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SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Vitaliy Portnykov | NOTES FOR DECEMBER

THE YEAR'S KEY EVENT AND THE KREMLIN'S INTENTIONS



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When discussing the major events of 2024, the most significant one stands out immediately – though its consequences for the United States, Ukraine, and the world will only become evident following year. This event is the 2024 presidential election and Donald Trump's triumphant return. Naturally, we all recall his promises to end the war in 24 hours and continue to search how the elected president actually plans to resolve the conflict. Especially since Trump has reiterated this ambition after his election, though without referencing the 24-hour timeframe.

Already now, a few weeks before the inauguration of the new President of the United States, the position of the Russian leadership regarding any negotiations with Ukraine and with the West as such is crystallizing. Donald Trump's desire to end the Russian-Ukrainian war is perceived in Moscow as a sign of weakness on the part of the new American administration and as an opportunity to dictate to Donald Trump conditions that would satisfy Putin and his inner circle as a result of the end of military operations on the territory of Ukraine. And, of course, the main one of these conditions is the actual liquidation of sovereign Ukrainian statehood. For which Putin started this unjust bloody war.

We just need to carefully monitor the statements of Russian officials and remember that they make certain declarations not only in order to raise the bar for the possible negotiations, if these negotiations take place at all. And not in order to confuse the possible participants in these consultations, but simply because they think so sincerely and are confident that they will be able to realize their desires. Any attempts to

talk to them only strengthen their confidence that the result will be exactly what they expect.

Putin's latest statements during his year-end press conference also demonstrated that the Russian leader's ideas about the possibility of ending the Russian-Ukrainian war have not changed since 2022, and Putin is not going to evolve in connection with the election of a new American president. And he hopes that the new American president will evolve in his, Putin's, direction.

Russia continues to see itself as a target for destabilization by the West. And we are talking not only about Russia itself and its interests in the so-called post-Soviet space, but also about the allies of the Russian Federation, whose territories, as is known, often become a springboard for the Kremlin to attack other states. Such a worldview, of course, excludes the possibility of any constructive dialogue, any real freezing of the conflict, which, apparently, continues to be counted on in the inner circle of the new President of the United States.

So, we can say that we are now witnessing a situation that has developed in a conflict between the Russian perception of the world and the perception of the world by any politician in the West: Biden, Trump, or anyone else. Because the perception by the West, by the same Trump, is connected with the desire to end the war and prevent new victims. And the perception by the Kremlin is to continue the war, because in Moscow they are used to not taking into account the victims of their own compatriots and thus not accepting these victims by the country on which Moscow continues its offensive.

That is why, on the eve of Trump's inauguration, Putin is raising the stakes again. First, he talks in detail about the technical properties of the Oreshnik missile and even compares a strike with several of these missiles with a nuclear weapon – only without the effect of radioactive fallout. Second, he warns that targets may be selected for new strikes by the Oreshnik, which is already being launched into mass production. And among these targets, Putin speaks of decision-making centers, thus effectively blackmailing Ukraine by destroying the military and political leadership of the state.

It is worth recalling that all this escalation, and not just verbal, is happening precisely when the US is preparing to transfer power to Donald Trump, when Donald Trump himself is appointing his new special representative for possible negotiations to end the Russian-Ukrainian war, when there is a version in the world that it will be easier for Trump to reach an agreement not only with the president of Ukraine, even before the start of such negotiations, but also with the president of Russia.

And Putin is absolutely clear in demonstrating that he has no real desire for negotiations, that he intends to continue to act in the Russian-Ukrainian war exclusively from a position of force. That is, if someone wants to negotiate with him, they must take into account his ultimatum demands.

Putin and other Russian officials constantly mention Istanbul and the mythical acceptance of the Ukrainian delegation's ultimatum of Russian conditions. They emphasize that negotiations will begin only after Ukraine



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leaves those parts of the territories of Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia regions that are currently under the control of the legitimate Ukrainian authorities. In addition, Ukraine must make decisions on demilitarization, that is, the actual dissolution of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and on denazification, that is, granting special rights to the Russian language and the Russian Church, as well as declare its eternal neutral and nuclear-free status. And only after all these measures are implemented can negotiations on a ceasefire begin.

It is also necessary to realize that from the Russian point of view, all the time when Ukraine actually disarms and surrenders to Russia, Russia will continue to shoot, kill and destroy us.

And these are indeed the real ideas about the negotiation process that the Kremlin continues to consider as a realistic approach to ending the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

And so that the West has no doubts that Putin will not have any other proposals, he is trying to form a new content of his statements regarding strikes on Ukraine, to increase the level of blackmail, to emphasize that without using real nuclear weapons, he can use weapons that will be equal to nuclear, and at the same time it will not be considered that a nuclear country has used nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear country. That is, to actually speak out with an already known arsenal of threats against Ukraine itself and the civilized world. He hopes

that this blackmail will force Donald Trump not just to have some talks with him, but also to agree to his conditions.

This is precisely what Putin wants – actual capitulation to the Kremlin. Not even from Ukraine, but from the United States, because it is precisely such an American surrender that will very quickly turn Russia into a real political hegemon in Europe, will force it to fear Russia. And this is precisely what Vladimir Putin is trying to achieve, blackmailing the world with new strikes on Ukrainian soil, new hateful crimes.

And the main question is not even whether Trump will agree to these mocking "proposals" – in my opinion, he will not. But how he will stop Putin or at least help Ukraine stop him.

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SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Oles Doniy

WE MUST CHANGE. OR WE WILL BE CHANGED.



We have survived another year of a difficult war – 2024. Unfortunately, my prediction from two years ago that the war would be long, and in one phase or another it would last until the death of dictator Putin, came true for another year. The war looks more and more “eternal”: Russia is ready to attack for the sake of its satanic ideology of the “Russian world”, which involves the liquidation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian language, and Ukrainian culture. But Ukraine is demonstrating that even with limited human, financial, and military resources, it is ready to resist, is resisting, and will continue to resist.

Nevertheless, after Donald Trump won the US presidential election, the propaganda of “peace” has been intensifying both in the world and in Ukraine. Although the newly elected President himself no longer says that he will end the war in 24 hours, he nevertheless repeats that the war would not have started if he had been President at that time, and now he will do everything in his power to stop the war. Special “information sources” allegedly from Trump’s entourage assure that the proposals will concern freezing the border along the existing front line. Kremlin propagandists like Markov claim that this is not enough for Russia, and it will also demand the transfer of the cities of Zaporizhia and Kherson to the aggressor, because the occupiers have included the entire Zaporizhia and Kherson regions in their own Constitution. There is no political force in Ukraine that would dare to support such aggressive appetites of the enemy. Nevertheless, recently, public voices have been appearing for the “freezing” of the war. With the aim

of getting a break for internal reinforcement, in order to either prevent a possible re-offensive by the enemy in the future, or to recapture the occupied Ukrainian lands in some distant time. And we are not talking about emigrants like Arestovych, who, with a change in his rhetoric, lost trust and popularity among the vast majority of Ukrainians just as quickly as he had gained it before. For example, the head of the fairly well-known and popular volunteer project “The First Volunteer Medical Battalion named after Pirogov” is publicly campaigning for the freezing of the war, and his media recognition is reinforced by billboards all over Kyiv.

Talks about the possibility of a “freeze” are becoming a destructive psychological element that is beginning to undermine Ukraine from within. That is why the Putin regime, which is actually fueled by war and strengthened by war, is playing with some naive Western politicians and diplomats, giving them vain hopes that Russia will supposedly be ready to make some compromises.

The Ukrainian authorities, on the contrary, although they were forced to change their belligerent rhetoric to a more moderate one, are not preparing for a war freeze. The Ukrainian authorities felt that it could become lifelong while the war continues. In his presentation of the next plan – now “resilience” – in the Verkhovna Rada, the President announced that “We all know that the Constitution of Ukraine and the law do not allow holding elections in wartime. And no one in the world has demanded and does not demand this from Ukraine.” And although this is not true, there is a consensus in the country among “parliamentary” parties and groups not to hold elections. So the “freeze” for the Ukrainian authorities may turn into a danger of returning to democratic procedures, elections, and theoretical rotation. Therefore, it is unlikely to even imagine that under pressure from Trump, the Ukrainian authorities will agree to sign some “peace agreements” next year. And in this regard,

strangely enough, there is a coincidence of interests that would seem to be completely different vectors: the state interest, according to which we have no right to sign any agreements that would give even a small part of Ukrainian land to the occupier, and the power-private interest, according to which no “reconciliation” can be allowed, because it could lead to elections and the loss of power of the current political “elite.”

