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SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Vitaliy Portnykov | NOTES FOR JUNE

## RETURNING HOME



*Please support Vitaliy Portnykov's new project on the YouTube channel, where you will find his streams in English. Spread it among your friends who do not speak Ukrainian, so that more people in the world get acquainted with the events taking place in Ukraine.*

<https://www.youtube.com/@PortnikovPost>

In late June, Ukraine and the European Union began negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the EU. The truth is, this whole process has so far been taking place in a staggeringly short time, even if one of the main factors is Russian aggression. But the very fact of the negotiation process is the result not only of the Kremlin's actions, but also of Ukraine's long-standing desire to return home, to Europe.

If we recall recent history, the events we have been involved in over the past years began after Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union. Ukrainians, who took to the streets demanding the government to return to the European association – initially these were mostly young people, students – believed that the future of our state was tied to Europe. Many had another important motive as well. Ukrainians realized that the European choice would protect our country from being absorbed by Russia. Indeed, Russian officials, who before the signing of the Association Agreement talked about the inadmissibility of Ukraine's accession to NATO, immediately started opposing our European integration once the possibility of signing the Agreement became real. As a result, Russia's aggressive actions and its fight against Ukraine's European integration accelerated our European path and helped the majority of Ukrainians understand the inevitability and necessity of the European course. And it's good that the West also understood this.

However, another important event happened in June that is worth mentioning – the peace summit at the Swiss resort of Bürgenstock. It was indeed a representative international

meeting, with dozens of leaders and high-ranking officials from many countries around the world coming to Switzerland to express their support for Ukraine in our resistance against Russian aggression and our search for ways to achieve a just peace. The point is not even how much this meeting brings us closer to peace – we all understand that without the aggressor's willingness to stop the war, any peace negotiations are futile – but the level of support shown.

The preparation for the summit itself became a real sensation. On the eve of the forum, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, during a press conference at the Shangri-La Dialogue security summit in Singapore, openly accused the leadership of the People's Republic of China of trying to disrupt the representative meeting.

"You can choose not to participate in this summit, you can choose not to help Ukraine and the civilized world to end the war. But I believe that disrupting the peace summit, taking steps to weaken the level of leaders' presence, to ensure that some leaders do not reach the peace summit, to put pressure on them – this certainly does not bring peace any closer," Volodymyr Zelensky emphasized. In his opinion, this is not only support for Russia – it is essentially support for the war because if you do not support the peace summit, it means that everything that is happening is normal for you.

It is worth recalling that China launched a genuine diplomatic offensive with the aim of weakening the influence of the peace summit and even disrupting the presence of many Global South countries at it. By and large, the diplomatic tour of Chinese Foreign Ministry representative Li Hui, his vir-

tual meetings with national security advisers and other officials from many Global South countries, and the publication of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's vision of ending the war, which was agreed upon by Chinese President Xi Jinping, Russian President Putin, and Brazilian President Lula da Silva, were essentially the first steps to disrupt the peace summit and lower the level of representation at it.

China's official refusal to send any delegation to the summit because the organizers did not fulfill the main condition of the PRC (People's Republic of China) – the presence of a high-ranking representative of the Russian Federation, namely Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov – can also be seen as a demonstration of not just unwillingness to participate in the peace summit but also an effort to influence the leaders of the Global South not to attend the meeting. But it should be noted that Beijing not only published its vision, as the Ukrainian president said, and emphasized that its delegation would not be present in Switzerland. It also recommended other countries that value good relations with China not to attend the peace summit, but instead to focus on preparing an alternative international conference, which China clearly sees either its own country or BRICS member countries close to it as the organizer.

Therefore, it can be said that China indeed decided to engage in a real diplomatic duel with Ukraine. The PRC leadership understands that its weight in the world, especially in the Global South, is much more significant and convincing than that of the Russian Federation. By and large, Russia cannot exert pressure on Global South countries or threaten them because it



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is interested in those countries buying its oil. In relations with Global South countries, Russia sees a chance to mitigate the effect of Western sanctions and continue steps to further militarize its economy and prolong the war with Ukraine, which remains the main political task of the Russian leader.

China, on the other hand, is a major investor in the Global South. And of course, the leaders of countries hoping for good economic relations with China thought twice before deciding whether to attend the summit in Switzerland or send a representative delegation there.

Moreover, the attempt to disrupt the summit in Switzerland is also reflected in the publication of an alternative vision for peace in Ukraine, which the Chinese Foreign Ministry is actively promoting, proposing to Global South leaders to solidarize with the Chinese approach. And it must be said that there are already results, as we know that this peace plan is now referred to as the Chinese-Brazilian plan.

Here we see a significant divergence between the understanding of

a just peace that Ukraine defends, at least as a negotiating approach – a peace tied to respect for international law, the responsibility of the aggressor for the war that Russia started against Ukraine, and so on – and the Chinese vision, which is primarily about freezing the Russian-Ukrainian war. If we look closely at the proposals put forward by the Chinese leadership today, we see that Ukraine would have to agree to a suspension of the war without any real guarantees for its own security – a serious blow to Ukraine's national interests; there is no mention of negotiations regarding the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity.

China, in turn, is trying to push the points that concern it the most – primarily the preservation of financial institutions and international trade routes, and the prevention of nuclear danger. Here, one can say that Ukrainian and Chinese positions coincide only in the point related to the use of nuclear weapons. This is certainly an important part of China's position, which can influence Putin's perception of his capabilities in using this weapon

in the war against Ukraine. However, if Putin sees that he can continue this war indefinitely and that China is ready to help him both economically and in restoring Russia's military-industrial complex, then the question arises: why would Putin use nuclear weapons when, instead of nuclear weapons, he can rely on time – time that will allow him to hope for the continuation of a war of attrition?

Therefore, if the peace summit had not taken place, we might not have seen China's position and understood its willingness to assist Russia. At the same time, the level of representation at the meeting in Switzerland could demonstrate a diplomatic defeat for both Russia and China. It once again reminded us that hoping for the illusory "mediation" of Global South countries is not worth it. It is also because Ukraine's place is in Europe, in the West. And it is the help of the Western world that will depend on Ukraine's resilience in the war with Russia.

The negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the European Union reminded us of this once again.



## SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

Oles Doniy

## 7 STEPS TO VICTORY



The common desire of all normal Ukrainians is to achieve victory in the war against fascist Russia. However, the end of the war does not seem to be near. Putin has embarked on a course of protracted, exhausting conflict where Ukrainian population is being ground down, infrastructure is being destroyed, and blood-soaked meters of territory are being slowly seized.

In this situation, many practices and actions carried out by the Ukrainian government do not appear to be fully adequate responses to new challenges and need timely adjustments. During the long war after the full-scale invasion, the connection between the government and society gradually diminishes. For decades, this connection in Ukraine was ensured by electoral processes and procedures, where both the government and counter-elites were forced to listen to their citizens, hoping for electoral support. Now, the government is categorically unwilling to find opportunities to hold elections during wartime, even though the constitutional 5-year terms of the President and the Verkhovna Rada have already expired. In this situation, one of the few factors that give at least a minimal chance that the government will hear an alternative opinion is the initiative of various petitions and public discussions.

"7 Steps to Victory" is an initiative by Sviatoslav Dubyna, which proposes quite systematic steps to bring the country out of crisis and strengthen the resistance to Russian aggression. Sviatoslav Dubyna is currently a serviceman of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, a senior lieutenant who volunteered on February 24, 2022, participated in the liberation of Kharkiv region, fought in Luhansk region, and was wounded. Therefore, Dubyna is not an outsider expert but a person who is in the thick

of the war, so his proposals should at least be carefully analyzed. He registered his "7 Steps to Victory" on the official state petition website, where they gathered the necessary 25,000 votes for consideration within just 2 days, after which the possibility to add additional signatures was disabled. Now, a whole circle of intellectuals is forming around the "7 Steps" in the country, the document has gained collegiate status, and a campaign for a nationwide survey to support this document is beginning.

What specific steps are proposed and why?

**Step One**

Reduce the state apparatus by 80%. Adjust the number of officials, police officers, tax officers, customs officers, and workers of law enforcement agencies to match the conditions of the special period. From this pool of reduced civil servants, mobilize all men of draft age into the army. Currently, the army is being mobilized with often random and unmotivated people, while several hundred thousand representatives of the police and law enforcement agencies, i.e., people who know how to handle weapons, are exempt from mobilization.

**Step Two**

Ensure the gradual rotation of all civil servants who did not participate in the defense of the state with those who did. Henceforth, only citizens who participated in combat, actively helped the front, and have the necessary abilities and competencies should have the right to work in government institutions. Currently, those in power feel like the "elite," affected by the war only in words, not in practice.

**Step Three**

Replace forced mobilization with contractual recruiting on a voluntary basis. Mandatory mobilization remains only for representatives of law enforcement agencies and civil servants. Provide voluntary recruits with high salaries, state life insurance, a deposit in case of injury or death, a social benefits package that includes grants for education for the soldier and his children after demobilization, grants for entrepreneurial activities, and an increased pension.

**Step Four**

Conduct a personnel audit in the

army to eliminate staff bureaucracy. Only those servicemen who ensure real combat capability should remain in the army. Introduce a principle in the army: career advancement and awards should be given only to officers who do not lose personnel. The death of personnel should be considered an extraordinary event and investigated. Those responsible for the deaths must be held accountable.

**Step Five**

Reallocate the state budget so that its main part – at least 80% – is spent on the needs of the army and the country's defense. Funding for life in the rear should only include expenses for critical infrastructure. During hostilities, prohibit funding for beautification works, construction of new buildings and roads, repairs of existing roads, and objects not related to the country's defense and critical infrastructure.

**Step Six**

Introduce a wartime economy. To do this, maximize state orders for the production of weapons and army equipment from Ukrainian enterprises and entrepreneurs. Prohibit interference in their work by state and law enforcement agencies. Ensure preferential priority lending to weapons manufacturers. Introduce simplified taxation for all business entities, administered through the banking system without the involvement of tax officials. The tax service should be reduced to 1,000 people, with dismissed men mobilized.

**Step Seven**

Open Ukraine's western borders for free movement of citizens. The ban on exit should apply only to civil servants. Transfer the protection of our borders and the functions of customs officers and border guards on our western borders to European partners. Send customs officers and border guards from these border areas to combat units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Closing borders for men is not just a mistake but sabotage. This ban was imposed under the pretext of helping to fill the army, but in reality, it harms the army. According to Sviatoslav Dubyna, a caught unmotivated person sent to the army is not just ballast but a danger at the front. Meanwhile, thousands of border guards, i.e., trained and armed servicemen, on the western border are essentially protecting NATO countries



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from Ukrainians, which is absurd. In addition to harming the army, the ban on exit is also a colossal blow to the economy, education, demography, and democracy.

If we analyze Sviatoslav Dubyna's proposals and the group of intellectuals around the "7 Steps to Victory," they aim at:

- Reducing the state apparatus and bureaucracy during the war and cleansing collaborators and cowards from the government, as not all officials will agree to go to the front and risk their lives for the state;
- Significantly reducing the budget for non-military expenses and freeing up funds for military needs;
- Appointing key positions to state officials who have proven their dedication and right to engage in state gover-

nance during and after the war;

- Real, not fake, lustration of state officials and preventing their return through the courts, as the current law requires participation in combat to return to work;
- Allowing those officials who have already passed the test of statehood – who participated in combat and are already moral authorities and statesmen – to remain in their positions;
- Rotating at the front and replacing soldiers who have lost their combat capability and can no longer physically or morally stay in the combat zone;
- Helping current officials to understand the needs at the front in real-time and see the mistakes in the organization of state management;
- Increasing the efficiency of state management and finally putting the

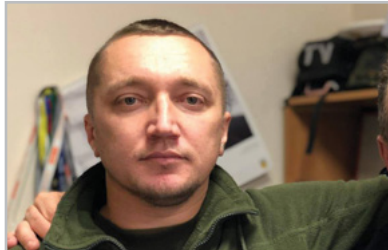
country on a wartime footing by filling the state apparatus and government bodies with volunteers and people with empathy who have proven their dedication and know exactly what the fighters need at the front and the cost of delays in decision-making.

