



UKRAINE:

War and Resistance

Fulbright Stories
from the
Unfinished War



Views expressed by the authors are strictly their own and do not reflect those of the Ukrainian Fulbright Circle, IIE, and the Fulbright Program in Ukraine.

Cover photo by Marian Luniv

An abstract geometric composition featuring several thick, dark lines that intersect to form a star-like or cross-like shape. The lines have a textured, almost fibrous appearance. The background is a solid, vibrant orange. The text "February 2022" is centered in the image in a white, sans-serif font.

February
2022

February 24, 2022

Today, on 24 of February 2022, at 5.00 AM the armed forces of the Russian Federation launched intensive shelling of our units in the east, delivered missile/bomb strikes on airfields at Boryspil, Ozerne, Kulbakino, Chuhuiv, Kramatorsk, Chornobaivka, as well as on military infrastructure of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. At the same time the aggressor started artillery shelling of the areas and settlements along the state border and administrative boundary with temporarily occupied territory of Crimea. The National Defence Forces, using the right for self-defence according to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, are countering with dignity the enemy`s attempts to break through the state border. The situation is under control. Russian troops are suffering losses. In the Joined Forces Operation area, 5 aircraft and 2 helicopters of Russian Aerospace Forces have been hit, two tanks damaged, several trucks of the armed forces of the Russian Federation destroyed. There are no losses among the defenders.

<https://war.ukraine.ua/news/24-02-2022/>



The time to support Ukraine is right now. There is no place for "nothing I can do" as sounds of explosions wake people up in Kharkiv and Kyiv. You either help stop this meaningless war in Europe, or consider yourself supporting it. Donate to @savelife.in.ua to support Ukrainian army and spread this resource. I love this country with all my heart. I want the brave, bright soldiers who are defending it to come back to their families alive.

Yevheniia Haidamaka

Arts

National Technical University of Ukraine
"Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute"

Fulbright Graduate Student Program 2015-2017

Savannah College of Art and Design,
Savannah, GA

February 24, 2022

Glory to Ukraine!!! Слава Україні!!!

Andrii Leonov

Philosophy

Oles Honchar Dnipro National University

Fulbright Graduate Student

Program 2017-2018

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL

What does Russia want? To destroy Ukraine, to eliminate its sovereignty, and independence. Russia wants to kill the spirit of the Ukrainian people, and physically to eliminate all who disagree. At this point, this is basically the whole of Ukraine. And this physical elimination of the Ukrainians by the Russian army has already started.

What does Ukraine want? Ukraine wants to be an independent, democratic, European state. It wants peacefully to coexist with its neighbors.

These two desires cannot coexist. Now, Ukraine represents all the democratic and free world. The Russian Federation, and its aggression represent the totalitarian world. The world where any attempt to disagree is met with torture, prison and death.

For the West, this is the time to be completely united. Ukraine has to be helped not just with the promised sanctions but with the very serious military help. One has to understand very clearly: Putin is a new Hitler. If successful with occupying Ukraine, he will not stop there but will go further. His appetite to increase, the more successful his occupation will be. Putin is a dictator who understands only force. If Putin does not meet any serious, and forceful response from the West, that will be the end not only of the democratic Ukraine but, at least, of the free and democratic Europe.

Russia is not a democracy. It's a fascist and a totalitarian state. Ukraine is the genuine democracy. A democracy that was defending itself from the dictatorial attempts through all the time of Ukraine's Independence. And, by default, totalitarianisms and democracies cannot coexist.

This war is not just the war for the territories. In its essence, this is the war for, and of the values: totalitarian values vs. democratic values. The whole scale war that Russia has just started represents not just the local "Russia-Ukraine" conflict. No, essentially, this is nothing but the Conflict of Civilizations: the totalitarian civilization vs. the democratic civilization. The Closed Society against the Open Society.

Now, the democratic world cannot be mistaken, and should stop the military aggression of the pure evil that is coming from Russia as soon as possible. If the West abandons Ukraine, it can be the end not only of the democratic Ukraine, but it can be the end of the whole democratic world the way it is now.



*Maidan Nezalezhnosti, or Independence Square, the center of the 2014 revolution that ousted Kremlin-aligned Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich.
February 24, 2022, Kyiv, Ukraine.*

Photo by **Brendan Hoffman**
Photojournalism
Freelance Photographer, DC
Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program 2018-2019
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

February 24, 2022

Russia invaded my country. God save Ukraine.

<https://www.berkeleyside.org/2022/02/24/ukrainian-diaspora-berkeley-russia-invades-ukraine?>

"I am devastated," Nataliia Goshylyk, who is visiting Berkeley on a Fulbright for the year from Ivano-Frankivsk in western Ukraine, wrote in a text message. "I've got hundreds / thousands of people in Ukraine. I can't even contact them all."

Goshylyk has been exchanging messages with friends and family, who are hiding in bomb shelters after explosions shook their cities in the morning. She worries she could lose contact with loved ones.

Two days ago, Goshylyk wondered whether she would come home to a changed country. Now, she's worried if there will be a Ukraine at all.

"I hope I'll have a country to come back to," Goshylyk wrote.

Natalie Goshylyk

Linguistics

Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk

Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program 2021-2022
University of California, Berkeley, CA

This was my first message on social media after the undeclared and unprovoked full-scale invasion of Russia on February 24, 2022.

