# NEWSLETTER

Issue #1/2023



# UKRAINE IS RESILIENCE One year of the full-scale war







# Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program

since 1991

The 2023 CUPP program began in March. CUPP is in its 33rd year of operation in the House of Commons. It is an internship program for university students from Ukraine which over the past 32 years has also brought students from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Russia.

Since their arrival the Interns have organized the Day of Shame demonstration on May 9 in front of the Russian Embassy, participated in the CUPP PARLIAMENTARY PARTNERSHIP Reception on May 11 and in numerous other activities with the diplomats, MPs, and politicians.

The CUPP 2023 includes 12 interns — 2 for the Spring term and 10 for the Fall one.

In this issue of the Newsletter you can see more about the Ukrainian resilience one year after the launch of unprovoked and unjustified Russian full-scale invasion, meet the 2023 CUPP interns, and read pieces hand-picked by our Editorial Board to bring you more needed context for the ongoing situation in Ukraine.

3

#### **UKRAINE IS RESILIENCE**

Photo Gallery: Monuments Under Cover	4
Photo Gallery: Shelters	8
FOR YOUR READING	
Ukraine's fight against Russian imperialism is Europe's longest independence struggle Peter Dickinson	13
<b>Ukrainian Exceptionalism</b> Diane Francis	17
MEET THE CUPP 2023 INTERNS	
Interns' BIOs	21
INTERNS AT WORK	
Will Ukraine really lose part of its sovereignty if it joins the EU?  Ariel Katsev	38
Russian Propaganda of West Influence in Post-Eastern Block Olena Chuprynska	41
A Ukrainian Path to NATO: How to Make a Bumpy Road Smoother? Artur Koldomasov	44

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We are always open for cooperation with all CUPP alumni, supporters, interns, and followers!



## **UKRAINE IS RESILIENCE**

See how Ukrainians are standing strong against the Russian aggression



## Petro Sahaidachnyi Monument

April 2022 Kyiv, Kontraktova Square

THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: 1NEWS

**CUPP NEWSLETTER 1/2023** 



## Taras Shevchenko Monument

**April 2022** 

Kyiv, a campus of the T. Schevchenko Kyiv National University

THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: 1NEWS

5



## Volodymyr The Great Monument

**April 2022** 

Kyiv, the steep right bank of the Dnipro river

THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: 1NEWS

**CUPP NEWSLETTER 1/2023** 





## Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Monument

April 2022 Kyiv, Sofiiska Square

THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: 1NEWS



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## Mykola Lysenko Monument

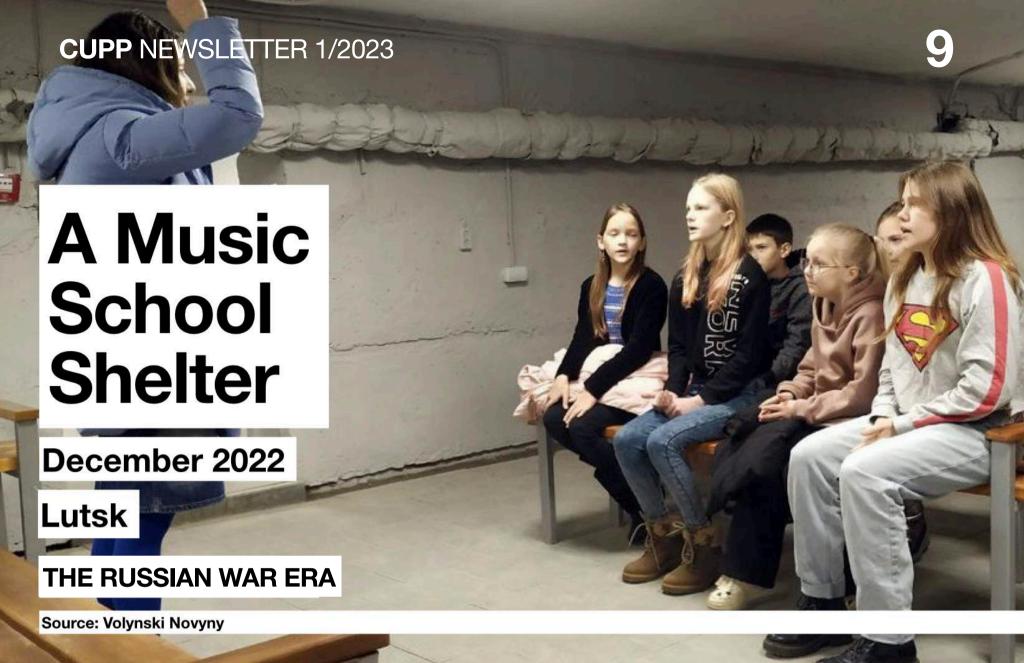
April 2022 Kyiv, Volodymyrs'ka Str.

THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: 1NEWS



March 2022
THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA
Source: Oleksandr Khromenko



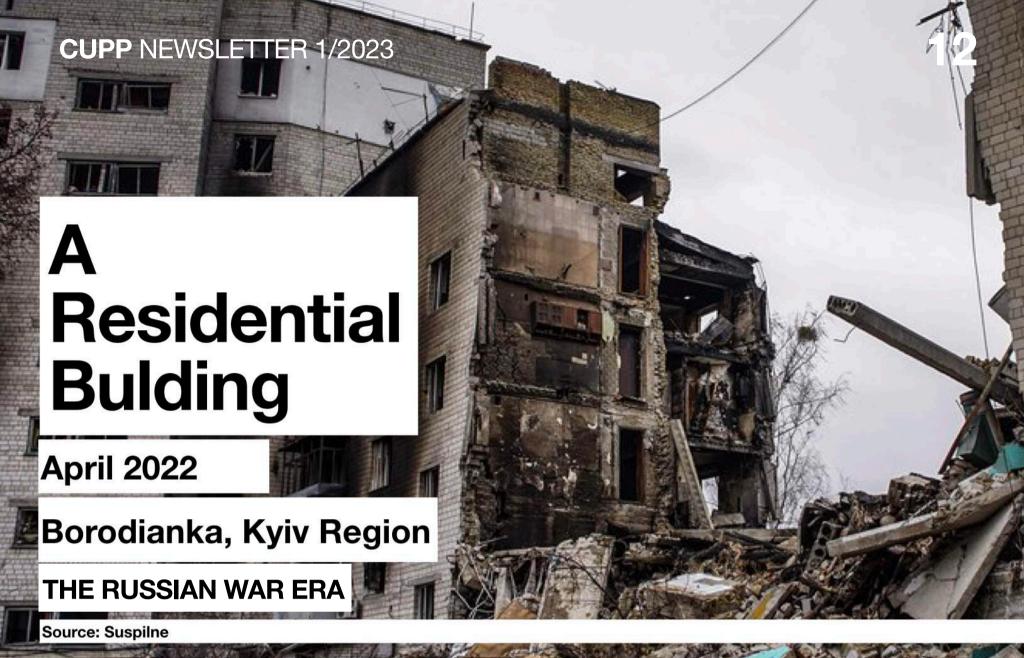
2022
Irpin
THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA
Source: Chris McGrath/Getty Images











A
Residential
Bulding
October 2022
Chernihiv
THE RUSSIAN WAR ERA

Source: Suspilne



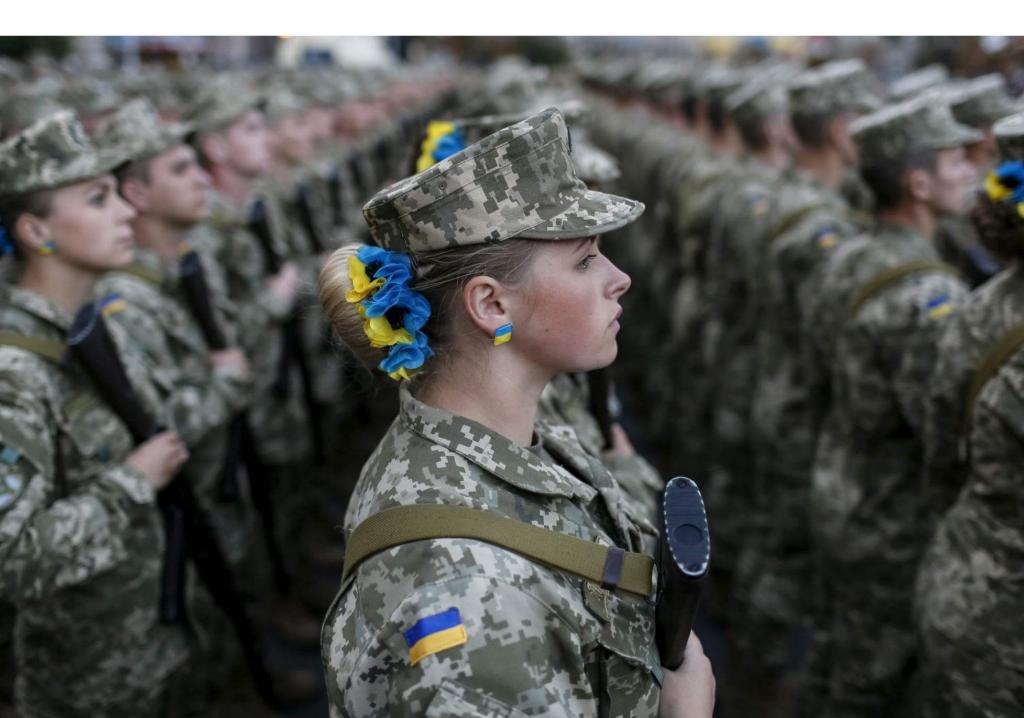
# Ukraine's fight against Russian imperialism is Europe's longest independence struggle

