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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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## Zelenskyy arrives for U.K. European summit, urges unity after Orban 'peace mission'



Office of the President of Ukraine

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy (front row, center) and other European leaders stand for a group photo during the European Political Community (EPC) summit at Blenheim Palace, the birthplace of Britain's World War II leader Winston Churchill, on July 18.

RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has rejected talk of making a deal with Russia without Kyiv's approval after Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban met with Russian President Vladimir Putin as Ukraine's embattled troops continue to suffer from inadequate defenses in the face of a Russian onslaught in the east.

Mr. Zelenskyy arrived on July 18 in central England for the European Political

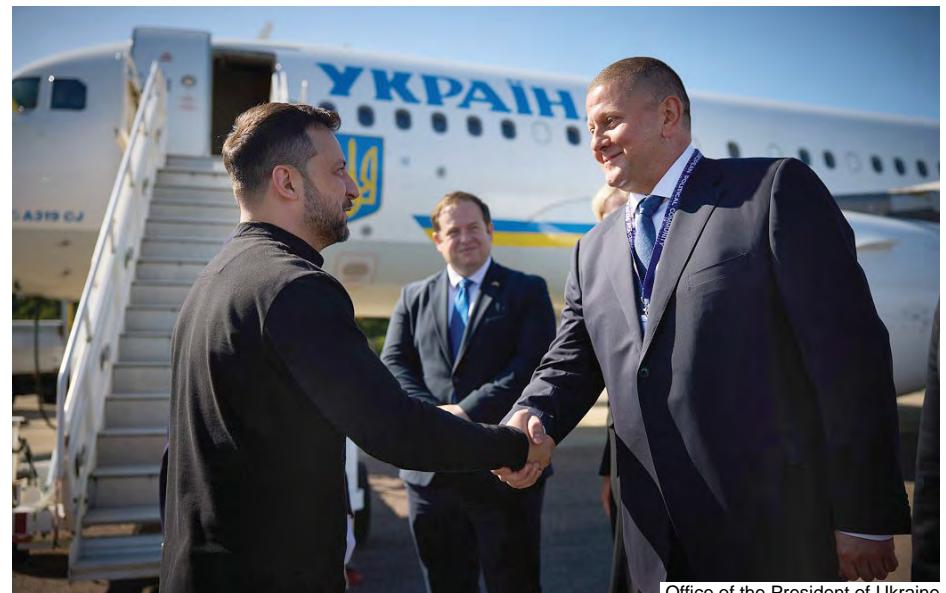
Community (EPC) summit at Blenheim Palace, the birthplace of Britain's World War II leader Winston Churchill.

The Ukrainian leader wasted little time calling on those in attendance "to maintain unity in Europe because always this unity leads to strong decisions."

Mr. Zelenskyy's comments come after Mr. Orban – who was also at the summit – embarked on what he called a "peace mis-

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## Zelenskyy insists on Russia attending second peace summit ahead of U.S. presidential election



Office of the President of Ukraine

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is greeted by Ukrainian Ambassador to the United Kingdom Valeriy Zaluzhnyi during a working visit on July 18.

by Mark Raczkiewycz

CHICAGO – Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy voiced his desire to see a Russian delegation attend the next peace summit that is being planned before the November 5 U.S. presidential election to end the Russo-Ukrainian war that is in its 10th year.

It will consist of three components, and meetings with ministers and national security advisers will take place in three countries, Mr. Zelenskyy said at a news conference in Kyiv on July 15.

The first meeting is to take place in Qatar and focus on energy security, and it is expected to take place later this month or in early August. It will be followed by a meeting in Turkey on freedom of maritime navigation. Canada would host the third meeting regarding the exchange of more prisoners and the return of Ukrainian children taken to Russia.

"After these three [discussion] points, if they work, a full plan for their implementation will be ready, and I set the task that in

(Continued on page 11)

## Ukraine and Czech Republic ink bilateral security agreement amid growing defense collaboration

by Roman Tymotsko

LVIV – Ukraine and the Czech Republic signed a bilateral security agreement on July 18, marking the 24th pact under the Group of Seven's (G-7) Vilnius Declaration on security guarantees for Ukraine.

The deal was announced by the Office of the President of Ukraine and was signed by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala on the sidelines of the European Political Community Summit in the United Kingdom.

The comprehensive agreement emphasizes enhanced military-technical cooperation, joint ammunition production and reconstruction efforts, further solidifying the Czech Republic's commitment to Ukraine's defense and recovery amid Russia's ongoing full-scale war on Ukraine.

A significant part of the agreement is devoted to enhanced cooperation in the



Office of the President of Ukraine

Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala (left) and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy are seen during the signing a bilateral security agreement on the sidelines of the European Political Community Summit in the United Kingdom on July 18.

military-technical sphere, primarily in the areas of small and large caliber ammunition, small arms and light weapons production, as well as UAVs [unmanned aerial vehicles], electronic warfare and heavy equipment," the Office of the President of Ukraine said in its statement.

The Czech Republic plans to continue to help Ukraine procure 155 mm and 122 mm artillery shells with the support of partner countries. In addition, the agreement provides for strengthening ammunition production facilities in both countries and establishing other joint ventures.

A special feature of cooperation in the non-military sphere is the Czech Republic's partnership with Dnipro and Dnipro region for recovery, reconstruction and sustainable development. The Czech Republic also intends to open a diplomatic mission in Dnipro to strengthen cooperation and

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Russia struggles to counter upgrade of NATO-Ukraine compact

by Pavel K. Baev  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

The Washington Summit celebrating the 75th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was destined to be among the high marks in the 2024 political calendar. Moscow sought to downplay the importance of this event and portray it as a major escalation of the threat to global security. Such a heavy spin on two contradictory messages is a typical pattern of Russian propaganda. While some commentators compare NATO with the mighty dinosaurs of the past, doomed to extinction by changes in the political climate, others describe it as a monster that needs to be confronted and slain (RIAC; *Izvestiya*, July 11). Other Kremlin propagandists present the summit's proceedings as an orchestrated show of unity, which is eroding and cracking (*Kommersant*, July 10). Only scant mentions were given to the Ukraine Compact, signed by 23 states and the European Union, which effectively canceled the Kremlin's design for "neutral" Ukraine (RBC, July 12). The signing of this compact demonstrates that Western states are behind Ukraine in the war and will continue to provide aid, even if it is not all that Kyiv hopes for, showing Russia that its allies in the West continue to dwindle.

Besides declaring Ukraine's "irreversible" path to NATO, the summit has yielded many practical decisions on building up Western military capabilities, and Moscow has been hard-pressed to find responses. Primary emphasis has been on sustaining the tempo of several offensive operations in Ukraine to maintain the strategic initiative (Republic.ru, July 10). This urge to demonstrate Russia's dominance results in heavy casualties, which have reached the highest mark since the start of the war (Mediazona, July 5; see Eurasia Daily Monitor, July 10; The Moscow Times, July 12). Russian forces have been wasting more soldiers as fresh cannon fodder and at a rate faster than the increasingly expensive recruitment. Public support for continuing the offensives has registered a new low, while the preference for starting peace talks has reached a high of 58 percent (Levada.ru, July 4; Re: Russia; see Eurasia Daily Monitor, July 10).

The sociology of how Moscow's war against Ukraine is hurting ordinary people may not be particularly convincing for Western policymakers. The Russian missile strike that hit the children's hospital in Kyiv on July 8, however, certainly made an impression (Meduza, July 10). While it seems that the famous Ohmatdyt Children's

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# Russian casualties in Ukraine continue to rise

by Valery Dzutsati  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

As Russian casualties in Moscow's war against Ukraine reach staggering heights, the Kremlin and wider Russian society are increasingly feeling the pain of war (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, July 10). The Ukrainian government estimates Russian losses, including the wounded, at nearly 550,000 individuals since the start of Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022 (Minfin, July 5). As the number of casualties mount and the Kremlin continues to recruit more Russians to throw into the "meat grinder" in Ukraine, the Russian population may become fed up with the Kremlin's war and begin to fight back, exacerbating what is already a tense domestic environment (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 27, December 7, 11, 2023, January 23, February 8, April 16, 18).

Independent Russian news outlets Mediazona and Meduza, in collaboration with the Russian service of BBC News, recently investigated Russian losses in greater detail using various methodologies (Mediazona, July 5). Researchers examined the difference between the normal and excessive number of new cases in the publicly available National Register of Inheritance to estimate Russian losses. According to the authors, as of the beginning of this summer, approximately 120,000 people in the Russian military have died since the start of the war. Moreover, the rate of losses appears to be rising and currently amounts to a daily average of about 200-250. In examining social media posts, media publications and government announcements, the researchers established the names of nearly 57,000 individuals who have died in Ukraine. The type of troops, recruitment method, age, date of demise and regional affiliations are also

available (Meduza, July 5). This data is incomplete but still provides valuable insights (For analysis on Russian combat losses in Ukraine, deduced from Rosstat's 'Unassigned Deaths' category, see Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 19, 2023.)

Exploring the excessive mortality rates, another team of investigators for Russian independent news outlet Vazhnye Istorii (Important Stories) put the number of deaths in the Russian military at 26,000 in 2022 and 45,000 in 2023. The authors primarily focused on ages from 20 to 49 among Russian men who comprise most Russian forces. Their estimates are based on Moscow's official yearly census data. The investigators examined the difference between the normally expected and actual mortality rates among men of certain ages to arrive at their conclusions. Demographers say that these estimates are a minimum number. For example, deaths can be officially registered not only at the place where the person resided but also at the place where the person died (i.e., in the occupied territories of Ukraine). Russian state statistics service Rosstat does not publish mortality data in the Russia-occupied regions of Ukraine, meaning this data may be missing from the analysis. Additionally, the missing migrants, inmates and Ukrainian citizens recruited into the Russian army may not be accounted for in this data (Vazhnye Istorii, June 27).

Experts previously pointed out that the Russian military tends to recruit manpower from predominantly non-Russian and peripheral Russian regions for the war in Ukraine (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, March 1, July 13, October 4, 2022, April 9, 16, 30). By not drawing and losing recruits from Moscow and other large cities in central Russia, the Kremlin is trying to avoid wide-

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## NEWSBRIEFS

## Russia, Ukraine conduct prisoner swap

Russia and Ukraine said they have completed another prisoner swap, with the latest exchange involving 190 prisoners of war mediated by the United Arab Emirates. Russia's Defense Ministry said in a post on Telegram on July 17 that each side traded 95 people in the deal. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy also confirmed the prisoner swap on Telegram. "The released [Russian] servicemen will be delivered to Moscow by military transport aircraft of the Russian Aerospace Forces for treatment and rehabilitation in medical institutions of the Russian Ministry of Defense," the post said. Mr. Zelenskyy thanked the U.A.E. for its help in facilitating the exchange, one of several between Moscow and Kyiv in recent months. "I am thankful to our team involved in prisoners' exchange and the United Arab Emirates for facilitating the release," Mr. Zelenskyy wrote. "No matter how difficult it is, we are looking for everyone who may be in captivity. We must return everyone." Mr. Zelenskyy added that those exchanged were soldiers of Ukraine's armed forces, servicemen of the National Guard and border guards. This marks the fifth time this year that the United Arab Emirates facilitated a prisoner swap, beginning on January 3 with the return of 230 Ukrainian nationals to Kyiv and 248 Russians freed by Ukraine. On February 8, another exchange was conducted under a "100-for-100" formula with the United Arab Emirates involved again. Last month, the Persian Gulf nation facilitated a prisoner exchange in which 90 prisoners from each side were returned to Ukraine and Russia. Russian Ombudswoman Tatyana Moskalkova said on July 17 that representatives of her office and their Ukrainian counterparts were present during the exchange and discussed "joint humanitarian efforts, including ones related to the reunification of families." Ukrainian Ombudsman Dmytro Lubinets said earlier that similar talks between representatives of his and Ms. Moskalkova's offices were held at an exchange last month. Kyiv has accused Moscow of having forcibly deported thousands of Ukrainian children from territories seized by occupying Russian armed forces since Moscow started its

ongoing invasion in February 2022. Moscow insists the Ukrainian children were moved for their own protection. Meanwhile, several of the children have been returned to Ukraine in recent months. In March of last year, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Russian President Vladimir Putin and Children's Rights Commissioner Maria Lvova-Belova for their role in the forced deportation of Ukrainian children to Russia, which is considered a war crime under international legislation. Several children have been returned to Ukraine in recent months. (RFE/RL, with reporting by TASS and Interfax)

## Von der Leyen reelected to a second term

The European Parliament on July 18 reelected Ursula von der Leyen to a second five-year term as president of the European Union's executive commission. "5 more years. I can't begin to express how grateful I am for the trust of all MEPs that voted for me," she said in a post on X after winning the vote with a comfortable majority. Ms. von der Leyen's win is seen as ensuring continuity in major policy areas for the 27-nation bloc, including the war in Ukraine, climate change and migration. (RFE/RL)

## New head of NATO's representation in Ukraine

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg announced on July 17 that Patrick Turner has been appointed to lead the NATO Representation in Ukraine (NRU). Mr. Stoltenberg outlined the NRU and its position for a civilian senior representative at the NATO summit last week in Washington. Mr. Stoltenberg said in a NATO news release that Mr. Turner is a "committed public servant" with a "strong track record of delivering results." A strong supporter of Ukraine, Mr. Turner served in the British Defense Ministry before becoming NATO assistant secretary-general for defense policy and planning from 2018 to 2022. In a recent interview with RFE/RL, Mr. Turner said that support for Ukraine has been "pretty unified and much stronger" than Russian President Vladimir Putin would ever have expected. "And I count on that

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Walter Honcharyk, administrator  
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Subscription Department

(973) 292-9800, ext. 3040  
fax: (973) 644-9510  
e-mail: [advertising@ukrweekly.com](mailto:advertising@ukrweekly.com)

(973) 292-9800, ext. 3040  
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# Former NATO assistant secretary-general: We shouldn't be 'carving up somebody else's country'

by Vazha Tavberidze  
RFE/RL

At a summit in Washington on July 9-11, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) announced a major aid package to support Ukraine's fight against Russia's full-scale invasion and said that Kyiv was on an "irreversible path" to membership.

