



WE NEED JUSTICE FOR UKRAINE

SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

VITALIY PORTNYKOV | NOTES FOR MARCH SHADOW OF A LONG WAR



protracted war between Russia and Ukraine. On March 1, Deputy Secretary of Defense Colin Call said this at a congressional hearing, emphasizing that the conflict could last for several months or two to three years. On March 9, the head of the US National Intelligence Agency, Avril Haynes, told Congress that Russian President Vladimir Putin was going to wage war against Ukraine for years.

American officials are increasingly talking about the possibility of a

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There are 3 key bills before congress – and it is vital that we mobilize to get them passed. Call your Elected Officials Today – and share this information to empower your branch members to do the same!

THREE KEY BILLS

1. Condemning the illegal abduction of children from Ukraine
[H. Res 149](#) – Condemning the ille-

gal abduction of children from Ukraine to the Russian Federation

2. Designate Wagner as a Foreign Terrorist Organization:

- [H.R. 506 – HARM ACT](#)
- [S. 416 – HARM ACT](#)

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SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Oles Donii

BATTLE FOR CHINA



The visit of President Xi Jinping to fascist russia on March 20-22 forces both the world and us to pay attention

to China's place not only in the global economy and politics, but also in the russian-Ukrainian war.

The People's Republic of China, i.e., Communist China, is the second largest economy in the world after the United States. We are talking about the People's Republic of China, not the whole of China, because the state entity, which is popularly called "Taiwan", does not actually identify itself by the name of the island of Taiwan, but is of-

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SHEVCHENKO FIGHTS ALONG-SIDE UKRAINIANS

INTERVIEW WITH THE GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL TARAS SHEVCHENKO MUSEUM IN KYIV, DMYTRO STUS

Anton Shramenko

At night and in the morning of March 9, right on Taras Shevchenko's birthday, the Russians launched a massive missile attack on Ukraine. In total, the Russian military fired 81 missiles at our country that day (including a record 6 X-47 Kinzhal hypersonic missiles), as well as 8 kamikaze drones. The attacks resulted in deaths, and there were also hits to critical infrastructure. Emergency power outages were imposed in a number of Ukrainian regions.

Despite the massive attack, the National Museum of Taras Shevchenko did not cease its activities. In the afternoon, an air raid alert was again declared in Kyiv, which lasted for 2 hours. As soon as the alert was canceled, the Shevchenko Museum was filled with visitors, including children. The Russian attack did not prevent the museum administration from holding celebrations in honor of the 209th anniversary of the great Ukrainian poet.

"With the outbreak of war, interest in Shevchenko has only increased," says Dmytro Stus, "People need Shevchenko so much that in the war year of 2022, we reached the financial position of the pre-war period. There are always a lot of people in the museum, especially on weekends. And this is considering that we cannot do much of what we did in the pre-war period."

"The museum now has only copies of Shevchenko's works. Even on the first day of the full-scale aggression (February 24, 2022), we removed the originals. By 8 pm, the exhibition was completely dismantled and hidden. We were preparing for the worst, and you can believe that Shevchenko's originals are reliably protected. Moreover, over the years of my work, we have managed to fully digitize the artistic heritage of Kobzar, and this heritage has already been uploaded to a cloud service. So, in any case, no stranger will be able to claim his rights to Shevchenko."

"In fact, Taras Shevchenko is not in a museum. He is at war with the

4.5.0." "4.5.0." means "everything is calm" in the language of the military. The exhibition featured the most striking posters by Ukrainian illustrators showing Shevchenko at war. We came up with the idea for the exhibition in the hottest days of March 22nd. Someone from the museum saw such a poster on a photo of a soldier on the front line. We began to wonder, and learned that the military and civilians were printing out posters with Shevchenko at war and hanging them in their homes as moral support. Adults and children in the hottest spots of Ukraine were drawing Shevchenko in this war for our freedom. In the first months of the invasion, there were hundreds of thousands of reposts of posters with Shevchenko, quotes from the Kobzar, and portraits of Taras Shevchenko on social media. Shevchenko inspires people to believe in our strength, in the spirit of our people. And he is also at war in the form of his own monuments. Hundreds of them have come under fire across Ukraine. And some of them have become symbols of the invincibility of Ukrainians. Like the already legendary bust of Shevchenko in Borodyanka. A photo of the shelled monument against the backdrop of a bombed-out high-rise went viral. This monument was exhibited in our museum for a week as part of the Big Seven project. And now our new exhibition "Shevchenko the Poet" begins with large photographs of the most symbolic monuments to Kobzar: In Borodyanka, Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Mariupol. These shelled monuments are a kind of bridge that connects Shevchenko the poet and his personality with contemporary realities. The war against everything imperial that Shevchenko waged all his life is going on right now before our eyes.

Because look how it turned out. Shevchenko was the first to form the canon of a true poet's life: "life for the sake of the people". And it is this canon that is helping us survive now that Russia has organized genocide against the Ukrainian people. All Ukrainians have to sacrifice something for the sake of



Monument to Shevchenko in Borodyanka, March 2022



A monument to Shevchenko from Borodyanka at the Big Seven exhibition, November 2022



Queue at the museum ticket office, 5 minutes after the closing time



Photo from the museum's atrium, March 9, 30 minutes after the air raid was canceled

Ukrainian people. When we opened after Kyiv was liberated from the siege, our first exhibition was Shevchenko

victory. Unfortunately, many sacrifice their lives. And it is not without reason that our people find support in the fig-

ure of Shevchenko in this difficult sacrificial time. Because he was honest in his credo. His sacrifices are very great. A favorite student of Karl Brullov, the emperor's favorite artist, he had the right to paint portraits of members of the imperial family. This meant that he could have been an extremely wealthy person by our standards. He had great prospects. Please, over there is Italy, and over here is Ukraine. And he chooses to come here to paint picturesque Ukraine. That is, he sacrifices his career prospects for the sake of his love for the Ukrainian land. This is his truth. And ordinary people have always felt it better than professors.

Because you cannot say high words without sacrifice. Shevchenko not only understood this. He had the inner strength to say, "Yes, I am like that and this is my truth!" And at the same time, he had a unique ability in his poems: to speak not in the language of quasi-high literature, which is full of terms. He speaks to the reader in simple terms. He takes up universal themes. For example, the theme of a dishonored woman. It is still relevant today. And through this theme Shevchenko expresses his political views: "Muscovites are strangers who do evil to

you." And he was able to show this in a way that was readable. Or take his "Caucasus," the legendary lines "fight and you will win." He wrote this poem about the struggle of the Caucasian peoples against the Russian Empire in the 1840s. And look how this theme of the struggle for independence correlates with our situation. This, in particular, is his genius: a deep analysis of the events of his time, political and historical reality, and the ability to convey its causes and consequences through universal themes that everyone can understand, in a clear poetic language."

"We cannot say that Shevchenko was the first to say that the Ukrainian nation has the right to be independent. People had said it before him. But he did it in such a way that he was heard. Not only with his poetic genius. But also with a very bold challenge to the imperial society of the time. For example, the painting "Covering Catherine". This is a great challenge. What was a cover girl in that society—a person without status. What does he do with her? He

THE START OF THE SOWING CAMPAIGN, OR BATTLES ARE NOT ONLY AT THE FRONT

ON MARCH 12, UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER DENYS SHMYHAL ANNOUNCED ON HIS FACEBOOK PAGE THE START OF THE SECOND SOWING CAMPAIGN SINCE THE FULL-SCALE INVASION. THE WAR IS NOT ONLY ON THE BATTLEFIELD, AND IT IS NOT ONLY THE MILITARY WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR VICTORY. PAVLO KOVAL, CEO OF THE UKRAINIAN AGRARIAN CONFEDERATION, TOLD US WHAT CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR DURING THE YEAR OF WAR.

Karyna Nikitishyna

The agricultural sector has always been one of the most profitable sectors of the economy in Ukraine. However, the great war has made its own adjustments: people are losing their profits, equipment, land contaminated with racist ammunition, and even their own lives.

According to experts, in 2023, farmers will be able to sow only about 22 million hectares of land, which is 7-7.5 million less than in 2021. Huge plots of land are now inaccessible to us, and the reason for this is mined fields and occupied territories.

"There are direct losses: destroyed equipment, stolen grain, killed livestock, destroyed buildings. And there are lost opportunities: how much we lost by not selling our products for export, how much we lost by not sowing the right area, not getting the yield we had for the last 5-7 years. If we calculate Ukraine's lost opportunities, the amount reaches up to \$40 billion.

While in 2021 we achieved a harvest of 108-110 million tons of grains and oilseeds, in 2022, due to weather conditions and the war, gross harvest fell sharply to 65 million tons. In 2023, these figures may be even lower, as we are also losing the economic potential of the farmers themselves.

But today there is no reason to say that Ukraine faces a threat to food security. Experts estimate that from 2022 to 2023, the country will have excessive grain stocks, both food and fodder: wheat, corn and other crops," says Mr. Pavlo.

On March 18, it was decided to extend the grain corridor for another 120 days. UCAB (Ukrainian Agribusiness Club) writes that on the 33rd week of the grain corridor, Ukraine was able to export 1.08 million tons of agricultural products, which is 65% more than the week before. Corn, wheat, and sunflower cake were the most popular



Pavlo Koval, CEO of the Ukrainian Agrarian Confederation



Mine clearance work in the fields of Kherson region. Photo: Serhiy Kruk, SES of Ukraine

products. At the beginning of March, the country shipped 36% less products than a week earlier. "While fuel, seeds, and crop protec-

tion products have risen in price by 1.5-2 times in the domestic market, our products – corn, wheat, and barley – have fallen in price by 1.5-1.7 times.

The domestic market has long been oversupplied with these products, and we cannot enter the foreign market with the entire volume due to logistical problems. We have rail transport, a small amount of road transport and "grain corridors" through three Odesa ports. In terms of technical capacity, they are not enough to sell the entire volume of products we need. So the cost side has increased, while the revenue side has decreased several times. The remaining middle ground is the net profit, which turned out to be insignificant for a large number of small and medium-sized agricultural companies and enterprises. We don't have complete statistics yet, but we can say for sure that 2022 was a loss year for farmers. And this is the first time in more than 20 years," explained Mr. Pavlo.

