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SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Vitaliy Portnykov | Notes for July

# UKRAINE IS ON NATO'S DOORSTEP. PUTIN IS BOMBING ODESA



The Kremlin's decision to withdraw from the grain deal, followed by the attacks on Odesa, was entirely predictable. As were the attacks themselves – no matter how much Russian officials claimed that they were "taking revenge" for the new destruction of the Crimean bridge, it is clear that these attacks were planned long before the Kremlin learned about the destruction of the bridge and are connected to the end of Russia's participation in the Black Sea grain corridor.

In my opinion, Putin has been trying to withdraw from the grain corridor since the first days after Russia and Ukraine signed the relevant agreements with the UN and Turkey. It is clear that this corridor was not part of the Russian president's plans. But he was forced to meet his Turkish counterpart's halfway point because at the time he valued Turkey's role as a country that had refused to impose sanctions on Russia and had become a safe haven for oligarchs close to Putin, such as Roman Abramovich and even, according to media reports, for the Russian president's relatives. In addition, and perhaps this explains the decision to extend the deal, Putin did not want to interfere with Erdogan's election campaign. It was the most difficult campaign in the Turkish president's political career, and he could have lost. But the victory of the opposition candidate did not suit Putin. The Russian president realized that any new Turkish president would have much more opportunities to improve relations with the United States and the West in general. However, after Erdogan's victory, Putin seems to have finally lost interest in giving gifts to his Turkish counterpart. Erdogan, be-

ing who he is, has stood up and that is enough.

Another important motive that prompted Putin to participate in the "grain deal" was his unwillingness to appear before the leaders of the "global south" as the main culprit of a possible famine. Moreover, African politicians warned that if Ukrainian grain disappeared from the market, the victims of the famine could be labeled victims of the Russian war.

However, a few months after the Black Sea Grain Initiative was launched, Putin began to claim that rich countries buy grain, not the poorest. And this is true – the world's poorest countries account for only a few percent of the products supplied through the Black Sea Grain Corridor. The point of the initiative is not that Ukraine supplies agricultural products to the poorest countries directly, but that the supply of Ukrainian grain helps to keep prices down on the market. That is why Putin's decision to withdraw from the grain deal has caused such irritation in Africa. "Russia's decision to withdraw from the grain deal is a stab in the back of global food security, a move that will have an incomparably severe impact on the countries of the Horn of Africa, which are already suffering from the effects of drought," said Kenyan Foreign Minister Korir Sing'oei. Other African leaders are speaking in the same spirit. Putin could not pretend that he was not involved in the possible rise in agricultural prices, possible famine, and a new migration crisis.

But it seems that 17 months after the start of the great war against Ukraine, the Russian president's priorities have changed. When the Black Sea Grain Initiative was being negotiated, Putin could have been thinking about Erdogan's interests and his image in the "global south." Today, he is primarily interested in a war with Ukraine and the West, and the countries of the "global south" can wait until Russia has defeated its enemies. And if this "victory" is paid for by the lives of people dying of hunger, it is unlikely that anyone in the Kremlin will be upset. Famine is Russia's traditional political weapon in achieving its

goals, and we know this well.

Rejection of the grain deal could indeed deal a serious blow to the Ukrainian agricultural sector. There are simply no alternative routes that would allow us to simultaneously transport the amount of grain that was previously transported through the port of Odesa. Moreover, Ukraine's neighbors are not in a hurry to meet Ukraine's needs even in the face of this Russian attack. On September 15, the restrictions imposed by the European Commission on the supply of Ukrainian agricultural products expire, but the leaders of Central European countries in a joint statement called for their extension. And Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki warned that if the European Commission does not heed this demand, Poland will close its borders to Ukrainian agricultural products unilaterally. Thus, the Ukrainian agricultural sector will face difficult times. And this is what Putin is seeking – not just a continuation of the war of attrition, but a real depletion of the Ukrainian economy.

And, of course, the crisis in the "global south," if it provokes a major migration crisis, will also play into the hands of the Russian president, as it increases the ratings of right-wing populist forces and allows Putin to hope that he will wait for European leaders who will be interested in resuming cooperation with Russia and will refuse to support Ukraine. And the Russian president has been dreaming about all this for months – it's just that now he has decided that the role of saving the world from starvation no longer interests him and he can get down to what he loves most: generating crises.

And this behavior of Putin's reminds us once again how important it is for Ukraine to defend itself, to become part of the civilized world, and to join NATO and the EU. The Vilnius NATO summit was perhaps one of the most important events of recent months, because it was the summit that decided how far NATO countries could go to support Ukraine. The Ukrainian leadership had high hopes for this summit, and in the West they are now even called "overblown" – and perhaps it was this "overblownness" that

led to the first really serious conflict between the president of Ukraine and the leaders of NATO countries in all the months of the war. Zelensky said that he would not go to the summit if he did not hear any real proposals for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. And when he did decide to go, on the way to Vilnius, he published a post in which he called the possible decisions of the summit on Ukraine "absurd." Kyiv claims that in this way Zelensky tried to influence the discussion between NATO leaders, but faced serious irritation from allies, especially the American delegation and President Joseph Biden personally. Perhaps for the first time, the Ukrainian authorities had to realize that "public diplomacy" does not work the way it was supposed to in the first months of the war. And that the assistance to Ukraine was not only due to the numerous appeals of the head of the Ukrainian state and other politicians to the public of the civilized world, but also to the natural outrage that the atrocities of the Russian occupiers caused in the world. So the name of this empathy is certainly not Zelensky. The name of this empathy, unfortunately, is Bucha, Borodyanka, Izium... And it would be better if there were no scary symbolism of these words, but just emotional speeches by the Ukrainian president in the parliaments of the world.

However, the arrival of the President of Ukraine, the first meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Council, guarantees of assistance from the leaders of the Group of Seven, and bilateral

talks with NATO leaders helped to establish understanding and to understand what Ukraine can expect today. It is no coincidence that I used the term "guarantees of assistance". All that the decisions of the Vilnius Summit and other meetings in the Lithuanian capital are limited to are guarantees of assistance, not security guarantees. Security guarantees – that is, readiness for joint defense in the event of an attack, not the supply of weapons and financial injections – are precisely Article 5 of the NATO Charter and nothing else. The rest is assistance, although intermediate options are possible. For example, when Finland and Sweden were invited to join NATO, they were given security guarantees from the United States until they were accepted into the alliance. Sweden is still living with these guarantees – the issue of its accession and the lifting of the Turkish veto was resolved only on the day of the Vilnius summit. A similar scheme could be applied to Ukraine, for example, after the Washington summit of the Alliance next year. In this case, the issue of Ukraine's admission to NATO could be resolved after the war, and the temporary guarantees themselves could cover only the territories where military operations are not directly taking place. But this, of course, requires a creative approach to political processes.

However, let's not underestimate the importance of support. Its institutionalization at both the NATO and the G7 levels shows that the civilized

world is ready to respond to Putin's desire for a long-term war of attrition against Ukraine with systematic military and economic support. Thus, Ukraine's exhaustion may not happen, but Russia will have to face an inevitable arms shortage, as it is one thing, for example, to produce tanks on its own and another to receive them from Western countries. Perhaps it is this assessment of potentials that allows the US president to express doubts that the Russian leader is capable of a long war. But, of course, support for Ukraine is an important factor that could force Putin to abandon the idea of a long war at least in the future.

And another very important factor of support is the demand for political reforms, which is a precondition for eventual accession to NATO and increased military support. We are well aware that no one in the post-Soviet space has ever voluntarily given up the opportunities offered by the government. And that is why Ukraine's path to the civilized world has been so difficult – crises, uprisings, war, the triumph of populists... Reforms are designed to break this relay race of problems and allow Ukraine to become a democratic European state after victory – which meets the expectations of society and what the authorities declare. And this is exactly the case when reforms are "paid for" with the most modern weapons that are so necessary to save the lives of Ukrainian soldiers and protect the country's sovereignty.



SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Oles Donii

# UKRAINE OF THE FUTURE



What kind of future should Ukraine have? Everyone has fears and dreams. Dreams about the future often inspire people to accomplish things. But in order for dreams to come true, there must be plans for their realization.

In order to find answers to what kind of future awaits Ukraine, in the first half of the summer, I, together with my organization, the Center for Political Values, held a "Future Forum" with leading politicians, political scientists, ideologists, cultural studies, and economists.

The main speaker of the panel "The Future of Politics" was Oleksandr Kornienko, First Deputy Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the panel "The Future of Economics" was a well-known economist Andriy Dligach, the panel "The Future of Culture" was a well-known cultural critic Kostyantyn Doroshenko, the panel "The Future of the De-occupied Territories" was Tamila Tasheva, Permanent Representative of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and the panel "The Future of Ideas" was me, Oles Doniy. For the discussion, each of the main speakers was matched with two official opponents, who were also well-known in their respective fields. In addition, a competition for the best projects of the future was announced in advance. Nine winning projects were presented at the Forum. In the future, these projects will be presented to the public in full in a printed version as a joint book.

The lively discussions showed that there are many opinions and projects about the future in Ukraine, but there is a significant lack of a common vision for the country. Currently, the nation is united around a common idea to repel the enemy, the Russian aggressor. And while there is a stable public consensus on the war, what, how, and when

the country should do outside the war is not only lacking consensus, but even serious discussions are lacking.

The first feeling is that we are "putting the future off to the future." Instead of a clear and consistent plan with an equally clear schedule, there is a stamp in the public consciousness of "after the war." Dreams of prosperity, reforms, and changes for the better are postponed to the abstract wording "after the victory." A part of society hopes that after the victory, the guys from the front will return, and they will make real changes in Ukraine! This part of society does not dare to realize that the war can last, for example, 15 years. They also do not realize that not all the guys from the front will return during the war, some of them, unfortunately, return heroically. Similarly, the government formulates some of its own promises for the "postwar period." It seems that elections are never planned in Ukraine now, and the government plans to be eternal, and, for example, to rule for the same 15 years that the war may take place. This is indirectly evidenced by the authorities' categorical refusal to consider holding any elections in the near future. But if the war lasts for another 15 years, then the promises to start economic reforms "after the war" look like outright profanation.

