



Victory and Just Peace for Ukraine in 2023!



300 TANKS



600-700 INFANTRY
FIGHTING VEHICLES



500 HOWITZERS

"I know I can defeat this enemy. But I need resources. I need 300 tanks, 600-700 infantry fighting vehicles, 500 howitzers. Then, I think, it is quite realistic to reach the frontiers on February 23. But I can't do it with two brigades. I get what I get, but less than I need,"

— Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, General Valeriy Zaluzhny

SPECIAL FOR THE HROMADA NEWSPAPER

Vitalii Portnikov | NOTES FOR DECEMBER DECEMBER. THE LONGEST YEAR



2022 has become, perhaps, the most difficult year in the entire recent Ukrainian history. It was this year that a large-scale war came to Ukrainian

land. Just this year, Ukrainians had to make sure that the leadership of neighboring Russia seriously intends to occupy and destroy the Ukrainian state, and the majority of the Russian population supports their president in his aggressive plans. It was this year that words from the wartime past entered the lives of Ukrainians: "air alarm", "bomb shelters", "missile attack"... It was this year that it finally became

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CELEBRATING CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS IN UKRAINE

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ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL

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The list of equipment needed for the Ukrainian army to enter the borders with Crimea in February 2023, according to General Zaluzhnyi in an interview for The Economist

SPECIAL FOR THE HROMADA NEWSPAPER

Oles Donii

WAR, PEACE, OR FOOTBALL?



The President of Ukraine officially visited the USA and spoke before the Senate. Volodymyr Zelenskyi was re-

fused a speech before the final of the World Cup in Qatar. In the U.S., Zelenskyi talked about the war that fascist Russia unleashed in Ukraine and what should be done to achieve peace. We need to win, and for this, we need weapons and resources. They listened to Zelenskyi attentively. In Qatar, Zelenskyi wanted to tell how much peace in the whole world and a world without war are essential, but FIFA did

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LOST CHILDHOOD: HOW RUSSIA IS DESTROYING UKRAINE'S KIDS' FUTURE

Karyna Nikitishina

They detain adults for interrogations, lock them up in torture chambers, tear children away from their relatives, and scatter them to the most remote corners of Russia, Belarus, and Chechnya. They hold cap-

tive not only military personnel, but also civilians, making them suffer terrible torture simply because they are Ukrainians. They are beasts who

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НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ КИЄВО-МОГИЛЯНСЬКА АКАДЕМІЯ

КИЄВО-МОГИЛЯНСЬКА ФУНДАЦІЯ АМЕРИКИ



Дякуємо всім хто підтримує наш університет.
Нехай Різдво народження Христа принесе наступного
року мир Україні, а вам і вашій родині здоров'я, любови,
надії, та єдності.

Україні перемогу! Слава Україні!

**Сергій Квіт, президент
Національного Університету Києво-Могилянська Академія**



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Kyiv-Mohyla National University congratulates everyone on the New Year and Christmas coming and says thank you for supporting the university and the educational process in Ukraine during this tough time! Let everyone feel peace, love, and support from your family; let's stay healthy and preserve our unity for ages!!! Victory will be ours! Glory to Ukraine, Ukrainians and our foreign friends!

MAGICAL POWER OF WORDS



Olesia Boklah

World leaders argue a lot about which conflicts should be tried to resolve verbally and which immediately prepare us for a fight and radical actions. Fortunately, as representatives of the volunteer front, we don't have to doubt the power of words. On the contrary, it is one of the strongest weapons for us. Every public figure should master the magic of public speaking, adding a little bit of himself/herself.

You cannot imagine how nervous I was before a meeting with Mark J. Lindquist, a true master of public speaking, performing, and singing. However, his talents are not limited to this: the vast experience of participating in the Afghan battles and serving in the US Air Force makes every speech special. In addition, during the dialogue, Mark surprised me by reasoning a large number of answers with examples from history. "I actively study the works of great figures like

Washington. I haven't seen books by Zelenskyi, but the way he fills every word with inspiration encourages members of Congress to wear boutonnieres in the shape of the Ukrainian flag, and the absence of fear to shout louder about problems do not leave me indifferent. Today only 22 countries have a full-fledged democratic regime, and approximately 1 billion people out of almost 9 exist in democratic conditions – it is a sin to reduce the number of applicants to this list. Ukraine is perhaps the first state that turned to the world for support. When I left the post of a politician, matters there could wait, while the people of Ukraine were under threat of death at that moment, every day counted."

The anxiety disappeared, as the image of a strict soldier dissolved into openness and a carefree smile, as if he was not going to the 'hot' zone in 2 weeks. Mark stated that he saw the service not as a calling to kill enemies but as a way to protect the principles



of democracy. The man spent most of his war duty in intelligence, so he didn't have to shoot, torture, and inflict pain. "A warrior should not carry aggression in his heart. Having taken the oath in Hawaii, I realized the importance to protect the freedom of any country. This is my vocation. Ukrainians are our brothers in the fight for independence; America has been on the way to success for a long time, too."

A former sergeant in Afghanistan admits that the hardest part for the military is asking for help. They personificate invincibility and courage, which is why it takes some time to fight the fear of showing weakness. "Supporting veterans should be an integral part of the forces restoration. I recommend the government of Ukraine allocates a certain budget for professional psychologists for all defenders after this protracted battle. The mistake of my compatriots during World War II was silence. The people avoided talking about the victims and horrors they had to endure. As a result, we simply denied the problem, nevertheless, we could have become stronger, not harboring emulation, but felt lightness from being in the community." Mark jokingly calls himself 'an advocate for women in the military'. Based on his own experience, he is sure that often women of the weaker sex are able to work on a par with men, or even surpass their achievements,

certainly without increasing the chances of losing. The worst thing in any war is indifference. Gadgets displace moral values and information about important events: now it is very easy to remain on the sidelines, you should remember that one step can change the course of history and a single contribution can save society.

"At all my performances, I personally control the harmony of slides, music, light, and accents on words. Speeches in Ukraine and the USA require completely different approaches. The inhabitants of America lead everyday lives, I try to surprise them with facts that they have not heard before – it works; I also use appeals to devote some time and energy to another nation's troubles (in fact, global ones). I see that those present at such events come precisely because they are concerned about the fate of Ukraine: they need to be told the best ways how to help in their phase of passion, otherwise, something can distract them or make them abandon what they started halfway. Everything listed above doesn't work for Ukrainians: they do not need to be reminded to speed up their activity. They crave faith and encouragement. I spoke with the singer Ruslana, we find no confrontational reason to disagree with each other. I brought some humanitarian aid to Ukraine. More than 100 people assisted me, 3 drove and supervised, and I did not ask them – that's what struck me.

Ukraine has unique people and an incredible heritage; the only problem is that the movement of volunteers is separated from the same rulers... It would be much easier to implement plans with properly organized coordination. Of course, now it is too late to change something fundamentally. Neither I nor you are likely to influence the government, but we can convince our friends to work for the sake of Ukraine. In World War II, 82% of weapons were bought with the money of citizens." This is the magic of the word, with which great things begin!



Gabriel Travel

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UKRAINIAN NEWS

Total combat losses of the enemy



According to the General Staff, the combat losses of the enemy from February 24, 2022 to January 19, 2023 were approximately:

- personnel – about 118,530 people were eliminated,
- tanks – 3,136 units,
- ACV – 6,235 units,
- artillery systems – 2,122 units,
- RSZV – 442 units,
- air defense equipment – 220 units,
- warplanes – 287 units,
- helicopters – 277 units,
- UAVs of the operational-tactical level – 1,882 units,
- cruise missiles – 749 units,
- ships and cutters – 17 units,
- trucks – 4,896 units,
- special equipment – 190.

The UN General Assembly adopted an updated resolution on human rights violations in Crimea



82 countries supported the resolution, 14 were against it, and 80 abstained. Along with the Muscovites, China, Cuba, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iran, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Mali, Nicaragua, North Korea, Sudan, Syria, and, no doubt, Zimbabwe voted against.

In addition to the provisions contained in the resolutions of previous years, the current document condemns the use of Crimea for the purpose of aggression against Ukraine.

The General Assembly condemns "the incitement of hatred against Ukraine and Ukrainians, as well as the spread of disinformation, which justifies the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, including through the education system.

The document focuses on the dis-

criminatory practices of the Russian occupation authorities, arbitrary detentions and arrests, torture, etc.

Among other things, the resolution demands that Russia immediately cancel the decision to declare the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people an extremist organization and ban its activities, sentences against the Crimean Tatars and their leaders, and immediately release the detainees, including the leaders of the Mejlis.

Biden signed a \$858 billion defense budget with funds for Ukraine



Joseph Biden signed the US defense budget for next year. The document with a record \$858 billion provides funds for military aid to Ukraine. The document envisages the allocation of \$6 billion for the program to contain the aggression of the Russian Federation in Europe and an additional \$800 million for assistance to Ukraine.

The law extends for 5 years the ban on US cooperation with the Russian Federation in the military sphere. Orders to seek the exclusion of Russia from international organizations, in particular from the G20.

The budget also includes support for Taiwan threatened by China.