The Kherson Regional State Administration warns residents of Kherson Oblast that it is dangerous to go out into the fields until all demining work has been completed. A resident of the Stanislavska community has already been injured by cluster munition explosions during sowing. In Iziom district, Kharkiv region, a tractor driver sustained shrapnel wounds when he also hit a mine.

On March 21, Ukraine's Defense Minister Oleksiy Reznikov announced the approval of an action plan to clear agricultural land for the sowing season. The work will begin with the most contaminated areas.

The press service of the Ministry of Economy notes that demining could take up to 70 years, given the extent of the contamination and the resources available in the country. Financial and technological support from international partners is needed to make the land safe for use as soon as possible.

According to Mr. Pavlo, the agricultural industry currently faces three key

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UKRAINIAN NEWS

Total enemy combat losses



driy Kostin explained what the Hague court order means for Putin. "From now on, the Russian president has the official status of a suspect in the commission of an international crime – the illegal forced transfer of Ukrainian children... This means that outside of Russia, Putin must be ar-

According to the General Staff, total enemy combat losses from -February 24, 2022 to March 31, 2023, were approximately as follows:
 personnel - about 173,360 people were eliminated,
 tanks - 3,615 units,
 armored personnel carriers - 6,977 units,
 artillery systems - 2,675 units,
 MLRS - 526 units,
 air defense systems - 278 units,
 aircraft - 306 units,
 helicopters - 291 units,
 UAVs of operational and tactical level - 2,248 units,
 cruise missiles - 911 units,
 ships and boats - 18 units,
 vehicles and tankers - 5,521 units,
 special equipment - 294 units.

rested and brought to court. And world leaders will think twice before shaking his hand or sitting down with him at the negotiating table. The world has received a signal that the Russian regime is criminal and its leadership and accomplices will be brought to justice," Kostin wrote on Telegram.

According to him, this is a historic decision for Ukraine and the entire system of international law. "But this is only the beginning of a long road to restoring justice. And we must go this way together with the entire free world," the Prosecutor General added.

Post-war recovery of Ukraine



Post-war reconstruction of Ukraine will cost up to a trillion dollars. Last year, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy proposed a new model of reconstruction to international partners: patronage of a particular region, city, community, or industry. Almost three dozen countries have already shown interest in this.

Donetsk and Luhansk regions have suffered the most from Russian aggression. According to the Cabinet of Ministers, Poland and Italy can help restore Donetsk region. Greece will take part in the reconstruction of the destroyed Mariupol, which was home to a large ethnic Greek community.

Three countries – the Czech Republic, Sweden, and Finland – may take over the Luhansk region.

The United States and Turkey will help rebuild Kharkiv after the war. The Czech Republic is ready to coordinate the reconstruction of Dnipropetrovsk region, and Austria is ready to help with

ВТРАТИ СЕРЕД ЦИВІЛЬНИХ ОСІБ ЗА ПЕРІОД ПОВНОМАСШТАБНОЇ ВІЙНИ



Zaporizhzhia region. France and Latvia will help rebuild Chernihiv region.

The Baltic states – Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania – will help rebuild Zhytomyr region.

Greece, in addition to Mariupol, wants to help rebuild Odesa.

Denmark is committed to helping restore Mykolaiv's facilities – residential buildings, economic, social and transportation infrastructure. The Ukrainian government has invited Belgium to help rebuild the region.

The United Kingdom has declared its readiness to take over the patronage of Kyiv and the region. Lithuania will also take part in the restoration of the region.

Norway may take over Kirovohrad region, Ireland – Rivne region, and Canada – Sumy region. Sweden and the Netherlands will help restore Kherson region.

two NASAMS air defense systems. The tenth meeting of the contact group on Ukraine's defense was held online and was attended by representatives of more than 50 countries.

The government has significantly increased budget expenditures: what will the money go for



The Cabinet of Ministers supported a draft law to increase state budget expenditures by UAH 537 billion.

Over UAH 518 billion is proposed to be additionally allocated to the security and defense sector. This was announced by Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal.

"We will increase the reserve fund by another UAH 19 billion. This will help strengthen our defense capabilities and stop Russian aggression," the Prime Minister said.

Thanks to the support of international partners, the government has found additional financial resources to support the army, Shmyhal said.

"In the draft law, we propose to allocate additional funds for payments to the military, the purchase of military and special equipment, etc. We are counting on the support of the Parliament," the Prime Minister said.

Ramstein-10 results



Nine countries have promised to provide Ukraine with more than 150 Leopard tanks. This was announced by US Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin during a meeting in the Ramstein format. According to him, it is expected that Ukraine will be able to form more than nine brigades with the help of the transferred tanks. In addition, according to the Pentagon chief, Sweden is transferring 10 Leopard tanks to Ukraine, and Norway is transferring

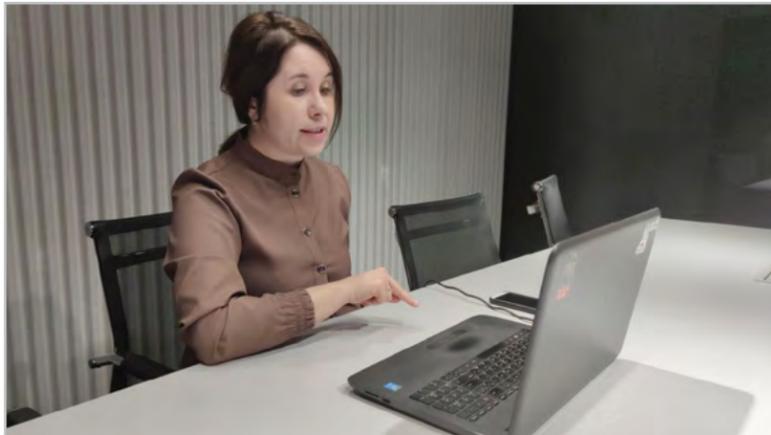
UKRAINIANS LEARN TO LOVE THEIR LANGUAGE

Anton Shramenko

The language issue. This is perhaps the most painful topic for Ukraine. The topic of many frauds and distortions. The topic of genocide. In the period from 1627 to 1990, 70 decrees and acts were introduced in the territories of Muscovy, the Russian Empire, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that prohibited or somehow restricted the rights of the Ukrainian language and its speakers. The resettlement of Ukrainians to the Far East, the Holodomor, the destruction of Ukrainians in wars, the replacement of exterminated Ukrainians with Russians, and the Russification of large cities all contributed to a serious language problem within independent Ukraine. Most Ukrainians continued to speak Russian and considered it their primary language. It was the imaginary "genocide of the Russian-speaking population" that became one of the main reasons for Putin's war in 2014. This served as the first impetus for many Ukrainians to realize the importance of switching to the Ukrainian language. But the language issue and the "what's the difference" remained relevant for a long 9 years, until Russia launched a full-scale invasion. It seems that only this tragic event opened the eyes of most Ukrainians to the importance of Ukrainian. According to Gradus Research, within 8 months of the beginning of the great war, 57% of Russian-speaking Ukrainians switched to or began to speak Ukrainian more often. And the process of consciously switching to the language continues to this day.

Hromada spoke to linguist and media producer Olena Novak-Zinchenko, author of the courses "Ukrbezproblem" and "Gentle Ukrainization for Business". She personally faces the pains and fears of Russian-speaking Ukrainians who have decided to switch to Ukrainian.

"I got the idea to create my own course for easy transition to Ukrainian when strict quotas were finally adopted to increase the use of the language in media and service sectors (the Law on Ensuring the Functioning of Ukrainian as the State Language of 2019). At that time, many people were faced with the urgent need to improve their language. I received the following requests: "I want to speak Ukrainian better so that I can feel more confident in my speeches and on the air." I was approached by TV and radio hosts, prosecutors, some public figures, university professors, etc. And there was a situation where it



Olena Novak-Zinchenko during a lesson

seemed to be very necessary, but after three classes, most people stopped studying. Only those who really needed the language for their profession remained. Everything changed dramatically after February 24.

Somewhere in the summer, I began to receive a flurry of requests for classes. Not only private, but also corporate. That is, people in entire offices realized that they wanted to separate themselves from the Russian environment. I was approached for corporate lectures by, among others, the Ukrainian offices of Coca-Cola, Vodafone, Samsung, Uklon Tech, the organization Ukrainian Women at the UN, and the Kyiv Gestalt University. The interest in the language is so great now that on November 9, which is the day of the Ukrainian language and writing, I had 4 big corporate lectures in a row. I just lost my voice.

I often hear the following request: "we would like to fall in love with the language". After hearing this several times, I realized how the war against the Ukrainian language, waged by Russia for centuries, had borne fruit. Because before the full-scale invasion, some modern Ukrainians simply did not understand the coolness of their native language and did not know how to love it... Therefore, my task is to give the listeners of the lectures the information that will captivate them, that will reveal to them all the power and beauty of our language. Managers of companies ask me to start a course of classes with a lecture to "feel" their subordinates. "We seem to see that they want to become Ukrainianized. But we need to understand how radically we need to do it."

That's why I always give a lecture

at the first lesson called "What is the coolness of the Ukrainian language?" I give a short historical overview, explain why Moskalsky was considered the language of the elites, and then talk about the extraordinary features of our language. For example, that out of all the languages in the world, only Ukrainian has petting verbs: "spatonki", "істоньки", "питоньки". Or that only Ukrainians know how to pronounce "nonsense", "strawberries", "quail". I give a rich synonymy of Ukrainian. I talk about the semantic differences between Ukrainian and Muscovite. For example, let's take the most important word for us now, "victory": it is derived from the word "can," which means it shows ability. And in Russian, the word is "pobeda," meaning "after the trouble," which means what happened after the trouble.

This lecture takes me more than an hour, and I always answer questions from the audience for another 40 minutes afterwards. I see people's eyes light up after receiving this information. Many people realize for the first time that when they speak Ukrainian, they will be dealing with the richness of the language and its depth, not some rural dialect.