So, we have two traps. The first trap is that the authorities have been talking so confidently about short-term changes in the war (2-3 weeks, 2 months, six months) that a large part of society is not ready to consider realistic options for long-term life in the war. Instead, we should eventually admit to ourselves that if the war has already lasted for 9 years, it can last for another 9 years, and maybe more, for example 15. After all, Israel is actually living in a state of war (though, of course, not as intense as in Ukraine), and elections are held there, the economy works, and the entertainment system even works, i.e., a full-fledged life. If we realize that war is a long thing, then we can dare to ask ourselves questions: that most of our refugee emigrants will not return, but that not letting men go abroad (including to their families) for 15 years is at least not democratic, and in general unproductive, but that even in war we

need to think about how to hold elections. In the United States of America, presidential elections were held in November 1944, in the midst of the war. Franklin Roosevelt won for the fourth time, which means that American society did not want to change the leadership during the war, but did not reject this possibility (change of power), and the elections were held. And what if the next 15 years without elections is a democratic future for Ukraine or not?

The way out of the first trap is to realize that the war can last for a long time, realizing that life goes on even during the war.

The second trap is postponing the future. During my speech at the Forum, I clearly stated that "the future begins in a moment". Not in 15 years, not in 25 years, not in a century, but in a moment. And everyone has the right to see their dreams come true. Of course, you have to make efforts to do so. If you are told that something useful for you (for example, social justice or economic reforms) will be organized "after the war," there is a good chance that you are being deceived, consciously or not. Hoping that in the years to come, either the promises will be forgotten or those to whom these promises were made will not live to see them.

A way out of the trap of the "delayed future": if the future begins in a moment, then positive changes should be demanded from the authorities now, not "after the war," positive changes should be prepared and implemented immediately.

Russian aggression has dealt a huge blow to Ukrainian democracy. It is not only about elections that neither the government nor the majority of society wants to hold (which raises a big question as to whether we have already accepted democratic norms as part of our worldview values). We are also talking about the lack of opportunities for full-fledged public discussions. There are, of course, logical explanations for both. There are no elections because martial law is in effect, and the Constitution states that elections are not held during martial law. And there are no discussions because the information space is monopolized, which is also understandable, because it is easier to fight the influence of Russian propaganda in a con-

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trolled and monopolized information space. But these explanations are for a short-term war. And if the war lasts for another 15 years, what about elections and discussions? What will the "Ukraine of the future" look like then? Will it be truly democratic?

A few days ago, we had the opportunity to discuss these issues in Washington. The Atlantic Council, a respected institution, invited us, representatives of civil society united in the National Center for Transformation of Ukraine, to talk about the future of Ukraine. On the American side, the moderators were prominent diplomats John Herbst (former US Ambassador to Ukraine) and Daniel Fried (former US Ambassador to Poland), while the Ukrainian delegation included military officers, volunteers, businessmen, political scientists, civic activists, former and current MPs. Mykhailo Khary, coordinator of the National Center for Transformation, stated on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation that "civil society has a plan for the transformation of Ukraine." It sounded like a continuation of Martin Luther King's famous

thesis "I have a dream". He had a dream, we have a plan. The question is whether the plan to transform Ukraine will be implemented. Not in the "postponed future," but in the near future. And so far, there are more traps for this than ways to implement it. And these

are internal traps. Because external threats (traps) are successfully repelled by our Armed Forces (for which they should be honored and glorified), but internal traps should be cleared by ourselves. Because the future begins in a moment.

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# ODESA. BURNED BREAD, DESTROYED CATHEDRAL

**Anton Shramenko**

On the night of July 23, Odesa suffered the most massive missile attack of the war. The city was hit by 19 missiles of all types: "Kalibr, Onyx, X-22, Iskander-K, and ballistic Iskander-M. The attack destroyed six residential buildings, damaged two architectural monuments and the Transfiguration Cathedral. Many buildings in the historic center of the city had their windows smashed and facades damaged. The port infrastructure was damaged. 22 people were injured, including 4 children. One person died. At the same time, on June 18 and 19, two missile attacks by Russia damaged the grain infrastructure of international and Ukrainian traders and carriers and the port infrastructure involved in the operation of the grain corridor. As a result, the tanks and berths of the Odesa port were damaged, and 60 thousand tons of grain were destroyed.

These missile attacks took place against the backdrop of Russia's termination of the grain deal. Using the threat of global hunger, Russia launched a real food blackmail.

Together with Olesya Yakhno, a political scientist with a PhD in political science, Hromada tried to understand the causes and consequences of this blackmail for the course of the war.

## Why Russia is abandoning the "grain corridor"

**Olesya Yakhno:** In fact, literally until the last few days, two options were considered for the Russian Federation's withdrawal from the agreement. The first option was that Russia was simply raising the stakes to blackmail its way out of certain sanctions relief: access to fertilizer exports and connection to the SWIFT system for its banks, primarily Rosselkhozbank. But judging by recent events and attempts to destroy the port and grain infrastructure of southern Ukraine, we can still say that this is more like Russia's desire to make it impossible for Ukraine to export grain at all. It can even be called a military special operation, where Russia first bombs grain stocks, grain storage facilities and points through which Ukraine ships grain, and the next step is to offer African countries a new deal without Ukraine, through Turkey.



*Destruction in the Transfiguration Cathedral / Photo: Obozrevatel*



*Burnt Ukrainian grain in Odesa / Photo: Konstantin Liberov*

The Financial Times recently noted that there is allegedly already a draft agreement on Russia's export of 1 million tons of grain to Africa, and that Putin expects to agree it with African leaders at the Russia-Africa summit and with Erdogan at a meeting in August (according to Ukrainian experts, the Russia-Africa summit was a failure for Putin, and he did not reach the agreements he had hoped for – author's note). It is not known whether the realization of this scenario is more related to the Russian leadership's resentment of the West's reluctance to lift sanctions, or whether there is a military calculation involved. After all, the Ukrainian counteroffensive now threatens to cut off the land corridor from the occupied

territories in southern Ukraine, which Russia uses to feed its army deep inside Ukraine through the Kerch Bridge and Crimea.

The economic component is also an important part of the sabotage of the grain deal. Russia clearly wants to weaken Ukraine economically. And the destruction of the grain infrastructure is a way to squeeze Ukraine out of any grain supply schemes to countries that desperately need it, in particular, to African countries.

## Was the option of Russia's withdrawal from the "grain deal" predictable?

**Olesya Yakhno:** For Western intelligence, not only the option of Russia's withdrawal from the agreement was ac-

curately predicted, but also the scenario of the destruction of Ukraine's port and grain infrastructure. And this raises the question of the number of modern air defense systems that can protect cities in the South, and the provision of weapons that would prevent aggressive actions by the Russian Federation. Because now it looks like our partners initially allowed the problem to arise, and now we are all thinking together about how to solve this problem. And the problem of grain supply is not a local problem for Ukraine. It is a global problem. When it comes to food shortages and hunger, if we allow this problem to arise, we will have to deal with it with much worse consequences than if we could have prevented it.

#### **Why the West allowed the "grain crisis" to occur**

Unfortunately, the West has chosen the option of a long war. As they see it, it is the least risky for them. They are afraid of a quick victory for Ukraine, because of the unpredictability of Russia's actions, they are afraid of nuclear weapons, and therefore they demonstrate in every possible way that they are ready to support Ukraine for as long as they want, to train our military, to provide us with modern weapons, but in a very dosed and phased manner. This is stretching the war. If we say that we lack ammunition, we ask for cluster munitions, and the United States is only now providing them. And we have problems with the amount of air defense equipment, and we are supplied with it in a very dosed manner, although air defense is not an offensive weapon. And then Russia launches 19 missiles of various types overnight, and the result is devastating not only for Ukraine but for the world as a whole. And this was predictable. But the West is playing a long game, counting on gradual processes within Russia itself to avoid the option that Putin will lose his mind and use nuclear weapons against a NATO country. The calculation of a slow war is also that Russia will supposedly realize that it is impossible to absorb Ukraine and maintain this occupation anyway. But on the other hand, this approach constantly generates new risks. Now it is the risk of famine. Another risk is the change in geopolitical balances with the growing role of China. Somewhere Russia is weakening-but not losing-and China is entering those regions, and a new problem is emerging. New alliances are emerging: with the participation of, for example, Iran and North Korea. Therefore, a protracted war contains many risks not only for Ukraine but also for

the West. For example, it is not clear how the US presidential election will go, and whether the protracted war will become a point of criticism: that there was not enough aid for Ukraine to win, but there was enough aid for the war to turn into a deadlocked confrontation, where other realities, other alliances, and problems accumulate along the way. That's why the West, on the one hand, seems to understand what's going on, it's no longer wearing rose-colored glasses. But on the other hand, the West is afraid of active action, to the point where it is not just helping Ukraine, but wanting Ukraine to win. And now it is becoming clear that the consequences of such a strategy of playing the long game can be much more destructive for the West itself. This desire to avoid a military threat to itself, and therefore to provide military assistance in a dosed manner, still does not prevent the process of drawing other countries into a war that can already be considered de facto global. From a military point of view, this war may not be global for other countries, but in non-military terms, every region is involved in one way or another. That's why Ukraine needs to fight even for African countries, which is what our Foreign Ministry is doing now, because every region is involved in this war, one way or another, just in its own specific area. And I hope that after Russia's brutal actions to destroy Ukraine's grain infrastructure and threaten famine, our Western partners will gradually begin to change their tactics and work out other scenarios besides prolonging the war.