That membership, however, is still likely a long way off. While the alliance has bolstered Ukraine's defenses, the United States, Germany and other member states have indicated that Ukraine will not be offered membership as long as the country is at war.

A native Briton with a background working for the Ministry of Defense, Patrick Turner served as NATO assistant secretary-general from 2018 until 2022. On July 17, it was announced that he had been appointed to lead the NATO Representation in Ukraine (NRU). NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg outlined the NRU and its position for a civilian senior representative at the NATO summit last week in Washington.

In an interview with RFE/RL's Georgian Service, Mr. Turner discusses Ukraine's bid to join NATO, the alliance's recent summit and the claim of Donald Trump, the former U.S. president and Republican presidential nominee, that he could end the Ukraine war in 24 hours.

**RFE/RL:** I wanted to ask about the U.S. political climate at the moment and all the recent developments that have been happening [with the U.S. presidential election race and questions about U.S. President Joe Biden's fitness for another term.] All of that cast a rather large shadow over the entire proceedings at the NATO summit in Washington. How much of a headache is that for the rest of the alliance? How could this affect the eventual outcome for Ukraine?

**Mr. Turner:** I'd say it's true that the American political debate, or crisis – however you might term it – tactically was a bit of a distraction during the summit. But it didn't affect the actual outcomes of the summit. ... Europe, the rest of the world, are anyway waiting with more than considerable interest for what the outcome of the election in November is going to be. ... I'd say on the NATO front, there is recent NATO polling evidence which shows strong support for NATO across the alliance and including in the U.S.

There continues to be strong support for NATO in Congress on both sides of the political aisle. There was strong support, thinking of Ukraine, actually from both sides of the political aisle when there was eventually a vote on the supplemental funding. So, I am rather confident, and I certainly have been hearing my old boss, Jens Stoltenberg, the secretary-general, being confident that, irrespective of the outcome of the U.S. election, there will be good support for NATO.

[Mr. Stoltenberg] said that, if we're thinking what would happen in the case of a second Trump presidency, he said in the case of the first Trump presidency – and I was there during that time – the focus was especially on defense spending. And [then] President Trump said – and in my view, he was right to say – it is not reasonable to expect American taxpayers to care more about defending Europe than European taxpayers.

So, if there are a large number of allies who are not meeting their commitments and their obligations, then that's unacceptable. And, indeed, it was unacceptable. So now you have 23 out of 32 allies ... who

have already got to 2 percent [of their gross domestic product spent on defense], and the remaining allies have plans to get to 2 percent. So, we're not in all respects where we need to be, but [we are] much closer.

On support to Ukraine, I'm not going to make a prediction on how things might look here next year, what exactly that might mean. But my experience over the years is that some of the things said on a campaign trail, or quite a few of the things said on a campaign trail, don't necessarily translate into facts and policy. So, let's wait and see.

So far, support to Ukraine has been pretty unified and much stronger than [Russian President Vladimir] Putin would ever have counted on. And I count on that continuing to be the case. The package put together at the summit this week is a good signal of that, and it's designed to be a longer-term signal rather than just an interim signal for the next six months.

**RFE/RL:** If I might press you further on President Trump's statements that he could end the Ukraine war in 24 hours. Is that something that will end up being left on the campaign trail? Or do you think his proposal will be enacted? And if it were to be enacted, what would it look like?

**Mr. Turner:** I can't speculate on behalf of somebody else as to what that might mean in practice. I can imagine that some of that rhetoric may continue in the coming months. What is super clear now – and has been made as explicit as it could possibly be – is that Russia is not in the mood to negotiate. And they've been making clear this week during the summit that their strategic intent is to dismember Ukraine, for Ukraine as a separate country to cease to exist.

They very deliberately targeted one of their most vicious attacks in Ukraine on a hospital where children were being treated for cancer, so you can't imagine worse than that. [The Russians] were saying as clearly as they could: If anyone among you is dreaming of negotiating, then it's not a dream that we share.

And on the Ukrainian side, Ukrainian friends have been saying that we're not going to be engaging in discussions about losing Ukrainian territory or ceding Ukrainian territory. [And] there was a very successful, in terms of the degree of support for Ukraine, peace conference in Switzerland last month.

I don't like hypotheticals, but if negotiating with Putin were to mean making it even plainer than now that there is no path to victory, only a path to defeat [for Russia], and saying that more means will be used to achieve that, then I'd be in favor of that kind of negotiation. But I'm not sure whether that is what is meant. But more pressure on Russia, more clarity that there is no way that they're going to achieve their objectives, would only be a good thing.

**RFE/RL:** When you say that Russia demonstrated that it's not interested in negotiating, incidentally, President Putin recently spoke about President Trump's [statements about ending the war] and said that we don't know what they entail, but we at least know that he's being honest, that his intentions are honest. They are saying that they don't want to negotiate now. But would that preclude the possibility of them being more interested, more keen on negotiating, if there was a change of administration?

**Mr. Turner:** So far, whenever Russia has said we might be interested in talking or we have a peace proposal – [or] for that matter when China came up with a peace proposal



Courtesy image via RFE/RL

**A native Briton with a background working for the Ministry of Defense, Patrick Turner served as NATO assistant secretary-general from 2018 until 2022.**

– the proposals mean we get to keep what we've taken. So that's not a peace proposal.

**RFE/RL:** Would you consider such a solution unthinkable and absolutely unacceptable for a future Trump administration?

**Mr. Turner:** I can't see how it is an acceptable outcome [for Ukraine]. The friends of Ukraine, NATO allies, the summit this week, have said we will never recognize Russian annexations in Ukraine. So not Crimea, not the Donbas, not territory currently occupied beyond the Donbas. So we will never recognize [Russian annexations].

NATO and NATO allies have been in this position before. I think there were over 50 U.S. statements while the Baltic states were occupied: We will never recognize that the Baltic states are part of the Soviet Union; they are independent countries. So, it may be that we're going to be in the position for many years, and we will never recognize [Russian annexations].

So, no, I think a path to carving up somebody else's country is not a path that we should be traveling on. And were it our own country, were it the U.K. – I'm British – or Germany or France or the U.S., we would not be willing to contemplate that path. But, as ever, we will have to see what the future holds.

Ukraine has been amazingly clear and resolute. They've held the line in an extraordinary way against a much larger and more capable adversary. Russia suffered incalculable losses that would be politically impossible to bear in any of our countries. And Ukraine is showing no signs of saying, "We've had enough." I think they've been successful in revamping conscription in Ukraine and making sure that they continue to be able to fight. So, I think it is clear that we should continue to support them.

**RFE/RL:** Would it still be fair to say that diplomatically, or rather politically, [the recent NATO summit] has been another instance of kicking the can down the road when it comes to Ukraine's NATO membership?

**Mr. Turner:** Yes, I think on a number of issues covered by the summit, it's almost a holding position. So, on defense spending, there could have been a raising of the level of ambition or the level of commitment. The reality is the European allies and Canada have spent 18 percent more this year, so that's extremely impressive. But there could have been a move to sign up for a 2.5 [of GDP defense spending] percent target, for example, so theoretically that will be thought about next year. There could have been a clearer long-term financial commitment to Ukraine, and that will be thought about next year. There could have been a bolder approach to inviting Ukraine [to join NATO], but for some obvious [U.S.] domestic political reasons that was never likely to be the case this year.

In a way, some of these issues are deferred but, in each case, there has been some progress. ... If you step back, it's not surprising, given particularly the upcoming election here in the U.S., that some of these issues have been treated in a short-term rather than longer-term way.

**RFE/RL:** There was also another thing that was mentioned [in the final NATO summit communiqué]: China being an enabler of Russia. It is one thing to mention it; it is another to hold [China] accountable. Have there been any steps made in that direction?

**Mr. Turner:** So the [NATO] secretary-general has been saying publicly for some months that China is, in effect, a major enabler of the largest war in Europe since World War II and that China cannot ride two horses at the same time: both be an economic partner – or partner in other senses – of our countries on the one hand and, on the other, be the key enabler in terms of providing dual-use capabilities to arm Russia to engage in a huge war against Ukraine. And [he has said] that there will need to be consequences.

**RFE/RL:** Do you think we'll see these consequences in the short term?

**Mr. Turner:** The language in the statement issued by the summit on China is strong, and it's not just the secretary-general saying it, and it's not just an individual NATO ally saying it – it's all 32 allies with their range of views on China, and there [really] are different views. But [it's] a strong statement on China's really unacceptable behavior in a number of domains: aggressive actions, cyber activities, activities in space, disinformation, attempts to gain control of critical infrastructure. And then this language about [China] being a key enabler for Russia.

So, that is a strong statement by NATO, probably the strongest to date. Does that mean that the allies will actually take action in the near term to ensure that there are consequences? I don't know, but it certainly increases the pressure on themselves to take action to ensure there are consequences. And I think there will be more of a mood [to go] in that direction.

If you go back a few months, certainly a year, [NATO's] public narrative was: We're watching to see if China is arming Russia. The statement now says, in effect, yes, China is arming Russia, not by providing finished weapons systems but by providing key components, which enable Russian production of weapons systems.

So, I would say that the political pressure to act has gone up substantially. Sitting in Washington, the mood on China is pretty tough on both sides of the political aisle. There's almost competition between the Democratic and Republican sides to be tougher on China. In a way, especially for European countries, [there are] some difficult choices, and the E.U. has perhaps been more hopeful for longer than the U.S. on being able to find ways of having a slightly more cooperative relationship with China.

Now it's clear that they – along with Iran and North Korea – are [in] a pretty bad club, a very bad club to be in, and they are enabling Russia. I think the pressure to take measures is materially increased.

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# A decade after MH17, persistent pain and 'a warning more relevant than ever'

by Aleksander Palikot  
RFE/RL

For Piet Ploeg, it has been a decade of mourning and efforts to punish the perpetrators, but the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 is "something one can never get over."

Mr. Ploeg's brother, sister-in-law and nephew were among the 298 people aboard MH17 when a Russian missile hit the airliner and brought it down on July 17, 2014, drawing global attention to what was then a three-month-old war in the Donbas, in eastern Ukraine, between Russia-backed fighters and Kyiv's forces.

Russia was quick to deny its role in the downing of the Boeing 777 and launched a major disinformation campaign, but journalists and open-source sleuths poked massive holes in Moscow's arguments. In 2016, international investigators concluded that MH17 was shot down by a missile fired from a Russian Buk launcher, which was brought into territory held by anti-Kyiv forces and spirited back across the border into Russia shortly afterward.

With the 10-year-old war raging after the full-scale invasion in February 2022, claiming tens of thousands of new victims and further undermining international order, the downing of MH17 is "a warning more relevant than ever," Hyunduz Mamedov, a former deputy prosecutor-general who represented Ukraine on the Dutch-led Joint Investigative Team (JIT) that investigated the tragedy, told RFE/RL.

In November 2022, a court in the



Courtesy image via RFE/RL

Roman Lyubiy is a Ukrainian film director and creator of Iron Butterflies, which the Berlinale festival called a "sober yet poetic" documentary about MH17.

Netherlands convicted two former Russian intelligence agents and a pro-Moscow Ukrainian separatist leader of murder for their roles and sentenced them, in absentia, to life in prison. The fourth defendant, a Russian who was the only suspect represented by defense lawyers at the trial, was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.

The probe did not establish exactly who fired the missile. That is "an unanswered question that hinders the grieving," Mr. Ploeg, chairman of the MH17 Disaster Foundation, which represents families of victims, told RFE/RL.

In February 2023, prosecutor Digna van Boetzelaer said the investigation was ending despite "strong indications" that Russian President Vladimir Putin was personally involved – that he "decided on supplying the Buk" to Russia-backed forces in the Donbas.

"For years we have been trying to demonstrate the Kremlin's effective control and responsibility in this case," Mr. Mamedov said. "The reluctance of our partners to qualify Russia's hybrid aggression as a war against Ukraine ended only after ... Putin launched the full-scale invasion."

Both Messrs. Mamedov and Ploeg are pinning high hopes on the cases brought against Russia by Ukraine and the Netherlands at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).

In January 2023, the Strasbourg-based court said the cases over alleged human rights violations in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine and the shooting down of flight MH17 are "admissible," signaling that it believes Russia can be held liable for rights violations in the Donbas.

Another legal avenue to hold Russia accountable is a case at the United Nation's International Court of Justice (ICJ) in which Ukraine has accused Russia of violating an anti-terrorism treaty by funding anti-Kyiv forces in Ukraine. But Mr. Mamedov considers it less promising.

