



An intransigent faction of the Freedom Caucus seems prepared to deny him the Speakership, regardless of any repercussions. McCarthy needs 218 votes on the House floor. With a GOP caucus of 222, he can afford only 4 desertions. Congressman Andy Biggs, of Arizona, has announced he will run, and there seem to be at least five more GOP members who have sworn never to vote for McCarthy. Further complicating matters are seven additional Freedom Caucus members who signed a letter with multiple demands, from reinstating a rule allowing any member, at any time, to force a vote on the Speakership, to more representation on the House Rules Committee, to better committee assignments and chairmanships for Freedom Caucus members and hard-core conservative members generally.

McCarthy could probably meet most of those demands, but he is wary of returning to the rule allowing any member to force a vote on the Speakership. That was the weapon that brought down Speaker Boehner, and it can easily become a sword dangling over the head of any Speaker.

Further complicating McCarthy's life are threats from the other side – and indeed there is an “other” side in the GOP caucus. Cong. Don Bacon, from Omaha, Nebraska, is one of the remaining centrists, and he's suggested that if McCarthy can't be elected Speaker, he might be open to looking for another candidate, even reaching across the aisle for Democratic support. Cong. David Joyce, from Ohio, is the Chair of the Republican Governance Group, a center-right caucus, and Joyce has suggested the same tactic.

Interestingly, the Respect for Marriage Act passed with 39 GOP votes. Some of those Yes votes are not returning to the House – they lost their primaries, or general elections, or are retiring, or sought other offices. But at least 25 will be back in the House. That coalition provides a clear roadmap toward a bipartisan governing majority.

There is no indication, so far, that any Dems are at all interested in trying to help the GOP out of its predicament. But that may be because no centrist candidate has yet emerged, nor have there been any indications of what a centrist GOP Speaker might give up in exchange for Democratic support – perhaps blocking a few of the most radical conservatives, like Jim Jordan, from key Committee chairs, and perhaps a tighter control on subpoenas issued in oversight investigations, and perhaps a Rules Committee divided equally between the GOP and the Dems.

Hints of concessions like those might induce the Democratic leadership to back a centrist candidate for Speaker. Of course, over these next few weeks, McCarthy will be both bribing and elbow twisting, as will much of the rest of the right-wing media sphere. Fox News is already carrying warnings to the right-wing rebels to fall in line and not torpedo the GOP's chance at power. The odds are probably on McCarthy's side, but even if he wins, he will face a long two years constantly having to watch his back for knives and axes from his own caucus.

This all is enough to make Sen. Chuck Schumer laugh, but not too heartily, for he is facing a bit of the same predicament. Sen. Sinema announced that she is no longer a Democrat, but she will continue to vote with the Democrats on organizational matters and will keep her committee seats and seniority.

Perhaps Sen. Sinema never really was much of a Democrat, but at least she was in the tent. Now she's outside and a potentially loose cannon. She can clearly read the tea leaves; she was going to lose a Democratic primary, and Congressman Ruben Gallego was chomping at the bit to start a primary fight.

Capitol Hill observers credit Sinema with considerable political and campaign smarts. The general wisdom is that if Democrats were to run a

candidate, Sinema would split the Democratic vote ensuring a GOP win in a very purple state (where they might win anyway with a centrist candidate like former Gov. Doug Ducey). Further, Sinema has a campaign war chest of \$8 million, so she would seem to be in the catbird's seat, and national Dems would do better not running a candidate and backing Sinema to avoid splitting the anti-GOP vote.

Well, I disagree. First of all, there really is nothing national Dems, or local Dems, could do to stop a Democratic candidate from running in the primary. Cong. Gallego has all but announced, and on paper he is pretty much the Democrat's dream candidate. A Marine vet who saw combat in Iraq, son of Hispanic immigrants, Harvard graduate, he served in the Arizona House for 4 years and has been in Congress since 2014. He won his seat with 77% of the vote, and has \$1.1 million on hand in his campaign committee. In the last year, he raised \$1 million in itemized contributions (over \$200) and half a million in non-itemized contributions (under \$200 each – a testament to strong grass-roots fundraising), and a further \$800,000 from PAC's. He has already hired a polling firm and has started building his campaign team, although he has not formally announced.