Some of Sviatoslav Dubyna's proposals may seem excessively harsh and somewhat naive. But the situation inside the country is too threatening; we must win the war against fascist Russia, and while the government is not ready to realize the need for elections, we must look for opportunities to correct the situation now. One such proposal to strengthen Ukraine is the "7 Steps to Victory." Let's analyze.

## SPECIAL FOR HROMADA

MYKHAILO UKHMAN | NEWS FROM THE FRONT

## CHANGES ON THE FRONTLINE



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

**Drones**

Ukrainian soldiers received orders to drive the Russian infantry out of their trenches. Initially, our artillery was at work, and then the infantry tried to advance.

The Russian occupiers were entrenched deep. One of them skillfully fired from a machine gun, preventing Ukrainian soldiers from approaching their positions. The artillery support wasn't very effective either, as there was a lack of shells.

It was then that the aerial reconnaissance fighters came to the infantry's aid. Using two FPV drones (kamikadze), they destroyed the positions of the Russian occupiers. Three enemies were killed, one was seriously wounded, and another managed to escape.

Thanks to two kamikaze drones worth \$500 each, the Russian position was captured without any losses...

There are thousands of such cases on the frontline. The importance of using drones in combat increases every day and month.

No army in the world can fight with drones as effectively as the Ukrainian one. Hollywood's "Star Wars" pales in comparison to the war in Ukraine.

Therefore, in the upcoming issues of our publication, read more detailed information about the drone war. Read and share with your American friends.

**Avdiivka**

For ten years, Ukrainian soldiers defended the once-flourishing city, but the Russians destroyed Avdiivka with rockets and bombs.

The Russian army cannot win in an honest battle, so it uses tactics already adopted in Georgia, Chechnya, Syria,



*The city of Avdiivka in the Donetsk region before the arrival of Russian occupiers*



*Avdiivka in 2024 after the arrival of the Russian aggressor*

and now Ukraine – destroying everything alive.

If the world does not stop Russia now, the fate of Avdiivka awaits other cities in Ukraine and Europe. By the way, Avdiivka was once home to the largest coke chemical plant in Europe. The Russian occupiers destroyed it as well. Today, they are cutting scrap metal from the plant and taking it to Russia...

Overall, the situation on the battlefield is complex. The most dangerous areas are in the Mariinsky, Avdiivka, Kharkiv, and Kherson directions.

**Help has arrived**

The Russian aggressor throws tens of thousands of their soldiers into battle to kill Ukrainians for money. Our defenders destroy about a thousand occupiers every day, but the Russian command keeps sending new ones.

According to testimonies of Russian captives, their command uses the "Zhukov" method of warfare – sending in live forces without regard for losses.

After American aid began to arrive on the battlefield, it became easier for Ukrainian soldiers to defend. Especially with the ATACMS missiles, which Ukrainian defenders use to strike Russian territory and temporarily occupied Ukrainian regions, including Crimea.

The situation remains difficult as Russia is openly supported by the dictatorial regimes of Iran and North Korea. (Recently, there was information that North Koreans are sending their "engineering battalions" to Ukraine.) Therefore, support from the Ukrainian diaspora in the USA remains crucial for Ukraine.

Draw the attention of the American community, bring information to Amer-





*The hands of a Ukrainian infantryman who destroys Russian barbarians (photo from the internet)*



*The Church of St. Anna in the village of Karlivka in the Donetsk region, built with the help of volunteers. The occupiers destroyed part of the church by shelling the village with artillery.*

ican society, and support the information front.

Despite international support, there is still an acute need for drones, pickups, and observation devices on the front today – these are things the dias-

pora can directly help with.

There is a great need for tanks, BMPs, aircraft, missiles – these are things we can receive from the American government, also with the support of the Ukrainian diaspora.

We must win this Third World War. And our victory will be a victory for the civilized world.

*Photos from the Front by Mykhailo Ukhman*



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# THE CONTRIBUTION OF CALIFORNIA UKRAINIANS TO THE REHABILITATION CENTER "4.5.0. PRYKARPATTIA"

**Lisa Hots**

A new place of hope and recovery is being born in Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk region – the rehabilitation center "4.5.0. Prykarpattia" rehabilitation center for war veterans, which will open in the summer of 2024. Vasylyna Perehuda, the wife of fallen soldier Oleh Perehuda, is currently working on its creation.

## **The birth of an idea**

First of all, the idea to create the center belongs to Oleh Perehuda, a company commander of the 80<sup>th</sup> Air Assault Brigade who was posthumously awarded the Order of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, III class. It was Oleh's return from the war in 2016 that became a turning point in the young couple's lives. The Ukrainian society of that time was absolutely not ready to receive its heroes with dignity: problems with the perception of people who fought and defended the lives of others, rejection of the circumstances and fear. Thus, all these moments prompted the idea of creating a rehabilitation center. It was not just a dream – it was a need determined by time and circumstances.

## **From dream to realization**

In 2021, Oleh and his fellow brothers started a non-profit organization, then found a nice place and began negotiating with the city authorities. However, in 2022, the project was put on hold as the full-scale invasion began on February 24, 2022. Oleh had to go back to defending Ukraine and sadly, he died in June of the same year in Donetsk region.

His wife, Vasylyna Perehuda, and nieces – Olha Lylak and Yulia Partsey – continue to bring this idea to life.

## **Challenges and support**

The task Vasylyna and her team set for themselves was not easy. Negotiating with the authorities, finding funding – all this required not only effort but also immense faith in success. The former water station "Khotyn," near the Limnytsia River, turned out to be the ideal location for the rehabilitation center due to its seclusion from city noise and proximity to nature.

Vasylyna Perehuda says: a lease agreement was signed with the city



council for 25 years. The building area is 280 square meters, which will house a sports rehabilitation hall, a massage room, a psychologist's office, an occupational therapy kitchen, a dressing room, and an inclusive restroom.