Peter Dickinson Editor, UkraineAlert, Atlantic Council There are few more meaningful public holidays on the 2023 calendar than Ukrainian Independence Day. However, with the country locked in a brutal fight for national survival, few are in the mood to celebrate. Instead, this week's thirty-second anniversary of the 1991 declaration of independence is an opportunity to reflect on the deep historical roots of the war that is currently raging on Europe's eastern frontier.

Russia's February 2022 invasion shocked the watching world, but it was actually anything but unprecedented. On the contrary, the war unleashed by Vladimir Putin eighteen months ago is merely the latest chapter in a dark saga of Russian imperial aggression against Ukraine that stretches back centuries. The Ukrainian people may have officially achieved

statehood more than three decades ago, but they are still battling to defend their country against a far larger and more powerful neighbor who refuses to accept the reality of an independent Ukraine.

Many international observers appear unable to grasp the colonial context underpinning today's Russian invasion of Ukraine. This reflects an even more fundamental failure to recognize that modern Russia remains an almost entirely unreconstructed imperial entity. Unlike the great European empires of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Russia never experienced a decisive break with the imperial past; nor did it fully relinquish its claims to neighboring nations. In terms of both domestic and foreign policy, today's Russian Federation is still guided primarily by the politics of empire.





Throughout his 23-year reign, Vladimir Putin has enthusiastically embraced this imperial identity. Soon after taking office, he signaled his intentions by reintroducing the Soviet national anthem and consciously reviving the gold-plated splendor of the Czarist court. More recently, he has emphasized the continuity between the imperial past and his own regime by <u>lamenting</u> the fall of the USSR as the "disintegration of historical Russia" and vowing to reclaim "historically Russian lands" from Ukraine.

Putin's bitterness over the break-up of the Soviet Union has fueled an unhealthy obsession with Ukraine that has come to symbolize his increasingly messianic brand of Russian imperialism. Among the many perceived injustices of the Soviet collapse, it is the emergence of an independent Ukraine that rankles Putin most. He insists Ukrainians are really Russians ("one people"), and claims the entire notion of a separate Ukrainian national identity is an anti-Russian plot hatched by foreign agents. During the build-up to the current war, the Russian dictator published a 5,000-word essay questioning Ukraine's right to exist, and described Ukraine as "an inalienable part of our own history, culture, and spiritual space."

Such posturing is nothing new. Russian rulers have been denying Ukrainian national identity and suppressing Ukraine's statehood ambitions for more than three hundred years. This grim history of oppression is studded with atrocities such as the 1708 Baturyn Massacre and the artificially engineered famine in 1930s Soviet Ukraine, which left millions dead and is now recognized by more than 30 countries as an act of genocide against the

Ukrainian nation. These unpunished crimes helped fuel a sense of imperial impunity that laid the ideological foundations for the current invasion. Almost a century after the horrors of the Holodomor famine, Russia is once again accused of <u>committing genocide</u> in Ukraine.

Throughout the Czarist and Soviet eras, Russia's many landmark crimes in Ukraine were accompanied by relentless waves of russification in every sphere of Ukrainian life. This took place alongside the slow but steady suffocation of Ukraine's national aspirations under layer upon layer of restrictions and bureaucratic bans. Perhaps the single most succinct example of Russia's pathological refusal to acknowledge the existence of a separate Ukrainian identity remains the Valuev Circular. This 1863 Czarist decree banning the publication of Ukrainian-language literature declares: "a separate Ukrainian ("Little Russian") language never existed, does not exist, and shall not exist."

Disinformation has always played an important part in Russian efforts to suppress Ukrainian identity. Long before the era of social media fakes and Kremlin troll farms, Russian agents were actively destroying or rewriting ancient chronicles to fit imperial orthodoxies and remove anything that could strengthen Ukrainian claims to a national narrative of their own. Indeed, it is somewhat fitting that the term "Potemkin Village," which is used to denote acts of shameless political deception, can be traced back to the artificial villages allegedly erected by Czarist officials in the Ukrainian countryside for the benefit of visiting Russian Empress Catherine the Great.

The dawn of Ukrainian independence did little to dampen Russia's imperial ambitions, with Moscow continuing to treat post-Soviet Ukraine as a vassal state. The turning point came in late 2004, when attempts to rig Ukraine's presidential election in favor of a Kremlin-friendly candidate sparked massive street protests in Kyiv that came to be known as the Orange Revolution. This was to prove a watershed moment in Putin's reign. The Orange Revolution sparked painful memories of his own experience as a young KGB officer in East Germany as the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Empire in Central Europe crumbled. Putin became convinced the West was plotting a similar prodemocracy uprising in Russia itself, and began to view Ukraine not just as an accident of history but as an existential threat to his own regime.

After the Orange Revolution, Putin's policies toward Ukraine grew increasingly aggressive while his rhetoric became openly imperialistic. When years of energy cutoffs, trade embargoes, and attempts to subvert domestic Ukrainian politics all failed to force the country back into the Russian orbit, he eventually resorted to military force with the 2014 occupation of Crimea and invasion of eastern Ukraine's Donbas region. This proved counter-productive, fueling a surge in Ukrainian patriotic sentiment and dramatically accelerating the nation-building processes that had been underway in Ukraine since the early 1990s. Faced with the prospect of losing Ukraine entirely, Putin made the fateful decision to launch the full-scale invasion of February 2022.

Amid the horrors of the ongoing war in Ukraine, Russia's imperialistic objectives have become increasingly obvious. Kremlin officials routinely deny the legitimacy of the Ukrainian state, while genocidal anti-Ukrainian outbursts have become completely normalized on Russian state TV channels. Meanwhile, Putin himself has proudly compared his invasion to the eighteenth century imperial conquests of Peter the Great.

The actions of Russian forces inside Ukraine more than mirror this imperialistic rhetoric. Tens of thousands of Ukrainians have been killed, with millions more subjected to forced deportation. Those who remain in occupied regions are being pressured into accepting Russian passports as part of a ruthless russification campaign. Time and again, survivors of Russian captivity have recounted the especially brutal treatment reserved for anyone considered a Ukrainian patriot.

None of this is entirely surprising to Ukrainians, who have spent much of their lives in the shadow of Russia's imperial pretensions and are painfully aware of their colossal neighbor's longstanding disdain for Ukrainian statehood. While many Ukrainians were admittedly taken aback by the ferocity of the Russian onslaught, few were genuinely shocked to witness yet another manifestation of the imperial aggression that has shaped their country's history for generations. This familiarity helps to explain why an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are so determined to fight on until their country is fully liberated. They understand the futility of trying to compromise with the Kremlin and recognize that any attempt to strike a deal would be interpreted by Putin as an invitation to go further.

As Ukrainians defend their statehood on the battlefield, they are also attempting to remove any remaining symbols of Russian imperialism from the country. In the past year, high profile departures have included Odesa's <u>Catherine the Great monument</u> and the giant Soviet crest adorning the shield of Kyiv's iconic motherland monument. In everyday life, more and more Ukrainians are opting to switch to the Ukrainian language, exploring different aspects of Ukrainian culture, and expressing an interest in Ukrainian history. A war of independence is taking place along an 800-mile front and in the minds of millions of individual Ukrainians.