So, there's pretty much no way the Democratic power structure can stop this campaign from happening, even if they wanted to. Further, even if Sen Schumer and the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee said they would not spend any money on his behalf in Arizona, Gallego knows that President Biden's re-election campaign will be spending massively in Arizona, so all Gallego needs to do is float in on Biden's coattails. (Or maybe Biden could float in on Gallego's coattails, if Gallego can truly energize the Latino community.)

Additionally, Sinema is not as well positioned as it might seem on the surface. Her internet / social

media firm, Authentic Campaigns, has already fired her as a client, even though, during this last year, she spent \$380,000 with them on social media and fundraising efforts. It's entirely possible that other key vendors (like her fundraising firm) might similarly abandon her, reckoning their future is tied more to Democratic Party candidates than to renegades.

Arizona has their primary election in August of 2024. To run as an independent in the November general election, Sinema would need to collect about 43,000 signatures. That's not horrendously difficult – in California terms, that would be like collecting 200,000, about 1/3 of what typical initiative campaigns need. But it would cost a fair bit of money.

More critically, a good chunk of Sinema's \$8 million might have to be given back. Many donors "double-maxed" – looking forward to 2024, they gave the maximum contribution for the primary election, and then another equal amount for the general election. But Sinema, running as an independent, will be facing only one election, not two, since she wouldn't have to compete in a primary election. Hence, she can't use those "double-max" contributions; one-half would have to be returned to the donor. Worse, some of those donors might ask for their money back, now that she is an independent. Legally, she is not required to give the money back, but it could be a public relations nightmare if donors ask, and then publicize the fact that she refused to refund their money.

Sinema's fundraising has been oriented primarily to larger donors. From January 2021 through September 30, 2022 (the latest figures available from the FEC), she raised \$10.1 million and spent \$3.3 million, even though she was not running a campaign. Much of that was spent on fundraising costs. Of the money she raised, \$7 million came from itemized donations, but only \$700,000 from non-itemized donations. So, her

grass-roots donor base was pretty modest, and it likely has now evaporated nearly completely. In addition, she got \$2.3 million in PAC money, which is a pretty good haul.

But the PACs and large donors are likely to calculate that Sinema, at best, might stop a Democrat from being elected. At worst, she would be an inconsequential third place to a progressive Democrat. That's not a strong fundraising pitch for sophisticated donors looking at a Democratic President, a Democratic Senate, a narrowly split House (that could easily go Democratic in 2024), and a Democratic Governor in Arizona. Big pharma and hedge fund billionaires might need her vote this year, but next summer, she will pretty much be stale bread.

Sinema rightly calculated she could not win a Democratic primary. Her only shot at remaining relevant was to go independent. Yet, as an independent, she must know she could never win. And if she has any misconceptions about that, her internal polling will quickly disabuse her of those notions. The Democratic base didn't like her before; now they are probably unremittingly hostile. Nor does she have any real friends on the MAGA side of the equation. If someone like Kari Lake were the GOP nominee, which is more likely than not given that the MAGA wing essentially controls the GOP, she would likely attract the McCain voters from the GOP side, splitting the GOP vote and giving Gallego a narrow win.

Sinema's other option is not to run. She can even go ahead and collect signatures, and wait until the summer of 2024 to decide what to do. She could wring out some major IOU's from President Biden if she were to pass on running a race she would surely lose – a judgeship, an ambassadorship, whatever. She wouldn't even need to endorse the Democrat; simply staying out of the race entirely would be enough, and she could end her career on a high, avoiding a humiliating 3rd place rebuff, along with the heartache of a losing

campaign.

Logically, that is clearly the most attractive alternative, but logic doesn't always prevail in these sorts of endeavors.

Looking further ahead to 2024, we are going to have quite a bit of excitement right here in our neck of the woods.

Senator Feinstein, while asserting she will not retire early, will surely not run for re-election. She is 89 now, and while her health may not be failing, her mind surely is. It's time proudly to retire as one of the true greats in California politics.