#### **ABOUT THE CATHEDRAL**

*In addition to the destruction of Ukraine's port and grain infrastructure, the July 23 missile attack on Odesa was also significant for believers across the country, as a Russian missile hit the largest Orthodox church in southern Ukraine, the Transfiguration Cathedral. It is interesting that this cathedral belongs to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, and in 2010 it was consecrated by the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Kirill Gundyayev, who later blessed Russian soldiers to kill Ukrainians. We asked Metropolitan Oleksandr of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine about the impact of the destruction of the cathedral by a Russian missile on the faithful who are still committed to the UOC of the Moscow Patriarchate and the position of this structure in Ukraine.*

**Metropolitan Oleksandr (Drabynko):** For some believers, the war seemed distant, as if "it's not about us."

But when a rocket flies directly into the altar, this is already a message for believers, it concerns the shrine, and it radically changes consciousness.

And now we have a situation where the leadership of the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate is currently unable to protect its believers and answer the questions they ask. That is, the UOC-MP said to the faithful: "we are not a Moscow church," but Moscow still recognizes it as part of the Russian Orthodox Church. Believers ask: "So where is the truth?" And the truth is that today the Moscow Patriarchate considers the UOC to be its dioceses located on the territory of the state of Ukraine, and even after the destruction of the shrine, the leaders of the Moscow Patriarchate, both Kirill and his bishops, do not even express sympathy to the faithful, but on the contrary continue to mock the leadership of this church as their slaves.

I think that the destruction of the Holy Transfiguration Cathedral was the "last straw."

The faithful are already exerting pressure, and there are noticeable changes. On July 23, immediately after the destruction of the Transfiguration Cathedral, Archbishop Victor of Artsyz, Vicar of the Odesa Diocese of the UOC-MP, addressed Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and all members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, in which he condemned the "thoughtless aggression of the Russian Federation" against independent Ukraine and called on the ROC to "leave the UOC behind." Another 9 bishops signed Bishop Victor's appeal, which is already a large enough number. The priests are collecting signatures under an appeal to Metropolitan Onufriy to convene a council, to withdraw from the Moscow Patriarchate and to ask the Patriarch of Constantinople to settle the canonical status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. So the process is in full swing. And it was triggered by the Holy Transfiguration Cathedral in Odesa. If it succeeds, Ukraine will finally have one canonical Ukrainian church. The current Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate may be granted a transitional period to unite with the general Orthodox Church of Ukraine.

But at the moment we see that the current leadership of the UOC-MP is unable to negotiate, to present its position to Patriarch Kirill, or to answer questions from its faithful. This is a step to nowhere. If Onufriy does not dare to leave Moscow's power, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate will face final decline and destruction.

# "WE FOCUS PRIMARILY ON CREATING A SEAMLESS USER EXPERIENCE"

## NOTY.AI: INTERVIEW WITH NATALIA MARINA

### Karyna Nikitishyna

*Noty.ai is a young startup and product of the same name that transcribes Google Meet and Zoom calls to create notes and summaries based on them. Launched in 2020 during the pandemic, when millions of people were forced to sit for hours on video meetings, the team raised \$200,000 in investment in 2021 and has more than 20,000 satisfied users today. To learn more about the startup, Hromada spoke with Natalia Marina, one of the co-founders of Noty.ai.*

#### How does Noty work?

Despite the fact that there are many call transcription services on the market, Noty.ai stands out from the crowd in terms of its functionality, accuracy, and main purpose. During a call in Google Meet or Zoom, a text box appears on the side of the call with a recording of the conversation, where you can highlight, correct, and add new notes in real time. The features are not limited to transcription: with the help of artificial intelligence, each call can be used to generate a summary of the meeting, a follow-up in various forms, a list of key points, tasks, and reminders that can be exported to Google Docs and sent to other people by email in just one click. This is what sets Noty apart from other products, because people don't always have time to read through long recordings of conversations that sometimes last for hours on end. Almost all features are free, including integration with Google Calendar and Gmail. The goal of Noty is to minimize the time spent on taking notes and recalling important points from a conversation so that you can focus on the conversation itself.

Noty.ai works on the basis of various technologies: for example, Noty uses STT (Speech to Text), a technology that transforms speech into text, and NLP (Natural Language Processing), which processes the information already received. It tries to understand what is written and give the user the results they need. "Since this year, everyone has been talking about artificial intelligence. In fact, it was around 20 years ago, but then there was no such high-quality implementation in our daily workflow," says Natalia.



#### How did you come up with the idea?

"In general, my experience and background is legal. For the last few years before Noty, I worked at PwC as a legal officer and dealt with about 30 different European countries that cooperate with this company. My last project was a GDPR compliance audit. This audit took 6 months of constant calls, which was extremely tiring. It was also not very productive because we recorded all the calls and then I had to listen to them again – my mistake could be very expensive. And I had no way to reschedule if, for example, I didn't conduct a call effectively: because I worked mostly with top managers, it was almost impossible to find another time. I realized that this part of the work needed to be optimized, which could be done with the help of software and artificial intelligence.

Sometimes, in order to start a business or startup, you just need to have

an idea and a desire to solve a problem. When the Ukrainian Catholic University started enrolling in the acceleration program, I decided that if I found like-minded people there, we would succeed together. That's how I met another co-founder, Mykola, and we started building Noty. After that, all my attention has been focused on the startup for more than 2 years, which means that I completely changed my occupation: I left a super stable corporate job for startup, where nothing is clear; I started building a technical team without knowing how code and artificial intelligence work. I had never had such applied experience in my work before, but in 2 years I have gone so deep into this topic that I can discuss issues with people who have been working in this field for decades – I understand where we are going and why. I think it is critical for every business owner or startup to understand what you are doing and how. You don't

have to be the hands that do the work, but you need to understand the algorithm of the work.”

**What is the team working on now?**

“We are developing a new platform where our assistant will talk to users, and this will add another technology – TTS (Text to Speech), which means that the processed result will be announced. We are also working on a technology that is not yet available on the market, let’s call it Personalization AI. Unlike other solutions on the market, we focus primarily on creating a seamless user experience. We want to do this in a personalized way, as if we were hiring a personal assistant for each user.”

One of the advantages of Noty.ai is its high level of text recognition. Currently, Noty understands 18 languages and various English accents, and the accuracy rate has reached 95%. Ukrainian is planned to be added to the list in the fall, as soon as the accuracy rate for it reaches high levels. “If the level of accuracy is not satisfactory, we do not add a language right away, because we will get a bad user experience, and someone may lose the desire to use the platform altogether. The problem here is in the data set and in training. English is the most popular language in the business world, so the largest amount of content exists in English. STT training also started in English. Speaking of Ukrainian, the technology is simply not as well trained, and it takes some time. But there is another challenge: not everyone speaks the classical Ukrainian literary language. We speak different dialects, and from time to time we use surzhik, which affects the result of the search that we get at the end. That’s why we are currently working on the Ukrainian language and are looking forward to good results. I think that once we get the accuracy at 85%, it will be a satisfactory result that will give Ukrainian users only positive experience with Noty.

Information storage in 2023 is a basic problem that needs to be solved, especially during video meetings. You don’t need to waste time taking notes on paper, you can focus on the call itself, because everything will be recorded and saved for you. This way, you can do what only you, a human, can do, and delegate the rest of the tasks to artificial intelligence.”

**How did the war change the situation?**

According to Natalia, the war has not affected the demand in Ukraine: about 30% of users are Ukrainian out-

sourcing and product companies operating abroad. They mostly use Noty to work with clients and contractors in English. However, the largest number of users are not in Ukraine, but in the United States and Canada. In addition to companies, the platform is used by more than 400 universities, including Berkeley, Cambridge, and Yale universities. Students and professors use Noty to take notes for lectures and study.

The invasion had a much greater impact on the psychological health and morale of the team. “We started building Noty at a difficult time, but I can say that the team has been incredibly resilient since the first day of the war. For example, one of our developers gave birth to a daughter, and on February 24, he took a day off to celebrate the birth of his child. The very next day, he started working despite the war and a newborn child, and I was shocked at the time. I don’t know where the limit of the strength of our people is, who

continue to work despite everything.

We are looking for people to join our team who are suitable in terms of their habits, background, know everything about us, and are able to cooperate. Currently, half of the team is based in Ukraine, working from Kyiv and Lviv.

We have a close relationship with the team, so we communicate openly, help each other, and understand when something happens. Morale is probably the main challenge that affects the desire to do something – whether to work, how to work, and understand what you are working for? This is very important now, especially for startups. Because you are a startup, you already have a lot of problems every day, uncertainty about the future, and then there is the war. We care about each other’s morale: it makes no sense to ask a person to give their best to work when they are worried about something personal. It is hard for everyone, but we have not stopped for a single day. I hope that we will continue to do so.”



## UKRAINIAN NEWS

## Total enemy combat losses



According to the General Staff, total enemy combat losses from February 24, 2022 to July 31, 2023 are approximately as follows:

personnel – about 246,190 people were eliminated;  
tanks – 4,211 units;  
armored personnel carriers – 8,188 units;  
artillery systems – 4,816 units;  
MLRS – 699 units;  
air defense systems – 460 units;  
aircraft – 315 units;  
helicopters – 311 units;  
operational and tactical level UAVs – 4,017 units;  
cruise missiles – 1,347 units;  
ships and boats – 18 units;

motor vehicles and tankers – 7,292 units;  
special equipment – 715 units.

## Ukraine will join NATO



Ukraine will receive an invitation to join NATO when "all allies agree and the conditions are met."

Ukraine will join the North Atlantic Alliance under an accelerated procedure, without a Membership Action Plan (MAP). This was stated by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at a briefing.

NATO has also published the text of the final communiqué of the summit of the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance member states in Vilnius. The document consists of 90 points.

Among the most important for Ukraine is that the Alliance agreed to remove the NATO Membership Action Plan, but has not yet issued an invitation to join.

Paragraph 11 states that NATO reaffirms the commitment made at the 2008 Bucharest Summit that Ukraine will become a member of the Alliance.

"Today, we recognize that Ukraine's path to full Euro-Atlantic integration has moved beyond the need for MAP. Ukraine is becoming increasingly operationally and politically integrated into the Alliance and has made substantial progress on its reform agenda," the document says.