After sleepless night here in California I was talking to a local journalist and suggested a list of things Americans can do to help:

- Use correct language. It's not a crisis, it's war.
- Speak up on social media and to anyone you can. Spread the word. Try to understand what the conflict is about. What does Russia want? What does Ukraine want?
- Contact anyone you know from Ukraine. Ask if they need anything. Probably they don't but attention is important.
- Donate to Ukrainian charities if you want and can. You can donate to Voices of Children, which helps children traumatized by the war

receive mental health care, Anhelyk, which supports the families of Ukrainian children who lost a parent fighting in Eastern Ukraine, or Nova Ukraine, a Bay Area-based nonprofit providing aid to Ukraine.

Protesters rallied outside San Francisco's ferry building on Sunday opposing Russia's moves toward invading Ukraine. Credit: Andriy Shegera



5 things to know about what's happening in Ukraine, according to a Mercer expert

<https://den.mercer.edu/5-things-to-know-about-whats-happening-in-ukraine-according-to-a-mercero-expert/>

Chris Grant

Political Science

Mercer University, Macon, GA

Fulbright U.S. Scholar 2021-2022

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

1. Russia feels threatened by Ukraine's movement toward the West.

Last summer, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia jointly declared their intentions to join NATO, the Western military alliance, and the European Union. This has "genuinely bothered" Russian President Vladimir Putin, Dr. Grant said.

"His understanding of the world is a very power-driven understanding of the world," Dr. Grant said. "He grew up in a Cold War era, and he looks at the Americans as a serious rival and the Europeans as a serious rival, and he has great fears that a NATO member on his close border could provide significant hostility toward Russia."

Putin has annexed parts of Ukraine in the past, including Crimea in 2014. This is a continuation of that Russian aggression, Dr. Grant said.

2. It's unlikely the U.S. and other countries will give direct military support to Ukraine.

In terms of receiving direct military support from the United States and other countries, Dr. Grant said there are a few reasons why he thinks Ukraine is on its own.

For one, the world is frustrated and in disarray because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has depressed economies and pushed people to more nationalist thinking. In addition, because Ukraine is not a NATO member, NATO countries do not have an obligation to defend Ukraine.

Finally, in terms of the U.S., Americans are very "war weary" at this point, Dr. Grant said. There is no popular sentiment to send Americans to Ukraine to fight Russia. And if the U.S. were to enter combat, Dr. Grant feared that could lead to World War III.

"The fight in Ukraine is one that the Ukrainians have to fight against the Russians," he said. "I don't think that anybody's going to come to Ukraine's aid. I think that sanctions (from other countries) are going to be what's going to happen."

3. Some Russian occupation of Ukraine is expected but will be difficult to maintain.

Dr. Grant expects there will be some occupation of Ukraine and a ground war. There are strong indications that Putin wants to build a territory under Russian control that would stretch across the southern part of Ukraine, so that is a possible area of occupation, Dr. Grant said.

But Ukraine is a big country geographically, and its population tops 40 million. Most of those people have no interest in being occupied by Russia, he said.

"If there's one thing Ukrainians hate most, it's Vladimir Putin," he said. "They despise him, and when I was in souvenir markets a couple years ago, they sold toilet paper with Putin's face printed on it."

February 24, 2022

Day 1

In his research, Dr. Grant found that people with Russian heritage, who may consider themselves Russians culturally or speak Russian, still see themselves as Ukrainian patriots.

"I think an ongoing occupation of Western Ukraine (would) be hard because the people are going to be very, very defiant," he said. "Body bags coming home from Ukraine week after week after week will be devastating in Russia, and I think that will be a big problem for (Putin)." Dr. Grant is maintaining a vlog about Ukraine on YouTube.

4. Many in Ukraine did not think Russia would invade.

When the U.S. Department of State ordered Americans to leave Ukraine, many Ukrainians, and even Dr. Grant himself, did not believe the situation was that dire.

Because parts of Ukraine have had an ongoing conflict with Russia for years, many believed Russia would not invade, Dr. Grant said.

The U.S. based its actions on intelligence of a possible Russian invasion. Meanwhile, Putin was downplaying the threat, while at the same time increasing troops along the border.

"He actually added troops when he said would be withdrawing troops," Dr. Grant said.

Concern ramped up considerably in the past four weeks, especially in the last 10 days, he said.

"I think the American strategy in the end is going to go down as a win for the Biden administration in terms of world understanding

because I think they got the message of the danger, and their actions communicated the severity of what was going on, and that alerted the Ukrainian government and raised their attention."

5. Beware of Russian propaganda on social media.

Putin is spreading propaganda on state-run television and will try to spread it throughout the rest of the world too.

Dr. Grant said Russian propaganda will focus on three topics: violence against Russian speakers, a rise of fascism in Ukraine and the militarization of Ukrainians.

He explained the truth behind the propaganda: First, there is no evidence of violence against Russian speakers in Ukraine.

Second, the claim of a rise of fascism in Ukraine is an exaggeration of ultra-nationalist militias that exist in many places in Europe. They are small and extremist but not more of an issue in Ukraine than anywhere else.

Third, Ukrainian "militarization" is really about having an adequate defense against Russia. "All three of these items are going to (be) the propaganda that will be used to try to convince the world that Russia is under threat by Ukraine," Dr. Grant said.

Propaganda "will come through a number of sources, and we already know the Russians are quite adept at using our social media to feed us information," he warned. "So, watch for it because it's coming."

Philly's Ukrainian community responds to Russian invasion

<https://metrophiladelphia.com/phillys-ukrainian-community-responds-to-russian-invasion/>

By Jack Tomczuk

Kateryna Minkina

Political Science

V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University

Fulbright Graduate Student

Program 2021-2022

Villanova University, Villanova, PA

Kateryna Minkina was a student in Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city, in 2014 when Russian-backed forces occupied her smaller hometown in the eastern part of the country and she lost contact with her parents. Now, the 26-year-old is a Fulbright Scholar, attending Villanova University and living in Ardmore, as Russian troops launch a full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

"My parents right now are preparing their basement to use it like a shelter, like they did in 2014," Minkina told Metro on Thursday. "Now they have more experience of doing that and they actually can recognize different types of weapons by just hearing."