Therefore, a more realistic scenario seems to be that the Ukrainian authorities will try to delay any official negotiation process for as long as possible, and even if (or when) the new Trump administration forces such negotiations, blackmailing by cutting off financial and military aid, they will do everything to disrupt these negotiations.

Nevertheless, the dangerous information virus of “appeasement” has already entered the Ukrainian organism and is destroying it from the inside. The figures of “centrifugal” movements in the army, referring to the open data of the Prosecutor General’s Office, were published by Volodymyr Boyko, a former journalist and now a volunteer and active serviceman of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. In November 2024, 18,984 new criminal proceedings were registered under Articles 407, 408 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (unauthorized abandonment of a unit and desertion). For comparison, in October 2024, 9,487 criminal proceedings were registered under these articles, in January of this year – 3,448. Unfortunately, there is an upward trend. In total, from February 2022 to December 1, 2024 – 114,280 criminal proceedings. It looks even more bulging over the years: in the first year of the full-scale invasion – only 9,397 registered criminal proceedings under these articles, in 2023 – 24,286, so for this incomplete year (excluding December) – 80,597.

These processes are the prerequisite for the advance of the occupying forces in the eastern direction.

Regardless of Western support or pressure, we must immediately change, change the principles of filling the army, change internal policy. We must

become stronger, not weaker.

To replenish the army, 4 components are necessary:

1. Public motivation.
2. Army reform.
3. Recruitment.
4. Mobilization.

In the first place is precisely social motivation. It is about the Ukrainian understanding what he/she is protecting. Freedom, family, his home, country, future. By removing democracy from Ukraine, banning elections and closing the borders, the authorities struck precisely at the first component of this motivational pyramid – freedom. Of course, democracy is not, as it turned out, a value for many Ukrainians, but nevertheless for some it is. A blow to social motivation is a blow to replenishing the army. The country needs to return democracy: restore elections, open borders.

In second place is the reform of the army. In fact, the largest resource for the front is concentrated in the army itself. Inflated staffs, the so-called "Kyiv cauldron" are all unused resources. The military enlistment offices should be replaced by civilians (because the task of the military enlistment offices is not to grab on the streets, but: a) to deliver summons, b) to check the physical and psychological condition of those liable for military service, c) to distribute those liable for military service to military units. All this can be done by civilians. This will free up tens of thousands of servicemen.

Border troops on the western border protect Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, that is, NATO countries from Ukrainians. Under the conditions of open borders (only customs officers), several tens of thousands of people will be released.

In addition, the problem of officer staff should be solved.

The third component is recruiting. Fortunately, it is increasingly widespread and improved, which is positive. What else can be added is an even greater strengthening of international recruiting. The actual transformation of the Ukrainian army into an army of officers and sergeants (of course, with increased military education), and the selection of privates from around the world. In this way, it would be possible to reduce the demographic imbalance with a more numerous Russia.

And only the fourth component is mobilization. Yes, for now Ukraine cannot afford to abandon mobilization and completely switch to recruitment, our demographic resources are

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many times smaller than Russia's. But in the field of mobilization, I am a supporter of the Concept "7 Steps to Victory" from volunteer officer Svyatoslav Dubyna, which proposes that only two categories of citizens (who are now "reserved") should be subject to mobilization: a) law enforcement agencies. These are several hundred thousand people in excellent physical shape, trained in the use of weapons, with strong-willed qualities (certainly not pacifists), b) civil servants: these are people who have privileges from the state – salaries, social benefits, etc. All other categories should go only

through recruitment.

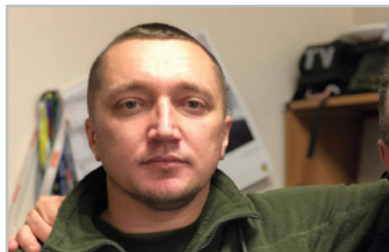
Using these approaches, it will be possible to strengthen the army and stop the destructive processes that are evidenced by Articles 407 and 408 of the Criminal Code.

Ukraine is facing difficult times of changing geopolitical trends. In order not to succumb to pressure from the outside, we should make ourselves stronger. In the army, in the economy, in social unity. We should change, we should become stronger. Otherwise, they will try to change us. And it is not a fact that in the direction we would like.

SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

MYKHAILO UKHMAN | NEWS FROM THE FRONTLINE

HUTSUL



Mykhailo Ukhman – a film producer, war journalist, writer, makes documentaries and feature films about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Today's story is about a Ukrainian warrior who was born in the picturesque Zakarpattia region and has been fighting since 2014.

Ivan Nemesh, known by his call sign "Hutsul," began his combat journey during the Maidan protests. He went to stand against the "Berkut" police forces and those who supported the pro-Russian stance of then-President Yanukovych.

Following Maidan, Ivan joined the ranks of the "Right Sector." He trained alongside volunteers and, with them, headed to the Donetsk region to battle against Russian mercenaries.

Ivan faced his first combat near the village of Karlivka in Donetsk region. At that time, soldiers of the 93rd Brigade of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the "Right Sector," and the volunteer battalion "Dnipro" began liberating Donetsk land from the grip of Moscow's filth.

Even back then, things could have ended tragically for Hutsul. He drove over a mine in a vehicle and miraculously survived.

That summer, Ivan signed a contract with the 128th Brigade of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

He continued fighting near Debaltseve and surrounding settlements, where intense battles took place.

In one such skirmish, Ivan took down a Russian machine gunner.

Across from their position, the occu-



piers had stationed a heavy machine gun in one of the houses, preventing Ukrainian defenders from maneuvering freely. Ivan, along with two other men, decided to eliminate the threat. They moved within range, and Hutsul fired an RPG. He missed on the first attempt but hit the target on the second, silencing the machine gun and its Moscow mercenary forever.

Not long after, Ivan was wounded. A Russian mine exploded 15 meters from him. Only an iron barrel shielded him from certain death. Tragically, one of Ivan's comrades, Viktor from Cherkasy, was killed instantly.

The mine explosion left Ivan with severe shrapnel wounds. His comrades managed to pull him to safety in a trench.

What followed was a long recovery and a return to the front lines. Then came another injury and the end of his mobilization term.

Afterward, Ivan joined the 1st Separate Assault Company of the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps "Right Sector," under



the command of Da Vinci.

But that is another story, which I will tell you in the next issue.

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Dear community, a fighter of the "Da Vinci Wolves" battalion, Ivan Nemesh (Hutsul), has turned to us for help.

Ivan fought alongside the legendary commander for many years. After Da Vinci's death, he continues to fight, because the war is not over yet.

Ivan asks us to help him buy an optical scope, the price of which is about \$600 US dollars.

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WILL DONALD BECOME RONALD?

Nadia Banchik

Ronald Reagan declared the USSR an “evil empire” and contributed to its collapse. Putin’s Russia is once again threatening Europe. Under Reagan, the USSR was bogged down in Afghanistan; now the Russian Federation has stuck in a protracted war in Ukraine. But could the events of 35 years ago be repeated on a new turn of the spiral? Agreements instead of victories?

Then and now

Ronald Reagan, like Donald Trump, were elected on the wave of mass dissatisfaction of the American people with the extreme leftist bias (of Carter and Biden). Outwardly, there are many similar features in the alignment of world forces then and now. Then the Cold War did not stop for a moment; now it also continues in somewhat new forms. The USSR carried out an aggressive invasion of Afghanistan, hoping for a quick victory, and got bogged down in a fierce battle with almost the entire Afghan people (who, as history has finally proven in our time, do not tolerate any foreign interference and defeat even the strongest enemy). The current Russian Federation is also bogged down in a war with Ukraine, although it planned to “take Kyiv in three days.” Afghanistan was helped by the West covertly; Ukraine is supported openly, as a victim of aggression that threatens the collapse of the entire modern world order.

The USSR of that time had a sphere of influence over half the world; the current Russian Federation supposedly has the BRICS countries under its control.

This is probably where the parallelism of the situations ends. The most precise difference is China, which under Reagan was only gaining strength and for this reason was “coldly friendly” with the US and hostile to the USSR. Today’s China, with its much increased military and economic power, poses a strategic challenge to the US and the entire Euro-Atlantic community. In fact, it is not the Russian Federation, but China that presides over the BRICS; and the Russian Federation is a vassal for China.