In addition, after Zelenskyi's speech before Congress, a \$1.85 billion package of military aid to Ukraine was approved, which included Patriot anti-aircraft missile batteries with am-

munition; additional ammunition for HIMARS;

500 high-precision 155-mm artillery shells; 10 120-mm mortar systems and 10,000 120-mm mortar shells; 10 82-mm mortar systems; 10 mortar systems of caliber 60 mm; 37 MRAP vehicles; 120 HMMWV multipurpose wheeled vehicles; 6 armored passenger trucks; high-speed anti-radiation missiles HARMs; high-precision aviation ammunition; more than 2,700 grenade launchers and small arms; Claymore anti-personnel ammunition from the White House.

As part of the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative (USAI), the Pentagon will provide Ukraine with 45,000 152 mm artillery shells; 20,000 artillery shells of 122 mm caliber; 50,000 122-mm GRAD rockets; ammunition (125-mm) for tanks; SATCOM satellite communication terminals.

The Pentagon added: Unlike the Presidential Drawdown, the USAI is the agency under which the United States buys equipment from industry, rather than supplying equipment that is withdrawn from the Defense Department's stockpile.

The Council of Europe held a New Year's fair in support of Ukraine



A charity New Year's fair in support of Ukraine took place at the Palace of Europe in Strasbourg, the funds from which will be used to purchase a powerful generator for one of Kharkiv's hospitals.

The event was held by Ukraine together with the member states of the Council of Europe, the correspondent of Ukrinform reports.

Twenty-two countries presented their stalls at the fair, while many countries provided special gifts for the charity raffle. A concert was also held with the participation of Ukrainian artists.

Opening the New Year's fair, the first lady of Iceland Eliza Reid said, "Ukraine is in my thoughts and in my heart." Bjorn Berge, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, gave a welcome speech.

The representative of the Secretariat of the Council of Europe, Olha Kostenko, told Ukrinform in a comment that the Ukrainian Embassy used to organize annual charity fairs. "The Council of Europe once also had such a tradition, but after COVID, all this disappeared. All in all, now we have decided to restore it in order to raise funds to support Ukraine."

"This is the award of the people of Ukraine", paramedic Tyra after being presented the Sakharov Prize



Today in Strasbourg, in the European Parliament, representatives of the Ukrainian government and soci-

ety were awarded the Academician Sakharov Prize.

Among those who received the award on behalf of Ukraine, there were a veteran and volunteer Yulia Paievskaya (Tyra), mayor of occupied Melitopol Ivan Fedorov, and human rights activist Oleksandra Matviychuk.

Ukrainian paramedic Yulia Paievskaya told Radio Svoboda in the European Parliament: "This award is not mine, it is the award of the people of Ukraine. I am only an intermediary."

Yulia Paievskaya was wearing a T-shirt with the inscription "Mariupol" during the award ceremony. "It is so terrible, terrible crimes against humanity were committed. I mean that a destroyed city is genocide. We cannot allow this to happen again," she said.

In September, Tyra testified before the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe,

Lithuania collected 307, 400 € from the sale of the commemorative coin for Ukraine



The Bank of Lithuania collected 307.37 thousand euros in support of Ukraine from the sale of a commemorative coin dedicated to the struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom. This is stated in the notification of the National Bank of Ukraine. "Colleagues have already transferred these funds to an account opened by the NBU for humanitarian purposes. Our gratitude is boundless..."

The coins are actively bought not only by Lithuanians, but also by citizens of Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, and Slovakia.

The contribution of each person who buys a coin is 70 euros, and the total value of the coin is 96.8 euros. The author of the coin design is Ukrainian artist Svitlana Matvienko. The coin is stylized as an embroidered coat of arms of the Republic of Lithuania

Zelenskyi awarded the soldiers in Bakhmut



During his trip to the Donetsk region, Volodymyr Zelenskyi talked with the military defending Bakhmut, visited the advanced positions of one of the brigades, and listened to a report on the operational situation.

Press Secretary Serhii Nikiforov announced this on Facebook.

The President presented state awards to the soldiers of the mechanized, motorized infantry, mountain assault, tank, artillery, and airmobile units. The head of state and those present also observed a moment of silence in memory of the fallen heroes on the battlefield. President Volodymyr Zelenskyi assured that he is proud, like the whole of Ukraine, of the defenders of Bakhmut, who prove with their bravery that Ukrainians will persevere and not give up.

Alyona Verbytska, RND's authorized representative of the President, named the number of our defenders in captivity: 3,392 Ukrainian defenders. Another 15,000 people are considered missing, and we save a hope to find them alive.

HROMADA, 5 YEARS. TALK WITH GENERAL KRYVONOS

Myroslav Grekh

December 3, 2022, an evening dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Hromada community, which has its own printed newspaper published once a month, was held in the Tiburon yacht club. The weather was bad: rain, cold, and only about 50 people came, but as Mr. Yarema Kuzyshyn, who hosted the evening, said, they were some of the most persistent and most loyal readers. The evening began with the national anthem of Ukraine. After that, Yarema suggested honoring the fallen heroes of Ukraine. Everyone stood up and gave respect to the dead with a minute of silence.

Yarema: Right now I want to make a short excursion into the history of Hromada. There are 3 co-founders: Yarema Kuzyshyn, Nataliya Anon, and Lesya Castillo. The first issue was published in December 2017. The women started, and I joined in the spring of 2018. Now we have an electronic version and a printed version, more than 2 thousand readers receive it. We distribute them free of charge to groups in the San Francisco district, churches also receive them, in Sacramento, they ask for more copies, and we bring newspapers to the Bridge. Our mission, in addition to informational, is charitable. We are the single Ukrainian printed newspaper "Hromada" on the west coast of California, we represent the Ukrainian diaspora, and we bring the Ukrainian word to the environment of both Ukrainians and Americans. Even a bigger number of people read the electronic version. Everyone wants to have a piece of Ukraine here and feel their presence in the life of Ukraine. We have regular contributors: Mr. Portnikov and Mr. Donnii; we advertise Ukrainian businesses, and in recent years we have tripled the number of advertisers. We are growing, and everyone already knows that there is a newspaper and wants to place their materials, messages, and posts in it. The foundations of the Ukrainian Catholic University and the Union of Female Ukrainians have their place here. We are developing, it is interesting and important for us to have it. There are magazines and newspapers of religious or entertainment orientation, but our newspaper is unique because it contains an informative and political point of view. We are frank and open to new ideas and wishes, contact us – we will implement everything together.

Nataliya: Ukrainian Hromada was printed in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, Vakhtang Kipiani showed us a copy that was edited in Geneva in 1840. We continue this tradition, and if you search through the archives, Hromada existed in France as well as in Switzerland. Every century, a new generation of Ukrainians made their own newspaper. Father Agapii Honcharenko printed a newspaper in the old Ukrainian language. When we were in Washington, I said that we created the 1st Ukrainian newspaper, and they corrected me by telling that in the 18th century, Father Agapii Honcharenko printed his newspaper; I hope that in 100 years, Hromada will be remembered as his publication. Vakhtang Kipiani collects our printed newspapers in his press archive. We archive 5 copies of each issue for ourselves, it is a pleasure for us. Today I spoke with an American who until now did not know that Ukrainians have their language. He thought that all Ukrainians communicated in Russian. In Europe, Russians are now giving up the Russian language, they are afraid to lead conversations in it because strangers look askance at them and ignore them. There are a lot of our compatriots in Europe now.

Yarema: Since March 2022, the situation has changed radically. Our newspaper joined all the organizations



that participated in Ukrainian activities, rallies, and events. Now let's talk about the "Anhelyk" foundation, which was established in 2018 under the umbrella of Hromada. We decided to help the children of heroes who died in the war financially, \$50 per child. The amount of this aid increased every year. In 5 years, representatives of the foundation appeared in 8 regional centers. They compile lists of mothers and transfer financial assistance. It is reported to us, and records are kept constant. Every year, we held two events – on Children's Day and St. Nicholas' Day. In 2018, we collected approximately \$6,600, in 2019 – \$15,300, in 2020 – \$39,385, and in 2021, despite covid, we did inventories online and managed to collect about \$38,000. The same figure was reached in 2022. The most aid this year went to the children of the eastern regions, and this was understandable because there was the war epicenter. During this time, around 800 children were assisted, among them, there are kids of refugees who ended up in the western regions of Ukraine. \$197,000 came to us in March of this year, and we transferred this sum to Ukraine. We held concerts in different cities and collected donations. In the spring, media attention in the US to the war fell, and events profit also decreased. The entire burden fell on our shoulders: humanitarian aid with food, everything we collected, for example, 2-3 thousand dollars, we immediately send to the Sumy, Dnipro, or Mykolaiv region. We bought equipment for hospitals and maternity hospitals, and it was all financed by Hromada. We financed psychologists who assisted in the Kyiv region, Bucha, and Hostomel; an IT school in Kyiv, where students learned programming, coding, and graphic design. In the summer, 93 children attended this school. We paid for cots and chests of drawers for the children who arrived in Western Ukraine and Transcarpathia and imported generators from Poland. We sent a wide range of legally formalized aid: from food kits and medicine to equipment and transport. For 88 transfers to Ukraine, it turns out up to 400, 000 dollars.

Nataliya: People write to us all the time about their needs. We satisfy them whenever possible.