... Minkina, a Ukrainian citizen who plans to return there after her studies, is trying to raise awareness among Villanova students and combat disinformation.

She's also been in frequent communication with her friends and former classmates in Kharkiv, some of whom have fled the city.



"Some kind of psychological support is always valuable," Minkina said. "And it's always valuable to know that you have some contacts to speak to, and you're never alone in this."

February 24, 2022

00:00

On 24 February 2022, the troops of the Russian Federation following the order of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, carried out an open act of armed aggression and launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

13:22

President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyy called on volunteers from all over the world to go to Ukraine and defend Europe together with Ukrainians.

Natalie Goshlyk

Linguistics

Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk

Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program 2021-2022

University of California, Berkeley, CA

Today I was planning to come to a rally in San Francisco in support of Ukraine, the first rally since the beginning of the war. I didn't go, because my research group at the University of California decided to do a seminar on Ukraine.

I spent an hour telling participants what was happening and why it was important. I talked about Ukrainian history, Ukrainian writers and my fears. Unfortunately, many Americans know so little about Ukraine. "It took war to start learning the history of Ukraine, I'm ashamed," said a University instructor who was born just after WWII.

Ukrainian identity / Russian and Ukrainian languages / how many people support European and democratic values / is the world and the States doing enough / NATO and global security / Sofia of Kyiv — key notions to discuss with Americans.

And the rally near the San Francisco City Hall went well without me. I had a different microphone and a flag UA.



FULBRIGHT Association

Fulbrighters Standing with Ukraine

<https://fulbright.org/2022/02/25/fulbrighters-standing-with-ukraine/>

Dear Fulbrighters and Friends,

We share your dismay with the return of warfare to the European continent. The tragic and violent attack on Ukraine is a moment of action, and a moment of reflection.

As we watch the images from Ukraine—children huddled in subways, destroyed buildings, and attacking helicopters—we must send resources where they are needed. I urge you to use this NPR article to find organizations such as the International Red Cross, Nova Ukraine, and Save the Children to receive your financial support today. Doctors without Borders, one of the recipients of the Fulbright Prize for International Understanding, is at work in Ukraine and deserves your help.

This is also a moment to reflect on our commitment to keep the Fulbright Program strong and relevant. When conflict erupts, we should ask if we could have done more, as citizen diplomats, to prevent it. We are not naïve. Peace is hard to build and maintain, and it can be destroyed easily by hatred, resentment, and autocratic leadership.

So what can we do? We can have faith that ordinary people like you and me can make a difference in most cases and in many places worldwide. We can continue to work as hard as we can to advocate, educate, and serve. When the world seems to have gone mad, as it has now, we can keep trying.

As a community, we condemn the attack on the Ukrainian people, and we deplore the loss of life and wanton destruction. We agree with President Jimmy Carter, another Fulbright Prize Laureate, who said today that the US and its allies “must stand with the people of Ukraine in support of their right to peace, security, and self-determination.”

May Fulbright alumni continue to be catalysts for a more peaceful world.

Yours,

John Bader, Executive Director
Fulbright Association



Nighttime in Kyiv during Russian bombing the city. 25 February 2022.

Photo by **Serhii Korovainyi**

Journalism

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

Fulbright Graduate Student Program 2017-2018

Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

It is the War.

Julia Buyskykh

Anthropology
Research Institute of Ukrainian Studies,
Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program 2019-2020
The Pennsylvania State University,
University Park, PA

I would have never ever imagined myself saying this, but: I am grateful that my dearest father passed in 2020, and he doesn't witness how his birth country, Russia, is outrageously attacking the place he called motherland, Ukraine.

I would have never ever imagined myself saying this, but: I am grateful that my beloved granny passed in December 2021. This loss is still so fresh and hurting. But she is in the other, better world now. She survived the Nazi occupation in Kyiv during the WW II, and this war again, may have killed her.

My mother, me, and our cat are in Kyiv. Yesterday's which seems already as a week ago, I took my documents, money, few things and photos, and a pen drive with all my work for the last 12 years, and came to my mom's place. I've sent the manuscript of my book to my dear friend just in case. To preserve.

Last night my mother, me and a cat we've inherited from my granny spent in an underground car parking nearby. We have been frozen there. But safe. Many people were there, with children and pets. At 3 a.m. when the another wave of Russian bombing got started, we've heard it so close. Poznyaky area is not far from us. Poor cat was shaking. The dogs were

screaming, and kids crying. But! The men were so brave, keeping themselves and calming women and kids. They were staying near the entrance to the parking, together as a chain, ready to face anything, even without any armament.

