotzky "David Wins".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Зебри всередині себе свої думки і в собі самому шукай справжніх благ. Копай всередині себе криничу для твої води, яка зросить і свою оселю і сусідську." – Григорій Сковорода

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Success is not final; failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts." – Winston Churchill

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Frank Sinatra "My Way";  
Vance Joy "Like Gold,";  
Andrea Bocelli "Dare to Live,";  
Jamie Cullum "Thinkin Bout You";  
The Beatles "Penny Lane, We Can Work It Out".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Montreal cityscape from the Mount Royal,** **Montreal** is a breath-taking view to Montreal's downtown from the small mountain from which Montreal takes its name.



### Intern to Cheryl Gallant MP for Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke, Ontario

Cheryl Gallant is a member of the Conservative Party of Canada and was elected for the first time to Parliament in 2000 in the riding of Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke and made history as the first woman elected to federal office in Renfrew Country. Cheryl Gallant graduated from the University of Western Ontario with a degree in chemistry. Prior to becoming a politician, she worked for a major Canadian life insurance company as a group insurance executive. She has served as the Chair of the City of Pembroke Downtown Development Commission and as a member of the Economic Advisory Committee for the city. Cheryl Gallant is a member of the Standing Committee on National Defence and devotes a lot of time and effort working in this area.





## Victoria CHUMENKO

**BORN IN:** Donetsk, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Donetsk, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University**, History Faculty, Master's degree in International Relations.

**University of Oslo**

**ISS 2018, Nansen Scholarship Recipient, Peace Research**

**2019 John and Mary Yaremko Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Italian (basic), Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Roger McNamee "Zucked: Waking Up to the Facebook Catastrophe".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Є тисячі доріг, мільйони вузьких стежинок,  
Є тисячі ланів, але один лиш мій." -  
Василь Симоненко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Experience is simply the name we give our mistakes." - Oscar Wilde

**FAVOURITE BOOKS:**

Ayn Rand "Atlas Shrugged";  
Boris Vian "Froth on the Daydream";  
Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky "Intermezzo";  
Charles Dickens "A Tale of Two Cities".

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

The Verve "Bitter Sweet Symphony";  
Moderat "Eating Hooks";  
Moby "The only thing".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Favourite Canadian landscape: Mont Royal in Montreal is an iconic lookout spot giving you an endless spectacular view over the city. Its proximity to the city area made

this place a common place to anyone who comes there at any season - athletes, holidaymakers, locals, racoons or even drug dealers. You can explore the place by cruising by bike, throw a basket picnic or just stroll around and being mesmerized by the sunsets or gaze at the city's night light once you get a peak of this. No two moments will be the same here.



## Intern to Borys J Wrzesnewskyj MP for Etobicoke Centre, Ontario

Borys Wrzesnewskyj is the Member of Parliament for the riding of Etobicoke Centre. Borys is a member of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development and the Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, and is the founder and current chair of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group.

A third-generation Ukrainian-Canadian and Future Bakery Limited, and M-C Dairy Limited business owner. Borys has lived in Etobicoke Centre for over two decades – proudly representing the riding in the Canadian House of Commons from 2004-2011 and is honoured to do so again. Borys received his Bachelor of Commerce from Trinity College, University of Toronto in 1983 and quickly gravitated towards humanitarian and pro-democracy work – helping organize and finance the People's Movement of Ukraine "Rukh" in the late 1980s, and in support of the referendum for the independence of Ukraine in 1991. While a Member of the House of Commons, Borys has been in charge of various portfolios including critic for Citizenship and Immigration, Crown Corporations, Foreign Affairs, and Multiculturalism. In 2008, he was awarded the Order of Prince Yaroslav the Wise by the Ukrainian President for his distinguished services to the people of Ukraine.





## Maksym DVOROVYI

**BORN IN:** Rivne, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy",**  
Faculty of Law, Master of Laws

**2019 Humeniuk Family Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Russian, French, Czech

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Timothy Snyder "The Road to Unfreedom".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Світ ловив мене, та не спіймав." - Григорій Сковорода

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"The tragedy of modern man is not that he knows less and less about the meaning of his own life, but that it bothers him less and less." – Winston Churchill

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

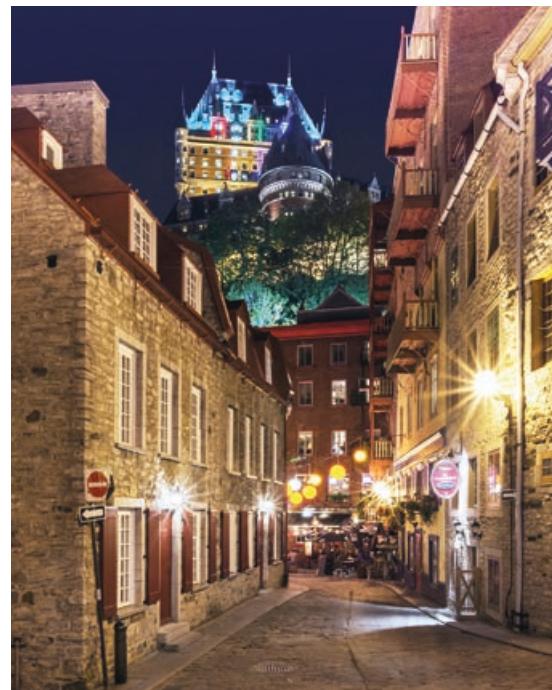
King Krule "Has This Hit?",  
Mac DeMarco "Freaking Out The Neighbourhood";  
Mount Kimbie "Made To Stray"

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Quartier du Petit Champlain, Quebec City** is one of the oldest commercial districts in North America. Dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it currently houses numerous cafes and shops and carries with itself the old European spirit.

## Intern to Robert-Falcon Quellette MP for Winnipeg Centre, Manitoba

Robert-Falcon is a member of the Liberal Party and was elected for the first time to Parliament in 2015 in the riding of Winnipeg Centre, Robert-Falcon spent 19 years with the Canadian Armed Forces, retiring from full-time service as Petty Officer 2nd class with the appointment of Sergeant at Arms in 5th Field Ambulance in Valcartier, Quebec. He also has worked as a professional musician with La Fanfarniente della Strada Gypsy Band in Quebec City. Robert-Falcon holds a PhD from Université Laval where he published his thesis. He also comes from the Red Pheasant First Nation in Saskatchewan.





## Maksym DZHYHUN

**BORN IN:** Popilnia, Zhytomyr oblast, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Irpin', Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Drahomanov National Pedagogical University of Kyiv,**  
Faculty of Political science and Law, Bachelor of Political  
Science with honours.

**2019 James and Lousie Temerty Scholarship recipient.**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Russian, Polish.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Dominique Muazi "Geopolitics of emotions".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Життя людського строки стислі, Немає часу на поразку." - Ліна Костенко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Man can be destroyed but not defeated." -  
Ernest Hemingway

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Coldplay "Yellow";  
С.К.А.Й "Давай втічено".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Mount Royal, Montreal** is one of the most beautiful places I`ve been able to see in Canada. From the top of the mountain you can view an incredible landscape of the hole city, with its diverse architecture, numerous skyscrapers and stadiums. Mount Royal is especially magical in the evening, when you can observe the sunset and see the night life of the city.



### Intern to Kevin Lamoureux MP for Winnipeg North, Manitoba

Kevin Lamoureux is one of the most active MPs in the parliament who was first elected to the House of Commons in 2010 and re-elected in 2015. That year Justin Trudeau appointed him as Parliamentary Secretary to the Government House Leader. In addition to Kevin`s current roles, he previously held the positions of Liberal Party Deputy House Leader and Liberal Party Critic of Immigration and Citizenship. Kevin Lamoureux attended high school in both Manitoba and Saskatchewan and in 1982 signed up for service with the Air Command of the Canadian Forces where he served for three years. At home in Winnipeg North, Kevin meets with constituents every week at the local McDonald's, as well as holding public meetings on important issues like public safety and youth recreation.





## **Yuliia HOLOPOTELIUK**

**BORN IN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Kyiv Institute of National University Odessa Law Academy.**

**2019 Surma Tarnopolsky Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

Russian, English, German, French (pre-intermediate), Spanish (beginner).

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Yuval Noah Harari "Sapiens".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Людина нібіто не літає, а крила має!" -

Ліна Костенко;

"Сміливі завжди мають щастя" - Іван Багряний

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"I never dreamed about success. I worked for it" -  
Estée Lauder.

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Okean Elzy "Everest".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Aurora at Yukon** is truly one of the wonders of nature. North-Western territories of Canada are perfect places to witness the majesty of this truly amazing phenomenon.

### **Intern to Rosemarie Falk MP for Battlefords-Lloydminster, Saskatchewan**

She serves as Deputy Shadow Minister for Families, Children and Social Development and Status of Women. She is also a member the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and Status of Persons with Disabilities.

Rosemarie was elected to the House of Commons in a federal by-election on December 11, 2017. Prior to this, Rosemarie worked as a registered Social Worker in Saskatchewan and has a Bachelor of Social Work from the University of Calgary. She also has experience as a legal assistant specializing in family law and as a legislative assistant in federal politics.





## Valentyna KALICH

**BORN IN:** Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest,**  
Social Integration MA, 2017-2019;

**Clark University, Massachusetts USA**, Master of  
Science in Professional Communication, 2015-2017;

**Central Ukrainian National Technical University,**  
Finance and Audit BA, 2013-2018;

**The University of Social Sciences in Warsaw,**  
English Philology BA, 2012-2015.

**Governor-General Ramon Hnatyshyn 2019 CUPP  
Scholarship** recipient

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Polish, German (beginner), Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson  
"Why Nations Fail".

**LAST BOOK READ BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

Vasyl Shkliar "Chornyi Voron".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Happiness is a Moment." - Volodymyr Vynnychenko

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Be the Change you want to see in the World." - Gandhi

**FAVOURITE BOOKS:**

Osyp Turianskyi "Beyond the Limits of Pain";  
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle "The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes";  
Sir Walter Scott "The Talisman";  
Kenan Trebincevic and Susan Shapiro "Bosnia list".

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Ray Charles "Georgia On My Mind";  
Ben E King "Stand by me";  
Nocturne op.9 No.1, No.2. by Fryderyk Chopin.

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Major's Hill Park in Ottawa.

## Intern to Hon. Wayne Easter MP for Malpeque, Prince Edward Island.

Hon. Wayne Easter is a former President of the National Farmers Union, who was awarded the Governor General's Canada 125 Medal in 1992 for community service. He has also received an honorary doctorate of law degree from the University of Prince Edward Island for his work and contribution to agriculture and social activism on the national and international level. Hon. Wayne Easter entered politics in 1993 and since then has been re-elected 7 times. Currently Hon. Wayne Easter holds the position of a Chair of the Standing Committee on Finance and Co-Chair of the Canada U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Association.





## Bohdan KOLCHENKO

**BORN IN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,**  
Law Faculty, LL.B. with Hon, 2017;

**Free University of Berlin,**  
Master in European Studies. Political science;  
Scholar of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

**2019 Wasyl Kereliuk Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

Russian, German, English, French.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Virginia Woolf "Tin Zimmer für sich allein".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Чим кращі книги ти читав, ТИМ Гірше спиш" –  
Сергій Жадан

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Live, then, and be happy, beloved children of my heart, and never forget, that until the day God will deign to reveal the future to man, all human wisdom is contained in these two words, 'Wait and Hope.' – Alexandre Dumas

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

SBTRKT "Go Bang";  
Björk "Enjoy";  
Hans Zimmer "Hammers".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Otter lake in Quebec** – it is the place where you see the endless forests, the lake with a crystal-clear water and have time to unite with nature and get away from a fuss of a humankind.

## Intern to Hon. MaryAnn Mihychuk MP for Kildonan-St. Paul, Manitoba



She is a Canadian politician from Manitoba. She is a member of the Liberal Party. MaryAnna was elected to the House of Commons of Canada in 2015, representing the riding of Kildonan-St. Paul for the Liberal Party of Canada, and served as Minister of Employment, Workforce and Labour in the federal Cabinet until the January 10, 2017, cabinet shuffle by Justin Trudeau. She was previously a cabinet minister in the government of Manitoba New Democratic Premier Gary Doer from 1999 to 2004. The Honourable MaryAnn Mihychuk received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Winnipeg in 1979, and Master of Science from Brock University in 1984. She is certified as a Practicing Professional Geoscientist and has worked as a geologist in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1984 to 1986 and in Manitoba from 1986 to 1992.





## Sofiia-Mariia KUZMINSKA

**BORN IN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,**  
Institute of International Relations, International Law  
Department.

**2019 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship**  
recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Russian, Polish, German.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Fredrik Backman "Geopolitics of emotions".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Усі усіх не люблять – так завжди, Така уже настала в нас епоха... Усі усіх не люблять – півбіди. Всі брешуть, що всіх люблять – катастрофа." - Ліна Костенко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Education is the sum of what students teach each other in between lectures and seminars" - Ernest Hemingway

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Leonard Cohen "Hallelujah";  
Nick Cave "O Children".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Le Plateau Mont Royal, Montreal.** I found it astonishing that such a cozy and beautiful private houses and quiet and green streets could be situated in the center of a large city like Montreal. It is like little France in the New World.

## Intern to Shannon Stubbs MP for Lakeland, Alberta

Shannon Stubbs was elected as the Member of Parliament for Lakeland in northeast Alberta on October 19, 2015, where she grew up and resides on a farm with her husband Shayne. She is the Vice Chair of the Standing Committee for Natural Resources and was appointed as the Official Opposition Shadow Minister for Natural Resources by Andrew Scheer on August 30, 2017.

Shannon has a diverse professional background spanning the private, not for profit, political and public sectors, at both federal and provincial jurisdictions.

Prior to being elected, Shannon was a Senior Consultant with Hill+Knowlton Canada where she advocated for clients across the health and pharmaceutical, oil and gas, not for profit and charity, and education sectors, and she contributed to a successful initiative for the expansion of energy trades and technology education and apprenticeship training with government and community relations at SAIT Polytechnic.





## Maryna LARINA

**BORN IN:** Oleksandriia, Kirovohradska obl, Ukraine.

**CURRENTLY BASED IN:** Berlin, Germany.

**EDUCATION:**

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,** Institute of International Relations, Bachelor Hon. International Law, 2017;

**Free University of Berlin,** MA Political Science.

**Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX)** alumna, Maryland, USA, 2012-2013

**2019 Malanchuk Family Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

Russian, German, English, Polish.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Pierre Bourdieu "Die männliche Herrschaft".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Хай живе неоднаковість, слава відмінностям!" – Павло Загребельний

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter" - Martin Luther King Jr

**FAVOURITE MUSIC:**

Foals, Moderat, Bonobo etc

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Yoho National Park** in British Columbia that is home to some of British Columbia's most rugged and scenic mountain terrain.



### Intern to Wayne Stetski MP for Kootenay—Columbia

Wayne Stetski is a member of the New Democratic Party (NDP), who was elected in the Canadian federal election, 2015 to represent the riding of Kootenay — Columbia in the 42nd Canadian Parliament. In June 2016 he introduced a private member bill (Bill C-281) that would make the Friday before Thanksgiving Day be known as "National Local Food Day". From 2011 to 2014, he served as mayor of Cranbrook, British Columbia.





## Natalia LAVROVA

**BORN IN:** Odesa, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Odesa, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Mechnikov National University of Odesa,**  
BA and MA in Political Science;

**Universität Osnabrück**, MA Democratic Governance  
and Civil Society;

**2017 nominated on scholarship DAAD Helmut-Schmidt-Programme, Master of Public Policy and Good Governance.**

**2019 Mazurenko Family Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

Russian, English, German.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Kwame Anthony Appiah "The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Ми мусимо навчитися чути себе українцями – не галицькими, не буковинськими українцями, а українцями без офіційних кордонів" – Іван Франко

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Forget about having an identity crisis and get some identity capital. ... Do something that adds value to who you are. Do something that's an investment in who you might want to be next." - Meg Jay

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Nils Frahm – "You";  
Bonobo – "Kerala".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Municipalité d'Otter Lake** is the place where CUPP interns usually spend some time outside the city with Lubomyr Chabursky and Lesya Granger.

## Intern to James Maloney MP for Etobicoke—Lakeshore, Ontario.

He was originally a lawyer before being elected to the House of Commons in the 2015 election getting 53.8 percent of support. James is currently the Chair of the House of Commons Natural Resources Committee and sits on the Liaison Committee which works on administrative matters of committees. He is Co-Chair of the Toronto Caucus and is a member of the Auto Caucus. He is an active member of various law related organizations, including the Advocates' Society, The Medical Legal Society and is the Past President of The Lawyers Club.





## Khrystyna MYHASIUK

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

**HOMETOWN:** Sokal, Lviv region, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Ivan Franko National University of Lviv,**  
Faculty of International Relations (Area Studies);

**University of Turku**, Faculty of Social Sciences,  
Department of Contemporary History (Erasmus+  
Scholarship recipient).

**2019 Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Russian, Swedish, German (basic).

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Joseph E. Aoun "Robot-Proof: Higher Education in the Age of Artificial Intelligence".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"I started my life with a single absolute: that the world was mine to shape in the image of my highest values and never to be given up to a lesser standard, no matter how long or hard the struggle." - Ayn Rand

**FAVOURITE BOOKS:**

Samantha Power "Chasing the Flame: One Man's Fight to Save the World";  
Philippe Sands "East West Street".

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Edward Sharpe & The Magnetic Zeros "Home"

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Yoho National Park.** Named for a Cree expression of awe and wonder, Yoho lies on the western slopes of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Vertical rock walls, waterfalls and dizzying peaks draw visitors from around the world. With exceptional hiking and sightseeing, the park offers a unique glimpse of Canada's natural wonders, from the secrets of ancient ocean life to the power of ice and water.

### Intern to Arif Virani

MP for Parkdale – High Park, Ontario

After a rewarding fourteen-year legal career advocating for human rights and access to justice as a constitutional litigator, former Ugandan Asian refugee Arif Virani, is now proud to serve the community and country he calls home, as the Member of Parliament for Parkdale-High Park. Arif served as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship from November 2015 to January 2017. From January 2017 to August 2018, Arif oversaw the Multiculturalism portfolio as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Canadian Heritage. In August 2018, he was appointed as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, and in January 2019 he also became the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Democratic Institutions. He has worked as an Analyst with the Canadian Human Rights Commission in Ottawa; an Investigator at la Commission des droits de la personne et droits de la jeunesse in Montreal; and as an Assistant Trial Attorney prosecuting genocide at the United Nation's International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Arif is a founder of Toronto's legal aid clinic SALCO, the recipient of the prestigious 2001 Harold G. Fox Scholarship and the 2008 Wilson-Prichard Award in recognition of his contributions to the legal profession and his community.





