

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE | OTTAWA

THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN

WAR: RUSSIA'S INFORMATION
WARFARE STRATEGIES IN
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

21 & 22
FEBRUARY
2025



PROGRAM



THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN

WAR: RUSSIA'S INFORMATION WARFARE STRATEGIES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

On 21–22 February 2025, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies' online analytical publication *Forum for Ukrainian Studies* is hosting an international conference in Ottawa, Canada, titled "The Russo-Ukrainian War: Russia's Information Warfare Strategies in Comparative Perspective." Russia's disinformation and propaganda campaigns played a significant role in the illegal occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and parts of Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts in 2014 and the subsequent full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

The conference aims to closely examine, from a variety of perspectives and viewpoints, the propaganda and disinformation warfare strategies that Russia has been using in Ukraine and other countries to destabilize political and social conditions.

The goal of this conference is to study the mechanisms and effectiveness of Russia's propaganda and narratives, which influence the attitudes, perceptions, ideas, and identities of different groups in order to impact government policies, discredit the reputation of democratic institutions, and undermine trust in them.

Acting through Russian or Russia-supported external media—which are rendered to look like free and plural outlets in the Western democratic environment—Russia implements mechanisms to influence public opinion and political systems. Russia also pioneered new technologies and social media, applying them extensively in the weaponization of information.

Scholars have identified a range of information activities and propaganda as elements of Russia's hybrid warfare; some call it "asymmetric" or "irregular," while Russia calls it "non-linear." The informational component of its aggression—which includes dissemination of desirable narratives, discreditation of other narratives, sowing doubt in solid facts, confusing audiences with contradictory messages, and controlling access to electronic communication devices—has become pivotal for Russia.

Russia's increasing use of new disinformation and propaganda warfare technologies is a strategically important issue for the state security of all democratic countries.

During the conference, prominent experts will examine the role of Russia’s disinformation and propaganda in its war against Ukraine in a global comparative context, contributing to the awareness and understanding of Russia’s intentions and strategies in Canada, the US, Europe, and other countries and regions worldwide.

Canada’s membership in NATO and active support of Ukraine make it an attractive potential target of Russia’s propaganda and cyber-attacks. Canada has many commonalities with Ukraine that Russia can exploit to form damaging narratives that have the potential to destabilize democratic order. Notably, the Ukrainian diaspora community in Canada is also a primary target of Kremlin propaganda.

Since the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Canada has also welcomed around 300,000 Ukrainians, who arrived under a special authorization for emergency travel. All of those newcomers are possible targets of disinformation and propaganda, with the potential result of hatred towards this group.

This conference aims to foster discussions on these important topics among experts in different fields, including professional journalists and media experts, political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists. It will also focus on engaging local communities in Canada and abroad, mindful of the benefits of social engagement in helping to adopt new systems of checks and balances, which play an essential role vis-à-vis potential information threats.

This conference is possible thanks to a grant from the Mobilizing Insights in Defence and Security (MINDS) program of the Department of National Defence (DND) and sponsorship from the Kule Institute for Advanced Study (KIAS) at the University of Alberta and the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa.



Conference Sponsors



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Mobilizing Insights in Defence and
Security (MINDS)



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Chair of Ukrainian Studies,
University of Ottawa

Day 1: Friday 21 February 2025

Ottawa

9:15–10:15 a.m. **Opening Session**

Greetings from:

- **Oleksandr Pankiev** – (Conference Chair) Editor-in-Chief, *Forum for Ukraine Studies*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta
- **Natalia Khanenko-Friesen** – Professor and Huculak Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography, Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta; Director, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
- **Dominique Arel** – Associate Professor and Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa
- **Yuliya Kovaliv** – Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada
- **Witold Dzielski** – Ambassador of Poland to Canada
- **Egidijus Meilūnas** – Ambassador of Lithuania to Canada
- **Kaspars Ozoliņš** – Ambassador of Latvia to Canada

10:30–11:45 a.m. **Session 1: Russia’s cyber and communication strategies in the war against Ukraine**

Carolina Vendil Pallin “Russia’s cyber strategy and its war against Ukraine”

