

**КИЇВСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ ІМЕНІ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА
ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ
КАФЕДРА НОВОЇ ТА НОВІТНЬОЇ ІСТОРІЇ ЗАРУБІЖНИХ КРАЇН
УКРАЇНСЬКА АСОЦІАЦІЯ АМЕРИКАНІСТИКИ**

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CANADIAN ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN POST-COLD WAR TIMES

Abstract. *Canadian support for the post-communist countries of the Central and Eastern Europe is one of the important components of the international assistance. It plays a great role for the successful transition in the region from communist to the liberal political and economical system. The region consists of the very different nations, some of them already completely incorporated to the Western economic, political, defense and security structures, and others are still on their path to democracy. In the article it is proposed a short overview of the place occupied by Central and Eastern Europe among Canadian foreign policy interests; and generalizations of the main ways of Canadian assistance to the countries of the region (such as political and economic reforms, human rights, supremacy of laws, freedom of media, etc.). Support of democratic developments in the world remains one of the main priorities for Canadian foreign policy. Despite some critiques inside the Canadian society of the issues of financial support, the assistance to the developing nations of Central and Eastern Europe completely fits universal values declared as the main pillars of current Canadian foreign policy.*

Key words: *Canada, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Central and Eastern Europe, democracy, foreign policy.*

Research Issue and Its Significance. One of the important segments of today's international relations is foreign assistance which is forwarded mostly to the developing nations. For Canada, which is one of the middle powers, being a donor country is an important component of the country's foreign policy and international development strategies. Canadian system of liberal values is based on such pillars as freedom, democracy, the rule of law and human rights around the world. Financial and other assistance to the developing nations are the ways not only to share and spread these values all around the world, but to improve positions of Canada among the leading nations. First experience of Canadian foreign aid goes back to the early 1950s – just after the Commonwealth conference 1952 in Sri-Lanka. Since that first case Canada has a long tradition of support to the developing nations all over the world.

Foreign assistance to the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe was and still is an essential part of the current Canadian democracy promotion strategy. We have to note that the region of Central and Eastern Europe never was among the top priorities of Canadian foreign policy. But Canadian attention and assistance towards this region is stable through out last 30 years since the events of the Round table negotiations in Poland, Velvet revolution in that time Czechoslovakia and the collapse of the Soviet Union. That is why it is important to make few generalizations of the Canadian impact of

the transition of post-communist countries towards democracy through the overview of the Canadian assistance to the region.

The analysis of the previous research. The developments in Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the communist regimes in the region were and still are under attention of many researchers. The main focus is put on the political and economic transition of post-Communist countries towards democracy and market economy, integration to the European and transatlantic structures, relations with the Western states. Among the published materials in the field, we can find those concentrated on the politics of the great and middle powers towards the region, as well as papers and articles where Central and Eastern Europe is only mentioned as one of the dimensions of the changed post-bipolar world. The great majority of the researches are dedicated to the analysis of the United States' and Western Europe's policy, attitudes, and perceptions of Central and Eastern Europe, and general Western perspectives on the developments in the region, which changed world order after the collapse of the communism (for example, Marharyta Lymar [7, p. 9-19], Viktoriia Vdovychenko [2, p. 6-20]). The issues of the Western aid to post-Communist nations were also analyzed. In Ukrainian historiography more attention is paid to the generalizations about foreign aid and assistance to Ukraine. For example, legal and political aspects of the American assistance were analyzed by Iryna Bratko [1, p. 6-17], main vectors of Italian humanitarian assistance Ukraine were described by Olga Sukhobokova [10, p. 107-124]. All mentioned publications give general perception on the issue of the foreign aid, its main mechanisms, and vectors of support to the post-communist states.

But Canadian aid and attitudes towards the region seem to be one of the less investigated topics. We can name only a few articles, which considers about Canadian attitudes towards Central and Eastern Europe. Among Ukrainian scholars the place of Central and Eastern Europe among Canadian foreign policy priorities was studied by Serhii Kononenko, who gives a general and deep description of the main dimension in this field, but his research did not cover the developments since mid 1990s [6]. Current Canada's position on the international arena was studied by Roman Kalytchak and Olesya Antokhiv-Skolozdra, who proposed an overview of Canadian foreign policy and its role at both global and regional levels [4, p. 519-523]. Canada's politics and assistance to Ukraine is more often in the focus of Ukrainian researchers, for example we can mention publications of Iryna Sudak [9, p. 297-309], Marjana Derda [3, p. 256-257], Maksim Klimov [5, p. 114-119] and Victoria Medvid [8, p. 223-230].