Yarema: Since March, we have had 4 concerts and organized auctions there. Each concert brought 7-8 thousand dollars; plus, several small fundraising events. In addition, the screening of Mykhailo Uhman's film "The Path of Generations" (interview in the previous issue) made income, it was a joint project. Besides, we helped a medic Oleksandr Synelnikov, who survived the inferno near Gostomel, but, unfortunately, died while rescuing a wounded man in Severodonetsk. This is a short summary of what we managed to do in 5 years. Thank you very much to everyone who contributed! Thanks to DJ Andrii Liesnyi, who always facilitated events and concerts. Now we are waiting for victory, which we will discuss with General Kryvonos.

Finally, General Serhii Kryvonos appeared on the screen for an online talk.

Serhii Kryvonos: Good evening! Glory to Ukraine! The situation in Ukraine is the result of certain mistakes. The details can be stated separately at another event. We must get that, especially now, we need to figure out the next steps. It worries me that the government does not directly do certain things. To speed up our victory, which I don't doubt, 3 things are necessary. First, the preparation of educational mobilization resources (military training of the population is mandatory). We have reached such a level where many people fight without a break, they are very tired, and human capabilities are not bottomless. In order to win, we should give them chances to rest, they should do shifts. The second drawback is the absence of a set industrial defense complex in any version. Constantly asking for weapons is not an option. It's good that they still don't reject our requests. If you read what the Ukrainian Armed Forces asked for from the USA, certain things would be surprising. Their manufacturing could easily be done within Ukraine. The third factor is the preparation of the territory. We understand that Russia will not stop in its aggressive intentions to destroy our independent state, and yesterday's visit of the Russian leadership to Belarus shows that it will be seen as a springboard for attack. Let me remind you that the length of the Ukrainian-Belarusian border reaches approximately 1,086 kilometers. It is difficult because we have to keep armed formations there, which would at least block the possible directions of attack from Belarus, instead of actively using them in other areas of the front. However, we cannot do this 100 percent because Russia uses the territories for airstrikes on our cities and villages, and the republic's training grounds are used to train the Russian military, which will later fight against Ukraine. This is a huge headache, and in fact, the military and political leadership of our Motherland is facing a rather serious question: whether to attack these objects that help destroy our lands or not. So far, no blows have been struck. Why – currently I have no comments, it is still questionable.

The decision has not been finalized, but it would significantly reduce the mood of the Russians to strike. Apparently, there is a fear that the Belarusians will very actively participate in hostilities after this. There is such a threat when we attack Russia as well, but for now, the team's pain is the Belarusian-Ukrainian rink. Such things should be resolved through diplomatic channels in the first place. These issues are fixed slowly. I am afraid that the war is over in the minds of certain commanders, they are already thinking about extra points. Although, of course, you need to plan and build a strategy, this again shows that the leadership did not prepare the country for a very protracted war in winter conditions.

I and other people have repeatedly claimed this during speeches: it is worth preparing. Failures are caused not only by an imperfection of our air defense system but also by a lack of

management. These are the problems we face. Surely, we will overcome them because the Ukrainian people have excellent historical preparation. The stormy nineties passed without electricity, water, and gas. Many Ukrainians remember this, including me and my family. It is difficult to scare us, but there is a part of the population that is not ready for hardships. Especially in big cities: the bigger the city, the easier it is to create a collapse there due to a blackout. Russians know how to do it. Many American blockbusters featured ways to achieve a disaster. Therefore, all the schemes have been worked out for a long time. Now the Russians are developing tactics to destroy our resistance.

Well, the Russians, indeed, hope for it, but they don't understand why their methods are not effective. They rely on the dissatisfaction of the population with the authorities due to these problems. Luckily, it doesn't work; I know that regardless of the government's mistakes, brave volunteers work independently, and the great war, as I call the period since February, proved that the Ukrainian people, without instructions and commands, are able to organize themselves properly in a difficult situation, take responsibilities, and act. As February and March demonstrated, there were no similar instructions at all, and thank God, without wasting time, the people rallied, took up arms, and in some places won in battle, and stopped the enemy in their aggressive intentions to destroy our will. Orks were so self-confident that, advancing in the direction of Kyiv, they had in their rear uniforms for holding a parade in Kyiv. It didn't work out. Thank God that there are such Ukrainians, in the spirit of the highest level of warriors.

Yarema: Mr. Serhii, could you share some experience of managing units and conducting battles, how was Kyiv defended? How did the battalions on the territory of, if I am not mistaken, Hostomel meet the enemy? What was the resistance, and what success was achieved?

Kryvonos: I know that the experience of Ukrainians in this war is studied in many military educational institutions beyond any logic, beyond military mathematics. Having a huge advantage, the Rashists did not advance further, we were able to defeat them, the desire of Ukrainians to protect their land led to this. When I talked to my friends and co-workers, they emphasized the huge columns of Russian vehicles that crawled along our roads like a healthy worm; then we doubted whether we would stop or not. We crossed the limit of the possible and stopped. Of course, if the authorities dared long before improving the preparation of our territories and armed forces for resistance, it would significantly reduce the ability of the Russians or even discourage the offensive. However, it happened as it happened. I will put an example: in one of the units of the 8th special purpose regiment, which I commanded for a long time, two fighters who participated in the previous war already had disabilities. One lost his right leg and the other was without his left leg; meanwhile, when the invasion intensified, they went to war on prosthetics. I remember their visit to me, I knew them well and made friends with them. They asked for some help, and I could not contain my shock when special prostheses were hung with guns and equipment. At the same time, the soldiers behaved calmly and did not pay attention to their defects. Sometimes even super healthy, trained men cannot cope with the emotions of danger, and here is an example of the burning desire of people to defend their Motherland,

**["Hromada, 5 years..."]
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despite the limitations. The second striking example is the victory of one of the wounded fighters at the jiu-jitsu championship in Ukraine. It shows Ukrainian spirit.

Regarding Kyiv, the enemy was stopped by the same desire of capable Ukrainians. I recall the unification of a large group of Marines from Ukraine into a unit. Let me remind you that at the end of the first day, Russian units were already engaged in active combat both in the vicinity and in Kyiv itself. Even in the area of the Spartak stadium on the morning of February 25, a Russian convoy was destroyed by our special forces, as well as in the territory of the Obolon district. I warned the government that the Russians would enter Kyiv in 8-12 hours in the event of a large influx. Then I was told that I was panicking, and I was dismissed from the ranks of the Armed Forces for bringing the truth to the people. Time will dot the i, actually did it. Specialists like me were right, the matter is that we were not heard in time, and the losses could have been several times smaller. We are told about small losses, perhaps this is a special strategy to maintain a fighting spirit. Ukrainians cannot be stopped in their desire to bury and destroy the enemy. We will not be intimidated by numbers. In order to understand the reality correctly, 2 weeks ago I was at the cemetery of one of the Ukrainian towns, before that I came a year ago and saw several burials of soldiers who died for the independence of Ukraine, and now the number of graves is quite large. Moreover, compared to 1 row of graves from 2014 to 2022, 2 rows from February 2022 to November unpleasantly shocked my cognition because the number of dead has doubled. Meanwhile, you can just walk along the central street of Khmelnytskyi and see how the dwellers of Khmelnytskyi conducted the correct preparatory policy thank God. As a memorial to the dead, they put up banners about every fallen citizen of Khmelnytskyi, the exhibition has already stretched over the entire street, with stands side by side. You want to come to pray, and when you see many acquaintances, it becomes clear that we are paying a heavy price. However, I am very grateful to our Commander-in-Chief Zaluzhnyi, who created such a team based on correct tactics and the strength of the Ukrainian people. They managed to at least stop the enemy from reaching Kyiv. Anyone who traveled along the Donetsk highway from Kyiv to Zhytomyr understands: when the bridges were blown up, the units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine fought hard battles, and, as it was from the side of Irpin, there followed an almost direct road to Kyiv. It was possible to observe during the battles in this area how Russian aviation tried to bomb the formations of our units. It took place, and the main mission is that it doesn't happen again. The threat of a Russian attack on Kyiv has not gone away and may be launched again. Our task is to be ready for this.

Yarema: Thank you! With your permission, I will turn the microphone over to our audience for questions. Please, who wants?

Andrii Fedorenko: Until the 24th, Zelenskyi caused a strange feeling, saying that he would talk to Putin and look him in the eye. After the 24th, it seems that he has changed. He began to talk like a normal leader of the state with the people, taking this blow upon himself. Your personal impression of Zelenskyi before and after the Russian aggression? We know all your criticism of the President, but what is your opinion about it?

Kryvonos: I perceive people not by their words, but by their actions. This would probably be more legally and ethically correct. To my regret, those phrases do not always correspond to actions, so it is my brief answer.

Nataliya: Today many military experts are predicting the end of the war. Some say the war will be over by the end of winter. Particularly Budanov predicts that the war will end before the beginning of summer. Your point of view?

Kryvonos: I am not interested in



joining these military experts, certain experts, to my mind, are only experts. In addition, it is necessary to understand that even going to the state border of Ukraine will not lead to Russia's desire to end the war. Why? Even when we liberate our territory, I believe in this, Russia will continue to launch missile strikes on our territories. Therefore, our task number one: we need not only to liberate the territories nevertheless, to reduce the enemy's ability to hit our facilities to zero. The war will end then with the strong active support of us, first of all, from the USA, England, Canada, Japan, the Baltic countries, and Poland, if they strengthen economic sanctions. Due to this, Russia's aspirations for our state will decrease. Even Putin's death, in my opinion, will not stop the revanchist sentiments of Russia's political elite. For them, the priority mission is to destroy our independence. Moreover, their plans include the oppression of our national consciousness. The fact that they want to "reconcile" and take children from the occupied territories to their regions, to the Far East, shows the global plan of genocide of Ukrainian independence.