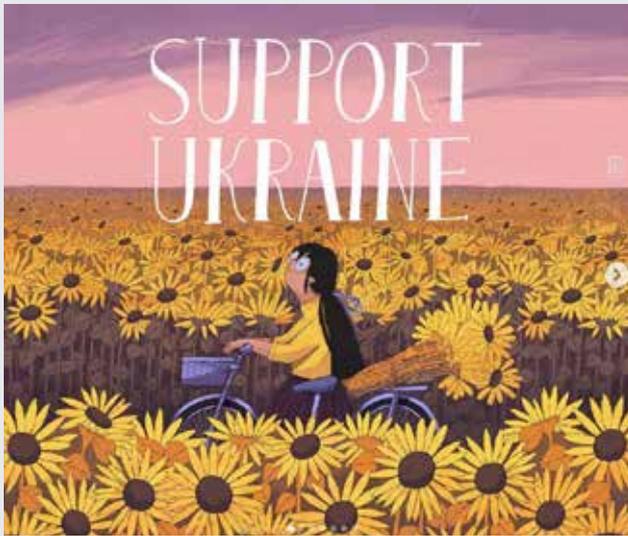
We went home at 7 a.m. Tried to sleep, but didn't succeed. I went to walk nearby, and it was such a contrasting experience to see that blue pre-spring sky, sun there high and almost warm, listening to the birds singing and air alert alarms simultaneously. First green grass. Explosions somewhere in the North direction. Men staying near the district administration, calm and strict, saying that they will protect their home. From Russians. That was the first moment during those mad days when I felt tears in my eyes.

We will survive. I pray and hope for that. I am overwhelmingly grateful for all those friends and colleagues writing me from all over the world, including those brave friends in Russia, who go out and protest against this war. My heart is melting because of the greatest support ever from Poland and Lithuania. Every person proposes to give us a shelter and host us, with cat. That warms my heart. So good to know that there are you, who care. Perhaps, there will be that time again when we would be able again to talk about books read, and fieldwork conducted.

Now we stay in Kyiv. My mother doesn't want to leave the city categorically, and I am with her. Thank you for being for us. For helping us. For your prayers and empathy.

I have always been convinced that Love will save every person, and the world. My life started because of love, I live for love and from love. Sending my love for you.

February 25, 2022



Yevheniia Haidamaka

Arts

National Technical University of Ukraine
"Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute"

**Fulbright Graduate Student
Program 2015-2017**

Savannah College of Art and Design,
Savannah, GA

My home, the place where I hope my children will grow up, is being attacked by Russia as I'm typing this. As you are sipping coffee and scrolling your feed. People are hiding in shelters. Civilian homes, kindergartens, schools are being destroyed by Russian missiles.

Online you will see that Russians change their minds daily as for what is the reason for this war. One thing everyone should know — Russia makes reasons up like it's their hobby. Because they have nukes and everyone is scared of the monkey threatening to press the button (no offense to the monkeys). Today, we fight alone. Budapest memorandum appeared to be a useless piece of paper. I want the world to know this. We will defend our country. We will live, no matter the cost, no matter the destruction. Nothing will ever break the spirit of my people, who are freezing outside for hours to donate blood, people who are donating thousands of dollars every day. People who say "go f* yourself" to the Russian navy warship, as they know they will die. We will remember each and everyone who was ignorant during these times and each and everyone who wasn't.

Donate to save lives, donate to help medical teams, donate to help refugees, donate to buy equipment for protecting our soldiers. No excuse for not helping. The monkey is always going to threaten to press the button.

P.S. You might be wondering, why this illustration? Yesterday, an older lady in Kherson region confronted a Russian soldier, alone, unarmed. Someone who can be your grandmother. She told them to leave our land, or at least to put some sunflower seeds into their pockets. So that when they die fighting for nothing, beautiful sunflowers would grow in their place.



*Military volunteers at a weapons storage facility receive weapons after the Ukrainian government announced they would arm civilians to resist the Russian invasion.
February 25, 2022, Fastiv, Ukraine.*

Photo by **Brendan Hoffman**
Photojournalism
Freelance Photographer, DC
Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program 2018-2019
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

10:10

As of February 26, 198 people died due to Russia's actions, including three children. Also, 1,115 people have been injured, including 33 children, according to Health Minister Viktor Lyashko.

Russia's Attack on Ukraine

<https://www.krytyka.com/en/articles/russias-attack-on-ukraine>

George G. Grabowicz

Language and Literature (non-U.S.)
Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program 1996-1997

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

...never send to know for whom
the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

—John Donne

The attack of Putin's Russia on Ukraine will become a new and somber watershed in modern history. The invasion had a long and methodical build-up and various dry runs—the annexation of Crimea in 2014, the eight years of on-and-off war in the Donbas, and before that the invasions and annexations of parts of Georgia and Moldova, the vicious devastation of Chechnya and its capital Grozny, and in the more distant past centuries of Russian imperialist expansion—but in postwar European history it stands out for its scope and its extremist character. Without provocation and with naked aggression an autocratic Russia attacks with full military force a neighboring country (supposedly a "brotherly" one and Slavic by boot) and calls it a defense against a perceived deadly threat. Which actually contains a kernel of truth: for a dictatorship democracy is, in fact, a threat.

As one sees from Putin's speech on the eve of the attack and from his earlier writing, the ideological basis for this aggression is a thesis built on imperialist lies and cynical distortions of history that Ukraine never was and never

had the makings of a state and a separate culture and thus lacks both de facto and de jure justification for its separate existence; all it can be is a province of or an addendum to Russia; at best a vassal state in its orbit. In his unapologetic revanchism and desire to avenge past wrongs and turn back the clock of history (particularly the fall of the Soviet Union) and his hypertrophied sense of the mission and grandeur of his country, his vision reminds us nothing so much as of Hitler on the eve of and during the Second World War. A typical feature of this modern dictator's tactics is the zombifying of his countrymen by projecting onto his opponent qualities that describe him and the society he is constructing, i.e., "Nazism" and "militarism": this, supposedly, defines democratic Ukraine and not Putin's autocratic Russia. The planned extirpation of Ukrainian "Nazism, extremism and militarism" will involve installing a puppet regime in Ukraine, curtailing or destroying civil society and a free media, and, as in Russia, rounding up and arresting "subversives" and "dissidents" (including those Russians and Belarusians who had taken refuge in Ukraine from the regimes of Putin and Lukashenko). The existence of carefully prepared "kill lists" of prospective opponents to be rounded up and "neutralized" has been prominently noted by American intelligence.