In addition to purely linguistic lectures, I am also asked to give lectures on Ukrainian culture. At first, I was surprised by this request, but then I realized that many people need grounding when switching to Ukrainian. That is, confirmation that it is right and normal to switch. The narrative that Ukrainian is the language of the village remains very strong. Very much so. Yes, the war played a big role, but in order to establish that I will switch to Ukrainian and I will not be a peasant, people ask

for such lectures. Because when they have been told all their lives that Pushkin and Tolstoy are great poets, they want to make sure that Shevchenko and Franko are great poets. And they are looking for love for this language. You can't plant a flower if you don't love it. It's the same with the language. Before the war, many people here were taught not to love the Ukrainian language.

There is a woman who contacted me from the Netherlands. She moved there with her children after the full-scale invasion began. And she said: "You know, I moved there and tried to speak only Ukrainian. But when we got to know each other, met our own people, started to gather in groups, we often switched back to Russian. And one day we are sitting, up to 10 women, children playing, in a park. And we try to speak Ukrainian, but it's hard for everyone. And at some points, when we get emotional, we switch to Russian. And at one such moment, we spoke Russian, and a man, probably a Dutchman, walked by, turned to us and said "f**king Russia". It was like a cutoff for me. And I decided to turn to you so that I wouldn't switch to Russian anymore. It's a terrible shame that we, Ukrainians, can be mistaken for Russians because of our language."

The war showed us that we need to change. But my position is this: if a person consciously says that "my language is the language of Pushkin," then he or she is following the Russian ship. But if a person wants to, but it is still difficult for him or her, then I am in favor of meekness. Because you can't quickly comprehend everything when we have been taught for 400 years that "Ukrainian is for slaves, and Russian is for good." Our literature was taken away from us, our cultural figures were killed. And now suddenly waking up and starting is difficult. And if we beat people and correct them every time, and say: you are like this or that because you didn't start this 30 years ago, we will not do anything good. On the contrary, we will turn people away. And if a person wants to, and we extend our hand to them, then it works better. I am in favor of a more radical position of the state in the language issue. But we, as people, must be humane to those who want to speak Ukrainian and strive to do so.

Instagram of linguist Olena Novak-Zinchenko: @om.zinchenko

AND LINA KOSTENKO IS ALSO BACK IN THE FIGHT TODAY

Myroslav Hrehk

Who in Ukraine today does not know the name of Lina Kostenko, a famous Ukrainian poet and a master of contemporary Ukrainian poetry? On March 19, 2023, she celebrated her 93rd birthday. Lina Kostenko went through a difficult life and creative path: from a romantic young poet to a dissident in the sixties and seventies whose works were banned, to a conscious fighter for the happiness and independence of Ukraine, to a passionate ideological defender of the Motherland. Lina survived the Holodomor, World War II, Stalinist repression, persecution and silence during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev periods of the Soviet Union.

After the declaration of Ukraine's independence, she took an active part in the literary life of the country, in the national and civic formation, and helped the young generation of Ukrainian poets and writers. For this, she was awarded popular love and recognition, government awards not only in Ukraine but also in other European countries (for example, the Order of the Legion of Honor in France).

The war did not spare her work. Here are some of her poems on the subject:

The first is a poem about the Second



World War, but how relevant it sounds now, as if everything that happened then is happening now:

My first poem was written in the trench, on that loose wall from explosions,

when lost the stars in the horoscope my childhood killed in the war. Volcanic lava was on fire. The house was on fire. The night seemed like day. And our crossing was choked

across the Dnieper – water and fire. The rumble of the earth. Neighbor crying boy. The woman was baptized, and the bread ran out. I moved this narrow trench, where two families huddled for several days. O first pain of those not childish impressions, what he should leave in his heart! As the unspeakable verses do not say, will the soul become dumb ?! It was neither a bunny nor a wolf – bloody world, charred star! – and I wrote almost in fragments capital letters, just from the primer – that first poem, leaning against the edge, to illuminate the war at night. What he was, I do not remember. The shell fell – the wall fell And here's a poem about the eternal order, the Muscovite:

And terror, and blood, and death, and despair, And the roar of a predatory horde, Little gray man Nakoiv black trouble.

PYLYP ORLYK'S CONSTITUTION

Myroslav Hrehk

April 5, 2023 marks the 313th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk. When countries in Europe and around the world were ruled by emperors, kings, tsars, sultans, khans and the like, when there was not even a hint of democracy, the basic principles of democracy were declared in Ukraine, namely in the Zaporozhian Army. We often say words without delving into their deeper meaning, into their roots. What is democracy? It is the power of the people, which is realized through elections. What are elections? It is a choice. When the people can choose and elect their best representatives, their most worthy, to the highest positions. This is a choice from the possible, a choice of one of several, or several of all. And when people have this opportunity and realize it, this is true democracy. Elections should be free of any pressure, free and accessible, otherwise it is a false election, a false democracy, which then degenerates into autocracy and tyranny. What we can now observe in Russia, Belarus, several other former Soviet republics, and not only there. Is the choice of the people always appropriate and correct? Not necessarily. It can be wrong for various reasons, as it was in Ukraine. But a true democracy is different in that it can always be changed, that this choice has clear time limits, the violation of which, without the consent of the people, also transforms democracy into a regime. There are many other principles of democracy, which the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk precisely met. It was an agreement between the Zaporozhian Army and its leadership on the powers, rights, and all activities of this organization. It could be said to be the first Constitution in Europe. Until then, no country had ever had a Constitution (even the United States adopted its Constitution in 1787), no such set of laws, no such agreement between the people (demos) and the government, the leadership. And there were no principles that we now call democratic. All of these rules were described in Pylyp Orlyk's Constitution: free elections, separation of powers, limitation of central power in favor of democracy, and accountability of the government to the people. Every constitution is essentially a contract between the people and the government. The name of Pylyp Orlyk's constitution was detailed: "The Treaty and Establishment of the Rights and Freedoms of the Zaporozhian Army and the entire free people of Little Russia between the Most Serene Hetman Pylyp Orlyk and between the General Sergeants, Colonels, and the said Zaporozhian Army, which, according to ancient custom and military rules, were approved by both parties by free vote and sealed by the Most Serene Hetman with a solemn oath." It was adopted on April 5, 1710, in the town of Tiahynia on the right bank of the Dniester (the Turkish name for the town is Bender), which is now in Moldova. Why there? Why not in Ukraine? In what historical setting did this all take place?

It is known that Pylyp Orlyk was the General Clerk of the Zaporizhzhia Army, and Ivan Mazepa was the hetman at that time. We know that Ivan Mazepa fought on the side of the Swedish King Charles XII against Muscovy, where the Ukrainians, were defeated, and for this reason the Zaporozhian army and Orlyk, among others, had to retreat. The migration took place towards the Dniester, and it was in the city of Bendery that this treaty was signed, which was later called the Bendery Constitution.

The Zaporozhian Army was an army that defended Ukraine from all foreign invaders: Muscovites, Turks, Poles, and Mazepa, along with Pylyp Orlyk, were looking for allies in this struggle. They appealed to all the rulers of Europe for help, but they were silent, and even if they promised help, they always betrayed them at the crucial moment.

After the retreat, Pylyp Orlyk and his 16,000-strong army, with the help



of the Ukrainian population, began to liberate Ukrainian territories from the Muscovites, and came as far as Bila Tserkva. But he was unable to take it by assault because the Moscow army had good artillery and many weapons, and he had to retreat. At that time, Pylyp Orlyk's ally was the Crimean Khanate. The Crimeans, seeing the failure of the siege of Bila Tserkva, despaired and began to retreat, abandoned Pylyp Orlyk, and on their way back began to plunder Ukrainian villages. The Cossacks rushed to defend their families. Out of his 16,000-strong army, he was left with 3,000, with whom he could not fight any longer, and retreated back to the Dniester. After that, further actions to liberate Ukraine stopped.

Pylyp Orlyk became an eternal wanderer who lived in different cities and countries. He was devoted to the idea of Ukraine's independence and its liberation from all oppressors and all foreign occupiers until his last breath. The name of Pylyp Orlyk will forever remain in the memory of the Ukrainian people and in Ukrainian history. A street in Kyiv was named after him and a monument was erected in his honor. There is a memorial to him in Sweden. Pylyp Orlyk is another example of a patriot of Ukraine, a true Ukrainian, although he was born in a place that is now in Belarus, and there is also a memorial plaque in his honor. Today, Belarus is not with Ukraine, it is with the aggressor, Muscovy. I don't even want to call it Russia, because as you know, the name Russia is now being questioned, it comes

from the word Rus. Rus has always been Kyivan. The Muscovites appropriated this name, calling themselves Russia, although in fact they are Muscovy, Muscovy, Muscovy, whatever you want to call it, but not Russia. The real Rus is on the territory of Ukraine today.

Who is Pylyp Orlyk? Where did this figure come from in the history of Ukraine?

Here is what Wikipedia says about him:

Pylyp Orlyk was born on April 11 (21), 1672 in Kosut (Oshmyany district, Vilna province, Belarus) in a family of noblemen of Czech origin. His father, Stepan, served in the army of the monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and died at the age of 51 during the Polish-Ottoman war in the Battle of Khotyn in December 1673. Iryna's mother came from the Malachowski family, so she baptized her son in the Orthodox rite (his father was Catholic).

He was educated at a Jesuit collegium in Vienna and at the Kyiv-Mohyla College, where he graduated in 1694. He showed a special aptitude for philosophy and theology, history, poetry, rhetoric, and logic, and was fluent in Polish, Latin, German, Swedish, Church Slavonic, and other languages, in addition to Ukrainian.

During 1698-1700 he served as a consistorial clerk in the office of the Kyiv Metropolitan, then the Poltava Regiment, and later as a senior military clerk of the Zaporizhzhia Army.

From 1702 (according to other sources – from 1706) he was the General Clerk and confidant of Ivan Mazepa. In 1708, he took part in Hetman Mazepa's speech against Peter I.

On June 27, 1709 (after the Battle of Poltava) he emigrated to the Ottoman Empire.

Ivan Mazepa was followed to Bendery by about 50 leading representatives of the officers, nearly 500 Cossacks from the Hetmanate, and more than 4,000 Cossacks. These "Mazepans," as historians sometimes call them, were the first Ukrainian political emigrants. They elected Pylyp Orlyk Hetman of Ukraine (in exile) on April 5, 1710. The election took place in the presence of the Cossacks, the general officers, the Cossacks, as well as the Ottoman sultan and the Swedish king.