## Anna MYSYSHYN

**BORN IN:** Drohobych, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv, Ukraine.

**EDUCATION:**

**Ivan Franko National University of Lviv,**  
Faculty of Law (Doctor of Philosophy; studying period  
2017 - present);

**Tartu University, Estonia,** School of Law.

**2019 Justice John Sopinka Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

English, Swedish, Polish, Russian.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Elon Musk "Tesla, SpaceX, and the Quest for  
a Fantastic Future".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Сміливі завжди мають щастя." - Іван Багряний

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"When you want to succeed as bad as you want to  
breathe, then you'll be successful." - Eric Thomas;  
"Happiness is not by chance, but by choice." - Jim Rohn;  
"The secret of getting ahead is getting started." - Sally  
Berger.

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

Ludovico Einaudi "Primavera".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Mount Royal Park, Montreal City** is a large  
volcanic-related hill or small mountain in the city  
of Montreal. Mount Royal is the deep extension of  
a vastly eroded ancient volcanic complex, which  
was probably active about 125 million years ago.  
complex, which was probably active about 125  
million years ago.



### Intern to Linda Duncan MP for Edmonton-Strathcona

Linda Duncan was elected Member of Parliament for Edmonton-Strathcona in October of 2008, becoming the second New Democrat MP ever from the province of Alberta, and the only non-Conservative to represent the province in the 40th Parliament. She was re-elected with an increased majority in 2011. Prior to her election, Linda worked as a senior legal advisor on effective environmental regulation and enforcement in Bangladesh, Indonesia and Jamaica. She founded and ran Alberta's public interest Environmental Law Center; served as Chief of Enforcement for Environment Canada; as Assistant Deputy Minister for Yukon Renewable Resources; and, Head of Law and Enforcement for the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation. She taught environmental law at Dalhousie Law School (now Schulich Law School) and served as Co-Coordinator of their Marine Environmental Law Program.

Linda, holds Arts and Law degrees (University of Alberta) and an LLM (Schulich School of Law), and has been widely published in area of environmental and resources law and policy. She has been the recipient of various awards and tributes, including the 1998 Award of Merit from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the 2004 Emerald Environment Award, and has received additional tributes from the governments of Canada, Indonesia and the Netherlands. Linda has long advocated for evidence-based decision making and citizen rights in environmental decisions, four times tabling a Canadian Environmental Bill of Rights.





## Bogdan PUCHKOV

**BORN IN:** Zaporizhzhya, Ukraine.

**HOMETOWN:** Vilnius, Lithuania.

**EDUCATION:**

**Vilnius University**, Master of Political Science in Eastern European & Russian Studies;

**London Metropolitan University**, Bachelor of Arts in Economics & International Businesss.

**2019 Michael Starr Scholarship** recipient.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

German, Lithuanian, Norwegian.

**LAST BOOK READ:**

Michael Reagan "The New Reagan Revolution".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

"Не смерть страшна, не довгий час неволі, – не важко бути героєм проти них; а страшно жити, запрягшись мимоволі в ярмо дурниць та клопотів дрібних" - Павло Грабовський

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:**

"Life does not ask us what we want. It presents us with options." - Thomas Sowell

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:**

John Frusciante "Inside of Emptiness";  
R.E.M. "New Adventures in Hi-Fi".

**FAVOURITE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Fort Henry National Historic Site**, which is located in Kingston, Ontario. It is an elevated point near the mouth of the Cararaqui River where it flows into the St. Lawrence River at the east end of Lake Ontario. It was named after Henry Hamilton, former Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec. The original fort was constructed during the War of 1812 to protect the Kingston Royal Naval Dockyard from a possible American attack on the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. The site temporarily held prisoners of the 1837-1838 Rebellions. A few thousand of Ukrainian prisoners of war and civilians were also held at the fort in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.



**Intern to James Bezan  
MP for Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Manitoba**

James Bezan has been elected five times as a Conservative Member of Parliament since 2004. Over the course of his career as an MP, James has chaired the House of Commons Standing Committees for Agriculture and Agri-Food (2006-2008), Environment (2008-2011), and National Defence (2011-2013). In 2013-2015, James served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Defence. Currently, Mr. Bezan is a member of the Official Opposition Shadow Cabinet as the Conservative Shadow Minister for National Defence and the Vice-Chair of the Standing Committee on National Defence.



interview with

# JAMES BEZAN

James Bezan was first elected to represent the riding of Selkirk-Interlake in the 2004 federal election. He was re-elected again in the 2008, 2011 and 2015 federal elections, with his most recent victory in the newly created riding of Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman. Over the course of his long parliamentary career Mr. Bezan has chaired the House of Commons Standing Committees for Agriculture and Agri-Food (2006-2008), Environment (2008-2011) and National Defence (2011-2013).

He is currently a member of the Official Opposition in the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament of Canada and the Shadow Minister for National Defence.

**M**Mr. Bezan, good afternoon and thank you for taking the time to talk to us today. It is a pleasure to meet you. Let me start by asking you this – I understand that you come from a farming background. How did you end up in politics?

Yes, correct. Before coming into federal politics I did what we call “cowboy politics” for several years. I was the President of the Manitoba Cattle Producers’ Association. My dad had been the director of that organization when he was younger, and he was also involved in municipal politics in Manitoba. I would say my family has always been politically active. I decided to run for Parliament when we had an

epidemic of BSE (Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy or “Mad Cow Disease” – B.P.) in 2003. That was probably what forced me to run for office.

**How did you first hear about the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program and how has your experience with the interns been so far?**

Because of my Ukrainian heritage, I did not hesitate to accept a Ukrainian intern through the program pretty soon after I got elected in 2004. The program reached out to me with such a request, and the Whip’s Office recommended me to participate in it. I believe my first Ukrainian intern came here in 2005.



Her name was Krystyna Savchuk. She has actually been back to Canada a few times, and I have visited her and her family in Chernivtsi. So when you get here, you will be my 15<sup>th</sup> intern through CUPP.

**What kind of responsibilities are interns usually given in your office?**

The area of your responsibilities will depend on your level of English. If your written English is good, I will get you involved in various aspects of policy development. You will be coming to committee meetings – as you might know, I am the Vice-Chair of the Standing Committee on National Defence. There will be plenty of things for you to work on here – both with my communications assistant and my policy assistant. We also do a lot of work on Ukraine - so you will be the lead on that issue.

recently on the Eastern flank of the alliance – in Latvia. However, recognizing that it is collective defence, we need to increase our defence spending. We need to get it up to the 2% of GDP threshold, which we haven't been able to reach in decades like Germany and some other nations. So in order to be an effective member of the alliance, we need to find resources to provide our Armed Forces with better weapons and equipment.

**Would you call it one of the priorities for the Conservative government?**

As the Leader of the Conservative Party Andrew Scheer has stated, our first priority would be to get back to a balanced budget, which has not happened in this country in years. Once we balance what we spend with what we make, we can start looking for opportunities to increase our defence capabilities.



**As we are speaking on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NATO, I wanted to ask you how you see the modern challenges to security in the world and the ways in which Canada could contribute to a safer world?**

Of course. In fact, the Conservative Party of Canada just put out an official statement on NATO's 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Canada is one of the founding members of the alliance since 1949, and over the years our country has been standing shoulder to shoulder with our allies around the globe in opposition to tyranny and violence. The Conservative Party realizes that Russia, as well as some other bad actors on the world stage no longer recognize the existing international law and try to redraw state borders via the use of force. Canada and NATO as a whole has done tremendous work under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, most

**How do you see the chances of the Conservative Party to win the general election in October?**

As of right now, we are leading in the polls and there is a pretty good chance that we will form a majority government. I have been campaigning and door-knocking – in five provinces and eight electoral districts in the last week – and I get the impression that Canadians are following the SNC-Lavalin scandal and are very suspicious about Prime Minister Trudeau's role in it. Most Canadians are tired of the four years of the Liberal government and they want change. **CUPP**

**Thank you so much Mr. Bezan. I look forward to meeting you in a couple of weeks.**

Shadow Minister for National Defence **James Bezan**, Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada **Andrew Scheer**, intern to James Bezan **Bogdan Puchkov** in the Opposition Lobby of the House of Commons.

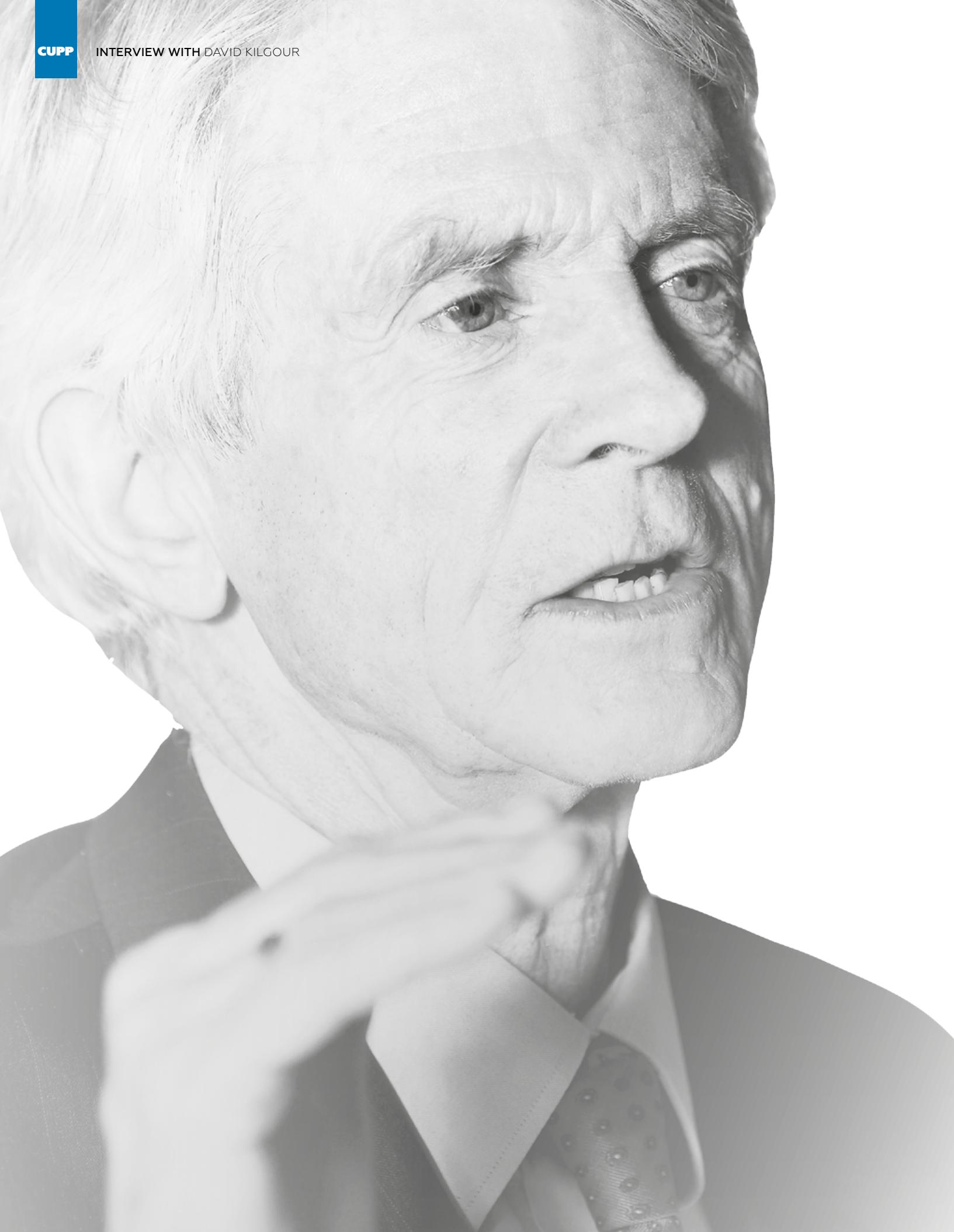


#### James Bezan and his staff

from left to right:

Communications Assistant **Megan Lane**, interns **Jennifer** and **Bogdan**, **James Bezan**, Policy Assistant **Laura Koch**, Executive Assistant **Dana Seymour**.





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interview with

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# DAVID KILGOUR

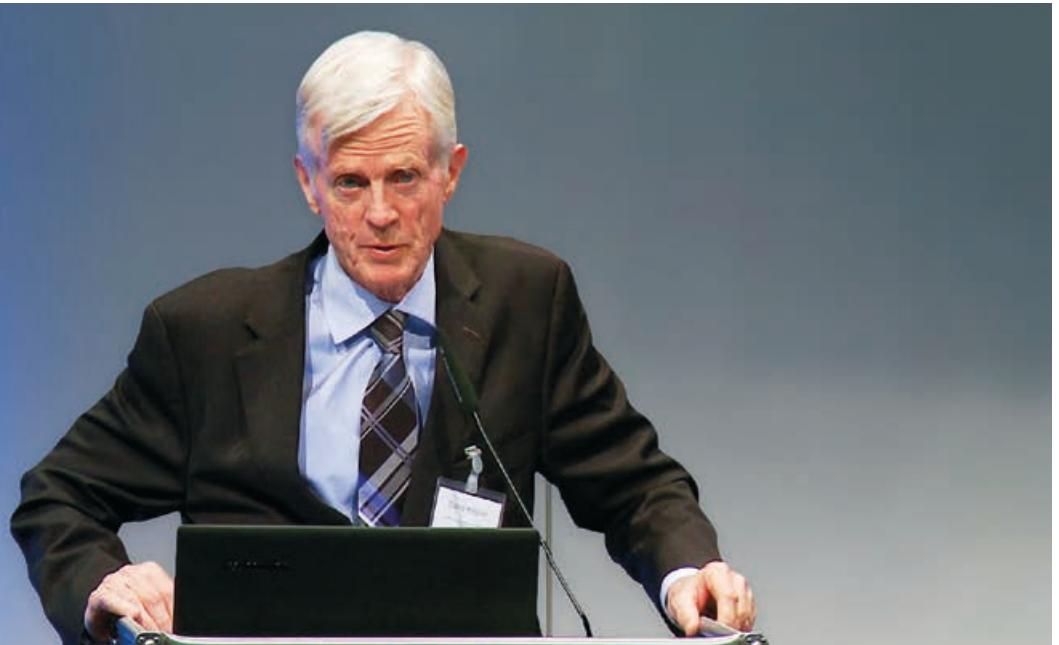
Born in Winnipeg, David Kilgour served as a Member of Parliament for Edmonton Southeast for a total of 27 years. First elected as a Progressive Conservative in 1979, he was re-elected as a Liberal in 1990. He left the Liberal Party in 2005 and sat as an Independent until the end of his tenure in 2006. Kilgour has written a number of books, and continues working as a human rights activist and a Senior Fellow at the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights. David Kilgour had CUPP interns working in his office in 1993, 2000, 2004 and 2005.

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**M**Mr. Kilgour, thank you so much for taking the time to talk to us today. First, I wanted to start with some general questions about your career in politics, and then move on to those that are more specific to our program. Could you please tell us how you got into politics in the first place and what shaped your ideology?

I would say the person who got me really interested in politics and history was my history teacher in high school. Although he was from the Prairies himself, he did not play favorites and taught us to think of our large country as a whole. He got me interested, so I started reading more about our country and the tremendous

sacrifice we gave during World War I and World War II. So I came into politics with a view that Canada shouldn't be governed to the benefit of those living in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. We still have those problems today, but I did what I could in order to address them over the course of my political career. I had a little family connection to politics, too. As a matter of fact, my grandfather's brother painted the portrait of Prime Minister Laurier, which you must have seen by now in the House of Commons. His name was John Russell, and he painted that in 1917 – during World War I. My sister married a politician – John N. Turner, who ended up serving as Prime Minister for three months before



David Kilgour, Former Canadian Secretary of State for Asia and the Pacific, speaking on international activism to end Myanmar Genocide of Rohingyas, The Berlin Conference on Myanmar Genocide, The Jewish Museum of Berlin, 26 Feb 2018

he got defeated by Brian Mulroney. Once I got into politics, I realized what a great opportunity it is to help people.

**You ran as a Conservative a number of times, but then you joined the Liberal Party. What caused this change in your political affiliation?**

Indeed, I started out as a Conservative and ran four times as a Conservative candidate. Actually, I ran five times as a Conservative. In 1968 I ran as a Conservative in Vancouver, but fell victim to Trudeaumania that swept the country that year. One of my parents was a conservative, the other was a liberal, while my grandparents were both liberals. At university, most of my friends tended to be conservative. In 1990, Prime Minister Mulroney expelled me from the Conservative Party for not supporting the Goods and Services Tax. After that, I ran and got elected as a Liberal candidate and sat as a Liberal MP until the 2006 sponsorship scandal.

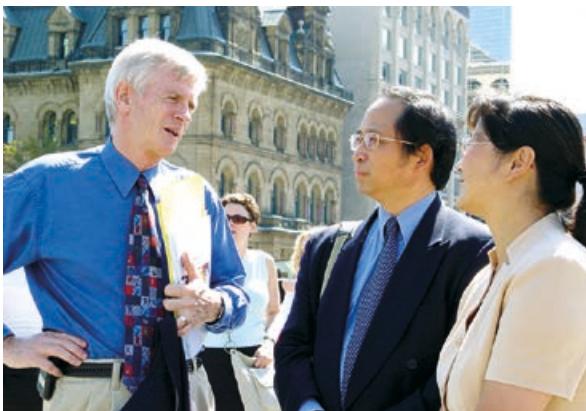
**Your home province, Manitoba, is known for its large population of ethnic Ukrainians. Please**

**tell us more about that and how Ukrainians have contributed to the building of the Canadian nation.**

Absolutely. As you know, many Ukrainians began coming to Canada around 1890s. Most of them were farmers so they chose to settle in the Prairies. Growing up in Manitoba, I knew tons of people whose parents or grandparents had come to Canada from Ukraine, Poland or other countries in Eastern Europe. So Winnipeg has always been very diverse and multicultural. Toronto has become like that now, but back then it was a lot more British than anything else.

**How did you first hear about CUPP interns coming to experience parliamentary affairs in Ottawa?**

As I said, I always had a close connection with Ukrainians in Winnipeg and Edmonton. If you go to Edmonton, around 20-25% of the city has roots in Ukraine. So I can't remember how I heard about the program itself, but I got a Ukrainian intern pretty soon after the program started (1993 – B.P.). I had a few more in later years as well. I always thought this was a great program, a tremendous opportunity for Ukrainian students to learn democratic practices first-hand and, on the other hand, for so many



David Kilgour receives an orange scarf from Yuri Kushnir, 2005

Canadians to meet people from their ancestors' home country. I think CUPP is a great way to provide the Ukrainian government with new leaders who can build their nation.