## What weapons were promised to Ukraine at the NATO summit



According to Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the good, but not perfect, results of the NATO summit for Ukraine are the abolition of the MAP for accession to the Alliance (no specific timeline for joining the bloc was mentioned), the signing of a memorandum on F-16 pilot training, the establishment of the NATO-Ukraine Council, the agreement on security guarantees, and new military assistance from almost ten countries.

The United States announced a new military aid package for Ukraine a few days before the summit in Vilnius, worth \$800 million.

Thus, the Pentagon will supply Ukraine with ammunition for air defense, HIMARS and Patriot systems, 155-mm and 100-mm artillery shells, TOW missiles, precision aviation munitions, grenades and cluster munitions.

The aid package also includes 31 155-mm howitzers, 32 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles, 32 Stryker armored personnel carriers and 37 pieces of logistics equipment.

## "Ramstein-14": more weapons for Ukraine



Minister of Defense of Ukraine Oleksiy Reznikov summarized the results of the 14<sup>th</sup> meeting in the Ramstein format. The key topics were new supplies of weapons and equipment necessary for the liberation of Ukraine's territories.

As the minister noted on Twitter, the meeting demonstrated the unwavering support of Ukraine by its partners. He emphasized that the meeting focused on air defense systems, ammunition, and armor.

He also announced the creation of new initiatives and the development of an IT coalition, the steps to implement which were presented by Luxembourg's Prime Minister Francois Boucher and Estonian Defense Minister Hanno Pevkur. In addition, Reznikov thanked Lithuanian Defense Minister Arvydas Anušauskas and "all Lithuanian friends" for the initiative to create a coalition for demining.

"Special thanks to a great friend of Ukraine and my friend, Pentagon Chief Lloyd Austin, for leading an unprecedented coalition against evil. Together, we are working hard to achieve victory, a just peace and a better future," Reznikov summarized.

## Coalition to train Ukrainian pilots: how many F-16s do

## the members have?



On Tuesday, July 11, 11 partner countries together with Ukraine signed a memorandum that defines the conditions for training Ukrainian pilots on F-16 fighter jets.

The memorandum stipulates that Ukrainian pilots, technicians and other personnel will take part in the training program. This was announced by Ukraine's Defense Minister Oleksiy Reznikov on Twitter.

"Today, 11 partner countries and Ukraine signed a memorandum that defines the conditions. I am especially grateful to Denmark and the Netherlands for their exceptional leadership in this process," he wrote.

The members of the coalition to train Ukrainian pilots are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

## Russia's withdrawal from the grain agreement: The EU plans to increase overland exports from Ukraine



The European Union wants to transport more Ukrainian grain by road and rail to compensate for Russia's withdrawal from the Black Sea Grain Initiative.

This was reported by Reuters, quot-

ing EU leaders and officials.

According to the publication, on Tuesday, July 18, Russia struck at Ukrainian grain ports, the day after Moscow withdrew from the agreement that allowed for the safe export of Ukrainian grain.

"This means that hundreds of thousands of people around the world will be deprived of basic foodstuffs," said the EU's top diplomat, Josep Borrell.

A senior EU official separately stated that the bloc supports Turkey and the UN in efforts to bring the aggressor country back into compliance with the agreement.

"They are using hunger as a weapon. This is one of the worst things Putin could have done," Borrell added.

At the same time, Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar said that the bloc would also respond by expanding land routes for Ukrainian grain exports through "solidarity lanes" or road and rail connections through Ukraine's EU neighbors, as well as through Moldova.

## US reveals what will be in the new military aid package



The United States of America has announced a new \$1.3 billion military aid package for Ukraine, the website of the U.S. Department of Defense of the United States.

The military aid package includes:

- Four NASAMS anti-aircraft missile systems and ammunition
- 152-mm artillery shells
- Equipment for demining;
- Tube-launched missiles with optical tracking and wire guidance (TOW)
- Phoenix Ghost and Switchblade Unmanned Aerial System (UAS) kamikaze drones
- high-precision aerial munitions;
- drone detection and electronic warfare equipment;
- 150 fuel trucks;
- 115 tactical vehicles for towing and transportation of equipment;
- 50 tactical vehicles for the restoration of equipment;

- equipment for the security of ports and harbors;
- Tactical secure communication systems;
- support for training and maintenance activities.

## Russia holding accountable for crimes in Ukraine: which institutions are already working on it



Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, Russians have committed over 96,000 war crimes in Ukraine. In addition to bringing ordinary soldiers to justice, Ukraine faces much more difficult tasks: to hold accountable the highest military and political leadership of the Russian Federation, including Vladimir Putin himself, and to recover compensation for damages from the aggressor. Work in these areas is being actively pursued with the help of Ukraine's allies.

An office of the International Criminal Court has been established in Ukraine, located in Kyiv. Its main task is to investigate cases that have been pending before the ICC since the beginning of Russian aggression in 2014. According to Prosecutor General Andriy Kostin, the opening of the office in Ukraine will allow it to do so more effectively.

Two institutions have been established in The Hague to help bring Russia to justice. This week, the International Center for the Prosecution of Crimes of Aggression against Ukraine was launched on the basis of the EU Agency for Criminal Justice Cooperation.

In addition, the International Register of Damage Caused by Aggression to Ukraine has been established in the Hague. It will become fully operational in August, and its bodies are currently being set up: the secretariat, which will collect information on the evidence of damage; the Board – to verify

the evidence and include the application in the Register; the conference of participants – to adopt rules and procedures. The issue of creating a mechanism for the use of frozen Russian assets remains open. frozen Russian assets. The European Union and the G7 countries, on the one hand, support the idea of transferring funds to Ukraine, but there is no solution yet on how to do it legally.

## Ukraine has returned Azovstal commanders from Turkey



Ukraine has returned from Turkey Ukrainian commanders from Azovstal who were held there after being captured by Russia – Denys Prokopenko, Svyatoslav Palamar, Serhiy Volynsky, Oleh Khomenko and Denys Shlega.

Ukrainian soldiers will finally be with their families. This was announced by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy.

The Azovstal defenders had been in Russian captivity for four months. The defense of Mariupol lasted 86 days.

## The Ministry of Defense told how many women serve on the front line

Ukrainian women serving at the front as part of the Defense Forces are performing extremely difficult tasks on a par with men.

This was stated by Deputy Minister of Defense Hanna Malyar at the All-Ukrainian Forum of Women's Leadership in Time of War.

"War does not choose men or women. It forced women to defend the state, and I am proud of Ukrainian women in the Armed Forces. Now there are 42 thousand women in the military, and together with civilians,



there are more than 60 thousand. And 5 thousand women are on the front line. The war is a man's war, so our women are performing extremely difficult tasks, doing hard men's work," she said.

The official noted that they went to the front by their own decision. At the same time, the Armed Forces have lifted all restrictions on military specialties that women can obtain.

As a reminder, the Verkhovna Rada passed a bill on voluntary military registration for women in the first reading.

Women are also actively applying to the Offensive Guard. They will be able to work in medical, logistics, and reconnaissance units.

## Russians take Ukrainian children to "cadet enclosures"



In July, the occupiers took to the territory of Russia about 280 children from Antratsyt district of Luhansk region to the territory of Russia.

They were sent to the "Cossack cadet corps" in the Republic of Kalmykia.

"By the end of the summer, the occupiers plan to take out a total of about 500 Ukrainian children," the National Resistance Headquarters added.

Thus, the Russians not only abduct children, but also zombify them with aggressive propaganda.

To date, it is known about at least 19.6 thousand Ukrainian children who were deported or forcibly relocated from the occupied territory of Ukraine (the Convention on the Protection of the Civilian Population in Time of War prohibits such actions). So far, only 385 children have been returned.

*Gabriel Travel*

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<p><b>Міжнародний центр із розслідування злочину агресії проти України</b></p> <p>Агентство ЄС з питань співпраці у сфері кримінальної юстиції Євроюст</p>	<p><b>Офіс Міжнародного Кримінального Суду в Україні</b></p> <p>Міжнародний Кримінальний Суд</p>	<p><b>Спеціальний міжнародний трибунал щодо злочину агресії проти України</b></p> <p>НЕ СТВОРЕНО</p>	<p><b>Міжнародний реєстр збитків, завданих агресією проти України</b></p> <p>Рада Європи</p>	<p><b>Комісія з розгляду претензій</b></p> <p>НЕ СТВОРЕНО</p>	<p><b>Компенсаційний фонд</b></p> <p>НЕ СТВОРЕНО</p>	<p><b>Міжнародний механізм використання заморожених активів РФ</b></p> <p>НЕ СТВОРЕНО</p>
<p><b>Збирання та збереження доказів для судових розгляду у національних судах, спеціальному трибуналі МКС</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Гаага</p>	<p><b>Розслідування справ, що перебувають на розгляді МКС з 2014 р.</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>	<p><b>Притягнення до відповідальності військово-політичного керівництва РФ</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>	<p><b>Облік доказів та претензій про заподіяні збитки</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>	<p><b>Розгляд претензій та присудження компенсацій</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>	<p><b>Акумулявання коштів для виплати компенсацій</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>	<p><b>Використання заморожених активів РФ для відбудови і розвитку України</b></p> <p>🇺🇦 м. Київ</p>

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🟡 На базі чого створено
⚪ НЕ СТВОРЕНО
📌 ЗАВДАННЯ
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# ENERGY SECURITY OF UKRAINE

## EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON AIR DEFENSE

**Inna Mikhno**

*"The next winter will be harder than the previous one", "Ukrainians will face massive power outages" – these were the headlines in the Ukrainian media in July. The key risk is Russian attacks. The war is ongoing, and Ukraine continues to record damage to its energy infrastructure. During the fall and winter, Russians carried out dozens of massive missile and drone attacks on power grids, causing billions of dollars in damage. Restoring their functionality will require significant resources and time. At the same time, predicting what the situation will be like in winter is a difficult task, and various scenarios are being modeled. It all depends on the situation at the frontline, the de-occupation of the territories, and a number of powerful energy facilities.*

The Ministry of Energy of Ukraine notes that the largest repair campaign at power facilities in the country's history is currently underway, aimed at strengthening the stability of the power system, which is unbalanced due to Russian shelling. According to the UN, Ukraine's electricity generation capacity has decreased by 61%: 6 out of 75 power units were destroyed, 16 were damaged, one is under temporary control of the Russian Federation, and 22 were not operating due to logistical problems with gas or coal supplies. Even in the summer, there were cases of power outages not only in Ukraine but also abroad due to overloading of the power system, which led to emergency blackouts.