The top U.N. court, also in January 2023, found that Russia violated elements of a U.N. anti-terrorism treaty, but declined to rule on allegations that it was responsible for the shooting down of MH17, stating that violations of law against funding terrorism only applied to monetary and financial sup-

## The Path Of MH17 Before It Was Shot Down

On July 17, 2014, Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 was shot down over the war zone in eastern Ukraine, where Russia-backed separatists were fighting the Ukrainian Army. All 298 people on board the passenger jet flying from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur were killed. Investigators concluded that the plane was shot down by a Buk missile system transported from Russia.



The map shows the territory held by Russia-backed separatists on July 17, 2014. Source: The National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine

port, not to supplying weapons or training.

"The international community must punish the perpetrators, from the person who pushed the button to the person who bears ultimate responsibility," Mr. Mamedov told RFE/RL.

As the war persists, many Ukrainians and backers of Ukraine are anxious not only about its course but also about the chances of holding Russia responsible for a lengthening list of alleged war crimes.

"The case of MH17 is proof that unpunished evil returns in many times greater magnitudes," Roman Lyubiy, a Ukrainian film director and creator of Iron Butterflies, which the Berlinale festival called a "sober yet poetic" documentary about MH17, told RFE/RL.

The 2023 film combines archival footage and interviews with video art and performance to draw parallels between past and present.

"Back in 2014 the whole world learned about the war in Ukraine, but we were not able to control the narrative about it," Mr.

Lyubiy said. "We need to change that if we want to see Russia facing its own Nuremberg trial in the future."

On July 8, nine days before the 10th anniversary of the downing of MH17, a Russian missile struck a major children's hospital in Kyiv, killing two people and wounding more than 50, including children.

"Russia again showed its ruthless face of a state that does not care about human rights and is indifferent to truth," Mr. Ploeg said following the attack.

He is not sure its victims will see justice.

"Through the last decade, I learned that the international law is quite clear, it is international politics that are making things difficult," he said.

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## Russia struggles...

(Continued from page 2)

Hospital was targeted deliberately, questions still abound. The purpose of the strike was likely to prove that the X-101 cruise missiles launched from Tu-95MS strategic bombers can break through missile defenses provided by MIM-104 Patriot batteries (Novaya Gazeta Europe, July 10). This capability underpins the planning of massive Russian missile strikes on Ukrainian air bases where the squadrons of newly arrived F-16 fighters will allegedly be hosted (Meduza, July 1). A sequence of such strikes on Myrhorod Air Base in the Poltava region earlier this month destroyed and damaged several Ukrainian Su-27 fighter jets (Rossiiskaya Gazeta, July 5).

For NATO, the Russian intent gives fresh impetus to not only expanding the deliveries of various surface-to-air missile systems to Ukraine, which should protect major Ukrainian cities and key airbases (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, June 20, 27, July 3; TopWar.ru, July 12). It also raises the issue of permitting Ukraine to use Western long-range strike capabilities for attacks on Russian bases deep within Russia's territory, as President Volodymyr Zelenskyy argued at the Washington Summit (Kommersant, July

13). Ukraine delivered several such strikes using its own drones, for instance, on the Morozovsk base in Rostov region, but only high-precision targeting on stationary aircraft can ensure an effective hit due to the small payloads on long-range drones (NV.ua, June 14; Newsru.com, June 15).

Another issue is the possibility of servicing and repairing the F-16 fighters on bases in Poland and Romania to be moved to forward bases in Ukraine for performing combat missions (MK.ru, July 11). The security agreement signed by Mr. Zelenskyy and Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk on the eve of the NATO summit may allow for such basing. The proposition for intercepting Russian missiles approaching Poland over Ukrainian territory is also on the table (Current Time, July 10). Moscow has already signaled its ire with the agreement, and it is likely even more anxious about the plan for recruiting and training a combat brigade from Ukrainian refugees currently residing in Poland (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, July 11).

What worries Russia even more is the U.S.-German agreement on the experimental and permanent deployment of several long-range weapon systems to U.S. bases in Germany (Kommersant, July 11). Even if the new hypersonic Dark Eagle ground-launched missile may not be ready for

deployment before 2026, the shift in Germany's security stance is a significant setback for Moscow's hopes of exploiting divisions in NATO (RIAC, July 11). That shift is further confirmed by a deal between Germany, France, Italy and Poland on developing a new long-range cruise missile, which was also announced during the NATO summit (Rossiiskaya Gazeta, July 11). If Russia had sought to derail this deal through their recent assassination attempt on Armin Papperger, CEO of Rheinmetall, the leading German defense corporation, the Kremlin's denials are insufficient for camouflaging the fiasco of this plot (Svoboda.org, July 11; Izvestiya, July 12).

Russian President Vladimir Putin's plan for stirring anxiety and discord in the Western coalition by issuing vague threats and resorting to nuclear blackmail is not working. His persistent "advice" on raising stakes further involves risks that he is not prepared to take (RIA-Novosti, July 11). Putin's only interlocutor among Western leaders is Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who visited Kyiv, Moscow and Beijing before traveling to Washington and described his impressions in a succinct letter to European Union leadership (Carnegie Politika, July 5). Neither Mr. Orbán nor Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who still expects Putin to make the long-

promised visit to Ankara, expressed any dissent at the Washington Summit on key issues including the establishment of NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine in replacing the Ramstein format (Izvestiya; NV.ua, July 11).

Moscow's long war generates sustained pressure on Western policy, in which opinions on proper responses to Russia's aggression are inevitably diverse and even polarized. What the Washington Summit made apparent, nevertheless, is that the mainstream political position on expanding and upgrading the support for Ukraine is solid, very much against expectations in Moscow. Another trend that goes against Russian predictions is the strengthening of European contributions to collective efforts, not because of demands from the U.S. leadership but due to a broader understanding of the scope of the threat emanating from Putin's Russia. "Frontline" states, including Poland, Estonia or Norway, are taking the lead in assuming and sharing the responsibility for ensuring Ukraine's victory. Russia can neither inhibit nor sabotage this solidarity.

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# Soprano Teryn Kuzma dazzles in Spoleto Festival debut

## Ruinous Gods provides unblinking look at refugee children

by Melanie Modlin

The subject is challenging and often heartbreaking: the humanitarian impact of the continuing refugee crisis. In life, and in art, it can be almost too much to bear.

A unique new opera, which premiered this summer, takes on the topic with courage, compassion and great beauty, and the silvery-voiced young soprano who guided us through its imaginative landscape was Ukrainian-American soprano Teryn Kuzma, playing the lead character, H'ala. The groundbreaking opera *Ruinous Gods* was performed five times in late May and early June at the



Backstage at the Sottile Theater, soprano Teryn Kuzma joins conductor Kamna Gupta after the triumphant debut of *Ruinous Gods* at the Spoleto Festival in Charleston, S.C.

Spoleto Music Festival in Charleston, S.C.

Let's set the scene.

The curtain rises on a girl in a white night dress resting in a plant-decked orange orb. With an onstage chorus offering haunting Aramaic hymns, we feel something like serenity. But this isn't Sleeping Beauty. Instead, we learn that 12-year-old H'ala suffers from resignation syndrome, which can cause refugee children to slip into a catatonic stupor. She had wanted to remain home, at her local school, and complete a film project to document her current life. The universe has other plans.

So Ha'la, portrayed by rising star Ms. Kuzma, will leave



Soprano Teryn Kuzma performs a selection of songs on her bandura for hotel guests at Charleston Place in an informal prelude to the Spoleto Festival.



Courtesy of Spoleto Festival

Ukrainian-American soprano Teryn Kuzma joins fellow artists Taylor-Alexis DuPont and Leroy Davis during the Spoleto Festival.

the bubble and embark on an unwanted adventure, compelled to flee her home with her mother while meeting fellow travelers (in the form of birds – reflecting the theme of flight?), all lost in a sort of underworld purgatory ... or is this a dream state?

Like H'ala, Ms. Kuzma – a native of Connecticut and now a resident of New York City –

navigates all of this fearlessly. Through a dense and complex vocal performance (replete with many high Cs), she displays a sure-footed artistry beyond her years.

(Continued on page 14)

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## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

# Condemning political violence in the strongest terms

The recent assassination attempt on Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has sent shockwaves across the nation, highlighting the pressing need to unequivocally condemn political violence in the United States. This grievous act, the first of its kind in more than four decades, underscores a growing peril in our political landscape that threatens the very foundation of our democracy.

As Mr. Trump spoke at a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., a key swing state, the gunman fired several shots, slightly injuring Mr. Trump. While the motives of the 20-year-old assailant, who was killed, remain unknown, the implications of this attack are profound and disturbing. It is a stark reminder that violence has no place in our political discourse, a sentiment echoed by our Founding Fathers who envisioned a nation governed by reason and debate, not by fear and brutality.

Thomas Jefferson once said, "The will of the people is the only legitimate foundation of any government, and to protect its free expression should be our first object." The sanctity of free expression, particularly in the political arena, must be preserved at all costs. Acts of violence not only threaten the individuals targeted but also aim to undermine the democratic process itself, a process that relies on the peaceful exchange of ideas and the respect for differing viewpoints. We have no doubt that efforts to undermine our democratic process and principles are precisely what Russian tyrant Vladimir Putin wants to see happen in the United States.

Political history professor Matthew Dallek warns that such violence can push the country into a more dangerous place. "Violence typically begets violence," he notes, emphasizing that the attack on Mr. Trump could lead to a cycle of escalating violence. We must not allow that to happen. Each one of us must take personal responsibility for our behavior, and we must understand that violence takes us on a perilous path we cannot afford to tread. Polls indicating that a minority on both the left and the right believe political violence is justified are deeply troubling. This belief is antithetical to the principles of democracy and must be confronted head-on.

The attack on Mr. Trump should serve as a catalyst for bridging the sharp partisan divides that have fractured our nation. There is a growing risk that fringe elements will exploit this moment, as they call on supporters to arm themselves. This dark possibility must be countered with a unified and unequivocal condemnation of all forms of political violence.

The Founding Fathers, in their wisdom, warned against the dangers of factionalism and the corrosion of civil discourse. James Madison, in *The Federalist Papers*, wrote, "A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government and many other points ... have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good." This warning rings true today as we witness the dangerous consequences of inflamed political animosity.

The attempted assassination of a presidential candidate is a wake-up call for our nation. It demands a collective stand against the forces of division and violence. Political leaders, regardless of party affiliation, must come together to condemn this act in the strongest possible terms and work toward fostering a political environment grounded in respect, debate and the peaceful resolution of differences.

The legacy of our Founding Fathers calls upon us to protect the integrity of our democracy. We must heed their words and ensure that the will of the people is expressed freely and safely, without the shadow of violence looming over our democratic institutions. Only then can we honor the principles upon which our nation was built and move toward a more united and peaceful future.

July  
25  
2023

## Turning the pages back...

Last year, on July 25, 2023, the United States, through the Pentagon, announced an additional \$400 million security package for Ukraine that included air defense munitions, armored vehicles, anti-armor weapons and other "critical military assistance" from U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) stockpiles to help it retake territory and defend against Russian missile strikes.

This announcement was made soon after the European Union announced a \$1.66 billion aid disbursement to assist Ukraine in repairing infrastructure damaged by ongoing Russian air strikes against the port city of Odesa and the capital, Kyiv.

It was the 43rd drawdown of equipment from DOD inventories for Ukraine since August 2021. The package included munitions for Patriot air defense systems and National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems (NASAMS), Stinger antiaircraft systems, more munitions for High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS), Stryker Armored Personnel Carriers and a variety of additional missiles and rockets.

President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, in his nightly video message, thanked the U.S. for the aid. Mr. Zelenskyy spoke earlier with British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak about securing grain shipments from Ukraine amid Russian missile strikes against Odesa and Kyiv. "The United Kingdom," he added, "can become the leader whose assistance with air defense systems will guarantee real security."

Russia's attacks on Odesa and other measures it implemented to prevent grain shipments from Ukraine resulted in a global food crisis. United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres urged Russia to rejoin the grain deal brokered by the U.N. and Turkey, together with Ukraine and Russia.

Mr. Zelenskyy, in his video message, explained that he held a meeting ahead of the first meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Council scheduled for July 26. "The consultations are specifically about security in the Black Sea – our ports and our grain exports," he said.

Source: "\$400 million in military aid for Ukraine," (RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service, with reporting by Reuters and AFP), *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 30, 2023.

## COMMENTARY

# Project Q



Askold S. Lozynskyj

Members of the band Project Q are seen after a recent performance at Soyuzivka Heritage Center in Kerhonkson, N.Y.

by Askold S. Lozynskyj

High up in the Catskill Mountains of upstate New York sits a small piece of Ukraine, known as the legendary Soyuzivka Heritage Center, one of the pearls of the Ukrainian diaspora in America. For more than 75 years it has been the scene of Ukrainian cultural growth, particularly when Ukrainian culture and its actors were repressed in Ukraine itself within the confines of the Russian Soviet empire. One may note that not much has changed even now during the war. When Russia occupies a piece of Ukraine, in addition to executing civilians and kidnapping children, it burns Ukrainian books and destroys artifacts. The Russian language is imposed.