**What was your most memorable CUPP moment? Do you keep in touch with any of your former interns?**

Without a doubt, that was the 2004 general election. Arsen and Andriy (Arsen Dzhumadilov and Andriy Maksymovych – B.P) helped me tremendously during that campaign. The three of us spent nearly two months knocking on every door from dawn till dust. I ended up winning by just 124 votes. However, I understood how hard it would be for me to get re-elected as a Liberal in Alberta in the 2006 election, so I decided not to run. I am still in close touch with Arsen, we exchange e-mails and articles about things that go on in Ukraine and Canada every month or so. Another former intern of mine, Maryna has now emigrated to Canada with her Ukrainian husband. They settled in Ottawa, so we get to see each other quite often. **CUPP**

Interview conducted by Bogdan Puchkov  
CUPP 2019 Intern to James Bezan, MP for Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman

interview with

# VASYL MYROSHNYCHENKO





## What year did you participate in the CUPP, and who was your MP?

I arrived in Canada to participate in CUPP in 2001. I served in the office of MP Den McTeague, Pickering – Ajax - Uxbridge. As I remember, that year 21 participants arrived in Ottawa from Ukraine.

**What were your first impressions about Canada and their political system?**

I was very impressed by the openness of all their public authorities. During the internship, we had access to many of the processes we have seen in Parliament, but at the same time we had a unique opportunity to meet with a large number of different officials and ministers. I remember clearly that during the time of the program we had a chance to meet with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada three times in various circumstances! Or, for example, we met with the Prime Minister of Canada, Jean Chretien. And such meetings seemed to me something incredible. This kind of openness in their political system was very impressive. I knew a lot about the US political system, which is rather closed. But in Canada everything is different, and I was pleasantly surprised by it. The parliamentary model of government is also indicative. Because every minister, besides performing his government functions, also has a parliamentary mandate. And each of them has his or her constituency with which he or she needs to work.

Another feature of Canada, which surprised me is the multiethnicity of this country. Construction of

the Canadian society, unlike the United States is based on emphasizing the ethnic origin of man. And if in the USA there is a certain mix and omission of the facts of people origin, in Canada - this fact remains and it is very important.

Perhaps this is all because of the historical features of the country which was founded by the Anglo-Saxon and the French and on the basis of Canada has already been laid multi-ethnic character. And it has also affected other groups of national minorities who keep their identity even when they acquire new Canadian traits. In America, this identity disappears in a few several generations.

**Has this program somehow influenced your professional development, or was it a predominantly cultural experience?**

First of all, CUPP is a professional internship during which we had an opportunity to research topics that actually impacted afterward our further professional development. From another hand, we learned a lot about Canada, held various meetings, shaped and expanded our worldviews. The network of contacts I have acquired in Canada is particularly useful for my professional activity nowadays. Many participants of the CUPP 2001 became my closest friends, I keep in touch with them, and it is important for me. This program also has played an essential role in my further studying. Few years after the CUPP internship, I've got a Britain

government scholarship Chevening and obtained a master's degree in London School of Economics and Political Science. Experience gained in the Canadian Parliament was a confirmation of my previous achievements and has become an excellent opportunity for further professional development.

#### **Is there any connection between the graduates of the program in Ukraine?**

Of course! Many graduates of CUPP work are currently working in the state authorities or have their own business, another part of us work in the Parliament or the non-governmental sector. The CUPP Graduate Association is a very diverse network of active people whom I can safely call the agents of change, and they are united by their previous internship experience in Canada. Most of these people have received high-quality western education, and CUPP has played an important role in it. During the program, Mr. Bardyn tells all the participants about the importance of the constant self-development, the necessity to move on and to look for the opportunity to study in different countries and to use all the gained experience and knowledge in Ukraine.

#### **As it is known, there are many ethnic Ukrainians among Canadian parliamentarians. Did you manage to communicate with them during the program, and did you have any connections with the Ukrainian diaspora?**

We had very good communication with Ukrainians in Canada as the Ukrainian diaspora there is one of the most influential in the world. During

our internship in Ottawa we were very fond of communicating with Canadian Ukrainians! And they even invited us to their home and lavished us with borsch.

Among the deputies of Ukrainian descent, I remember Borys Wrzesnewskyj, who has been an active participant in Canadian political life for many years. I also recall Ms. Raynell Andreychuk, who was a Senator in 2001. She worked with us very actively, held working meetings, and took care of the program participants. Another deputy with whom we had good connection was Walt Lastewka – a former Canadian politician.

#### **What features of Canadian politics, in your opinion would be appropriate to borrow and implement in Ukraine?**

Canada is a representative country of the Western world with common rules, values, and rule of law. It is an open, transparent society built on respect for human rights and freedoms. And the observance of such values and norms I would like to see more in Ukraine. To some extent, I would like to borrow from the Canadians political responsibility, which we really lack. Any scandal or grounded allegations against politicians in Canada leads to the recognition of their mistakes or guilt and often ends with the resignation of an official. From my point of view, this is a very important feature of the political system of the country and I would like to observe such a system in our country. [CUPP](#)

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Interview conducted by Maksym Dzhyhun,  
CUPP 2019 Intern to Kevin Lamoureux, MP for Winnipeg North, Manitoba





CUPP 2019 interns during their tour to one of Canada's most successful tech companies - Shopify, together with Galyna Kaplan - CUPP 2016 intern and now a Shopify employee, Ottawa.

CUPP 2019 interns during their first visit to Lubomyr Chabursky and his family, Ottawa.



EASTER at Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Assumption Of The Blessed Virgin, Ottawa.  
from left to right: Anna Mysyshyn, Victoria Chumenko, Maksym Dzhyhyrn, Andriy Shevchenko, Mykola Antoniuk, Bohdan Puchkov, Pavlo Bryliak, Sofia Kuzminska, Khrystyna Myhasiuk, Yulia Holopoteliuk.



CUPP 2019 interns meet The Honourable Geoff Regan – Speaker of the House of Commons and seven times elected MP for Halifax West, West Block, Ottawa.



CUPP 2019 interns meeting with the team of Ukrainian Embassy to Canada headed by Ambassador Andriy Shevchenko, Ottawa.  
from left to right: First row: Pavlo Bryliak, Lubomyr Chabursky, Lesya Granger, Khrystyna Myhasiuk, Sofia Kuzminska, Anna Mysyshyn, Yulia Holopoteliuk, Natalia Lavrova.  
Second row: Maksym Dvorovy, Mykola Antoniuk, Victoria Chumenko, Valentyna Kalich, Galyna Kaplan.  
Third row: Maryna Larina, Bogdan Kolchenko, Maksym Dzhyhyn, Bohdan Puchkov.



Interns meet Renata Roman – President of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, Ottawa.  
from left to right: Sofia Kuzminska, Anna Mysyshyn, Maryna Larina, Yulia Holopoteliuk, Natalia Lavrova, Renata Roman, Maksym Dzhyhyrn, Maksym Dvorovy, Pavlo Bryliak, Mykola Antoniuk, Bogdan Kolchenko.



NDP leader – Jagmeet Singh greets CUPP 2019 interns at his office, Parliament hill, Ottawa.  
from left to right: Anna Mysyshyn, Linda Duncan, Victoria Chumenko, Sofia Kuzminska, Mykola Antoniuk, Pavlo Bryliak, Khrystyna Myhasiuk, Natalia Lavrova, Jagmeet Singh, Yulia Holopoteliuk, Bohdan Puchkov, Valentyna Kalich, Maksym Dvorovy, Maryna Larina, Bogdan Kolchenko, Maksym Dzhyhyrn.



2019 Vyshyvanka Day on the Parliament Hill celebration together with Canadian MPs, their assistants, representatives of the Ukrainian Embassy to Canada and their families, Ottawa.





CUPP 2019 interns and the representatives of Ukrainian Embassy to Canada after the soulful conversation with **Borys Wrzesnewskyj** – the head of Canada-Ukraine Friendship Group and a true friend of Ukraine, Ottawa.



CUPP 2019 interns during their West Block tour, guided by Wayne Easter, Ottawa.  
from left to right: Anna Mysyshyn, Victoria Chumenko, Maksym Dzhyhyr, Andriy Shevchenko, Mykola Antoniuk, Bohdan Puchkov, Pavlo Bryliak, Sofia Kuzminska, Khrystyna Myhasiuk, Yulia Holopoteliuk.



CUPP 2019 soccer match with MPs team - the 'Commoners'. MPs who took part: Arif Virani, Adam Vaughan, Nick Whalen, Ali Ehsassi, Robert-Falcon Ouellette, Marco Mendicino, Julie Dabrusin, Pierre-Luc Dusseault, Alexandre Boulerice.



Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada Andriy Shevchenko, CUPP 2019 Intern Bogdan Puchkov, violinist Vasyl Popadiuk, Opposition Leader's Office staffer Anton Sestrtsyn at the Eastern Partnership reception.



CUPP 2019 interns meet Raynell Andreychuk – Senator with Ukrainian roots from Saskatchewan, Vice-Chair of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group and a long-standing supporter of Ukraine.



CUPP 2019 interns with James Maloney – MP for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, ON and Chair of Standing Committee on Natural Resources.



CUPP 2019 interns meet James Bezan – Vice-Chair of Standing Committee of National Defense and a great friend of Ukraine, Ottawa.



CUPP interns meet The Honourable Andrew Scheer – Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, Parliament Hill, Ottawa.

## примітка

Рішенням Кабінету Міністрів України щодо українського правопису було прийнято 22 травня 2019 року і набуло чинності 3 червня 2019 року.

Було б доцільно, щоб випускники, стажери та абітурієнти Парляментарної програми «Канада-Україна» припинили використання російської колоніяльної мови, введеної Йосипом Сталіним у 1930-х роках, і прийняли Український правопис.

Зверніть, відповідно, увагу на правильну назву програми ППКУ українською мовою. Нижче наводиться уривок із 286-сторінкового документа під назвою:

## УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ПРАВОПИС

**СХВАЛЕНО** Президії Національної академії наук України (протокол № 22/10 від 24 жовтня 2018 р.)  
і Колегії Міністерства освіти і науки України (протокол № 10/4-13 від 24 жовтня 2018 р.)

**ЗАТВЕРДЖЕНО.**  
Українською національною  
комісією з питань правопису  
(протокол № 5 від 22 жовтня  
2018 р.)

2019 "Сучасна редакція Українського правопису повертає до життя деякі особливості правопису 1928 р., які є частиною української орфографічної традиції і поновлення яких має сучасне наукове підґрунтя. Водночас правописна комісія керувалася розумінням того, що й мовна практика українців другої половини ХХ ст. початку ХХІ ст. вже стала частиною української орфографічної традиції. Поділяючи думку про злочинний характер репресивних дій тоталітарного режиму щодо харківського правопису і його творців, кодифікатори мови не можуть знехтувати тим, що мову народу творить його історія: мова змінюється, і правопис має відображати насамперед її сучасний стан. Нинішня українська мова це багатофункціональна мова з розвиненою різноплановою стилістикою, сучасною науковою термінологією, це мова, яка взаємодіє з багатьма світовими мовами."

## **Ігор Бардин,** директор Парламентарної програми "Канада–Україна"

7 червня 2019

ТЕР  
ЛЯМПА  
КЛЯСИКА  
МИТ  
ФЛЬОТ  
ДИТИРАМБ  
КЛЯСА  
ИНДИК  
ПРОЕКТ  
ЛОГАРИТМ  
ПАВЗА  
ШАЛИК  
АВДИТОРІЯ  
КАТЕДРА  
СВЯЩЕННИК  
ИРІЙ  
ЛЯМПА  
КЛЯСИКА  
МИТ  
ФЛЬОТ  
ДИТИРАМБ  
КЛЯСА



Should Ukraine return to  
**Kharkivskiy  
Pravorys?**

ТЕР  
ЛЯМПА  
КЛЯСИКА  
МИТ  
ФЛЬОТ  
ДИТИРАМБ  
КЛЯСА  
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ИРІЙ  
ПА  
КЛЯСА  
МИТ  
ФЛЬОТ  
ДИТИРАМБ  
КЛЯСА



## Should Ukraine return to Kharkivskiy Pravopys?

The latest version of Ukrainian Pravopys was finally approved on June 3<sup>rd</sup> 2019. It includes necessary and facultative changes referring to the 1927 Kharkivskiy Pravopys, which are supposed to be more relevant to current language uses. The introduction of changes gradually is a positive development, for reasons highlighted below.

Today's modern Ukrainian trends are extremely popular. After 1991 Ukrainian society discovered many historical facts that were hidden from the public during soviet times. The main reason for this was the ongoing revision of history and efforts to blend the history of Ukraine with that of Russia. Revisionism was a continuous practice by the soviet government centered in Moscow.

The aims were consolidation, unification, denationalization and generalization at all the cultural levels, including language. Therefore, Ukrainian society has a deep understanding of the importance of returning to its historical roots and renewing its unique cultural heritage. Using the 1927 Kharkivskiy Pravopys is an important step towards this goal.

It would be reasonable to compare the cultural improvement of soviet Ukraine with that of the diaspora. For example, there were two different schools of literature existing at the same time. The New-York based poetry group founded by Ukrainian immigrants, who were close to modernism in

their creative methods and the "Shestydesyatnyky", who lived and worked in soviet Ukraine in the era of Social Realism. Modernism pays great attention to form of literary artwork, including text organization at lingual and extra lingual levels. Social realism is mostly concentrated on propaganda and ideological focus, rather than on art for art's sake. This means, that popular literature influences wider readers' audience, in spreading its senses and lingual methods (lexica, syntax, grammar, orthography and the other features of Pravopys).

Poets of New York group used Kharkivskiy Pravopys and they preserved Ukrainian originality in their works, while "Shestydesyatnyky" used the soviet language. The New-York group was hidden from Ukrainian readers in soviet Ukraine 1991. When it was discovered by liberators Vira Ageeva, Yurii Andrukhovych, Volodymyr Morenets, Mariia Revacovych, Tetiana Schestopalova,, they estimated that the works of the New-York group, who preserved the true Ukrainian language, were closer to Ukrainian culture than that of the "Shestydesyatnyky". This phenomenon has been named an "Aquarius in the sea" and Oleksandr Fraze-Frazenko directed a film about the New-York based group of poets in 2017.

In conditions of hybrid war caused by aggression of Russian Federation, Ukrainians understand the importance of retaining their

**Olena Khvostyk**

CUPP 2020 applicant

Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University Lutsk, Ukraine



own originality in language usage, to maintain the historical and cultural differences from foreign entities. Since 2014 the interest of Ukrainian society in its history, culture and traditions has increased. Therefore, it is reasonable to mention, that Ukrainian society is returning to its original roots after living under soviet and Russian domination for years. It is understandable that reforms and changes do not come overnight. It is long-term process of adaptation and it is completely normal.

In the introduction of the June 3<sup>rd</sup> Pravopys it should be noted that the changes would be implemented over the next 5 years. That is enough time to adopt for the new rules. It is especially important for people, who graduate from schools and who need to pass independent external evaluation exams. The result of these changes should be an increase in general language proficiency and the wide dissemination of new norms into our culture, including official and colloquial communication.

In summary, it is logical to say that the Ukrainian nation has a long and deep historical and cultural tradition, which should enable the creation of a new society of modern people with a European system of values. There is no future without a past and all social processes should be reflected in the language. So changing the Pravopys should be the first step to transformation of our society. **CUPP**

**Olha Boleyn**

CUPP 2020 applicant  
University of Warsaw,  
American Studies Center



## On the matter of Kharkivskiy Pravopys

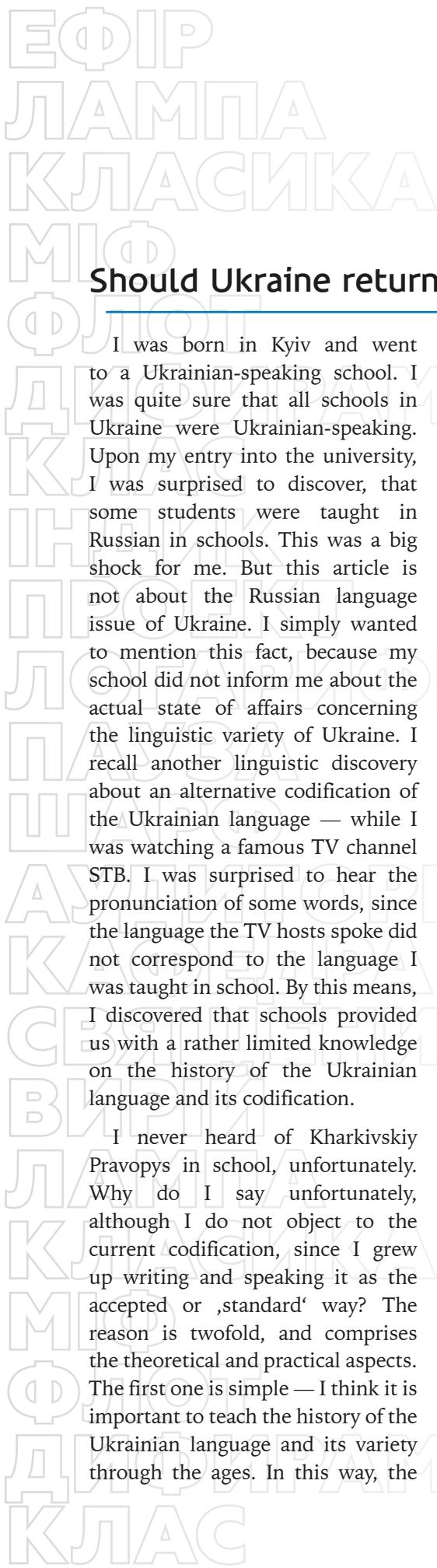
A well-known Ukrainian linguist and politician Iryna Farion created a metaphor that remains relevant to this day: “The current [Ukrainian] orthography – it is a Moscow dress worn on a Ukrainian body.” In the reference article by Oleg Shemetov, the author makes a similar point by highlighting the fact that most methods of regulating the Ukrainian language and its use, have been interfered with and the linguistic structure impacted by Russian governments through “prohibiting certain words, syntactic constructions, grammatical forms, spelling, and orthoepic standards, while promoting others patterned on Russian or directly transplanted from Russian.” Upon acknowledging the fact that governments in Moscow have been affecting the structure of Ukrainian language it becomes obvious that shedding off this influence from our language is an important part of divorcing our culture from that of Russia as a way of restoring our independence. Creating a commission of experts to bring back the original Ukrainian orthography with reference to the Kharkivskiy pravopys seems to be a great starting point.