In Ukraine, the main operator of the electricity transmission system to distribution networks is the National Energy Company Ukrenergo. Currently, all efforts of the energy sector are aimed at eliminating the consequences of Russian aggression and preparing for the new heating season. "Hromada talked to the company's representatives and found out what the current state of the energy system is and what are the prospects for Ukrainians to survive the winter. Below is an exclusive material from Ukraine for the readers of the publication (*note: for security reasons, we do not provide specific figures and data, as this information can be used by the enemy to adjust fire*).

### **Situation and state of the energy system**

The Russians continue to inflict un-



precedented damage to Ukraine's energy system in terms of scale and complexity. The Ukrainian energy system suffered the most from October 2022 to March 2023.

"Of all the strikes inflicted by the enemy, 52% were on Ukrenergo substations, 48% on the main power plants of the power system. More than 40% of trunk power grids were damaged. Currently, the entire repair campaign is aimed at maximizing recovery and preparing for the heating season, when consumption will increase and, consequently, the load on the power system will increase. More power units will need to be in operation to meet the demand for electricity. At the same time, some power plants, like the largest Zaporizhzhia NPP, remain temporarily occupied," the press service of Ukrenergo said.

The Ministry of Energy reported that in preparation for the winter, work is also underway to strengthen the physical protection of critical infrastructure, as the enemy may continue to attack the power system.

"According to the World Bank and UNDP, during the year of war, the scale of damage to the Ukrainian power system is exceptional: about 60% of generating capacities have suffered varying degrees of damage. All thermal power plants (TPPs) and major CHPs, as well as some hydroelectric power plants, were damaged. More than 10 GW of capacity has been occupied. Only the priority needs for the restoration and protection of Ukr-

energo's high-voltage network this year amount to almost USD 1 billion," the company added.

According to the World Bank and UNDP, the total damage caused is already estimated at about \$11 billion.

The power engineers themselves note that it will take several years to fully restore the strength of the power system, which was before February 24, 2022. Thus, according to Oleksandr Kharchenko, director of the Energy Research Center, there are doubts that at least half of the capacity will be restored by the start of the heating season.

"The energy sector is being prepared, and a lot of work is being done to restore both high-voltage networks and generation. However, we will not be able to do everything. No matter how hard we try, even if we have the money, the timeframe for manufacturing and delivery of equipment will not allow us to cope with the new heating season," Kharchenko said.

This opinion is supported by energy expert Gennadiy Ryabtsev, who does not rule out that the heating season will be more difficult than the previous one due to the lack of reserve generating capacity.

### **Production and consumption**

Currently, Ukraine's energy system includes both traditional nuclear, thermal, and hydroelectric power plants and renewable energy sources (solar, wind, and bioelectric power plants). Nuclear and thermal power plants account for the bulk of production.

As noted by Ukrenergo, the number of power plants that produce electricity is currently significantly limited, which affects the ability to meet the growing demand of consumers, especially in the heat and in the evening. The available imports from Europe (up to 350 MW) are not enough to cover the needs during peak hours. It is necessary to involve backup power units of thermal power plants, as well as those operating on natural gas.

"The power system has lost more than 14 GW of installed capacity (occupation and damage). In the front-line regions, the enemy continues to shell energy facilities. It will take several years to fully restore the strength of the power system, which was before February 24, 2022," Ukrenergo noted.

They added that in order to replace one destroyed autotransformer at a substation, it is necessary to first manufacture it – and this is a single-item and expensive product, the production of which takes 6 months or more and at a limited number of factories around the world. And we need dozens of such equipment. The war complicates the process and disrupts logistics, which also significantly increases the cost of such goods. Currently, most of this basic equipment has already been ordered and is to be delivered to Ukraine.

Currently, Ukrenergo employs more than 1.5 thousand repair crews who are restoring the grids with titanic efforts. Private companies are also involved in certain works. This allowed us to accelerate the pace of restoration work by 5-6 times. In 2022, special repair crews carried out work without disconnecting lines, saving UAH 4 million by reducing technological losses.

"Given the level of damage, we will enter the heating season with a much smaller safety margin. Our goal is to cover peak loads in winter. *It is likely that the enemy will continue shelling key energy facilities in the early fall. And in this context, the security of the power system will depend mainly on the density of our air defense,*" Ukrenergo said.

Taking this risk into account, the company is working to protect key equipment and stockpile materials to quickly restore power to consumers.

#### **Imports and exports during the war**

Reduced capacity to generate electricity can lead to a power shortage in the power system. One of the tools to avoid it is to import electricity from Europe. But its volume depends on the market situation and economic

incentives for imports. One of them is the existence of price caps on the day-ahead market set by the National Energy and Utilities Regulatory Commission (NEURC).

"The regulator has recently raised price caps, and imports have increased slightly during the hours when the power system needs it most. At the same time, in Europe, peak consumption hours almost coincide with ours – 21-22 hours. Demand during these hours is just as high. And the priority is to meet their own consumption, and only after it is covered is it possible to export to Ukraine. Therefore, although we can accept 1.2 GW of capacity from Europe, the volume of imports depends on the price on the Ukrainian and European markets and on the availability of excess capacity in the European power system. If there is a shortage, electricity will not be supplied to Ukraine," Ukrenergo added.

Due to massive Russian bombing of energy facilities, the situation on the market of electricity exports from Ukraine to cover the consumption needs of European countries is not better. After all, in 2022, exports were suspended, and according to the National Energy and Utilities Regulatory Commission, the country lost up to UAH 20 million daily.

On April 7, 2023, the Ministry of Energy announced the resumption of exports amid a surplus of generating capacity, which should help repair the main power grids with additional financial resources. Since April, Ukraine has only resumed exports in small volumes (about 60 MW) during surplus morning/afternoon hours to Moldova. Since May, commercial electricity exports to Poland from the Khmelnytsky NPP have been launched. Exports to Slovakia were also supposed to resume on July 23.

However, exports will stop if Russia attacks the grid again or Ukrenergo fails to provide electricity to the population.

#### **Support**

Ukrenergo carries out restoration work at the expense of the company's tariff funds, as well as grants from European governments, financial assistance from international organizations (USAID, UNDP, JICA), and loans from international financial institutions.

In addition, European colleagues and international partners provided Ukrenergo with more than 200 units of basic electrical equipment and materials for restoration works. The company managed to raise additional EUR 900 million for repair works by attracting

and re-profiling existing loans.

#### **Elements of resilience**

According to Ukrenergo experts, in order for Ukrainians to survive another winter without constant blackouts, the country needs to ensure five elements of the power system's stability and security. Ukrenergo, energy companies and the military are working on this. Most of these processes are already in place.

1. Restore the damaged power units and substations, create a stock of equipment in case of new shelling;

2. Strengthening the facilities after restoration;

3. Energy efficiency and economical consumption of electricity by consumers, which will reduce the load on the damaged power system and save resources (coal and gas);

4. Connecting the Ukrainian energy system with Europe. Since March 2022, Ukraine's power system has been synchronized with the European energy association ENTSO-E. This will make it possible to import electricity from Europe, if necessary, to maintain the domestic balance of consumption in the country;

5. And most importantly, strengthening the air defense system, which will radically reduce the enemy's ability and speed to destroy energy facilities and allow them to be restored faster.

The fact that Ukraine needs a full-fledged air shield was once again emphasized by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in his address to the international community.

"Thanks to the help of our partners and the air defense systems provided to Ukraine, our defenders of the sky have saved thousands of lives. But for our entire territory, for all our cities and communities, we need more air defense systems. The world must not get used to Russian terror – we must defeat terror. And it is possible!" Zelenskyy emphasizes.

Currently, power engineers are also working on the development of backup power supply schemes in conditions of reduced reliability – this will minimize the consequences of enemy attacks on infrastructure.

"Ukrenergo is in no way aimed at disconnecting consumers. This is the last compulsory measure that can be applied in case of a critical power shortage and the exhaustion of all tools for balancing it...", the NPC notes.

Therefore, currently, one of the effective tools to avoid consumption restrictions is only conscious and economical use of electricity by the Ukrainian population.

ДЛЯ ДІТЕЙ

## Казка про Сонце, Мороз і Вітер

Йшли якомсь Сонце,  
Мороз і Вітер широкою  
дорогою, аж зустріли  
селянина.

– Добридень!  
– привіталися  
мандрівники.  
– Добрий день! –  
уклонився ї собі чоловік.

Щойно друзі  
розминулися з  
селянином, як  
замислилися:

– З ким же чоловік  
привітався: з усіма чи з  
одним?

Наздогнали  
подорожнього, аж Сонце  
і Мороз схвильовано  
цікавляться:

– Ти з усіма нами  
привітався чи з кимось  
одним?

Селянин на мить  
замислився, всміхнувся  
у вуса й відповів:

– З одним.  
– А з ким же?  
– З найдужчим, –  
заявив кмітливець і  
пішов додому.

Мандрівники  
перезирнулися й  
теж подалися своєю  
дорогою. Коли це  
червонощокий  
дідусь зупиняється й



розгнівано вигукує:

– Заморожу нахабу!  
Сонце теж обурилося:  
– Спершу попечу  
неввічливого селянина!

Вітер усміхнувся на  
недобрі слова приятелів:

– Коли ти, Сонцю,  
припечеш, я охолоджу

подихом розжарене  
проміння, а коли Мороз  
розгнівається, просто  
стихну, і чоловік не  
змерзне...