However, the most significant difference between the world under Reagan

and today is that under Reagan, Europe, the United States, and to a large extent the USSR, had a powerful “vaccination” against hot war in Europe – the fresh memory of World War II. Even the most belligerent Soviet hawks did not think seriously of blackmailing the world with nuclear weapons, let alone any serious armed conflicts in Europe. Yes, there was an arms race, including one of mass destruction, but under the doctrine of mutual annihilation a policy of peaceful coexistence was pursued.

Putin is so demonstratively destroying this policy, as if he is really ready to sacrifice his country to his own phantom pains (which the Russian people seemed to have already begun to heal during the times of Gorbachev and early Yeltsin, but surprisingly soon reopened – in the Chechen wars, and Putin again coincided with the expectations of his people). Today, due to the efforts of Putin’s Russian Federation, both the restraining force of the doctrine of mutual destruction and the anti-war inoculation of the Second World War have almost ceased to operate in the world. That is, those objective anti-war circumstances that restrained at least the Euro-Atlantic world from war during the Reagan era do not exist today.

However, more and more American experts and politicians are calling on the newly elected president to abandon his hopes for a quick end to the war in Ukraine and instead set a course for a decisive victory for Ukraine. At the same time, they emphasize the systematic challenge from the anti-Western states, which have united in the so-called “alliance of feasibility,” forming, in the words of one of the numerous articles on this topic, an “axis of upheaval” of the world order.

This topic has been the subject of many articles in the American press, both Democratic and Republican. In particular, former Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, in a detailed article in Foreign Affairs, argues that the isolationism of some politicians from Trump’s entourage, as well as calls for a deployment towards the Indo-Pacific region at the expense of weakening attention to Europe and especially Ukraine, threatens to erupt into war directly between Russia and NATO.

“Confronting China would require

Trump to reject the short-sighted advice that he would prioritize this challenge by abandoning Ukraine. A Russian victory would not only harm US interests in European security and increase US military needs in Europe; it would also increase threats from China, Iran, and North Korea. Indeed, wavering in the face of Putin’s aggression has already exacerbated these interconnected challenges,” McConnell notes.

McConnell openly calls on Trump to reject isolationism in any form and to significantly increase investment in defense and modernize the US Armed Forces. Isolationism today can lead to the same terrible consequences as at the beginning of World War II, the former senator emphasizes.

Russia is really threatening the West with war

The current Russian Federation is already hatching plans to collapse the Euro-Atlantic community – either through a hybrid war or through a series of “special measures” of the spy and agent type. With modern technologies, as can be seen in numerous cases, whether during elections in European countries and the US, or in various operations by the FSB and GRU, such a war is quite possible – and countries are preparing for it.

However, is the Russian Federation ready to go to war with NATO countries? It depends solely on its military potential – ideologically and morally it is quite ready. It is bogged down in Ukraine, but is slowly advancing in the Donetsk region, not at all considering the incredibly high losses and involving North Korean troops in Kursk. For the sake of satisfying the phantom pain, Putin even made a humiliating escape from Syria.

So what potential is being discussed when the Russian Federation is preparing to move the war to NATO countries? This is the Russian Federation’s systemic tuning for a long-term “existential” war against Western civilization.

“Putin has transformed Russia in a way that will remain a challenge to the West for as long as he is in power, and likely well beyond,” write Andrea Kendall-Taylor (who was deputy national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council from 2015 to 2018) and Michael



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Kofman (senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) in Foreign Affairs. This detailed article shows that both Russia and the circumstances are ripe for it to attempt to destabilize NATO unless it is defeated in Ukraine.

This systematic preparation of Russian society for a long-term war includes a repressive regime, the restructuring of the economy into a solid military camp, the strengthening of the "alliance of expediency" with Iran, North Korea and China, and the increasing escalation of the conflict with the West. And Putin's tendency to take risks and make mistakes in calculations, which increases the risk of war between Russia and NATO, the authors show.

With such a risk, any weakening of the US focus on Europe, especially a reorientation to the Indo-Pacific region (which some politicians in Trump's entourage are urging), will inspire Putin to implement his plans in Europe.

"The current small-scale conflict with NATO countries is likely to continue until the Russian military is rebuilt, a process that could take years. But the Kremlin will look for opportunities to further undermine NATO. Moscow will still have reason to be cautious, not least because it sees the Alliance as a superior power. But it may be tempted if it becomes clear that allies – primarily the United States – lack the resolve to defend themselves collectively. The Kremlin will be most likely to make such calculations if the United States is drawn into a major conflict with China in the Indo-Pacific region, which Washington sees as its highest national security priority. If the Kremlin calculates that Washington will not or cannot come to the defense of Europe, and that Europe itself cannot win, then Moscow could target a country on

NATO's eastern flank, forcing NATO to respond," the authors note.

Small window of opportunity

The Putin regime shows no signs of exhaustion or imminent change. On the contrary, at his annual press conference, Putin insisted on his ultimatums despite their proven impossibility and unreality.

However, the almost sudden flight of Russians from Syria has shown how exhausted the Putin regime is. It cannot fight a war on two fronts, let alone attempt to fight NATO. Many experts emphasize the exhaustion of the Russian economy.

In addition, the repressive regime in Russia is steadily increasing, along with the clearly marasmic and reactionary "laws" that the State Duma is stamping out. This, of course, keeps society in constant fear, but "too much reliance on it, as Putin has done, can increase the likelihood that leaders will make destabilizing mistakes," Kender-Taylor and Kofman note.

So, there is a small "window" of opportunity for the West between the strengthening of Putin's dictatorship and the sudden fall of the regime, for which the West is not even preparing (at least, it is hardly discussed in the mainstream media).

What can and should be done? First of all, to throw resources into preventing not only the revival of ISIS in Syria, but also the restoration of Russian influence in the country (right now, hatred of Russians there is probably reaching its maximum – therefore, we must not miss the right moment). To discard all utopian hopes that the Russian Federation will "help" against ISIS. Not only will it not help, but it will also take advantage – there are many examples to finally understand this.

Make an attempt, albeit a belated one, to support pro-European forces

in Georgia (which was frankly missed).

Next, pay more more attention to Russian agents in Europe and the USA (will Gabbard, the candidate for head of National Intelligence, contribute to this?!).

We need to take a closer look at those Russians who oppose the regime, not only abroad, but also, risking their freedom and sometimes their lives, in the Russian Federation. Yes, they are fighting with each other, they do not have a common strategy, they often defend imperial interests "without Putin" – all this is true. But it is urgent to carefully study the experience of working with anti-fascists during the Second World War and with Soviet dissidents during the Cold War and enrich these approaches with modern approaches and technologies. We do not have other anti-Putinists, so we need to interact with those who do. People are inherently changeable, so we need to work hard in the desired direction. Pay more attention to the "Freedom of Russia" legion, which is bleeding on the Ukrainian fronts.

But the most important thing is to immediately stop any chatter about reducing (let alone stopping!) support for Ukraine in all possible directions and by all means! On the contrary, we must draw conclusions from the overly cautious position of the Biden administration (perhaps partially justified at that time, because the Russian Federation was stronger and the risks of a major war had not yet been fully assessed). We must finally set a strategic goal – a victory for Ukraine, and not a "draw" in the negotiations, which, moreover, may well take place, because Putin is not interested in this.

Dealmaker or leader of the free world?

Donald Trump is a dealmaker by nature and tries to transfer the approach-

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es of a dealmaker to foreign and domestic policy. To achieve his goals (set by himself or by circumstances), he uses a variety of techniques, from outright "showmanship" to sophisticated legal casuistry, backstage channels and even does not disdain threats (the most obvious example is Liz Cheney's threats to open a criminal case against her simply for supporting impeachment after the infamous attack on Congress on January 6, 2021).

From the position of a dealmaker, Trump is also trying to approach the resolution of the Russian-Ukrainian war, probably by considering various plans offered to him by his entourage. All variants of the plans boil down to organizing negotiations between Russia and Ukraine in various formats with the mediation of the United States.

Most likely, Trump sees the same kind of dealmakers in Putin and Zelensky (whom he called "the best dealmaker" with evil irony, probably jealous that the Ukrainian president would take this "honorable title" away from him). So, Trump hopes to either tempt Putin with a partial lifting of sanctions against Russia, or threaten to arm

Ukraine so much that it will be able to win; and if, say, Zelensky refuses to negotiate, he will stop helping Ukraine.