As I was doing research prior to writing this opinion, I learned a lot of new information regarding Ukrainian language and especially the Kharkivskiy Pravopys. I was surprised how little we are actually taught in Ukrainian schools about the effects that Russia has had on our language as a part of their assimilation efforts; in effect we

learn Ukrainian without knowing its history. I found Shemetov’s article very informative and I think that raising awareness about the issues that were brought up in it is vitally important making a movement towards Ukrainisation. Learning more about Kharkivskiy Pravopys was an interesting experience, as I came across a number of diverse points of view. It is without a doubt one of the most important historical documents on restoration and de-russification of Ukrainian language, created by leading Ukrainian linguists, philologists and journalists, the majority of which were later repressed and executed by the Soviet regime. At first, this information makes it seem that implementing the rules of the 1928 pravopys would be the perfect strategy for the rehabilitation of the Ukrainian language from the Russian influence. However, I still have a major concern: in a number of different sources I found information that makes me question the legitimacy of the pravopys. The most concerning of these facts is that the leading figure responsible for creation of the document – People’s Commissar of Education M.O. Skrypnyk – had no linguistic education or background. Skrypnyk was simply a professional activist and revolutionary, which leads researchers to believe that while leading the project he was more interested in making the most radical changes possible as a political statement, rather than being motivated to maintain the historical accuracy of the Ukrainian

linguistic structure. As a result, many of the Ukrainian linguists – including the ones who took part in the project – were against some of the changes proposed in the pravopys. Famous Ukrainian writer, literary critic, and public figure Serhij Pylypenko had this to say about Kharkivskiy Pravopys: “These forms created in Presidium cannot be justified by the history of our language, nor by the essence of it. I declare that such incorrectly theorised forms were not made up even by the State Spelling Commission or the Conference, and they were unanimously rejected by the Kyiv’s editorial meeting, appointed by the People’s Commissariat in December 1927.”

Overall, I stand with the idea behind the creation of pravopys, which is restoring the original structure of the Ukrainian language to a state before it was so heavily influenced by the politics of Moscow. That said I do not trust the pravopys as proposed execution of this idea, as it seems that people participating in the creation of the pravopys largely disagreed with the outcome of that project, and some of them did not have the right credentials or motives to be included in the working process. I think that a new Ukrainian pravopys should be created, as it is a vital part of de-russification process. This process must be lead and carried out by qualified specialists in the area of Ukrainian language and history, with the possibility of referencing its 1928 predecessor where appropriate. CUPP

**Olga Golovakina**

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Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University  
College of Europe, Natolin, Warsaw.

## Should Ukraine return to Kharkivskiy Pravopys?

I was born in Kyiv and went to a Ukrainian-speaking school. I was quite sure that all schools in Ukraine were Ukrainian-speaking. Upon my entry into the university, I was surprised to discover, that some students were taught in Russian in schools. This was a big shock for me. But this article is not about the Russian language issue of Ukraine. I simply wanted to mention this fact, because my school did not inform me about the actual state of affairs concerning the linguistic variety of Ukraine. I recall another linguistic discovery about an alternative codification of the Ukrainian language — while I was watching a famous TV channel STB. I was surprised to hear the pronunciation of some words, since the language the TV hosts spoke did not correspond to the language I was taught in school. By this means, I discovered that schools provided us with a rather limited knowledge on the history of the Ukrainian language and its codification.

I never heard of Kharkivskiy Pravopys in school, unfortunately. Why do I say unfortunately, although I do not object to the current codification, since I grew up writing and speaking it as the accepted or ‚standard‘ way? The reason is twofold, and comprises the theoretical and practical aspects. The first one is simple — I think it is important to teach the history of the Ukrainian language and its variety through the ages. In this way, the

students know all the options and will not be lost when it comes to the use of Kharkivski Pravopys. I personally experienced the use of Kharkivskiy Pravopys when I had a summer internship at a hotel in Kyiv. Among our guests was a group of Canadians, who came to Ukraine to see the land of their forefathers. They were ethnic Ukrainians, and were using a Ukrainian language that was definitely not the ‚standardised‘ one, certainly not the one we used in school. I must admit, that it was somewhat challenging to understand them, but it was the very Ukrainian which I previously heard while watching the STB channel. It was another version of Ukrainian codified by Kharkivskiy Pravopys, the version that is the closest to the natural sound of Ukrainian at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

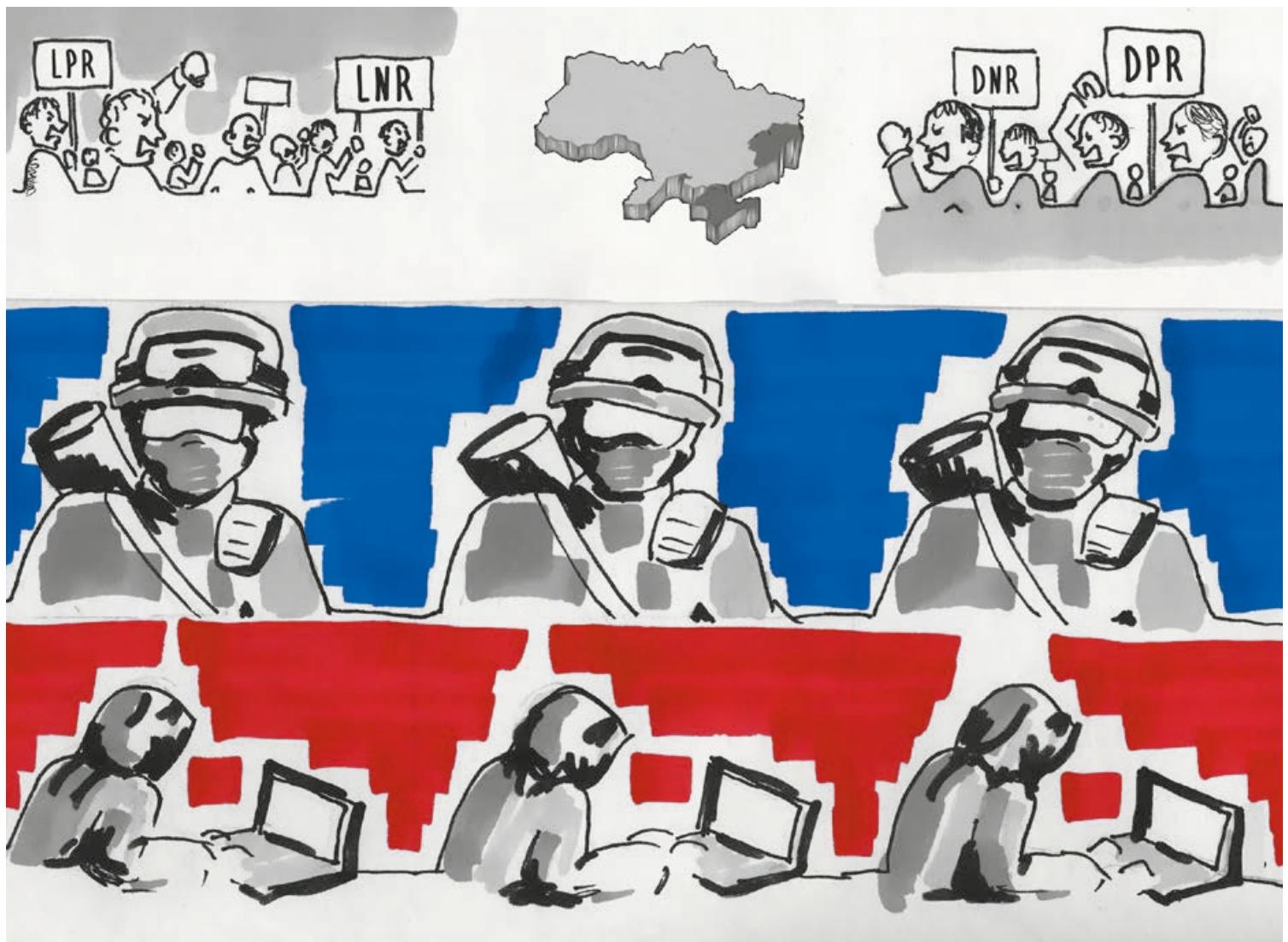
The Kharkivskiy Pravopys should be reintroduced into the Ukrainian language for the sake of abandoning the current, Russified version of the ‚standard‘ Ukrainian. The Kharkivskiy Pravopys version is much more nuanced to the authentic, unique Ukrainian phonetics and grammar. This would also give us a better sense of continuity of Ukrainian traditions and connect us to our ancestors. After studying some particularities of the Kharkivskiy Pravopys I can tell this version is much more appealing to me because of its authenticity. It has as little as possible borrowed words from other languages. The amount

of borrowed words impoverishes Ukrainian, some even could say pollutes it. The Kharkivskiy Pravopys offers the invention of Ukrainian-sounding words for the neologisms, which only enrich the language. The grammar of the Kharkivskiy Pravopys also preserves some authentic traits of the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian has more than 30 unique linguistic traits that are not present in any other Slavic language — to loose all of this would be a shame.

Ukraine has made a big step forward in getting closer to the authentic codification by approving the codification prior to 1992 on 22 May 2019 which means a smooth return to Kharkivskiy Pravopys. I am glad that in Ukrainian we now have an established rule for the feminitives, which leads to more gender-balanced societal paradigm and proves that Ukrainians per se are tolerant and respect women. The prospect of having more of our authentic sound /r/ is also cheering. I think we are on the right path.

In conclusion, Italians were able to adopt a single pravopys and consolidate the country to the use of one understandable language. Israelis were able to learn an entirely new language, Hebrew. The Czechs were able to return to their own language after the imposition of German. Ukrainians are now capable of returning to their Ukrainian roots. **CUPP**

# HYBRID WARFARE



COMPLEX  
CHALLENGE  
FOR DEMOCRACY

The rise of a multipolar world order led to the emergence of powerful, contrastive ideologies, according to which power is dispersed among different actors and state interest is not the only driving force of actions. Non-state groups are competing for power, relying on hybrid or asymmetric warfare to support their cause. The prime example is terrorism. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, militant groups are fighting against the state, using various military strategies underlying the role of hybrid warfare.

Since the end of WWII, the rise of various types of military strategies can be observed by the shift from conventional to the modern kind of warfare. The open confrontation of states on the battlefield is no longer the case. The revolution in military affairs and the emergence of modern strategies made information and technology a key determinant of how wars are fought. After 1945, irregular warfare had become a dominant military strategy. Irregular warfare can be distinguished from regular warfare upon the nature of the actors, and the violence used by the actors on the incumbent. After the 1950s, the world has experienced more than 80 irregular conflicts when states and non-state players share the battlefield in the non-traditional type of war.

Russian invasion in Ukraine proves that “hybrid conflicts involve multilayered efforts designed to destabilize a functioning state and polarize its society”. Russia’s operation in Ukraine through financing and controlling non-state separatist groups required the combination of economic, military and technological efforts which lead to

the ongoing hybrid war in Eastern Ukraine. Hybrid warfare in this case is constructed by a mix of social, political, military, economical and diplomatic sectors, targeting each of them in a different way.

Another level of Russia’s invasion in Ukraine focuses on the ‘battle for identity’, which involves high-level propaganda and media manipulation in order to portray the ongoing events through the certain perspective. Identity division aims to restore the historical dominance in the region, bring to power pro-Russian forces in the next Ukrainian elections and gain support among Russian electorate for the so-called ‘protection of Russian values and culture’.



What is more, the ‘soft power’ appeared to be used as a tool in the asymmetrical war strategy, when using the diplomatic channels to influence the other players in their decision and judgment of Russian hybrid strategies for Ukraine. One of the goals of disinformation, to some extend achieved on the broader scale, includes the presentation of this military conflict as a civil war, which theoretically excludes Russia from any responsibility, but presents it as a neutral part, sending humanitarian help for those in need.

Scholars of the Institute for the Study of War, specifically Maria Snegovaya in 2015, claims that Russian diplomatic tactics for its hybrid conflicts (Georgia 2008, Ukraine 2014) takes its origin in Soviet strategies for ‘reflexive control’, which uses the delivery to an opponent the specific type of information leading to a favourable for a messenger decision-making

The effects of hybrid warfare against Ukraine challenge whole Western system of values and the matter of national and global security for the rest of the countries:

“DEMOCRACIES, HISTORY HAS SHOWN, ARE PREDISPOSED TO SEEK PEACE AND TO RECONCILE CONFLICTS THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND DIPLOMACY. THEY GENERALLY GO TO WAR ONLY AS A LAST RESORT, WHEN WHAT IS RIGHT AND WHAT IS WRONG ARE CLEAR, WHEN ATTRIBUTION IS EASILY ASSIGNED, AND IN PURSUIT OF A JUST AND REASONABLE CONCLUSION. SUCH THINKING STEMS FROM THE INFLUENCE OF JUST WAR THEORY. RUSSIA'S USE OF REFLEXIVE CONTROL, AND EMPLOYMENT OF IT VIA HYBRID WARFARE, TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THIS TENDENCY AMONG DEMOCRACIES TO AVOID INVOLVEMENT IN CONFLICTS THAT APPEAR TO INVOLVE NO CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THOSE IN THE RIGHT AND THOSE IN THE WRONG.”

One of the newest methods applied during this hybrid war is informational warfare, which has a significant influence over the dynamics of war in the era of technology, access to the information and the battle in the cyber realm. With the development of technology, the information as a resource is available for different players and has lead to creating geopolitical tensions such as Russia's involvement in US elections of 2016. Hybrid tactics such informational, diplomatic and governmental meddling are frequently used by the players practicing ‘illiberal democracy’, which can

be viewed as a basis for hybrid and irregular conflicts around the world, violating national sovereignties, human rights and international security worldwide.

Today, the consequences effects of irregular, hybrid and asymmetric warfare led to a change in the concept of war, which well summarized by Sir Rupert Smith: “War no longer exists. Confrontation, conflict and combat undoubtedly exist all around the world - most noticeably, but not only in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Palestine – and states still have armed forces which serve mainly as symbols of power. Nonetheless, war as cognitively known to most combatants, war as a battle in a field between men and machinery, war as a massive deciding event in a dispute of international affairs is no longer exist”.



The annexation of Crimea in 2014 served as an alarming signal for Western powers, not only due to the rapid violation of international law and Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances of 1994 signed at the OSCE conference, where USA, UK and Russia granted Ukraine its territorial sovereignty and protection of its borders in return to withdrawal of nuclear weapon. Crimean annexation drew the parallel to the events of 1938 when Nazi Germany seized the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, with no direct response from Western community and lack of responsibility for such action, which further lead to catastrophic consequences.

Such combination of conventional and unconventional strategies under the term ‘hybrid warfare’ and its use during Russian invasion in Ukraine



today serve as a hint for many military specialists and foreign policy experts to fear the future intention of Russia or other countries to use it against NATO or EU members states.

This tremendously impacted peace and security in Europe, NATO-member states bordering Russia and the rest of the world leading to a new geopolitical crisis, excluding Russia from G7 and imposing a wide

range of political and economic sanctions on Russia as a response to using hybrid warfare in Europe. But the issue remains unsolved: to which extend democracies today are ready to go on the battlefield with hybrid warfare and which battlefield should it be first? [CUPP](#)

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Written by Valentyna Kalich  
CUPP 2019 Intern to Hon. Wayne Easter, MP for Malpeque



# CANADA'S 2019 GENERAL ELECTION

**A**t the end of 2017, it looked like the Liberal Party would win the October 2019 general election. The advantage of incumbency has traditionally benefited the party in power. The growth of the Canadian economy was bright prospects for the Liberals. However, since the start of 2019, the Liberals' hopes for re-election have faltered. Let's look at what has happened and what the major parties are offering Canadians as they prepare to make up their mind, and what chances the parties have for Election Day.

First of all, a few words need to be said about the Conservative Party of Canada and its road to October 2019. Stephen Harper resigned from the position party leader following defeat in October 2015 election. Rona Ambrose, replaced him as the interim leader and promised not to run for leader of the Conservative Party. The election turned out to be very close – and the former Speaker of the House of Commons Andrew Scheer won over MP Maxime Bernier by only 1.9% of the total vote.

Bernier, who had previously served as Minister of Industry, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of State in the Harper government, eventually decided to part ways with the Conservative

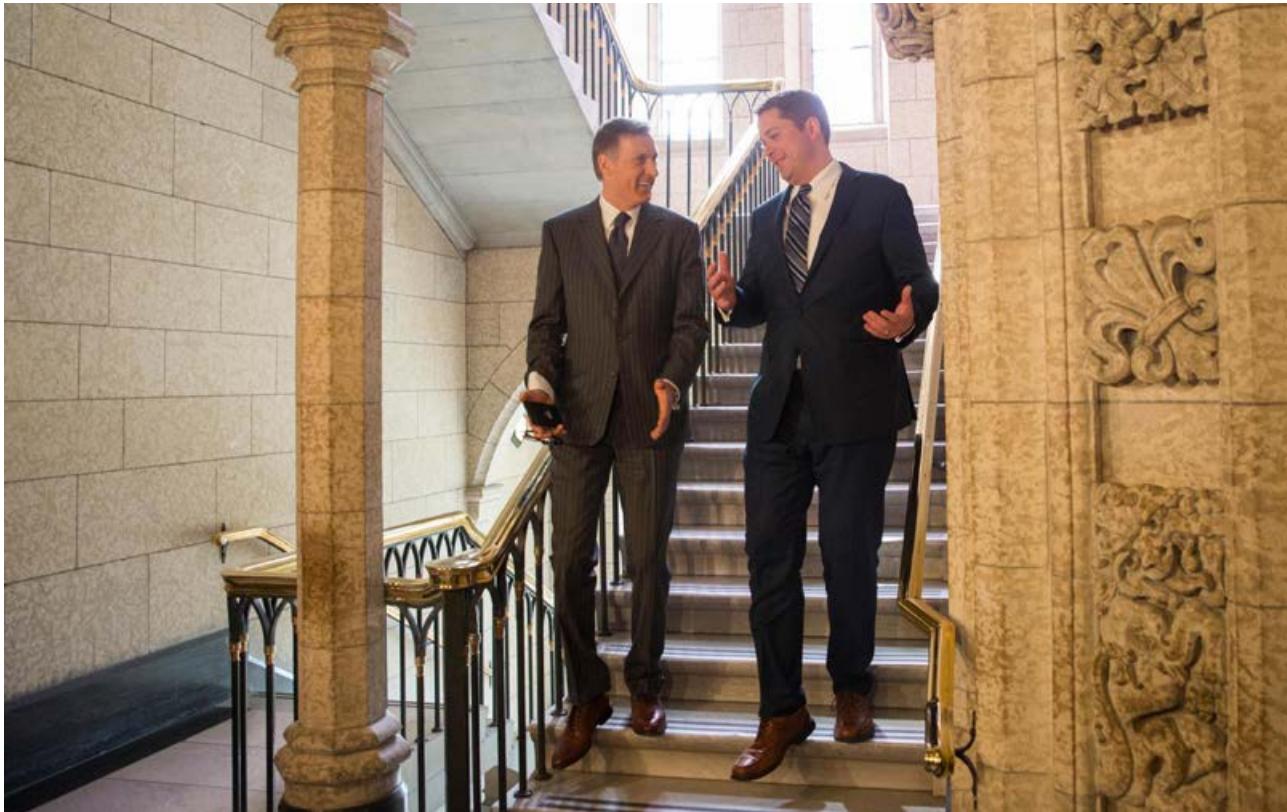
Party of Canada and form his own party – the People's Party of Canada. The party advocates for a comprehensive immigration reform, substantial cuts to various welfare programs, as well as deregulation of Canada's oligopolistic industries such as airlines and telecommunications.