Ofer Fridman “The collage of Russia’s communication strategy”

1–2:15 p.m. **Session 2: The role of social media in propaganda strategies**

Anatoliy Gruz “Mapping the spread of the Kremlin’s propaganda and disinformation on Telegram”

Marta Dyczok “Russia’s all-out war is changing social media usage in Ukraine”

2:30–3:45 p.m. **Session 3: Countering Russian influence operations: Regional and global perspectives**

Agnieszka Legucka “Countering Russian information and influence (FIMI) operations: Poland vs. Baltic states”

Sarah Oates “From Moscow to Mar-a-Lago: The role of Trump in amplifying and creating Russian propaganda”

4–5:15 p.m. **Keynote Lecture**

Serhy Yekelchik
“Why Putin’s Russia attacked Ukraine”

Day 2: Saturday 22 February 2025

Ottawa

9–10:30 a.m.

Session 1: Round Table **Building academic resilience: The Global Coalition of Ukrainian Studies**

Olga Budnyk, Natalia Khanenko-Friesen, Oleksandr Pankieiev, and Serhy Yekelchuk

10:45 a.m. –
12:15 p.m.

Session 2: Fact-checking, digital warfare, and AI in Russia's information war

Viktoria Romaniuk "Fact-checking in times of war: How StopFake is redefining the rules of information warfare"

Philip Mai "Digital battleground: An examination of anti-refugee discourse on Twitter against Ukrainians displaced by Russia's invasion of Ukraine"

1:30–2:45 p.m.

Session 3: Russian narratives in the war against Ukraine

Roman Osadchuk "Russian disinformation campaigns against Ukraine during the full-scale invasion"

Nataliia Steblyna "How to conquer and surrender cities with the 'Russian World' idea: The case of Odesa, Ukraine"

3–4:30 p.m.

Session 4: Round Table **Reporting on Ukraine: The role of journalism in countering Russian propaganda**

Marta Dyczok, James Gatica Matheson, Oleksandr Pankieiev, Viktoria Romaniuk, and Adam Zivo

4:30–5 p.m.

Closing Remarks

21 February

Session 1: Russia's cyber and communication strategies in the war against Ukraine

Carolina Vendil Pallin, "Russia's cyber strategy and its war against Ukraine"

Formally, Russia does not have a cyber strategy or a cyber command. Notwithstanding, Russia is a cyber power, it conducts cyber operations, and it needs a cyber defence. Its thinking on cyber issues is part of its overall information strategy as well as its military thinking. Cyber preparations played an integral part of its invasion of Ukraine. Today, similarly to how it is learning on the battlefield, Russia is starting to incorporate its experience in the cyber domain during its war against Ukraine into its thinking on future conflicts.

Carolina Vendil Pallin heads the Russia Programme at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) as well as its "Strategies in the Cyber Domain" research project. Vendil Pallin is currently focusing on Russian security policy, cyber affairs, and domestic politics. She holds a PhD from the LSE. Previous positions include senior research fellow at the Swedish Institute for International Affairs (SIIA), where she headed the "Russia and Its Neighbours" research programme, and expert advisor for the Swedish Defence Commission. She is a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences and sits on expert boards for RUCARR at Malmö University and the Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies at SIIA.

Ofer Fridman, "The collage of Russia's communication strategy"

This presentation will focus on the complexity of Russia's communication strategy. A closer look suggests not only that Russia's so-called "Information War" has a clear strategy but also that the Russians are tailoring it globally by weaponizing information in different ways around the world. Audiences are targeted with different narratives, through different means of communication for different purposes. Each one of these efforts represents the Kremlin's carefully orchestrated piece of the full picture—a collage built of different parts with different levels of controllability and institutionalization, different audiences and different narratives.

Ofer Fridman is the Senior Lecturer in War Studies at King's College London. His research focuses on the intersection between strategic communications and international relations, with particular emphasis on the theory of foreign interference and information manipulation and how it manifests itself in practice. Ofer has authored academic books and contributed to many policy documents and briefs. He is a frequent speaker on both academic and policy-oriented platforms. His recent books include: *Deciphering Russia's Enigma in 15 Questions and 30 Answers* (2024); *Russian Hybrid Warfare: Resurgence and Politicisation* (2022); and *Info Ops: From World War One to the Twitter Era* (2022).