Soyuzivka has been the site for serious and even profound events, such as congresses, conventions, meetings, discussions of Ukrainian American community structures, day camps and workshops, art exhibits, sports competitions and, perhaps most importantly, it has been a playground for the young coming together from the United States and Canada. Many have even found their significant others at Soyuzivka. No, I found mine at an anti-Soviet demonstration. Many weddings have been held at Soyuzivka.

Soyuzivka was a gift to its Ukrainian American members and the Ukrainian American and Canadian communities by the Ukrainian National Association, a fraternal institution, the oldest existing Ukrainian organization in America, predating all others except the church. The idea was that the new immigrants would need the church for baptism and burial and a fraternal insurance company to cover the costs.

As time passed, the community experienced highs and lows, and so has Soyuzivka. With a new immigration of individuals from Ukraine, it now looks forward to a future brighter than it had in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

So, what is new at Soyuzivka? Those who found their significant other at Soyuzivka years ago now have had children and even grandchildren. Soyuzivka is now becoming a playground for those children and grandchildren. It provides facilities, space and suitable recreation. A visit to Soyuzivka is a visit to Ukraine today without having to cross the Polish border or dread sirens in the middle of the night. As far as I am concerned, there is something to be said for being in the thick of things. For

most, the cultural and personal exposure is sufficient.

Most recently, I visited and witnessed a rather compelling denouement of one of Soyuzivka's channels of recreation – a new and distinctive Soyuzivka band called Project Q performed on a Saturday night outdoors on the dance floor above the pool. The band's composition was similar to previous incarnations – consisting of Andrij, Volodymyr, Andrij, Pawlo, Roman and Maksym. The difference is that these guys play strictly contemporary Ukrainian music. There was no "Nese Halya vodu," although I love traditional Ukrainian folk songs. There was no "Hey Jude" either. These songs were composed by contemporary Ukrainian songwriters and performed by Ukrainian artists throughout Ukraine. They carry a message and tell a story of contemporary Ukraine, including the ravages of war and the heroism of the Ukrainian people.

Perhaps these artists with their Ukrainian names will never be confused with John, Paul, George or Ringo, but they offer something new and different – contemporary Ukrainian rock songs that are currently being sung by the youth of Ukraine. Paul never sang a Ukrainian song. My understanding is that Taylor has not done a Ukrainian song either. It's an affinity with the people of Ukraine, particularly, its youth, which represent a freedom loving future.

When I congratulated Andrij the elder on initiating this project since he is the oldest and the son of a well-known Ukrainian composer of avant-garde music, he insisted that this was very much a combined effort and still a work in progress. I have been told that I am not tone deaf, so I dismissed Andrij's humility. These guys are really good.

And so I invite the old and the young, representatives of every wave of immigration to come to Soyuzivka and experience Project Q. You will not be disappointed. You will feel the power and love of Ukrainian music and especially its youth, vigor and even audacity. You will leave, but only if you have to, because Soyuzivka's hospitality is legendary, leaving us with a warm feeling of just how great it is to be Ukrainian.

Askold S. Lozynskyj is an attorney at law based in New York City who served as president of the Ukrainian World Congress (1998-2008) and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (1992-2000).

## COMMENTARY

# The curious logic of some who claim to love Ukraine

by Alex Kuzma

Does anyone in the Ukrainian American community trust Vladimir Putin?

On its face, this is a ridiculous question.

No Ukrainian American in his or her right mind would place any trust in Putin – a mass-murderer responsible for the deaths of countless Ukrainians.

Yet someone we know all too well says that he trusts Putin more than he trusts the entire U.S. intelligence establishment. That man is – of course – Donald Trump. In the six years since Mr. Trump made that preposterous declaration at the Helsinki Summit in 2018, his bizarre affinity and admiration for Putin have not changed.

It has been nearly 900 days since Putin launched his full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and Mr. Trump has yet to say a single word of condemnation against the massacres in Bucha, Irpin, Hostomel or Izyum. He has yet to express any outrage over the terrorist bombings of civilian targets in Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, Kramatorsk, Kherson, or about the leveling of entire cities, such as Mariupol and Bakhmut. Mr. Trump has never condemned the Russians' torture of Ukrainian prisoners of war, the rape of Ukrainian women or the abduction of tens of thousands of Ukrainian children.

After the horrific bombing of the Okhmatdyt Children's Hospital in Kyiv, we have not heard a single word of human empathy from Mr. Trump.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky has invited Mr. Trump to visit Ukraine on multiple occasions, to see for himself what horrors Putin has inflicted on Ukraine's people. Mr. Trump has ignored these requests.

Mr. Trump's lack of empathy for the victims of Putin's aggression is not surprising. He constantly reinforces his reputation as a narcissist who loves only himself. What is equally disturbing is Mr. Trump's consistent opposition to U.S. aid for Ukraine.

Earlier this year, when Putin sent his Hungarian errand boy – Victor Orban – for a personal audience with Mr. Trump at Mar-A-Lago, Mr. Orban emerged from that meeting to tell the assembled media that Mr. Trump assured him that he would end all aid to Ukraine if he regained the White House. Mr. Trump has never contradicted that statement.

For more than six months, Ukrainian forces were starved for ammunition because pro-Russian extremists in Congress dedicated to Mr. Trump threatened to oust House Speaker Mike Johnson if he brought the Ukraine aid package to a vote.

Ultimately, Congress approved \$61 billion in aid for Ukraine. But, without a doubt, that delay cost hundreds of Ukrainian lives.

What's more, Mr. Trump has surrounded himself with advisers who continue to oppose aid to Ukraine. "Not a penny more for Ukraine" has become the mindless mantra of J.D. Vance, Tucker Carlson, Marjorie Taylor Greene, Matt Gaetz and others.

The United States has a vital national interest in providing Ukraine with the resources it needs to stop the genocide unleashed by the madman Mr. Trump says he trusts. Those who say we cannot afford to support Ukraine have it exactly backward. The U.S. cannot afford to abandon Ukraine.

The aid that the U.S. has provided so far has not gone down some black hole, as opponents have alleged. Most of the money appropriated for Ukraine has gone directly

into the U.S. economy, to purchase equipment, weapons and ammunition produced by American workers and shipped either to Ukraine or to NATO allies.

The Ukrainian armed forces have utilized the aid they have received far beyond expectations. Their resourcefulness, even with limited resources, and their tactical brilliance on the battlefield have been nothing short of awe-inspiring, forcing Russians to abandon huge swaths of territory they once occupied.

It would be the height of self-delusion to think that Mr. Trump will suddenly change his pro-Putin worldview if he wins the election in November.

If we say that we truly care about Ukraine, do we want to leave Ukraine defenseless against Putin? Do we want to leave Ukrainian cities without Patriot air defenses? Should Ukraine relive the agony of last winter when Ukraine's heroic freedom fighters had to ration their ammunition while the Russians used their advantage in artillery shells to bomb Ukrainian positions day and night?

The choice is very simple. It comes down to basic arithmetic: \$61 billion dollars in aid (and more to come)? Or zero? If we say we care about Ukraine's survival, then do the math.

Do we support an administration that has gone out of its way to rally NATO and delivered billions of dollars' worth of aid to Ukraine? Or do we support a Putin toady who pledges "Not a penny more!"?

With his usual self-congratulatory bombast, Mr. Trump claims that he would end the war on day one. But at what cost? Messrs. Trump and Vance have clearly said that they would force Ukraine to negotiate the surrender of the territories now under Russian occupation. They would give Putin what he wants.

Then there is the matter of democratic values. Are we not troubled or repulsed by someone who promises to be a "dictator on day one"? Did our grandparents suffer in prison camps or walk hundreds of miles across war-torn Europe to escape the horrors of Stalinism, so that their great-grandchildren could live under a lawless Trumpian dictatorship?

Our decision this November transcends politics. It is a matter of truth versus falsehood. Basic human decency versus barbarism. It is the choice between sanity and madness. Good and evil.

Even the sycophants who now grovel before Trump have called him "unhinged" and a "pathological liar." His own running mate (Mr. Vance) once called Mr. Trump "America's Hitler."

For those still thinking of voting for Messrs. Trump and Vance, we should not delude ourselves: Unlike Liz Cheney, these are not Reagan Republicans with backbone or integrity. These are the true "RINOs" (Republicans in Name Only). Can we imagine Reagan proclaiming that he "fell in love" with a Stalinist madman like Kim Jong Un? By accepting Putin's expansionist agenda in Ukraine, Mr. Trump has effectively embraced the unmitigated evil that Putin represents. As a self-proclaimed dictator wannabe, Mr. Trump is the very kind of despot who America's Founding Fathers denounced, rejected and warned us to resist.

*This article reflects the views of the author only, and not any organizations with which he might be associated.*



## Acknowledging Ukrainian resistance in Russian-occupied territories

Resistance to foreign occupation has been a feature throughout Ukraine's troubled history. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Zaporizhian Cossacks challenged Polish and later Muscovite rule, as did the peasant Haydamak rebellions. Less known is rebel Ustym Karmaliuk's guerilla army of 20,000 that conducted some 1,000 raids on estates of Poles and Russians in the Russian empire over 20 years, ending in the early 1830s. The turbulent 20th century saw many expressions of resistance, both violent and non-violent, such as Ukraine's 1918-1921 War of Independence, peasant opposition to collectivization in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the armed struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought the Soviets into the early 1950s. The 1970s and 1980s saw the non-violent Ukrainian dissident movement, including the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. The waning years of Soviet rule saw massive peaceful protests, such as the 1990 human chain that linked some 3 million people from Kyiv to Lviv.

Since 2014, and especially following Russia's full-fledged February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, an active partisan movement has been engaged in acts of resistance in Ukrainian lands occupied by Russia. As I outlined in my last column, the situation for Ukrainians living in the nearly 20 percent of territory under Russian control is appalling. Life there includes a level of human rights abuses, repression and often savagery not seen since Stalinist times. The Russians and their collaborators are working systematically to Russify the population and eradicate all expression of Ukrainian identity.

Nevertheless, at tremendous risk to themselves, countless brave Ukrainian citizens in subjugated Crimea, Luhansk and parts of the Donetsk, Zaporizhia and Kherson oblasts resist, wanting nothing more than to live as free people in their own country.

This partisan movement has kept Russian military forces and authorities off-balance. It also further makes a lie of the absurd notion that Ukrainians – many of them traditionally Russian-speaking – living in these territories are happy with Russian rule. On the contrary, Moscow has permanently alienated the vast majority of Ukrainians living in the occupied regions.

Resistance takes many forms. It encompasses lethal activities, such as assassinations and killings of Russian occupation forces and authorities and their collaborators. Reportedly, hundreds have been eliminated. Many have been poisoned. Acts of sabotage against the enemy's key assets occur, including by disrupting supply lines. Ukrainian fighters monitor and transmit the coordinates of locations of Russian troops and infrastructure to Ukrainian Special Forces. This intelligence and other support of Ukrainian military operations have been invaluable to Ukraine's war effort.

The partisan movement involves professional operatives from Ukrainian military intelligence, Special Forces or other special outfits. There is also a National Resistance Center that trains and coordinates resistance movements in the occupied regions.

Nonviolent resistance has flourished and has involved tens of thousands of Ukrainians. It includes displaying Ukrainian symbols in

public places, posting flyers or anti-Russian graffiti and refusing Russian passports or Russian car license plates. Even speaking Ukrainian at home or reading Ukrainian books is a form of private resistance.

Many of these clandestine movements have grown organically – they are spontaneous, anonymous, creative and innovative. They operate independently, with informal, mostly digital, linkages. The role of technology has been profound. These groups often utilize their own anonymous communication platforms to share information and resources and coordinate activities.

The harsh and unrelenting crackdowns by the Russians since the illegal annexation of Crimea have not dissuaded underground activity on the peninsula. On the contrary, it has grown since February 2022. One of the most important partisan groups is Atesh, named after the Crimean Tatar word for fire. It was founded in September 2022 and claims to have several thousand members, with some 500 regularly active in various operations. The group engages in reconnaissance, direct partisan action and information campaigns. Atesh has played a significant role in successful Ukrainian efforts to degrade Russia's capabilities on the peninsula and in the Black Sea. Atesh also has active operations in Russia.

Another movement is the Yellow Ribbon Group (YRG), which originated in occupied Kherson. After the city's liberation in November 2022, the group's activities spread to other occupied lands. Among their numerous activities, the group exposed the identities and activities of occupation administration quislings. There are thousands of active users of its Telegram chatbot, where Yellow Ribbon shares advice on non-violent resistance, cyber security and legal issues.