The election year in Canada began with a major scandal – Minister of Justice and Attorney General Jody Wilson-Raybould accused Prime Minister Trudeau of attempting to pressure her over the decision to prosecute the engineering multi-national corporation SNC-Lavalin. Wilson-Raybould resigned from the Trudeau Cabinet on February 12. In early April, Prime Minister Trudeau expelled her from the Liberal caucus and barred her running as a Liberal in the October 2019 election.

At the end of April, Canadians witnessed two additional major scandals, both of which were related to defence procurement. Vice Admiral Mark Norman, had been directed by the Minister of National Defence Jason Kenney in the previous Harper government to procure a conversion of a civilian cargo ship into a military supply vessel, Norman was accused of leaking confidential

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**WILL BE EXTREMELY EXCITING**



Maxime Bernier and Andrew Scheer

information about the procurement. A reputable officer of the Canadian Navy who had served his country with distinction was being publicly humiliated and suffered financial losses in having to defend himself. At all times he declared his innocence of any wrongdoing.

Another blow to the reputation of the current Liberal government was inflicted by the Macdonald-Laurier report published on May 6. According to the report, the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) put forward a recommendation not to spend over \$1 billion on used Australian F-18 fighter jets. The current Canadian fleet of aging CF-18 fighter jets has needed a replacement for quite some time. While the Harper government had invested in the co-development program of F-35 along with nine other NATO members, the Trudeau government decided not to spend money on F-35s, but to opt for a cheaper interim

option instead. This led to a disagreement with the Pentagon, which was relying on the agreement initially, signed between Canada & the USA in 2006. The OAG recommendation not to buy Australian F-19 jets was subsequently removed from the final report amid allegations of political interference from Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan.

As well Canada's relations with China have been deteriorating since late 2018, when Canada arrested the Chief Financial Officer of Huawei on a request for extradition by the United States for an alleged breach of intellectual property rights by Huawei. China subsequently reacted by arresting two Canadian citizens who remain in captivity to date. Canada's Ambassador to China John McCallum was fired in January without a replacement for him to date. Furthermore, China has significantly restricted its imports of canola products from Canada, which is the world's top



Doug Ford and Jason Kenney

producer of canola, which accounts for \$26 billion worth of the Canadian economy. With over a quarter million of Canadians employed in the industry, the dispute with China will certainly not cause too many Canadians in the Prairies to cast their vote for the re-election of the Liberal government.

The recent provincial elections have demonstrated that the momentum is on the Conservatives' side. Ontario elected anti-establishment right-wing populist Conservative Doug Ford who ran as a fierce opponent of the carbon tax in 2018. The trend continued in 2019 – with New Brunswick, Quebec and Prince Edward Island electing conservative Premiers. In April, Conservative Jason Kenney and his United Conservative Party won the Alberta provincial election in a landslide. Saskatchewan and Manitoba continue to be governed by Conservative Premiers.

According to a 338Canada election projection published at the beginning of May, the Conservative Party has a 92% chance of winning the most seats in the October 21 election. In fact, 338Canada projects the Conservative Party to enter the 43<sup>rd</sup> Parliament with 174 seats, which would allow them to form a majority government. The same study suggests the Liberal Party winning 111 seats, with the New Democratic Party falling to 32 Members of Parliament (down from 44 as the result of the 2015 campaign).

Needless to say, a lot can still change in the five months before Election Day. That being said, however, it is already evident that the 2019 election will be one of the most exciting campaigns Canada has had in decades. [CUPP](#)

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Written by Bogdan Puchkov  
CUPP 2019 Intern to James Bezan, MP for Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman

# Lessons Learned

After starting their internships in the House of Commons and immersing themselves into the daily parliamentary schedule, CUPP Interns have decided to share their first impressions and observations about Canada's centre of political power.

1

What were your first impression of Canada, its people, lifestyle, institutions and Parliament Hill?

2

What is the most important lesson you have learned on the Hill so far?

3

Do you have some idea of how you will use the experience gained on the Hill on your return to Ukraine?



## Maksym Dvorovyi

**INTERN TO ROBERT-FALCON OUELLETTE,  
MP FOR WINNIPEG CENTRE, MANITOBA**

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF "KYIV-MOHYLA ACADEMY",  
KYIV, UKRAINE

**1.** Canada differs significantly from Ukraine. People are generally more polite and smile often - and you will rarely hear something less than "good" with respect to your work as an Intern. They are the champions of small talk. You sometimes feel uncomfortable with small talk, and doubt the sincerity of the words - but that's how it is. And I cannot fail to comment on the culture of Parliament Hill and the debates that take place there. I worked in the Ukrainian Parliament, Verkhovna Rada, and I can only dream of duplicating the depth of the research that goes into every piece of legislation and the amount of debate and testimonies which take place before the adoption of legislation.

**2.** Don't be afraid to ask questions, although I'm still reluctant to do so. Only when you ask, will you acquire and receive the information and the experience at its fullest. And not miss the lessons learned.

**3.** In the future, I see myself in the politic or related sphere of activity. Therefore, the House of Commons experience will be useful in my efforts to impact and transform the culture of politics into a productive and beneficial direction in Ukraine. And to expand the field of governance - through involvement of younger stakeholders in our country.



## Valentyna Kalich

**INTERN TO HON. WAYNE EASTER,  
MP FOR MALPEQUE, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND**

EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST,  
HUNGARY

CLARK UNIVERSITY, MASSACHUSETTS,  
USA

CENTRAL UKRAINIAN NATIONAL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY  
KROPYVNYTSKYI, UKRAINE

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
WARSAW, POLAND

**1.** The most inspiring first thing that impressed me about Canada was the mutual respect of people regardless of their existing professional hierarchy. As an intern I have never felt excluded or neglected because of my lowly status. On the contrary, people on the Hill including MPs and the staff have always treated me with respect and dignity. Equality among our entire staff is the predominant value of Canadians. Wonderful precedent to take home.

**2.** One of the most important lessons I have learned was gifted to me by my MP, the Hon. Wayne Easter: if you do your job well and sincerely, being true to your own values - people around you will appreciate it and treat you with respect.

**3.** As I intend to work in the field of social integration - Canada is a perfect example of how to achieve social cohesion. Here I am able to observe social, economic, political and educational policies coming together for the benefit of the country. That is exactly what I will take back with me not only to Ukraine, but to Europe as well. In the current era of globalization it is important to invest not only in one country, but also in the whole world, as the problems we face now and in the future will not remain local, anymore.



## Pavlo Bryliak

**INTERN TO CHERYL GALLANT,  
MP FOR RENFREW – NIPISSING – PEMBROKE, ONTARIO**

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY,  
LVIV, UKRAINE

**1.** For me Canada feels like a very free and open-minded society with great differences, but with shared values that unite. It is more than comfortable for me to live and work here, and it is a great advantage of the CUPP program. What a reward for working to be selected for the program. I'm looking forward to returning home and sharing my Canadian experience.

**2.** Don't be afraid to ask questions, although I'm still reluctant to do so. Only when you ask, will you acquire and receive the information and the experience at its fullest. And not miss the lessons learned.

**3.** CUPP is an excellent introduction to the world of high-level governance and diplomacy. You experience the activities on Parliament Hill, inside the debates chamber and in your own office. You witness all of it and you become part of it. Moreover - you are the one by whom a lot of people on Parliament will formulate their opinion about Ukraine. And acquiring this unique parliamentary knowledge shapes your own personality. I am sure that the CUPP experience will be helpful in my professional life, which I now believe will be tightly connected with Ukraine.



## Maksym Dzhyhun

INTERN TO KEVIN LAMOUREUX,  
MP FOR WINNIPEG NORTH, MANITOBA

MYKHAYLO DRAHOMANOV NATIONAL  
PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY OF KYIV,  
UKRAINE

- 1.** Canada to me is a nation rich in natural beauty, full of people with great respect for others, and an efficient political system. Despite the fact we live in the capital, it feels almost like I am in a forest, with diverse animal and plant life. Every day, I have opportunities to interact with dozens of people from the spheres of politics, science, culture and service, and all of them are very polite and kind to others. Canada clearly prizes egalitarianism: you feel equal to everyone else, regardless of your social or material status. I was pleasantly surprised by the very respectful attitude of MPs to their assistants. Here you will not find bosses and subordinates – instead, there is only a team built on mutual respect.
- 2.** Politics is about a search of permanent compromise. That's a sphere where you should take into account the interests of all stakeholders irrespective to which political camp they belong.
- 3.** This internship in Canada's parliament makes me think about ways of changing the Ukrainian political system. After this program, I'd like to implement my knowledge about Canadian political life and democracy at work and of course, I dream about the beginning of my own political career.



## Anna Mysyshyn

**INTERN TO LINDA DUNCAN,  
MP FOR EDMONTON-STRATHCONA**

IVAN FRANKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LVIV  
UKRAINE

TARTU UNIVERSITY  
ESTONIA

**1.** Canada is a very calm country, where everything runs in an orderly fashion. From the very first day, I had an impression that everyone was extremely friendly and very keen to share with us his or her duties. Afterwards, I "borrowed" these attributes and began to smile more often, and engage others in conversation. I received an extremely positive impression of Parliament and my MP - Linda Duncan. Although she holds a very responsible position that demands a lot of hard work, Linda inspired me with her extraordinary energy and positive outlook. She showed me that passion is everything and to be successful, the first thing to do is to fall in love with your work.

**2.** Communication is the most important skill any leader can possess. We must not be afraid to communicate, ask questions or raise concerns. Because opportunity does not knock, it presents itself when you beat down the door.

**3.** There are many common issues that concern both Ukrainians and Canadians. Therefore the experience of working in Canada's Parliament gave me a deeper understanding how to tackle some problems we have in Ukraine. I am eager to start working on new ideas, which I learned here when I return to Ukraine.



## Natalia Lavrova

**INTERN TO JAMES MALONEY,  
MP FOR ETOBICOKE—LAKE SHORE, ONTARIO**

ODESA I.I. MECHNIKOV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY,  
UKRAINE

UNIVERSITÄT OSNABRÜCK,  
GERMANY

- 1.** What impressed me the most right after I arrived in Canada were people and their interaction with each other. Particularly how open-minded and positive they are.
- 2.** What I've learned so far is that there is no pronounced hierarchy in people's relationship. Everyone is equal and authentic at the same time. My office is open to innovations and creative ideas that make me feel confident to express myself.
- 3.** The acquired communication skills could be beneficial and essential for people in Ukraine. By incorporating more tolerance and equality into the working environment of my country, so that everyone can feel accepted and valued.



# LANGUAGE ISSUE IN CANADA AND UKRAINE: WHY IS FRENCH NOT RUSSIAN



**Oleh SHEMETOV**

University of Vienna, Austria;  
University of Wroclaw, Poland;  
California State University, Dominguez Hills, United States;  
Vasyl Karazin National University of Kharkiv,  
Ukraine Intern to The Hon. Chrystia Freeland, MP for University–Rosedale, Ontario  
East-West Foundation 2016 CUPP Scholarship recipient.

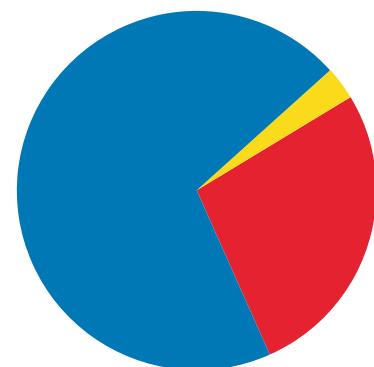
"There must be a long-term national consensus on languages.  
The countries that do not achieve such consensus have a tendency  
to break up."

Derek Fraser, Ambassador of Canada to Ukraine in 1998-2001

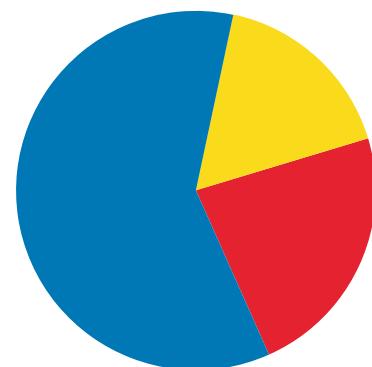
Dear reader, even though I cannot be sure if you attended the Model Ukraine Conference in Ottawa on 16 October 2013, I want you to know that this was the time and place when Dr. Roman Petryshyn, Director of the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at the MacEwan University, delivered an excellent presentation on the official language policies in Canada and Ukraine. The point he made was that the key to making a modern Ukrainian lies in keeping Ukraine unilingual on the national level, bilingual on the regional level and trilingual on the individual level. While I took a great delight in listening to his speech and would claim the conclusions he drew are still

relevant today, what resonated in my mind was the question he posed at the beginning – "Would the increase of status and prestige for Russian by making it an official national state language in Ukraine, like French has been in Canada – lead to greater national harmony?" This question imprinted itself in my mind so strongly that I went on to produce a master's thesis on the language rights in Canada and Ukraine, to publish a monograph based on that thesis and to write the article you are now reading. The question itself was relevant, but I could not help overlooking the trend back home in Ukraine that we Ukrainians, were as if comatosely lured into paralleling Russian with French,

when comparing the language issue of Ukraine to that of Canada. Moreover, we were being persuaded that the only correct answer to the Dr. Petryshyn's question was an affirmative one. There seemed to be no alternative approach. My suspicion grew as I was coming to a realization that the people setting such a tone for the language discourse were anything but ardent adherents of Ukrainian independence and national revival. The people, who did not share a grain of Western values, were passionately idealizing the Western practices of bilingualism, especially those of Canada. There was definitely something wrong with this premise. So I began my own research.



● Ukrainian ● Russian ● Other



● English ● French ● Other

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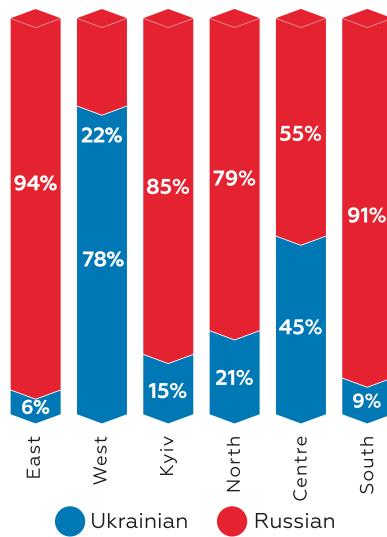
Mother tongue in Ukraine and Canada, 2001

**Demographics.** Indeed, the official demographic data suggest a straightforward, yet, hasty, as we will see later, conclusion: Ukrainian clearly compares to English, Russian compares to French. As per the 2011 census data, there were 21.3% of native French speakers in Canada as opposed to 56.9% of Anglophones. Similarly, the last Ukrainian census taken in 2001, found that 29.6% percent of the population considered Russian their mother tongue while 67.5% declared it to be Ukrainian. Besides, there is Crimea, the only Ukrainian region where Russian speakers hold an outright majority of 79.1%. According to the Crimean Constitution, Russian enjoys official status alongside Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar, but in practice dominates overwhelmingly both the public and private discourse on the peninsula. There is Québec, the only Canadian province where the majority of the population speaks French. The provincial Charter of the French Language

defines French as the sole official language of the province.

Whereas Statistics Canada defines “mother tongue” as the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the person at the time the data was collected, the term has no definition in the Statistics Service of Ukraine. This ambiguity makes it a difficult task to establish the actual numbers of speakers of Ukrainian and Russian. Dominique Arel, Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa, suggests that “a characteristic feature of Ukraine is that it is divided into two, approximately equal numerically linguistic groups – Ukrainian speakers and Russian speakers”. Indeed, there is considerable evidence of a much larger Russian language and cultural presence in Ukraine than the official demographic data would suggest. The opinion poll conducted in 2013 puts even more doubts on the dominance of Ukrainian. The question was “What language is it easier for

you to communicate in?” and the results are presented in the graph below.



Another survey demonstrated that the standard of knowledge of Russian (free conversational language, writing and reading) in Ukraine is higher (76%) than the standard of knowledge of Ukrainian (69%). Even more interestingly, a nationwide Gallup poll taken in 2008 revealed that 83% of Ukrainians preferred to take the survey in Russian, and only 17% in Ukrainian.



**Separatism.** Going back to the issue of separatism and the parallel between Crimea and Québec, one fact often goes unmentioned. Until recently, separatism in the predominantly Ukrainian-speaking region of Galicia was no less strong than in Crimea and Donbas. This especially was the case during the presidency of Viktor Yanukovych. The idea of separatism in western Ukraine was promoted by a number of intellectuals, writers and poets, mostly natives of Galicia. Yuri Andrukovich, famous writer and poet, suggested giving Crimea and Donbas a chance for self-determination. His main argument was that the Ukrainian idea, language and culture were having difficulty in spreading there. That is why these regions should be excluded from Ukraine. Writer and literary critic Yuriy Vynnychuk claimed, "The South-East has to secede from Ukraine". He paid due respect to what he considered the great civilizing mission of Poles, "Only where there were Poles, Ukrainian language and tradition were preserved, and probably, we must separate along this border... I do not know how long we could sustain: one side is pulling left, the other to the right; there is no decent life, twenty years – total decrepitude. Maybe, let us break up? Maybe, let us live like formerly the two Germanys?" Host of the most watched TV channel of western Ukraine Ostap Drozdov shared his opinion live, "I see Ukraine as a typical communal apartment. The mutual non-acceptance of mentalities is so deep that it is

able to get on in one country only thanks to the absence of everyday contact between them. The easterners come to the West and westerners come to the East as guests, as tourists, as if to another country... The more the East and West get to know each other, the stronger the sense of fundamental otherness and incompatibility will get... Different worldviews, different civilizations, different experiences... One must not reconcile, but regulate these two worlds apart... Antagonists cannot get along together in one communal apartment, they cannot and they do not have to".