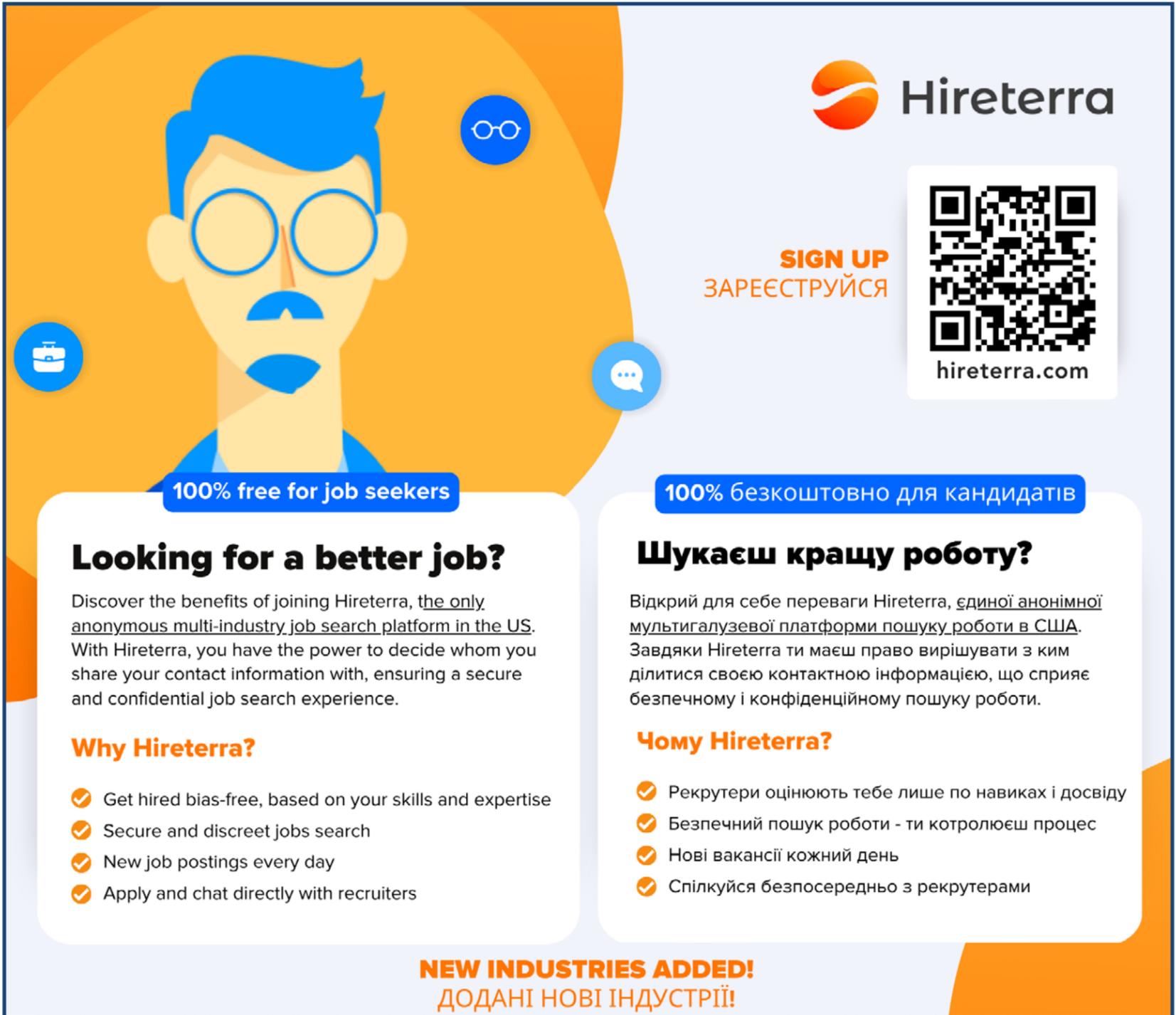
Pylyp Orlyk considered the main priorities of foreign policy to be the need for Swedish protection with a guarantee of Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity, the establishment of a lasting peace and a military alliance with the Crimean Khanate.

The legislative power was to be represented by a parliament, the General Rada, consisting of the general officers, colonels, general advisers (delegates from Cossack regiments), regimental officers, centurions, and representatives of the Zaporozhian Sich. The General Council was supposed to meet three times a year - in January (on Christmas), April (on Easter), and October (on Intercession). Between the sessions of the parliament, its powers were exercised by the hetman together with the Council of General Sergeants. They represented the highest executive power. As for the local administration, it was represented by elected civilian colonels and regimental officers, centurions, and centurion officers.

Orlyk operated with two categories of the state: "gentry" and "people". "Gentry" is a sovereign state headed by a monarch. The "people" is the population of a certain politically defined territorial entity under the rule of the monarch. Accordingly, two types of legal relations were predicted: the first is "citizenship", which arises from conquest. The second is "protection", which arises when a people voluntarily comes under the rule of a monarch. In this regard, Orlyk introduces the concept of a "free people" - the population of a certain territory that has the right to self-government, contractual relations with the monarch, and self-determination in the sense of changing the monarch in case of failure to fulfill his obligations. At the same time, the political role of the monarch is significantly limited - he is actually removed from the political system, being only a guarantor of its immutability, not a factor of its regulation.

The first page of the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk (original, created in Bendery in April 1710 in the Old Ukrainian language, RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, d. 12, p. 3).

According to the tradition of the election of the hetman, on April 5, 1710, Pylyp Orlyk signed an agreement with the officers and the Cossacks, "Treaties and Regulations of the Rights and Freedoms of the Zaporozhian Army," a document that later became known as the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk, the Bendery Constitution, and the Ukrainian Constitution of 1710. In it, he pledged to limit the hetman's prerogatives, reduce social exploitation, preserve the special status of the Cossacks, and fight for the political and ecclesiastical separation of Ukraine from Muscovy in the event that he gained power in Ukraine. The difference between the "Treaties and Resolutions" of April 5, 1710, and the previous treaties of the hetmans with the Moscow tsars was that this political and legal document was adopted for all subsequent Ukrainian rulers and was primarily between the Ukrainian branches of government (although the Swedish king acted as Ukraine's protector).



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[Buttle for China] from page 1

ficially called the "Republic of China", and until 1971, it was "Taiwan", not the PRC, that held China's seat in the UN. The change in the geopolitical situation associated with the gradual economic growth of China and the split along the USSR-China line pushed the Western world to change its priorities, and communist China was finally legitimized.

For Ukraine, the geopolitical world looks quite unambiguous: there is 1. the enemy, the aggressor, fascist russia, there are 2. our allies - those who help Ukraine with weapons, finance, humanitarian aid, impose economic and political sanctions on fascist russia, and there are 3. formally neutral countries that, in fact, by their "neutrality" help fascist russia to circumvent economic sanctions and keep its economy from collapsing. China, to our regret, belongs to the third group. But the countries in this third group have different patterns of behavior, they can contribute more or less to fascist russia, and the struggle to win them over or to keep them from fully supporting the kremlin continues.

On March 10, 69-year-old Xi Jinping was re-elected for the third time in the history of China to the five-year post of head of state. By and large, this re-election already looked like a formality, because in the fall of the previous year, 2022, he was re-elected for the third time as the head of the Communist Party, which is actually an informal but highest position in China.

After the formalization of state governance on March 10, the unpleasant news for friends of Ukraine was that Xi Jinping's first visit would be to fascist russia, as the choice of the first foreign visit usually indicates the geopolitical vector of a state.

But the Western world struck the "first blow" before this visit. On Friday,

March 17, the International Criminal Court in The Hague issued international arrest warrants for russian president vladimir putin and russian children's ombudsman maria lvova-belova. In a press release, the International Criminal Court stated that there are "reasonable grounds" to believe that putin is personally responsible for the deportation of Ukrainian children from the occupied territories to the territory of fascist russia. Prosecutor General of Ukraine Andriy Kostin commented: "This means that outside of russia, putin must be arrested and brought to court. And world leaders will think twice before shaking his hand or sitting down with him at the negotiating table."

No one can yet accurately calculate the number of children abducted by fascist russia. Experts and journalists estimate the number at several tens of thousands of children.

Earlier, the Presidential Commissioner for Children's Rights and Child Rehabilitation Daria Gerasymchuk stated that as of October 2022, the occupiers had taken at least 8,709 children from the occupied territories of Ukraine.

The blow from the International Criminal Court in The Hague is really powerful. The countries that have signed and ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court automatically undertake to comply with its decisions. In March, even the Constitutional Court of Armenia, which is dependent on russia in many aspects, recognized the obligations enshrined in the Rome Statute, signed on July 17, 1998, as consistent with the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia and thus de facto upheld the arrest warrant for putin.

However, this event did not force the Chinese leadership to "turn the plane around in the air" and cancel the visit to fascist russia to meet with the subject of an international criminal investiga-

tion.

Xi Jinping's three-day visit was a show of force to the civilized world. The two authoritarian leaders, in an emphatically imperial setting, were complimenting each other. Russia's fascist leader toasted the Chinese Communist Party leader, who in turn called putin a "dear friend." The Chinese leader clearly indicated that in the era of his country's global economic competition with the United States, russia is his preferred ally in geopolitics. The days when moscow (in the form of the USSR) was the dominant force in this nexus are over in the last century. Today, it is China that has become the "big brother," and Xi Jinping has demonstrated this in every possible way. Even visually, the contrast between the two leaders was striking. Putin looked like a beggar, pathetic and insecure. It is not without reason that popular photo jabs of putin on his knees licking either the boots or the pants of his more successful Chinese overlord began to spread virally in the Ukrainian segment of the Internet. Xi Jinping had been exerting and increasing his influence on putin much earlier, but the aggression of fascist russia in Ukraine has accelerated this dynamic at a gallop. Russia has become highly dependent on China economically and diplomatically, and this dependence has only been reinforced by international political and economic isolation, to which russia's military defeats on the front have added. Putin is moving away from being China's "junior partner" to direct vassalage.

For all the unpleasantness for us of the fact that the Chinese leader visited moscow, it should be noted that putin did not receive any "improved conditions." The purpose of the Chinese leader's visit was not to make promises that were pleasing to the russian fascist, but to fix the status quo, that is, russia's economic and now political dependence on China. There were

many diplomatic courtesies, but Xi Jinping emphasized that China's ties with russia "are based on the principles of non-alignment and non-confrontation, and are not aimed at any third party."