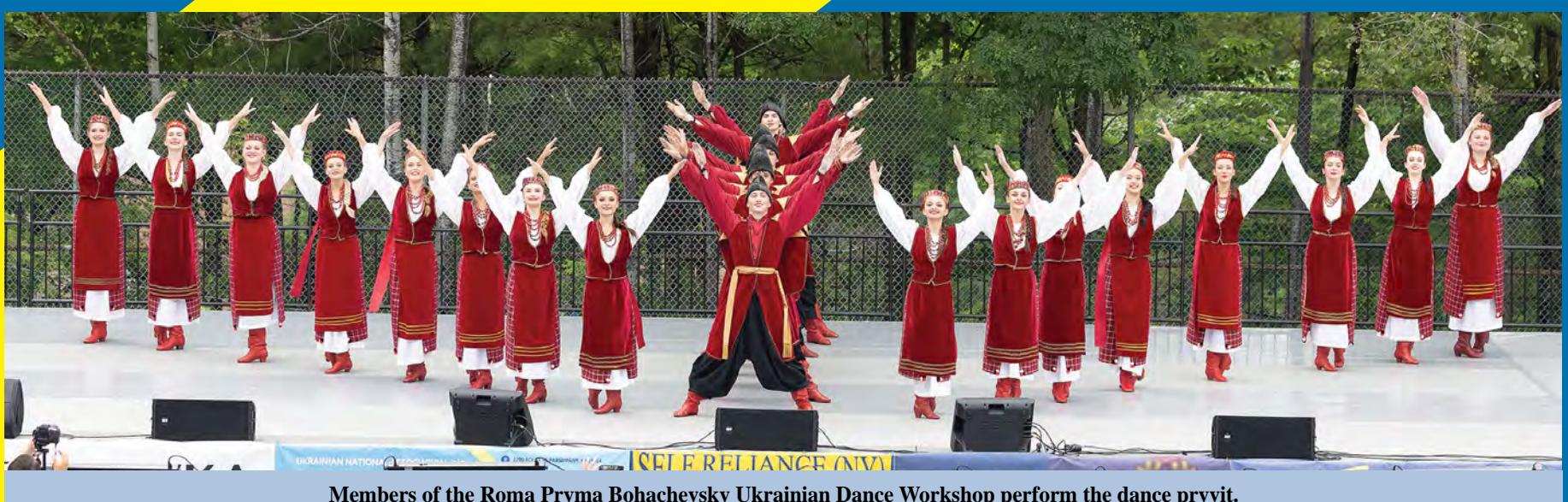
Another group is Angry Mavka ("Zla Mavka"), which began in Melitopol in Donbas. It is made up of women responding to Russian aggression, especially sexual assaults. One of their creative endeavors was to orchestrate the production of counterfeit 50 ruble notes with clever anti-Russian, pro-Ukrainian messages and symbols, and circulating them in other occupied areas.

The underground movement goes beyond these groups. Obviously, we don't know the full scope of the resistance – nor should we. And we know that the Russians have all manner of "countersubversion" measures to try and stifle the resistance.

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) has produced a comprehensive report written by Senior Associate Jade McGlynn on this topic. It provides solid information, insight and recommendations, including for organizations and individuals who would like to support the resistance. It is titled *Crossing Thresholds: Ukrainian Resistance to Russian Occupation* and can be found on the organization's website ([csis.org](http://csis.org)).

Ukrainians have different motivations for joining these underground movements, but what unites them is a firm determination to resist Russian oppression despite the incredible risks and dangers. These countless individuals are nothing short of heroes. Their valiant acts and quiet courage have not received the attention they deserve. They need to be recognized, appreciated, applauded and supported as they continue to play a vital role in liberating all of Ukraine from Russia's brutal subjugation.

Orest Deychakiwsky may be reached at [orestdeychak@gmail.com](mailto:orestdeychak@gmail.com).



Members of the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop perform the dance *pryvit*.

## PHOTO REPORT: 2024 SOYUZIVKA UKRAINIAN FESTIVAL

Photos by Andrew Nynka

### Famed Ukrainian ska punk band Mad Heads thrill Soyuzivka Ukrainian Festival

by Andrew Nynka

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – The 2024 Soyuzivka Summer Festival at the Ukrainian National Foundation's (UNF) Soyuzivka Heritage Center took place over three days from July 12 to 14 with the famed Ukrainian ska punk band Mad Heads thrilling the festival's Saturday night crowd of several thousand guests.

The festival – renamed this year to UkraineFest: 2024 Soyuzivka Summer Festival – attracted visitors from many states to the daily exhibits and events, as well as enthusiastic audiences for the afternoon and evening stage shows. Arts and crafts vendors exhibited their wares on the plaza amid hot, humid conditions.

The festival kicked off with an evening concert at 6 p.m. on Friday, July 12, as individuals gathered in front of the event's main stage to enjoy performances by the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop, Jaroslaw and Natalia Dub, and Darina Krasnovetska.

Andrij Staciw emceed the evening concert.

UNF President Roman Hirniak and Soyuzivka Managing Director Steve Barankewicz helped open the evening concert with a warm welcome to festival attendees.

"Welcome home," Mr. Barankewicz said. "I'm so pleased to see all of your smiling faces here tonight."

Other festival guests took part in a gala and fundraising dinner at 7:30 p.m. on Friday, July 12, that included performances by Zirka, Bria Blessing, and lead singer of the band Mad Heads Vadym Krasnooky. The gala was emceed by Roman Wasylky.

The festival continued the following day, July 13, with a 1 p.m. show that included performances by Barva Band, Tasia Madzaj, Malvy and Shanis. The afternoon show was emceed by Alexander Boyko and Andrij Cybyk.

The day continued with the opening of the main concert at 6 p.m. That concert included performances by the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance

Workshop, Darisha, Shanis and Bria Blessing with her husband, Jesse. The evening concert was emceed by Mr. Staciw and included a presentation and auction by Revived Soldiers Ukraine to aid victims of Russia's war on Ukraine.

The Ukrainian ska punk band Mad Heads kicked off the festival's main performance, with guests seated in front of the main stage. Within a few songs, the band had most of the people in the audience on their feet, dancing and moving to get as close as they could to the stage.

"Whoa Soyuzivka, what's happening here?" asked the band's lead singer, Vadym Krasnooky as the show kicked into a higher gear.

Festival guests continued their evening with a dance on the Veselka Patio with music by the band Zirka.

The festival continued on Sunday, July 14, with guests cooling off in the pool and taking part in various other activities offered at the Soyuzivka Heritage Center.



Ukrainian National Foundation President Roman Hirniak addresses festival guests.



Bria Blessing sings the Ukrainian and American Nation anthems while emcee Andrij Staciw looks on.



Members of the Ukrainian American Veterans post colors during the singing of the national anthems.



Members of the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop perform the dance *hopak*.





The Ukrainian band Mad Heads headlined UkraineFest: 2024 Soyuzivka Summer Festival.



Darisha



The Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop performs the dance lullaby.



Shanis



Members of the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop perform the dance baba.



Members of the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Workshop perform the dance hopak.



One of the festival's youngest guests.



Members of the Ukrainian National Association man a vendor both at the festival.

## Ukraine and Czech...

(Continued from page 1)

assistance," the statement says.

A large section on security and defense outlines cooperation in many areas, from supplying military equipment and ammunition to collaboration in the defense industry and countering cyber threats. Cooperation in the defense industry, in particular, will include a plan to deploy Ukrainian defense manufacturing in the Czech Republic that can return to Ukraine when the time is right. The two countries also aim to create favorable conditions for the Czech defense industry to operate on Ukrainian territory.

"The Czech Republic intends to support the integration of Ukraine's defense industry into the European defense technological and industrial base, taking into account the opportunities provided by the European Defense Industrial Strategy and the European Defense Industry Program," the agreement says.

The Czech Republic confirmed that it will continue to actively assist Ukraine within the framework of the "coalitions of capabilities," which it is a part of, and participate in the European Union Military Assistance Mission to Ukraine (EUMAM), cooperate in the field of professional military education, and provide political support to Kyiv in the international arena.

In the event of a future armed attack by Russia on Ukraine, consultations will be convened at the request of either party to the agreement within 24 hours in a bilateral format or otherwise as both parties deem necessary.

The Czech Republic will continue to support Ukraine on its path to E.U. membership and provide practical advice and assistance. The parties will deepen bilateral relations by further strengthening the for-

mats of regular consultations and sharing the practical experience of the Czech Republic's membership in both the E.U. and NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization]," the statement says.

The signing of the security agreement continues a series of joint Ukrainian-Czech partnership decisions that took place earlier in the week. At a joint meeting in Prague on July 16, the Ukraine and Czech governments signed two agreements on joint arms production, Ukrainian Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal announced at a press conference.

Messrs. Shmyhal and Fiala "discussed the supply of new types of weapons to the Ukrainian army, training and rehabilitation of the Ukrainian military, and new joint projects in the military-industrial complex," Mr. Shmyhal said.

"Today, we have signed two important agreements, among other agreements in the defense industry. A new ammunition plant will be built in Ukraine – the agreement was signed between Sellier & Bellot and Ukrboronservice," Mr. Shmyhal said.

The second agreement concerns the production of assault rifles by Colt CZ Group in Ukraine.

"This is an agreement between Česká Zbrojovka and the relevant Ukrainian enterprise; for security reasons, I will not name it now," Mr. Shmyhal said.

Signing such agreements "demonstrates a high level of interest in cooperation with our defense industry," he added.

At the beginning of the year, the Czech company Česká Zbrojovka and the Ukrainian Defense Industry Joint Stock Company (formerly Ukrboronprom) signed an agreement to supply Ukraine with parts for CZ BREN 2 rifles. According to the agreement, the amount of which was not disclosed, Česká Zbrojovka will provide Ukraine with all the parts that are used to

assemble the rifles.

"This first step in the project of full technology transfer for the CZ BREN 2 rifle is directly related to its successful deployment on the Ukrainian battlefield in the hands of the Ukrainian Armed Forces," said Jan Zajic, the Czech company's CEO.

CZ BREN 2 rifles are used by the Czech Army, among others, and meet NATO standards. They have also been used on the battlefield by the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the army and combat units of France, Portugal, Poland and Romania.

The CZ BREN 2, according to the manufacturer, is a versatile weapon that is compatible with other NATO weapons.

At a joint briefing with Mr. Shmyhal in Prague, Mr. Fiala also announced that the Czech Republic would provide military training for another 1,700 Ukrainian soldiers this year.

Mr. Fiala informed journalists about the documents signed during the joint meeting of the two governments and spoke about the intention to continue training the Ukrainian military.

"We are talking here about long-term training of the Ukrainian military. This year it will be 1,700 people. The total number of people whom we have trained is 6,000," the Czech prime minister said. He added that "this all demonstrates our successful cooperation."

Also, on July 13, Czech President Petr Pavel spoke about the details of the delivery of artillery shells to Ukraine as part of the Czech initiative. Mr. Pavel said that Ukraine should receive another 50,000 rounds of ammunition in July-August, and from September to the end of the year, 80,000 to 100,000 rounds per month will be delivered. It was reported that the Czech initiative could provide the Ukrainian Armed Forces with 50,000-100,000 large-caliber shells per month.

Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the Czech Republic has sent 62 tanks, 131 infantry fighting vehicles, six helicopters, 16 air defense systems and more than 4.2 million rounds of ammunition from its warehouses to Kyiv, according to officials from both countries.

## Zelenskyy arrives...

(Continued from page 1)

sion," during which he made stops in Moscow, Kyiv, Beijing and at the Florida residence of former U.S. President Donald Trump.

The global tour rankled most European leaders, who have repeatedly distanced themselves from Mr. Orbán's trip, while the Hungarian leader himself has acknowledged that he has no authority to act on behalf of other European Union members, even though Hungary currently holds the bloc's rotating presidency.

"If someone in Europe tries to resolve issues behind others backs or even at the expense of someone else, if someone wants to make some trips to the capital of war to talk and perhaps promise something against our common interests or at the expense of Ukraine or other countries, then why should we consider such a person?" Mr. Zelenskyy said at the summit on July 18. "The E.U. and NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] can also address all their issues without this one individual."

Mr. Trump has suggested that, if he wins the U.S. presidential election in November, he will resolve the Russia-Ukraine full-scale war in one day. He has not elaborated on how he would accomplish such a feat, but many European leaders have said that they fear the former president would agree with Putin on a peace plan without consulting with Kyiv.

Mr. Zelenskyy said in a post on social media that Ukraine will sign an intergovernmental agreement on support for the Ukrainian defense and industrial complex, discuss future defense cooperation and expand Kyiv's defense capabilities while at the summit. He gave no details.

Besides Ukraine, the EPC summit is also set to discuss illegal migration and energy security.

Keir Starmer, the first Labor Party prime minister in 14 years, has signaled that his government will continue London's policy of robust military and diplomatic support for Ukraine in its ongoing war to defeat the Russian invaders.

The summit comes amid reports of difficulties faced by Ukrainian defenders on the eastern and southeastern front, mainly in the area of the Dnipro River northeast of Kherson city, where Kyiv had managed to establish a fragile bridgehead on the eastern bank of the river late last year.

Ukrainian troops liberated Kherson, which lies on the western banks of the Dnipro, in November 2022, pushing Russian forces across the Dnipro, but the city continues to be targeted by enemy fire.

Ukrainian media in recent days reported that Krynyk, a small town on the eastern bank of the Dnipro where Ukrainian marines and paratroopers landed in November last year, had been abandoned after Kyiv suffered serious casualties.

But Dmytro Lykhoviy, a spokesman for Ukraine's Tavria group of troops, brushed aside a report by the Slidstvo.info publication, which on July 17 wrote that 788 Ukrainian soldiers have been missing in action since November, while the bodies of only 262 fallen troops could be recovered and transported across the river on the side controlled by Ukraine.

"The situation is not as critical as some media and bloggers interpret it. In this regard, our key message is, the defense forces of Ukraine continue to carry out combat missions on the left bank of the Dnipro. In particular, in the area of the settlement of Krynyk," Mr. Lykhoviy said on state television.