An understanding of Russian imperialism in Ukraine is essential for anyone seeking to make sense of today's war. Putin has attempted to blame the invasion on everything from nonexistent Nazis to imaginary NATO security threats, but at heart it is an old-fashioned colonial war of extermination. In words and deeds, Russia has made clear that it seeks to destroy the Ukrainian state and erase Ukrainian identity. Asking Ukrainians to negotiate with this genocidal agenda is absurd and grotesque. Instead, the goal must be a decisive Ukrainian victory over Russian imperialism. Until Europe's longest independence struggle reaches a successful conclusion, a sustainable peace will remain elusive. **CUPP** 



Ukraine's war effort following a full-on Russian invasion and saturation bombing campaign for 20 months is remarkable and has surprised the world. Western backing has been key, but Ukraine is special. It was the Silicon Valley of the Soviet Union and where most of its space, weaponry, and scientific advances were made. Since Russian tanks rolled on February 24, 2022, Ukrainians have become a cohesive force and have digitized warfare. They are inventing drones and conducting cyber attacks that have undermined Russia, psychologically as well as militarily. Such expertise shouldn't surprise. Ukraine has the highest literacy rate of any country in Europe, at 99.97 percent, and an educational system emphasizing "hard" sciences and mathematics. They have an agrarian work ethic and are risk-takers, resilient, egalitarian, inventive, gifted in engineering and mechanics, and tech savvy. For example, Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky is a lawyer who became a media mogul, but his father is a famous professor and computer scientist and his mother an engineer. And he has assembled a team of technologists who are reinventing warfare. Ukraine's ultimate strategic edge is grit, but, explained an Ukrainian intelligence spokesman, it's also that "Russia's equipment is from the 20th Century, ours is from the 21st.

# Ukrainian Exceptionalism Diane Francis

Ukraine has a disproportionate number of engineers and IT [Information Technology] workers compared to Russia or other European nations. Before the second invasion in 2022, Ukraine already had an "army" of more than 300,000 world-class software developers, engineers, and architects. It had one of the world's the largest IT outsource sectors with companies that built software and devices for Western governments and Fortune 500 corporations. Ukraine was a center of excellence for development of simulation technologies used by Disney and the Pentagon and gaming companies alike. And all of this expertise is why, immediately after Russians launched their incursion and bombed telecoms facilities, prominent Ukrainian technologists reached out to Elon Musk and obtained access to his Starlink satellite system which has kept the country online ever since.

In February 2022, Ukraine fully mobilized. It conscripted its males and encouraged millions of its women and children to evacuate to other countries. It quickly built and trained an army while keeping the lights on. Ukraine still remains outgunned and outmanned, in a traditional war sense, but its technology and brainpower has helped close the gap concerning its manpower limitations and small airforce and navy. Years before this war, Ukrainians had become, like Estonia, technologically advanced. Its population had smart phones. It had developed "e-governments" that allowed citizens to obtain documents, monitor budgetary or political decisions, and provide access to government services electronically. After the Russian attack, Ukraine distributed an app to alert citizens about incoming attacks, provide news updates, issue evacuation plans, and pinpoint the location of bomb shelters and assistance centers.

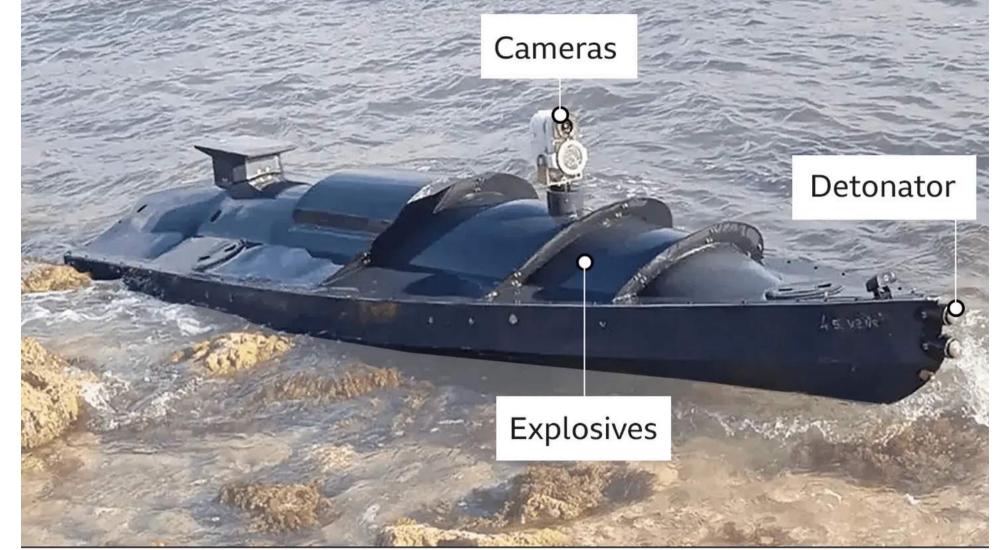
All Ukrainians were deputized to use their devices to tip off or video Russian military movements, atrocities, collaborators, and facilities. Commanders came to rely on data, provided by civilian

drones and Google Maps, to identify Russian forces in the early days of the war. Now Ukraine is linked to NATO's sophisticated satellite surveillance, but in the beginning volunteers using hobby drones acted as scouts and artillery spotters. Even street cameras in stores or gasoline stations were accessed to track the flow of troops and weapons in occupied or disputed areas.

From the beginning of the catastrophe, Kyiv enlisted and supported tech teams, tech laboratories, start-ups, and research efforts in collaboration with its military. This has led to the creation of unique drones for surveillance, attack, and battlefield triage; cybersecurity defense and offense operations; robotized weaponry; de-mining tractors; electronic and jamming superiority, and a fleet of lethal seaborne drones. These efforts — along with massive help from allies — has amplified the effectiveness of Ukraine's small air force and navy.

Ukraine's digital ministry built a "drone" army of 10,000 drone pilots. Another 10,000 are being trained and thousands more are involved in projects aimed at revolutionizing or acquiring unique weaponry. A recent example is the repurposing and deployment of dozens of "cardboard" or lightweight Australian drones, costing \$3,500 apiece and capable of carrying a payload of 5 kilograms of explosives. Swarms were unleashed on August 30 against six targets in Russia and Crimea. At one airfield, 700 miles inside the Russian border, six military transport aircraft, five fighter jets, a military unit, four cargo planes, and radar and air defense systems were damaged or destroyed. Now these drones, and other more powerful ones, attack Russia daily and nightly, sparking anxiety and using up Russian air defence ammunition.





Source: Rybar

в в с

"Every morning I start by watching a video of the enemy equipment destroyed by our 'birds'," Mykhailo Fedorov told Newsweek. He is Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister for Innovations and Development of Education, Science, and Technologies as well as its Minister of Digital Transformation. "Their results are truly impressive. With a few thousand dollars' worth of drones, they destroy millions in Russian hardware."

Ukraine has also developed a fleet of sea drones that intends to "paralyze" Russia's Black Sea fleet. Many are "kamikaze" or single-purpose weapons that are destroyed along with their target. Last month, a sea drone loaded with explosives hit a warship, knocking it out of commission for 3.5 months because the blast damaged its electronics system. Another large ship was knocked out of service permanently after a sea drone carrying 1,000 pounds of TNT struck its bow. Smaller drones are launched from speed boats and a new underwater "suicide" drone

had been developed that is faster than anything else, is undetectable, has a range of 1,000 kilometers, and carries a payload of hundreds of pounds of explosives. It is remotely controlled by a drone pilot on a gaming console, linked to satellite surveillance.

Ukraine's drone navy has twice forced the Russians to close their Kerch bridge and relocate most of their fleet from Crimea to a Black Sea port in Russia which is also being regularly assaulted. Drone attacks inside Russia and the Black Sea region have accelerated since Moscow began attacking Ukrainian agri-businesses, grain ships, ports, and storage facilities. And Kyiv's exploding marine drones recently struck a Russian oil tanker, aimed at disrupting the oil exports that keep the Putin regime financially afloat. "If Russia continues to dominate the Black Sea and block it with firing missiles, then Ukraine will do the same, which is a fair defense of Ukraine's," said Zelensky.

On land, Ukraine is rolling out a new generation of "battle robots" able to cross Russian minefields, tank traps, or concrete bunkers — obstacles that have slowed Ukraine's counter-offensive in the south. These unmanned "platforms" will also be used to evacuate injured troops and avoid risking the lives of comrades, and will be armed with automatic grenade launchers, machine guns, and anti-tank weapons. They will be piloted by operators who view the battlefield on screen, hidden from detection.