Nataliya: Here in the Ukrainian-American diaspora we have been pushing for America to transfer weapons to Ukraine, and there is a conspiracy theory that the USA allegedly transferred weapons to Ukraine, but in certain quantities, not as requested by the Armed Forces, to deter Russia, to prevent it from winning, and also to prevent Ukraine from winning quickly. How can your insight be described?

Kryvonos: Of course, we asked for much more than they gave. I understand that the aid system works and that we would like much more and faster, we need certain means of highly accurate damage all the time, but they are given to us in such a way that sometimes there is a feeling of "don't let them die of hunger". Help arrives until the last moment so that we are not killed completely. We would prefer much more artillery means of the air defense system, missile weapons, and artillery weapons. In the current situation, it would be amazing, the decision has not yet been made, to get Tukhan-type rotary-wing aircraft that would effectively fight against Iranian drones. The Russians are accumulating war reserves with a large number of missiles and drones that penetrate our air defense system. We simply do not have time to recharge: we destroy the 1st wave, and their missiles reach the target in the second wave. Therefore, it is clear that we need to have more means, and there is nothing to say here. I know how, at the beginning of the war, the effective aid of NATO countries, from the USA, and certain units of the Ukrainian army were already equipped with American weapons.

Currently, more is needed so that everyone switches to uniform NATO weapon calibers, this is a much better weapon than we had, but unfortunately, special operations units do not get it. There are examples of purchases of these weapons by NATO bodies abroad. This gun is the best, most reliable, and needed. I would like the lend-lease to work, but they just talk now. Knowing the capacity of the US defense-industrial complex, I would like to receive more. At certain moments, while waiting for help, you should use your reserves. I highlighted that it was enough to wait, it was necessary to use the experience of previous wars and adjust the entire production of at least concrete products of the defense-industrial complex on its territory and neighboring states. Yes, it will be right to conduct negotiations, it is right to ask for the development of certain enterprises. This is probably the most important thing. At one time, the defense capability of the country was not adequate. Even in January of this year, the Verkhovna Rada borrowed 50 billion hryvnias from the budget of the Armed Forces, a fairly large amount, almost 2 billion dollars. What would be the outcome if this money was invested in the production of artillery shells? Only in the Kyiv region in March, having excellent intelligence and ability to impress the enemy, we could not implement them at certain aspects, because there was nothing to shoot. I spoke with the Security Service of Ukraine representatives, they said that, especially in the first 2 weeks of the Russian invasion, the marksmen could not even sleep a few hours a day. Then one of my comrades said that he changed his socks only on the 2nd day of the war. The tension of fighting in the suburbs of Kyiv was so high.

Oleksandr Tiaglo: I understood that the Ukrainian troops are almost not saturated with American weapons. The question is: does Ukraine produce any weapons today or does it use resources that existed before that and were left over from the Soviet Union?

Kryvonos: We had little capacity to produce weapons, this primarily concerns missiles, 1-2 years before the start of the war there were attempts to freeze these programs. Precisely because of the active information struggle on my part and on the part of Yurii Butusov, the production program of "Neptune" and Ukrainian anti-tank systems was not stopped. If only it worked in normal mode. Here's an example: the authorities knew about the beginning of the war, and it had been reported to the Ukrainian people since October, but if they guessed about it, then why didn't the factories in the defense-industrial complex start working 24/7 without days off? The Artemii plant, which produced artillery

shells all the time, six months before the war worked 1-1.5 days a week. If it worked 7 days a week, how many shells could we get? If the design bureau Promin worked 24 hours a day, how many Stugna complexes would we produce? During these months, the CB could release an additional 2-2.5 thousand launchers. Therefore, currently, we mainly use what our partners have given and are giving us. You see, the events are unfolding because of the wrong behavior of the management of the defense industry. In the spring and summer, they did PR on the background of their enterprises, talking about what good fellows they are, and suddenly Russian missiles flew in and destroyed these enterprises. People, instead of keeping their mouths shut and occupying such positions, make primitive mistakes, in my opinion. For such mistakes, it is necessary not only to dismiss them from their positions but to punish them, and bring them to criminal liability. This was not done. Here is an example of a real situation, which is why we are quite dependent on the support of NATO countries. Thank God, we have something to fight for and something to shoot at, because due to incorrect behavior in the information space, when the mobilization in Russia began, the Ukrainian people began to be told that these 300,000 soldiers, firstly, would not be recruited, and secondly, these 300 thousand were alcoholics. One of the biggest mistakes in war is underestimating the enemy. One should not be afraid of the enemy, but, meanwhile, one should realistically view the situation that has developed. If 50,000 of those 300,000 survive, after a certain time they will be soldiers who will be able to fight. To kill one of these 50,000, we must have ammunition and projectiles to successfully inflict damage on the enemy. Therefore, under such an organization, as a result of professional negligence (sometimes criminal), we could not properly establish the work of the PMC, we have what we have.

Tiaglo: Another question: does Ukraine have foreign military advisors? Do you cooperate with them?

Kryvonos: Yes, since 2014, military advisors have been helping a lot. How we achieved a good result is still beyond comprehension. They teach and learn from us.

Myroslav Grekh: You praised General Zaluzhnyi, the whole world admires him. Was there no desire to return under his command? After all, you have a lot of experience, and you could still serve Ukraine.

Kryvonos: I continue to serve Ukraine, I am talking to you here today with the aim to work for Ukraine's defense capability. This is the first point. Secondly, in February-March, defending the suburbs of Kyiv, I was sure that I would serve. Then the command of the political leadership of Ukraine was given to cancel the order of my enrollment in the Armed Forces, and this nonsense can be read. In March, I managed battalions on a volunteer basis. That is, I was given the opportunity to manage thousands of people, it was considered normal, and when the danger subsided, then I was no longer needed, 'goodbye'. Unfortunately, Mr. Zelenskyi, taking me as one of his political opponents, gave the command so that I could not implement my knowledge and skills. By the way, I still go on doing it, despite the fact that after a complex operation, I am learning to walk fully from the beginning. I think that soon I will be able to move completely freely.

Myroslav: Thank you for that.

Question from the hall: Mr. General, the question is technical. I am interested in your opinion regarding attacks on Russian special objects of critical infrastructure, right now and in the future. If possible, more details, thanks.

Kryvonos: It was retaliation, it must be done. I talked about what should be done in the spring of this year and in the summer. To my regret, sometimes our desires do not match our capabilities, if we had the chance and means to further defeat the enemy.

CELEBRATING CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS IN UKRAINE

Lisa Hots

An interesting fact: if you ask any child about his/her favorite holiday, then with a probability of 99.9%, after birthdays, they will name the Christmas holidays. This is not surprising because Christmas celebrations give us a fairy tale and sincere children's emotions. They allow us to forget all the daily problems, believe in miracles, and once again immerse ourselves in a homely, cozy, family atmosphere. This is a wonderful period of smiles, hot cocoa, and gatherings near the gorgeous Christmas tree.

Will the festive celebrations of Ukrainians be at the same measure magical this too-difficult year? What changes and regulations await us due to a full-scale invasion? Finally, perhaps the most relevant and popular question of December, "Will the dates of St. Nicholas Day and Christmas change?"

Let's first consider when the celebration of Christmas will take place and why we should switch to other dates in general (we are not Catholics).

I will start with a short excursion into history. Long ago, all Christians and Catholics celebrated Christmas on the same day. Disagreements began when the churches switched from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian, but the roots of this idea arose even earlier.

The Julian calendar, based on observations of the visible movement of the Sun across the sky, was introduced in Ancient Rome by Gaius Julius Caesar earlier than A.D. (our era). It was developed by the Alexandrian astronomer Sozigenes based on the calendar of Ancient Egypt.

When Kyivan Rus in the 10th century adopted Christianity, the Julian calendar came. However, the average length of a year in the Julian calendar



is 365 days and 6 hours. That is, the Julian year was longer than the astronomical year by 11 minutes and 14 seconds and, therefore, lagged behind the real change of years. As a result, in the middle of the XVI, there was a difference of 10 days. This contributed to the fact that in 1582 the calendar reform took place. The new one was established by Pope Gregory XIII. The difference was removed when, after October 4, 1582, it was ordered to go immediately to October 15. The new calendar was called "Gregorian".

Unfortunately, not all countries have switched to the new calendar. Such regions as Ukraine, Georgia, Serbia, and Russia refused the updated calendar. Why? Political principle. The dictatorial policy of that time imposed the opinion that "a Catholic is not a brother to an Orthodox". Changes in Ukraine began only during the revolu-

tion: the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) announced the transition to the new Gregorian calendar. The Bolsheviks also introduced it. However, the church stuck to tradition and did not want to support the communists.

A situation arose in which ordinary people began to live according to the new style (Gregorian calendar), and the church continued adhering to the old (Julian calendar).

The last time Ukrainian Christmas was celebrated on December 25 in 1929. Well, what is the reason for the church's refusal to do this? The answer is on the surface. The Ukrainian Church was for the most part subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate, which, in turn, did not benefit from this transition at all. Such big holidays, as a rule, bring people together, and due to the fact that Russia has been trying to cut off my Motherland from the ci-

vilized world since ancient times and to this day, such a political course under the cover of the church and traditions was too logical. Therefore, Ukrainians could not fully switch to the Gregorian calendar.