And the main thing now is that Ukraine is alone in its confrontation with a much more powerful Russia armed with nuclear weapons and seeming totally subservient to Putin's will. Regardless of the sympathy with which American and Western media and political figures may treat Ukraine—and yes, sanctions do matter and may eventually impact Russia's behavior, and weapons do help—it is now left to

its own fate. The argument for this is seemingly straightforward and iron-clad: Ukraine is not in NATO and only members of NATO can count on a collective defense. The fact that for various objective and subjective reasons Ukraine could not join NATO during its window of opportunity—even though it did give up its nuclear arsenal at the demand of both the West and Russia and was provided with "iron-clad guarantees" from both sides in the so-called Budapest memorandum of 1994—that is now conveniently forgotten.

But Ukraine's defense is a moral and existential issue for the entire Western and democratic world. These considerations trump the cryptolegalism of missed deadlines or windows of opportunity. Because by defending Ukraine the democratic world will also be defending itself and its moral and existential right to exist. Without this action it will continue its demoralization and atomization and be more open to further encroachment from an implacable enemy openly planning its eventual destruction. Or is it that history and the facts that are unfolding before our eyes have nothing to teach us? To paraphrase the poet, like every man, no country "is an island entire of itself"; it "is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."

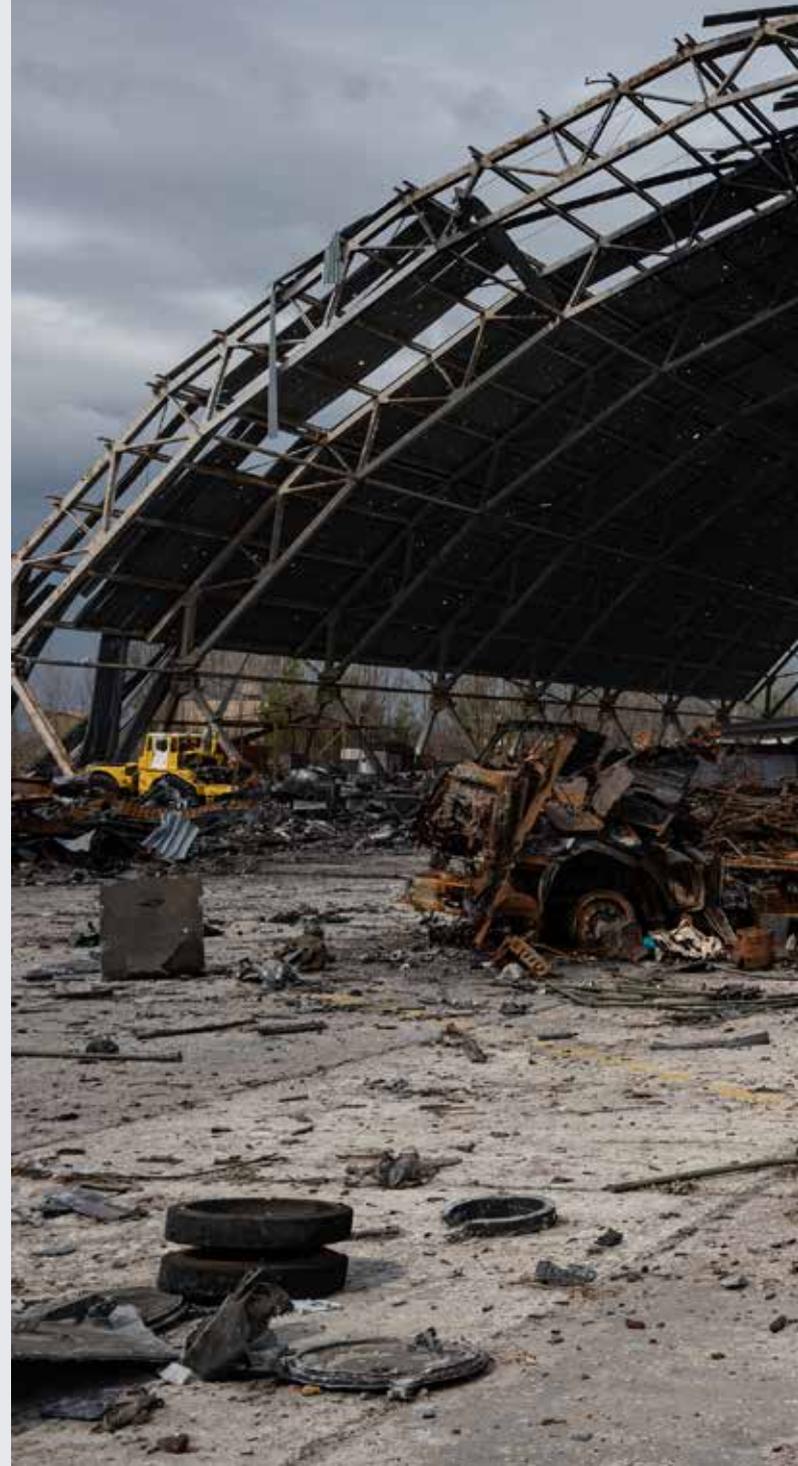
George G. Grabowicz
For the Editorial Board of Krytyka

February 26, 2022

Day 4

20:00
AN-225 Mriya,
the largest plane in the world,
was destroyed during Russian attack
on Hostomel airport.

Hostomel airport. April 8, 2022
Photo by **Alexey Furman/Getty Images**
Journalism
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
Fulbright Graduate Student Program 2014-2016
University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, MO





February 27, 2022

Casus Belli: Did Lenin Create Modern Ukraine?