The Sino-russian alliance is based on certain interests in confrontation with the United States. At the summit, Xi Jinping guaranteed to fuel the russian economy. In 2022, trade between russia and China jumped to an unprecedented \$190 billion. But Xi Jinping, like all Chinese leaders, knows how to count big money, and he clearly knows that China's trade with Ukraine's ally the European Union is worth \$1.6 trillion a year, so the Chinese leader did not voice a hint of any military assistance.

Although Xi Jinping's visit had an unpleasant aftertaste from the fact, it nevertheless gave the impression of visiting a terminally ill patient in a hospital, to whom a distant relative came with a formal bouquet of flowers, but in anticipation of the inevitable ending with the hope of dividing the inheritance, regardless of whether the patient wants to die or not, whether he left any will or not.

Russia is at war not only with Ukraine, but with the entire normal world. China has a confrontation with this world. A long-term confrontation. In which one hand competes and the other trades in the same body. The Western world has a fairly large arsenal of arguments for China not to turn into an outcast like North Korea or Iran, direct allies of fascist russia. There will be a struggle for China. The task of both the diplomats and economies of all Ukraine's allies is to reduce anyone's contacts with fascist russia. Until it is completely defeated. This is not easy. But it will be done. Because good must defeat evil. And evil is russia. And it will be defeated.

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[March. Shadow of the long war] from page 1

Of course, American expertise is not the truth in the last resort. Many in the United States believed that Ukraine would not last more than a few days in its resistance to Russia—and they were wrong. Nevertheless, the option of a long, exhausting war is worth considering. This option may be as real as a short-term conflict. Moreover, it is quite possible that this is the option that the Kremlin is currently pursuing.

The fact that the war could be short-lived is usually associated with a possible Ukrainian counteroffensive. After it, optimists believe, either Russia will be forced to negotiate, or the environment will want to get rid of Putin, or Russia will fall apart altogether.

But let's imagine that these predictions did not come true. The counteroffensive was more or less successful, or even super successful, with the liberation of the entire constitutional territory of Ukraine. But Russia does not want any negotiations, Putin has not disappeared, Russia has not collapsed, Russian troops are standing opposite Ukrainian troops, only in new positions and fighting for some destroyed settlement. And Ukrainian citizens wake up to the sounds of explosions after another massive rocket attack on their cities. It's a scary picture, but this is the reality Ukraine is in right now. And it turns out that any counteroffensive can resolve the issue of restoring justice and international law, liberating the territory and citizens under occupation. But it does not resolve the most important issue – the issue of ending the war.

Can Ukraine live in this state for years? From an economic point of view, as the past year has shown, it can, if Western assistance remains at the proper level. In any case, the Ukrainian economy is on life support, and this state is unlikely to change in the coming years. From a military point of view, it can, if Western assistance remains at the proper level and the mobilization

resource is not exhausted. But there are dangers here.

The first of them is rather psychological. Ukrainian society is committed to a quick end to the war, as politicians and experts, starting with the country's president, have repeatedly said. How easy will it be to adapt to life in a country that is constantly at war? How many people will start blaming the current situation not on the Russian authorities, but on their own leadership, as they did before the 2019 elections? The answers to these questions will be available after the Ukrainian counteroffensive takes place, and it is possible that its results will give Ukrainians the strength and ability to accept the reality of a permanent war.

The second danger is a change in the political situation, and it is primarily related to the US presidential election in 2024. Any Republican winner of the election – and not just Donald Trump – will make an attempt to negotiate with Vladimir Putin. In my opinion, this is an attempt doomed to failure. But the search for a hopeless compromise will inevitably create problems that will not be easy to overcome once the new administration is convinced of the futility of its efforts. In general, the model for ending the war in Ukraine always rests on one important contradiction: the hope that Putin will eventually negotiate and the understanding that there will be no realistic negotiations with Putin in any case.

The third danger is demographic. A long war will inevitably lead to the fact that most of the refugees who left Ukraine will settle in their host countries and may be joined by new compatriots with children. And compatriots, despite the borders being closed to men of military age, too. Because in the event of several years of war, when it becomes clear that there is no prospect of legal family reunification in the near future, corrupt instruments of emigration will only improve.

The fourth danger is the globalization of the conflict. In March, the so-called "Chinese peace plan" was un-

veiled.

But what does the Chinese leadership want from the process? Is it to resolve the conflict or to demonstrate the constructiveness of its allies in Moscow? After all, Putin has already approved Xi Jinping's proposals, and if Ukraine and the West do not agree with them, the Chinese president can say with a clear conscience that he saw Russia's peacefulness and Ukraine's unconstructiveness – of course, because of the West's harmful influence. In this case, Russia's assistance – not military, but economic – would be a logical continuation of the Chinese president's recent visit to the Russian capital.

So, at the moment, the Chinese leader's initiatives look more like a danger than a way out of the situation in which the world has found itself because of the Kremlin's aggressive ambitions. And as long as Beijing does not recognize the very fact of these aggressive ambitions, and continues to blame the West for underestimating Russian security concerns, it is unlikely that we should expect Xi Jinping to make a miracle, but simply to have a realistic conversation about what is happening. Moreover, the Chinese president is in no hurry to talk to Zelenskyy.

Instead, Putin received his guest from Beijing with imperial pomp and treated him to delicacies in the same Kremlin hall where a young Mao Zedong used to toast Stalin and Soviet-Chinese friendship. Xi Jinping also did not skimp on his compliments to Putin. Having just been re-elected for an unprecedented third term in office, the Chinese president expressed confidence that Putin will be "elected" president of the Russian Federation again in 2024 – who would have doubted it! Against this solemn backdrop, it went almost unnoticed that there was no real discussion of the "Chinese peace plan" or even clarification of its details by Xi Jinping. Instead, there was a predictable endorsement of the peace plan by Putin and his statement that the Chinese proposals could be

used as a platform for negotiations when Ukraine and the West are ready for such talks.

From the point of view of formal political logic, or at least politeness, after these talks with Putin, the Chinese president should have called the Ukrainian president and briefed him on his proposals and the outcome of the consultations in Moscow. However, nothing of the sort has happened yet. It got to the point of ridiculousness: during Xi Jinping's visit to Moscow, the possibility of his communication with Zelensky was denied by Russian presidential aide Yuri Ushakov, who explained to journalists that the guest from Beijing was too busy with his Russian visit to be distracted by communication with the Ukrainian president.

Thus, the Chinese peace plan has finally turned into a meaningless declaration. If the author of this peace plan is not ready to discuss it with the leaders of both warring parties, what is the point of it? It seems that Xi Jinping has decided that Putin's positive reaction is enough for him. Because from the moment it was unveiled, it was not a plan for peace, but a plan for Russia. If you will, it is another propaganda move before the Chinese president's visit to the Russian capital.

And there are many more such dangers. But the greatest danger is the long war itself. Because – despite the adaptability of any society to a state of perpetual confrontation – a long war leaves virtually no prospects for successful peaceful development.

That is why a long war cannot be simply stated as a chronic disease. It needs to be cured as soon as possible. Vladimir Putin must not be allowed to destroy Ukraine for years and deprive the country that repelled his attack of its historical perspective. Not only for the sake of Ukraine, but also for the sake of any other country that may become a new victim of the Kremlin tomorrow.





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[The start of the sowing campaign, or Battles are not only at the front] from page 3

problems: financial support for farmers, logistics, and the war, more specifically, demining: "In Ukraine, there is an appropriate government agency that deals with humanitarian demining. There is a coordinated center through which funds and licensed experts are distributed, the State Emergency Service (SES), but their resources are not enough. Today, Ukraine is the most mined country in the world, and the demining program will last for several decades.

Mines were being laid both with and without maps. Often, the Russians used systems such as "Zemlerobstvo", where a cluster munition with petal mines is thrown, for example, into a field of wheat, where no one will see where these mines are. You need the appropriate equipment and specially trained people to inspect the fields, because these are anti-personnel mines that are scattered in a random order.

There is only one guarantee of safety in such a situation - do nothing in this field, do not go into it. But this is extremely difficult, because for some farmers, especially land share owners, many of whom are pensioners, this is their only source of income. Therefore, doing nothing will not work either. Farmers often take risks and engage other services to clear their land of mines, but they are not in time. There have been repeated cases last year and now, when people are suffering, tractors are being blown up right in the field. Recently, farmers in Mykolaiv region were hit by a cluster munition again. There were also fatalities: mechanics were killed and equipment was destroyed, combines exploded, etc."

The government is trying to help agricultural workers in various ways: On March 23, the Ministry of Agrarian Policy and Food of Ukraine announced that farmers have already received more than 20 billion hryvnias, including through the Affordable Loans 5-7-9 program. Small businesses can receive free seeds for the sowing season, and until March 19, farmers could apply for 1 ton of mineral fertilizer from

USAID AGRO to fertilize grains and oilseeds.

However, the best help for farmers is to support Ukraine and bring victory closer. Mr. Koval addresses the diaspora on behalf of all Ukrainian farmers: "Dear Ukrainians and people from Ukraine! We realize that our soldiers who are holding back the enemy's invasion in hot spots are the heroes we will always remember. They are the ones who give us the opportunity to speak today and plan for tomorrow. Farmers, like soldiers at the front, are doing their best to ensure that there is no food insecurity in the country. On the second day of the Russian invasion, grain prices fluctuated even in the rich EU countries, because Ukraine is an important player in the global food market.

It is unworthy of world politicians to think that this is some kind of local conflict in eastern Ukraine that can be "peacefully" resolved simply by giving Russia part of our country's territory, as representatives of the Republican Party say, among other things. The political leadership of the aggressor has set a goal to destroy Ukrainians on the basis of national identity. Unfortunately, on March 16, the UN International Commission of Inquiry found no genocide on the territory of Ukraine. During the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, 465 children were killed. Their lives are not worth the Russian dollars that have blinded the eyes of some international organizations.