Of course, December 25 is only a conditional date of birth of Jesus Christ, it was not written in any document, including the Bible. Rather, it has to do with the Roman Empire and the winter solstice. However, the fact remains the fact. All Christians and Catholics celebrated this holiday on the same day.

Currently, the Ukrainian church calls on the people to switch to the traditional dates: December 6 – St. Nicholas Day, December 25 – Christmas, and December 31 – Shchedryi Vecher.

Although Metropolitan Epiphanius of Kyiv and All Ukraine declared back in 2019 that Ukrainians can celebrate Christmas according to the Gregorian calendar on December 25 if they want.

When should we celebrate Christmas, in truth?

The choice is up to the nation. The Orthodox Church of Ukraine has not yet switched to the Gregorian calendar. The state will do this if the majority of parishioners support such a reform.

Why is transition important?

When Ukrainians celebrate Christmas according to the Gregorian calendar, they will join the world tradition. This will be another step in separating us from Russia and the Moscow Patriarchate.

A relevant question remains whether they will celebrate New Year's holidays at all... To my mind, it depends on the will of a human being. Somebody



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["Celebrating Christmas..."] the beginning is on page 7

desires to refrain from celebrations, and someone thinks the opposite. However, after examining the results of the polls, we can conclude that the majority of citizens still do not stop the fact of war from celebrating the New Year. In addition, according to the words of our military, we should not give up fun for the sake of children who deserve a wonderful New Year's fairy tale.

Ukrainians should take a break and rest, no Russian will prevent this. Notwithstanding, of course, this year's celebrations will be radically different from the usual ones. First, the curfew is still in effect, which only means that to meet at 00:00 every-

one will be at home with family or friends (people who are lucky enough to have such an opportunity). Secondly, problems with electricity: the situation with light is still difficult in Ukraine, and the terrorist enemy tries to leave our people without energy every week, but they forgot about the light inside people!) That's why light, or rather its absence, will obviously not interfere with warm conversations and a festive dinner. Third, additional weekend: December 31, 2022, according to the calendar, falls on a Saturday, and January 1, 2023 falls on a Sunday. Previously, if major public or religious holidays fell on a day off, the following Monday was also a day off. That is, January 2, 2023, was supposed to be a day off. However, during the period of mar-

tial law in Ukraine, the norms of the Labor Code of Ukraine were temporarily suspended, so Ukrainians will not have additional days off for the New Year 2023.

Will Christmas trees decorate cities?

One hundred percent! This year, Ukrainians gave free rein to their imagination and patriotism, and beautiful Christmas trees came out in completely different shapes and sizes. I'll start with the main one located in Sofiyivska Square in Kyiv. The New Year tree is decorated with doves of peace, and at the top, there is a coat of arms. In Mykolaiv, they created a Christmas tree from camouflage nets: it consists of six sections, each section reaching 6 meters in height, and 2.5 meters in width, with Christ-

mas balls and garlands in the role of an additional layer. The residents of Khmelnytskyi installed a tree directly on top of an enemy missile, and the residents of Kharkiv placed theirs in the subway crossing for safety.

As for illumination, the solution is simple: to save electricity, we use energy-saving garlands that work from a generator and are illuminated only at certain times. At home, Ukrainians use ordinary battery-powered garlands.

These are the Christmas holidays ahead for Ukrainians: on the one hand, they are strict, but on the other hand, they are an interesting experience that will eventually turn into a treasury of history that we will pass on from generation to generation.



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["War, peace, or football?"]
the beginning is on page 1

not gave consent for such a performance. It would be absurd for us, Ukrainians, to ask the question of what is more significant: fighting back in the war with the Russian aggressor or the football championship. But what are the world's priorities?

The head of the International Federation of Association Football, Gianni Infantino, reported that the profit from the championship amounted to 10.5 billion US dollars. The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance concluded that for 11 months the budget deficit amounted to UAH 807.5 billion, that is, somewhere around 20 billion US dollars. A fund-raising factory plus billions of telecast views under the guise of sports, from one side, and bombed-out cities, isolation from light and heat in opposition. Does a French or Argentinian fan want to think about some distant country in the east of Europe when the fight for the crown of the world is at stake, let this crown be tried on not by the fan himself, but by several dozen millionaires in sports uniforms?

"We offered the world 'The Peace Formula', absolutely honest. We offered it because in war there are no champions, there can be no one. Therefore, I announce the initiative of convening 'The Peace Formula' Global Summit this winter. The summit for the unity of all peoples of the world for the idea of global peace.

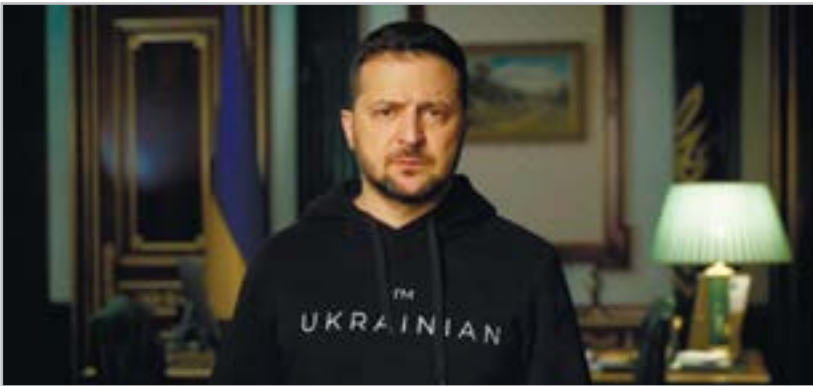
The stands of the stadiums are empty after the match, and the cities remain deserted after the war. Therefore, war must fail, and peace must become the champion, as it is here now in Qatar. The World Cup is not a world war. It's possible! Please support Ukraine and our efforts to restore peace!", Zelenskyi was supposed to say in a video address to the fans before the final between France and Argentina. This is a speech about peace, about our desire for peace. However, such formulations scared the Football Federation. Big sports money doesn't just like silence, they like to pretend

there is no war in the world.

4 years ago, FIFA already pretended that fascist Russia was not an aggressor, did not occupy the Ukrainian Crimea and Donbas, and held the championship in 'Satan's den'. The planet turned a blind eye to the occupation of Ukrainian lands. Worse than that, Ukraine then took part in the qualifying tourney, not having the courage to spit in the enemy's face and immediately give up even trying to get to the championship, which was supposed to be held on the territory of an enemy state. We have learned to say that the war in the country has been going on for 9 years, but have we behaved these 9 years in such a way that there is a war going on in our country? The attempt to compete with Iceland and Croatia for the right to legitimize the fascist Putin regime is a black mark on our biography. The previous government, which managed to trade and bargain with Russia, has already gone into the past; the new realities are such that Ukrainians are outraged even by the presence of a single Russian at any international event. The question is if we are confronting only Russia or trying to overcome the indifference of a huge number of Earth's inhabitants. Is the public entertainment industry not diverting attention from our tragedy? Of course, the President of France has the right to fly to the performance of the national team. No doubt, such a step will be positively appreciated in the homeland, but will there be room for our problems in his head or heart at this time?

Ukrainians want to rest, don't they? They just can't.

I am scrolling through the news feed on Facebook: "Couldn't bring myself to watch a single match in Qatar"; "I watched only the final, and, unfortunately, the electricity outage happened in the third half"; "Since 1986, I have not missed a single match, and now I couldn't just want to watch – I caught myself thinking that I would get angry when someone started commenting"; "What championship are you writing about here? I have no light for 2 days!"; "Am I the only one who



didn't notice that somewhere they are playing football?"; "When football returns to us in Kherson, then I will start watching!"

This one is written by my friend Fozzi (Oleksandr Sydorenko, TNMK band), who has never missed any match before, commented on countless matches, and was also the leader of the stars' football team, "I left the foundation during the penalty because I ran out of plasters – there was nothing to do. They were more important. They were a joy. Such are the times." Fozzie is volunteering – patches make more sense for him than the winning goal in the final.

It was not for nothing that I wrote about Zelenskyi's visit to the USA in the first sentence. Is it possible to change world indifference and how? Only by actions. Ukrainians demonstrate such activity not only at the front or in the repair of damaged infrastructure. Diplomacy is also a front. This is a struggle against indifference. The insane former puppet president of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev, went to China either to beg for weapons or to beg the Chinese overlords not to object to a nuclear strike on Ukraine. Any exotic versions can be considered.

For example, Sergei Markov, one of the Kremlin political scientists, claims that Medvedev asked for permission to transfer North Korean troops to Ukraine, another global exile. Already there are not enough mobilized people in Russia, they have little additional "cannon fodder". We can only make

assumptions since Russia is also an example of a non-public policy, for which it is embarrassing to name the real goals even in public.

Instead, Ukraine demonstrates a transparent position. Public speaking before Congress and the Senate is a speech delivery. The meeting with Biden is an open position of the Ukrainian side. Yes, we need weapons and support. Ukraine recognizes it. Pointing out and explaining that additional weapons are the only way to peace, which lies only through the expulsion of the last Russian occupier from the last meter of Ukrainian territory.