The most reckless Galician "Europeans", whether consciously or not, have insisted on voluntarily losing southern and eastern regions, which, in their opinion, would facilitate the integration of the rest of Ukraine with the EU. As we can see, the motives of the secessionists in Québec and Galicia have many similar features.

To their credit, Galicians did promote the Ukrainian cause in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, fought for Ukrainian independence in the ranks of the Sichovi Striltsi and UPA during both world wars, respectively; they kept the idea of an independent Ukraine alive in the West, kept it alive in their hearts of Ukrainians under the Soviet occupation. They went on to save the independent Ukraine from the Moscow deathly embrace by giving their votes to the pro-European political forces and by occupying the streets of Kyiv in 2004. Was Ukraine under Yanukovych what they had been

fighting for? Was it what they deserved? Some experts claim, if there had been no Euromaidan, in the worst-case scenario, the nation would have had a civil war, but this time in the western regions. "There would have been a very unstable situation in the right-bank Ukraine and the west. There could have started a disintegration of the land, only in other regions," Vadym Karasiov, Ukrainian political scientist, believes. Fortunately, Galicians did not yield to the separatist moods, but joined the rest of Ukrainians on the barricades of the Euromaidan and later in the trenches of Donbas. However, in the light of the new government's pitiable progress in the economic and humanitarian policy, high inflation, impoverishment of ordinary people, crawling Russification of the media, mass culture and public life, growing sense of despair that shedding of the Galician blood on the Euromaidan and in Donbas may have been in vain, there is no guarantee that separatism will not return to Galicia.

**Colonization.** Although the French were not autochthonous to Canada, they were the first Europeans to colonize it. They founded their first permanent settlement in 1605 and settled predominantly in the Saint Lawrence River Valley and Acadia establishing so-called New France. Having lost in the Seven Years' War, according to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France ceded its possessions in Canada to the victorious British. However, the French population



would still be in majority in what now constitutes the province of Québec and neighbouring areas. Up until the American Revolution, the English-speaking population of the Saint Lawrence River Valley was for the most part made up of servicemen, bureaucrats and some merchants. The Scottish and Irish Catholic peasants who immigrated to Canada merged with the local French speakers. As quickly as a couple of generations later it was hard to distinguish them from the locals: they were well assimilated into the French-speaking community in terms of both language and customs. Even today many Frenchspeaking Canadians have Scottish and Irish surnames. The demographic and language situation in Canada shifted dramatically after the American Revolution when Canada received a huge number of loyalists from the rebellious United States, those who kept fidelity to the British Crown and did not recognize the new nation. Numerous, belonging to the “superior” strata, neither were they eager to adapt to the “conquered” Frenchspeaking Canadian nation.

Kyivan Rus, the medieval loose federation of East Slavic tribes, was a proto-Ukrainian rather than a proto-Russian state. Northern tribes like Viatichians and Slovianians played only a marginal role in the history of Rus. The Russians, or Muscovites as they were known back then, appeared in Ukraine in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but their number was insignificant. Those were for the most part diplomats, clergymen, and merchants. The

first tangible wave of emigration from Muscovy commenced when the region of Sloboda Ukraine in the northeast came under the Muscovite rule in the mid-16th century. Mainly the Zaporizhian Cossacks, peasants, and clergy escaping the oppressive rule of the Polish nobility, colonized it. In Sloboda Ukraine, they were granted numerous liberties with regard to self-government and taxation, which also provoked the influx of Russian peasants from the neighbouring areas. Besides, some Russians voluntarily moved to central and western Ukraine: persecuted clergymen and dissidents, defecting nobility and gentry, students, runaway serfs and simply adventurers. Most of them would be assimilated, especially in the areas controlled by the Cossacks. There is no doubt about the Ukrainian-language environment existing within the Zaporizhian Sich. As per Dmytro Yavornytsky, knowledge of Ukrainian was one of the major requirements to join it. The reign of Peter I and Catherine II saw the first official bans of Ukrainian. In 1775, the Russians destroyed the Zaporizhian Sich and virtually finalized the subjugation of Ukraine. The language situation started to change accordingly.

**Naming.** At the beginning, Canadian and French were interchangeable as synonyms in North America. Even in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, a British Army officer and administrator, and his contemporaries, “Canadian meant Frenchspeaking. English speakers were the English or British.” As mentioned above,

medieval Rus had very little in common with modern-day Russia. Before Ivan IV the Terrible self-proclaimed himself “Tsar and Grand Duke of all Rus”, what today is called Russia had always been referred to throughout Europe as Muscovy. Instead, those were the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania who were called Russians, or more correctly, Rusians or Rusyns. As Peter I started his reign, Muscovites basically finalized the theft of the ethnonyms “Rus” and “Russian” from their immediate western neighbours.

**Appeasement and assimilation of local elites.** The -new rulers of Canada, or “conquerors”, as they would often be described by their French Canadian contemporaries, be it said that, through the Québec Act of 1774, retained and protected most of the property, religious, political, social, and cultural rights of the French-speaking habitants, guaranteed their right to practice the Catholic faith and to use the French civil law that later evolved into the unique Québec law. This piece of legislation benefited almost exclusively the landowners and priests. However, as the public administration was now under the British control and the British occupied the key positions in trade and industry, English was gradually turning into the language of “the rich, successful and educated”. More on the personal level, French-speakers would derogatorily be called “frogs” and ordered to “speak white”.

In Muscovy and later in the Russian Empire, loyalty to



the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow and loyalty to the Russian language have become identifiers of state unity. English historian Andrew Wilson writes that Russia offered the Ukrainian elite “assimilation instead of discrimination”. Well, the truth is it offered both. The attractiveness of the imperial career indeed proved to be decisive for the military, secular and church elites of Ukraine. After the Treaty of Pereiaslav, imperial institutions bit by bit replaced the Ukrainian governing authorities. The decrees of Russian tsars, such as the Charter for the Rights, Freedoms, and Privileges of the Noble Russian Gentry of 1785, equalized the loyal Ukrainian aristocracy in rights with their Russian counterparts. Combined with the brutal coercion, those measures ensured fealty of Ukraine to its Russian lord. Russian, which was a mandatory prerequisite of access to upward social mobility, started to spread within the Ukrainian elite, be associated with universalism, progress and high culture whilst Ukrainian, the language of underprivileged peasants and serfs, became a symbol of rural backwardness. If a Ukrainian wanted to grow socially, sooner or later he or she had to start “speaking normally”.

**Linguistic and national oppression, assimilation.** Since “the Conquest” until the introduction of the policy of official bilingualism in the midst of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the French language in Canada in general and in Québec in particular had been time and again exposed to danger of extinction.

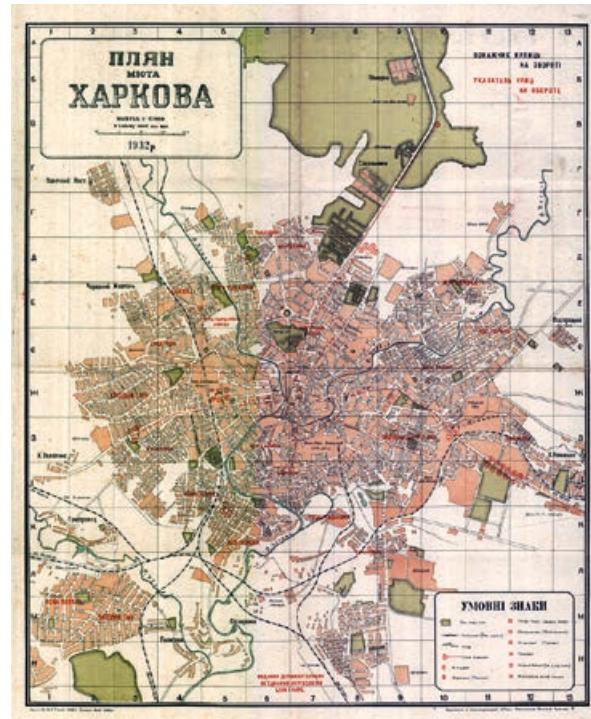
Although the legal protection of English and French was rooted in Section 133 of the 1867 British North America Act which allowed for the use of both languages in parliamentary debates and court proceedings, as well as in the printing and publication of laws by the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Québec, French was still absent from various spheres of communication. To name several oppressive actions, in 1755-1764, during the Seven Years’ War, the French-speaking Acadians were deported to other British colonies, later on many settled in Louisiana where ultimately gave up French and switched to English. After the British North America Act had established the provincial responsibility over education, the corresponding provincial educational acts, with the only exceptions of Ontario and Québec, banned the use of French as a medium of instruction in the system of public schools. Some additionally abolished the provision of financial support to Catholic French-speaking schools. In 1912, the Ontario Ministry of Education issued Regulation 17, which largely limited teaching in French to grades one to three. In 1927, Ontario Premie Howard Ferguson, seeking support of Louis-Alexandre Taschereau, his opposite number from Québec, in his struggle against the federal government, set up a commission to investigate the use of French in Ontario. Regulation 17 was soon replaced by a compromise system based on its recommendations. In spite of the repeal of Regulation 17, not before 1968 did the province relax its anti-French policy and

amended the Education Act to give local boards of education a broadened discretion to establish French-language schools. Dozens of French-speaking communities in Western Canada, e.g. Plamondon, Alberta, succumbed to a combination of racial hostility, government indifference, local apathy and the sheer weight of a dominant English-speaking culture. And so, due to absence of French schooling, heavy Anglicization of education, public and business life, a great variety of distinct French dialects, including unique Newfoundland French, are now either extinct or moribund. Overall, the number and proportion of native French speakers has been slowly, but persistently, declining, especially outside Québec. On the contrary, the share of Anglophones has been increasing, even after the introduction of official bilingualism by the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau.

Upon the conclusion of the March Articles in 1658, the Muscovite troops and accompanying servicemen poured into Ukraine on a mass scale. As the subjugation of Ukraine began, the oppression of its language and culture followed almost concurrently. Through almost 350 years of the Russian rule over Ukraine, the Russian government enacted 479 circulars, ukases, orders to prohibit or severely limit the use of Ukrainian. Among the most notorious anti-Ukrainian initiatives the Valuev Circular of 1863 surely must be mentioned. Not only did it forbid a large portion of the publications in Ukrainian language, but



Клуб, плян... Ukrainian as spelled and spoken in Kharkiv in the 1920s, the then center of the Ukrainian national revival. Symbolically, at the outset of the Stalin's purges, the building on the left was converted into the Theater of Russian Drama.



voiced the cornerstone idea of the Russian policy towards Ukrainians and their language – “no separate Little Russian language ever existed, does not exist and could not exist” – the idea that Russian imperialism had been nurturing since the colonization of Ukraine, the idea it would stick to for centuries to come. The Russian chauvinist thought would go on to develop the legend of the triune Russian nation that consisted of three branches, Great (Russia proper), Little (Ukraine) and White (Belarus).

The Soviet Union continued the tradition and came up with the idea of the “Soviet people”. Russification would advance under the guise of promotion of internationalism. Whereas Russian became synonymous to international, non-Russian was often regarded as nationalist. Michael Moser of University of

Vienna tells that the First World War triggered a new upswing of the national movement, of the Ukrainian language and culture, but this surge was short-lived and ultimately gave way to the repression that culminated in the Holodomor of 1932-1933 when the leading national intellectuals were arrested or exterminated and several million peasants were starved to death. After the Stalin era, the population of Ukraine was still increasingly Russified through Russian language education, Russianlanguage media and the prevalent use of Russian in the public affairs. George Shevelov of Columbia University, a native of Kharkiv, defined the language policy of the Soviet government towards Ukraine in the following words: “...banning the Ukrainian language from public use, entirely or selectively; imposing the state language on speakers of Ukrainian through education,

cultural developments, career opportunities, territorial resettlement; settlement of the ruling nationality on Ukrainian territory, etc. the Soviet system, in addition to applying all these “classic” methods, introduced interference into the structure of the Ukrainian language by prohibiting certain words, syntactic constructions, grammatical forms, spelling, and orthoepic standards, while promoting others patterned on Russian or directly transplanted from Russian... The contamination was to affect not only speakers of Ukrainian, but the language per se in its intrinsic structure.”

**One-sidedness.** In Canada, while both languages, English and French, enjoy formal equality, English still dominates the public life in Ottawa, Toronto, Saskatoon, Vancouver, and often even in Montréal.



More and more French Canadians become fluent in English whereas Anglophones do not feel the need to learn French. Quite often even positions or areas designated bilingual are not such. French Canadian communities are fading away en masse in Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and even around bilingual Ottawa. Only 7 per cent of Anglophones living outside Québec are bilingual in French and English. In Québec, 37 per cent of Francophones speak both languages. Bilingualism has been increasing primarily among Francophones. Today the probability that a Francophone would speak English is five times higher than to hear an Anglophone speak French.

According to the 2001 Ukrainian Census, in the regions where the majority indicated Ukrainian as mother tongue, the percentage of those fluent in Russian was significantly higher than the other way around. It is characteristic for most Ukrainian speakers to switch the language code, to shift from mother tongue to the language of interlocutor.

Quite the contrary, Russian speakers are much more stable and overwhelmingly respond in Russian regardless of the language they are addressed in, be it Russian or Ukrainian (98.2% and 95.3%, respectively). This may serve as a proof of the deeprooted inferiority complex as such a shift is not necessary since almost all of those who live in Ukraine at least understand both languages.

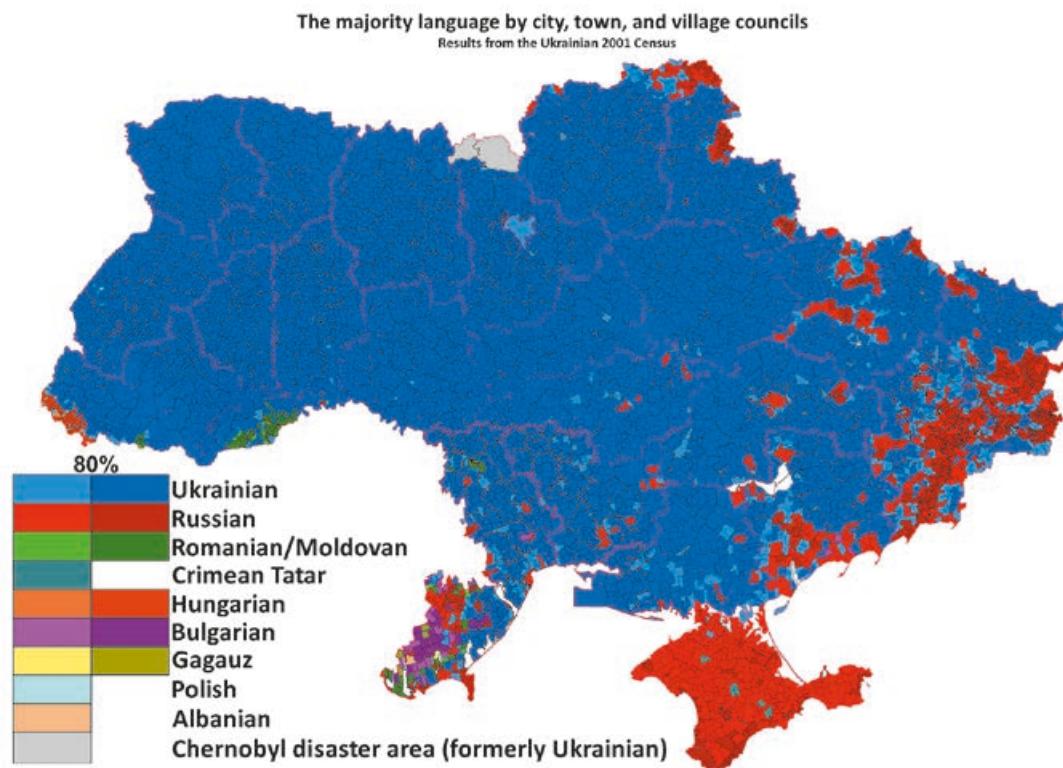
**Migration patterns.** The settlement and migration patterns

of Anglophone Canadians and Russian speakers in Ukraine, Francophone Canadians and Ukrainian-speaking population of Ukrainian also demonstrate striking similarities. They all fall within the centre-periphery models and neo-Marxist development theory. In both countries, the people have migrated and settled actively over the past 400 years. English have come to dominate the urban life in Canada; Russian has occupied the same position in most Ukrainian cities. One can find homogeneous Francophone and Ukrainianspeaking cities only in Québec and western Ukraine, respectively. In the historically French Canadian and Ukrainian-speaking regions, French and Ukrainian can still be heard in the countryside, whereas the cities are likely to be dominated by English and Russian, respectively.

In the past and since the 2000s, French speakers have immigrated to Toronto, Ottawa, Alberta and other English-speaking areas. Ukrainian speakers have been leaving their villages and moving to Russian-speaking cities, western Ukrainians have been immigrating eastwards to the industrialized regions. Both Anglophone and Russian colonizers preferred to settle in urban areas. The hot political debate on language issue was a reflection of everyday reality which many Québécois and Ukrainians faced. White-collar positions were almost entirely occupied by Anglophones and Russophones whilst Francophones and Ukrainian speakers clearly

dominated among blue-collar workers. "There was only one French speaker in the office where my father worked. He was a security guard", remembered Edward Kowalski, a son of a Polish immigrant who lived in Montréal, the largest city of Québec and second largest in Canada. That was a typical picture for the city in the 1950s-1970s. Edward himself could barely speak French. Like the majority of the immigrant children, he went to the English school. The parents did not want their child to grow into "a second-rate person". The social issue closely interwove with the language and national issue.

**Mass media, pop culture.** Taking into account the considerable linguistic and cultural influence of English-speaking provinces and such a powerful neighbour as the U.S., where television, cinema industry, leading mass media are dominated by English, Francophones outside Québec find themselves at risk of gradual, but irreversible assimilation. Similarly, there is an unequal ratio of Russian and Ukrainian in the domains of mass information and entertainment, which is caused not that much by the demand for such products by Russian speakers, but by the vast media market of Russia which penetrates into those of the former Soviet Union without a single thought of meeting the needs of non-Russian speakers. Some statistics to illustrate the situation in Ukraine in 2014: only 55% of books were printed in Ukrainian, newspapers – 29.5%, magazines – 9.9%, the share of



Ukrainian in prime time on TV was 30% versus Russian – 40%, among the songs played by the most popular radio stations only 5% were in Ukrainian, 37% of Ukrainian restaurants did not have a menu in Ukrainian, 47% did not serve in Ukrainian.