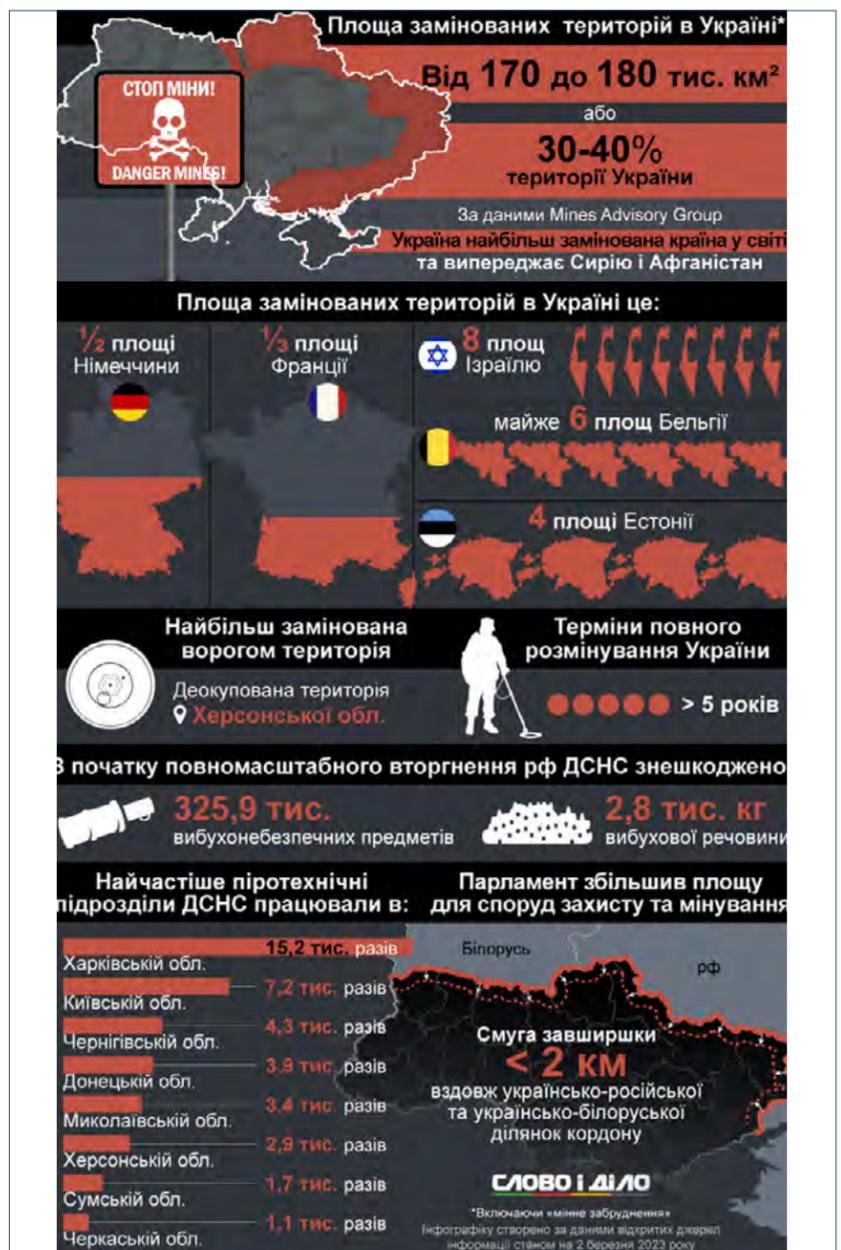
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[Pylyp Orlyk's Constitution] from page 5

Russia tried to convince the world that Ukraine as a state had never existed. However, in 1710, a Ukrainian, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, created the first model of a free, independent state in Europe. This is the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk, which spelled out the concept of a "free people," the foundations of democracy and justice, anti-corruption and social principles.

While Moscow worshipped the Tsar, Ukraine had already laid the foundations of a sovereign, free and civilized country.

With the support of Charles XII, Pylyp Orlyk allied himself with the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire, and on November 8, 1710, the latter, supporting Hetman Orlyk, declared war on Muscovy.

In early 1711, Pylyp Orlyk signed the Treaty of Kairi with the Crimean Khanate on a defensive and offensive military alliance and launched a joint campaign of Cossacks, Budzhak Tatars, Swedes, and Poles (under the command of Józef Potocki) against the Muscovites in Ukraine. The Swedish king pledged to wage war until Ukraine was liberated from Moscow's rule, and the Ottomans and Tatars promised their assistance in this struggle.

Pylyp Orlyk was well prepared for the campaign, which he set off on February 12 from Bendery, crossing the border near Rashkiv. He sent out universal letters in which he called for

a people's uprising against the rule of the Moscow tsar. The population supported Orlyk, and one by one the cities of the Right Bank came under the hetman's rule. At the beginning of February (A.D.) 1711, Cossack troops led by the hetman were already stationed near Nemyriv. Pylyp Orlyk also sent a letter calling for the struggle to Hetman of the Left Bank Ivan Skoropadskyy, which frightened the Moscow government.

Pylyp Orlyk's regiments were opposed by an army under the command of Hryhoriy Butovych, a general, which was defeated in the battle of Lysianka. The hetman was supported by the rebellious Ukrainian people.

In March 1711, the united forces under the command of Pylyp Orlyk approached the well-fortified Bila Tserkva, where the Moscow garrison was stationed. A siege of the city began, but none of the assaults were successful because the garrison had sufficient ammunition and strong artillery.

Due to a lack of provisions, the approach of spring floods, and the approach of new Moscow troops, the Tatar troops betrayed the hetman and began to flee south, taking a large amount of *yasyr* on their way. The Right Bank Cossacks, who had previously joined Orlyk, learned of the Tatar atrocities and rushed to save their families. Thus, out of 16,000 Ukrainian troops, Pylyp Orlyk had only 3,000 left, with whom the hetman was forced to retreat to Bendery. Over the next few years, Orlyk and a small group of sup-

porters sought support for his cause from various European rulers.

As a result of the Peace of Prut, on March 5, 1712, the sultan sent his firman, according to which Orlyk's authority extended to Right-Bank Ukraine and the Zaporozhian Sich. In April 1712, the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty with Muscovy: The Left Bank, including Kyiv and its suburbs, remained in the hands of the Moscow state. The ratification of the Prut Treaty in this form was a heavy blow to Orlyk and his associates. After all, Ukraine remained divided, and Moscow continued to dominate the Left Bank. Orlyk's power over the Right Bank of Ukraine, which he obtained under the Sultan's firm, was too illusory due to the intransigence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: two years later, in April 1714, the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth signed a treaty that left the Right Bank of Ukraine with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In 1714, Orlyk and some of his officers accepted an invitation from Charles XII and lived in the Swedish Empire until 1720. After the signing of the Swedish-Moscow peace, he left Sweden and was forced to move in turn to Germany, Austria, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1722, when Orlyk was on his way to join the Zaporozhian Cossacks in the Oleshkivska Sich, he was detained by the Ottoman authorities in Khotyn and interned in Thessaloniki until 1738.

However, he did not stop looking for support in various European countries

(France, Great Britain, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Vatican, Saxony, and others), repeatedly raised the issue of assistance in restoring Ukrainian statehood, continued to bombard French, Polish, Swedish, and Ottoman politicians with manifestos about the fate of Ukraine, and, together with his son Hryhor, planned steps to liberate the homeland from the Moscow yoke.

Later he lived in Khotyn, Serez, and then in Chernivtsi, Kaushany, and Bucharest. Later he moved to Jassy, where he died on May 24, 1742.

In conclusion, it should be said that the texts of Pylyp Orlyk's Constitution were originally written in two languages: Old Ukrainian and Latin. It was originally written in Old Ukrainian and then translated into Latin. They are kept in Sweden in the National Archives, and in Moscow in the State Archive of Ancient Acts. The Latin version of the Constitution was presented by Sweden for public viewing from August 17 to November 14, 2021, at St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv. It is impossible to get to the second text, which is in Muscovy, especially now. But that's okay, we'll get there when our troops defeat the enemy. Just wait!

We are proud that the Ukrainian people have found such a bright man, a voivode, a lawmaker, a patriot, a man of intelligence and talent as Pylyp Orlyk.

Glory to Ukraine!



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Serhiy Nikolaichuk
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[Advocacy Campaign] from page 1

3. Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide

H.Res. 154: A resolution recognizing Russian actions in Ukraine as a genocide. More information about the Resolution:

S.Res. 72: A resolution recognizing Russian actions in Ukraine as a genocide. More information about the Resolution:

Contacting your Elected Officials:
FIND CONTACT INFORMATION

1. Go to Govtrack.us and input your address. This will give you the names and phone numbers to your two senators and your one house rep. If you don't have the email to the legislative aide, phone number is best!

CHECK FOR CO-SPONSORSHIP

1. Search the bill information above and to check for co-sponsorship. This will let you know whom to ask and for what.

2. Do not ask them to co-sponsor a bill they are already co-sponsoring!

CONGRESSIONAL PHONE CALL BREAKDOWN:

1. Introduce yourself – say you are a constituent, include your zip code, & why you are calling

a) Hello, my name is [your name]. I am the senator's constituent from [your location], and I am calling to urge his/her support for a few key issues.

2. Ask to speak with the Legislative Aide – if they are busy, that's ok. Ask to leave a message or voice mail. *Make sure to get the Legislative Aide's email information so you can follow up.*

3. If you are connected to the Leg. Aide – re-introduce yourself again before launching into your requests.

4. Requests/talking points

a) Introduction, background & thank you

- Re-state you are a constituent and articulate your connection to this issue. (It is ok if you are just a concerned citizen without a connection)

- Thank the politician for their support of Ukraine last year & for any recent gestures of solidarity – i.e., have they cosponsored any of the bills from page 1.

My name is [your name], I am a constituent from [your location], a Ukrainian-American/concerned citizen/veteran & a member of the [name of your organization]. I am so grateful for everything that the Senator has done to support Ukraine and really appreciated seeing his recent visit to Kyiv...

b) Specific requests

■ For Senate:

I am asking for the Senator's co-sponsorship of **S. 416, the Holding Accountable Russian Mercenaries (HARM) Act and on S.Res. 72, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide.**

■ For House

I'm asking for the Congressman/Congresswoman's co-sponsorship of **H.R. 506, the Holding Accountable Russian Mercenaries (HARM) Act, H.Res 149, Condemning the illegal abduction of children from Ukraine to the Russian Federation & H. Res 154, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide.**

c) Why

- Briefly highlight any reasons that this is important. This can provide context but it is not necessary.