Ukraine was promised money. Thanks to the US government and Americans for this. One Patriot battery is given to Ukraine. Finally. But one. Is it possible to protect the entire country from a mass of Russian missiles with one battery? Ukraine is still not given planes. Snap out, this is not football. However, this is also an element of indifference or incomplete understanding.

As I wrote above, indifference (and misunderstanding too) can be changed only by active deeds. The thing we 100% don't lack is enthusiasm. For us, the battlefield is a reality, not a toy final. Therefore, penalties in this final should be fought only at one gate. The gate of the enemy. The enemy must be finished off. With the entire support of the world. When we finish, then we can return to football. Afterward, we will be glad to play and compete even with the whole world.



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ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL

ShortageUA: a platform that united people all over the world to support people in Ukraine with goods

For almost a year, we have been witnesses to horrific events in the center of Europe. The Russia-Ukraine war is ongoing, with millions of people still in need of our support, both mentally and physically. Seeing how these far-away events are changing the lives of those people, many of us wonder how we can be of service.

The whole world is stepping in to help Ukraine. Not just countries, but individuals can contribute as well. The ShortageUA project is one way to share our energy, time, and most needed supplies, and to put a stop to this unjust war.

What is ShortageUA?

Sometimes we think that we must be close to the problem to be able to help. ShortageUA proves that even if you are on the other side of the ocean, you can contribute a lot.

The portal was launched in late March of 2022 by a group of friends from Ukraine and Silicon Valley, with the mission of helping with the delivery of urgently needed supplies from individual donors from abroad to Ukraine. As of December, over \$300,000 of needed supplies were donated to Ukraine via ShortageUA – valuable medical supplies, tactical equipment, digital radio stations, thermal cameras, Wi-Fi tablets, drones, etc.

How to donate?

You might be wondering – who's behind all these donations? These are people from all over the world who decided to help Ukraine in its fight against unjustified aggression. Just regular people who have gone out



of their way to help Ukraine. They are not Ukrainians. They don't hold political office. They don't ask for a press release. They don't even work for charity organizations. They are just ordinary human beings who want to help. They have found many ways to do this: from spreading the word to donating the necessary goods, and some even came to Ukraine to help. Today, we want to share a few inspiring stories about some of them.

Donor impact stories.

Donate time, like Zac.

After flying to Poland in May 2022



to help with humanitarian aid, American missionary Zac arrived in Lviv just a day later and then helped with the distribution and delivery of food and humanitarian aid in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipro, and other cities close to the front line. He was asked why he came to Ukraine because it is dangerous here and there is a war going on. He answered: "Because the love of God is greater than fear, war, and death." During his stay, he interviewed many refugees to hear their stories from the war and posted several videos about our country and their people on his



YouTube channel with the purpose of spreading the truth about what is happening during the war and providing hope in this horrible time. You can check out his YouTube channel by going to [zaciinton.com](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzaciinton).

Share the trust, like Stephan.

Our second story is about Stephan from Oregon, USA. He donated an armor plate for the territorial defense of Ukraine. What caught our attention is that before he sent it, he made a stencil and spray painted an emblem of the Ukrainian Trident on the front of the plate. He said of this effort, "I thought it would help ensure the plate would be used in defense of Ukraine."

Shortly after, he collected more supplies listed on shortageua.com and sent another parcel containing a diverse array of tactical gear and medical supplies. And last but not least, he left us feedback on how to improve our website from the donor's perspective, which was critically important for us at that stage.



Share knowledge, like Clare

We had an incredible girl Clare from California.

From the first days of our volunteering, she joins our team of volunteers. We admire people who are not indifferent to the situation and who are ready to get involved in support of Ukraine. Not only does this amazing girl help ShortageUA with database research and copywriting, but she also volunteers as an English-speaking tutor for Ukrainians: both those still in war zones and others who were forced to leave their homes and country.



Give protection, like Tom.

The last story is about the unexpected gifts of life. Sometimes we get offers of help that we even couldn't imagine when we created the portal. We received one such offer from Tom from the UK, who has been breeding and training gundogs for more than 10 years. He kindly contacted ShortageUA to donate 3 of his Working Cocker Spaniel puppies. Imagine what, these dogs are closely related to another dog named Wolferton Drama, whose owner is none other than Queen Elizabeth 2nd. Currently, thousands of dogs serve in the border guard, emergency services, and armed forces of Ukraine, helping Ukrainians to fight the invaders, demining the area and making it safe for future generations. One of these assistants – Patron the dog – even became a celebrity, with more than 300,000 followers on Instagram.

Tom and his dog trainer community sincerely want to help Ukraine. He is ready to drive around 2 thousand miles to deliver dogs close to Ukrainian borders. His willingness to donate dogs was based on finding

ways to support Ukrainians, however he can. For ShortageUA it is an honor and huge responsibility to accept such a cute and specific donation, and it is one more reminder that everyone has the opportunity to help Ukraine in this war just with personal efforts. Here is a photos of Tom with Jet.

Afterward

Such stories remind us that people all over the world care for Ukraine, support human rights and the right of Ukraine to exist, believe in the nation of Ukraine, its people, and its heroes. Please remember that this war is not over.



Find out more on the ShortageUA website.

["Hromada, 5 years..."] the beginning is on page 6

Yarema: A question about General Zaluzhnyi. Everyone now treats him as an ace, the leader of our army, and a good tactician and strategist. Does he have ambitions, maybe to enter politics in the future? You know him well. Frankly, speaking, we understand that he could easily become the President of Ukraine, and I believe that he would be much more successful than other candidacies in the history of our country.

Kryvonos: In one of the recent interviews, I answered this question. I will answer now. Unfortunately, the leadership of Ukraine sees him as the future Eisenhower, when after the victory in World War II he became a successful president of the United States of America for 2 terms in a row. In the independent part of the development of America, it is believed that Mr. Eisen-

hower's plan stabilized the situation both in the world and inside America. That is why there are such scares in the President's office. That is why they conduct a certain information policy, even sometimes not mentioning Zaluzhnyi, I am not talking about his contribution to the fate of Ukraine, for this, they should at least be awarded the title of Hero of Ukraine, but they do not do this, there is no award for these 8 months. Perhaps, there was not enough ink or paper to print this order. For ordinary Ukrainians, this is perceived as disrespect for a person who professionally fulfills his duties regarding the protection of territories. The key to solving this misunderstanding is the following: he still causes great fear. Does he have any desires and what desires? Even if he were asked this question, he would not be able to answer. I say this, "Why to annoy those who follow him?" The chatter will start again "we help – we don't help." I think

that Valerii will be a strong force leader of the state after the victory, and he can do a lot to raise the level of our independence, not only in military terms but in politics as well. God, give him good health, I want nothing to happen to him so that he confidently leads our army in the future.

Yarema: Thank you, we all wish him the same. Mr. General, one more question: in 2014, as we all know, the security forces of Ukraine were full of Russian agents. What is the situation now? I understand that it is much less, but what is your assessment of the situation?

Kryvonos: The 5th column exists within the country and causes harm through certain media outlets or inaction on certain issues. I will answer in this way, in the full sense, its liquidation has not yet taken place. For the number, it is better not to ask the law enforcement agencies, but the office of the President.

Tamara Donchenko: Serhii Hryhoryovych, I express my surprise and respect for you. We are compatriots, I was born in Lohvytsa, and I am also the sister of Taras Kutovyi. You probably knew my brother, he served as a minister in Groyzman's government. When the war started, my parents were near Kyiv. Since Taras was lying in the grave, he could not help them, intercede. You did it. I rarely meet such great people as you, who love Ukraine so much. I want to thank you for my parents, in fact, you saved them, because they were near Zhuliany. My question: for every Ukrainian, peace is the absence of war, the absence of Moscow. What would you consider a victory for Ukraine?

Kryvonos: For me, victory in this war equals not only the liberation of territories but also the destruction of the Russian Federation. Destruction of its capacity for aggressive plans. [...]

Continues in N°63.

FOR KIDS

A NEW YEAR'S MIRACLE

Olha Zuber

The clouds made the light fail... The frost cracked, the snow sparkled with silver, and the chickadees were chasing each other to get warm. Passers-by hurried home in a festive mood, which was natural, of course! Tomorrow is the New Year!

Everyone was busy with their own affairs and worries, no one paid attention to the tiny kitten sitting near the house. It has been sitting for a long time. In order to warm up a little, he curled up in a small ball and looked curiously at the people around.

It was getting dark. The kitten looked at the windows, which lit up with yellow lights. He could see people doing something, running, talking, laughing... It smelled warm and something delicious. It was a fully different world. Not the one where the kitten lived. It did not know what warmth and caress are, because it had never felt them. The animal never drank warm and delicious milk.

It completely darkened. The frost intensified. The kitten was so frozen that it could not even move. It no longer watched people, but closed its eyes and sat quietly, as if asleep.

It did not see how a little girl noticed it through the window. It only felt how it was picked up by warm and tender little hands and carried away to another world...

The chimes struck 12,



the Christmas tree flashed in all colors, the New Year's frost crackled outside, and snowflakes swirled.

The small kitten was sweetly sleeping on a soft rug, and a plate of sweet milk was standing next to the girl's pet.



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The American magazine Time awarded the title of "Person of the Year" to President Volodymyr Zelenskyi and the "spirit of Ukraine". This is stated on the publication's website.