Ukraine also manufactures traditional weapons, and in late August Zelensky announced that it was producing its own long-range missiles. "A target was hit 700 kilometers away," Zelensky said. The U.S. has been reluctant to send such long-range missiles, lest they be used to directly attack Russia and trigger a direct confrontation with NATO. But earlier this year, the United Kingdom became the first to provide longer-range missiles then, in July, France announced it would also send dozens more.

As Transformation Minister Federov said recently "it is now clear that Ukraine has the potential to become one of the world's top ten innovation-driven economies." Clearly, it has already changed the world of war. "Our UAV [unmanned aerial vehicle] strike units are among our most notable `game-changing innovations'. We've already launched 11 such units. There will be more. They are working with a completely new approach to training, management, and doctrine of using drones on the front line."

This is Gameboy War waged by a smart nation. Casualties are staggering and disproportionately higher for Ukraine — Washington estimates 300,000 Russians wounded or killed and 200,000 Ukrainians — but no one knows for certain. And so far, David overcomes all odds while Goliath falters. **CUPP** 





# MEET THE 2023 CUPP INTERNS

## Mariia RUDENKO

**CUPP 2023 Coordinator** 

CUPP 2022 Intern for Office of Hon. Rosemarie Falk

BORN IN: Kyiv, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Vadym Hetman National Economic University in Kyiv (Ukraine), Faculty of International Economics and Management, Bachelor of Arts in International Economic Relations (with honors), Master of Arts in International Economic Relations (with honors)

Vienna University of Economics and Business (Austria), Faculty of International Economics, Bachelor of Business, Economics and Social Sciences, Erasmus+ Scholarship Recipient

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, German, Russian, Bulgarian

LAST BOOK READ: George Orwell, "Nineteen Eighty Four"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Sometimes you have to travel a long way to find what is near." – Paulo Coelho

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Завжди любити, щоб завжди помилятися. Але — завжди любити. І відтак існувати, а існувати — це помилятися.» — Василь Стус

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** The Hardkiss – Zhuravli (Cranes)

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Hoverla.** The highest point in Ukraine is 2061 m. From the top itself, a beautiful view opens up of all the Carpathians and even on the territory of neighboring countries such as the Romanian Mountains. I have gone hiking since I was 7 y.o. and thus, I have already been to Hoverla several times, but beautiful landscapes are so mesmerizing and memories make me come back here again and again.







### Artur KOLDOMASOV

#### **CUPP 2023 Coordinator**

BORN IN: Ukhta, Republic of Komi, Russian Federation

HOMETOWN: Kamianets-Podilskyi, Khmelnytskyi Region, Ukraine

#### **EDUCATION:**

National University of "Ostroh Academy" (Ukraine), Faculty of International Relations, BA in International Relations, Public Communication, and Regional Studies (study programme – Regional Studies)

**Grand Valley State University (United States), Global UGRAD Exchange Semester,**Department of Political Science, Major: International Relations

**University of Warsaw (Poland),** Exchange Semester, Institute of International Relations, Major: International Relations

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Poland), Institute of Journalism and Management, MA in Journalism and Public Communication

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, Polish

**LAST BOOK READ:** Stephen Nathanson, "Should We Consent to Be Governed? A Short Introduction to Political Philosophy"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "One thing is certain. If young people do not begin to make history, politicians of eternity and inevitability will destroy it" – Timothy Snyder

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Я тільки не розумію, чому канадський прем'єр-міністр може проїхати до парламенту на ковзанах по замерзлій річці через всю Оттаву, а у нас людей розкидають мало не в кювети, коли їде якесь цабе» - Ліна Костенко

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Katy Perry – Witness (the album); Owl Eyes – Closure; Jamala – 1944

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINAN LANDSCAPE:**

Not that many people talk about the incredible small Ukrainian town **Ostroh** where I have been studying. The European and young spirit of it, fascinating landscapes, its link between tradition and modernity – that is what I love about that town. Ostroh Castle, the Tatar Tower, and the campuses of the National University of "Ostroh Academy" fully show the town's character and beauty. When I was happy or upset, Ostroh was giving me hope, spirit, and support. I will always be cherishing the memories about it, and it is definitely worth visiting.















### Erik KUCHERENKO

**BORN IN:** Dnipro, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine), Institute of International Relations, International Law Department

**University of Vienna (Austria)** 

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Mandarin, Turkish

**LAST BOOK READ:** James Comey, "A Higher Loyalty: Truth, Lies, and Leadership".

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "It is no use saying "we are doing our best." You have got to succeed in doing what is necessary." – Winston Churchill

FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR: «Мрія дає нуль, якщо її не зробити життям.» - Григір Тютюнник

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** OTOY – GOLOVAN; Georges Bizet – Carmen

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Bukovel** is a popular Ukrainian winter tourist destination attracting millions of Ukrainians and foreigners annually. Apart from high-quality ski slopes offering mesmerising vistas and first-class skiing experience, the village landscape itself is enough to enchant any visitor. In the night, the lights hovering over hospitable hotels and mountain slopes create a visual symphony illuminating the minds and souls seeing this fascinating landscape. One is especially lucky to get here during the winter holidays when streets are teeming with people wearing folk costumes and singing Christmas carol. This landscape – created both by the pristine beauty of the Ukrainian Carpathians and its talented people – is an absolute must-see.







## Oleh MELNYCHENKO

BORN IN: Odesa, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Lviv. Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Ukraine), BA and MA in International Relations

Ukrainian Catholic University, M.P.A.

University of Turku (Finland), Erasmus+ Exchange Studies

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, French, Polish, Russian

LAST BOOK READ: Yaroslav Hrytsak, «Overcome the Past. Global

History of Ukraine»

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "If my critics saw me walking over the Thames they would say it was because I couldn't swim" - Margaret Thatcher

#### **FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«Учітесь, читайте, і чужому научайтесь.

Й свого не цурайтесь.»

- Тарас Шевченко

FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING: Queen - The Show Must Go On

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

The Odesa Opera and Ballet Theatre stands as a cherisned architectural gem and a renowned emblem of my hometown. Its remarkable grandeur and the exceptional talents of its collective have garnered global acclaim. The Opera House epitomizes the indomitable spirit of my city and country. After the Victory, it will once again unfurl its doors, bestowing delight upon its visitors.











### Yelyzaveta KOVALENKO

**BORN IN:** Zhytomyr, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Zhytomyr, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University (Ukraine), BA in Education

Polissia National University (Ukraine), BA in Accounting

Queen's University (Canada), MITACS Scholarship

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, Russian, German, French

**LAST BOOK READ:** Neil deGrasse Tyson, "Astrophysics for People in a Hurry"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "It is much more difficult to judge oneself than to judge others. If you succeed in judging yourself rightly, then you are indeed a man of true wisdom." – Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Бери вершину і матимеш середину.» – Григорій Сковорода

FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING: Billy Joel - Vienna, GO\_A - SHUM

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

"Korostyshivsky quarry" is a picturesque place located in the woods of Zhytomyr Oblast. Labradorite, gabbro and gray granite were mined in the quarry. Stone production at the quarry near Korostyshev began in 1890. For a hundred years, the quarry was one of the largest enterprises of the city, on the basis of which a granite factory was created. After the collapse of the USSR, production stopped, and the quarry was flooded. Later it became a tourist attraction. One of the plots of the advertisement global campaign of Jack Daniel's was filmed here. Many people come here to enjoy the beauty of the nature.











## Olena CHUPRYNSKA

**BORN IN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman (Ukraine), Faculty of International Economics and Management, BA in International Economic Relations (with honors)

**Jagiellonian University (Poland),** Faculty of International and Political Studies, MA of Transatlantic Studies (in progress)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, Polish, Spanish, Russian, German, Bulgarian

LAST BOOK READ: Sławomir Mrożek, "The Emigrants"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "The evil in the world comes almost always from ignorance, and goodwill can cause as much damage as ill-will if it is not enlightened." – Albert Camus

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Через сльози і терпіння шлях веде до просвітління: хто боровся, скутий тьмою, тому сонце — мрія мрій.» — Осип Турянський

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Odyn v Kanoe — Pamiati Malo; David Kushner – Daylight; Son House – Death Letter Blues

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Basalt pillars**, **Rivne Region**. With these structures, nature proved its incomparability as a master architect. She offered us a unique structure made of basalt pillars, which are lined up in rows, and impress with their monumentality and slenderness of geometric shapes. Rivne region is my ancestors' homeland and this mesmerizing natural miracle always reminds me about the power and strength the Ukrainian land holds.