Over time, plans include landscaping the adjacent area, with the center

having a special sports ground, beehives, and a fishing spot.

## **Joint efforts**

Vasylyna admits that the project would not have been possible without the support of her friends, team, volunteers, and charitable organizations. The project is funded by donations



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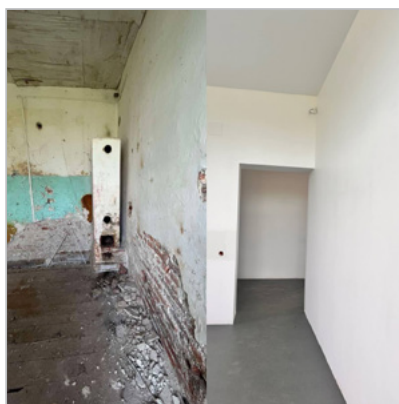
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from large businesses, donors, and charitable organizations. The team behind the center actively cooperates with various foundations, accepting both financial and material assistance.

Helping wounded soldiers is one of the priority areas of activity of the non-profit organization "Hromada", therefore funds in the amount of \$5,000, which were directed to the development of the rehabilitation center "4.5.0. Prykarpattia" helped speed up the opening day of the institution.

As the head of the center notes, with these funds it was possible to make a ceiling in a large rehabilitation center, namely: to insulate the ceiling and install a heating system, and in other rooms to insulate and install stretch ceilings, which helped to speed up the

completion of the main nuances of the repair.

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#### About the rehabilitation center

"4.5.0. Prykarpattia" will be a place of physical and psychological rehabilitation, assistance in socialization and employment. The team plans to provide free assistance to every vete-

ran. The center will offer individual and group sessions, training in self-help techniques and social integration. In addition, not only military personnel but also their families will be able to seek help at the center.

The center is now ready to open. The ceilings, lights, and walls have been installed and the necessary equipment purchased. The opening is scheduled for the end of August, but pilot cases will begin in July.

#### Call to action

Vasylina Perchuda urges everyone who has similar ideas not to be afraid to implement them and seek support. She recalls the words of her husband: "If not us, then who? If not now, when?" Her story is an inspiration for many, demonstrating how self-belief and community support can change lives for the better.

# THE AGE OF STRATEGIC UNCERTAINTY

*Seemingly imperceptibly, the United States, Europe, and perhaps the entire world, have moved from the longest period of relatively peaceful coexistence in modern history to uncertainty that is approaching from all sides.*

**Nadia Banchik**

## **The Foundations of Euro-Atlantic Civilization: "Never Again!"**

The principles of modern world order began to form after the most devastating war in human history. Although even in 1939, the most powerful weapons compared to previous wars existed, and by 1945, qualitatively new ones – nuclear – appeared. These principles had a strategic goal: "Never again!" For this reason, fundamentally new world order principles appeared: peaceful coexistence of different political systems and states; human beings as biological and social entities at the center of this coexistence. On these foundations, the main principles of politics, economy, and culture were developed: the replacement of traditional war with a "cold" one, i.e., free competition, coexistence, and sometimes cooperation in various fields; the inviolability of state borders; the doctrine of mutual nuclear destruction, which ensured the balance of nuclear states and even the development of nuclear weapons under strict control of their non-use; human rights in the broadest sense; a culture and ideology that ensured relatively conflict-free and relatively comfortable coexistence both within states and in international relations. It seemed that a "golden mean" had finally been found between the objective contradictions in such a universal coexistence, in particular between the diversity of identities and the possibility of coexistence and even mutual enrichment of societies – this was primarily ensured by a new legal culture, legislative framework development and adherence, democratic system, civilized discourse culture, etc. Even scientific and technological development was subordinated to these principles, leading to a colossal leap in various technologies, medicine, and biology. People learned to perceive themselves in the surrounding world as part of a single whole, realizing the vital necessity of preserving the environment, at least for the sake of continuing their existence. The experience of World War II impacted the lives of at least four generations for whom "Never again!" became a principle that subordinated all others. This experience encompassed the period of the

most comfortable life, which simultaneously became the foundation for unprecedented personal and societal development in all possible (and previously impossible) manifestations.

However, these principles and foundations were most fully realized only in one region – the Euro-Atlantic civilization zone. Only there was the strategic goal of "Never again!" most fully implemented. In the USSR after 1945, this principle was realized only partially – during Khrushchev's "vidlyha" certain scientific and cultural achievements of the so-called "Scientific and Technical Revolution" existed somewhat under the unspoken slogan "Never again!" (the official "fight for peace" and the semi-underground culture of bard songs and literary creativity aimed at this, though they opposed each other). However, repression, backward economic-political system, ideological dictatorship, aggressive foreign policy, and isolation behind the "iron curtain" from the Western world prevented all Soviet republics from both following the path of the Euro-Atlantic world and developing their worldview comparable to the "Western" one.

## **Leading Trend After the USSR's Collapse – Clash of Western and Post-Soviet Foundations**

This became apparent (in different post-Soviet regions – in various ways) after the formation of independent states from the USSR's collapse. In these states (differently in various regions), in the first years, the principles developed by the West for peaceful coexistence began to establish themselves. However, attempts to implement them faced fierce resistance from the principles of the Soviet world: systemic corruption, which became the backbone of the new states' order, the complete absence of legal culture, the total lack of skills for operating in conditions of private property and market economy, etc. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that during the initial capital accumulation, the largest share ended up in the hands of organized crime and former USSR security forces, which retained secret and open connections after its collapse. On this basis, the Putin regime came to power, ensuring the preservation and development of these Soviet foundations on which the current Russian order

gradually formed, solidifying with each new war: Abkhazian, Chechen, Georgian, Syrian, "Crimean-Donbas," increasingly developing as a force fundamentally hostile to the West.