**Affirmative action.** The new language policy after the Quiet Revolution in Québec and on the federal level, the last years of the Soviet rule in Ukraine and following years of independence took the form of an affirmative action towards Francophones and Ukrainian speakers, respectively, not towards Anglo and Russophones, which sort of gives an idea of which languages had a disadvantageous position. Complaints. There are much more complaints in relation to language rights coming from

Francophones in Canada and Ukrainian speakers in Ukraine. According to the Canadian federal Commissioner of Official Languages, on average over 90% of the admissible complaints come from Francophones. In light of absence of any official statistics of the similar kind in Ukraine, the author of this article studied 844 most relevant, as suggested by the Integrated State Register of Court Decisions, unique court judgements which mentioned the language legislation. Judgements regarding language rights accounted for 281 of them, the rest being procedural technical judgements; incomplete or irrelevant texts. 207 or nearly 74% of the judgements were on the alleged breaches of the language rights of Ukrainian speakers, 71 decisions or 25% were directed against the deeds

which, according to the claimants, that way or another posed a violation of the rights of Russian speakers. The remaining 1% concerned the language rights of the speakers of other languages. As regards the complaints from the second category, almost all of them, with a few exceptions were appeals to the decisions of the state inspections to impose fines on businesses or private entrepreneurs who did not supply their Russian advertisement with Ukrainian translation, marketed goods without appropriate Ukrainian marking, banks which refused to issue statements in Ukrainian, official institutions which did not agree with the court decisions to respect the language rights of Ukrainian speakers. Speaking about exceptions, there were only three of them – complaints of the direct



### Territories under Russian occupation



private nature: regarding the lack of drug instructions in Russian, the lack of Russian-language secondary education a school, the lack of Russian-dubbed movies. To say it again, only 3 against 207. To put it into perspective, in December 2014, PrivatBank, the largest commercial bank in Ukraine, following a number of lawsuits, started a campaign to collect complaints about the lack of Ukrainian services and would receive on average 3 complaints a day. Neighbours. Both Canada and Ukraine have neighbours, U.S. and Russian Federation, respectively, whose populations and economies are many times greater. Both countries understand that knowing the neighbour's language is important to advancing their trade relations. No surprise, English and Russian play an

important role in the business life of Canada and Ukraine. Both being middle range powers in the global security and trading systems, Canada and Ukraine are obliged to compromise and dialogue with their neighbours.

Whereas English is used as lingua franca in the Western world, Russian performs the same function in the post-Soviet world. In fact, the North-Atlantic trading space is regarded as one. The post-Soviet market, with low or zero tariffs, various bilateral and multilateral free trade agreements constitute one relatively homogeneous entity. Since the Euromaidan, the trade with Russia has been falling, but as of October 2015, Russia is still the largest single trading partner of Ukraine, accounting for 12.8% of its exports and 20% of its

imports. The English-speaking United States is Canada's top supplier of merchandise imports, responsible for over half of all imports into Canada. The U.S. share is even greater as an export destination, accounting for nearly three quarters of Canada's merchandise exports.

The key difference between the neighbours of Canada and Ukraine is that neither the British administration nor modern Britain or the U.S. ever claimed that there was no French or French Canadian nation. Nor did they deny the fact of the existence of a distinct French language. Russia always did it with a greater or lower degree of intensity. Except for a short period of Ukrainization in the 1920-1930s, the Russian government never made concessions to the Ukrainian



speakers. Ukrainian was the second most widely spoken language of the Russian Empire and then the USSR. However, there were no discussions about bilingualism in Russia, nor that Ukrainian could be the only official language in Ukraine, which it finally became in 1989. The United States, Great Britain, or France never intervened in the language or nation-building policies of independent Canada, the only exception, perhaps, being the controversial address of Charles de Gaulle at the Montréal City Hall in 1967. Since 1991, the Russian Federation has consistently criticized the Ukrainian language policies and forced its own vision of them onto the Ukrainian government. Canada's neighbours do not have language-based territorial claims to Canada. Russia annexed the Crimea, occupied Donbas and would not miss a chance to seize the rest of Ukraine if it only got one. International law expert, former ambassador in Benelux countries, Britain and Ireland, representative of Ukraine in EU and NATO, former judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia Prof. Volodymyr Vasylchenko expressed an opinion, "Since the very first days of Ukrainian independence Russia has insisted that Ukraine adopt Russian as its second official language. Why so? Because Russia considers Russian a geopolitical weapon, advancement of the Russian world. There is no room for an independent Ukraine in this world." Canada and Québec decided to protect French even though there was no geopolitical threat from the United States or

any other country that would use English as a geopolitical weapon.

**What now?** The Quiet Revolution brought about the changes in the language situation in Canada, both on the federal and provincial level, ultimately making French the official language of Québec, one of the two official languages of the province of New Brunswick and nationally of all Canada, as well as enjoying wide rights and privileges locally in its other regions. From 1963 onwards one could observe the strengthening of the position of French as the official language effectively used in practice, as well as the realization of measures aimed at the promotion of bilingualism in all fields. The policy of official bilingualism has overcome a long and winding road. A lot of mistakes were made en route, yet it eventually yielded significant success. The achievements of bilingualism are absolute. The French Canadians no longer need to translate the official documents into English or vice versa. They could easily be served in their mother tongue anywhere in Québec, in the federal public institutions and by Crown corporations, receive provincial and local government services in certain other regions throughout Canada. Should their language rights be violated, there is always an effective mechanism to restore them, including but not limited to the complaints to the Official Languages Commissioner in Ottawa and Office québécois de la langue française in Montréal. Most importantly, both the Canadian and Québec society obtained long-expected stability and peace. Every Canadian province except British Columbia

and Newfoundland and Labrador has implemented measures to recognize the official languages or the provision of services in French. Most provinces and territories have offices to oversee the proper protection of the language rights of the speakers of both official languages, to work towards the decrease of their violation. Roughly speaking, the language policy of independent Ukraine is marked by the absence of a language policy. Even after the Euromaidan, the language issue has largely been put on hold. Only a couple of positive changes has been brought about in the new Law "On the higher education" which made Ukrainian once again the medium of instruction at Ukrainian universities, and in the Bill taking effect on 1 May 2016 "On the civil service" which obliges the civil servants to know and use Ukrainian while performing their duties. However, the controversial Yanukovych-era Law "On the principles of the state language policy", a subject of relentless criticism of both the Western institutions such as the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Venice Commission and Freedom House, and the Ukrainian civil society organizations, the very law that provoked the Language Maidan protests in 2012, suppressed by Yanukovych with the riot police and tear gas, remains in force. Yanukovych scrapped practically all the meagre achievements of the Yushchenko era and they still remain scrapped. In Ukraine, there does not exist and has never existed a specialized institution with the sole mandate to inspect the state of protection of language rights, whether of speakers of



Ukrainian or Russian, develop initiatives for their improvement, neither on the local nor on the national level. The Department of Language and Ethno national Policy that functioned within the Secretariat of President under Yushchenko was abolished by Yanukovych and remains abolished. The anti-Russification effort is fueled exclusively by social activism alone. Sociolinguist Larysa Masenko warns that having no policy in place to protect Ukrainian and the rights of its speakers benefits the dominant language, Russian. Oddly enough, Canada protected French when it was in danger and thus saved the national unity. Ukraine is protecting Russian while not Russian, but Ukrainian, its namesake language, needs support, further Russification may be a source of instability and only serve Russia's interests.

**It does matter what language we speak.** Much has been written and said about whether it matters whether Ukraine speaks Ukrainian or Russian. In the era of globalization and mass migration, what makes a Pole, a Turk, a Ghanaian and a Vietnamese, none of whom has a single drop of the German blood, but who were born and raised, let us say, in the suburbs of Berlin, German? Is it not the language? What defines Franco-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians? Is it not the language? Who benefits financially when Ukrainians watch TV shows and listen to the music produced in Russia, read books written in Russia, or surf the Russian websites on the web? If national identity is empty words

for us, if we do not care about losing money to someone who is our biggest enemy, how are we going to survive? Do we care at all about your security? Is not the percentage of those who regret the collapse of the Soviet Union 2 times higher among the Russian-speaking Ukrainians than among their Ukrainian-speaking fellow citizens? According to Rating Group Ukraine, it is. Are not those who speak Russian 2.5 times more receptive to the Russian propaganda, 2 times more likely to oppose the Ukrainian independence and 6 times – to deny the Holodomor being a genocide of the Ukrainian people? According to the survey of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, they are. Surveys conducted on the Euromaidan by Professor Mark Beissinger of Princeton in late December and early February revealed that 82% of the protestors communicated in Ukrainian on the Euromaidan, not Russian. After all, are we so blind to see the correlation between these two maps? **CUPP**

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- Oleh Shemetov completed his first CUPP internship in 2011 with Nathan Cullen, MP for Skeena- na-Bulkley Valley, British Columbia. He was selected as one of two CUPP student coordinators for the 2016 CUPP program. He will do his second internship with the Hon. Chrystia Freeland, Minister of International Trade.

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## Ukraine's New Language Law: International and Domestic Reaction

On 26 April 2019, the Ukrainian parliament approved the new law setting out the rules to use of the Ukrainian language in the public sphere, businesses, media, education, etc. The World Ukrainian Congress applauded this decision due to a pressing necessity to protect the Ukrainian language after decades and centuries of Russification. Indeed, Ukraine should protect its national language, because challenges of modern society require improvement of the country's informational security limiting excessive Russian content in the Ukrainian media.

Questionably, much of the international media commented on the language law rather negatively. In particular, Bloomberg reports that the approval of the new language law may deteriorate relations with neighbouring Hungary that supports the Hungarian ethnic groups living in the Western part of Ukraine. With a reference to Hungarian sources, Polityka Polska, the Polish newspaper, also notices that the language law would discriminate Polish and Hungarian minorities within Ukraine. Generally, the reaction in the Hungarian

media – compared to the Polish one – seems to be more radical and aggressive, as the Polish media neutrally reacts on the language law in most cases. This can be explained at least by the following three reasons: (a) Hungarian enclaves in Ukraine are larger than those Polish; (b) the current Hungarian semi-authoritarian government is consistent in support of the Russian Federation and aggressive actions against Ukraine, as well as its territorial integrity; (c) Polish society, with some exceptions, supports Ukraine's pro-independence policies following the maxim "Poland cannot be independent without independent Ukraine".

The Guardian refers to the opinion of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, who stated that a draft version of the language law raised "serious concerns as to the compatibility of certain regulations with international human rights standards, particularly in respect to language proficiency requirements for accessing public office". This can bring about negative consequences for Ukraine, as the language

law should in no case violate principles of the rule of law. On the other hand, the Ukrainian language being crippled by centuries of Russification has to receive the same status as the Baltic states received for their national languages.

Der Spiegel, the German newspaper, draws attention to the fact that the language law has been adopted shortly after Moscow's announcement of the simplified procedure to issue Russian passports to citizens in eastern Ukraine. Even though the link between two events is not obvious, we may assume that Russia deliberately prepared the act of retorsion in advance.

Having regard to more radical pro-Russian opinions, Reuters draws attention to the statement of Viktor Medvedchuk, a Ukrainian politician closely related to Vladimir Putin, who said the language law violated the constitutional rights of millions of Ukrainian Russian-speakers. The Telegraph puts forward the opinion of the pro-Russian parliamentary faction that regards the language law as a very harmful statutory act splitting the country. In addition, Russia Today,

the steamroller of Russian propaganda, unsurprisingly considers the language law as isolating Russian-speakers. The rhetoric of the pro-Russian faction and the main pro-Russian propaganda media sources are suspiciously similar. The reason for this may be that the most of the pro-Russian deputies are former members of the Party of Regions that have always been

directed by Moscow and its interests. In addition, criticism toward the language law can be explained by attempts to gain additional popular support in predominantly Russian-speaking regions.

Even though the pro-Russian faction tried to delay approval of the language law, the President of Ukraine signed it on 15 May 2019. It can be suggested that

political ambitions of Petro Poroshenko coincided with the ideas of the protection of the Ukrainian language. At the same time, implementation of the language law is uncertain as Volodymyr Zelenskiy, the new president, repeatedly pointed out that this statutory act had been passed “without sufficiently wide prior consultation with civil society”. [CUPP](#)

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## Should Ukraine extend language equality to all minorities?

No, and the reason is not political, but social and economical. Although the Russian-speaking community is the largest minority group, it is not the only minority language group in Ukraine. Let's consider some others, such as the Hungarian, Polish, Bulgarian, Gagauz speaking minorities (15 in total). They have local businesses, schools, communities, etc. Russian for them is irrelevant.

Why should they carry the added burden of operating all documentation and reporting in two irrelevant for them languages, multiplying the cost of operations without any reasonable added

value? Is someone suggesting that one minority is more equal or valuable than other 14? I see the critical violation of the equality principle here.

I once spoke to a member of Hungarian community about the languages issue, and he told me, that the Hungarian speaking community in Ukraine would fight to obtain the same official language status, that will be granted to Russian language. At every level. And I see his position as a justified demand. You can't give one group special language status, and ignore the others. That is not how a rule of law state works.

If you breach the principle of equality you will be under fire before the European Court of Human Rights. That's certain!

By the way, this Hungarians words proved to be true. As soon as Russian language was granted local official language status, the same was claimed for Hungarian. And then Romanian, and then Bulgarian

And so, what will this lead to? Do we now create 16 state languages? Sounds fantastical. A modern Tower of Babel in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in the middle of Europe. Perish the thought! [CUPP](#)



# SELF-RESPECT, SPEAKING UKRAINIAN & CREATING A BETTER FUTURE

**Bohdan VITVITSKY**

US Department of Justice, New Jersey, USA

Delivered at the banquet celebrating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto and the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program. Toronto.

October 28, 2000

I am pleased to be with you at this celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies and the 10th anniversary of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program. I have prepared my remarks principally for our guests from Ukraine, but I trust that all of you will find something of interest in them. What I would like to do this evening is to invite you to join me in giving some thought to why at this point in history, we Ukrainians are the way we are, why we think the way we do and why we do some of the things we do. In order to do this, I am going to ask you to reflect upon three different sets of observations.

**Observation No. 1:** A number of foreign intellectuals who have traveled in Ukraine during the last several years have remarked on the strong sense of political apathy, inertia and passivity that one feels in Ukraine - the apparent conviction that many contemporary Ukrainians seem to have that nothing can be done to change things, and that there's no point in even trying to

change things. Let me give you a couple of examples. During a private conversation, a Russian ethnographer told his Ukrainian friend that the trouble with Ukrainians is that they still think they are a national minority, that is to say, an oppressed group - they do not behave as though they realized that they now have a state.

A prominent Polish commentator, Tomasz Jastrun, wrote the following after returning from a trip to Kyiv: "The Ukrainians are so overwhelmed by the thought that they have nothing, that they have not noticed that they have freedom, that everything is in their hands. But for them, empty hands is nothing. They are waiting for someone to put something into their hands. But empty hands do not have to be a curse - they can also be an opportunity."

**Observation No. 2:** A 10-year-old Ukrainian American boy is traveling throughout Europe for the first time with his father. After several days in Kyiv, he scratches his head and asks his

father: "Tatu, why is it that when we were in Paris, the French all spoke French, when we were in Prague, the Czechs all spoke Czech, when we were in Krakow, the Poles all spoke Polish, but here in Kyiv, most Ukrainians seem to be speaking Russian?"

**Observation No. 3:** During the last decade, since the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet empire, and the extraordinary explosion in the use of computers and the Internet, the world has undergone dramatic changes. One of the most important of these is that, as never before, nations today can choose to become prosperous. For many centuries the power and wealth of a nation depended upon things beyond its control, such as location, size and natural resources. Today, however, the standard of living in Singapore, Taiwan or Finland is much, much higher than it is in Russia or China. As Michael Porter, a Harvard University Business School professor, has explained: "A nation's wealth is [now] principally of its own collective choosing. Location,



natural resources and even military might are no longer decisive. Instead, how a nation and its citizens choose to organize and manage the economy, the institutions they put in place and the types of investments they individually and collectively choose to make will determine national prosperity."

You may be sitting there and thinking to yourselves, OK, we know that we Ukrainians seem immobilized by our own lack of confidence about our being able to bring about any change; many of us speak Russian rather than Ukrainian; and, all of us may now be living in a new era in which, in contrast to the way things have always been, if people collectively choose to make wise decisions as regards the organization of government and the economy, it may be possible to live in a prosperous, well-ordered country. But what, if any, is the relationship among these three sets of observations?

Let me suggest some to you. Let me begin with the issue of language. Why is it that, nine years after independence, so many of us speak Russian? Why is it that so many seem to continue to think that it doesn't make much difference what language we speak? Why is it that so many seem to have accepted the view, long propounded by our Russian friends, that "eto vsio ravno" whether it is Russian or Ukrainian that is spoken in Ukraine?

But perhaps we ought to begin with the more elementary question of whether it is really true that it doesn't make any

difference whether we speak Ukrainian or Russian.

Ladies and gentlemen, young brothers and sisters from Ukraine, it matters a great deal whether we speak Ukrainian or Russian. Why? Well, to begin with, it is normal for people to speak their own language. As even the 10-year-old boy about whom I spoke could not help but notice, in Paris the French speak French, in Prague the Czechs speak Czech, in Warsaw and Krakow the Poles speak Polish, and, of course, in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the Russians speak Russian.

Furthermore, is there any Russian in Moscow or St. Petersburg who thinks that it would be "vsio ravno" if Russians spoke Russian or some other language? I don't think so. The Russians worship their language. Are there any Poles who think it would be "vsio ravno" if Poles spoke Polish or some other language? I don't think so either. The Poles also worship their own language. Are there any Frenchmen who think it would be "vsio ravno" if the French spoke French or some other language? If any of you know anything about the French, you know that the answer is obviously not. How is it, then, that we Ukrainians were fooled into thinking that of all of the peoples in the world and all of the languages in the world, it only was "vsio ravno" whether Ukrainian or Russian was spoken in Ukraine? Is it because we were told and taught that Ukrainian was somehow inferior to Russian? Is it because we were told that somehow Russian was a more universal language, and Ukrainian a local language?

Is it because when some of us spoke Ukrainian in Ukraine, we were told by our Russian friends "gavarite cheloviecheskim yazykom"?

Stop and think for a minute. Does it make any kind of sense to say that one language is superior to another? How can the language of my nation be superior or inferior to the language of your nation? It's something like saying that a child should recognize a mother not on the basis of who gave that child birth but on the basis of which woman is the youngest or most beautiful or the wealthiest. Languages are not interchangeable as if they were nails or screws. Each language has imbedded in it a particular view of the world, a certain set of cognitive values and attitudes. Some poets have suggested that a language is or reflects a nation's soul. How is it that we have allowed the Russians to convince us to be indifferent to our own language?