"However, it is true that most of the main positions of Ukrainian troops in this village have been completely destroyed as a result of intense, combined, long-term enemy fire," he added.

Moscow had claimed in February that its troops had already pushed back Ukrainian forces from Krynyk.

Neither the Russian nor the Ukrainian claims could be independently confirmed.

Separately, Russia's Defense Ministry said on July 18 that its air and naval defenses on July 18 repelled a combined attack of Ukrainian air and naval drones that targeted occupied Crimea.

In a message on Telegram, the ministry said that air-defense systems shot down 33 drones over Crimea and two over the Bryansk region.

The Russian Navy, meanwhile, said it destroyed 10 Ukrainian naval drones that were heading in the direction of the Crimean Peninsula. Separately, Mikhail Razvozhayev, the Moscow-installed head of Sevastopol, Crimea's largest port city, said that a naval drone heading for the port was destroyed. Ukraine has not commented on the Russian claims.

In Kyiv, the Ukrainian Air Force said that its air defenses shot down all 16 drones and two out of three cruise missiles that Russia had launched at targets in the Dniproprostrovsk, Poltava, Zaporizhia, Kyiv and Kharkiv regions.

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## Russian casualties...

(Continued from page 2)

spread backlash from the Russian elite that might force it to curb its imperialist plans. This indicates that Russian society's tolerance for combat losses is anything but infinite.

The regional makeup of the losses indicates that the city of Moscow and the city of St. Petersburg lost 571 and 551 people, respectively, in the war. These numbers are comparable to the losses in North Ossetia at 518. Considering the differences in population size between regions, North Ossetia has experienced one death per 1,300 people. This means that the region has lost a significantly larger share of its population (almost 8 times more) than the city of St. Petersburg, which suffered one death per 10,000 people and more than 17 times than the city of Moscow, which experienced one death per 23,000 people. An even more divergent picture emerges for other peripheral regions of Russia. For example, the Republic of Tuva has reported 591 deaths (one death per 570), and, in the nearby Buryatia, the death toll is 1,429 (one death per 680) (Mediazona, June 21).

In the North Caucasus, Dagestan has sustained the largest number of casualties at 1,007 (one death per 3,200). This is comparable to the nearby predominantly

Russian-speaking Stavropol region, located on the border of the North Caucasus, with 1,126 reported deaths (one death per 2,600). Curiously, despite extensive publicity in the media, Chechnya has reported only 258 deaths (one death per 6,000). Chechen ruler Ramzan Kadyrov may have been able to suppress the information about the full extent of Chechen casualties in Ukraine. Alternatively, due to his political weight in Russia, Mr. Kadyrov may have been able to spare his men from the war by withdrawing them from the most dangerous areas, as some reports have suggested (RBK; T.me/belpepel, June 15, 2023; Gazeta.ru, July 7).

Relative losses may have also been affected by how much trust Moscow puts in one ethnic group over another. For example, Ingushetia has suffered 76 casualties (one death per 7,000), and Kabardino-Balkaria has suffered 169 (one death per 5,400) (Mediazona, July 5). The Russian military may have drawn from these regions to a lesser extent than from others due to the potential security risks, as both have been known for active insurgencies (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, March 7; Kavkaz.Realii, July 9). Additionally, these groups may have been less likely to volunteer.

Experts still wonder when and if significant losses and public discontent will push Moscow to curb its invasion of Ukraine (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 7, 2023).

## Zelenskyy insists...

(Continued from page 1)

November we will have a fully ready plan," Mr. Zelenskyy said. "Everything will be ready for the second [peace] summit if we implement these points and if a complete plan is ready," and "representatives of Russia should be at the second summit."

Russia has already said it won't attend any of the summit's component meetings or its culminating assembly of government officials and organizations.

Mikhail Shishkin, Russia's deputy foreign affairs minister, said that Moscow is not going to participate in the second peace summit, even though Kyiv intends to send an invitation.

The first summit was held on June 15-16 in Switzerland with more than 80 countries and four organizations signing a concluding communique that summarized its result.

Mr. Zelenskyy first announced his 10-point peace formula in November 2022 at a summit of the Group of 20 major economies. It calls for, among other points, that Ukraine be provided security, all prisoners and deportees be released, Ukraine's energy infrastructure be secured and it calls for "the withdrawal of Russian troops and cessation of hostilities [and] restoration of Ukraine's state borders with Russia."

An estimated 44 percent of Ukrainians aged 18 years and older believe the time has come to start official peace talks with Russia, a nationwide survey by the Kyiv-based Razumkov Center found in late June.

Commissioned by the weekly newspaper Dzerkalo Tyzhnia ([www.zn.ua](http://www.zn.ua)), the poll also found that 51 percent of respondents want to see all Russian-occupied territories be liberated and the country's borders returned to those that existed in 1991 when Ukraine broke free from the Soviet Union, which would include the Crimean Peninsula that Russia forcibly seized in 2014.

Kyiv's clever use of maritime drones and precision-guided projectiles has largely freed up maritime trade in the Black Sea as Russia has gradually withdrawn its navy vessels to other ports.

Russia's last patrol ship that is part of the Black Sea fleet left occupied Crimea on July 15, Ukrainian Navy spokesperson Dmytro Pletenichuk said this week.

Russian-speaking Stavropol region, located on the border of the North Caucasus, with 1,126 reported deaths (one death per 2,600). Curiously, despite extensive publicity in the media, Chechnya has reported only 258 deaths (one death per 6,000). Chechen ruler Ramzan Kadyrov may have been able to suppress the information about the full extent of Chechen casualties in Ukraine. Alternatively, due to his political weight in Russia, Mr. Kadyrov may have been able to spare his men from the war by withdrawing them from the most dangerous areas, as some reports have suggested (RBK; T.me/belpepel, June 15, 2023; Gazeta.ru, July 7).

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Experts still wonder when and if significant losses and public discontent will push Moscow to curb its invasion of Ukraine (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 7, 2023).

"Remember this day," he said on Facebook.

About 30 percent of Russia's Black Sea fleet has either been destroyed or rendered combat ineffective.

Much of the Kremlin's naval vessels in this area have been moved to the Russian port city of Novorossiysk.

"The Russian Navy's sphere of influence in the Black Sea has been significantly reduced, and the whole world can see this today," Andrii Yusov, spokesperson for Ukraine's Defense Intelligence, told the Kyiv Independent earlier this month.

On another peace point, Ukraine this week repatriated an additional 95 prisoners of war during a parity exchange with Russia.

Forty-nine of them defended the battered Donetsk regional port city of Mariupol. Eighty-eight of the freed captives were privates and sergeants and seven were officers.

This was the 54th prisoner exchange between Ukraine and Russia since Moscow's forces launched a full-scale invasion in February 2022. Exactly 3,405 Ukrainians have been repatriated since.

Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office has opened more than 450 cases of prisoner torture among military personnel and over 2,100 investigations into the torture of civilians.

### Trump's pick for VP opposes aid to Ukraine

First-time Ohio Sen. J.D. Vance was picked to be Donald Trump's vice presidential candidate during this week's Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. He has a record of opposing aid to Kyiv and in 2022 told Steve Bannon in an interview that he "doesn't really care what happens to Ukraine one way or another."

At this year's Munich Security Conference, he also bypassed a meeting with the Ukrainian delegation and other U.S. senators.

Last year, he and 18 other Republican lawmakers called on U.S. President Joe Biden to end "unlimited aid" to Ukraine and threatened to block funding, while saying another time that Ukraine might need to "cede some territory to Russia" to end the ongoing war that is the bloodiest on the European continent since World War II.

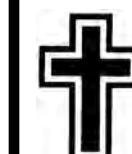
The estimated 15,000 Soviet losses in the Afghan War of the 1970s and 1980s became a key factor in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Russian losses (estimated between 6,000 and 14,000 dead) in the first Russo-Chechen War in 1994-1996 also played an essential role in stopping it.

Unlike in the previous wars, the Russian government has been providing unprecedented financial bonuses for volunteers (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, April 9, 16, 30). Some new recruits could receive a whooping 1.65 million rubles (\$18,750) as a signing bonus (RBK, May 28). This is an especially attractive option for people in the poorest regions of Russia, where this amount of money makes up several annual salaries. The base monthly wage of 210,000 rubles (\$2,400) for recruits is about five times higher than the average salary in North Ossetia (Audit, accessed July 16). Reliance on paid volunteers lowers the societal pressure on the government for war losses. This does not solve all the issues the Kremlin faces, however. The Russian government has had to regularly

increase signing bonuses, indicating fewer people want to volunteer to fight in Ukraine, even for relatively substantial compensation.

The reluctance to fight for an unclear cause and with great danger to self will likely affect the non-Russian republics particularly hard. For example, Dagestanis heavily protested the "partial" mobilization in the fall of 2022 (Mediazona, September 25, 2022; see Eurasia Daily Monitor, September 29, 2022). Even Mr. Kadyrov said that Chechnya "completed the mobilization plan by 1,500 percent," indicating that Moscow should not expect more recruits from the republic (Vedomosti, December 13, 2023). These pressures are adding to the Kremlin's calculus in its military campaign in Ukraine and likely preventing it from announcing another wave of mobilization, further compromising its ability to prosecute the "long war."

*The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, [www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org).*



The Corporate Board of Directors  
of the

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
regrets to announce to the members of  
the General Assembly, to members of  
UNA Branch 444 and to the  
UNA membership-at-large, tha



**Albert Kachkowski**

(February 7, 1941 – May 4, 2024)

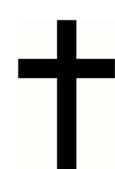
Secretary of UNA Branch 444 in Saskatoon, SK,  
passed away on May 4, 2024.

Mr. Kachkowski was a proud UNA Branch Secretary for 29 years,  
UNA Director for Canada (2002-2006) and UNA Adviser (2006-2010).

The Corporate Board of Directors and the entire UNA membership  
wish to express their deepest sympathy to his wife Cecelia,  
son Taras and daughter Marusia with family.

Mr. Kachkowski was a very active and long-time supporter  
of the UNA. His dedication to the Ukrainian National  
Association will not be forgotten.

**Вічна Йому пам'ять!**



With deep sorrow we announce that

**BOHDAN KNIAHYNYCKYJ**

passed away peacefully in La Mesa, CA  
on Saturday, June 29, 2024, after a lengthy  
battle with Idiopathic Pulmonary Fibrosis.



Bohdan was born on May 10, 1946 in Haar, Germany  
to Reverend Yaroslav and Lubomyra Kniahynyckyj.

The funeral liturgy was held on Friday, July 12, at St. Mary Protectress  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Spring Valley, CA. Interment followed at  
Miramar National Cemetery.

Remaining in deep sorrow:

wife	- Vera (Skop)
sister	- Roma Hayda
sister-in-law	- Hildegard Kniahynyckyj
nephews	- Roman Kniahynyckyj and family Borys Hayda and family Marko Hayda and family Roman Hayda and family

sister and brother in law - Nadia and Peter Skop Shlichta  
family and friends in the U.S., Canada and Ukraine

**May his memory be eternal!**

The family requests donations in Bohdan's memory be made to  
St. John the Baptizer Ukrainian Catholic Church Building Fund (PO Box  
3116 La Mesa, CA 91941)

## Ukrainian pro sports update

by Ihor N. Stelmach

### Ukraine appeals to disqualify Russian athletes as wrestlers to boycott Paris Games

Ukraine's National Olympic Committee (NOC) and Ministry of Youth and Sports sent another written appeal to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in which they provided evidence that specific Russian athletes already qualified for the Summer Olympics have supported Russia's war efforts. The letter was signed by NOC President Vadym Gutzeit and acting minister Matvey Bidnyi, according to a NOC press release.

In the letter, the two men wrote that "representatives of the aggressor countries should not be allowed to participate in any international events and competitions in any status, including the status of an Individual Neutral Athlete (AIN)."

The athletes listed as supporting the war

in Ukraine, the policies of Vladimir Putin and not meeting the necessary criteria to obtain AIN status included seven wrestlers, two trampoline gymnasts, a cyclist, a taekwondo artist, a swimmer and two canoeists.

The letter contained evidence of the athletes' support for the war against Ukraine, arguing that by liking or sharing content calling for aggression against Ukraine and glorifying Russia's war effort the athletes should not be allowed to compete in Paris. Some athletes took part in propaganda tournaments that praised the Russian military. Other athletes had a direct connection to the Russian armed forces.

The Russian Wrestling Federation released a statement on July 6 stating that

they were refusing all of the Olympic invitations they received, meaning there will be no Russian wrestlers at the 2024 Paris Games. The 10 Russians who were approved to compete in the Olympics by the Individual Athlete Eligibility Review Panel will boycott the Games. The federation issued a statement saying that it does not accept "the unsportsmanlike selection principle that guided the IOC when forming the list of eligible athletes." The statement claimed the IOC's process undermined the principle of unity of the Russian team.

#### Ukraine wins 12 medals at Wheelchair Fencing World Cup

Ukraine's 12 medals easily put them first in total medals at the Wheelchair Fencing World Cup held in Warsaw on July 4-7. Some 120 Para athletes from 23 countries competed, including 16 Ukrainians who captured one gold, six silver and five bronze medals. Italy placed second with eight total medals, but Italy, Poland and Thailand each won two gold medals ranking them above Ukraine in the medal standings.