This approach is doomed to failure, because the dealmaker's approach cannot be adapted to the Russian-Ukrainian war in any way. This war is neither a personal "showdown" between Putin and Zelensky, nor even a territorial dispute. This war, which began solely because of the phantom pains of Putin, who managed to plunge his people into the darkest obscurantism, has grown into a civilizational war between the free world and the dictatorial regimes of the "axis of evil."

It can only end in the victory of one of the sides – with all the consequences for the entire world order.

If Ukraine is not given the opportunity to win, even if both sides are forced to some kind of "draw," that is, a difficult compromise with the loss of occupied territories by Ukraine, then in a few years the war will not only resume in Ukraine – it will spill over to NATO.

Even if negotiations are resorted to, an indispensable condition for the cessation of hostilities must be effective guarantees for Ukraine and real levers

to deter Russia's aggressive actions. However, while the issues of guarantees to prevent new Russian aggression against Ukraine are actively discussed, there is much less talk about deterring Russia. But these issues are interrelated.

"Helping Ukraine is not charity out of sympathy for its suffering – it is an investment in global security, primarily in Europe," this slogan has been repeated many times in various versions, but it is still not sufficiently filled with meaning. But it is precisely this approach that should become the essence of a strategic approach to global security.

This is the Reaganite approach. In today's circumstances, this is a view of supporting Ukraine, aimed at its decisive victory over the aggressor, in the context of the future fate of the world.

Most likely, the logic of events will force Donald to become Ronald. If there is enough will, strategic vision, and a systemic approach to global security. And if not, it will be worse not only for Ukraine, but also for the entire Euro-Atlantic community.



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NEW YEAR'S EVE EXPECTATIONS OF PEACE: ARE UKRAINIANS' OPINIONS ABOUT TRUMP SHAPED BY FACTS OR PROPAGANDA?

Karina Nikitishina

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It is not news that the election campaign in the US and the election of a new president was of concern not only to the citizens of the US, but also to other countries, including Ukraine. While the Ukrainian authorities were discreetly stating that they were ready to cooperate with any administration, the media and ordinary Ukrainians on social networks were actively discussing the potential consequences of the victory of one or another candidate. Due to the insufficient command of English by a significant part of Ukraine, there was often unfounded praise or fears that were based not on primary sources, but on Russian propaganda and crippled translations of phrases taken out of context by the yellow press. For most Ukrainians, who do not understand the domestic political situation in the US (just as many Americans do not understand the situation in Ukraine), and who have access only to translation resources, the elections were painted in black and white. Therefore, the victory in the elections of Donald Trump, who was often demonized in the media, was unexpected for Ukraine.

From December 2 to 17, the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) decided to conduct a nationwide survey on Ukrainians' expectations of the newly elected US president and their attitude to his victory in the elections. A total of 985 respondents over the age of 18 living in the territories controlled by Ukraine were surveyed by telephone interviews (the full methodology of the study can be found on the KIIS website). According to the data obtained, 45% of respondents believe that the election of Donald Trump as US president brings peace to Ukraine. 40% either believe that nothing will change or could not decide on an answer. The results suggest that after the election hype is over, Trump's victory no longer causes Ukrainians any particular concern or, on the contrary, joy.

Ukrainians have always been grateful for the help provided by the current US administration, but almost half of the population still expects Trump's return to bring changes that have not been seen for a long time during the overly cautious policy of Joseph Biden. However, the beginning of changes does not yet guarantee a complete victory for Ukraine, so respondents were asked another question: can Ukraine count on a just peace? The largest share of respondents (29%) is sure that both Russia and Ukraine will have to make concessions. KIIS believes that the survey made it possible to analyze the mood of the population quite accurately and the results are highly representative.

Interestingly, at the end of September, KIIS conducted a survey on whether Ukraine can achieve victory with the support of Western partners. At that time, 81% of respondents answered that Ukraine could cause serious damage to Russia if it received adequate support from the West with weapons, finances, and sanctions against Russia. At the same time, 38% believed that the West was tired of the war in Ukraine and support would weaken. Despite such a negative figure, this is 6% less than at the beginning of 2024. In my opinion, it would be advisable to conduct a similar survey as of December 2024 or January 2025 to understand how Trump's victory in the elections affected public opinion regarding support for the West. After all, the leaders of partner countries, especially the United States, play an undeniable role in what expectations Ukrainians have from the West in general.

On December 10, INFO SAPIENS LLC, commissioned by the New Europe Center, published the results of its own survey, which, in particular, assessed the level of trust in foreign leaders. With a sample of 1,000 people aged 16 and over, the result was almost identical to KIIS – 44.6% of respondents trust Donald Trump. For example, in 2023, when asked about their preference for Biden or Trump, 78.1%

of respondents answered that they trust Biden. Only 10.1% of respondents preferred Trump at that time. New Europe suggests that the high level of trust is based on the hope for more decisive steps by the new US administration compared to the actions of the Biden administration. The current result was influenced by both the decline in the level of trust in Joseph Biden and Donald Trump's promises to restore peace in Ukraine.

Previously, Trump and his associates have repeatedly spoken of their intention to quickly end the Russian-Ukrainian war, in almost 24 hours. Several media outlets suggest that by ending the war they mean the inclination of both sides of the conflict to a ceasefire on terms unfavorable for Ukraine with the loss of occupied territories. For example, The Wall Street Journal, citing three anonymous people close to Trump, noted that the ceasefire plan could allegedly include Ukraine's rejection to join NATO for the next 20 years and the creation of an 800-mile demilitarized zone. In fact, we are talking about freezing the conflict. Such a development of events will indeed be considered the end of the war for many countries – thousands of people will stop dying in Eastern Europe. Although for the Ukrainians themselves, such an outcome will be a defeat, because later it will lead to a second Russian attack in 5, 10, or more years. But, most interestingly, after reading the original in English, one gets the impression that the material was written at the behest of Russian intelligence services. Ukraine is portrayed as weak, 100% dependent on American weapons, and Russia is portrayed as powerful, which can hardly be stopped or persuaded to negotiate, unlike Ukraine, which is expected to give in after Trump puts pressure on it. One of the alleged members of Trump's team in this article noted: "We are not sending American men and women to maintain peace in Ukraine. And we will not pay for it. Let the Poles, Germans, British and French do it." In

essence, the material negatively portrays not only Ukraine, but also the United States, which "will not do anything," and the EU, "for which the United States does everything."

Dmytro Lytvyn, Advisor to the President of Ukraine on Communications, also noted that the real plans of the presidents are unlikely to be announced in newspapers. Reading only translated excerpts, most Ukrainians are unable to fully assess the picture and plausibility of such materials, which only benefit the Russians – they can interpret and "feed" our news with the information they need. It is necessary to be able to distinguish fiction from reality. And the reality is that no one can know Donald Trump's exact intentions except for himself. In addition, the man is known for his decisions: even if Trump suddenly really saw the resolution of the conflict in favor of Russia, he could have changed his mind by now. In an interview with the New York Post, Trump spoke about his meeting with Zelensky in early December in Paris: "He believes that the time has come (time to make peace – ed. note), and Putin must also realize this, because he lost: when you lose 700 thousand people, then the time has come."

In a survey by the New Europe Center, 64.1% of respondents said that there is no point in negotiations between Ukraine and Russia in the absence of effective security guarantees from the West, because Russia will continue the war after a short pause. A temporary waiver to return the occupied territories remains unacceptable to the majority (53.2%) of Ukrainians. One of the recent materials by RBC-Ukraine expressed the opinion that Trump may not want to help Ukraine and will shift everything "onto the shoulders of the Europeans." But, if you think rationally, this will never be beneficial to Trump. Such a decision would completely destroy his reputation as a leader, and the reputation of the US as the most influential state. It is not only about authority and trust in Ukraine. Countries of the world may lose faith in the US as a guarantor of global security. The "axis of evil", on the contrary, seeing the inability to protect international law and ensure the integrity of the "shield of Europe", will receive the "green light" to resolve its issues by force. The DPRK mili-

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tary, which is already fighting against Ukraine on the side of Russia, is an undeniable confirmation of this.