The open Senate seat will attract all sorts of aspirants, but at the top of the list has to be our own Congressman Adam Schiff. Normally, members of the House don't do well running state-wide. They are one of 50 minor players, no one really knows them, they don't have much of a fundraising base, not much of a media presence, not really used to the big time. Except for Adam. If there is one Democrat known nation-wide, other than Presidents Biden and Obama and Secretary Clinton, it would be Adam. Perhaps he can thank former President Trump for that, since Trump pretty much made Adam his number 1 public enemy. From the Mueller report to the impeachment to the second impeachment to the Jan. 6th Committee, Adam has been at the forefront of Democratic efforts to fight for those little things – like democracy, and the Constitution, and the rule of law. He's been a fundraising dynamo, a critical supporter for House Democratic incumbents and challengers, and of the caucus as a whole. It's clear he won't be Speaker, and his tenure on the Intelligence Committee is nearing an end (due to Democratic caucus rules, he would have to transfer off by 2025, but the GOP is likely to force him off sooner). So, a Senate run makes sense for him, for the Party, and for the nation.

There may be other candidates (perhaps Katie Porter will represent the Bernie wing of the

party), but my guess is that other major players, like Congresswoman Porter, will back away and leave Adam to be crowned by the Party and elected to the Senate. The only question would be how soon the Senate caucus puts him on their Intelligence Committee.

Locally, both Sen. Anthony Portantino and Assemblymember Chris Holden will be termed out. That will bring to an end the remarkable concentration of power in Pasadena-area legislators, with both of them chairing the Appropriations Committees in their respective Houses. Also, a slew of local offices – Pasadena City Council, College Board and School Board – will be up, along with LA County Supervisor Kathryn Barger.

Our primary will be on March 5th, which could make California a critical player in either the Democratic or the Republican Presidential contest, or in both. So, there will be tons of action right here in our own area, which will be somewhat of a contrast to the last several election cycles.

~ Jon Fuhrman



### New Baby Congrats

Our congratulations and very best wishes go to new Steering Committee member Dan Sheehan (Fundraising and Program) and his wife, Jesselyn Friley, the proud parents of baby son Theodore Friley-Sheehan who was born on August 28.



### Your Photo in The Phoenix

Please share a photo (of you) at an interesting place with *Phoenix* readers. Send it to Chuck at hains27@sbcglobal.net for inclusion in an upcoming issue.



## ACT and ADC General Membership Meeting

Thursday, January 5  
7 p.m. via Zoom

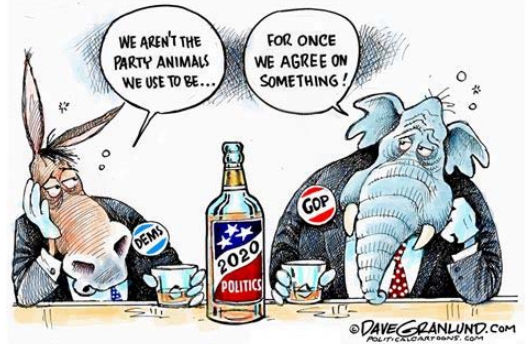


ACT and the Arroyo Democratic Club’s first meeting of 2023 will be a General Membership Meeting via Zoom.

George Brumder is scheduled to be the presiding Co-Chair. The Nominating Committee will propose a list of officers for 2023 and nominations from the floor will be in order. Attending members will vote on officers for both ACT and ADC for 2023, or 2023-2024 in the case of the new third ACT Co-Chair. (ACT always has three Co-Chairs and they have two-year terms.)

Note: the program had not been decided by the time the Phoenix was printed. (Programs being considered for our early 2023 meetings are Climate Change, key new CA laws taking effect in 2023, Pasadena Housing and Homelessness issues, and overall Pasadena Housing with Pasadena Housing Director Bill Huang.)

Everyone is welcome and urged to join in. Socializing on Zoom begins at 7 p.m., with the meeting following at 7:30 p.m. If you do not receive an email giving you Zoom access to the meeting, you can get access by going to our website at <http://www.ACTpasadena.org>.



## Pasadena Affordable Housing Coalition UPDATE

Approval of Pasadena's update to its Housing Element in the General Plan, covering the years 2021-2029, continues its slow walk through the bureaucratic process on its way to final adoption by the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD).