Session 2: The role of social media in propaganda strategies

Anatoliy Gruzd, "Mapping the spread of the Kremlin's propaganda and disinformation on Telegram"

Since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Telegram has emerged as a key platform for amplifying war-related content. This presentation reports on our ongoing study that examines the spread of pro-Kremlin propaganda and disinformation on Telegram and its potential influence on Western public opinion. Through a "snowball sampling" method, we identified and analyzed 21,907 Telegram channels that discuss the Russo-Ukrainian war, focusing on the information-sharing practices of these channels and their role in propagating war-related narratives.

Anatoliy Gruzd is a co-director of the Social Media Lab, Canada Research Chair and Professor at the School of Information Technology Management, Toronto Metropolitan University. As a computational social science researcher, he explores how social media is changing the ways in which people and organizations communicate, collaborate, and disseminate (mis)information. His expertise lies in studying online communities and social networks and developing new computational methods and tools to study public discourse on social media in different domains. Gruzd's innovative approach to studying social media has led him to be named a Canada Research Chair in 2015 and inducted into the Royal Society of Canada College of New Scholars, Artists, and Scientists in 2017.

Marta Dyczok, "Russia's all-out war is changing social media usage in Ukraine"

When Russia launched all-out war against Ukraine in February 2022, headlines appeared that this was the beginning of "social media warfare." To date I have seen two trends: the use of social media in Ukraine has increased, but so has media convergence; in other words, the lines between different forms of media have blurred even more. My study looks at media and social media usage in Ukraine and seeks answers to the following questions: Who is posting content on social media and toward what end? And how are Ukrainians choosing where to get their information?

Marta Dyczok is an associate professor in the Department of History and of Political Science at Western University (London, ON), a fellow at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs, and an adjunct professor at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Her doctorate is from Oxford University. Among her recent books are *Ukraine, not 'the' Ukraine* (2024), *Ukraine's Euromaidan: Broadcasting through Information Wars with Hromadske Radio* (2016), and *Ukraine Twenty Years After Independence: Assessments, Perspectives, Challenges* (2015). Dyczok's current research is on war and social media; she also researches mass media, memory, migration, and history, and she regularly provides media commentary.

Session 3: Countering Russian influence operations: Regional and global perspectives

Agnieszka Legucka, "Countering Russian information and influence (FIMI) operations: Poland vs. Baltic states"

Poland and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) have faced concerted efforts by Moscow to destabilize their societies, erode trust in democratic institutions, and exploit historical grievances, marginalizing their ability to support Ukraine's victory. This presentation will examine the role of historical memory in shaping narratives and public resilience, the effectiveness of NATO-enhanced media monitoring initiatives in the Baltic states versus Poland's nationally driven approach, and the strategies employed by governments and civil society to build societal resistance to disinformation. It will offer policy recommendations that leverage the complementary strengths of Poland and the Baltic states in the broader global fight against malign influence.

Agnieszka Legucka is a Senior Research Fellow on Russia in the Eastern Europe Programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. Her areas of expertise include Russian foreign and internal policy, security issues and conflicts in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood, EU-Russia and NATO-Russia relations, Russian disinformation, and hybrid threats. A D.Litt. in Security Sciences, Legucka is an associate professor in the Faculty of Finance and International Relations, Vistula Academy of Finance and Business (Warsaw). She is also a deputy editor-in-chief of the *Sprawy Międzynarodowe* magazine and a Team Europe expert.

Sarah Oates, "From Moscow to Mar-a-Lago: The role of Trump in amplifying and creating Russian propaganda"

Presidents Trump and Putin may have very different countries to promote, but they often echo each other when it comes to political messages. This presentation will focus on the concept of strategic narratives, nationalistic messaging that play a key role in information warfare, to demonstrate how and when Trump and Putin appear to be "singing from the same hymnbook." In particular, the discussion will consider Trump's messaging around the war in Ukraine, which has echoed Putin's contention that NATO has caused Russia to feel under existential threat but has not resonated with other Russian propaganda.