Wagner Group, is a mercenary organization that does the bidding of the Russian Government and has systematically conducted predatory and terrorist activities since 2014, including in

Ukraine, Mali, Sudan, and the Central African. The recent Helsinki Commission Hearing (3/9/2023) urged the designation of the Wagner Group as FTO.

According to the recent report made by Yale political lab in partnership with the State Department, Russia has kidnapped at least 16,000 Ukrainian children for re-education and adoption, under the Geneva conventions, this is a clear act of genocide.

The 1948 UN Genocide Convention, defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Besides killing, the Convention specifies other methods of destruction: inflicting "serious bodily or mental harm," creating harsh conditions of life, inhibiting reproduction, and "forcibly transferring children" to another group. Russia has openly stated its intent to wipe Ukraine, Ukrainians, and Ukrainian identity off of the globe, and has done all of these things in the last year.

d) Thank the staffer for their time & ask for email so that you can follow up.

5. If you can only call after business hours, that is ok. The staff checks the voicemail daily and they tally the voicemails the same way as calls. If you leave a voicemail, please make sure to leave your FULL ADDRESS.

6. Follow up a few days later via email directly to legislative staffer to see if you can provide them with additional information.

EMAIL THE LEGISLATIVE AIDE

If you have a relationship already set with the legislative aide, then email them directly to their email with your request. Make sure to follow up with a phone call a few days later.

Please forward me any response from the office.

Over time, each branch/RC should be developing working relationships with their elected official's legislative aide, local scheduler & district chief of staff.

SAMPLE LETTERS:

Congressional Letter

Make sure to change congressman to congresswoman where is necessary Dear (Congress person name),

I am writing to request the congresswoman's co-sponsorship of two key Ukraine-focused legislations: **H.R. 506, the Holding Accountable Russian Mercenaries (HARM) Act, H.Res 149, Condemning the illegal abduction of children from Ukraine to the Russian Federation & H. Res 154, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide.**

The HARM act (H.R. 506) would require the Secretary of State to designate the Russian-based PMC Wagner Group as a foreign terrorist organization. The Wagner Group is a mercenary organization that does the bidding of the Russian Government. The organization's trail of well-documented atrocities – including civilian massacres, torture, rape, and execution – spans at least four continents and multiple countries including, Syria, Venezuela, Mali, the Central African Republic, Libya, Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Guinea, and Ukraine. In many cases, their terror is followed by mineral exploitation that benefits their sponsors. This group has committed deplorable terrorist actions that meet the required criteria designated in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. The HARM act would give the US a broader toolkit to prosecute Wagner's crimes around the world. They must be stopped to protect human rights and the security of



Northern California

Immigration Legal Services for Ukrainians



WHO WE ARE?

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norcal@cwsglobal.org



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ASYLUM APPLICATION

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TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICATION

We will help you submit a temporary protected status application (TPS).



Global Ministries | The United Methodist Church
Support for this project was provided by grants from UMCOR and ORR.

the United States and our allies around the world and the HARM act would give the US a broader toolkit to do so.

H.Res 149, Condemning the illegal abduction of children from Ukraine to the Russian Federation, condemns the shocking abduction of Ukraine's children by Russia. The Yale conflict lab, in partnership with the State Department recently released a report documenting Russia's systemic efforts to abduct thousands of Ukrainian children. At least 16,000 Ukrainian children (although the number is likely far greater) have been separated from their families or stolen from Ukrainian orphanages. They are shipped through filtration camps in Russia for re-education, some are placed with Russian adoptive families and while others forced into military training. Each step of this well-organized kidnapping system is a breach of the Geneva Convention. It is imperative that Congress recognizes and condemns this blatant attempt to erase Ukraine's future.

H. Res 154, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide. The forced deportation, re-education and adoption of Ukraine's children is just one way that Russia is committing genocide in Ukraine. The 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention, which defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Besides killing, the Convention specifies four other methods of group destruction: inflicting "serious bodily or mental harm," creating harsh conditions of life, inhibiting reproduction, and "forcibly transferring children" to another group. From the outset of Russia's full-scale invasion, they have reiterated their claims that Ukraine is not a real country, ethnicity, language, or culture. The Russian orthodox church approves and even encourages the wide-scale murder of Ukrainian civilians, including children. By any definition, Russia has been and continues to commit genocide against Ukrainians, and I ask that the congressman lend his support to any efforts to recognize this atrocity.

Thank you for your time, please let me know if I can provide any additional information about these issues or your Ukrainian-American constituency.

Respectfully,

Print your name

Sign

Your address

Senate Letter

Dear (Senator's name):

I am writing to ask that you co-sponsor **S. 416, the Holding Accountable**

Russian Mercenaries (HARM) Act and S.Res. 72, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide.

S. 416, the Holding Accountable Russian Mercenaries (HARM) Act would require the Secretary of State to designate the Russian-based PMC Wagner Group as a foreign terrorist organization. The Wagner Group is a mercenary organization that does the bidding of the Russian Government. The organization's trail of well-documented atrocities – including civilian massacres, torture, rape, and execution – spans at least four continents and multiple countries such as, Syria, Venezuela, Mali, Sudan, the Central African Republic, Libya, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, South Africa, Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Guinea, and Ukraine. In many cases, their terror is followed by mineral exploitation that benefits their sponsors. This group has committed deplorable terrorist actions that meet the required criteria designated in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. They must be stopped to protect human rights and the security of the United States and our allies around the world and the HARM act would give the US a broader toolkit to do so.

S.Res. 72, Recognizing Russia's Actions as Genocide. The 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention, which defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Besides killing, the Convention specifies four other methods of group destruction: inflicting "serious bodily or mental harm," creating harsh conditions of life, inhibiting reproduction, and "forcibly transferring children" to another group. From the outset of Russia's full-scale invasion, they have reiterated their claims that Ukraine is not a real country, ethnicity, language, or culture. The Russian orthodox church approves and even encourages the wide-scale murder of Ukrainian civilians, even children. By any definition, Russia has been and continues to commit genocide against Ukrainians, and I ask that the senator lend his support to any efforts to recognize this atrocity.

Thank you for your time, please let me know if I can provide any additional information about these issues or your Ukrainian-American constituency.

Respectfully,

Print your name

Sign

Your address

ПРЕС-РЕЛІЗ

СОЮЗУ УКРАЇНОК АМЕРИКИ (СУА)

ОГОЛОШУЄ КОНКУРС НА СТИПЕНДІЮ ПАМ'ЯТІ ЄВИ СТАШКІВ

Нью-Йорк, 28 лютого 2023 р. – СУА радий оголосити про відкриття конкурсу на стипендію пам'яті Єви Сташків у розмірі \$3,000 на 2023-2024 навчальний рік.

«Важливість заохочення більшої кількості студентів вступати на українознавчі програми ніколи не була такою очевидною, як минулого року, коли ми боремося зі спадщиною російської дезінформації у вищих навчальних закладах у всьому світі», – каже голова СУА, Наталія Павленко. «Меморіальна стипендія СУА Єви Сташків є частиною нашої місії сприяти та розвивати освітні та культурні зу-силля та надавати гуманітарну до-помогу українцям у всьому світі. Ця стипендія є інвестицією в наших українських послів тут в Америці – нашу молодь!»

Кандидати мають бути дійсними студентами вищого навчального закладу в США, і вивчати предмети, пов'язані з українською культурою, наукою, мистецтвом, історією, мовою, тощо. Щоб податися на стипендію, потрібно заповнити онлайн-заявку, доступну на сайті Союзу українок Америки: <https://unwla.org/projects/the-eva-staszkiw-scholarship-fund/>

Успішні заявки на стипендію пам'яті Єви Сташків супроводжуються рекомендацією від чинної членкині СУА, заповненим коротким опитником та декількома супровідними документами. Детальніше ви можете дізнатися на сайті unwla.org у вкладці "Проекти" в розділі "Освіта". Там же можна знайти й форму для подання заявки. Реченець – 1 червня 2023 року.

Пані Єва Сташків прибула до Сполучених Штатів у 1910 році. Як багато молодих емігрантів до неї, вона не мала можливості отримати бажану кращу освіту. Все життя вона високо цінувала можливість навчатися і розуміла, що якісна освіта може змінити життя людини на краще. Віддана членкиня СУА, Сташків неухильно підтримувала українську ідею та тих, хто хотів продовжувати українознавчі студії. «Цього дуже потрібно нам тепер», говорила вона. «Молодих людей зі студіями, що б вміли всюди розказати правду про Україну.» Щедро підтримуючи молодих вмотивованих студентів, вона особисто спонсорувала багатьох учнів українських шкіл, які добре навчалися і прагли здобути кращу освіту. Як останній акт любові до України, Єва Сташків заповіла свої заощадження на користь СУА для подальшої підтримки культурно-освітніх програм на українську тематику. Про СУА:



Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Inc.

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For eligibility guidelines and application, please go to the website

FOR MORE INFO

www.unwla.org/projects/Staszkiw

Established in 1925, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) is the longest-running and largest Ukrainian women's organization in the United States.



Створений у 1925 році Союз Українок Америки (СУА), організація 501 с 3, є найстарішою та найбільшою українською жіночою організацією в США. Наша місія: об'єднання жінок українського походження та

приналежності до служіння, дружби та відданості, щоб сприяти та розвивати освітні та культурні зусилля та гуманітарну допомогу українцям у всьому світі.

###

Контакти:

Моб.: (908) 512-9435

Емейл: vp@unwla.org

Контактна особа: Надія Нинка,

1-ший заступник голови

[SHEVCHENKO FIGHTS ALONGSIDE UKRAINIANS] from page 2

essentially draws an icon out of her. He sees her as a person, not a status. He compares her to Ukraine. This is a challenge to the church, to tradition, and to society. It is a challenge to everything. Because you have to be human and see a person as a person first and foremost. He is not afraid to make this chal-

lenge-and he pays the price for it.