At the same time, the "golden age" of the West showed more and more cracks. The darkest era of the "war on international Islamic terrorism" after the September 11, 2001, attack undermined its deepest foundations: "Never again!" fundamentally contradicts the very concept of war, and its conduct inevitably leads to the limitation of the principles of human rights protection and state sovereignties; limitations gradually became normalized. These destructive processes were amplified by the fact that the "war on terrorism" created conditions extremely favorable for developing the main principles of the Putin regime, which from the beginning was a powerful enemy of the West. Initially, benefiting from the "war on terrorism," it exported its influences to the West; since 2007 – Putin's "Munich speech" – the regime increasingly intensified the confrontation. However, the West, firmly built on the principles of "Never again!" tried to "tame" the Putin regime with cooperation to the last line instead of developing effective ways to contain it.

In the first and second decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, problems and cracks in Western civilization became increasingly noticeable. They arose from the development of the very civilizational foundations encountering changing realities and approaching their limits. In particular, the principle of inclusiveness and the expansion of people's participation in societal activities revealed certain conflict situations, for example, in the ability to accept migrants and refugees, employ people with different abilities, etc. In the principle of freedom of speech, contradictions between truthful information and lies became apparent; the revolution in information technology with its unlimited possibilities for individual expression greatly amplified these contradictions.

Western societies, increasingly confronted with these problems, demanded their resolution more strongly, but a simple solution to such problems does not exist (at least today, it has not been found). This is how populism



arose, the essence of which is to replace the search for solutions to complex problems with superficially simple methods or even just talking about them in a tone that denies those norms recently considered generally accepted and creates the illusion of "fighting outdated concepts" (in particular, so-called "political correctness," calling this vague term simple politeness or certain cultural taboos, such as "hate speech").

Populists exhibited some common traits with the Putin regime: primarily in rhetoric – against norms introduced by "political correctness"; "traditional values" (actually against the gains of democracy – principles of inclusiveness and equal opportunities and equality before the law); "enemies of the people" (in the fight against political opponents, all methods are morally and politically permissible).

The attack by Russia on Ukraine forced world states to clearly define themselves at a time when Western civilization itself is experiencing a deep crisis of uncertainty. Perhaps this partly explains why the West, primarily the USA, still does not have a clear strategy for defeating the forces of total evil, which, unlike the West, has defined itself and removed all masks.

#### Moving into the Unknown

The mentioned principles and gaps in their implementation determine the development of leading trends in Euro-Atlantic civilization. The struggle between still existing foundations and increasingly acute and unresolved contradictions (because new answers to new challenges have not yet been found) manifested primarily in the increasingly deep societal split: some went right, others left, with the split almost evenly dividing society in many states, further complicating political discourse. Imagine that the difference in votes for Trump and Biden in the final vote does not exceed the statistical error – such a result is quite possible! – the consequences are hard to imagine. A similar situation exists in Poland: almost half of the population supports the "Law and Justice" party. At the same time, the weight of openly radical parties is growing.

These tendencies were reflected in the European Parliament elections: although the centrist "European People's Party" even slightly increased its representation, both left and right radicals also expanded their ranks. How these tendencies will affect the appointment of the head of the European Commission and the European Council is unknown.



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**REQUIREMENTS**

- U4U parolees who arrived in the US between 2/24/2022 - 9/30/2023.

***Eligibility is NOT a guarantee of assistance. Due to limited resources, HAU program will prioritize the highest-need households.***

**DOCUMENTS NEEDED**

- ID
- I-94 or other proof of U4U status
- Proof of rent AND landlord information (rent receipts, lease, W9 form)
- Copy of utility bills with name and address)
- Proof of address

**CONTACT US**

**OUR EMAIL**

haumncsf.org

**OUR NUMBER**

415 653 5701 ext. 1128

**OUR ADDRESS**

- 1329 Evans Ave  
San Francisco, CA 94124
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Uncertainty also shrouds the decision of the Swiss summit on finding ways to peace in the Russian-Ukrainian war. Although its main result is a testament to the political and diplomatic support of Ukraine's position by more than 80 countries, it is on a very general basis. Inviting Russia to the next summit on such uncertain terms could negate the very idea of such a summit as a platform for defining a strategy for the West and Ukraine to win over the Putin's politic.

Unlike the uncertain West, Putin acts decisively: he formalized the "axis of evil" by signing a collective security treaty with North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un. Will this treaty push Kim to ignite another war – this time on the Korean Peninsula? This is undoubtedly beneficial to Putin. Will Kim gain benefits? Most likely not. At least because

the Putin regime is not a reliable partner: its main goal is to start another fire, but it does not have the resources for long-term support of an ally and will abandon without hesitation, as it abandoned Armenia.

Ironically, it is Putin's war in Ukraine forces the world, primarily the West, to quickly define itself and adjust its fundamental principles without renouncing them. This logic leads to the recognition of the necessity of a decisive victory over the Putin regime without half-measures and hesitations. Only the comprehensive development of the path to achieve this goal remains – with a delay of at least two years: it is precisely this term that was required to adjust policies according to the principle of "Never again" in entirely new conditions of a war of such scale that Europe had not seen since 1945.

## UKRAINIAN NEWS

## Total enemy combat losses



According to the General Staff, the total combat losses of the enemy from February 24, 2022 to April 30, 2024 are approximately as follows:

Personnel – 542,700 people were eliminated,  
Tanks – 8,080 units,  
Armored personnel carriers – 15,524 units,  
Artillery systems – 14,533 units,  
MLRS – 1,110 units,  
Air defense systems – 873 units,  
Aircraft – 360 units,  
Helicopters – 326 units,  
Operational and tactical level UAVs – 11,584 units,  
Cruise missiles – 2,331 units,  
Ships and boats – 28 units,  
Submarines – 1 unit,  
Vehicles and tankers – 19,643 units,  
Special equipment – 2,448 units.

## Military aid for Ukraine



## USA

The United States of America will provide Ukraine with a new military aid package worth \$225 million as part of defense support. Ukraine will receive HAWK air defense system missiles, Stinger missiles, ammunition for HIMARS, as well as 155-mm howitzers and batches of 155-mm and 105-mm

artillery shells.