## Oleksandr HRYSHCHUK

**BORN IN:** Piskiv, Rivne Region, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Piskiv, Rivne Region, Ukraine

#### **EDUCATION:**

National University of "Ostroh Academy" (Ukraine), BA in International Relations, Public Communication, and Regional Studies (expected in 2024)

University of Warsaw (Poland), Exchange Semester, Institute of International Relations, Major: International Relations

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English (advanced), Polish (upper-intermediate), German (intermediate)

**LAST BOOK READ:** Krypiakevych I., Hnatevych B., Stefaniv 3., Dumin O., Shramchenko S., "History of the Ukrainian Army"

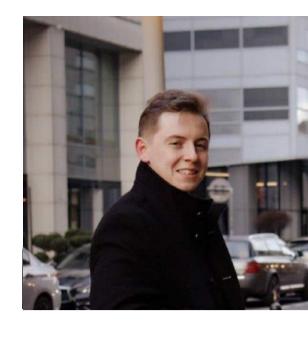
**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY A FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Strength and growth come only through continuous effort and struggle." – Napoleon Hill

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Лиш боротись — значить жить!» – Іван Франко

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Okean El'zy – Ya ne zdamsia bez boiu; Kansas – Carry on Wayward Son; Tin' Sontsia – Yihaly kozaky

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Nestled between Bilchaky and Hubkiv villages in the Rivne region, **Sokolyni Hory** is a cherished Ukrainian landscape I've called home. Born nearby, I've frequented this local landscape reserve, finding endless inspiration in its beauty. The Sluch River's meandering journey through steep, granitic banks creates a timeless charm that captivates. With every visit, I'm awed by the play of light on meadows and cliffs, a symphony of nature's beauty. Hosting 77 rare plant species, the reserve teems with life and song. Sokolyni Hory is more than a place—it's a lifelong friend, a reminder of Ukraine's untouched elegance, and a wellspring of inspiration.







## Ariel KATSEV

**BORN IN:** Tel-Aviv Yaffo, Israel

**HOMETOWN:** Dnipro, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), Bachelor of Laws

**University of Vienna (Austria)**, Master of Laws (study programme – European and International Business Law)

Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine), MA in International economic relations (commerce and finance)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, Hebrew, Russian

LAST BOOK READ: Theodor Herzl, "The Old New Land"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "A pessimist sees difficulties at every opportunity, an optimist sees opportunities in every difficulty." – Winston Churchill

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «Якщо болить серце – тобі, друже, поталанило.» – Василь Стус

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Louis Armstrong – Go Down, Moses; Edvard Grieg – In the Hall of the Mountain King

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

**Sudak** was a popular summer tourist destination before Russian aggression in 2014. It is a climatic seaside resort. My last visit to Sudak and Crimea in general was in 2012. Therefore, I miss those breathtaking views so much. They remind me about my childhood.









### Diana KUZNETSOVA

**BORN IN: Mykolayiv, Ukraine** 

**HOMETOWN:** Mykolayiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University (Ukraine), BA in International Relations, Public Communications, and Regional Studies

**The University of Zurich (Switzerland),** MA in Social Sciences, Major: Political Science with a minor in Economics

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** English, Russian, German (upper-intermediate), Chinese (intermediate), French (basic)

**LAST BOOK READ:** Yaroslav Hrytsak, "To Conquer Future: Global History of Ukraine"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "The timeless in you is aware of life's timelessness. And knows that yesterday is but today's memory and tomorrow is today's dream." – Kahlil Gibran

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR: «**З видимого пізнавай невидиме.» – Григорій Сковорода

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Okean El'zy – Na Linii Vohniu, Paolo Nutini – Iron Sky

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Fortress of Tustan - a Medieval cliff-side fortress-city and customs site of the 9th—16th centuries, an Old Rus cliff-side defensive complex. Its remains are located in the Ukrainian Carpathians, near the village of Urych. The unique monument of history, archeology, architecture, and nature is situated amidst the woods of Pidhirtsi Forestry and is part of the Tustan Site Museum. Tustan was a defense and administrative center as well as a customs site on the important salt route leading from Drohobych through Transcarpathia to Western Europe.







## Anastasiia SULIAK

**BORN IN:** Chernivtsi, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Chernivtsi, Ukraine

#### **EDUCATION:**

University of Glasgow (United Kingdom); Autonomous University of Madrid (Spain); LUISS Guido Carli (Italy); South European Studies Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree

Nord University (Norway), Erasmus+ Study Mobility Program

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University (Ukraine), Bachelor of Finance and Credit, Master of International economic relations

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, Spanish, Russian

**LAST BOOK READ:** Dmytro Kuleba, "War for Reality. How to Win in a World of Fakes, Truths and Communities"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "One thing I know, that I know nothing. This is the source of my wisdom", Socrates

FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR: «Борітеся - поборете, Вам Бог помогає! За вас правда, за вас сила і воля святая!», Тарас Шевченко

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** Harry Styles – Adore You; Boombox (feat. Pianoboy & Jamala) – Злива; Arctic Monkeys – Do I Wanna Know

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

The Residence of Bukovinian and Dalmatian Metropolitans in my hometown, Chernivtsi, was always the pearl of the city and a special reason for the pride of all citizens. The Residence was built for the Eastern Orthodox metropolitan bishop between the years 1864-1882, and now it is a part of Chernivtsi University, my alma mater. In 2011 all buildings of the Residence of Bukovinian and Dalmatian Metropolitans were declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Also the Residence was chosen as one of the Seven Architectural Wonders of Ukraine in 2011. The Residence of Metropolitans has a special place in my heart because I spent my university's years there enjoying interior paintings and mosaics.















## **Emir MUSTAFAIEV**

BORN IN: Feodosia, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine), Institute of International Relations, BA in International Relations, Public Communications and Regional Studies (expected in 2025)

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:** Crimean Tatar, Russian, English, Spanish, Chinese (A2), Arabic (A1)

LAST BOOK READ: Henry Kissinger, "Diplomacy"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "The Best People Are Those Most Beneficial To [Other] People." – Prophet Muhammad

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:** «З усіх утрат втрата часу найтяжча.» — Григорій Сковорода

FAVOURITE FILM: "The Lord of the Rings" directed by Peter Jackson

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

For me, the most precious place is the place of my birth - the city of **Feodosia**, and specifically the historical center of this city. Feodosia itself is filled with hundreds of years of history, which has given it its unique atmosphere, as each people who lived within this city took part in its development and prosperity. This diversity of cultures gives us the opportunity to look at, seemingly unusual, types of existence in one city of mosques, churches, which create this amazing atmosphere of the city. Ruins and remains of ancient buildings are a symbol of the cultural wealth of the city, where their mark was left by Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Crimean Tatars, Turks and many other peoples. The combination of sea, mountains, forest and steppe in one place is also what characterizes this beautiful city. That is why Feodosia is a place of strength for me, where I draw my strength.





## Mariia KONOPLIANYK

**BORN IN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" (Ukraine), BA in Political Science

Europa-Universität Viadrina (Germany), Erasmus+ Exchange Studies

Ukrainian Catholic University, Exchange Studies

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, German, Russian

LAST BOOK READ: Dr. Anna Lembke, "Dopamine Nation"

FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR: "You become responsible, forever,

for what you have tamed" — Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

#### **FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«Двоє дивляться вниз. Один бачить калюжу, другий — зорі. Що кому» — Олександр Довженко

FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING: DakhaBrakha - Monakh, Specially For You

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

I'm fascinated by the **House with Chimeras**. From eighth to eleventh grade, I attended a high school located within a 5-minute walk from this building, giving me the opportunity to admire this work of art every day for four years. There's a belief that if you find a crocodile on this building, you can make a wish and it will definitely come true. I once found it, but somehow, I've forgotten where it was, so now I have another chance to make a wish:) Moreover, I know two facts that make this building even more appealing and cool from my perspective. Firstly, it's the first building in the capital constructed using cement, and what's intriguing is that it was part of a promotional campaign for a cement factory. Secondly, the architect of the House with Chimeras, Vladyslav Horodetsky, teamed up with two other architect friends in a bet to build the structure in 2 years on a hill that was considered unfit for construction at that time, and he won the bet.