In January, Keith Kellogg, who is being proposed by Trump for the position of special representative for Ukraine and Russia, will visit Ukraine. "I look forward to working tirelessly to secure peace through strength, defending America's interests," Kellogg writes on his page in X about his future position. Therefore, whatever Keith Kellogg or Donald Trump himself may think about the future of Ukraine today, it is safe to say that in this future Ukraine will remain a separate state, because the

defeat of Ukraine cannot be equated with the US' views on sovereignty and justice. Yes, Trump is an unpredictable politician. But this does not mean that he will abandon Ukraine to its fate, thereby sacrificing the US position on the world political stage. And more and more Ukrainians, as can be seen from the polls, are finally beginning to understand this.

I sincerely congratulate all readers and the editorial staff of "Hromada" on Christmas and the New Year! May be Peace in your homes!

THE VOICE OF MOHYLA IS THE VOICE OF UKRAINE



Maria Klymchak,
*Executive Director of the KMA
Foundation in the USA.*

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP), the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Foundation in the United States held a roundtable discussion on November 20 on the topic: "Responses to Russian Crimes in the Current War against Ukraine."

The event was held as part of a discussion of the importance of international condemnation of Russia's aggression against Ukraine and crimes against the civilian population of Ukraine, which have not stopped since the beginning of the war. The reports were delivered by scholars from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Myroslava Antonovych, Associate Professor of the Department of International and European Law, Head of the Center for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, and Dmytro Koval, Associate Professor of the Department of International and European Law.

It is strategically important for the community of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

to deepen ties and partnerships with colleges and universities through its scholars, to continue taking steps towards the establishment of an international tribunal and holding Russia accountable for crimes. Despite international condemnation and significant support for Ukraine's efforts to investigate and hold perpetrators accountable, the challenges for international law remain enormous. At the same time, work is underway to establish an international tribunal – an important step that is a unique precedent in world history, when such initiatives are implemented in the midst of the active phase of the war launched by Russia against a sovereign state more than 10 years ago. It is noteworthy that the discussion coincided in time with the date when 1,000 days have passed since the aggressors' full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

"It is not only the fact of being held accountable for international crimes that is important, but also how we call these crimes and what story they tell. In the case of the crime of aggression, the criminal act that makes other mass atroci-

ties possible will be addressed. Individual criminal liability for the crime of aggression will help break the cycle of impunity and demonstrate the infrastructure for making a decision to launch an aggressive war," said Dmytro Koval, associate professor of the Department of International and European Law.

The panel discussion featured Ambassador David Schaeffer, former US Ambassador for Accountability for International Crimes; and Ambassador Stephen J. Rapp, former US Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes (2009–2015). The event was moderated by Catherine Dale, Senior Advisor and Director of USIP.

Putin's Russia's aggression against Ukraine is a direct challenge to the international legal order. First of all, the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, in which the Russian Federation confirmed the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, was violated. Stephen Rapp, an American lawyer and diplomat, a leading figure in the field of international criminal law and human rights, emphasized that the ability of the international community



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to ensure accountability is often limited when it comes to leaders of states such as Russia, which creates a more complex landscape of impunity. Rapp, who successfully led the trial of former Liberian President Charles Taylor for war crimes in Sierra Leone, acknowledged that holding Putin accountable will be a difficult task. Recall that the International Criminal Court (ICC) has issued an arrest warrant for Russian President Vladimir Putin on charges of war crimes. According to the expert, the most likely place for the consideration of cases will be the International Criminal Court or, possibly, an international tribunal created specifically to consider crimes committed in Ukraine. Therefore, Ukraine needs to carefully work out the procedural aspects of bringing to justice for aggression, war crimes, and also work on amendments to the legislation of Ukraine regarding crimes against humanity. His colleague was supported by former ambassador David Schaeffer, who spoke about the “huge number of conflicts and atrocities” that are still taking place in the world, noting that “an open act of aggression against Ukraine raises many alarming signals, including clear violations of the UN Charter.”

Observing the changing nature of impunity in the context of international justice, both ambassadors assured those present of the continuation of the dialogue and gave high marks to the speakers. Ukrainian diplomats of the Embassy of Ukraine in the United States Kateryna Smaglyi, Counselor for Political Affairs and Public Diplo-

macy, and Andriy Pasichnyk, Counselor for Legal Affairs, have been participants in many hearings on this and other topics for many years. In particular, Andriy Pasichnyk emphasized that each such event makes it possible to take steps towards the implementation of the mechanisms developed by Ukrainian lawyers for the creation of an effective international tribunal.

“Legal mechanisms capable of holding Russia accountable for crimes against humanity are key to preventing the recurrence of such crimes in the future. Certain steps have already been taken – for the first time, certain accountability mechanisms have begun to operate during an active conflict, in particular within the framework of international conventions,” said Myroslava Antonovych, Associate Professor of the Department of International and European Law at NaUKMA, Head of the Center for the Study of Genocide and Human Rights.

This event highlighted the importance of academic collaboration in strengthening international justice and advocating for justice for Ukraine. According to Martha Farion, President of the KMA Foundation in America, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy has always been at the forefront not only of innovation, but also of the struggle for democracy and freedom.

“Ukraine is confronting a much stronger enemy thanks to the heroism of Ukrainian soldiers. We will be able to win this war only when we have security, economic, and dip-

lomatic support from partner countries. And, as we see, the volume of this support is growing thanks to the people of Mogilev, our ambassadors of peace. Through communication, they convey Ukraine’s position. If we talk about advocacy, the opinion of scientists from the Faculty of Law of NaUKMA significantly influences the decision – to consider the crime of aggression in Ukraine, the tribunal must be international,” emphasized Marta Farion.

The roundtable participants also included Celeste Kmietek, Atlantic Council, Sofia Kryshchal, USIP (Mohyla graduate), Shelby Magid, Atlantic Council, Sarah McIntosh, Georgetown Center for National Security, Calin Trenkov-Wermuth, USIP, Jim Finkel, Stimson Center, Lauren Baillie, Senior Program Officer (USIP), Olga Polyukhovych, Vice President for Research and Educational Studies of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Motrya Melnyk, President of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, member of the KMF Board of Directors, Maria Klymchak, Executive Director of KMF, and many other participants who listened via Zoom.

We thank everyone for their contribution and invite you to support the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Foundation in America, the NaUKMA Scientific Fund.

We believe that thanks to such events, the international community will use more leverage to restrain Russia’s aggressive foreign policy and support world order.



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UKRAINIAN NEWS

Total enemy combat losses



According to the General Staff, the total combat losses of the enemy from February 24, 2022 to December 31, 2024 are approximately as follows:

Personnel – 789,550 people were eliminated,
Tanks – 9,668 units,
Armored personnel carriers – 20,030 units,
Artillery systems – 21,528 units,
MLRS – 1,256 units,
Air defense systems – 1,032 units,
Aircraft – 369 units,
Helicopters – 329 units,
Operational and tactical level UAVs – 21,081 units,
Cruise missiles – 3,003 units,
Ships and boats – 28 units,
Submarines – 1 unit,
Vehicles and tankers – 32,626 units,
Special equipment – 3,671 units.

Assistance to Ukraine



USA

US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken announced a new \$500 million military aid package for Ukraine.

The package includes a wide range of munitions and equipment, including

- ammunition for air defense systems (c-UAS)
- missiles for HIMARS
- artillery shells
- unmanned aerial systems
- mine-protected vehicles
- Javelin and AT-4 anti-tank systems
- training equipment, explosives, services and transportation.

On December 8, the administration of US President Joe Biden announced a \$988 million defense assistance package to Ukraine as part of the USAI initiative.

The package includes:

- ammunition for High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS)
- unmanned aerial systems (UAS);
- equipment, components and spare parts for the maintenance, repair and modernization of artillery systems, tanks and armored vehicles.

On December 2, the United States government announced a \$725 million security assistance package for Ukraine, which includes HIMARS missiles, artillery shells, unmanned aerial systems, Stinger systems, and other weapons.

The package includes:

- ammunition for national advanced surface-to-air missile systems (NASAMS)
- Stinger missiles;
- ammunition to counter unmanned aerial systems (c-UAS);
- ammunition for highly mobile artillery missile systems (HIMARS);
- 155-mm and 105-mm artillery ammunition;
- unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs);
- unstable landmines;
- Optical tracking and wire guided missiles (TOW) launched from a pipe;
- Javelin and AT-4 anti-tank systems;
- small arms and ammunition;
- equipment and ammunition for demolition operations;
- equipment for the protection of critical national infrastructure;
- spare parts, auxiliary equipment, services, training and transportation.

On December 24, Ukraine received the first tranche of \$1 billion from the United States from frozen Russian assets.