[NOTES for December]
the beginning is on page 1

clear that Ukraine's allies are in the civilized world. Those who were considered, if not "brothers", then good neighbors turned out to be enemies and detractors. This year, it is obvious that Ukrainians need Ukraine, they are ready to fight for it, give their lives and health, collect funds and not just survive – but lead a life and fight in unbearable conditions. It was this year that made many in our country and the diaspora remember their nationality and how much it meant.

This is a very long year because it will actually end only with the end of the terrible war. When will the war come to an end? It is clear that no one can give reliable forecasts today. However, it was in December that the new Economist edition published conversations with the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Valerii Zaluzhnyi, and the head of the Ground Forces Oleksandr Syrskyi.

These interviews give ideas of how

Kyiv sees the further course of events. Valerii Zaluzhnyi – most likely, for the first time in a long term – described the complexity of military tasks, the effectiveness of which depends on the chances of proposals made by the political leadership of the state. He and another Ukrainian military commander, Oleksandr Syrskyi, urge not to underestimate Russia because such a mistake usually leads to defeat.

Both Zaluzhnyi and Zelenskyi talk about the need for additional resources for the Ukrainian army. In Kyiv, many assume that the interviews appeared primarily to 'dialogue' about additional resources with a Western audience, but the real conversations about military supplies take place in the silence of offices, not on magazine columns. The public opinion of the West has been formed not thanks to the texts of business publications, but due to Russia's anti-human policy: every new attack, every new house that remains without light and heat, and every destroyed city forms this opinion. Therefore, Zaluzhnyi simply states the fact: without significant Western support, it is impossible to win

the war with Russia, and it is much more difficult to liberate Ukrainian territories to the last. That is why interviews of the Ukrainian leaders do not talk about the terms of the war but emphasize the probability of a new massive attack by Russia, in particular on Kyiv.

Parallel to the previous facts, we must also take into account the fact that we are reading interviews of generals who are used to thinking in the strategic logic of battles or, as in the case of Zelenskyi, the views of people who became interested in politics recently, literally on the eve of the victory of the current Ukrainian president in the 2019 elections. With these figures, Putin is waging a Chekist war, convinced that victory in the war is not a victory over the army, but a victory over the civilian population, the complete destabilization of the enemy country, and the creation of conditions for the departure and death of most of its inhabitants. After the failure of the blitzkrieg, Putin wants to win just such a war and does not seem to genuinely understand why he should stop hostilities and why he is reproached for a war on women and children. It is with women and children that Russia is at war today, and its president takes sincere pleasure in the process. At the same time, he had to admit that the 'special operation', which according to his initial calculations should last only a few days, could be long. On the one hand, this is Putin's admission of a fiasco. If we recall Putin's calculations, it is already in Ukraine the puppet regime of Viktor Yanukovich was supposed to exist for nine months, in several regions of the east and south of the country, with the blessing of the new 'authority', 'referendums' on joining the Russian Federation were to be held, and he, together with Yanukovich and Lukashenko, already had to work on an agreement on the creation of a union state of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Now, these Putin plans have become political fiction.

On the other hand, Putin does not want to agree with this. His well-known stubbornness and unwillingness to realistically assess the situation lead to the fact that instead of a three-day war, he is preparing for a three-year war. He looks like a man who does not care at all what price Russia will pay for his decision to fight with the copper Chekist forehead against the wall of Ukrainian resistance and Western rejection.

Does this "long war" have tactical goals? Yes, and they are not hidden either. One of these goals has to be written about after every Russian attack against Ukrainian critical infrastructure: at a meeting with members of the Human Rights Council (!) Putin gladly acknowledged the authorship of these attacks. Russia aspires to achieve not even the surrender of Ukraine, but the disappearance and flight of its population but they cope

with this mission badly.

If we talk about the war of armies, here Putin has his own tactical goal as well: access to the administrative borders of the regions annexed to the Russian Federation. He fondly talks about the fact that today the Azov Sea is the 'internal sea' of Russia and demands to ensure traffic along the 'Crimean corridor', a land route from Russia to occupied Crimea through other occupied regions of Ukraine. Through a corridor that surprisingly resembles the 'Danzig corridor' that Adolf Hitler wanted from Poland before World War II.

It is clear that Putin needs more than just the complete occupation of the territories. He is also trying to ensure that both Ukraine and the West recognize the fact of annexation. Here we return again to the motive of a missile attack on Ukrainian critical infrastructure.

Of course, the most important question is what will Vladimir Putin do if he realizes that he is unable to implement any of the tactical tasks set now, that Ukrainians do not flee and do not surrender, and the regions cannot be occupied, on the contrary, Ukrainian lands are liberated by the Ukrainian army?

I guess that Putin would rather look for a way to stop without any concrete agreements and will again gather reserves for a new strike on Ukraine. However, Putin's problem is that he has lied for too long and too much and continues to brazenly fool himself. Therefore, neither Kyiv nor the West will believe in his wish for a truce. For a real truce, Putin must provide substantial guarantees of non-aggression. Guarantees he will never present because of the plan to attack again. In addition, it is noticeable that he still believes in his 'long war', the economic and social fatigue of Ukraine, and the change of Western leaders, that he will 'overcome' and defeat every enemy. So he can neither win nor stop. He is bound and blinded by the belief in success and is unlikely to notice that this almost religious belief can be the first step to his downfall. However, this collapse should be caused not only by Ukraine's military success. Military success is only a guarantee that Russian troops will not be on Ukrainian territory and Ukrainian cities will not be bombed. Not even a guarantee, but a hope: guarantees will appear only after Ukraine joins NATO and the Kremlin understands that a conflict with Ukraine is a military clash with the entire civilized world.

Putin's collapse means the preservation of the Ukrainian state and its chance for successful renovation and prosperity. Putin's collapse is a civilizational gap between Ukraine and Russia. The loss of Putin is equal to our happy future and not to the 'long war', but to the long shame of Russia after this almost endless year.



["Lost childhood..."]
the beginning is on page 1

commit the genocide of the Ukrainian people right now.

Unfortunately, not every Ukrainian child will be able to celebrate the long-awaited holidays with their families this year. Thousands of Ukrainian children will not celebrate the New Year in Ukraine, because they live on enemy land.

Currently, the Russians are trying to take 1,500 children from the occupied territories to Moscow 'for the New Year holidays'. The mayor of Melitopol, Ivan Fedorov, calls on parents, despite the occupiers' sweet promises, not to give their children away, "The enemy has repeatedly shown that Russia needs them either for propaganda or as a 'human shield'. Therefore, we can't be sure whether the children will return home."

It is possible not to return from such a 'vacation', as was the case with the children from Izium and Balaklia, whose parents sent them for a "free three-week vacation by the sea" to the "Medvezhonok" camp near Gelendzhik. "We saved the children from the horrors of the war so that they would not see or hear about it," this is how the parents justified their decision at the time. Then, after the return of the settlements to the control of Ukraine, people were informed that the children would remain in the camp for another month (or forever).

What is horrifying in this situation is that the occupiers did not take the children by force: the parents themselves chose such a wrong option to save the children. Now, these children are shown on Russian TV channels. They tell that everyone has adapted perfectly, happily eats breakfast in the dining room, and the whole town collects "backpacks" for school.

However, the "Medvezhonok" case is an exception to the rules. In 99% of cases, children are brazenly abducted without the consent of the parents or the child himself/herself. Invaders separate children from adults during filtering activities; to take away, killing the father or mother in front of their eyes; to take seriously ill minors from hospitals to an unknown destination and write in the documents that it is as if "for recovery" – this is how the occupation authorities work.

As of December 22, the Children of War portal writes that 13,613 children have been deported from the territory of Ukraine, and 328 are missing. However, it should be taken into account that no one knows the real number, perhaps only the Russians themselves. In the Russian Federation, the number of 721,000 small Ukrainians is announced as 'mercifully evacuated', but they are not going to provide lists for confirmation.

Children of War is a platform for res-

cuing and searching for children forcibly displaced or lost in a full-scale invasion. On the website, you can leave a request about the disappearance of a child or write if you know someone's whereabouts. It is difficult to look at the faces of those depicted in the photos and to read their names, surnames, and where their homeland is situated. Chances that these kids will return home with the same surnames and citizenship and return at all are very small, indeed.

Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, the Commissioner for Children's Rights in the Russian Federation, Maria Lvova-Belova, has consistently supported the deportation of Ukrainian children, she confirms her position not only with words but also with deeds: the woman adopted a 16-year-old teenager Philip from Mariupol, who was allegedly abandoned by his parents. In reality, the child was simply stolen, and the ombudsman herself does not even try to hide that the boy hated everything Russian during the first months of his stay in his new family. However, in two months of "education", Philip began to get used to it because for a young child the 1st place is taken by no longer moral values but the primal desire to survive in society.

Propagandists use this fragility quite skillfully. The war continues for the 8th year: children from the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, who were 12 years old when the war began, are now adults in their 20s, who were generously fed Russian propaganda from childhood that their suffering was not the fault of Russia, but 'Banderavtsi', 'Gayropa' and, a classic of the genre, 'America'. This lost generation was taught to do anything to protect the 'real' homeland. Currently, many Donbas youths are in captivity in the territory controlled by Ukraine and honestly say that they went to kill 'Banderavtsi' to protect their pseudo-republic. Such young adults can be seen on the YouTube channel of journalist and blogger Volodymyr Zolkin, who conducted hundreds of interviews with Russian prisoners of war.