Some of you may still be unconvinced. You may be thinking that the Ukrainian situation is different. You may be thinking that it is, of course, true that the Russians, both under the tsars and the Soviets, artificially constrained the use and perhaps the development of the Ukrainian language, and that this may have been a crime of imperialism, but today, the fact of the matter is that Russian has a larger vocabulary or a more modern vocabulary and, therefore, perhaps it really isn't so bad if Ukrainians use Russian.

If you're still thinking that, let me direct your attention to two examples that should convince you, once and for all, that a normal nation does not trade its



own language in for another one, for the same reason that a normal human being does not trade his or her mother in for another one, just because the other one is younger or better looking or richer. What is today the Czech Republic was until the end of World War I a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For a long time in Prague and in the other Czech cities, German was the language of prestige spoken by most. German was the language of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Hegel and so on. Kafka, a native of Prague, wrote in German, not Czech. Czech was considered the language of Czech peasants and was held in great contempt.

Yet, the patriotic among the Czechs resolved to speak Czech instead of German, so that when Czecho-Slovakia came into existence at the end of World War I, most people in Prague spoke Czech, not German. Why is it that what was obvious to the Czechs as to what should be done has not been obvious to us today? A more telling example is provided by the use of Hebrew in Israel. When Israel became an independent state in 1948, it contained some 700,000 to 800,000 Jews. They spoke various languages, among them Yiddish and English. Yet, even before independence, they had all agreed that Hebrew should become their official language. What is remarkable is that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Hebrew was a dead language. That is, no one, except for the rabbis who used it in religious ceremonies, spoke it.

Nonetheless, the future Israelis decided that it should be Hebrew - not English, not German and not French - that should be the official and everyday language of Israel. And so they adopted Hebrew, modernized it, developed a terminology for all branches of knowledge, and it became the normally functioning language of the Israelis in all spheres of life. And not just the Israelis. A week ago I was in Miami and I heard advertisements on the radio for Hebrew lessons. The advertisements said, come and learn the language of the Jewish people, come learn the language of the Jewish soul. If it was obvious to 700,000 or 800,000 Jews in Israel that they should revive a dead language, modernize it and adopt it for official and daily use because it was the language of their people, the language of their ancestors, why hasn't it been obvious to tens of millions of us Ukrainians that Ukrainian should be our language?

Let me suggest at least two reasons. First, one of the greatest triumphs of Russian cultural and intellectual imperialism was to convince us that what was normal for others was abnormal for us Ukrainians, and that it was OK that what was abnormal for others was normal in Ukraine.

The normal desire for at least some Ukrainians simply to be Ukrainian was denounced as a manifestation of "Ukrainian particularism." What would, in the rest of the world, be considered a normal interest in one's own history was, in

Ukraine, treated as some sort of subversion. What would, in the rest of the world, be considered a normal desire to develop one's own culture was, in Ukraine, treated as a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism. What would, in the rest of the world, be considered a normal desire to speak, read and write in one's own language was, in Ukraine, treated as an exercise in some inferior medium, and so on. Second, we allowed ourselves to internalize the inferiority complex that the Russians have been feeding us for decades reaching into centuries. How else can one understand how it is possible for us Ukrainians to voluntarily speak the language of those who for centuries have tried to make us disappear? Those who for decades reaching into centuries have treated us with contempt? Those who have murdered or caused the murder of millions of our countrymen and women? Those who even to this day deny that we are a nation? Those who to this day cannot bring themselves to create a single program of Ukrainian studies at a single one of their many universities? And those who lied to us and taught us to lie to ourselves, about our history, about who our heroes really were, who we really were, and so on?

Our failure to understand that we should be speaking Ukrainian and why it is obvious that we should be doing so is a reflection of a lack of national self-respect. This lack of self-respect and self-confidence is important because it breeds in



us the national passivity and inertia that I spoke about at the beginning of my address to you, this inability to understand that independence is an opportunity, an opportunity to begin building and creating a normal country, normal politically, culturally and economically. Am I suggesting to you that if we all begin to speak Ukrainian rather than Russian, everything would magically become OK? That the economy would instantly revive? That foreign investments would pour in? Of course not. Language is not some magic talisman. But it does serve as a kind of barometer of national mental health. If, like the first Israelis who embraced Hebrew, we had immediately embraced Ukrainian, we would have done so because we would have exhibited the same kind of self-respect and self-confidence regarding who we are and why what is ours must be cherished. If we had the same self-respect and self-confidence that the first Israelis had, we would not now be overwhelmed by the thought that we have nothing, that we are powerless, that nothing can be done and that nothing can be changed.

I have thus far suggested to you how the Ukrainian language use issue may have a connection to the current mood of social and political helplessness in Ukraine today. Let me now suggest to you how those two issues may relate to the third observation that I spoke about earlier, namely, the observation that we may today be living in a very different world from the one that existed for centuries, because in this world

countries may have a much greater opportunity to choose national prosperity and well-being.

It is always harmful to lack national self-respect and self-confidence, because such a state of affairs twists and contorts the national psyche and may lead to wrong choices and actions. But if we are indeed living in a new era, and I think that we are, an era in which it is possible to choose national prosperity and well-being, then a lack of self-respect and self-confidence is positively fatal.

Our own lack of self respect and self confidence will be a self fulfilling prophecy. Since we are confused about who we are, we lack national self-confidence. Because we lack national self-confidence, we are convinced that we are powerless to change things. Because we don't even try to change anything, nothing is changed, except by others for their benefit. And because nothing is changed, that further confirms our conviction that nothing can be changed and that we are powerless to effect change.

Ask yourselves, how and why was it possible for 700,000 to 800,000 Israelis to build such a strong state on a dessert while surrounded by tens of millions of enemies? There are many answers to this question, but I would suggest to you that the most important of them was and is a very strong sense of Jewish selfrespect and self-confidence. Is it possible for Ukrainians to develop a similar kind of national

selfrespect and self-confidence? Let me suggest to you that in the recent past, there once lived a tribe of Ukrainians that in fact possessed a full complement of national self-respect and self-confidence. That tribe was called Halychany. They lived in what are today the three oblasts of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil. The people about whom I am speaking lived between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The people about whom I am speaking were a comparatively small tribe and, except for a small intelligentsia, most of them were peasants and most of them were poor. Yet, despite all this, and despite having lost a war for Halychyna to Poland at the end of World War I, and despite having to live during the Great Depression, and despite having to survive two years of Soviet occupation, three years of Nazi occupation and then a second Soviet occupation, they were full of national self-respect and self-confidence. They knew that they were Ukrainians, and even though some of them who graduated from gymnasiums spoke five or six languages, there was never any doubt among any of them that Ukrainian was their primary and mother tongue. The Halychany of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century disagreed with one another about various issues; they fought with one another and in some extreme instances, they even killed each other for political reasons. There were among them socialists, democrats and nationalists. But the one remarkable feature



that they all shared in common was the fiercely held belief that they could make a difference. And boy, did they ever make a difference! They made a difference at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by forging voting and political coalitions with Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Parliament; by forming the Sichovi Striltsi [Ukrainian Sich Riflemen] to fight for Ukrainian independence; by forming the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] to fight Polish domination; by forming the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army] to fight the Soviets and Nazis; by revitalizing the North American diaspora and helping to keep the idea of an independent Ukraine alive - even at a time when everyone in the United States and Canada told them that there was no such thing as Ukraine, that it was all Russia.

I have not spoken to you about the Halychany of the first half of the last century in order to draw invidious or critical comparisons between them and us today. No, that was not the point at all. The Halychany were the way they were because of a whole host of political and historical circumstances, such as the luck they had in living in the comparatively progressive and enlightened Austro-Hungarian empire, the luck they had in it being possible for some of their brightest sons, such as Ivan Franko, to travel and

study in Vienna and so on. The point of speaking to you about the Halychany was simply to remind you that it is possible for Ukrainians to possess full national self-respect and self-confidence under all kinds of difficult circumstances. Ladies and gentlemen, young brothers and sisters, let me begin to conclude by reminding you about what two of our most precious Ukrainian geniuses tried to teach us. The first quotation relates directly to our discussion about language:

*Uchitesia braty moyi,  
dumaite, chytaite,  
I chuzhomu nauchaites  
Svoho ne tsuraites*

That means, ladies and gentlemen, having the self-respect to speak our own language.

Taras Shevchenko also tried to teach us that:

*Strashno vpasty u kaidany,  
Umyrat v nevoli,  
A sche hirshe - spaty, spaty,  
I spaty na voli...*

But isn't that exactly what we are doing today when we become paralyzed by our own lack of self-confidence and self-respect, y our lack of conviction that we can make a difference?

And lastly, Ivan Franko tried to teach us that:

*Kozhnyi dumaj scho na tobi  
Milioniv stan stoit*

*Shcho za doliu milioniv  
Mayesh daty ty odvit.*

Ladies and gentlemen, young brothers and sisters. Those of us who are here today are among the privileged, in terms of education, in terms of what we've had an opportunity to see, learn and experience. We all have an obligation to apply that privilege towards some good.

Ladies and gentlemen, young brothers and sisters, let's take what Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko – two of the wisest and most wonderful teachers that any nation has ever been fortunate to have – have tried to teach us, and let's go out and make a difference. Let's go out and make the two of them proud of us. Let's go out and make the kind of difference that will make our children and grand-children proud of us.

An Italian American priest named Father Gino Baroni once made a very important observation. He said that the two most valuable things we can teach our children are that they have roots and that they can reach for the sky. Ladies and gentlemen, let's not let our roots rot away from neglect. It is not "vsio ravno". And, ladies and gentlemen, let's not be afraid to reach for the Ukrainian sky no matter how temporarily cloudy or overcast it may sometimes seem to be. **CUPP**



# FAREWELL DINNER 2012 SPEECH

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У цей день, в день української писемності та мови, я до вас звертатимусь українською мовою, друзі. Для мене, як для людини, для якої рідною є російська мова, сьогодні валиво донести повідомлення з закликом зберігати українську мову. Я, як єдиний викладач української мови в місті Іркутську, закликаю вас – бережіть її, розвивайте її, спілкуйтесь нею. Я почав вчити українську в 14 років, самостійно, у нас в родині тільки прарабуся трішки спілкується українською. Може мене потягнуло в той час до рідних коренів чи що, я не знаю. Але я абсолютно не шкодую про те, що я її навчив та спілкується нею зі всіма вами. Я викладаю українську вже третій рік поспіль, мені зараз 22 роки, і курси української в нашому місті проводяться безкоштовно. Це таке своєрідне волонтерство. Мені цікаво вчити людей українській. Хай у нас і небагато ходить на ті курси (порядку 6-8 осіб щорічно), але це вже щось. Ми виписуємо підручники з України з міста Львова, з Інституту зі зв'язків з діаспорою при Львівській політехніці. Але я отримую від того моральне задоволення – що я даю людям можливість доторкнутися до України, трішки зрозуміти, що таке – Україна. Я дуже радий, що у нас є люди, які хочуть дізнатися, хто вони є, хочуть навчити мову своїх бабусь та дідусяв, бо вчать її просто для себе, бо подобається.

Також під час Канадсько-Української Парляментарної

Програми в побутових розмовах я спілкуюсь зі всіма українською мовою, крім наших грузинських друзів – з ними російською. Тут, в Канаді, я взагалі мало спілкуюся російською, навіть незважаючи на те, що деякі наші хлопці та дівчата з України спілкуються зі мною російською. І я не кажу, що це погано, бо я поважаю свою рідну мову. Я просто звертаюсь до вас – спілкуйтесь українською, розвивайте її, бороніть її, бо мова – це наш чинник, це те, що відрізняє нас від інших, це те, навколо чого справді можуть українці гуртуватися та може Україна будуватися. І це дуже важливо – спілкуватися українською. Навіть якщо у вас російськомовне оточення в Україні – українською не буде шкідливо поговорити хоча б просто для тренування. Я завжди як приїжджаю в Україну – то розмовляю з місцевими мешканцями українською мовою, і байдуже мені якою мовою вони мені відповідають. Це такий мій принцип – якщо я в Україні – то виключно українською. Звісно, там, у нас, в далекому Сибіру ніяких перешкод проти української не робиться і мені завжди є з ким нею поговорити, з певними людьми з нашого Українського культурного центру. Але іноді нахлинає нестерпне бажання чути та розмовляти українською. Ви, напевно, це зрозумієте, коли або мігруєте кудись, або поїдете в довготривалу подорож чи на навчання. Один мій друг з Києва якось мені

сказав: «Ти знаєш, Андрію, це дуже дивно, і це приколъно, що москаль заохочує українців спілкуватися українською. Це вже просто щось». А одна моя знайома з Москви почувши, як я розмовляю українською, сказала (даю переклад з російської на українську): «Я жодного слова не зрозуміла з то го, що ти сказав, але яка ж гарна українська мова, так би і слухала її все своє життя».

Пане Ігорю, я дуже Вам вдячний, що Ви мені дали можливість доторкнутися до західного світу, подивитися, як люди живуть тут. Надзвичайно важливо те, що Ви робите – Ви даєте молоді можливість подивитися на те, як можна жити, як можна будувати стосунки між людьми, будувати суспільний устрій, будувати добробут. Після цього досвіду, я думаю, що ми всі зрозуміємо, яким чином можна навести лад у себе вдома, у себе в місті, у себе в країні. Бо не треба вигадувати велосипед знову, треба просто подивитися, як він робиться, і зробити велосипед для себе, та-кий, щоб тобі було зручно на ньому їхати. Цей досвід залишиться зі мною на все моє по дальнє життя. Пане Ігорю, дуже важливо продовжувати програму і після 2015 р., бо йде дуже цікаве нове покоління, і там є теж над чим працювати. Я бажаю Вам здоров'я, щастя, всіляких успіхів та любові – Многая літа! **CUPP**

Коментар: в 2013-2014 навчальному році до нас прийшла рекордна кількість бажаючих вчити українську – аж 56 осіб. Звісно, далеко не всі дійшли до кінця. Але це вже для нас своєрідна планка.

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# CANADA-PHILIPPINES

## INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

I began my 2019 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) internship on Parliament Hill in the office of Kevin Lamoureux, MP for Winnipeg North, Manitoba. Kevin has hosted Ukrainian Interns for the past several years.

During my first meeting with him, Kevin said that a few years ago he had not considered participating in an international student exchange program in the House of Commons until being introduced to the CUPP program.

Today there are four interns in Kevin's office from three different countries, Ukraine, USA and the Philippines. The latter one is the newest country with an internship in the Canadian Parliament. Indeed, at a time when French, American, Canadian and Ukrainian interns have been on Parliament Hill for decades, the Filipino program has appeared only this year.

The Canadian Philippine Internship Program is the initiative of Kevin Lamoureux MP for Winnipeg North, a city that is home to more than 77,000 Filipinos. According to Mr. Lamoureux almost 30 years of success of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP), gave him the inspiration and motivation to consider creating a similar internship program for Filipino youth. Mr. Lamoureux is very optimistic about the prospects for the Filipino program, as he believes this program will allow young Filipinos to gain important life-changing experience and become change-makers in Canada and the Philippines. As well as their performance will benefit Canada's Filipino community.

Ukrainian and Filipino interns have much more in common than it might seem. Despite 9000 km between our countries, and different cultures, languages and religious beliefs we do have very

similar professional aspirations and personal desires. Filipinos as well as Ukrainians want to eliminate government corruption, which deters important democratic changes. As well today's youth are working towards creating an informed and involved citizenry and the emergence of an accountable political elite.

As we know, pioneers always face predictable and unpredictable challenges. Interns who take on these pioneering challenges are tasked with building bridges of communication, forming the image of the internship program and laying the foundations for further cooperation with Members of Parliament. This year 12 Canadian youth representatives of Filipino Heritage are the pioneers upon whom the further success of their program will depend. And they face a multifaceted task - not only to gain experience in the Parliament of one of the world's most successfully established democracies, but also to do everything possible to ensure the success of this program in the future.

What can help the Philippine program evolve? One example is the beneficial cooperation between the CUPP Interns and MPs offices over the past 29 years. The fruits of this cooperation can be seen in the results in Ukraine's government. CUPP has graduated two Cabinet Ministers, several Deputy Ministers, NGO leaders and several MPs. All are champions of fighting government corruption inherited by Ukraine from the soviet-era. It can be expected that Filipino youth upon their completion of the program can become prominent decision-makers and change-makers in their own communities. [CUPP](#)

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Written by Maksym Dzhyhun,  
CUPP 2019 Intern to Kevin Lamoureux, Winnipeg North, Manitoba



CUPP 2019 interns together with interns from Canada-Philippines Interparliamentary Program which is created based on CUPP long-time experience, Central Block, Ottawa.



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



# 30 YEARS IN LEADERS' FACES



Parliamentary Democracy



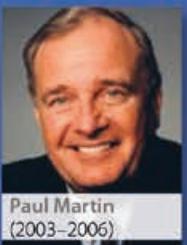
Brian Mulroney  
(1984–1993)



Kim Campbell  
(1993)



Jean Chrétien  
(1993–2003)



Paul Martin  
(2003–2006)



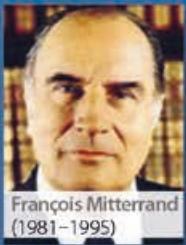
Stephen Harper  
(2006–2015)



Justin Trudeau  
(since 2015)



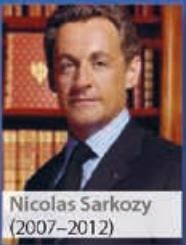
Presidential Democracy



François Mitterrand  
(1981–1995)



Jacques Chirac  
(1995–2007)



Nicolas Sarkozy  
(2007–2012)



François Hollande  
(2012–2017)



Emmanuel Macron  
(since 2017)



Parliamentary Democracy



John Major  
(1990–1997)



Tony Blair  
(1997–2007)



Gordon Brown  
(2007–2010)



David Cameron  
(2010–2016)



Theresa May  
(2016–2019)



Presidential Democracy



Leonid Kravchuk  
(1991–1994)



Leonid Kuchma  
(1994–2005)



Viktor Yushchenko  
(2005–2010)



Viktor Yanukovych  
(2010–2014)



Petro Poroshenko  
(2014–2019)



Volodymyr Zelensky  
(since 2019)



Managed Democracy



Boris Yeltsin  
(1991–1999)



Vladimir Putin  
(2000–2004)



Vladimir Putin  
(2004–2008)



Dmitry Medvedev  
(2008–2012)



Vladimir Putin  
(2012–2018)



Vladimir Putin  
(since 2018)

↑ Vladimir Putin - President for Life ↓