<https://huri.harvard.edu/news/serhii-plokhii-casus-belli-did-lenin-create-modern-ukraine>

Serhii Plokhii

History

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program 2018-2019

Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv

Vladimir Putin has justified his ongoing invasion of Ukraine on the basis of a bizarre reading of history and accusations that Ukraine is at the same time Lenin's creation and the homeland of the Nazis.

Much has been said in the last few years to show the fraudulent nature of the "Nazi" claim. But the Lenin theme fully emerged only recently, in Putin's February 21 speech in which he recognized the "independence" of the two puppet states created by Russia in eastern Ukraine at the start of the Russo-Ukrainian war in 2014. The bizarre nature of that claim is underlined by the fact that at least one of those "republics," the Donetsk one, claimed at its creation the legacy of an earlier puppet state, the Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih republic, which was formed by the Bolsheviks in 1918 to prevent that territory from being included in the Ukrainian state.

In his de facto declaration of war, Putin stated that "modern Ukraine was entirely created by Russia or, to be more precise, by Bolshevik, Communist Russia. This process started practically right after the 1917 revolution, and

Lenin and his associates did it in a way that was extremely harsh on Russia—by separating, severing what is historically Russian land." He developed that idea by stating: "Soviet Ukraine is the result of the Bolsheviks' policy and can rightfully be called 'Vladimir Lenin's Ukraine.' He was its creator and architect."

In Ukrainian social media, reaction to Putin's statement was almost immediate. Within a few hours, Facebook was flooded with images of Vladimir Lenin surprised to learn that he had created Ukraine. Another montage inserted Lenin into the monument to the legendary founders of Kyiv, the brothers Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv and their sister, Lybid. Lenin replaced Lybid at the prow of the boat carrying the founders of the Ukrainian capital. The monument expresses Ukrainians' belief that their country's roots go back to the Middle Ages.

But what about modern Ukraine, a state that, according to Mr. Putin, came into existence at the expense of historical Russian lands? Even a cursory acquaintance with the history of the Russian Revolution and fall of the Russian Empire that accompanied it indicates that the modern Ukrainian state came into existence not thanks to Lenin but against his wishes and in direct reaction to the Bolshevik putsch in Petrograd in October (according to the Gregorian calendar, November) of 1917. The Bolsheviks tried to take control of Kyiv as well but were defeated, jumpstarting the process of the modern Ukrainian state-building.

In January 1918 the Central Rada (Council), the revolutionary Ukrainian parliament, dominated by socialist and leftist parties and led by Ukraine's most prominent historian, Mykhailo

Hrushevsky, declared the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic. It encompassed most of today's Ukrainian territories within the borders of the Russian Empire, including the mining region of the Donbas (Donets Basin). The new state wanted to maintain federal ties with Russia, but after the Bolshevik invasion of January 1918, the Central Rada declared the independence of Ukraine.

The Bolsheviks waged war on the Ukrainian government under the banner of their own Ukrainian People's Republic—a fiction created to provide a degree of legitimacy for the Bolshevik takeover of Ukraine. Bolshevik troops massacred the population of Kyiv, killing hundreds if not thousands of its citizens, including Metropolitan Vladimir (Bogoiavlensky) of the Orthodox Church. The Bolshevik commander in Kyiv, Mikhail Muraviev, sent Lenin a telegram: "Order has been restored in Kyiv."

The Central Rada had to leave Kyiv but soon returned, having signed an agreement with Germany and Austria-Hungary, whose troops moved into Ukraine in the spring of 1918 and drove the Bolsheviks out of its territory, including the Donbas. The Germans soon replaced the democratic Central Rada with the authoritarian regime of Herman Pavlo Skoropadsky, but the democratic Ukrainian People's Republic was restored when the Germans withdrew from Ukraine late in 1918. The Bolsheviks moved in once again, this time under the banner of their adversary Ukrainian People's Republic, formally independent of Russia.

After the original defeats in Ukraine, Lenin came to the conclusion that the formal independence of the Ukrainian state, coupled with concessions

in the realm of language and culture, was absolutely necessary if the Bolsheviks were to maintain their control over Ukraine. He felt that Ukrainian aspirations to independence were so strong, not only among Ukrainians in general but even among the Bolsheviks themselves, as to require the granting of a degree of autonomy and a status equal to Russia within the Soviet Union, the new state whose creation was declared in 1922.

Lenin was indeed central to the formation of the USSR, as Mr. Putin has claimed. But Lenin's main contribution to the history of Russo-Ukrainian relations was not the formation of a modern Ukraine state but the endowment of the Russian Federation—the name under which it entered the Soviet Union—with a territory and institutions of its own, distinct for the first time in centuries from the territory and institutions of the empire that it was seeking to preserve. If anything, Lenin laid the foundations for the formation of modern Russia, not Ukraine. Boris Yeltsin, Mr. Putin's patron, took that state, the Russian Federation, out of the Soviet Union in 1991. It is over that state, not pre-revolutionary Russia, that Mr. Putin presides.

February 27, 2022



More from Warsaw. Collection point for donations to support 100,000 Ukrainian refugees who have already crossed into Poland. The marquis says: We are with you, free Ukraine.