HCD responded in October to the City's third submitted draft by stating the submission "...addresses most statutory requirements...however, revisions will be necessary."

HCD is asking for more detailed information from the City in the areas of Affirmatively Furthering Fair

Housing, inventory of land suitable for residential development, analysis of special housing needs, planning objectives and timelines, removing governmental and non-governmental constraints to providing more housing, including zoning code updates.

Pasadena Affordable Housing Coalition has submitted comments to the City and HCD in all the areas mentioned in HCD's letter. In fact, the Coalition is even recognized in the opening paragraph of HCD's letter. Despite the Coalition efforts in organizing the community to provide input, it's unknown at this point which of its detailed policy prescriptions, if any, will make their way into the final draft.

At the December 7 Planning Commission meeting, Jennifer Paige, Interim Planning Director, updated the commission on the substance of the Planning Department's discussions with HCD in response to its letter. She stated that HCD was requiring that only "technical corrections" need be made to bring the draft Housing Element into compliance.



She told the Commission that the Planning Department would be developing those prescribed technical corrections without further commission or public review or comment.

Commissioner Rick Cole moved to agendize a discussion of the draft Housing Element by the Planning Commission before its resubmission to HCD and the City Attorney ruled the motion out of order. The result is Paige said she will be submitting the fourth draft of the Housing Element sometime in January without any further discussion.

In spite of the Planning Department's unwillingness to hold another public hearing, the Coalition will be submitting another letter to the City Council, City Staff, and the HCD. It remains to be seen if the Planning Department staff will include any of the Coalition's proposed policy solutions as part of its submitted "technical corrections."

Meanwhile, because the City's current Housing Element has not been accepted by the HCD, the City is at the risk that some developer will invoke the "Builders Remedy." The "Remedy" is a housing development streamlining tool that provides developers the option to file an application for a housing project with at least 20 percent affordable housing that may be approved even if it's out of conformance with the City's zoning or General Plan

The Pasadena Affordable Housing Coalition includes representation from fifteen members of faith and community-based organizations in the San Gabriel valley and adjoining areas.

~ Ed Washatka,

ACT's Pasadena Affordable Housing Coalition representative



## Happy News and the Future for the UDH



We at the Pasadena Area United Democratic Headquarters (UDH) are still glowing after the strong showing not only in the November general election, but also with the amazing victory of Reverend Warnock in the Georgia special election. Our UDH staff and volunteers worked hard calling, texting, and sending postcards for our California candidates as well as in critical battlegrounds around the country. The Senate victories in Nevada and Arizona were especially gratifying for the UDH's who joined canvassing, phone calling, postcarding, and other efforts in those states.

While the election season is over, there is still important work to do. With Republicans gaining an extremely narrow majority in the House, Democrats will have to be alert to their disinformation and anti-democratic ploys. We will also need to support President Biden's efforts to enact meaningful legislation in support of voting rights, climate change mitigation, women's health, labor rights, and other important initiatives. And as the war in Ukraine continues, Democrats will also be challenged to continue to support the brave regime in Kyiv.

In our highly partisan and contested political environment, there will be very little rest for the weary. The presidential campaign season has already begun, and with it all the down-ballot battles as well. The recent decision by Senator Sinema to leave the Democratic party heralds a tough fight to keep the Arizona seat in Democratic hands. And locally, 2024 will bring contests in many local seats, including State Senate and Assembly, as well as local school board and, community college elections.

As always, the UDH will serve as a clearing-house for information and events for our Democratic clubs and grassroots organizations, as well as a source for national and statewide Democratic events and happenings. Thank you to all our staff, volunteers, and loyal supporters. The UDH is stronger and more important than ever as we face ongoing threats to our democracy.