## Severyn-Mykola PSHEVLOTSKYI

**BORN IN:** Lviv, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

#### **EDUCATION:**

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine), Institute of International Relations, BA in International Law (expected in 2026)

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

LAST BOOK READ: Kurt Vonnegut, "Slaughterhouse-Five"

FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR: 'he not busy being

born is busy dying' - Bob Dylan

#### **FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«як же незатишно жити на зламах історії! як же поспішно могили вкриває трава!» – Юрій Іздрик

FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING: Frank Zappa – Blessed Relief,

black midi - Slow

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Near the center of Lviv is the famous **Stryiskyi Park**, which is the decoration of this already beautiful city. The large park spreads over small hills. Perfectly designed, it always impresses me with its balance between the wildness of the tree plantings and the civility of the manicured paths and lawns. The pond near the entrance to the park, where you can meet ducks and swans, deserves special attention. Sitting on a bench, looking at the water and birds, breathing in the clean park air, you can lose track of time, whereas a long walk in the park is always a meditative process and a break from the hustle and bustle of the city.





## Oleksandr MYKHAILICHENKO

BORN IN: Lysychansk, Luhansk Region, Ukraine

**HOMETOWN:** Kyiv, Ukraine

**EDUCATION:** 

**Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine),** Educational and Scientific Institute of Law, Master's Degree in interdisciplinary English-speaking specialization "Legal Practice"; Bachelor's Degree in Intellectual property law specialization with emphasis on copyright law and IT contracts

Vilnius University (Lithuania), Law Faculty, Exchange Semester, major: medical law, private international law and intellectual property law

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: English, German, Russian

LAST BOOK READ: Bertrand Russell, "A History of Western Philosophy"

**FAVOURITE QUOTE BY FOREIGN AUTHOR:** "Someone will despise me? His concern. And my concern, no matter how it happens that I did or said something worthy of contempt. Someone hates? His concern. And I, benevolent and devoted to everyone, am ready to show him what his oversight is – without blasphemy, without a hint that I am about to endure, but sincerely and simply" – Marcus Aurelius. Reflections. 11.13

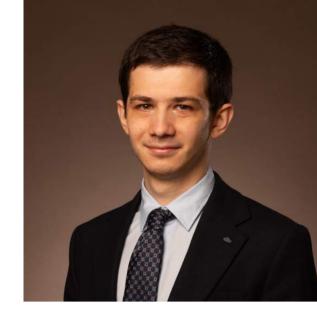
#### **FAVOURITE QUOTE BY UKRAINIAN AUTHOR:**

«Щури попереду, позаду таргани, і мандавошки... вся ця нечисть з усіх боків повзе на Україну. Тримайся, друже, я передбачаю, що таргани всіх мандавошок поїдять, а пацюки закусять тарганами, і самі здохнуть. Це - закон природи. Ще Дарвін бородатий нас учив, що всі потвори врешті-решт зникають. Натомість все красиве і розумне, як ми з тобою, залишається. То ж до біса песимізм!» — Лесь Подерв'янський

**FAVOURITE MUSICAL RECORDING:** The Weeknd – Blinding Lights; Calvin Harris – Outside ft. Ellie Goulding; Скрябін – Спи собі сама

#### **FAVOURITE UKRAINIAN LANDSCAPE:**

Before the war, only a few people would talk a lot about the old Donbas steppes of **Lysychansk** where I lived. Now everyone knows of Lysychansk, but the price is sad. Since birth, I have admired and been inspired by the local landscapers of Lysychansk, so beautifully described by Vasil Simonenko about the Donbas' nature in his 1961 poem "The Steppe".







## Artem BARABASH



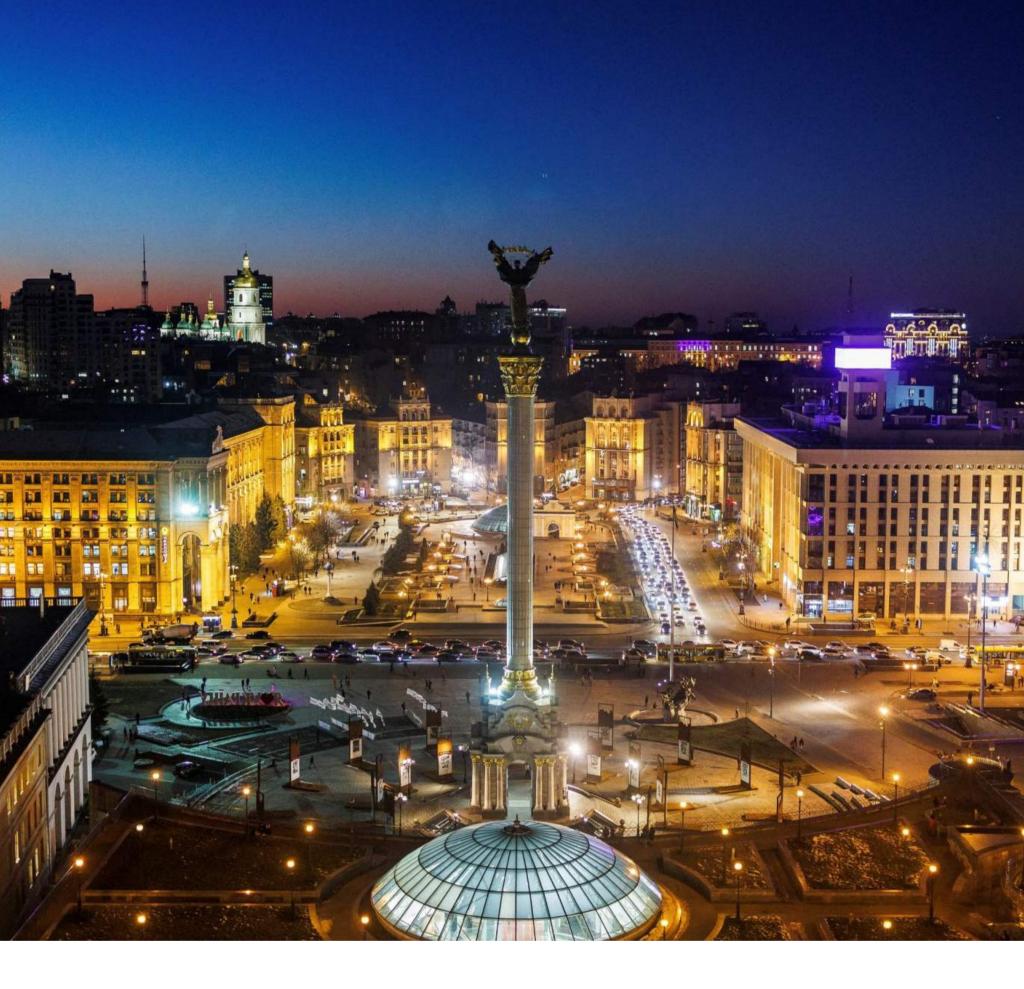
These two CUPP 2023 Interns are currently performing their duties as **members of Armed Forces of Ukraine**, both coming from a legal practical background.

Mr BARABASH serves as a political officer in the 22nd separate mechanized brigade. It is now stationed on the southern flank of Bakhmut, Donetsk oblast, and is actively involved in the Ukrainian counteroffensive campaign of 2023.

Mr KORCHYNSKYY is a senior lieutenant and rifle platoon leader.

## Mykhailo KORCHYNSKYY





## **INTERNS AT WORK**

See how 2023 CUPP Interns reflect on the current affairs and their professional experience



Still today, I occasionally hear among some of my friends a certain scepticism about Ukrainian integration into the European Union (EU). It's worth noting that these friends are well-educated, intelligent and have a critical-thinking approach. Their doubts are mainly based on the idea that Ukraine is going to lose its sovereignty if it becomes an EU Member State. I believe that we must strike down this myth once and for all.

The notion that Ukraine would lose its sovereignty if it were to join the European Union is a commonly held misperception. Membership of the EU would not result in a loss of independence for Ukraine, but rather offer numerous benefits that could enhance its sovereignty and stability.

Let's have a look at how the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, enacted in 1990, defines sovereignty. According to the Declaration, the following 6 signs of state sovereignty can be distinguished:

- the principle of supremacy (in other words: the prerogative of power);
- the principle of independence:
- the principle of completeness (in other words: universality);
- the principle of the indivisibility of state power within its territory;
- the principle of independence in foreign relations;
- the principle of equality in foreign relations.