Photo by Larysa Kurylas
Architecture
The Kurylas Studio, Washington, DC
Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program 2021-2022
Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance,
Kyiv

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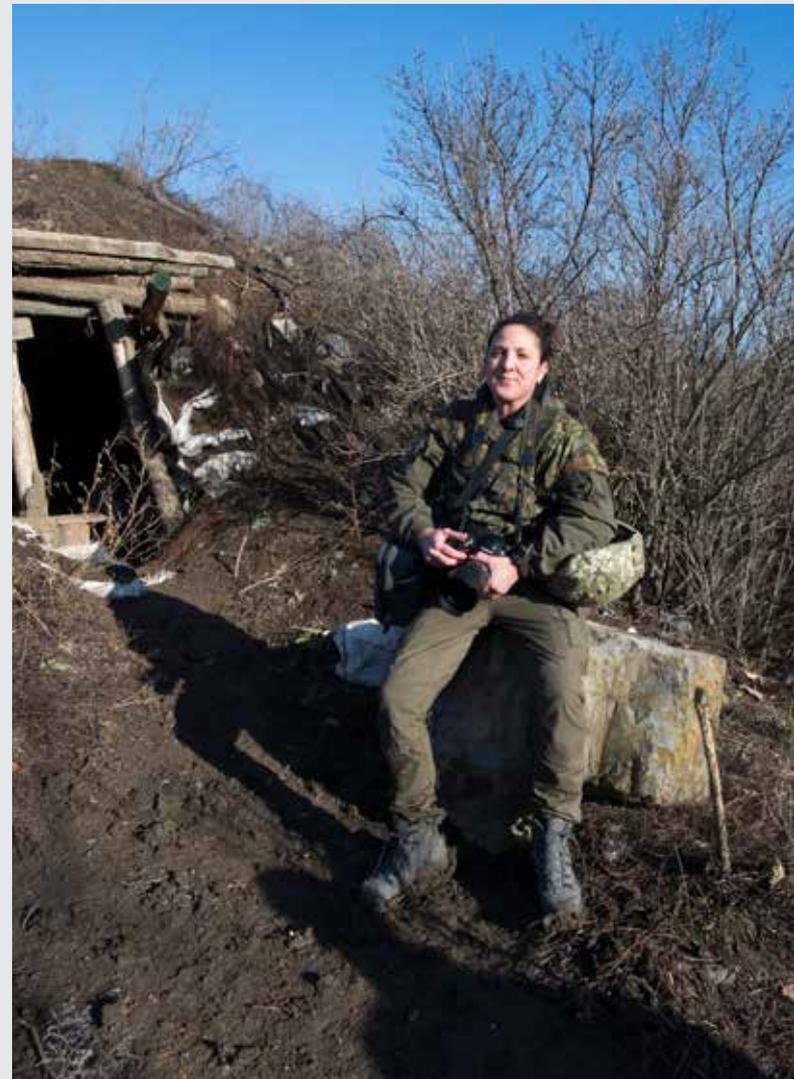
National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

The world needs to react now. Ukrainians will win on the ground, I have every bit of faith in this. But unfortunately, they can't stop the biggest threat — Putin. This psychopath — sociopath who can unleash the powers of fire and atrocity from afar. The only people who can stop him are our leaders who claim to stand with Ukraine.

My humble opinion remains. Sanctions and bureaucracy and diplomacy only work to stop leaders who care about their country and their people and often their wallets, and still have a vision of a world with them living in it for years to come.

For a moment just consider something so simple — Putin's got nothing left to live for — maybe dying of a fatal condition and wants to leave a lasting legacy so no one will forget him in the history books. Just like the serial killer who wants to be famous for their crimes. So, let's stop wasting time with measures taken for reasonable people. He's mentioning possible meetings again? Probably a distraction while he prepares to blindsides the world again with something far worse.

Please — World leaders, stop messing around. People of Kyiv who don't want to fight in the streets are stranded in their flats or in underground tunnels, just waiting for the unknown in fear. Soldiers and fighters on both



sides are dying — even Russians who don't believe in why they are there. Don't wait for the unimaginable to become imaginable. Cut through your ... red tape. And do it now.
#standwithukraine

February 27, 2022

06:20

On the night of February 28, the 5th day of the war, Russian troops continued their attempts to break through Kyiv's defenses but failed – the situation in the capital has been under control.



We are currently supporting Ukrainian Fulbrighters

We are currently supporting Ukrainian Fulbrighters who continue to carry out their programs in the United States. The Fulbright Program is actively monitoring the situation and hope to continue future programming in the region circumstances allow.

Institute of International Education
www.iie.org

<https://www.iie.org/en/Why-IIE/Announcements/2022/02/IIE-Statement-on-Crisis-in-Ukraine>



IIE Statement on the War in Ukraine

We are saddened to witness the violence occurring across Ukraine and join the world in mourning those affected. For over a century, IIE has worked to build a more peaceful, equitable world, and today we are as committed as ever to our mission of fostering mutual understanding. Peace is not a quick endeavor nor achieved unilaterally. Through a range of partnerships and programs such as the IIE Scholar Rescue Fund, IIE Artist Protection Fund, IIE Odyssey Scholarship, and the IIE Emergency Student Fund, we support those in crisis to access safety and continue their pursuit of education.

We continue to mobilize resources in support of individuals in crisis and will be launching a Ukraine-specific round of the IIE Emergency Student Fund on Monday, February 28, to provide financial support to Ukrainian students studying at U.S. colleges and universities. For more information or to help this effort, please visit: <https://www.iie.org/Programs/Emergency-Student-Fund>.