У жнива вийшов той  
чоловік у поле, а Сонце  
пече, як вогонь! Коли це  
дмухнув холодний Вітер

– де й спека поділася!  
Взимку їде чоловік у  
ліс по дрова, а там такий  
Мороз, аж тріщить! Коли

ж Вітер – шусть! – і вщух,  
ані шелесне. Ось той  
чоловік і не змерз.  
Ось як Вітер захистив

чоловіка від Сонця і  
Морозу.

\* \* \*



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**ЗА ГОРИЗОНТАЛЛЮ:**

1. Орган керування військами в частинах, з'єднаннях та об'єднаннях усіх видів збройних сил. 5. Значки для вирізнення прямої мови, цитат, заголовків, а також слів, ужитих у непрямому, найчастіше іронічному значенні. 9. Суп м'ясний, картопляний, рибний і т. ін. 13. «... Чудра» (перший друкований твір Максима Горького). 15. Вибуховаречовина. 16. ... П'яццола (аргентинський композитор, виконавець на бандонеоні, відомий на батьківщині як «El Gran A'stor»). 17. Тас-... (невеликий острів у Східно-Сибірському морі, що є частиною островів Анжу в складі Новосибірських островів). 18. Особа, яка заперечує кому-небудь у публічній бесіді, на диспуті, під час захисту дисертації і т. ін. 19. Група довгохвостих папуг. 20. Щит, сплетений з лози, очерету тощо, яким щось загороджують або перегороджують. 22. Спадкове земельне володіння в епоху феодалізму, яке надавалось васалу за умови несення ним військової служби та виконання інших повинностей. 23. Апарат, важкий за повітря, з двигуном і нерухомими крилами, пристосований для літання. 25. Місто в північно-східній Польщі, над озером Рось. Адміністративний центр Піжського повіту Вармінсько-Мазурського воєводства. 27. Густа солодка маса, яку бджоли виробляють із нектару квітів. 29. Речовина, що впливає на збудження або зміну швидкості хімічної реакції, але кількість і хімічний склад її при цьому не змінюються. 34. Гірська вершина у північно-східній частині Великого Кавказу. 36. Просторий хатній одяг вільного крою. 37. Найтепліша пора року між весною та осінню. 39. Проста речовина — безбарвні, сірі чи червоні кристали або темна аморфна речовина, досить інертна. 41. Очко, що його виграв команда, загнавши м'яч або шайбу в чужі ворота. 43. Звуконаслідування, що означає звук капання. 44. Міра земельної площі. 45. Кінцева частина всіх горизонтальних або похилих рангоутних дерев. 47. Відсутність незгоди, ворожнечі, сварок. 49. Муніципалітет у Франції, у регіоні Центр, департамент Шер. 50. Той, хто покриває позолотою, золотить що-небудь. 53. Досвідчений, бувалий воїн, який брав участь у багатьох боях. 55. Плосковерхі плато або останці, звичайно з кру-

тими чи обривистими схилами, головним чином у Середній Азії. 56. Осадово-вулканічна гірська порода, яка містить не менше 50% вулканогенного матеріалу. 57. Що-небудь горіле та дрібні часточки від нього, які піднімаються в повітря. 58. Змагання, яке дає змогу виявити найбільш гідних із його учасників або найкраще з того, що надіслане на огляд. 60. Поза в класичному балеті. 63. ...-тік (угода, що її виконано за ціною, яка перевищує ціну товару у попередній угоді в період однієї біржової сесії). 64. Художній фільм режисера Олександра Іванівського (кіностудія «Радянське кіно», 1928 р.). 66. «Чорні брови, карії ...». 67. ...-... (сама так, розм.). 68. Листяне дерево з гладкою сірою корою і міцною деревиною. 70. Збільшення розмірів щитоподібної залози. 72. Один з регіонів Тибету. 73. Перша людина. 75. Закінчення, завершення якоїсь справи, події, явища. 77. Скошена і висушена трава, яка йде на корм худобі. 78. Трав'яниста лікарська рослина з квітками, схожими на наперсток. 82. Муніципалітет у Франції, у регіоні Лімузен, департамент Крез. 83. Останній правитель I династії Ранняго царства Давнього Єгипту (бл. 2890 до н. е.). 85. Доброзичливо-глузливе ставлення до чого-небудь, спрямоване на викриття вад. 87. Одиниця вимірювання потужності в Міжнародній системі одиниць. 89. Послаблення сил, викликане напруженою фізичною або розумовою працею, тривалим рухом і т. ін. 92. Столиця Башкортостану. 93. Фотоштатив. 94. Оборонна споруда для прикриття артилерійської зброї та її обслуги. 95. Дохід з капіталу, землі або майна, що його власники одержують регулярно, не займаючись підприємницькою діяльністю. 97. Російське телебачення і радіо. 98. Муніципалітет у Франції, у регіоні Верхня Нормандія, департамент Ер. 100. Клітка на чомусь. 101. Місто, де розташований головний судовий орган ООН, до юрисдикції якого входять усі питання, що передаються йому державами, і всі питання, передбачені Статутом ООН і чинними договорами і конвенціями. 102. Лапландець.

**ЗА ВЕРТИКАЛЛЮ:**

1. Частина, відділена, відбита, вирізана і т. ін. від чогось; кусок. 2. Офіційно встановлений розмір

оплати, оподаткування чогось. 3. Народний поет-імпровізатор і співець у казахів, киргизів та деяких інших середньоазійських народів. 4. Здивування, здогад. 6. Кораловий острів кільцеподібної форми. 7. Назва першого дня тижня (після неділі). 8. Дерево, що має лапате листя з гострими кінцями й глибокими вирізами. 9. Назва літер кирилиці, що служили для позначення давніх слов'янських носових голосних звуків. 10. Державно-територіальна одиниця у складі деяких федеративних держав, яка користується тим або іншим ступенем самоврядування. 11. Колонія морських безхребетних тварин кнідарій. 12. Поширений на сході міцний спиртний напій. 14. Розкотисті звуки, що зливаються в монотонне звучання. 16. Спортсмен, який займається силовими вправами. 21. Опале відмерле листя. 24. Статуя, що зображує бога. 26. У східних країнах — титул монарха. 27. Положення в шаховій партії, за якого король, що перебуває під ударом фігури супротивника, не може захиститися, і партія вважається програною. 28. Приміщення для продажу або зберігання зерна та борошна. 29. Двадцять четверта літера грузинської абетки. 30. Навігаційний прилад для вимірювання швидкості руху судна або пройденого ним шляху. 31. Велике приміщення для багатолюдних зборів. 32. 12 місяців. 33. Той, хто сопе, має звичку сопіти (розм.). 35. Невеликий хижий птах ряду горобцеподібних із загнутим дзьобом і кігтями. 38. Суб'єкт Російської Федерації, який входить до складу Приволзького федерального округу. 40. Прилад для вимірювання глибини моря, річки тощо з борта судна. 42. Римський імператор (79 — 81 рр.) з династії Флавіїв. 45. Невелика хижка тварина родини куницевих, що дає цінне хутро від темно-коричневого до сріблясто-блакитного кольору. 46. ... Гриневичева (українська письменниця). 47. Те саме, що метрополітен. 48. Спортивна гра з м'ячем овальної форми. 51. Прісноводна риба родини коропових із товстим слизьким тілом. 52. Житель Київської Русі. 53. Естрадний ансамбль, що поєднує виконання музики і спів. 54. Сімнадцята літера грузинської абетки. 58. Гарбуз. 59. Ударно-спусковий механізм. 61. Амплі-

**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. Veriovka



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## 20 DAYS IN MARIUPOL

A film by MSTYSLAV CHERNOV

WORLD PREMIERE – SUNDANCE FILM FESTIVAL 2023 Audience Award Winner – World Cinema Documentary



20 DAYS IN MARIUPOL is a PBS Distribution release, runs 94 minutes, is in Ukrainian, Russian and English, and is not yet rated.

An AP team of Ukrainian journalists trapped in the besieged city of Mariupol struggle to continue their work documenting atrocities of the Russian invasion. As the only international reporters who remain in the city, they capture what later become defining images of the war: dying children, mass graves, the bombing of a maternity hospital, and more.

After nearly a decade covering international conflicts, including the Russia-Ukraine war, for The Associated Press, 20 DAYS IN MARIUPOL is Mstyslav Chernov's first feature film. The film draws on Chernov's daily news dispatches and personal footage of his own country at war. It offers a vivid, harrowing account of civilians caught in the siege, as well as a window into what it's like to report from a conflict zone, and the impact of such journalism around the globe.

Mstyslav Chernov is a Ukrainian war correspondent, filmmaker, photographer, and novelist known for his coverage of the Ukrainian revolution, the Russian invasion in Ukraine, the war in Iraq, Syria, and Nagorno-Karabakh, and Afghanistan under Taliban rule after the U.S. withdrawal, as well as for his art installations and exhibitions.