Among foreign researches it should be named a chapter by Jeanne K. Laux about financing the transition in Central and Eastern Europe [24, p. 172-294], the paper of former Canadian defense adviser Andrew P. Rasiulis is focused on the analysis of the policy options for Canada in Eastern Europe [26]. Few generalizations about assistance to the region are described in the publications about main vectors of current Canadian foreign politics. In general, we can conclude that Canadian assistance to the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe still needs a detailed and in-depth analysis.

Problem statement. This article is focused on the main vectors of Canadian assistance to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the post-Cold war epoch. It is aimed on the evaluation of the main dimensions and instruments of the realization of the Canadian aid to the former communist countries in their path towards the democracy. In the article it is proposed a short overview of the place occupied by Central and Eastern Europe among Canadian foreign policy interests; generalizations of the main vectors of

Canadian assistance to the countries of the region in their transition to democracy and market economy. The overview of the mentioned issues is intended to supplement studies in the field of current Canada's foreign policy as well as researches about the development in Central and Eastern Europe.

Results of the research. Before analyzing assistance to Central and Eastern Europe it worth to find out the place of this region within main Canadian interests on international arena. Among priority vectors of Canadian foreign policy at the end of the 20th at the beginning of the 21st centuries we have to name North America, Arctic, Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia-Pacific, Middle East and North Africa [16]. As it is pointed on the official website of the Government of Canada: «Canada and Europe share a long history, common values and close ties. Canada has developed strong bilateral relationships with the institutions of the European Union (EU), as well as with most European countries inside and outside of the EU» [15]. So it is seen that Europe is not divided into sub-regions and Central and Eastern Europe are not separated from the rest of the Europe.

Europe as a whole is interpreted as the second priority for Canadian foreign policy after the United States of America. The main spheres of cooperation with Europe are named as follows: «shared values», «trade and political relations», «cooperation on international security», «security and defense in Europe» [15]. Canadian ties with European states develop through the shared membership in such international organizations as the United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

On the official website of the Government of Canada it is mentioned that Eastern Europe together with Eurasia (former Soviet Union) became important in the last few decades and that Canada strongly stands for the democracy and freedom in this region [15]. It can be noticed that European post-communist countries occupied a special place in Canadian politics. One of the reasons is active position of Diaspora. Its activities are not under analysis in this paper, so we'll only mention that it is well organized. One of its structures is the Central and Eastern European Council in Canada which represents the interests over 4 million Canadians of Central and Eastern European heritage. This Council includes the Albanian Community in Canada, Czech and Slovak Association, Estonian Central Council, Hungary Congress, Latvian National Federation in Canada, Lithuanian-Canadian Community, Canadian Polish Congress and The Ukrainian Canadian Congress [29]. The activities of the Central and Eastern European Diasporas completely fit Canada's official support of democratic developments in the region. So it can be concluded, that Europe is important for Canada, and Central and Eastern Europe are of particular consideration in the post-bipolar world.

It should be also mentioned that in 1989-mid 1990s towards the region there were used such definitions as «Eastern Europe», «former Soviet Union» countries and Yugoslavia. In late 1990s «Eastern Europe» which had political, not geographical meaning transformed into «Central and Eastern Europe». In Canada now there are different approaches towards the selection of the number of states which considered as «Eastern Europe/Central and Eastern Europe». Among the most often used list of states named as «East European» in Canadian official interpretations we can find Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech

Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine and even Turkey. It also might be noted that in statistical documents which gave data about amounts of financial assistance it can be find a grouping of the Eastern Europe as the following: Balkans (sometimes – ex-Yugoslavia/former Yugoslavia), Eastern Europe (and within it – the Baltics), South Caucasus [22]. In some papers which concerns defense and security issues, especially the events since 2014 in the East of Ukraine the Eastern Europe is considered as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine [26]. So, in general by the countries of ‘Eastern Europe/Central and Eastern Europe’ are meant post-communist countries of Europe and former USSR in transition towards democracy. Now they are at different stages of this reform process, and the region is still characterized by great diversity.

The main focus of current Canadian cooperation with Europe lies in the economic field [9, p. 304-305], but during the Cold War the issues of security and defense were of special interest for Canadian policy as well as for the whole West. After the end of the East-West confrontation these issues lost their top priority in Western Europe, but they received new dimension in the eastern part of the continent: the post-communist developments in the Eastern Europe were accompanied by economic and political crisis, ethnical conflicts (former Yugoslavia) and violence. To assist East European nations in their national-building process and transit towards democracy became one of the goals of Canadian foreign policy at the end of the 20th – at the beginning of the 21st centuries. This was a good chance for Canada to increase own role on international arena through strengthening the multilateral approach in world politics.