February 28, 2022

The War on Ukraine: The Beginning of the End of Putin's Russia

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/war-ukraine-beginning-end-putins-russia>

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On February 24, 2022, the Russian Federation launched a full-fledged war on Ukraine. This attack is the next—and hopefully the final—stage of an aggressive course that first showed its colors in 2014. It also represents a continuation, more focused this time, of the same revanchist ideology that drove the earlier incidents. An aging President Putin and his entourage are hurrying to revise the post-Cold War international order and reconfigure Russia's place in it. They want Russia—or rather an enlarged Union State—to be among the weightiest states geopolitically, yet their every step since 2013 has led to further isolation and a declining influence on the international scene: Russia is no longer a G8 member, its impact is waning in the post-Soviet space, and Central and Eastern European countries are receiving a growing number of NATO forces. Despite getting results opposite its goals, the Kremlin continues adding to its snowballing mistakes and violations of international norms. Blindly pursuing its aims, Putin's regime has moved from the hybrid warfare it has waged against Ukraine in particular in 2014–2021 to bad old ground warfare against its western neighbor starting February 24, 2022.

A Shared Destiny for Ukraine and the West

Putin's most recent actions show him to be engaged in a high-stakes test of how Westless the world is. If in February 2020 Westlessness was more a hypothesis, today the Russian regime is trying to prove it empirically. And this exercise is something that the great powers of Asia are also attentively watching. China has increased its cooperation with Russia during the invasion of Ukraine. India has not reacted officially to the atrocities being committed against Ukraine, and Imran Khan, prime minister of Pakistan, while expressing his regret over the "conflict," met with President Putin on February 25. Make no mistake: the war in Ukraine is testing the geopolitical value of the West as much as it is the resilience of Ukrainians. Whether the United States and the EU are ready for that or not, the destiny of Ukraine and that of the West-led order are inseparable.

There are signs that the West is coming together with a single voice and will and presenting a united stance in the face of the Kremlin's new war. The decisions made last week—both in Moscow and in the West—have established a new Iron Curtain. But is it enough to stop the war against Ukraine?

A Failed Blitzkrieg

The first four days of the war exploded the Kremlin's initial plan to mount a blitzkrieg: General Valery Gerasimov was unable to deliver a swift victory for Putin. The focused military operations were aimed at a speedy takeover of Kyiv, southern Ukraine, and left-bank Ukraine. Even though Russian troops have reached the northern suburbs of Kyiv after gaining entry into the country through Belarus, the city is neither under siege nor in a panic. Diversionsary

forces were liquidated, while the local population is organizing itself into groups for territorial defense, equipped with arms recently delivered from NATO partners.

Despite some uncertainty in the West as to how he would perform under pressure, President Zelensky and his team have exhibited courage and the strong leadership needed by a country at war. It seems likely that one of the primary goals of the Russian attack on Ukraine was to seize Zelensky and force him to sign a capitulation agreement. But from the moment of capture, the president would no longer lead the country; and if the president becomes unable to fulfill his or her duties, the Rada speaker, Ruslan Stefanchuk, is constitutionally next in line to lead the nation. The Kremlin would need to hunt for that person as well, and for others in the line of succession, but all its efforts would be for naught. Furthermore, the Ukrainian president—or his or her substitute—does not have the power to sign any sort of capitulation document without parliament's collective decision to that end. And the collective will in Ukraine is singularly focused on a diametrically opposite scenario: resist the attack, overcome the attackers, and win. No legally binding capitulation is possible.

The security situation in the East and South of the country is, however, grave. At the time of this writing, the Russian troops south of Kharkiv and armed insurgents in the self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic are moving toward each other to merge, despite the Ukrainian army's heroic fight. The Russian troops moving eastward from Crimea will try to join the guerrilla factions of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic and lay siege to Mariupol, the largest port and

industrial city in the government-controlled Donbas. The Russian troops moving westward from Crimea besieged Kherson and Mykolaiv, and now move toward Odesa. In all these zones the best Ukrainian army units are fighting so well that the plan for a speedy takeover of these cities with a significant Russophone population has pathetically failed. The citizens of these cities are putting their lives on the line to defend Ukraine and Ukrainian sovereignty, and to dismantle the revanchist hopes of the Kremlin.

Ukraine's resilience has improved significantly since 2014, and, despite the heavy blow delivered to the Ukrainian military infrastructure in the first days of the war, the defense system was able to derail the Kremlin's plan A, the blitzkrieg.

Beginning of the End

The attack on Ukraine was not just an absolute crime (which never bothers autocrats), it was an irreparable mistake that put into motion the end-game for Putin's regime in Russia. The military campaign was not prepared for an operation of any duration. Already on the third day of fighting there were signs of personnel shortages among the assaulting troops, who cannot get control of the besieged but resisting Ukrainian cities. The Russian population was not mobilized to support this war (as it so shamefully was in 2014), and the antiwar movement in Russia is growing. The Western sanctions are set to destroy Russia's economy at large and the economic security of households in particular.

Nor are Russia's Asian *partners* its *allies*. They may feel no solidarity with the Ukrainians experiencing tragedy, but they also don't care to risk getting into a conflict with the West. Putin's

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Day 5

geopolitical adventurism may speak to some Asian leaders' hidden hopes, but they keep those hopes close. Putin's Russia is alone in its war against Ukraine and its conflict with the West.

Understanding his failure, Vladimir Putin has had recourse to the *ultima ratio*—the last hope—of terrified dictators: the threat of deploying nuclear weapons. Yet just as before, his means lead away from the desired end. They just hasten the end of his rule, which most probably will come about as a result not of external but of internal forces awakened by the autocrat's mistake.

** The opinions expressed in this article are those solely of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Kennan Institute.*

Lviv railway station has become a hub from which people try to leave Ukraine by train. Millions of refugees are expected to flee the violence in Ukraine in the coming weeks.

Photo by **Serhii Korovainyi**
Journalism

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** Photo taken on assignment for The New Republic*





February 28, 2022