~ Hoyt Hilsman  
Chair, UDH Steering Committee



ACT member Marcielle Brandler and Campaign Coordinator Bill Hackett at Oktoberfest 2022.  
Photo courtesy of Marcielle Brandler



## My Two Cents

By Ron Garber



### 2022/2024 Soooooo many questions??

The instant that the polls closed in Hawaii we were into the 2024 election cycle. While the recently completed election was billed as the most important ever, and I'm not disputing that it was, 2024 is exponentially more important. To that end I'm going to list questions that I believe are pertinent to our immediate future. I'm numbering them because I plan to refer back to them, over the next 22 months, as answers reveal themselves:

1. Will Trump make it to the starting line or be derailed by his numerous bouts with the Judicial system?
  2. Will President Biden decide to stand for reelection?
  3. Will a moderate Republican throw his hat in the ring to challenge Trump or DeSantis or both and how large will the Republican field be?
  4. If they run will Biden's and Trump's health be factors?
  5. Will there be debates during the primary season and general election?
  6. If the President decides not to run who will run on the Democratic side and how large will the field be and how many of the candidates will come from California?
  7. Will Senator Feinstein resign or announce that she will not stand for reelection?
  8. If Senator Feinstein resigns will Governor Newsom appoint himself and/or if President Biden decides to run again will the Governor run for the potentially open Senate seat?
  9. How does Congressman Schiff fit into the Senatorial scenarios?
  10. Will we have a recession and if so, how severe will it be, and how will it affect 2024?
  11. If Trump fails to secure the nomination, will he run an independent campaign?
  12. Will Congressman McCarthy secure the Speakership?
  13. Will the Republican House succeed in tainting the President with their hearings on Hunter Biden?
  14. How will the debt ceiling showdown unfold and who stands to lose the most politically speaking?
  15. How will the Russian/Ukraine war continue to unfold, and will the Republicans reduce or eliminate U.S. funding aid for Ukraine?
  16. Will more controversial rulings come down from the Supreme Court and what political ramifications will ensue from them?
  17. Will the Republicans draft a party platform this time around?
  18. Will Democrats engineer abortion rights initiatives in purple states to entice more progressives to the polls?
  19. Will the Democratic candidate emphasize the importance of Supreme Court appointments?
  20. How will the issue of democracy play out in the campaign and more importantly after the election?
  21. Who will the two party's V.P. candidates be (assuming that Biden doesn't run again)?
  22. Will the Covid pandemic end before the next election?
  23. What unforeseen issues may arise during the next 4 years that may affect the 2024 outcome?
- Besides returning to these questions every month I expect to add to this list.

~ Ron OUT



**The *Phoenix* Editorial Policy:** Signed articles and letters appearing in the *Phoenix* represent the opinions of the individual writers and not of ACT. Their appearance does not imply endorsement by ACT or agreement with the opinions expressed. The accuracy of facts is not guaranteed. We welcome articles of interest and encourage members to write





**From  
25<sup>th</sup> District  
State Senator  
Anthony  
Portantino**



Dear ACT members,

I hope everyone had a terrific Thanksgiving and is looking forward to the rest of the holiday season. For our family, it was nice to have Bella and Sofia home and enjoy each other's company. Yes, we actually played some games, ate too much and hung out. As we close the book on the November election there is much to be thankful for. Donald Trump was clearly the big loser, while President Biden's closing arguments dealing with threats to democracy seemed to resonate with suburban voters, kept losses in the House to a minimum, and helped expand our control over the Senate. House losses in New York and our failure to pick up seats in California should cause some alarm as we prepare for 2024. In short, while there was much to get excited about, we still have work to do to take back the house, hold the presidency and the Senate.

The California State Senate saw remarkable electoral success. We held onto our most targeted seat in the central valley by reelecting Melissa Hurtado and turned two districts from Red to Blue. The San Diego seat of a former Republican leader was one of them, and the NorCal SD 4 was the other. I was happy not to be on the ballot this cycle and helped with our Senate campaign operation. Prop 1 also had a solid victory protecting abortion rights by placing it into the California Constitution. As a co-author and father of two daughters, I ran a strong local campaign to get out the vote in Los Angeles County and was pleased by our margin of victory.