In total, the United States has provided \$175 billion in aid to Ukraine since Russia's invasion, including about \$61.4 billion in security assistance. About half of this amount came through the USAI program, while the rest was withdrawn from existing military stockpiles through Biden's arms reduction authority.

On December 30, Biden announced nearly \$2.5 billion in security assistance.

tance to Ukraine.

The aid includes:

- \$1.22 billion under the Security Assistance Initiative (USAI)
- 1.25 billion under the PDA program (weapons will be delivered from Pentagon warehouses)

According to the US President, the Ministry of Defense has now used all the USAI funds allocated by Congress.

It was also announced that, in addition to military aid, the United States had provided Ukraine with \$3.4 billion in additional direct budget support.

The US Treasury Department explained that in coordination with the US Agency for International Development and the US Department of State, this \$3.4 billion in assistance is the final disbursement of funds allocated under the bipartisan Ukraine Security Supplemental Appropriations Act for 2024.

Also, on December 23, the US Department of Defense announced a \$253.7 million contract to Williams International under the Defense Production Act (DPA) to increase missile production, including as part of military assistance programs for Ukraine.

Germany

Germany has handed over a new military aid package to the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Ukraine has received 15 Leopard 1A5 tanks and ammunition, two Patriot air defense systems, IRIS-T SLM and IRIS-T SLS air defense missile systems, and two Gepard self-propelled anti-aircraft systems with spare parts.

In addition, Germany supplied:

- 2 TRML-4D radars;
- 30 MRAP armored vehicles with mine protection;
- 12 armored vehicles with kinetic defense systems;
- PzH 2000 self-propelled howitzer;
- AIM-9L/I-1 Sidewinder guided missiles;
- 12 Zetros trucks and 8 Zetros fuel tankers;
- 52,000 rounds of 155 mm caliber ammunition;
- 68 unmanned aerial vehicles;
- grenade launchers, machine guns and rifles.

Recently it became known that Germany has ordered another batch of Marder armored vehicles for the Ukrainian military.

And on December 20, it became known that Germany sent the sixth IRIS-T air defense system to Ukraine.

The total amount of aid to Ukraine from Germany during the full-scale Russian invasion has already exceeded 37 billion euros.

United Kingdom

In December, a tranche of \$483 million was disbursed under the UK government's guarantee under the Trust Fund within the World Bank's DPL program to provide Ukraine with the necessary credit support (ADVANCE Ukraine).

The funds will be used to strengthen the Ukrainian economy and finance priority spending in the social and humanitarian spheres.

The UK will provide Ukraine with additional military equipment worth 225 million pounds (\$286 million) to support its war against Russia.

The new aid package includes:

- 92 million pounds to support Ukraine's navy, including small vessels, reconnaissance drones, unmanned underwater vehicles, ammunition and mine countermeasures drones;
- 68 million pounds for air defense equipment, including radars, jamming systems, and electronic anti-drone systems;
- 26 million pounds for spare parts and maintenance of previously delivered systems;
- 39 million pounds for the supply of more than 1,000 electronic drone countermeasures, as well as the joint purchase of respirators and other protective equipment for the Ukrainian military.

In addition, the UK will continue to provide military training for the Ukrainian military.

On December 17, the United Kingdom decided to provide an emergency aid package to Ukraine in the amount of 35 million pounds (approximately 42 million dollars).

The funds will be used for humanitarian projects and support for the Ukrainian energy sector amid massive Russian attacks.

Thus, 20 million pounds will be allocated to repair the power transmission network and create additional power generation capacity. Another 15 million will be spent on humanitarian aid in the winter. This money will be used to purchase, among other things, generators and thermal kits for Ukrainians.

In addition, today London has imposed new sanctions against Russia – 20 ships of the shadow fleet transporting Russian oil have been restricted.

Japan

Ukraine received about \$1.2 billion from Japan in November and December through World Bank projects.

The funds were allocated for projects in the social, medical, and educational sectors, as well as for the restoration and support of businesses.

- 602 million under the INSPIRE proj-

ect to provide social protection for low-income and vulnerable populations;

- 400 million under the SURGE program to finance Ukraine's recovery and resilience;
- 250 million under the RISE project for private sector development;
- 220 million under the THRIVE project to increase the efficiency of public spending on health care.
- USD 200 million for the LEARN project to develop a safe and comfortable educational environment.

Japan will transfer another \$3 billion from Russian assets to Ukraine and has received a tranche of \$567 million under the Japanese government's guarantee under the Trust Fund for Providing Ukraine with Necessary Credit Support (ADVANCE Ukraine).

In total, Japan has provided humanitarian and financial assistance totaling \$12 billion.

Latvia

Over the past two years, Latvia has handed over cars confiscated from drunk drivers to Ukraine for a total of EUR 2.25 million.

In total, Ukraine received 612 cars.

Denmark

On December 7, the second batch of F-16 fighter jets from Denmark arrived in Ukraine. In total, Denmark promised to provide Ukraine with 19 fighters, 6 of which were delivered earlier. The remaining 13 aircraft were to be delivered in two more batches.

The Danish authorities have allocated a new aid package for the Armed Forces of Ukraine. It will include weapons and equipment worth 2.1 billion kroner (approximately 280 million euros).

The funds will be used to strengthen Ukraine's air defense, as well as to operate Ukraine's F-16 capabilities.

In addition, Denmark will provide Ukraine with several CV90 infantry fighting vehicles as part of this package, as well as send more personnel to expand NATO's support for Ukraine.

Switzerland

The Swiss government provided Ukraine with a winter aid package worth 45 million Swiss francs (approximately 48 million euros).

The funds will be used to restore energy infrastructure damaged by Russian air attacks.

Part of the money will also be allocated to repair damaged homes and "meet the urgent humanitarian needs of Ukrainians."

Italy

At a meeting on December 16, the Italian government supported the pro-

vision of the 10th military aid package for the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The contents of the package and the timing of the delivery of weapons to Ukraine were not disclosed.

Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni said that Italy would increase military aid to Ukraine to 1.7 billion euros next year.

Poland

On December 21, Poland donated two Mi-8 helicopters and one Bell 412HP helicopter to Ukraine.

As noted, the direct recipient was the Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs. These machines will be used to train future pilots.

The Polish government also intends to provide Ukraine with a new aid package. It will be ready for shipment in January.

This will be the 46th support package for Ukraine. It will include weapons and equipment totaling 100 million euros.

Norway

The Norwegian authorities will allocate 186 million pounds (approximately 225 million euros) to purchase weapons for Ukraine.

The funds will be allocated through the International Fund for Ukraine, which is managed by the UK Ministry of Defense.

The money will be used to purchase:

- equipment to strengthen Ukraine's navy, including small boats, reconnaissance UAVs, unmanned surface vessels, and mine countermeasures;
- air defense equipment, including radars, ground-based decoy equipment, and electronic warfare systems against drones;
- spare parts for critical systems previously supplied to Ukraine.

The Norwegian government will also allocate NOK 2.7 billion (approximately EUR 231 million) to strengthen Ukraine's navy.

Norway will train Ukrainian F-16 pilots and ground specialists in Portugal next year, as the training will be moved from Denmark. The Norwegian government has allocated money for this program.

EU

The European Union has allocated another 150 million euros to Ukraine. Part of this money will be used to provide free meals in schools for primary school children.

This is the second tranche from the EU as part of an agreement to support rapid recovery, which provides for 300 million euros (\$312.58 million).

On December 18, Ukraine received a €4.1 billion tranche from the EU under the Ukraine Facility program. This year's total assistance under the Ukraine Facility initiative is 16.1 billion

euros. In total, the program provides for EUR 50 billion to be allocated to Ukraine. The program will run from 2024 to 2027.

IMF

On December 23, Ukraine received a new tranche of \$1.1 billion from the IMF to finance critical budget expenditures.

In total, Ukraine has already received \$9.8 billion from the IMF under this program.

The World Bank

The Executive Board of the World Bank approved the allocation of \$2.05 billion in funding to Ukraine, part of which will come from the United States for the first time at the expense of confiscated Russian assets.

The World Bank has officially launched a new phase of financial support for Ukraine by disbursing the first installment of a \$1.05 billion loan. This assistance, financed from Russia's frozen assets, is aimed at strengthening the Ukrainian economy and ensuring the country's financial stability.

It is noted that the loan was provided under the ADVANCE Ukraine Trust Fund, which is supported by Japan and the United Kingdom. In addition, another \$1 billion will be allocated from the F.O.R.T.I.S. Ukraine FIF.