In 2005, after more than decade of post Cold war world, there was released the International Policy Statement of Canada in which Canada's intentions, attitudes, and plans to increase its global engagement in international security and foreign relations were declared. Canada's interest in becoming a bigger part of the international community was motivated by past events such as its lack of influence during the Cold War As it was underlined by that time Prime Minister of Canada Paul Martin in the introduction to that statement «Foreign policy is how a nation best expresses itself to the world» [12, p.iii]. This statement made an accent on doctrine of activism and global responsibilities in the sphere of foreign assistance. This approach was confirmed in address by that time Minister of Foreign Affairs Chrystia Freeland delivered in the House of Commons June 6, 2017. It that address Canadian foreign policy was declared as oriented on respect of the interests of all Canadians and the values which are important for the whole mankind. The core national values includes territorial integrity, human rights, democracy, respect for the rule of law, and an aspiration to free and friendly trade [14]. All these values and principles determine Canadian policy towards the Central and Eastern Europe.

And now let make an overview of the main vectors of Canadian assistance towards the region. As Jeanne K. Laux states with the break up of the Soviet Union the question of how best to meet the challenge of transition in Central and Eastern Europe moved to the center of policy debate within and among Western governments [24, p. 172]. That was a vital issue for the USA and Western Europe, and Canada also joined the discussion as a part of broader process of reorienting politics to support new priorities in the emerging multilateral post Cold War world order. Within the Group of Seven industrial countries (G-7) it was decided to coordinate Western assistance first of all to Poland and

Hungary as countries which officially started democratic reforms. The main issue which was discussed concerned the reorientation of financial and other support from the Third World countries to the nations of the Eastern Europe. Later on the assistance was extended to Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania.

At the end of the 1980s – the beginning of the 1990s the situation in the Eastern part of Europe was qualified as complex emergencies so Canada started the program of humanitarian assistance. The program began with the end of the Cold War and consisted by such measures as providing food aid, medical services and pharmaceuticals products. Soon this program evolved to respond to a succession of complex emergencies and natural disasters and also included important political and security dimensions.

The start of Canada's humanitarian assistance program was in 1989 with a focus on providing food, medical services and pharmaceutical products. Considerable assistance was provided to the former Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and the Caucasus [19].

Canada participated in the initiatives of G-7, OECD, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The main declared aims were to foster the transition towards open market-oriented economies, to promote private and entrepreneurial initiative in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1990 in Canada there was created The Renaissance Eastern Europe Program which was funded by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's Bureau of Assistance for Central and Eastern Europe. It was aimed to increase the involvement of Canadian companies prepared to invest to new market economies in the region and to establish long-term business relationships [27, p.5-6].

One of the instruments of Canadian assistance to post-Communist countries was federal agency – the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which was formed in far 1968. At first this agency was charged with international development cooperation programs in such regions as Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Americas. Focus on Central and Eastern Europe was added in 1995, when CIDA became responsible for Canada's official assistance aimed on the support of democratic development and economic liberalization initiatives in the mentioned region [13, p.1]. General areas of Canadian support within CIDA were education, environment, and health, equality between women and men, humanitarian aid, private sector development.

It was formed a special branch which was responsible for the programs in that part of Europe (other regional priorities were Africa and Middle East, Americas and Asia) [18], which covered Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, which were undergoing a process of economic and political reform and started move away from the command economies of the former Communist system. As the Branch objectives there were declared the support of democratic development and economic liberalization by building mutually beneficial partnerships. Among the main vectors of support there were named: humanitarian assistance, nuclear safety (first of all to improve the safety of Soviet-designed nuclear power stations), transition to market-based economies, facilitation of Canadian trade and investment links with the region, and the encouragement of good governance, democracy and adherence to international norms [17].

Within CIDA activities in 1990s Canadian financial and technological support received such countries as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Tajikistan, Ukraine [20]. But Canada supported other countries of the Central

and Eastern Europe as well. For example, in 2007-2008 CIDA spent for projects and initiatives in Belarus \$ 730,000 by funding the multilateral programs and different projects led by institutions, associations, Canadian and international non-governmental organizations and, private sector enterprises [22]. For Georgia in the same period there were proposed disbursements for projects and initiatives on the level of \$2.44 million (among them geographic and multinational programs, including Humanitarian assistance program, and Canada Fund for Local initiatives managed by the Embassy of Canada to Turkey) [22]. One more example, CIDA does not maintain a significant assistance program in Armenia and Azerbaijan, but these countries in 2007-2008 received funding on different projects about \$1.9 million and \$1.92 million respectively [22]. The issue of funding by CIDA needs the special research, so this numbers are given only as small illustration.