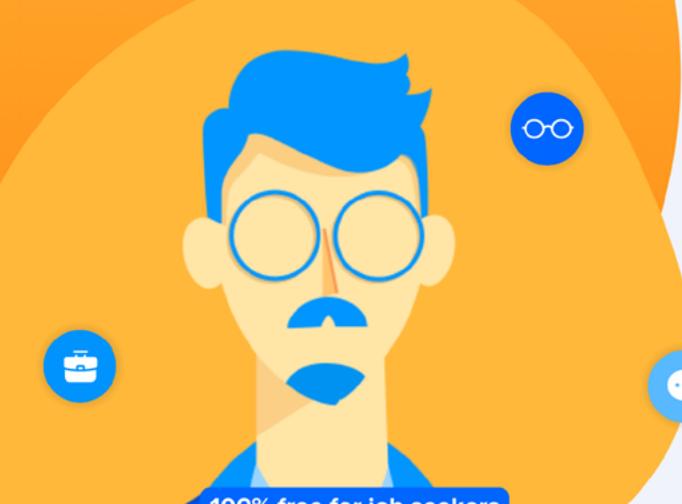
To request a screener, please email: [publicity@larsenassc.com](mailto:publicity@larsenassc.com)

тудно-частотна характеристика. 62. Невисока шафа з висувними шухлядами, де зберігають білизну тощо. 65. Стала величина в низці тих, які змінюються. 69. Двадцять друга буква грузинської абетки. 70. Одне з п'яти почуттів, органом якого є око. 71. Грошова одиниця Таїланду, що дорівнює 100 сантангів. 72. Корейське авто. 74. Муниципалітет у Франції, у регіоні Пуату-Шарант, департамент Шаранта. 75. У міфології деяких західноєвропейських народів —

істота жіночої статі (звичайно доброзичлива), здатна творити чудеса. 76. Несподіване почуття страху. 77. Велика хижа морська риба ряду акулподібних із плоским тілом і вузьким хвостом. 79. Шкільний учнівський стіл із похилою верхньою дошкою, з'єднаний у нижній частині з лавою. 80. Нагромадження чого-небудь у великій кількості. 81. Пристрій у вагона, паровоза, автомобіля та ін. для послаблення сили удару, поштової. 84. Липкий пахучий сік,

що виділяється хвойними і деякими іншими рослинами. 85. Невелике місто на півдні Австрії. 86. Уявний образ кого-, чого-небудь, що ввижається комусь. 87. У Київській Русі — штраф за вбивство вільної людини. 88. Заняття купівлею і продажем. 90. Міжнародна ріка в Центральній Європі. 91. Найменша кількість хімічного елемента, що складається з ядра й електронів. 96. Пістолет Токарева. 99. Операційна система.

**ВІДПОВІДІ ДО КРОСВОРДІ**  
За горизонталлю:  
1. Штаб, 5. Ланки, 9. Юшка, 13. Макара, 15. Тол, 16. Астор, 17. Ари, 18. Опонент, 19. Ара, 20. Тинюк, 22. Лен, 23. Літак, 25. Піш.  
27. Мед, 29. Катализатор, 34. Асад, 36. Халат, 37. Літо, 39. Бор, 41. Тол, 43. Кап, 44. Ар, 45. Нок, 47. Мир, 49. Ту, 50. Золотар, 53. Фінал, 77. Сіно, 78. Наньрестянка, 82. Ная, 83. Каа, 85. Гумор, 87. Бат, 89. Бтома, 92. Уфа, 93. Тринора, 94. Дот, 95. Рента, 97. Ртр, 98. Лорпо, 100. Крат, 101. Гага, 102. Саам.  
За вертикаллю:  
1. Штат, 2. Тариф, 3. Акин, 4. Ва, 6. Атол, 7. Понеділок, 8. Клен, 9. Юс, 10. Штат, 11. Корал, 12. Арак, 14. Фокіт, 16. Атлет, 21. Опал, 24. Ідол, 26. Шах, 27. Мар, 28. Лабаз, 29. Кар, 30. Лар, 31. Зал, 32. Пік, 33. Солун, 35. Сорокопуд, 38. Татарстан, 40. Лот, 42. Тип, 45. Норка, 46. Катра, 47. Метро, 48. Реті, 51. Лин, 52. Рус, 53. Біа, 54. Рае, 58. Кабак, 59. Усм, 61. Ачх, 62. Комод, 65. Константа, 69. Кан, 70. Зір, 71. Бат, 72. Кіа, 74. Мано, 75. Фей, 76. Ляк, 77. Скат, 79. Папра, 80. Навап, 81. Буфер, 84. Смола, 85. Гурк, 86. Мана, 87. Бира, 88. Топр, 90. Одра, 91. Атом, 96. Тт, 99. Ос.





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- ✔ Спілкуйся безпосередньо з рекрутерами

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# INDEPENDENCE IS WASHED IN BLOOD

*Myroslav Hrekh*

Almost all nations and peoples have gained their independence, lost it, and regained it in armed clashes and wars. So we, Ukrainians, fought for it for centuries, and lost more than we gained, but in the memory of the people, one might say, in their "genotypic code," this desire for freedom and independence remained, despite the difficult times of foreign occupation or subjugation. The occupiers could not erase this by any kind of harassment, abuse, or torture. And when, in 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, we received it without blood, as a gift, everyone was very happy. But it was not to be. The enemy did not sleep, and with the envious eyes of Putin's morder, he watched us, sharpened his teeth, and went mad when he saw the desire of Ukrainians to join the community of democratic Europe and the concrete actions of the Ukrainian state to achieve this. Starting in 2014, the moscovites launched an armed aggression against us, which escalated into a full-scale war on February 22, 2022.

To continue my article, I want to turn a little bit to history. It is the history of Ukraine that is usually counted from the creation of Kyivan Rus in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After the decline of this state formation and its disintegration into small principalities in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Cossack-Hetman state was formed, which lasted until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was destroyed by the Russian Tsarina Catherine. After that, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was no independent Ukrainian state.

After the 1917 revolution, Ukraine saw the rise of a national movement, which culminated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Universal of the Central Rada on November 20, 1917, which declared the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR). This Universal declared the freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, strikes, and the abolition of the death penalty, etc.

After the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the western regions of Ukraine, which included: Eastern Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) was formed on October 19, 1918, with its capital in Lviv. On January 22, 1919, the ZUNR merged with the UPR and became known as the Western Oblast of the Ukrainian People's Republic (ZOUNR). But it did



*Procession on Khreshchatyk in honor of Independence Day on July 16, 1991  
Photo: Oleksandr Klymenko*

not last long, until July 18, 1919, after which it was annexed by Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

After the Ukrainian government refused to accept the ultimatum of the Bolshevik Council of People's Commissars, which demanded that they be allowed to bring their troops into Ukraine and not to allow white officers and Cossacks to cross the Don, the Ukrainian-Bolshevik war began. The Bolsheviks' military successes forced the UPR leadership to call on Germany for help. In mid-February 18, German and Ukrainian troops began an offensive on the territory captured by the Bolsheviks. By April, all of Ukraine was liberated from Bolshevik occupation. However, in fact, it was under German occupation. Germany brought its protege to power by armed force. This was followed by a civil war and a series of interventions, which ended in March 19 in Kyiv, when the so-called "All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets" adopted the constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On December 28, 1920, the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR signed a workers' and peasants' union treaty on military and economic cooperation, which cemented the dependence of the Ukrainian SSR on the RSFSR. The next chance for an independent Ukrainian state came only at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century after the collapse of the USSR.

On August 24, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed

Ukraine an independent democratic state and put the act of proclaiming Ukraine's independence to an all-Ukrainian referendum for confirmation. Since then, this date has been considered Independence Day, an all-Ukrainian holiday. This year we will celebrate it for the 32<sup>nd</sup> time. Ukraine has been living as an independent sovereign state for 32 years. All honest and decent people, all people of goodwill in the world hope and believe that it will continue to live in this status.

Since the beginning of its independence, Ukraine has declared that it is a peace-loving, neutral state, opposed to any aggression, any war. At that time, it had a strong army and a significant arsenal of nuclear weapons. Who could have even imagined that Russia, which claimed to be a good neighbor, a fraternal nation, would launch an aggression against Ukraine, would start a bloody war in the center of Europe.

Despite the violation of its territorial integrity by its aggressive neighbor in early 2014, nuclear blackmail, occupation of the Crimean peninsula, terror of further war unleashed by it on the territory of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine, and last year's full-scale war, Ukraine remained faithful to democratic values.

In December 1994, Ukraine's non-nuclear status was confirmed, and it gave up nuclear weapons in exchange for guarantees of preserving its territories – territorial integrity and sover-

eighty under the Budapest Memorandum. In my opinion, and in the opinion of many other journalists, signing this memorandum was a big, irreparable political and military mistake of the Ukrainian government of the time. At that time, the presidents of Ukraine were Leonid Kravchuk and then, after the election, Leonid Kuchma, who signed the memorandum. In order not to argue about this for a long time, I would like to quote the text of this memorandum. (Let the reader forgive me, it will not take much time and space):

Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, welcoming Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear-weapon state, taking into account Ukraine's commitment to remove all nuclear weapons from its territory within the established time frame, noting the changes in the global security environment, including the end of the Cold War, which have created the conditions for deep reductions in nuclear forces, reaffirm the following:

1. The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America reaffirm to Ukraine their commitment, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to respect the independence, sovereignty and existing borders of Ukraine.

2. The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America reaffirm their commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

3. The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America reaffirm to Ukraine their commitment, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion aimed at subordinating to their own interests the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty to advantages of any kind.

4. The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America reaffirm their commitment to seek immediate action by the UN Security Council to assist Ukraine as a non-nuclear-weapon state party

to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons if Ukraine is the target of a threat of aggression with the use of nuclear weapons.

5. The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America reaffirm with respect to Ukraine their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons except in the event of an attack against them, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces or their allies by such a State acting in concert with a nuclear-weapon State or a related alliance.

6. Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America will consult in the event of a situation that raises a question regarding these obligations.

This Memorandum will apply from the date of signature. Signed in four counterparts, equally authentic in the English, Russian and Ukrainian languages.

- For Ukraine: (Signed by Leonid Kuchma)

- For the Russian Federation: (Signed Boris Yeltsin)

- For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: (Signed John Major)

-For the United States of America: (Signed Bill Clinton)

*Budapest, December 5, 1994.*

All the provisions of this memorandum were violated by one of its signatories, the Russian Federation. A number of questions arise: can the civilized world trust Russia after this? Is its signature worth the paper on which it was signed? Is this memorandum a responsible document at all? Does it provide for serious and irreversible punishment for the violator? We read paragraph 6 and ask what the signatories will do when "a situation arises that relates to the issue of these obligations" (and isn't the violation of the previous paragraphs and Russia's real aggression a "situation that has arisen")? They will consult. That's all.