And what is Shevchenko in exile? He is a person who offended the empress-and this is the most important stigma. Because the empress is the "vicegerent of God." And he is sent to mark the border of the newly annexed territories on the Caspian Sea (present-day Kazakhstan). And what does he do there? If a person wants prosperity, who will he paint? Officials, their wives. What status does Shevchen-

ko have in modern Kazakhstan? The first professional artist who painted the people and nature of the Kazakhs. That is, he again chose not his own well-being but life for the sake of the people. And here we can say that with these actions he is 100 years ahead of his time. Because these are signs of a person with postcolonial thinking. And postcolonial thinking is the end of the twentieth century. And this is how Shevchenko proved his beliefs, de-

fended the value of freedom not with words but with actions. That is why it is poets, not politicians, who remain in history. Politicians have been ruling us for all these 30 years of independence, and another 100 years will pass, and people will still honor Shevchenko. But it remains to be seen which politicians will be remembered."

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UCU Foundation is seeking a strategically driven, dynamic, mission-based individual to serve as Chief Executive Officer for UCU Foundation.

Ukrainian Catholic University Foundation (UCU Foundation) was established in 1997 to support and fund the growth and operations of Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) in Lviv, Ukraine. As the first Catholic university in the vast territory of the former Soviet Union, UCU is at the forefront of building a civil society in Ukraine, educating its students to be ethical and moral leaders of a new Ukraine.

Through its fundraising activities in the United States, UCU Foundation assists UCU in meeting its educational and financial challenges and supports its successes as the premier Catholic educational institution in Ukraine.

Interested candidates may visit UCU Foundation's website ucufoundation.org to learn more about the organization, the primary responsibilities of the position, qualification requirements and application procedure:

REQUIRED EXPERIENCE AND SKILLS

- Passion for the mission of the Foundation and UCU
- Strong preference for experience managing a sales organization, in a client-facing environment, or managing fundraising strategy. Fundraising / Development experience preferred but not required
- Significant senior-level management experience with bottom-line P&L responsibilities
- Demonstrated leadership and success in managing a team
- Excellent interpersonal skills; ability to work with diverse work styles
- Knowledge of and familiarity with the Ukrainian-American community
- Desire and ability to represent the Foundation and UCU in the Ukrainian-American, Roman Catholic, and other communities
- Demonstrated sense of urgency; ability to establish aggressive goals and hold teams accountable for achieving those goals
- Ukrainian language skills preferred but not required

<https://ucufoundation.org/about/about-ucu/board-and-leadership/careers/>

[And Lina Kostenko is also back in the fight today] from page 5

This is a beast of disgusting breed,
Loch Ness of the Cold Neva.
Where are you looking, people ?!
Today we are, and tomorrow you are.

It is necessary to have a satanic
intention,
contains incurable rabies,
to be so hard to mock us,
and blame us for everything!

Here are poems about our eternal fate
as fighters for independence, about
our pain and defiance:

We are warriors. Not lazy. Do not lie
down
And our work is righteous and holy.
Because who is for what, and we are

for independence.
So it's so hard for us because of that

We are crucified between west and east.
What is not an eagle – the liver will pierce us.
Have mercy, my destiny, on my people,
so that he does not allow himself to be mutilated!

And something inside me says to me
To turn white with anger to the hundredth knee!
And something inside me hurts so much,
that it must be Ukraine.
Lina Kostenko's quotes about the war are interesting and relevant:
- And you thought Ukraine was so easy.
Ukraine is super. Ukraine is exclusive.
It has been through all the rinks of history. All kinds of trials have been

worked out on it. It is hardened to the highest degree. In the modern world, it has no price.
- We are a unique nation. Our farmers were starved to death. Directors staged plays in concentration camps. Poets were buried in permafrost. Who else has an atomic sarcophagus? We do.
- Fate does not smile on slaves.
- Every nation has its own diseases. Russia has an incurable one.
- Ukraine resists like Laocoön, entangled in snakes. It screams silently, but the world does not hear. Or does not want to hear.
- For those who, like me, suffered in the war, life has risen in value.
Reading Lina Kostenko's poems about the war, I was inspired to write something of my own. Of course, it's not Lina Kostenko's, but...
What to write

in times of war,
when the field is sown,
not with grain,
but with blood,
when the mother cries
at the window
and curses her fate.
A frozen soul,
my feelings
are frozen,
and only words
are flying,
like bullets through the heart:
"Ukraine is alive,
not dead yet,
it is only fainting with pain,
but like God
it will rise again at Easter!"
GLORY TO UKRAINE!



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EVENTS 2023

APRIL

Нд/Su	Пн/Mo	Вт/Tu	Ср/We	Чт/Th	Пт/Fr	Сб/Sa
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30						

9 APRIL
EASTER

20 APRIL THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

NIH and Magnusson, an International Business Law Firm invites you to a Lunchtime talk at Nordic Innovation House.

When: Nordic Innovation House-Silicon Valley 470 Ramona Street Palo Alto, CA 94301

Where: Thursday, 12:00 PM - 1:30 PM

On April 20 you will have the opportunity of enjoying lunch and discussion with Tomi Merenheimo, Attorney-at-law / Managing Partner of Magnusson in Finland and Heikki Wide, Attorney-at-law / Partner of Magnusson in Finland.

Tomi and Heikki regularly advise domestic and international companies on international trade and risk management. They will take a look at the following topics:

- consequences of the war for business operations in Northern Europe;
- the risks associated with international trade and how to manage them.

We are looking forward to seeing you at lunch!

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/russian-invasion-in-ukraine-and-northern-european-business-risks-tickets-449427047397>

11 MAY SAN FRANCISCO OKEAN ELZY | HELP FOR UKRAINE TOUR

Okean Elzy and EGOeast Productions

Where: The Warfield, 982 Market St San Francisco, CA 94102

When: SThursday 7:30 PM

Okean Elzy Help For Ukraine US and Canada 2023 Tour.

Okean Elzy will perform in US and Canada in April-May 2023 as a part of the Help for Ukraine tour. The proceeds from the concert will be used for humanitarian aid to children affected by the war, as well as medical institutions and defenders of Ukraine.

For 27 years now, the band has been one of the main representatives

of modern Ukrainian music for the whole world. Okean Elzy has helped Ukraine throughout different periods of its history, especially during the most difficult ones. The lead singer Svyatoslav Vakarchuk actively participates in charity and social projects. Together with other members of the band, he supported the human rights campaign of IOM and MTV Europe "People are not for sale", became Honored Ambassador of Culture in Ukraine, and was appointed goodwill ambassador of the United Nations Development Program.

Okean Elzy is one of the most popular Ukrainian rock bands, known far beyond the borders of their native country.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/8729553743751527/>

18 MAY VYSHYVANKA DAY / SAN FRANCISCO

Ukrainian School of San Francisco / Українська Школа Сан-Франциско

Where: San Francisco Ferry Building, 1 Ferry Building, San Francisco, CA 94111

When: Thursday, 12 PM - 1 PM
Friends, let's unite with all Ukrainians around the world and show our national identity by wearing vyshyvankas wherever we are on May 18, 2023. Regardless of where you live, click on the event you are interested in or going to. This way, all your friends will see and remember Vyshyvanka Day.

We also know that many Ukrainians work in and around San Francisco. So we invite you to come together in your vyshyvanka, near the famous San Francisco Ferry Building from 12:00 PM to 13:00 PM.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/157648733889036/>

18 MAY VYSHYVANKA DAY / SAN JOSE

UNWLA San Jose, Branch 107
Where: Santana Row, San Jose, CA 95128

When: Thursday, 5:30 PM
We are happy to invite you to join Ukrainians for a meet-up dedicated to International Vyshyvanka Day. This day is celebrated annually, on the 3rd Thursday of May. This year on May 18th we're inviting you to wear your vyshyvanka to demonstrate its unique beauty and to declare your belongingness to a long and renowned cultural tradition. Come join us for a meet-up on May 18th, at 5:30 pm, in Santana Row. Looking forward to seeing you all there!

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1500499697025870/>

10 JUNE ANNUAL UKRAI- NIAN SUMMER PICNIC

UNWLA San Jose, Branch 107
Where: Blackberry Farm

VOCAL STUDIO Oleksandra Zabashta

Oleksandra Zabashta is an opera and chamber singer, vocal teacher, soloist of the Kyiv Operetta Theater, soloist of the National Honored Academic Ukrainian Folk Choir H. Verioivka



- Vocal lessons for children and adults
- Voice setting
- Work on vocal breathing, sound management, intonation, diction and musical image
- Preparation for international and all-Ukrainian vocal competitions

Sacramento, CA
(916) 594-5641

lesia.zabashta@gmail.com

When: Saturday, 11:00 AM
Annual UNWLA Family Picnic!
Family Fun in Park! – Summer Charity Picnic

Bring your family, friends to join in on some food and festivities!

Enjoy delicious, freshly prepared Ukrainian food, ice cold beverages, wine and beer.

Family-friendly activities and games. Enter in raffles to win prizes!

<https://www.facebook.com/events/216745854260641/>

10 JUNE JAMALA – LIKE A BIRD TOUR (NORTH AMERICA 2023) – SAN FRANCISCO

Hedonism Festival, Deseract

Where: San Francisco Scottish Rite Masonic Center

When: Saturday, 7:00 PM - 10:00 PM

Jamala announces her Summer 2023 North American Tour. Ukrainian singer / songwriter and winner of the 2016 Eurovision Song Contest Jamala, is to go on her first major USA and

Canada tour. The new show includes music from different periods that will be performed through a special electronic interpretation. The tour name, "Like A Bird", is a reference to the track of the same name from the "All Or Nothing" (2013) album.

Tickets start at \$67
<https://www.facebook.com/events/531465528925083/>

24 AUGUST ARTEM PIVOVAROV – LIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO

ARTEM PIVOVAROV, FishCanFly
Where: 3140 Mission St, San Francisco, CA 94110

When: Thursday 9:00 PM

Artem Pivovarov with a big charity tour in the USA and Canada!

Artem Pivovarov is an original Ukrainian artist, whose songs instantly become hits and become #1 on the charts. The winner of the Yuna award "Best Artist" and "Hit of the Year", a music trendsetter, a favorite of all generations.

<https://eventcartel.com/events/artem-pivovarov-live-2-tickets-7107/?promo=0afbd58c725dac18b25da4a17b1dc5fe>

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To place ads and other announcements, please contact info@hromada.us

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