One of the programs administrated by CIDA was Canada Corps. It was established to help developing and unstable countries to promote good governance and building of democratic institutions. The creation of a new initiative was announced in 2004 and its first mission was send as a delegation of approximately 500 Canadians as election observers to the December 26, 2004, Ukrainian presidential election. In the mentioned above the International Policy Statement of Canada (2005) Canada Corps was interpreted as a key mechanism for providing governance assistance to developing countries. It was aimed on developing collaborative partnerships across government, and with non-governmental organizations, the private sector and Canadian citizens; on creating coherent governance assistance programs with a focus on sharing Canadian expertise in the rule of law and human rights. The main idea was «to mobilize Canadians of all ages and backgrounds, providing new opportunities for individuals to contribute to capacity building in the developing world» [12, p.23-25]. In 2006 Canada Corps was replaced by the other structure: Office for Democratic Governance, which was also restructured soon.

In 2009 as a result of the world financial and economic crisis the Government of Canada announced the reshaping of its aid agenda and cut down the number of countries under the CIDA support. Canada's new approach reflects the three priority themes: increasing food security, stimulating sustainable economic growth, and securing the future of children and youth. Since that time CIDA concentrated on the support of programs of only 20 countries of the world (so called «countries on focus»), and among them from the Central and Eastern Europe remained only Ukraine [21]. Other countries were supposed to receive Canadian aid in the other ways (humanitarian assistance, partnership in multinational cooperation, work of Canadian NGOs, etc.) [11].

In Canada there were discussions about the effectiveness of CIDA with both «pro» and «contra» points of view. The issue of the amount of funding by CIDA programs and projects needs a special research, where assistance to Central and Eastern Europe can be compared with the assistance to the other regions. But in general, CIDA's activities greatly influenced on the democratic developments in Eastern Europe and Ukraine in particular. In 2013 by the decision of the government CIDA was folded into the Department of Foreign Affairs (now – Global Affairs Canada) [23].

Support and assistance to the developing countries of the world was also regulated by the Official Development Assistance Accountability Act (2008). Main targets under this act are: poverty reduction; perspectives of the poor; and international human rights standards [30]. Ukraine receives assistance under this Act since 2014. As it is explained on the Government of Canada web-site main aims for Canadian support in development

assistance to Ukraine are the following: to reduce poverty in the country (in the way to support stabilization of the economy); to strengthen Ukrainian democracy (to increase participation in the democratic process); to support independent media and judiciary; to promote the rule of law [28]. The special attention is paid to the developments in governance, fiscal and agricultural reforms.

In 2019 in the Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development «Renewing Canada's role in international support for democratic development» it was proposed to establish one more independent institution aimed on support of international democratic development. This is announced as a part of a comprehensive strategy to advance democracy around the world and to increase Canada's role in it [25, p.33]. This proves that despite frequent changes in the structures which are responsible for helping developing countries, supporting the development of democracy in the world remains a priority for Canadian foreign policy.

For more complex vision of the Canadian assistance to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe in further research the following issues have to be analyzed: the impact of East European Diaspora in Canada in lobbying support and assistance to the region; issues of military and technical support in training of police, army and other structures; security and defense issues in the region; amounts of financial support; assistance in such spheres as culture, environment, minority rights, etc.

Conclusions. Canadian support for the post-communist countries of the Central and Eastern Europe was and still is one of the important components of the international assistance. It plays a great positive role for the successful transition in the region from the centralized to the market economy, from communist to the liberal political system. The region consists of the very different nations, some of them already completely incorporated to the Western economic, political, defense and security structures, and others are still on their path to democracy. The main vectors of support were aimed on political and economic reforms, human rights and supremacy of laws, freedom of media and other classical elements of the democratic society.

Support of democratic developments in the world remains one of the main priorities for Canadian foreign policy. In this article there were mentioned few institutions, which were responsible for assistance of Central and Eastern European countries in their path towards democracy and free market economy. Despite some critiques inside the Canadian society of the issues of financial support, the assistance to the developing nations of Central and Eastern Europe completely fits universal values declared as the main pillars of current Canadian foreign policy.