The support package is aimed at helping Ukraine overcome the economic challenges posed by the Russian invasion.

Funding will be directed to several key areas, including:

- increasing competition in the rail-road transportation market;
- optimization of the state-owned banking sector;
- development of production and use of renewable energy sources;
- strengthening lending to the agricultural sector;
- training customs officers to improve their efficiency.

The second tranche of this program is planned to be disbursed by the end of 2025.

Since the beginning of 2024, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine has handed over more than 1.3 million unmanned aerial vehicles to the

Defense Forces

Since the beginning of 2024, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine has handed over more than 1.3 million unmanned aerial vehicles to the Defense Forces. At the same time, the active supply of drones continues.

As you know, an additional UAH 1.89 billion has already been allocated to the combat brigades of the Armed Forces for the purchase of drones. This money will be used to purchase various types of UAVs.

Brigades of the Armed Forces of Ukraine will be allocated an additional 1.1 billion hryvnias for the purchase of drones

"The Ministry of Defense is allocating an additional UAH 1.1 billion for the purchase of drones. These funds will go directly to the brigades so that they can quickly cover the most important needs," said Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal.

In total, in December the Ministry of Defense will directly transfer UAH 4.3 billion to the military brigades, and over 11 months direct funding amounted to UAH 27.2 billion. "UAH 8.8 billion of these funds were used to purchase drones. UAH 3.9 billion was spent on the purchase of other weapons and equipment, UAH 2.1 billion on the purchase of vehicles, and UAH 1.5 billion on electronic security equipment. These are the top-priority needs that the brigades have to meet as quickly and as a matter of priority," said Shmyhal.

Over the first 10 months of the year, the Cabinet of Ministers spent UAH 229 billion on the purchase of military equipment, weapons, ammunition, defense products, personal protective equipment, and products for the army.

Ukraine already has laser weapons capable of shooting down airplanes

Ukraine has a laser weapon called Tryzub. It can shoot down enemy tar-

gets at an altitude of more than two kilometers. This was announced by Vadym Sukharevskyi, commander of the Unmanned Systems Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Sukharevsky said that the Unmanned Systems Forces are currently working to scale and strengthen the laser. "It really works, it really exists," the commander added.

In addition, according to Sukharevsky, Ukraine is developing "mother" UAVs that can carry light attack drones.

The Palanytsia missile has also entered mass production.

Rheinmetall to supply charges for 155-mm artillery to the Ukrainian Armed Forces



Rheinmetall has signed a contract with the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine to supply modules for 155-mm artillery guns.

According to the company's website, the order is worth about EUR 9 million. It provides for the supply of several tens of thousands of 155-mm rocket modules of various types. They are to be delivered in January 2025.

The German concern has already received an order to supply 20 more Marder 1A3 infantry fighting vehicles to Ukraine, funded by the German government. The delivery is scheduled for the first half of 2025.

Earlier, Rheinmetall received an order to build a plant for the production of shells in Ukraine.

In early December, the Ukrainian army received the first batch of the latest Peklo drone missiles

It is known that the range of the Pek-



lo missile is 700 km and its speed is 700 km/h. The missile is designed to strike at the enemy's deep rear and destroy its offensive potential.

As it became known from the publication of Ekonomichna Pravda, the development of the missile lasted about a year. The exact cost is not disclosed, and 70% of the missile's components are made in Ukraine. It was made at the request of the military, which asked to develop "something" relatively cheap, with a small warhead and the ability to launch several hundred kilometers into the enemy's rear.

The missile has a jet engine. The method of launching it is not disclosed, but the developer said that he plans to make it possible to launch from different platforms.

It is reported that since the beginning of development, there have been at least five combat uses of the Hell missile, and one of them ended with the defeat of an expensive Russian military target.

The mass production of the missile is already underway, with about a hundred units produced in three months.

The Armed Forces of Ukraine will receive an unmanned aircraft system "Shchedryk"



The Ministry of Defense has codified and authorized the delivery of the

Shchedryk unmanned aerial vehicle system to the units of the Defense Forces.

The Shchedryk unmanned aerial vehicle is reported to be tasked with monitoring enemy actions on the battlefield. It can operate both day and night, in strong winds, cold and heat.

The system consists of a control station and remotely piloted aircraft. They are equipped with silent electric motors and have increased resistance to electronic interference.

The battery charge lasts for a long time of continuous operation.

"The capabilities of the aircraft and its optical equipment allow us to operate from heights that are difficult to reach for most enemy air defense systems," said Deputy Defense Minister Dmytro Klymenkov.

Ukraine returns 189 more of its citizens from captivity



Before the New Year, one of the largest prisoner exchanges between Ukraine and Russia took place. 189 Ukrainian servicemen – defenders of Mariupol, Azovstal, Chornobyl, Zmiine and fighters from different parts of the frontline – as well as two civilians returned home.

The military – defenders of Azovstal, Mariupol, Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant, Zmeinyi Island – have returned from different frontline areas. Among them are soldiers, sergeants and officers. These are National Guardsmen, including Azov, border guards, anti-terrorism fighters, and soldiers of the Navy and Armed Forces.

Two civilians captured in Mariupol have also returned.

Also, in December, another exchange of bodies of fallen soldiers took place between Russia and Ukraine. The bodies of 503 fallen defenders were returned to Ukraine.

The bodies of the fallen soldiers will be handed over to law enforcement agencies and forensic experts. They will identify the victims.

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Malanka 2025 in Sacramento

January 18 @ 4:00 door opens
Greek Hall at 614 Alhambra Blvd,
Sacramento, CA 95816

PROGRAM FEATURES:

Reception

Cultural Program

Authentic Ukrainian Dinner

Live Music by Andrew Shegera & Co.

Auction, Other special Malanka activities

* ENTRANCE

Registration must be accompanied by payment.

After January 4, prices will be increased

ENTRANCE: Adults \$100

Full Time College Students (18-25 y.o.) \$50

School children (13-17 y.o.) \$25

Children (5-12 y.o.) \$20

Seniors (65 & older) \$80

Dance only \$50 after 8 PM

For more info please call: Natalia (916)367-3011, Luba (916)813-8757

Mail checks of money orders to Oksana Buchko at 201 Picasso Circle, Sacramento, CA 95835, or You can pay via PayPal: <https://www.ukrainian-club.org> (donate)

* Preregistration until January 4th. Registration will only continue until the event is sold out. Please contact Natalia (916)367-3011 if you intend to register after January 4th to be sure registrations are still being processed.

КОГО З РОСІЙСЬКИХ ГЕНЕРАЛІВ ЛІКВІДУВАЛИ ПІД ЧАС ОБОРОНИ УКРАЇНИ

Інфографію створено за даними відкритих джерел інформації станом на 17 грудня 2024 року

❓ Не повідомляється ✅ Підтверджено російською стороною

СЛОВО І ДІЛО

Андрій Суховцький Генерал-майор	Володимир Фролов Генерал-майор	Андрій Колесніков Генерал-майор	Олег Міт'яєв Генерал-майор	Андрій Симонов Генерал-майор	Канамат Боташев Генерал-майор	Роман Кутузов Генерал-майор
						
Лютий 2022	Березень 2022	Березень 2022	Березень 2022	Квітень 2022	Травень 2022	Червень 2022
Біля м. Маріуполь	❓	❓	м. Маріуполь	Біля м. Ізюм	Біля м. Попасна	с. Миколаївка
Дмитро Ульянов Генерал-майор	Сергій Горячев Генерал-майор	Олег Цоків Генерал-лейтенант	Володимир Завадський Генерал-майор	Павло Клименко Генерал-майор	Валерій Солодчук Генерал-лейтенант	Ігор Кирилов Генерал-лейтенант
						
Лютий 2023	Червень 2023	Листопад 2023	Листопад 2023	Листопад 2024	Листопад 2024	Грудень 2024
❓	Запорізька обл.	м. Бердянськ	❓	м. Красногорівка	с. Мар'їне, Курська обл.	м. Москва

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EVENTS 2025

JANUARY

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

to 18 JAN UKRAINIAN ARTIST EXHIBIT | SAN FRANCISCO

RYAN GRAFF CONTEMPORARY

Where: RYAN GRAFF CONTEMPORARY, 804 Sutter St, San Francisco, CA 94109

When: Now to January 18, 2025
A local SF art gallery RYAN GRAFF CONTEMPORARY is currently showcasing a fascinating exhibit of paintings by contemporary Ukrainian artist Igor Lipskykh.