Going forward, one only has to look at Marjorie

Taylor Greene's latest despicable comments on January 6th and her hold over Kevin McCarthy to see danger lurking around the corner. The Supreme Court conservative majority and the continued rise and tolerance of antisemitism within the MAGA world and mainstream conservatism also need our attention and strong condemnation. I can't recall a time in my adult life when so much hate and vitriol are in the discourse and going unchecked by many political leaders. Folks are also celebrating the weakening of Trump and the implications of his declining numbers. First, we never underestimate the danger of a wounded animal. Second, his decline means the rise of a less offensive persona leading the Republican party and the MAGA movement embedded inside it. One only has to look at Florida's don't say gay attack on children to be alarmed. So, while I'm pleased with 2022, I'm ready for the continued battle of 2024.

After the New Year, I go back into session for my final two years in the Senate. I will continue to focus on public education, behavioral health issues, and gun control. I am working closely with AG Bonta on California's response to the SCOTUS concealed carry ruling and will have several additional gun control measures. I was honored to have recently joined All Saints for a robust discussion on gun control and hope, where I pointed out the two kinds of hope: sideline hope and in-the-game hope. During a football game, the players on the sideline "hope" the kicker makes the game-winning field goal while the kicker has to translate his hope into victory by actually making the kick. Let us all continue to collectively translate our hope into action to preserve our democracy, protect reproductive freedom, condemn hate and antisemitism and stand solidly behind our LGBTQ+ communities.

Warmest and best wishes for the holiday,

~ Anthony

**From  
41<sup>st</sup> District  
Assemblymember  
Chris Holden**



Dear ACT Friends,

Earlier this month, I was officially sworn in at the Capitol to finish my term as your Assemblymember for the 41st Assembly District. The past ten years has been filled with legislative victories and solutions that make our community better. I am determined to make my last two years in the State Assembly fruitful and continue my Chairmanship of the Assembly Appropriations Committee. My full legislative package is still forming, but I've already introduced bills that will have a big impact throughout state.

In recent years, building decarbonization has become a priority for California and a growing market for low carbon building materials. That's why I introduced AB 43, legislation that would express the intent of the Legislature to enact an Embodied Carbon Trading System within the Low Carbon Product Standard Program. This measure would build upon my previous bill, AB 2446, to facilitate a credit-trading platform for building materials. AB 2446, which the Governor signed in September, would require the California Air Resources Board (CARB) to develop a framework for measuring and reducing carbon emissions associated with new building construction. As a result, the California Air Resources Board and the California Energy Commission may include building decarbonization in future updates to the Scoping Plan and Integrated Energy Policy Report. Further growth of this sector can create economic benefits for the state.

I also introduced, AB 41 -- The Digital Equity in Video Franchising Act of 2023 (DIVCA). This bill helps bridge the digital divide and address

accessibility, quality, and affordability. DIVCA was originally passed in 2006 to encourage competition in the cable market, with its intent to benefit consumers by lowering prices and promoting expansion of service, including broadband. Over 15 years later, it is clear that DIVCA has fallen short of its promises. For example, thousands of households across the state lack access to broadband service, even in urban areas where "donut holes" of service remain in areas that ought to be served by existing companies. Further, DIVCA's outdated anti-discrimination statutes and a lack of focus around digital equity issues generate little incentive for providers to give equal service to low-income and underserved areas. AB 41 will create greater access to communities that rely on technology to function in their daily needs

In the district, I was able to host my 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Shoe Drive in partnership with community organization, Shoes That Fit. With your help, our district has been able to contribute over 1,000 shoes throughout the years! Each year, it brings me great joy to put this event together and provide new athletic shoes to school aged children in need. Thank you for your continued support.

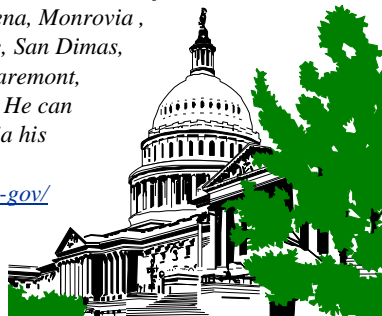
Lastly, I hope you enjoy and have a safe holiday season with loved ones. I look forward to keeping you up to date in the next newsletter.