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КАНАДСЬКА ДОПОМОГА ЦЕНТРАЛЬНІЙ ТА СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ ПІСЛЯ ХОЛОДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. Стаття присвячена огляду основних вимірів канадської допомоги країнам Центральної та Східної Європи у часи після завершення Холодної війни. Фінансова, технічна та інші форми допомоги, які надавалися пост-комуністичним країнам означеного регіону, відіграли важливу роль у транзиті цих країн від планової до ринкової економіки, від адміністративно-командної до демократичної систем управління. Регіон залишається складним та різноманітним, бо деякі з пост-комуністичних країн вже повністю включилися до західних політичних та економічних структур, у той час як інші країни регіону все ще знаходяться на шляху до побудови демократії. Відзначається, що надання підтримки країнам Центральної та Східної Європи є підтвердженням задекларованих Канадою загальних принципів та цінностей, які формують ідейну основу її зовнішньої та внутрішньої політики. Серед них – демократія, права людини, боротьба з бідністю, територіальна цілісність держав тощо. Підтримка демократичного розвитку у світі інтерпретується офіційною Канадою не тільки як умова стабільного розвитку, а і як можливість ствердитися на міжнародній арені в якості потужного гравця.

У статті пропонується огляд місця регіону Центральної та Східної Європи серед зовнішньополітичних пріоритетів Канади, а також узагальнення щодо основних вимірів канадської допомоги. Окрема увага приділяється структурам, через які здійснюється надання фінансової та іншої форм допомоги. Основною інституцією, через яку здійснювалася більшість програм допомоги, була Канадська агенція міжнародного

розвитку (КАМР), яка опікувалася проектами по регіону у період 1995-2013 років. У статті також пропонуються напрями подальших досліджень з теми: більш ретельне вивчення обсягів фінансової допомоги; з'ясування ролі східноєвропейської діаспори у Канаді у лобюванні допомоги країнам Центральної та Східної Європи; підтримка з боку Канади реформ та модернізації у силових структурах країн регіону та у питаннях безпеки.

Ключові слова: Канада, Канадська агенція міжнародного розвитку (КАМР), Центральна та Східна Європа, демократія, зовнішня політика.

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EXPO–1967 IN MONTREAL: THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN SOVEREIGNTY

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the events surrounding the participation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the World Expo–1967 exhibition in Montreal and to identify the features of this process, such as the actions of diaspora organizations to attract the attention of the Canadian government and the international community to the political status of Ukraine within the Soviet Union. The publication proves that the youth movement of the Ukrainian diaspora is able to influence the course of important political events, one of which was the Montreal World Exhibition. It was used by the Kremlin as a component of preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Bolshevik coup in Petrograd on November 7, 1917. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian diaspora was preparing to celebrate the anniversaries of the Ukrainian settlements in Canada, the Ukrainian National Revolution of 1917–1921, and the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The author concluded that the Ukrainian Canadian community drew the attention of the Canadian government and the international community to the political status of Ukraine within the Soviet Union and contributed to the consolidation of all Ukrainian world in the fight for human rights in Soviet Ukraine and its proper place in the international political and legal environment. Despite the strong involvement of the Soviet Union's State Security Committee's agent network, the activities of Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada in July–August 1967 brought a number of positive gains. In particular, it fostered a sense of patriotism, self-identification, and continuity in the traditions of national liberation struggle. At the same time, the nature of the events was driven by local characteristics, the size of the diaspora and its financial resources. In this context, the activities of Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada during Expo-1967 were a kind of impetus for the further struggle for freedom and independence of the native generations of the state – Ukraine.*

Keywords: Ukrainian Diaspora, Canada, The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Soviet Union, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Ukrainian Youth of Canada, Russification.

**КИЇВСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ ІМЕНІ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА
ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ
КАФЕДРА НОВОЇ ТА НОВІТНЬОЇ ІСТОРІЇ ЗАРУБІЖНИХ КРАЇН
УКРАЇНСЬКА АСОЦІАЦІЯ АМЕРИКАНІСТИКИ**

АМЕРИКАНСЬКА ІСТОРІЯ ТА ПОЛІТИКА

НАУКОВИЙ ЖУРНАЛ

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**ЖУРНАЛ ВИДАЄТЬСЯ ЗА ПІДТРИМКИ
«УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ АСОЦІАЦІЇ АМЕРИКАНІСТИКИ»**

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Автори статей несуть повну відповідальність за підбір, точність наведених фактів, цитат, власних імен, географічних назв та інших відомостей. Тексти подаються в авторській редакції.