Sarah Oates is a professor and Associate Dean for Research at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism, University of Maryland, College Park (USA). Her scholarship is in the field of political communication and democratization, and a major theme in her work is the way in which media can support or subvert democracy in diverse places such as Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Her most recent book is *Seeing Red: Russian Propaganda and American News* (2024), and you can see more of her work at www.media-politics.com.

Keynote Lecture: Serhy Yekelchuk, "Why Putin's Russia Attacked Ukraine"

Putin's regime has offered different pretexts for invading Ukraine: NATO expansion, Ukraine's "neo-Nazi government," and an alleged genocide against ethnic Russians in Donbas. These false claims are grounded in a narrative of the so-called "historical unity" between Russians and Ukrainians and Ukraine's supposed failure to uphold the Minsk agreements. This presentation examines these narratives alongside the real motivations behind the Russian aggression. Key factors include diverging political and social trajectories in Russia and Ukraine, conflicting views of the Soviet past, and the distorted perception of Ukraine shared by Putinist elites and ordinary Russians. The war's deeper objectives were unattainable from the outset.

Serhy Yekelchuk is a professor in the Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies at the University of Victoria. He received his BA from Kyiv University and an MA from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Following a research fellowship in Australia in 1993–94, he came to Canada in 1995 to pursue a PhD in Russian and Eastern European History at the University of Alberta. His dissertation analyzed representations of the past in Stalinist culture, with special emphasis on Soviet Ukraine. His book *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* was the first historical survey to include the 2004 Orange Revolution and has since been translated into five languages. Yekelchuk contributes articles to various printed and online journals, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *Yahoo News*, *OUPblog*, *POLITICO*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *RealClear World*, *RealClear History*, and *The Pioneer Briefing*.

22 February

Round Table | Building academic resilience: The Global Coalition of Ukrainian Studies

Olga Budnyk, Natalia Khanenko-Friesen, Oleksandr Pankiev, and Serhy Yekelchuk

Two years into Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, in the summer of 2024 Ukraine launched a new initiative titled "Global Coalition of Ukrainian Studies." Its aim is to pursue two goals: first, to unite foreign researchers focused on Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar cultures, history, languages, and literatures; and second, to create a shared platform for the development of Ukrainian studies on an international level. During this round table, conceived as a dialogue between Ukraine's and Canada's experts in Ukrainian studies, scholars will discuss the importance of this initiative for the academic field in the context of ongoing disinformation campaigns. How can the Coalition's goals and aspirations support international Ukrainian studies scholarship? How can Ukraine collaborate with long-established centres of Ukrainian studies around the world to mobilize and promote knowledge about Ukraine to international audiences in the context of ongoing propaganda wars? These and other questions will be discussed by the panelists.

Olga Budnyk is a graduate of the National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine and the Lviv Business School at the Ukrainian Catholic University. Since 2011 she has served as the Executive Director of the Eidos Center for Political Studies and Analysis. She interned at the European Parliament and analytical centers in Brussels and Strasbourg. Since June 2021 she has served as an adviser on the Presidential Fund for the Support of Education, Science, and Sports at the Office of the President of Ukraine. She has authored a policy paper on non-formal education and co-authored several publications on transparency and accountability in public finance spending.

Natalia Khanenko-Friesen is the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and a professor and Huculak Chair in Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Alberta. She is an expert in the areas of oral history, ethnicity, migration, post-socialist transition, and Ukrainian, Eastern European, and Ukrainian Canadian cultures. She is deeply involved in community research and learning and was the founder and editor of the *Engaged Scholar Journal* and co-founder of the Witnessing the War in Ukraine Summer Institute. A native of Kyiv, Dr. Khanenko-Friesen is the author or co-author of several books, including the 2018 Kobzar Award finalist *Ukrainian Otherlands: Diaspora, Homeland and Folk Imagination in the Twentieth Century*.