Step by step, I suggest analysing every aspect of sovereignty addressed by the Declaration and the potential risk of loss if Ukraine joins the EU.

# Will Ukraine really lose part of its sovereignty if it joins the EU?

## **Ariel Katsev**

First published at the Young European Ambassadors web-page

#### **Supremacy**

The principle of the prerogative of power is closely related to the absence of another higher social power on the territory of the country: the state power can cancel, or declare invalid any manifestation of any other public power. Indeed, the principle of supremacy and the powers of EU institutions are not in conflict because EU institutions are not considered to be in opposition to state power. Instead, they are seen as complementary to it. EU institutions are created by the member states of the EU through treaties and have the power to make laws that are binding on all member states. The principle of supremacy ensures that these laws take precedence over conflicting national laws, but it does not diminish the power of the state. Instead, it ensures that the powers of the EU and the member states are exercised in a complementary manner, with the EU institutions exercising their powers in areas where the EU has competence, and the national authorities retaining their powers in areas where they have jurisdiction. In this way, the principle of supremacy helps to ensure the proper functioning of the EU as a whole and its ability to achieve its goals.

#### Independence

The idea of independence is mainly built on the ability to independently make decisions within the country and abroad in compliance with the norms of national and international law. There are reasons to believe that this principle is not in conflict with EU law, because EU law does not take away the independence of member states, but rather provides a framework for cooperation and coordination between them. EU law only applies in areas where the EU has been granted competence by the member states, and the EU institutions only have the powers that have been delegated to them by the member states. In this way, EU law enhances the independence of member states by allowing them to work together to achieve common goals and tackle common challenges, while still retaining their individual sovereignty and independence.

It is true that joining the EU would require Ukraine to adopt a range of EU policies and regulations, including those related to human rights, trade, and the environment. However, this process is not a one-way street, as Ukraine would also have a say in the development of these policies and regulations.

#### Universality

The principle of completeness refers to the idea that a state's power should extend to all spheres of state life, including its entire population and public organisations. This principle is respected by EU law, which recognises the sovereignty of member states to extend their state power within their own territory. However, in certain areas where the EU has competence, EU law may limit the ability of member states to extend their state power. Notably, EU law does not undermine the principle of completeness, but rather provides a framework for cooperation and coordination in areas where the EU has competence. In this way, the principle of completeness and compliance with EU law are not in conflict, but rather complement each other to enhance the ability of member states to achieve their goals and tackle common challenges.

#### Indivisibility of state power within its territory

The principle of the indivisibility of state power refers to the idea that within a given territory, power is unified and cannot be divided or separated into different branches. However, this principle does not prevent the delegation of certain powers to other bodies, such as EU institutions, if the ultimate authority remains with the state. EU institutions are created by the member states and are given specific powers and responsibilities by the member states through treaties. The EU institutions, therefore, do not divide the power of the state, but rather complement it by exercising powers that have been delegated to them. The state remains the ultimate source of power and retains the authority to make decisions and take actions within its territory. The EU institutions, in turn, exercise their powers in areas where the EU has competence, such as trade, the environment, and justice and home affairs.

Let me provide you with an interesting fact: during the COVID-19 pandemic, EU institutions were criticised by EU citizens for not acting decisively enough. But EU institutions have neither exclusive nor shared competencies in the sphere of protection and improvement of human health. The only thing that they could do was to support national bodies in that sphere.





#### Independence in foreign relations

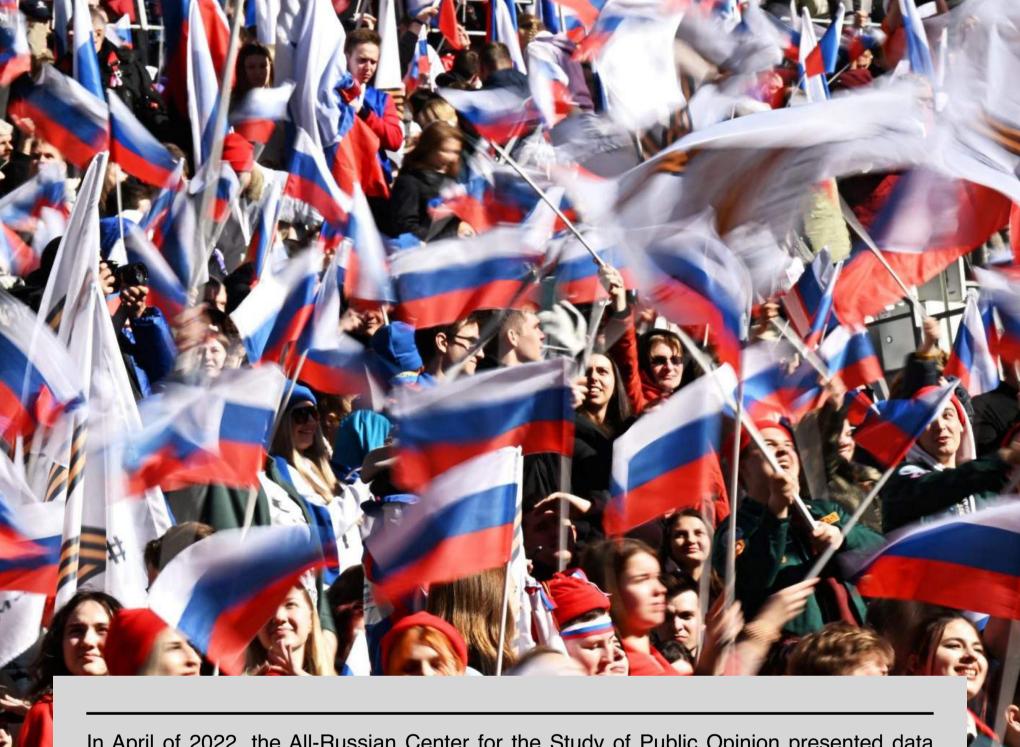
The principle of independence in foreign relations and compliance with EU norms are not in conflict because EU law recognises the independence of member states in their foreign relations. The principle of independence in foreign relations refers to a state's ability to make its own decisions and conduct its own foreign policy without interference from other states. This principle is respected by EU law, which recognises that the foreign policy of each member state is the responsibility of that state and that the EU institutions do not have the power to dictate or interfere in the foreign policy of member states.

However, in certain areas where the EU has competence, such as trade and development policy, the EU institutions may make decisions and take actions that are binding on all member states. In these areas, membership of the EU would provide Ukraine with greater access to the world's largest single market and to a wealth of resources and expertise. This would help to boost the country's economy and support its development, potentially enhancing its overall independence and security.

#### **Equality in foreign relations**

The principle of equality in foreign relations refers to the idea that all states have the same rights and obligations in their dealings with other states and in the international community. This principle is respected by EU law, which recognises that all member states have equal status and are equal partners in the EU. EU law does not give any member state greater rights or obligations than any other member state, and EU institutions are required to act in a way that is consistent with the principle of equality.

In conclusion, the notion that Ukraine would lose its sovereignty if it were to join the EU is a fallacy. Membership in the EU would provide Ukraine with numerous benefits, including increased stability, prosperity, and access to resources and expertise. By working together with its EU partners, Ukraine would have a greater ability to shape its own future and exert its independence on the world stage. It is worth noting that Ukraine already has a close relationship with the EU, with many of its citizens enjoying the benefits of visa-free travel and increased trade and investment. Joining the EU would take this relationship to the next level, providing Ukraine with a greater voice on the international stage and access to the EU's collective resources and influence. CUPP



In April of 2022, the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion presented data from a study on the attitude of Russians towards the United States. 71% of respondents have noted that their perception of the US as a country is negative. 47% of the negative respondents present their attitude to be "extremely negative". The previous extreme was reached in 2014. The connection is quite prominent: the waves of unjustified detestation towards America were peaking each time Russia involved itself in an armed conflict.

Russian propaganda has been one of the main instruments that to this day paves the way for the aggressor to interfere in the affairs of its neighbors.