It is worth mentioning The Young Army, a kind of The Hitler Youth in the Russian style. In the occupied part of the Kherson region, they are currently working according to the scenario used in Crimea: in schools, propaganda lectures "Dialogues about important things" have been taught. These 'conversations' are held as the first lesson every Monday after the obligatory raising of the flag and singing of the Russian national anthem. Russian soldiers, who are positioned as liberating heroes, interact with the children during classes: they let them hold weapons, teach kids how to use them, and most importantly, against whom. The teachers conduct an excursion into the history of Russia – not the real one but invented by the Krem-



lin. In addition, The Young Army is not just a temporary youth military organization – being a member of The Young Army is prestigious. They are given advantages when entering Russian universities; they are admired by adults who, with tears in their eyes, look at little 8-year-old youth soldiers who take an oath of loyalty to the motherland. Ukrainian teenagers are forced to join The Young Army in order to be sent to the front to fight against their former mates and brothers in the future. Children who strive to get at least some kind of future have no choice because every day Russia hammers into their heads: Ukraine does not need them at all. It is not difficult to imagine what is done to those who do not want to shout Russian slogans. Dmytro Lubinets, Commissioner for Children's Rights in Ukraine, said on the air of the ether that children's torture chambers were found in the territories liberated from the Orks, "After the liberation of Kherson Oblast, I visited Kherson, and we saw a torture chamber there, where, according to the testimonies of witnesses, there was a separate cell for children that was called "child". In Snihurivka, two 15-year-old girls shared that they were thrown into a damp basement, threatened to cut off their fingers, and then left to starve to death. The girls were lucky: after 4 days of captivity, they broke down the door and escaped. On the Internet, you can see a video of how Ukrainian children are "re-educated" in Chechnya. Ramzan Kadyrov spoke about his intentions to hold similar events and cooperation with Lviv-Bielova back in mid-November: "difficult teenagers" from the occupied territories were brought to Chechnya for 'preventive work' and 'military-patriotic education'. "Kadyrov kidnaps children from Luhansk in order to raise them to be murderers, who will then attack their nation," Serhii Gaidai, head of the Luhansk Oblast's Military Administration, said.

Orphans who were taken out of orphanages are in the worst situation. They do not have parents who would sound the alarm and try to save them: their prospect of returning to the homeland depends only on the work of volunteers and Ukrainian service workers. The reaction of many international organizations, the Red Cross in particular, is very sluggish as if there is no genocide under their noses. Russians, for most of whom there are no adequate standards, not only for a comfortable life but also for existence, by any means they do not stop trying to encourage the adoption of Ukrainian



children – even a simplified procedure was done. Television propagandists always emphasize how noble it is to adopt a child "abandoned by everyone"; promise annual cash payments: 20,000 rubles for a healthy child and 150,000 rubles for a disabled child.

Since November 9, Russian millionaire bloggers have been distributing a documentary series about Ukrainian children from Donbas, who were adopted by Russians. "Only in 2022, more than 150,000 children were evacuated from the troubled Donbas. As a result of the attack from Ukraine, many brothers and sisters were left without families and scattered in various shelters. Today, they find new families and try to feel again what a happy childhood is," this is how the opening credits of each series begin.

"Programs of forced adoption and deportation of children under the guise of vacations and rehabilitation programs likely form the basis of a massive Russian depopulation campaign that may violate the Convention on the Prevention of Crime genocide and punishment for it," analysts of the Institute for the Study of War concluded. So what is all this for? The political leadership of the Russian Federation immediately set 3 goals for which they order to kidnap children: the first is to create another lost generation of Ukrainians without destinies; the second is to hide real losses of personnel at the front by increasing the population; the third is to populate the sparsely populated territories of Russia with Slavs. As you know, in percentage terms, there are fewer Russians in Russia than 'national minorities', which are much more numerous. The Hitle-rites, by the way, also did this: they brought to Germany children who visually met Aryan standards.

It will be extremely difficult to return all the children to Ukraine, as both Dmytro Lubinets and Daria Herasymchuk, Commissioner for Children's Rights and Children's Rehabilitation, openly talk about. The government is working with all its might to save every little Ukrainian who was captured by the invaders. Herasymchuk does not tell in detail about the methods by which some of the children have already been taken out of the Russian Federation, because after that they will stop working. So far, only 125 children have come home, while thousands of others are in an unknown place, struggling every day to survive in a foreign country. However, these are still 125 human lives that were given new chances for a happy future.



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TWO NEW ENDOWED SCHOLARSHIPS HONOR UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY'S FALLEN HEROES

Join us in honoring two brave UCU alumni who made the ultimate sacrifice for their beloved country.

Oleh Vorobyov

Oleh Vorobyov died on the front in the war with the Russian occupier. Oleh was an alumnus of the Master of Science in Technology Management Program of UCU Business School, COO at The Spares Expert Ltd, and founder of a course of psychological assistance for soldiers of the anti-terrorist operation, Happy Together. He is survived by his wife OIha, son Davyd, and daughter Sofiya, who is currently a student of UCU Philology Program. Oleh was a trained physicist with a candidate's degree in Physics-Mathematics. He worked for many years as a researcher of the Institute of the Physics of Condensed Systems at the National Academy of Science Ukraine, then turned to civic and creative work. At the time of the invasion he was an enthusiastic student at the business school, but left to fight and defend. At the initiative of UCU Business School and the family of hero Oleh Vorobyov, Ukrainian Catholic University has started a scholarship fund in memory of this hero.



Artem Dymyd

Artem Dymyd, age 27, died defending Ukraine from the Russian occupiers. While serving in the war, he was killed by mortar fire near Donetsk. He was a graduate of UCU, Humanities Faculty, History Program, a member of Plast Ukraine, and an active participant in the Revolution of Dignity, serving in the special battalion "Harpoon" and the battalion "Azov." Artem was the son of Father Mykhailo Dymyd, the first rector of the Lviv Theological Academy (now UCU), chaplain of the Maidan, professor of UCU, and his wife Ivanka Krypyakevych-Dymyd, a famous icon painter. He is the great-grandson of the historian Ivan Krypyakevych and of the priest and violinist Artemiy Tshelsky, who spent seven years in exile in Siberia. His family, along with UCU, is establishing a scholarship fund in cooperation with Plast Ukraine and the Ukrainian clothing brand Aviatstva Halychyny. The scholarship will be provided to Plast members who enter UCU's bachelors and masters programs.



To honor these heroes, please make your donation at [UCUFoundation.org/donate](https://ucufoundation.org/donate) and designate your gift to the "Artem Dymyd Endowed Scholarship Fund", "Oleh Vorobyov Scholarship Fund" or both.



The School of Ukrainian Language and Culture (SOUL) at Ukrainian Catholic University invites you to register for our upcoming online Ukrainian language programs. Each session includes personalized classes designed for groups to learn and improve in Ukrainian, focusing on speaking, reading, and writing skills. Throughout the program, classes will feature lectures on various themes including history, politics, economics, art, culture, and contemporary issues in Ukraine. Students can elect to receive University ECTS credits upon completion of the course.

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EVENTS 2023

JANUARY

Ha/Su	Pi/Mo	Tr/Tu	Cr/We	Th/Th	Fr/Fr	Sa/Sa
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

22 JAN
UNITY DAY OF UKRAINE

5 FEB
MARIN HEROES MAKING A DIFFERENCE ONE YEAR LATER

Westminster Events

Where: 240 Tiburon Blvd 240 Tiburon Boulevard Tiburon, CA 94920 United States

When: Sunday, February 5, 2023, 3:30 PM – 5:00 PM PST

Join Nataliya Anon (Hromada co-founder) and Paula Reynolds to learn about Marin's efforts both there and back home.

Reserve a spot with Mobile eTicket,

Cost: free

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/>

[ukraine-invasion-marin-heroes-making-a-difference-one-year-later-tickets-515225171357?utm-](https://fb.me/e/5kCkbsec4)

5 FEB
UKRAINIAN CULINARY HERITAGE

UNWLA San Jose, Branch 107

Where: the Ukrainian Event Center and Music Hall, 345 Seventh St, San Francisco, CA 94103

When: Tuesday; February 5, 16:00 Meeting with Marianna Dushar, lecturer, researcher, author, and editor of cookbooks and projects

"Pani Stefa" and "Seeds&Roots"; Ukrainian reception; and fundraising for the humanitarian needs of Ukraine are included.
<https://fb.me/e/5kCkbsec4>

25 FEB
UNITE FOR UKRAINE RALLY AND MARCH

PLB, Ukrainian Student Association at Stanford

Where: Harry Bridges Plaza, San Francisco, CA, The Embarcadero, USA

When: Saturday; February 25, 12:00 – 14:00

We invite you and your family and friends to join us as we continue to Fight for Ukraine on the anniversary weekend of the war.

Gathering of Community with Flags and Signs, Anthems and Speeches by Dignitaries, Politicians, and Guest Communities, Crossing Embarcadero, form column, March to Pier 39, and Gathering at Sea Lion Sculpture are in the program.

<https://fb.me/e/3gBSQ75in>



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in impassioned conversation

with Paula Reynolds

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Sunday, February 5
3:30-5:00 pm

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www.hromada.us

Questions? Email Karen - karenhalsey14@gmail.com

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