Sincerely, ~ Chris R. Holden

*Assemblyman Holden represents some 420,000 people in the foothills communities of Altadena, Pasadena, South Pasadena, Monrovia, Sierra Madre, San Dimas, La Verne, Claremont, and Upland. He can be reached via his website at:*

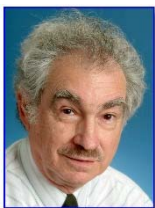
[www.asm.ca.-gov/](http://www.asm.ca.-gov/)

*Holden and fill out the contact form.*



## Book Review

By Robert V. Frampton



### **“Ukraine’s Maidan, Russia’s War: A Chronicle and Analysis of the Revolution of Dignity”, by Mychailo Wynnyckyj**

“We are never completely contemporaneous with our present. History advances in disguise; it appears on stage, wearing the mask of the preceding scene, and we tend to lose the meaning of the play. Each time the curtain rises, continuity has to be re-established. The blame, of course, is not history’s, but lies in our vision, encumbered with memory and images learned in the past. We see the past superimposed on the present, even when the present is a revolution.” This is the opening passage of French sociologist Regis Debray’s seminal study, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, of the Cuban Revolution, a unique event that must be understood on its own terms. Likewise, this passage from Debray sets the context for the Maidan Revolution, described and analyzed by sociology professor from Kyiv University, Mychailo Wynnyckyj. The Maidan protests and subsequent revolution in the political, social and economic order in Ukraine was initially viewed in the West in the context of the Cold War: a continuing conflict between NATO countries and Russia, with Ukraine in the middle – referred to as “The Ukraine Crisis”. In fact, the events of the Maidan Square demonstrations were a spontaneous, grass-roots movement, involving millions of demonstrators, occurring without a central charismatic leader. Yet the initial view in the West was: “If one is to understand events in contemporary Ukraine, questions must be asked in Washington, Brussels and Moscow. After all, both the Maidan and the subsequent war in the Donbas,

apparently, were ‘proxy conflicts’ between the West and Russia, a continuation of the ‘unresolved Cold War.’” As Wynnyckyj puts it, “This ‘Great Powers’ Russia-centric narrative is frustrating to Ukrainians – particularly to those like the author who were active in the initial Maidan protests, and subsequently supported the grass-roots effort to mobilize resource for Ukraine’s territorial defense” in 2014 and beyond. Through this lens, he asserts that emphasis on “Ukraine Crisis” misses the point. What began as a “Euro-Maidan” demonstration (protest against President Yanukovich reneging on signing a Ukraine-EU Association Agreement, for closer ties to the European Union), soon dropped the “Euro” prefix, as the emphasis turned to the struggle for Ukraine’s self-defense and independence, and a new sense of Ukrainian nationhood arose. Or, as a popular song of the time, by the folk-rock group *TaRuta* put it: “We were searching for Europe, but we found Ukraine”.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I provides a chronology of the events in Maidan Square from September 2013 thru March 2014; the political restructuring following the departure of President Yanukovich on February 22, 2014; and the Russian invasion of Crimea in late February, 2014, followed by the invasion of the eastern Donbas. This chronicle provides the same sense of you-are-there urgency as John Reed’s treatment of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Petrograd in *Ten Days That Shook The World*. Part II provides a sociological analysis, for understanding the Revolution and its aftermath. Fundamental changes in Ukraine’s political, economic and social structure began to occur after the ouster of President Yanukovich, the election of President Petro Poroshenko and installation of a new parliament, and infusion of many Maidan protesters into positions in the government. The essence of this social revolution was the transition from a neo-feudal society (with the oligarchs holding power in the basic industries) to the

prominence of small business entrepreneurs and the “creative class”: in other words, as a revolution of Ukraine’s *bourgeois-creative class*.

The Maidan demonstrators referred to their revolution as a “Revolution of Dignity”, using the Ukrainian word *hidnist*. This term refers to “the comprehension of a person by their civic worth and civic responsibility. . . . The term refers to the inherent value of the person as a uniquely moral being capable of self-actualization.” This is connected to the demand for an end to oligarchy (neo-feudalism) and corruption in Ukraine, and a transformation from a hierarchal structure to a more horizontal heterological structure, together with the respect for the individual. “Dignity is both the principle that constrains the state from violating the rights of citizens, and the social force that constrains the individuals from violating the rights of others.” This demand was reflected in the following years by an economic transition that de-emphasized the power of the oligarchs and their monolithic large industries, to an economy based on entrepreneurial small business and manufacturing. There also was a trend away from the division of the country between east and west, between Russian speaking and Ukrainian speaking, toward a sense of patriotism and nationhood and a united Ukraine. This book takes us to 2018. This February, the challenge to Ukrainian nationhood became under renewed challenge with the increased intensity of Russian invasion of Ukraine. The scope of this challenge is felt not only in Ukraine, but throughout Europe and on the global economy.