Ukraine's European champion Yevheniia Breus won gold in the women's épée category by a tally of 15-10 in her final match. Ukrainian multi-medalists included Serhii Shavkun (silver and bronze), Nataliia Morkvych (silver and bronze) and Olena Fedota-Isaieva (silver and bronze).



National Sports Committee for the Disabled of Ukraine, Paralympic Committee

**Yevheniia Breus, who competes in épée and saber, raises a saber at the Wheelchair Fencing World Cup in Warsaw after winning gold in the women's épée individual A category.**

(Continued on page 13)



Ukraine's men's saber team (from left to right) Andrii Demchuk, Anton Datsko, Dmytro Serozhchenko and Artem Manko celebrate their gold medal performance at the Wheelchair Fencing World Cup in Warsaw on July 8.

### Ukraine at the 2024 Summer Olympics: Preview

by Ihor Stelmach

### In war-time, Ukrainian athletes fight to make Olympics

High jumper Kateryna Tabashnyk cleared 1.89 meters at the Ukrainian Athletics Championships in Lviv, Ukraine, on June 30, but it was not good enough to qualify for this summer's Paris Olympics. The 30-year-old began to cry because her attempt fell short and also because she began to reflect on everything she lived through the past two-and-a-half years. That she was even close was proof of her amazing determination and resolve.

Tabashnyk's mother died in a Russian airstrike on Kharkiv, Ukraine, in 2022. She had returned to the city to help her young nephew who was badly injured in a prior attack by Russian troops.

One month after losing her mom, Tabashnyk returned to competition, looking at sports as one way of honoring her mother's life even while she was still grieving.

In a late June interview with CNN in Lviv, she spoke about her experiences in her war-torn homeland.

"Of course, it affects people and me – the loss of my home, the loss of my dear mother, the loss of friends. All this takes strength, takes energy. It's like a poison for the body," Tabashnyk said.

"We have to prepare to compete and show results against this background. Of course, it's very hard, but to be honest I don't know where I've been getting this energy for the last two years. It's something incredible, even for me," she said.

Ukraine is sending some 130 athletes to Paris, about 25 less than the country had in Tokyo three years ago, but their participa-

tion will feel much more noteworthy. Ukraine's Olympians have endured scores of challenges since Russia's invasion – facilities have been destroyed, family members and friends have been killed and there is great uncertainty about the future.

Ukraine's Ministry of Youth and Sport has reported that about 3,000 athletes have entered the military ranks, roughly 479 athletes have been killed and more than 500 sports facilities have been destroyed, including 15 Olympic training centers.

Tabashnyk won a bronze medal at this year's European Indoor Championships, her first-ever medal at a major event, and had hopes of qualifying for Ukraine's first Olympic team since Russia launched its full-scale unprovoked invasion in February 2022. She was confident about making the team before suffering an injury before the national championships in Lviv.

There were many times she wanted to give up on sports, only to pull herself together and convince herself "to fight like never before." Now, no matter the obstacle, her fighting spirit prevails.

Tabashnyk is only one Ukrainian athlete whose life has been permanently scarred by the Russian invasion. Many Ukrainian athletes have been forced to relocate abroad to continue training for the Olympic Games.

Viktoria Tkachuk, a 400-meter hurdler, faces a 46-hour trip from Ukraine to her training camp in South Africa. Her brother was called to duty on the frontline in May 2023, and ever since her entire family has



Hurdler Viktoria Tkachuk, seen at the 2022 European Championships in Munich where she won silver in the 400-meter hurdles, qualified for the 2024 Paris Summer Olympics.

lived in daily fear about his safety.

Tkachuk got to see her brother in February when he had leave from military service, and the two are in regular touch while going about their separate lives. They write text messages to each, saying that

they will both enjoy victories – he in the war, she in competitions.

Already qualified for the Olympics, Tkachuk did not compete in Lviv due to a minor injury.

In spite of the dark shadow over Ukraine's participation at the Paris Games cast by the Russian invasion, the atmosphere in Lviv was very spirited with most athletes excited by the opportunity to contest for a berth in the Games.

Acting Minister of Sport Matviy Bidnyi spoke about the Ukrainian Olympic team, their taking part in the Olympic movement and competing on the biggest sporting stage with the entire world looking on.

Speaking with CNN in Lviv, Bidnyi said, "All of the world awaits what we will do in the Olympic Games, what we can show in the Olympic Games – that our country, which is in a war now, is in good shape. This is an important mission and all our athletes understand their responsibility in it."

Russian and Belarusian athletes will be allowed to compete as individual neutral athletes in Paris provided they meet specific eligibility criteria. Russian and Belarusian teams are banned, as are national flags, anthems and colors.

Most Ukrainians were hoping for an outright ban of athletes from the two aggressor countries.

Russians and Belarusians will not be competing in track and field events in Paris

(Continued on page 13)

## Ukrainian pro...

(Continued from page 12)

Ukraine's wheelchair fencers rose to the top of the team saber and Category C World Championships held in Warsaw on July 8 by grabbing all three gold medals in the men's and women's individual and team events. In the women's team event, the Ukrainian trio of Yevhenia Breus, Olena Fedota-Isaieva and Natalia Morkvych emerged victorious over Poland by one point on a video review of a Breus winning hit. It was Ukraine's first world title since 2017. Artem Manko, Anton Datsko and Andrii Demchuk became men's team saber champions again after convincingly defeating Italy 45-32.

Another gold for Ukraine was guaranteed before the final of the men's épée category C when teammates Serhii Sheptitskyi and Serhii Shavkun got set to face off. Shavkun emerged as the victor, claiming his fourth World Championship gold medal.

### Petrenko an armwrestling world champion

At the East vs. West No.13 tournament in Istanbul, Turkey, Ukrainian Oleg Petrenko captured the light heavyweight world title in arm wrestling by defeating Armenian David Dadikyan 4-0 in a best-of-seven right arm match on July 6. The 28-year-old, who stands 5-foot-10 and weighs 229 pounds, competed in the 105-kilogram category. For Petrenko, it was imperative to finish quickly, knowing his opponent had more endurance than he did.

### Svitolina in tears after Wimbledon win

Elina Svitolina's black ribbon stood out dramatically on her white shirt while completing a straight set 6-2, 6-1 victory over China's Wang Xinyu in the round of 16 at Wimbledon. The Ukrainian star would go on to lose to Russian-born Elena Rybakina, the 2022 champion who represents Kazakhstan, in the quarterfinal 3-6, 2-6 on center court. The two opponents did shake hands at the net following their match.

The black ribbon was to remind the world of a devastating Russian missile

attack that killed some 31 people and severely damaged a Kyiv children's hospital in a barrage condemned as a ruthless assault on Ukrainian civilians.

"It's a very difficult day today for all Ukrainian people," the 29-year-old Svitolina said in tears during a television interview on court following her win over Wang Xinyu. "It was not easy to focus on the match. Since this morning it has been very difficult to read the news and go on court. So I was happy to play today and get the win. It was a good performance from my side. Thanks to everyone for their support."

Dozens of volunteers, doctors and rescue workers dug through debris at the Okhmatdyt Children's Hospital as they searched for survivors after a rare day-time bombing, according to AFP journalists on the scene.

Svitolina played inspired tennis to reach her third Wimbledon quarterfinal, stating that she was playing for a higher cause. She was showered with applause from the crowd.

Svitolina needed special approval from Wimbledon management to wear the black ribbon on center court, as doing so was a break with the organization's all-white dress code. She did not wear the ribbon against Rybakina.

### Kostyuk turned heads at Wimbledon

Ukrainian tennis star Marta Kostyuk made quite a fashion statement at Wimbledon 2024 by playing her matches in a sporty version of her wedding dress. The 22-year-old defeated two opponents, but lost in the third round wearing Wilson's \$298 "Marta Dress." The tennis dress was inspired by the gown created for her November 2023 wedding by Wilson's Vice President of Design Joelle Michaeloff.

Kostyuk wore her bridal look dress first against Slovakia's Rebecca Sramkova, next in her match versus Australian Daria Saville, and finally in her loss to Madison Keys in the round of 32.

In a YouTube clip posted by Wilson on July 1, Kostyuk said the wedding gown and tennis dress were designed to be "light, comfortable, free, feminine and beautiful."

charge of abuse of power. The charge was linked to the failed hijacking of a Russian plane, which, according to the investigation, led to a Russian missile attack on the Kanatovo airfield in the Kirovohrad region in July 2022 that killed one Ukrainian military serviceman and wounded 17 others. Mr. Chervinskiy is accused of planning and implementing the hijacking without the permission of his supervisors, which Mr. Chervinskiy denies. He calls the case against him "political retaliation" for criticizing Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. In November of last year, The Washington Post described Mr. Chervinskiy as a decorated officer in the Ukrainian military with "deep ties" to the country's intelligence services, saying that he "played a central role" and was the "coordinator" of the attack on the Nord Stream 1 and Nord Stream 2 natural-gas pipelines. The report alleged that Mr. Chervinskiy "took orders from more senior Ukrainian officials, who ultimately reported to Gen. Valeriy Zaluzhnyi," who was Ukraine's top-ranking officer at the time. It quoted Ukrainian and European officials and "other people knowledgeable about the details of the covert operation." The Washington Post said that, through an attorney, Mr. Chervinskiy had rejected accusations that he was involved in sabotage. The explosive charges that were detonated on the pipelines in September 2022 caused massive leaks and were seen as a dangerous attack on European infrastructure half a year into

2023.

### Nord Stream attack 'coordinator' bailed

The Ukrainian law firm Katerynchuk, Moor & Partners said on July 15 that a court of appeals in the Kirovohrad region had granted bail of 9 million hryvnia (\$218,000) to Special Forces Col. Roman Chervinskiy, who was described by The Washington Post in November as a "coordinator" in the 2022 attack on the Nord Stream natural-gas pipelines. Mr. Chervinskiy was arrested in April last year on a

charge of abuse of power. The charge was linked to the failed hijacking of a Russian plane, which, according to the investigation, led to a Russian missile attack on the Kanatovo airfield in the Kirovohrad region in July 2022 that killed one Ukrainian military serviceman and wounded 17 others. Mr. Chervinskiy is accused of planning and implementing the hijacking without the permission of his supervisors, which Mr. Chervinskiy denies. He calls the case against him "political retaliation" for criticizing Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. In November of last year, The Washington Post described Mr. Chervinskiy as a decorated officer in the Ukrainian military with "deep ties" to the country's intelligence services, saying that he "played a central role" and was the "coordinator" of the attack on the Nord Stream 1 and Nord Stream 2 natural-gas pipelines. The report alleged that Mr. Chervinskiy "took orders from more senior Ukrainian officials, who ultimately reported to Gen. Valeriy Zaluzhnyi," who was Ukraine's top-ranking officer at the time. It quoted Ukrainian and European officials and "other people knowledgeable about the details of the covert operation." The Washington Post said that, through an attorney, Mr. Chervinskiy had rejected accusations that he was involved in sabotage. The explosive charges that were detonated on the pipelines in September 2022 caused massive leaks and were seen as a dangerous attack on European infrastructure half a year into

2023.

### Yastremska refuses handshake with Russian

Dayana Yastremska refused to shake hands with Russian-born Varvara Gracheva

after defeating her at Wimbledon in second round action. In a tight match lasting two and a half hours, Yastremska recovered from a set down to beat the now French citizen Gracheva 3-6, 6-4, 7-6.

Yastremska netted 35 winners and converted six of 13 break points in the match.

During the post-match handshake at the net, the Ukrainian politely declined to shake hands with her defeated opponent. The two did have a brief amicable conversation before leaving the court.

(Based on reporting by Interfax-Ukraine, The Kyiv Independent, Flo wrestling, Independent Online (IOL), Business Insider and Tennis Infinity.)

Ihor Stelmach may be reached at [ihorgenia@sbcglobal.net](mailto:ihorgenia@sbcglobal.net).

## In war-time...

(Continued from page 12)

as World Athletics banned them from all elite level competitions. This was the only sports federation to take such a step.

Athletes like Tkachuk will not experience the potentially arduous situation of lining up next to or against competitors whose nations are waging war with their country. For Tkachuk, this is especially relevant because of her brother.

Anna Ryzhykova, another Olympic 400-meter hurdler, told CNN that she's not friends with Russian and Belarusian athletes and declared they have no right to be at the Olympic Games. Ryzhykova believes that, "Every one [of them] is guilty in some way."

Ryzhykova has also spent time away from home training and competing, making Brescia, Italy, her temporary base for the past few months. Despite the safe comforts

of her training base, it is not easy for her to be away from her family in Dnipro.

Home is her safe place, where she can recharge, relax, feel good and get some quality rest between competitions or from training. The 34-year-old won a bronze medal at the 2012 London Olympics. She explained that the training camps are totally different in foreign countries because she finds it difficult to truly relax far away from her homeland.

Ryzhykova no longer reads the news on days when she competes, which forces her to find different ways of distracting herself whenever her mind starts thinking about the war. Her latest solution is to use books or novels, studying a character in a book and concentrating on plot developments on competition days in trying to remain stress and worry-free.

(Based on reporting by CNN Sports.)

Ihor Stelmach may be reached at [ihorgenia@sbcglobal.net](mailto:ihorgenia@sbcglobal.net).