Oleksandr Pankiev is the editor-in-chief of the *Forum for Ukrainian Studies* and a research coordinator of the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. His research interests include the history and culture of Steppe (Southern) Ukraine, as well as Ukrainian Canadian diaspora studies, folklore, ethnography, digital humanities, and propaganda. He is the author of three historical sourcebooks and many articles on related topics. He also co-edited the book *Meandering in Transition: Thirty Years of Reforms and Identity in Post-Communist Europe* (2021) and edited a forthcoming collection of *Forum* essays and interviews, titled *Narratives of the Russo-Ukrainian War: A Look Within and Without*.

Session 2: Fact-checking and digital warfare

Viktoria Romaniuk, “Fact-checking in times of war: How StopFake is redefining the rules of information warfare”

The fact-checking organization StopFake is the first professional fact-checking organization in Ukraine. For effective counteraction against disinformation, StopFake uses various methods, such as source verification, video and image falsification detection, as well as metadata analysis. Among the key areas of its work are regular monitoring of the information environment for potential disinformation threats, creating a database and evidence of information abuse and crimes, developing a map of key actors of information influence, and conducting narrative analysis of Russian disinformation to forecast potential threats.

Viktoriia Romaniuk is the director of the Mohyla School of Journalism at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, where she also teaches. She chairs the UNESCO Information for All Programme Working Group on Information Ethics and is a visiting professor at the Charles III University of Madrid. She is also the deputy chief editor of StopFake, a fact-checking organization dedicated to combating propaganda and disinformation in the media. As a communications professional and educator with extensive experience in academia, civil society, and journalism, Romaniuk has spoken at numerous conferences and has authored or co-authored many publications in academic journals.

Philip Mai, “Digital battleground: An examination of anti-refugee discourse on Twitter against Ukrainians displaced by Russia’s invasion of Ukraine”

Russia’s war in Ukraine has caused Europe’s largest refugee crisis since World War II. This study examines anti-refugee discourse about Ukrainian refugees on X, focusing on toxic posts. Our analysis shows that politically motivated and partisan content was most common, followed by posts countering anti-refugee narratives. Over half echoed pro-Kremlin narratives, leveraging anti-refugee sentiments to weaken support for Ukrainian refugees, minimize the war’s severity, and erode international solidarity. These findings reveal the polarization of the online refugee discourse and the strategic use of divisive narratives to influence public opinion.

Philip Mai is a co-director and senior researcher in the Social Media Lab at the Toronto Metropolitan University. He is also a co-founder of the International Conference on Social Media & Society. At the Social Media Lab, Philip works on technology policy and data-related issues, knowledge mobilization, information diffusion, business and research partnerships, and practical application of social media analytics. His research interests are digital political transparency, dis/misinformation campaigns, online toxicity, conspiracy theories, and extremism. Mai’s research and commentaries have been featured in various national and international media outlets, including Bloomberg Businessweek, CBC The National, The Globe and Mail, The Conversation, and elsewhere.

Session 3: Russian narratives in the war against Ukraine

Roman Osadchuk, “Russian disinformation campaigns against Ukraine during the full-scale invasion”

This presentation will examine the tactics, techniques, and approaches Russia has taken in its war against Ukraine on social media platforms, based on empirical research and leaked internal documents of Russian actors. It will discuss the causes that forced Russia to adapt to the new reality and demonstrate how disinformation campaigns evolved since the full-scale invasion. Additionally, it will aggregate and demonstrate the main topics and narratives used in those messages to undermine Ukraine’s will to resist, to create and amplify clashes within Ukrainian society, and to undermine Ukraine in the eyes of partners to cut the military and humanitarian aid.

Roman Osadchuk is a resident fellow at the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab, where his research focuses on disinformation in Ukraine and neighbouring countries. He is the author of multiple investigations of disinformation, influence campaigns, and computational propaganda, which uncover the tactics and techniques of malign actors. He is also a PhD student and a senior lecturer at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, where he teaches undergraduate and graduate-level courses on propaganda effects and open-source investigations. Previously, Roman received an MPA degree from Syracuse University's Maxwell School on a Fulbright scholarship.