Additionally, the USA will supply:

- M113 armored personnel carriers;
- trailers for transporting heavy equipment;
- coastal and river patrol boats;
- TOW guided missiles;
- Javelin and AT-4 anti-tank systems;
- small arms ammunition;
- night vision devices.

The new aid package is provided under the presidential authority for arms reduction, allowing systems and ammunition to be taken from existing US stockpiles to be quickly sent to the front.

The USA will also send another Patriot missile system to Ukraine, as decided by President Joe Biden. This will be the second Patriot system supplied to Ukraine, although the Pentagon regularly supplies missiles for these systems.

The new Patriot system – the second sent by the United States to Ukraine – will be delivered from Poland, where it is protecting rotating US forces returning home.

Biden has authorized Ukraine to strike Russian territory with US weapons but later clarified that the US does not allow Ukraine to use American weapons for strikes on Moscow or the Kremlin.

On June 15, US Vice President Kamala Harris announced at a peace summit in Switzerland a new aid package of \$15 billion for Ukraine.

These funds include \$500 million in new energy assistance funding and the redirection of \$324 million previously announced for emergency energy infrastructure repairs. Additionally, over \$379 million in humanitarian aid from the State Department and USAID will be provided to address urgent needs of refugees, internally displaced persons, and communities affected by the war.

## Germany

On May 31, it was announced that Germany will provide Ukraine with another Patriot air defense system and additional military aid worth 500 million euros.

The minister recalled that Germany is supplying another Patriot system, making it the third such installation.

Germany is also providing training for operating the Patriot systems and supplying missiles for them, including 32 missiles recently delivered, with 68 more to be delivered in the coming weeks.

In addition to Berlin, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway have also participated in this initiative.



In a new package dated June 14, Germany will supply the Ukrainian army with two more IRIS-T air defense systems, three HIMARS multiple rocket launchers, 10 tanks, 20 infantry fighting vehicles, and ammunition, including:

- 20 Marder infantry fighting vehicles (with ammunition and spare parts from Bundeswehr and industry stockpiles) (total: 120);
- 10 Leopard 1A5 main battle tanks (under a joint project with Denmark) (total: 50);
- ammunition for Leopard 1 tanks;
- ammunition for Marder IFVs;
- 1 IRIS-T SLM air defense system (total: 4);
- 1 IRIS-T SLS air defense system (total: 2);
- 3 HIMARS systems;
- 21,000 155-mm shells (from Bundeswehr and industry stockpiles) (total: 111,000);
- 21,000 155-mm shells (from Bundeswehr and industry stockpiles) (total: 111,000);
- 128 smoke/illuminating 155-mm shells (total: 21,000);
- 4 anti-drone sensor and jammer systems (total: 88);
- 2 BEAVER bridge layers with spare parts (total: 21);
- 2 DACHS armored recovery vehicles (total: 11);
- 4 WISENT 1 mine-clearing vehicles with spare parts (total: 42);
- materials for explosive ordnance disposal (from Bundeswehr and industry stockpiles);
- 3 AMPS (Airborne Missile Protection System) helicopter defense systems (total: 8);
- 100 night vision devices (total: 600);
- IT equipment;
- 3 AMPS helicopter defense systems (total: 8);
- 100 night vision devices (total: 600);
- IT equipment;
- 16 Mercedes-Benz Zetros fuel trucks (total: 62);
- 100 MK 556 assault rifles (total: 1,625);
- 85 HLR 338 sniper rifles and 180,000 rounds for them (total: 230/240,000);
- 100 HAENEL CR 308 rifles (total: 331);
- 4 million rounds of small arms ammunition (total: 546 million);
- rescue boats.

Rheinmetall will also supply Ukraine with a new air defense tank "Frankenstein" designed to destroy Russian drones and missiles.

Rheinmetall reported installing its latest Skyranger air defense system

on the hulls of Leopard 1 tanks from the Cold War era, creating a new mechanism to bolster Ukraine's defense.

#### France

On June 6, French President Emmanuel Macron announced that the country would send Mirage 2000 aircraft to Ukraine. Additionally, France will train more Ukrainian military personnel as part of a "new cooperation" with Kyiv. "Starting tomorrow, we will begin a program to train pilots and transfer these aircraft," Macron said. He also stated that Ukraine could use French weapons to strike Russian territory.

#### Italy

The Italian government confirmed its intention to provide Ukraine with another SAMP/T air defense system, which will help Kyiv intercept ballistic missiles. The new SAMP/T will likely be included in the ninth military aid package, which could be approved soon, although the exact delivery timelines are not yet known. The first such installation was supplied to Ukraine in 2023. It is the only European-made system capable of intercepting ballistic missiles. The country also approved a new package worth 140 million euros for the development of Ukrainian infrastructure.

#### Japan

The Japanese government has supplied Ukraine with 101 off-road vehicles, such as, Toyota Kohkidosha and Mitsubishi Type 73 Kogata, as well as Morooka tracked vehicles.

#### Lithuania

Lithuania approved the transfer of 14 M113 armored personnel carriers to the Ukrainian army. These APCs are intended to assist the Armed Forces of Ukraine in demining and are a free contribution from Lithuania as part of the demining support coalition led by Iceland. The Lithuanian government also preliminarily approved the allocation of 135 million euros for the purchase of air surveillance radars to strengthen the warning system in Ukraine. The Lithuanian government has approved a new tranche of financial aid for Ukraine worth 127 million euros. The funds will be used for the rehabilitation of military personnel.

It is noted that 27 million euros have been allocated for the financing and implementation of the Zeleny Hay school renovation and restoration project in Mykolaiv. Ten million euros are planned for the financing and implementation of the Rehabilitation and Reintegration program for wounded and war-affected individuals in Ukraine. The funds will be directed to the recon-

struction of the spinal injury rehabilitation center of the Dnipro State University Hospital – up to 25 million euros for the reconstruction of the "Unbroken" rehabilitation department of the Lviv city rehabilitation center in Bryukhovychi – up to 56 million euros. Additionally, up to 19 million euros will be allocated to institutions and organizations involved in rehabilitation and reintegration services to strengthen and develop these services. The program's implementation period is 24 months.