The conclusion is that we cannot rely on any international documents that are not supported by security and preventive measures and actions. You cannot trust anyone. Each side has its own national interests, which it adheres to first and foremost. We must rely only on ourselves, on our strength and capabilities. Would the Muscovites dare to attack us if we had nuclear weapons? Answer: No. Could we safe-

ly maintain and service these weapons? Did we have all the necessary resources for this? A rhetorical question. If not, did we try to ask the same signatories of the Budapest Memorandum or other friendly states for help? And most importantly, did we have the desire to do so? Probably not. Why waste energy and resources for this, it is better to give it away, get rid of it, and the problem is off our shoulders. And then, even if the grass doesn't grow, it will somehow. This is the main political myopia, if not outright duplicity, of our then leaders.

I must say that in a sense we were unlucky with them in terms of strengthening our defense capabilities. Starting with Kuchma, this issue was not prioritized, weapons were sold off, and the defense industry worked mainly for export. And what did Mr. Yushchenko do in this regard, after such a popular upsurge of the Orange Revolution: he fought an internecine war with Tymoshenko, signed "universal agreements" with Yanukovich, instead of forcing the movement to the European Union and NATO. Moskal did not have such power then and was afraid to attack Ukraine. President Yanukovich is generally disgusting to think about: a coward, a traitor, a criminal who brought the war to our land. And President Poroshenko allowed Girkin and his gang to enter Donetsk, thus strengthening the rebellion there, held military parades on Khreshchatyk when these weapons were needed at the front, where our soldiers were being massacred near Ilovaisk and Debaltseve, stuffed his pockets when the whole society was getting poorer and he was growing his wealth, ruined the defense industry by appointing the corrupt Svinarenko as its head. Where is Svinarenko now? In the Maldives, in Monaco? And after him, Zelensky became president. I understand – he was young, inexperienced, wanted peace, wanted to look Putin in the eye. Well, he did, and so what, but it was necessary to strengthen the defensive borders in the Kherson region with the Crimea, to build one, two, or three defensive lines there instead of crossings, as the Muscovites have done in the occupied territories, because they have seized the south of the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions like a parade. Is there a fault in this, an oversight by Zelenskyy and the then SBU leadership? Of course there is. It's good that he has now realized what Putin is, what Russia is, how to be strong, how to strengthen the armed forces, and it's good that

at least now it has happened and will be taken into account for the future, because as Volodymyr Parasyuk said in an interview with Natalia Moseychuk: "If Poroshenko were president of Ukraine now, it would probably no longer exist." Some may object to me, it's easy to criticize, it's not all that bad, the country has been undergoing reforms. But what the hell are reforms, what are they for, when as a result, people's lives have not improved and

the defense capability has been reduced.

The point of this is that the reader may notice that all these statements are not related to our topic of independence and sovereignty. Yes, they do, because every move, every action of our leaders affects the life of society, the most vulnerable part of which is the army, which ensures its defense, security, independence and sovereignty.

The Ukrainian people believe that

victory will be ours, that our armed forces will drive the enemy out of Ukraine, that having survived the horrors of war, the Ukrainian state will become even stronger, more developed, and richer, and that we will celebrate Ukraine's Independence Day more than once.

Happy holiday to you! Glory to Ukraine!



## ПРОЙДУТЬ ДОЩ І ПЛАЧ

Великі краплі дощу  
змивають попіл з руїни.  
Великі сльози плачу  
змивають кров з лиця України.  
Вона світу кричить,  
ячить на хресті –  
Коли вже скінчаться ці торттури,  
коли вже здохнуть ті москалі  
на проклятих кремлівських  
мурах?  
Опришок карпатський,  
запорізький козак  
за Вітчизну стали стіною,  
освятили мечі, забили в набат

і пішли до священного бою.  
Перемога прийде,  
як страшний ураган,  
і змете  
всю рашистську погань.  
Полегшено світ і Україна здохне –  
бо спиниться дощ, плач і мука  
мине,  
і світанок  
до сонця покаже дорогу.

## І РОЗКВІТНЕ УКРАЇНА

На доріг перехресті  
що в майбутнє летіли,  
прийшла Незалежність  
до України.  
Сотні років  
марили нею,  
втрачали спокій,  
розставались з душею  
і тілом,  
стаючи до бою,  
в тюрмах терпіли  
від пекучого болю,  
але знали,  
жертви їх не даремні-

ще прийде Воля  
на батьківську землю.  
І прийшла,  
але не надовго-  
московська орда  
залила її кров'ю,  
побила міста,  
перерила в руїни,  
заголосила вдовою  
моя Україна,  
і сльози дітей  
попилися рікою...  
Та настане розплата,  
і буде страшною,  
бо вміє в руках  
тримати ми зброю,  
і московського ката  
відшукаємо всюди.  
Ніщо не пробачим!  
Ніщо не забудем!  
Ще прийде той час,  
коли стихнуть гармати,  
коли люди у нас  
почнуть усміхатись,  
коли зазвучать  
пісні солов'їні,  
і розквітне мов сад  
моя Україна.

*Мирослав Грех*



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## EVENTS 2023

## JULY

Нд/Su	Пн/Mo	Вт/Tu	Ср/We	Чт/Th	Пт/Fr	Сб/Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

## 13 СЕРП/AUG UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY PICNIC AND FEST (BAY AREA)

**Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, Ukrainian School of San Francisco / Українська Школа Сан-Франциско and St. Michaels Ukrainian Orthodox Church**

**Where:** Sunnyvale Baylands Park  
**When:** Sunday, 11:00 AM – 5:30 PM  
The Biggest Ukrainian Picnic in the Bay Area!

- Live Ukrainian Music, Ukrainian Food, Kids & Family Fun & Best Raffle in the Bay.

Glory to Ukraine!

Join Us for the 10th Independence Day Picnic! The Biggest Ukrainian Picnic in the Bay Area! We'll be supporting our local refugee effort and local organizations. Children 0 to 12 are free but must be registered with a ticket to participate in the Kids Fest area!

- Live Ukrainian Music
- Entertainment for Kids & Family: Bouncy houses, Pinata, Face Painting, Soccer and Volleyball
- Traditional Ukrainian cuisine: Kovbasa, Varenyky and many other

Ukrainian foods.

- Plenty of Parking

Exceptional Raffle sponsored by St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church with a 5 night Stay in Lake Tahoe and much, much more.

We're honored to kick off Independence Day Festivities on the 32nd Year Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine!

**Tickets start at Free - \$35**  
<https://www.facebook.com/events/147770944934504/>

## 19 СЕРП/AUG UKRAINIAN FILM NIGHT - "BLINDFOLD"/ "ІЗ ЗАВ'ЯЗАНИМИ ОЧИМА"

**Anna Shvartsur, Veronika Shoba and Inna Pavlova**

**Where:** The Polish Club Inc., 3040 22nd Street at Shotwell, San Francisco, CA 94110

**When:** Saturday, 5 PM  
Join us on August 19th for our 4th Ukrainian Film Night Fundraiser at The Polish Club in San Francisco!  
5:00 pm - doors open, enjoy food/drinks/art/socialize  
6:00 pm - film begins  
We will be screening:  
"Blindfold"/ "Із Зав'язаними Очіма" (2020) with English subtitles, 1 hr 45 min

Director: Taras Dron  
Winner of the 1-2 Competition at the Warsaw International Film Festival in 2020

Everyone is welcome! It will be a wonderful opportunity to enjoy Ukrainian cinema and get together in the community for a good cause.

We recommend a donation of **\$15-20** for admission (cash/Venmo/PayPal). Unlimited popcorn included! Donations will be split amongst the organizations Волонтерський Рух (Volunteer Movement) and Army

SOS, which are both Ukrainian-based organizations, established in 2014.  
<https://www.facebook.com/events/185748264488338/>

## 23 СЕРП/AUG MISSION PEAK HIKE – TO CELEBRATE INDEPENDENCE DAY OF UKRAINE

**UNWLA Northern California, Branch 107**

**Where:** Mission Peak, Fremont, CA  
**When:** Wednesday, 5:30 PM

Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 107 is inviting you to celebrate Independence Day of Ukraine on the top of the Mission Peak.  
<https://www.facebook.com/events/6501812463174516/>

## 24 СЕРП/AUG ДЕНЬ НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ УКРАЇНИ

## 24 СЕРП/AUG ARTEM PIVOVAROV – LIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO

**ARTEM PIVOVAROV, FishCanFly**

**Where:** 3140 Mission St, San Francisco, CA 94110

**When:** Thursday, 9 PM

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На концертах ви почуєте улюблені хіти, серед яких "Дежавю", "Міраж", "Рандеву" та "Думи". Приходьте та відчуйте шалену українську енергетику!

Зібрані кошти підуть на підтримку ЗСУ.

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

## 26 СЕРП/AUG UKRAINIAN ART IN THE PARK

**Steppe - Ukrainian Folk Dance & Foodways and Capitola Art and Cultural Commission**

**Where:** Esplanade Park, Capitola, CA

**When:** Saturday, 12 PM – 6 PM  
Join us for this FREE event to celebrate Ukraine's vast culture and 32<sup>nd</sup> year of independence!

We will have over 10 Ukrainian artists and vendors, along with a 30-minute stage performance of Ukrainian dancing and music. You're not going to want to miss this.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/654407163236081/>

## 14 ЖОВТ/OCT ANTYTLA. NORTH- AMERICAN TOUR 2023



## STAND WITH UKRAINE STAND WITH UCU STUDENTS

Friends of UCU and Ukrainian Catholic University Foundation cordially invite you to a Banquet in San Francisco to benefit Ukrainian Catholic University.

Sunday, October 22, 2023 | 4:00 P.M. PDT

McLaren Conference Center, University of San Francisco



Please join us for our signature West Coast event featuring esteemed speakers, community leaders and special musical guests, and to enjoy the fellowship of friends committed to supporting UCU in these difficult and challenging times. Mark your calendars now!

Ticket information coming soon. For questions and to learn about sponsorship opportunities, please contact Liubov Haluha, National Event Coordinator at 415.314.1845, or at [lhaluha@ucufoundation.org](mailto:lhaluha@ucufoundation.org).

UCUFOUNDATION.ORG

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