More information about the exhibit: www.ryangraffcontemporary.com/igorlipskykhstrangers

У «Незнайомця» український художник Ігор Ліпських об'єднує роздуми про ідентичність, почуття приналежності і те, що означає бути людиною. Ця дебютна виставка в США відображає досвід художника, пов'язаний із переміщенням і емоційним розривом під час війни. Живучи в умовах війни в Україні, сприйняття світу та свого місця в ньому Ліпських змінилося, і представлені роботи фіксують напруження між внутрішнім світом і зовнішньою реальністю, де психологічний ландшафт конфлікту стикається з людським досвідом відчуження.

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/2536680853043841/permalink/9220254888019704/>

3 JAN

ІРИНА ФЕДИШИН - УКРАЇНА КОЛЯДУЄ - ГОЛОВНЕ РІЗДВЯНЕ ШОУ УКРАЇНИ | SACRAMENTO

Ірина Федішин

Where: Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 2531 Rio Linda Blvd Sacramento, CA 95815

When: Friday, 6:30 PM
Ірина Федішин вперше представить своє велике різдвяне шоу «Україна колядує» у США та Канаді. Ці концерти обіцяють бути наповнені яскравими емоціями, з вражаючими постановками, режисурою та костюмами від провідних дизайнерів, включаючи етнічні вбрання. У програмі – колядки в сучасній обробці, популярні різдвяні та новорічні хіти, а також відомі пісні Ірини. На вас чекають прем'єри, нові та улюблені пісні, вражаюча атмосфера.

Відвідувачі матимуть змогу насолодитися святковою атмосферою, зануритися в традиції Різдва та одночасно підтримати Збройні сили України. Рекомендуємо відвідати ці заходи разом із сім'єю та друзями. Недарма фахівці називають це головним різдвяним шоу країни.

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17 JAN SOUL OF THE BANDURA: MUSIC AND STORIES FROM

UKRAINE FEATURING JULIAN KYTASTY | LA JOLLA

Center for World Music

Where: La Jolla Community Center, 6811 La Jolla Blvd, La Jolla, CA 92037

When: Friday, 7:30 PM – 9:00 PM

Experience the evocative sounds of the bandura, Ukraine's national instrument, with Julian Kytasty. Through epic songs, free improvisations, and modern world music, Julian blends tradition with innovation, revealing the bandura's profound expressive depth and its role in preserving Ukrainian cultural identity.

Following the performance, take part in a Q&A session to explore Julian's creative journey and his work as a leading bandurist.

Tickets

General Seating: **\$35**

VIP: **\$55**

<https://centerforworldmusic.org/event/soul-of-bandura-ukrainian-music-julian-kytasty-center-for-world-music/>

<https://www.facebook.com/events/s/soul-of-the-bandura-music-and-/577095254836264/>

18 JAN MALANKA 2025 МАЛАНЧИН ВЕЧІР | SACRAMENTO

Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California

Where: Greek Hall, 614 Alhambra Blvd, Sacramento, CA 95816

When: Saturday, 4 PM
ПРОГРАМА/PROGRAM FEATURES:
Прийняття/Reception
Культурна програма/Cultural Program

Український обід/Authentic Ukrainian Dinner

Жива музика – Андрій Шерепа & Co./Live Music by Andrew Shegера & Co.

Auction, Other special Malanka

activities

*Вхід / Admission (оплата тільки до 4 січня): Реєстрація повинна супроводжуватися оплатою / Registration must be accompanied by payment. Після 4 січня ціни будуть підвищені/ After January 4, prices will be increased

ВХІД / ENTRANCE: Дорослі / Adults **\$100**

Студенти / Full Time College Students (18-25 у.о.) **\$50**

Школярі / School children (13-17) **\$25**

Діти / Children (5-12) **\$20**

Пенсіонери / Seniors (65 & older) **\$80**

Танці / Dance only **\$50** only after 8:30 PM

For more info please call: Natalia (916)367-3011, Luba (916)813-8757

Mail checks of money orders to Oksana Buchko at 201 Picasso Circle, Sacramento, CA 95835, or

You can pay via PayPal by going to <https://www.ukrainian-club.org> and hit the donate button.

* Попередня реєстрація до 4 січня. Реєстрація триватиме до тих пір, поки не буде розпродано місця. Будь ласка, зв'яжіться з Наталією (916)367-3011, якщо ви збираєтеся зареєструватися після 4 січня, щоб переконатися, що реєстрація ще в процесі.

* Preregistration until January 4th. Registration will only continue until the event is sold out. Please contact Natalia (916)367-3011 if you intend to register after January 4th to be sure registrations are still being processed.

* Після того, як квитки на Маланчин вечір розпродані, реєстрація не прийматиметься, але Ви можете попросити внести вас у лист очікування, щоб скористатися місцями, які можуть відкритися. Якщо Ви все ж заплатите після того, як квитки на «Маланчин вечір» розпродадуть, ваш платіж буде повернено.

* No registrations will be accepted after the Malanka is sold out, but you may ask to be put on the waiting list to take advantage of cancellations. If you still pay after the Malanka is sold out, your payment will be refunded.

ALL NET PROCEEDS GO TO HELP UKRAINE!

ВЕСЬ ЗАРОБІТОК ПІДЕ НА ДОПОМОГУ УКРАЇНИ!

<https://www.facebook.com/events/s/malanka-2025-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%87%D0%B8%D0%BD-%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%87%D1%96%D1%80/8777581778987929/>

18 JAN MARYNA KRUT VIRTUOSO OF THE BANDURA | STANFORD

Stanford Live

Where: Bing Concert Hall, 327 Lasuen Street, Stanford, CA 94305

When: Saturday, 7:00 PM & 9:00 PM

Maryna Krut is a Ukrainian singer and virtuoso of the bandura, a stringed instrument unique to Ukraine that looks and sounds like a hybrid of lute and harp. Krut's unique style of bandura playing shines a light on Ukrainian culture and history. A Eurovision finalist, Krut's compelling and soulful performances evoke both folk traditions and modern sensibilities, with pop and jazz flourishes. She has appeared at the Edinburgh International Culture Summit, Andalucia Big Festival, Montreal Ukrainian Festival, and on other international stages.

Tickets:

<https://live.stanford.edu/events/24-25season/studio/maryna-krut/>

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1976550092769877>

4 FEB ALYONA ALYONA CANADA&USA 2025 | SUPPORTING REVIVED SOLDIERS OF UKRAINE | SAN FRANCISCO

Ukraine Harmony Foundation

Where: ТОЧНЕ МІСЦЕ КОНЦЕРТУ БУДЕ ОГОЛОШЕНО

When: Tuesday, 7:30 PM – 10:30 PM

У вас є можливість заспівати в унісон вже легендарну «Teresa & Maria» та всі головні хіти артиста.

Українська реп-діва alyona alyona – це справжній подих сучасного хіп-хопу. Її пісні наповнені глибоким змістом та кожна має свої особливі сенси, в яких всі знаходять історії зі свого життя. Її музика надихає та об'єднує мільйони українців по всьому світу. Кожного дня alyona alyona спрямовує свої зусилля на підтримку України, яка щохвилини продовжує захищати свої кордони від російської агресії. Мета концертів – підтримка фонду Revived Soldiers, який надає допомогу у протезуванні українських військових.

Не пропустіть шанс заспівати в унісон з alyona alyona, а також підтримати Україну. <https://allevents.in/san%20francisco/alyona-alyona-canadaandusa-2025|-supporting-revived-soldiers-of-ukraine-|-sf/10000995228935537>

22 FEB UNITE FOR UKRAINE RALLY AND MARCH | SAN FRANCISCO

Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, Українська Школа Св. Княгині Ольги- Ukrainian School and 2 others

Where: Harry Bridges Plaza, The Embarcadero, San Francisco, CA 94111

When: Saturday, 1 PM – 2 PM
Join our Host, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, our Emcee Maria Tscherepenko, Consul Dmytro Kushneruk and the Ukrainian Community and Friends of Ukraine in a powerful show of support for Ukraine!

On the third anniversary of the war, come together to fight for a cause that touches our hearts and unites us all.

12:00 pm - Gathering of Community with Flags and Signs.

12:30 pm - Anthems and Speeches by Dignitaries, Politicians, Guest Communities and Leaders

1:15 pm - March Information to come

2 pm - Gathering Information to come

2 pm - Closing with Anthems

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1285029539381867/>