#### Latvia

Latvia has prepared a second batch of drones for Ukraine, purchased within the drone coalition framework.

The first batch is already on its way to Ukraine. According to Latvia's Defense Minister Andris Spruds, Latvia, which co-leads the drone coalition with the UK, announced plans and commitments to contribute 20 million euros this year.

#### Estonia

Estonia will help strengthen Ukraine's air defense and provide short-range Mistral anti-aircraft missile systems and missiles as military aid. The exact quantity is not disclosed for security reasons. Previously, Estonia has supplied Ukraine with Javelin anti-tank missiles, howitzers, artillery shells, anti-tank mines, grenade launchers, anti-tank mortars, vehicles, communication equipment, and field hospitals.

#### Netherlands

The Netherlands will allocate 60 million euros for the development of offensive drone capabilities for Ukraine. As part of the announced 60 million euro aid package, the Netherlands is allocating 20 million euros for the purchase of FPV drones through the "drone coalition" created earlier this year within the framework of the Ukraine Defense Contact Group. Another 175 million euros are designated for the procurement of maritime drones. "Ukraine can produce this type of drone domestically, so the Netherlands, with this financial contribution, also stimulates local business," the Dutch Ministry of Defense noted. The rest of the funds will be directed towards bilateral supplies of various types of drones. The Netherlands is also investing 400 million euros in a fund for the production of infantry fighting vehicles for Ukraine. This was announced by the country's Defense Minister, Kajsa Ollongren. According to the official, the production of equipment will be carried out "mainly in the Netherlands."

#### Denmark

Denmark became the first NATO

country to invest in arms production in Ukraine. Ukraine and Denmark signed a memorandum on the procurement of weapons and equipment from Ukrainian manufacturers. In the spring, Denmark allocated about 285 million dollars for the procurement of weapons and military equipment for the Ukrainian Armed Forces directly from Ukrainian manufacturers. Denmark also promised to provide the Ukrainian Armed Forces with a new military aid package worth 56 billion Danish kroner (approximately 750 million euros).

#### **Norway**

Norway provided Ukraine with a batch of mortar ammunition worth 480 million Norwegian kroner (almost 42 million euros). This was announced by Defense Minister Bjorn Arild Gram, who also added that Norway recently supplied Ukraine with hand grenades and sniper ammunition. The total value of this aid was 53 million Norwegian kroner.

#### **Romania**

Romania is considering supplying Ukraine with its artillery shells and mortars. The country has joined the training program for Ukrainian pilots on F-16 aircraft.

#### **Canada**

Canada has announced that it will provide Ukraine with \$15.4 million for the restoration of energy infrastructure damaged by Russian shelling. Additionally, \$1.46 million will be allocated to support the safe and reliable operation of nuclear facilities in Ukraine.

#### **Turkey**

Ukraine and Turkey have agreed to cooperate in the rehabilitation of Ukrainian servicemen. The agreements were reached during a meeting between Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Defense Natalia Kalmykova and Turkey's Ambassador to Ukraine Mustafa Levent Bilgen.

"We are very grateful for the assistance provided to Ukraine by the Republic of Turkey. The list now includes cooperation in the rehabilitation sector. A pilot project for the rehabilitation of servicemen has recently been launched," Kalmykova said.

#### **Slovenia**

The Slovenian government provided Ukraine with a significant amount of military assistance during a period when the United States delayed the supply of weapons to the Ukrainian Armed Forces due to a lack of funding.

According to journalists, the country secretly supplied Ukrainian forces with 26 BOV armored combat vehicles, three M80A infantry fighting vehicles, and HMMWV armored vehicles. In

addition to heavy weapons, Ukraine also received military aid in the form of automatic rifles, ammunition, helmets, Zastava M55 anti-aircraft guns, and reconnaissance drones.

## **G7 Decisions on \$50 Billion Loan to Ukraine**



The G7 countries, following the summit in Apulia, Italy, adopted a declaration confirming their intentions to provide Ukraine with a \$50 billion loan secured by income from frozen Russian assets. The document states that the funds will be allocated to support Ukraine's current and future needs amid ongoing defense against Russia. The money will be transferred through an expedited procedure by the end of the year.

Allies intend to distribute this funding across several areas, including military, budgetary, and reconstruction needs of Ukraine. G7 leaders also called on Russia to pay \$486 billion in compensation for the damages caused to Ukraine due to the invasion. Additionally, in May, the European Commission decided to transfer profits from Russian assets to Ukraine. The first €1.5 billion of income from frozen Russian assets is expected to be transferred to Ukraine's accounts in July.

## **New US Sanctions Against Russia**



The United States has imposed sanctions on more than 300 legal entities and individuals who support Russia's defense-industrial complex and assist the Kremlin in its aggression against Ukraine. The information appeared on the US Department of the

Treasury's website, stating that the sanctions target companies, organizations, and individuals from Russia, Belarus, China, Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the United Arab Emirates, South Africa, Serbia, and Turkey.

The sanctions were imposed on the Moscow Exchange, the insurance company SOGAZ, the Arctic LNG 1 and Arctic LNG 3 projects, and Gazprom Invest. Additionally, five Russian banks – Promsvyazbank, Vnesheconombank, Sberbank, VTB Bank, and VTB Capital Holding – were sanctioned.

## **Ukraine to Manufacture Lynx IFVs with Rheinmetall**



Ukraine has agreed with the German defense plant Rheinmetall on the joint production of Lynx (Lynx) armored fighting vehicles. Rheinmetall CEO Armin Papperger and Ukraine's Minister of Strategic Industries Oleksandr Kamyshin signed a Memorandum of Understanding on expanding strategic cooperation in Berlin.

Kamyshin clarified that the project to manufacture Lynx armored vehicles will be financed by the German government. According to media reports, Rheinmetall plans to open at least four arms plants in Ukraine.