~ Robert Frampton

Next Month: “Russian Roulette: The Inside Story of Putin’s War on America and the Election of Donald Trump”, by Michael Isikoff and David Corn. These two notable journalists detail the history of Russia’s hackers and trolls, and how they spread a web of disinformation and affected the 2016 US presidential campaign.



## Calendar

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| January 5<br>Thursday<br>7 p.m.   | ACT and ADC General Membership Meeting via Zoom. Program TBD. Socializing, 7 p.m.; meeting begins at 7:30 p.m.  |
| January 7<br>Saturday<br>1-4 p.m. | Senator Anthony Portantino’s Holiday & Community Appreciation Party at 115 N. Artsakh Ave., Glendale. Donate a new book to the children’s book drive. |
| January 9<br>Monday               | Phoenix deadline for January.   |
| January 23<br>Monday              | UDH Steering Meeting via Zoom. 5:30 p.m.  |

## January *Phoenix* Deadline

The deadline for copy for the January *Phoenix* will be Monday, January 9. Send items for publication to Chuck at [hains27@sbcglobal.net](mailto:hains27@sbcglobal.net) and Sally Beer at [sally.beer125@gmail.com](mailto:sally.beer125@gmail.com). (Chuck will continue to contact regular contributors with a deadline reminder.)

## ACTpasadena.org

Check out our website. The *On-line Phoenix* is there and, even if you have already read the paper *Phoenix*, you will find the online version looks livelier in color and is in a different format. And we **may** have corrected a mistake or two we missed in the original *Phoenix*. Plus, a *Phoenix* archive is always available.

Count on Website Manager Bruce Wright to keep adding items of interest. If you have suggestions, reach him at: [brucewright@sbcglobal.net](mailto:brucewright@sbcglobal.net).



## Please Pay Up for 2022!

### Pay Your 2022 Dues Now and You Will Be Paid Up for 2023, Too!

A **RED** ✓ on your address label on this *Phoenix* tells you we are still looking for your 2022 membership dues for ACT and/or ADC. If you pay up now, you will be paying your 2023 dues at the same time! What a deal!! Send your check with the form below or renew online at our website.



Please contact Executive Director Jon Fuhrman if you have any questions about your membership at [jon\\_fuhrman@outlook.com](mailto:jon_fuhrman@outlook.com) or 626 864-5255.

### I'd like to join both groups for one low price! (Checks payable to ACT/ADC)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40 Single                               | <input type="checkbox"/> \$70 Single Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25 Each additional member per household | <input type="checkbox"/> \$90 Double Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15 Student or limited income            | <input type="checkbox"/> \$150 Patron           |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> \$275 Benefactor       |

### I'd like to join ACT (Checks payable to ACT)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$35 Single                               | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60 Single Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20 Each additional member per household | <input type="checkbox"/> \$85 Double Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15 Student or limited income            | <input type="checkbox"/> \$125 Patron           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20 Gift Membership (NEW!)               | <input type="checkbox"/> \$275 Benefactor       |

### I'd like to join the Arroyo Democratic Club (Checks payable to ADC)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$35 Single                               | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60 Single Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20 Each additional member per household | <input type="checkbox"/> \$85 Double Sustaining |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15 Student or limited income            | <input type="checkbox"/> \$125 Patron           |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> \$275 Benefactor       |

### Extra Contribution

- \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Political Account (for endorsed candidates and issues)
- \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Operating Account (for organizational costs)    \$ \_\_\_\_\_ **Total enclosed**

Name

Home Phone

Address

Office Phone

City

ZIP

Email address

**Mail to ACT, P. O. Box 40074, Pasadena, CA 91114-7074**

Information you provide will be available to other members and endorsed candidates upon request.