## Russian Propaganda of Western Influence in Post-Eastern Block Olena Chuprynska

#### **Color Revolutions**

The first serious wave of suspicion and paranoia among the Russian ruling top, specifically Vladimir Putin, rose after the 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia, and the 2004 Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Russia is consistently threatened by the revolutionary pro-Western activity in its neighboring countries. Color revolutions seemed to have possessed the strength of kick-starting the process of questioning the ones in power and the ways through which this power was achieved. Russian attitude towards the Color revolutions was strongly rooted in the idea, that the said revolutions are conducted under the aegis of the undisclosed "Western influence". This take's peculiarity lies in the fact that Russia itself has an extensive history of involvement and altering other independent countries' political and social course of development. 2004 elections in Ukraine are a prominent example of Russia's activity in this sphere. Putin's support for Yanukovych was quite obvious during the multiple visits the Russian president made to Ukraine. All of them were quite precisely timed, just a couple of days prior to when the electorate was supposed to make its decision: "...the opposition has claimed the visit was timed to allow him to influence the electorate with his choice for president. Mr. Putin told Ukrainian television that visa restrictions between Russia and Ukraine would be eased. He also floated the possibility of dual citizenship for Ukrainian and Russian citizens, a popular move among voters."

One more precedent that can be viewed as a part of the bigger interference plot was Putin paying a visit to the fairly pro-Russian then-president, Kuchma, a couple of days prior to the second tour of the 2004 elections. The official reasoning behind this visit was the signing of a transportation agreement for rebuilding the passage between Kerch and Kuban, which usually happens on a "lower" official level, between the Ministers of transportation, so the presence of officials of such a high caliber by many journalists and political experts, among them a respected Ukrainian political scientist Oleksandr Sushko, was deemed to be unnecessary: "I don't think they're talking about things like the ferry or even the Single Economic Space, they're talking about something else, something they can't tell their community, and that's very worrying."





#### **Revolution of Dignity**

Russia has set itself on a path of dedicating its media's existence to completely brainwashing Russian citizens in 2013 and 2014 during the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine. Maidan is considered to be among the main and strongest triggers, which launched the full-scale Russian and Russiafunded aggressive military operations all across the country. In 2018 a famous Russian propagandist Vladimir Solovyov created a documentary compilation of interviews with Putin called "The world order". In one of the interviews, Putin mentions being "outrageously lied to" by American officials, when they requested the armed military to not interfere for the sake of stabilizing the situation in the country. According to the Russian president, he agreed to comply and talk Yanukovych out of using lethal weaponry: "A day later there was a coup d'état... In fact, the United States carried out this coup with their own hands, so they are forced to support the current government in Kyiv."

#### Full-scale invasion of Ukraine

The search for the eternal antagonist since then has reached an all-time high in 2021 and 2022. The almost eight-year-long production and consumption of hatred-fueled radically anti-Western propaganda have resulted in the creation of one of the jewels in the crown of populism and pseudo-scientism – the "Unity of the Ukrainian and Russian nations", allegedly

written by Putin himself. In the article, Ukrainians are portrayed as a powerless quasi-nation looking for external guidance. Americans are to be blamed for assisting the violent and illegal coup d'état, for interfering in the affairs of the "sisterly nations" to weaken Russia, establishing the spread of the "Western world order", and for undermining the significance of the historical and cultural connections between Russia and Ukraine.

In February of 2022, the antagonism and propaganda reached their peak point. The treacherous invasion of Ukraine needed to be justified by Kremlin. Russia's propaganda forces were deployed on full scale to come up with outrageous excuses to maintain the country's image of a "savior of traditional values" and "nazism abolisher". Sergey Karaganov, the infamous presidential adviser in Russia, accurately keeps up with this narrative in his interview: "In addition, we saw a very rapid increase of neo-Nazi sentiment, especially among the military, the society, and the ruling elite. It was clear that Ukraine had become something like Germany around 1936-1937. The war was inevitable, they were a spearhead of NATO."

All the information listed above shows that Russia has been carefully planning out the ideological foundation of the full-scale invasion for years. Propaganda has fully served its purpose, no matter how absurd, and Russia successfully executed its plan. **CUPP** 



It is not that easy to transform from a country that is a part of the core competitor of NATO (that picked such a role for itself) to a country that embraces something that was considered to be your enemy. Opponents of this statement argue that the example of Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, and even Albania contradict it as these states were in a similar situation. While there may be some truth to this, it's also not completely accurate.

# A Ukrainian Path to NATO: How to Make a Bumpy Road Smoother?

## Artur Koldomasov

First published by the Transatlantic Dialogue Center (Kyiv)

During the Soviet times, NATO was a trigger word for Ukrainians. It is difficult to reinvent itself and dust off everyday repetitions of how bad the West is, with NATO being regarded as the full embodiment of the West, and how every single Western person wants to destroy everybody in the Soviet Union. This process of metamorphosis, together with other important sociopolitical processes, such as the transformation of education and the media landscape, takes a long time, but it can bring good long-term results. It could happen gradually, but there were some events that sped this up... sparked by Russia.

Paradoxically, Russia's vigorous reaction to NATO expansion to the East and paranoid fear of the military bloc on its borders followed by the attempts to "protect Ukraine" from it became the ones responsible for Ukraine becoming closer to the West than ever before. Two revolutions in 2004 and 2014 respectively, which both have a Russian root cause, created a wave of (sometimes too) high hopes among Ukrainians. They realized their need and readiness for NATO (even if not all of them and everywhere in the country) sooner than some NATO Member States' leaders. Yet, at the same time, up till 2014, Russia was spreading the narrative about NATO taking over the residential blocks in Ukrainian cities and their gardens at summer houses. And despite always admiring the West and listening to the stories of those Ukrainians who have already been there, the fear of the unknown was helping this narrative.

The 2004 Orange Revolution and Ukrainian NATO integration are closely intertwined. In fact, it has been one of the key elements of Ukraine's former President Viktor Yushchenko's election campaign and one of those that met the most resistance. The hard security topics were always challenging for Ukrainians, as it is pretty difficult to think about military power and weapons when there is no economic or political stability in your homeland. Leading up to

the already infamous 2008 Bucharest NATO Summit, Ukrainians were not entirely mentally ready to join NATO. Comparing the level of awareness about NATO among Ukrainians in 2008 and 2014 and especially now, you can see the evolution, where the starting point was barely knowing anything about the organization, its goals, and what it takes to actually be a Member State. At the same time, high hopes from the Orange Revolution were shattered by the harsh reality of a Ukrainian political interplay between different political groups in pursuit of influence. All of that gave Ukraine a little bit of a wobbling footing for the Summit, where Russia managed to convince the U.S. and Bush Jr. that both Ukraine and Georgia in NATO equal a very risky decision.

In 2010, Viktor Yanukovych, a freshly elected at that time President of Ukraine who was financially and politically backed by the Kremlin, decided to change the destination, trying to embrace neutrality. A neutral status for Ukraine was one of his central campaign promises. In support of it, Yanukovych and his peers were capitalizing on the "NATO horror". As he tried to say this, it would be better to focus on the economy rather than think about the military. Was it real neutrality, like, for example, in Austria? It is debatable. As the standards for many aspects of the military are the core element of NATO integration, it is definitely fair to say that the Ukrainian military at that time was drifting away from NATO. The arms reduction, the decline in conditions for soldiers, rising corruption, bullying campaigns for "freshmen" of the military draft, issues with gender parity - all of these problems were at their worst during the Yanukovych presidency, and some of them are still lingering as the obstacles on the Ukrainian path to NATO. When Yanukovych's policies became unbearably Russian, Ukrainians took another leap of faith in a better future with the 2014 Revolution of Dignity.





At the beginning of that part, some Warsaw Pact countries were mentioned for a good reason. At times Ukrainian experts present an argument that Ukraine itself is not worse and even, in some terms, better than those countries that are already accepted into NATO. They might hint at the possible prejudice against Ukraine. While this scenario might be one of the possible reasons, we should also keep in mind that the Western lens at this is quite different, and it is similar to the lens they use for Ukrainian integration into the EU. Yes, despite Russia trying to prove otherwise, Ukraine is better at fighting corruption than commonly perceived. Moreover, its progress is not worse than the one in Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, which are already NATO members. With the current geopolitical trends, certain experts might even perceive Ukraine as NATO Member to be more logical and viable than Hungary.

However, the failed homework of these countries is the reason why NATO is skeptical about Ukraine. As we can see, the rise of far-right politics in Poland and Hungary and the economic instability of Bulgaria and Romania have already created cracks in European security. Yes, the accession of Albania was a risky choice, but it is easier to manage issues in a country as big as Albania than in Ukraine. It is time to understand that Ukraine in NATO is an opportunity for both NATO and Ukraine to become more resilient if the cards are played right. CUPP



# THANK YOU FOR READING THIS NEWSLETTER

It has been prepared by the CUPP 2023 Interns (Artur Koldomasov as an Editor-in-Chief) and the CUPP Editorial Board

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