Nataliia Steblyna, "How to conquer and surrender cities with the 'Russian world' idea: The case of Odesa, Ukraine"

In the 21st century, the "Novorossiya" narrative was revived in Steppe Ukraine and Odesa was claimed to be a "Russian city." As far as this fake narrative is used to justify Russia's war against Ukraine, it is important to study its origins as well as its modern transformation and influence. To fulfil this aim, Russian and Ukrainian media were studied, including "Russian World" narratives and Ukrainian counternarratives since the beginning of the full-scale invasion.

Nataliia Steblyna is a professor of political science in the Department of Journalism and Social Communication at the Donetsk Stus National University (presently relocated), teaching journalism, graphic design, and media analysis. She also cooperates with the Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy as a media analyst. Her fields of expertise are Ukrainian regional media and Telegram channels (content quality), as well as Russian propaganda in digital media. She has written books on digital instruments for media analysis, how Russian opposition media covers Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and the politics of digitization in the context of transformations in the modern world order.

Session 4: Round Table

"Reporting on Ukraine: The role of journalism in countering Russian propaganda"

Marta Dyczok, James Gatica Matheson, Oleksandr Pankiev, Viktoria Romaniuk, and Adam Zivo

Amid Russia's ongoing war against Ukraine, journalists face an unprecedented challenge in reporting the truth while countering widespread disinformation. This round table brings together leading journalists, media analysts, and researchers to examine the role of journalism in resisting Russian propaganda, ensuring accurate reporting, and fostering media literacy.

Panelists will discuss the tactics used in Russian disinformation campaigns, the ethical and practical challenges of war reporting, and the strategies that journalists employ to verify facts and counter false narratives. The discussion will also explore the role of independent media, international coverage of Ukraine, and the importance of media literacy in strengthening public resilience against propaganda.

James Gatica Matheson is a Chilean journalist based in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He holds an MA in International Journalism from Cardiff University and a Diploma in International Studies from Universidad de Chile. Over the past decade, James has worked as a foreign correspondent, reporting global news for Chile's TVN, Ex-Ante, ADN Radio, and Canal 13, while also collaborating with BBC News. Recently, he has covered major events such as the Russo-Ukrainian war, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the 2023 Argentine election, the 2022 Brazilian election, and the Coronation of King Charles III. James is a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), a Chevening Alumni Chile member, and currently serves as a communications consultant for the World Bank Group.

Adam Zivo is an investigative journalist, best known for his weekly columns in the *National Post*. He relocated to Ukraine at the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion and has since written over one hundred articles about the conflict, one of which was nominated for a 2023 National Newspaper Award. Zivo has spoken extensively about Ukraine on radio stations throughout Canada and testified in parliament about the effects of Russian disinformation. He currently splits his time between Toronto and Odesa.

This conference is hosted by the *Forum for Ukrainian Studies*

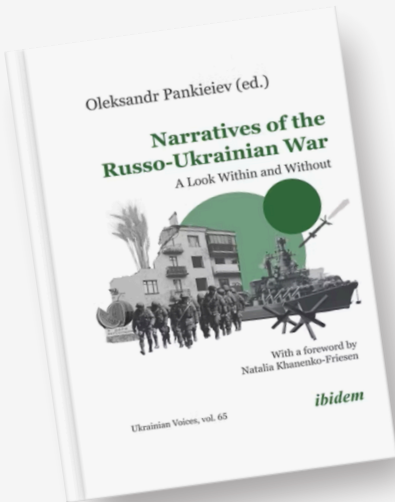
Forum for Ukrainian Studies

Forum for Ukrainian Studies is a research publication for experts, practitioners, and academics to discuss, explore, reflect upon, develop, and transform international understanding about contemporary affairs in Ukraine.

This online, open-access platform was created and is run by a team in the Contemporary Ukraine Studies Program at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta.



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New Publication

Narratives of the Russo-Ukrainian War A Look Within and Without

This new book by the *Forum of Ukrainian Studies* presents a collection of essays and interviews with scholars and experts that were published in the first two years after Russia's full-scale invasion.

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