## UKRAINIAN FOLK FESTIVAL

Celebrating the 33rd Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 25 @ 12:00 noon**

UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN SPORT CENTER - "TRYZUB"

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Drinks and Cool Refreshments BBQ & Picnic Foods

**1:30 to 4:30 PM**

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Dynamic program of Ukrainian Music, Song & Dance

Collaboratively arranged and choreographed by the performing artists

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**Violinist Innesa Tymochko Dekajlo**

**Singer Iryna Lonchyna**

**Vox Ethnika Ensemble**

**Desna Ukrainian Dance Co. of Toronto**

**Exhibits of Ukrainian Kozak History**

**4:30 PM to 8:00 PM**

**Live Music: Vox Ethnika Band**

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**\$2 of each paid admission donated to Humanitarian Relief in Ukraine**

(Continued on page 14)

**Ukrainian Sports Federation of U.S.A. and Canada ("USCAK")**  
**Labor Day Swimming Competition**



**Saturday, August 31st, 2024**

Soyuzivka Heritage Center, 216 Foordmore Rd., Kerhonkson, NY 12446

**Warm Up 9:00 AM**  
**Meet Begins 9:30 AM Sharp**

**MEET ENTRY FORM**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization Swimmer Represents: \_\_\_\_\_

**AGE GROUP**

8 & Under \_\_\_\_\_ 9-10 \_\_\_\_\_ 11-12 \_\_\_\_\_ 13-14 \_\_\_\_\_ 15 & Over \_\_\_\_\_  
 Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

**EVENTS (Indicate event numbers using Key Code from opposite page)**

1: \_\_\_\_\_ 2: \_\_\_\_\_ 3: \_\_\_\_\_ 4: \_\_\_\_\_ 5: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Relay: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ (teams will be assigned day of event)

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<b>LIST OF EVENTS</b>				<b>EVENT #</b>
<b>INDIVIDUAL</b>		<b>AGE</b>	<b>AGE</b>	
<b>EVENT #</b>	<b>BOYS</b>	<b>AGE</b>	<b>AGE</b>	<b>GIRLS</b>
1	13 / 14	100m IM	13 / 14	2
3	15 & OVER	100m IM	15 & OVER	4
5	9 - 10	25m Free	9 - 10	6
7	8 & UNDER	25m Free	8 & UNDER	8
9	11 - 12	25m Free	11 - 12	10
11	13 - 14	50m Free	13 - 14	12
13	15 & OVER	50m Free	15 & OVER	14
15	9 - 10	50m Free	9 - 10	16
17	11 - 12	50m Free	11 - 12	18
19	13 - 14	50m Back	13 - 14	20
21	15 & OVER	50m Back	15 & OVER	22
23	8 & UNDER	25m Back	8 & UNDER	24
25	9 - 10	25m Back	9 - 10	26
27	11 - 12	25m Back	11 - 12	28
29	13 - 14	50m Breast	13 - 14	30
31	15 & OVER	50m Breast	15 & OVER	32
33	8 & UNDER	25m Breast	8 & UNDER	34
35	9 - 10	25m Breast	9 - 10	36
37	11 - 12	25m Breast	11 - 12	38
39	13 - 14	100m Free	13 - 14	40
41	15 & OVER	100m Free	15 & OVER	42
43	8 & UNDER	25m Fly	8 & UNDER	44
45	9 - 10	25m Fly	9 - 10	46
47	11 - 12	25m Fly	11 - 12	48
49	13 - 14	50m Fly	13 - 14	50
51	15 & OVER	50m Fly	15 & OVER	52
<b>RELAYS</b>				
53	8 & UNDER	4x25m Free	8 & UNDER	54
55	9 - 10	4x25m Free	9 - 10	56
57	11 - 12	4x25m Free	11 - 12	58
59	13 - 14	4x50m Free	13 - 14	60
61	15 & OVER	4x50m Medley	15 & OVER	62

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 13)

Russia's full-scale invasion. Western officials initially blamed Russia for the blasts, which all but destroyed the twin pipelines. Moscow blamed the United States and its allies saying that it had no reason for blowing up an energy link vital to bringing its supplies westward. Nord Stream is majority-owned by Russia's Gazprom and had supplied millions of Europeans with gas. It was seen as a major effort by Moscow to bypass Ukraine in the transit of Russian gas westward. The United States had warned for years that the pipelines were a security risk for Germany and other European nations, making the countries beholden to Russian energy exports. (RFE/RL's Russian Service, with reporting by The Washington Post)

**German court convicts Russian-German couple**

A Russian-German couple has been convicted by a court in Stuttgart, Germany, of supplying about 120,000 spare parts for Orlan-10 drones to Russia in violation of European Union sanctions. The court on July 17 sentenced the 59-year-old male dual Russian-German citizen to six years and nine months in prison for supplying electronic components to a Russian company 54 times between 2020 and March 2023. According to the court, he sold amplifiers, transformers, transistors and other spare parts to companies associated with the Russian defense industry, using front companies in China, Hong Kong, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. His common-law wife, also a dual citizen, received a suspended sentence of one year and nine months for assisting with the crime. (RFE/RL's Russian Service)

Investigations (DBR) said border guards detained the dead man and three other "fugitives" as they tried to cross the border into Moldova on foot on July 14. It said one of the detainees attacked a border guard "while trying to escape." "In response, he used a service weapon and shot the assailant," the investigators said. The agency said its investigation was based on the death of a serviceman and was intended to clarify whether the guard used appropriate force. More than 23,000 Ukrainian men have crossed the border illegally into neighboring Moldova since Russian troops poured into Ukraine in February 2022 in Europe's first all-out army invasion since World War II. As part of early defense efforts, Ukrainian men between the ages of 18 and 59 were banned from leaving the country. In April, Ukrainian officials lowered the conscription age from 27 to 25. To address a shortfall in troops, hundreds of thousands of whom are thought to have been killed or wounded so far in the war, they also required men to update their draft registration information. They also imposed pressure and punishments on Ukrainians abroad who refused to register for possible military service. Ukrainian border officials have detained small numbers of individuals trying to leave the country into Moldova. They reported the deaths of at least a dozen people this year who were trying to cross a western river on the border between the two countries. (RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service)

**Russia's Statistics Service hides war deaths**

Russia's State Statistics Service has excluded the total number of deaths from external causes in its annual report, Meduza reported, citing demographic expert Aleksei Rashka. Russia has historically broken down annual deaths caused by illness from those caused by external factors, such as murder and suicide. Experts would have been able to use that data to extrapolate the number of Russians killed in the invasion of Ukraine, something the Kremlin has refused to disclose. U.S. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin said last month that at least 350,000 Russian troops have been killed or wounded in the 29-month war. News outlets have confirmed at least 58,000 Russian soldier deaths using obituaries, inheritance records and social media posts. (RFE/RL's Russian service)

## Soprano...

(Continued from page 5)

The reviews have been glowing.

Adam Parker, in the Charleston Post and Courier, wrote, "Teryn Kuzma's terrific lyric soprano voice conveyed H'ala's youth and innocence while delivering some of [composer Layale] Chaker's most beautiful melodies. She had an impressive ability to soar to the highest heights of her register yet keep a mellifluous delivery."

And Maura Hogan, reporting for the Charleston City Paper, observed, "As H'ala, soprano Teryn Kuzma embodies sheer innocence, a resonant, emotive entrée to this young girl's harrowing plight."

She appeared onstage alongside an impressive cast, including Grammy Award-winning tenor Karim Sulayman, all led by conductor Kamna Gupta, whose other credits include directing the Choir of Trinity Wall Street in Manhattan and conducting productions at the Vancouver and Atlanta operas.

Ms. Kuzma is on a fast track to singing stardom. She earned a bachelor's degree in vocal performance from the University of Connecticut, where she sang roles in opera productions and appeared as a soloist with the University of Connecticut Symphony Orchestra. Along the way, she also took part in a summer program at the Ukrainian

Artsong Project in Toronto.

She earned her master's degree from the prestigious Bard Graduate Vocal Arts Program, where she played the title role in its production of Janacek's *Cunning Little Vixen* and sang in various recitals. Since moving to New York City, she has earned various professional credits as a vocalist and is also a founding member and current concertmaster of the Women's Bandura Ensemble of North America.

The dramatic final scene of *Ruinous Gods* shows H'ala ascending into the sky. Will she be reunited with her mother back in the realm of the conscious world? Make a documentary about refugees, which was her original aim? Remain in a perpetual dream world in which all people are secure in their homes and their homelands?

We must come to our own conclusions as we simultaneously celebrate the ascendant career of Ms. Kuzma. More information on *Ruinous Gods* can be found online at <https://spondeotusa.org>.

*Footnote:* Of all the talented vocalists assembled at the Spoleto Festival USA, Teryn Kuzma was selected to sing in a special concert where she played the bandura and was also chosen to sing the National Anthem at the festival's May 24th opening ceremony.

*Melanie Modlin* is a freelance writer from Alexandria, Va.

# OUT & ABOUT

Through August 10 Chicago	Photo exhibit, "Not All of Them: Portraits of War Refugees," by Atanas Sutkus, Arturas Morozovas and Tadas Kazakevicius, Ukrainian National Museum, 312-421-8020	July 27 King of Prussia, PA	Convention banquet, featuring the Soloway Live Music Band, Ukrainian Orthodox League, Crowne Plaza Hotel Ballroom, 77thUOLConvention@gmail.com
Through August 30 Chicago	Exhibit, "The Ground of Things," works by Aleksander Najda and Vasyl Savchenko, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, <a href="http://www.uima-chicago.org">www.uima-chicago.org</a>	July 27 Jewett, NY	Concert honoring retiring MACGC president Natalia Sonevystky, featuring violinists Vasyl Zatsikha and Nazar Pylatyuk, violist Richard Young, cellists Natalia Khoma and Marta Bagratuni, and pianist Volodymyr Vynnytsky, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, <a href="http://grazhdamusicandart.org">https://grazhdamusicandart.org</a>
July 21, 23, 24 St. Petersburg, FL	Film screening, "Veselka: The Rainbow on the Corner at the Center of the World," Green Light Cinema, <a href="http://https://greenlightstpete.com">https://greenlightstpete.com</a>	July 28 Chicago	Concert, "Resonance of the Banned: Ukrainian Composers Unleashed," with violinist Markiyan Melnychenko and pianist Peter de Jager, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, <a href="http://www.uima-chicago.org">www.uima-chicago.org</a>
July 21 New York	Film screening, "Veselka: The Rainbow on the Corner at the Center of the World," and discussion with filmmaker, New Plaza Cinema, <a href="http://newplazacinema.org">https://newplazacinema.org</a>	July 29-31 Jewett, NY	Gerdany (bead-stringing) workshop, with instruction by Oriana Makar, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, <a href="http://grazhdamusicandart.org">https://grazhdamusicandart.org</a>
July 24 Cambridge, MA	Presentation by Orysia Kulick, "How Ukraine Ruled Russia: Regionalism and Party Politics after Stalin," Harvard University, <a href="http://huri.harvard.edu">https://huri.harvard.edu</a>	July 29-August 9 Jewett, NY	Children's singing course of Ukrainian folk songs, with instruction by Anna Bachynsky and Melanie Serbay, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, <a href="http://grazhdamusicandart.org">https://grazhdamusicandart.org</a>
July 24 Rosendale, NY	Film screening, "Veselka: The Rainbow on the Corner at the Center of the World," Rosendale Theatre, <a href="http://rosendaletheatre.org">https://rosendaletheatre.org</a>	July 31 Cambridge, MA	Presentation by George Grabowicz and Bohdan Tokarskyi, Harvard University, <a href="http://huri.harvard.edu">https://huri.harvard.edu</a>
July 25 Elkins Park, PA	Presentation by Anatolii Babynskyi, "The Pope's Tightrope Walk: Walking a Narrow Line Between Diplomacy and Moral Clarity in the Context of Russian Aggression against Ukraine," St. Sophia Religious Association, 215-635-1555 or <a href="http://stsophia.us">https://stsophia.us</a>	August 1 Philadelphia	Fundraiser, Iskra Surgeries for Children in Ukraine, featuring live music, silent auction, Iskra Global, Ukrainian American Citizens' Association, <a href="http://https://iskraglobal.org">https://iskraglobal.org</a>
July 25-27 Cleveland, OH	Ukrainian winter carol workshop, "Christmas in July," Borderlight Theatre Festival, Playhouse Square, <a href="http://www.borderlightcle.org/christmas-in-july">www.borderlightcle.org/christmas-in-july</a>	August 1 Chicago	Ukrainian flag-raising ceremony, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America - Illinois Division, Richard J. Daley Center, <a href="http://www.uccaillinois.org">www.uccaillinois.org</a>
July 26 North Wales, PA	Five-a-side soccer tournament, Ukrainian Orthodox League, Ukrainian American Sports Center - Tryzub, <a href="mailto:alevisnaumenko20@gmail.com">alevisnaumenko20@gmail.com</a> or 215-290-7878		
July 26-28 Philadelphia	Convention, Ukrainian Orthodox League, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Crowne Plaza Hotel (King of Prussia, Pa.), 77thUOLConvention@gmail.com or <a href="http://www.uolofusa.org">www.uolofusa.org</a>		

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in *The Ukrainian Weekly*. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows. Please send e-mail to [mdubas@ukrweekly.com](mailto:mdubas@ukrweekly.com).



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