## **Franco-German Defense Consortium KNDS to Establish Production in Ukraine**



The contract for the creation of the plant was officially signed on Friday, June 7, during President Volodymyr



Zelensky's visit to France. KNDS representatives signed two protocols: one on the creation of a Caesar service center and another on the formation of a 3D printing enterprise for spare parts.

## Ukraine and the US Sign 10-year Security Agreement



Presidents Volodymyr Zelensky and Joe Biden signed a bilateral security agreement aimed at strengthening Ukraine's defense capabilities, facilitating its Euro-Atlantic integration, and achieving a just peace. In the event of an armed attack or threat of such an attack on Ukraine, senior officials of the US and Ukraine will meet within 24 hours to consult on the response and determine the defensive assistance Ukraine needs.

The US intends to support Ukraine's military strength, as well as the development and transformation of its military capabilities by providing weapons, equipment, training, and other assistance.

## Ukraine and the EU Sign Security Agreement



The document was signed in Brussels by President Volodymyr Zelensky, European Council President Charles Michel, and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen. The document, titled "Joint Security Commitments between the European Union and Ukraine," significantly differs from bilateral security agreements between Ukraine and NATO member states.

In particular, the EU agreement do-

es not mention Ukraine's future NATO membership, as the EU includes non-aligned states (Austria, Ireland). EU member states unanimously agreed to sign the agreement.

"The recently established Ukraine Assistance Fund within the EPF adds another €5 billion for 2024 to ensure continued military assistance and training. Further comparable annual increases may be provided until 2027, depending on Ukraine's needs and political guidelines from the Council," the agreement states.

## Ukraine Signs Security Agreements with Japan, Lithuania, and Estonia



President Volodymyr Zelensky and Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida signed a bilateral security cooperation agreement. The agreement is valid for 10 years. According to the document, Japan will provide Ukraine with \$4.5 billion in aid this year.

"Security and defense assistance, cooperation in humanitarian, technical, and financial spheres, joint work to implement the points of the Peace Formula, sanctions against the aggressor, and holding it accountable are also enshrined in the agreement signed today. We appreciate that Japan will work with Ukraine for its reconstruction and recovery," Zelensky said.

In addition, Tokyo and Kyiv agreed to deepen cooperation in the industrial sector. The countries will explore opportunities for developing Ukraine's industrial base, creating joint ventures, and conducting research.

Ukraine and Estonia also signed a security cooperation and long-term support agreement. Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda signed the security guarantees agreement for Ukraine on behalf of Lithuania.

## Key Points of the Joint Communiqué

## of the Final Declaration of the Global Peace Summit in Switzerland



During the Global Peace Summit in Switzerland, held on June 15-16, participants agreed on a common position on three points: food security, nuclear and energy security, and the release of all prisoners and deported Ukrainian adults and children kidnapped by Russia. The key principles for these elements for a just and sustainable peace are outlined in the Joint Communiqué on the Fundamentals of Peace.

The communiqué emphasizes that the use of nuclear energy and installations must be safe, secure, reliably guarded, and not harmful to the environment, and that Ukrainian nuclear power plants and installations, including the Zaporizhzhia NPP, must operate safely and securely under Ukraine's full sovereign control and IAEA oversight.

The Joint Communiqué also includes a point on the uninterrupted production and supply of food. Attacks on merchant ships, civilian ports, and civilian port infrastructure are unacceptable. The communiqué stresses that food security must not be used as a weapon in any way.

Prisoners of war must be released through a full exchange, and all deported and illegally transferred Ukrainian children and civilians must be returned to Ukraine.

These are three of the ten points of the Peace Formula presented by President Volodymyr Zelensky in November 2022 at the G20 meeting in Indonesia. Work on the remaining points will continue with the international community in the formats defined at the Summit.

The Joint Communiqué of the Peace Summit was supported by 77 countries and four organizations, while 10 participants refused to sign it.

# HOW DOES THE NEW LAW ON MOBILIZATION AND RESERVATIONS FROM IT AFFECT THE ECONOMY?

**Karina Nikitishina**

The most discussed topic in Ukrainian society in May-June 2024 was the new law on mobilization. Business representatives and economists emphasize that due to the imperfect system of booking critical workers, the country may lose a significant share of tax revenues to the budget that finances the Armed Forces. The Russian PSYOP, which started the panic in Ukrainian society, are finding new ways to demotivate and sow discord among men who are now looking for corrupt ways to buy off mobilization. But can Ukraine do without mobilization now? Definitely not. But since the beginning of martial law, the government has approached the issue of mobilization incorrectly. Now, despite a large number of amendments to the law, the government has not found an effective solution.

The number of job seekers and their competition for positions began to plummet in May, while the number of vacancies is increasing. This is the reality of the Ukrainian labor market today. Trying to avoid mobilization, thousands of qualified workers have quit and are hiding at home. Some businesses have gone "underground" to retain specialists crucial to their operations. Instead of quality recruitment of motivated patriots, Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center forcibly take people off the streets who are willing to pay taxes in the rear but are afraid of their own shadow at the front. As a result, tax payments from businesses are decreasing. The army may soon face a significant shortage of funding from the state budget. The Ministry of Economy has already stated the need to promote retraining programs for professions currently in high demand, primarily for women who, due to mobilization, are starting to master traditionally male professions in Ukraine. This includes seeking female bus, truck, and tractor drivers, as well as bodyguards.

According to the results of the survey "Assessment of Business Conditions in War-torn Ukraine" by the American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine, the main challenges for businesses in 2024 are booking conscripted employees – 80%, and their safety and protection – 75%.

Effective mechanisms for conscription and booking could help achieve a balance between security and the economy: ensuring a sufficient number of military personnel for defense and the stable operation of critical enterprises. According to Andrii Dligach, CEO of Advanter Group, economic growth influences the state's ability to maintain the army and purchase and produce weapons. This argument is valid – while one part of the country is fighting, the other must work. The ability of businesses to pay taxes is as important as mobilizing recruits for the Armed Forces. However, the booking system does not inspire business confidence and has many flaws.

Financial expert Serhiy Fursa believes mobilization should cover only 2-3% of workers, which would not have critical consequences for the economy. "But can we dramatically wring our hands and say that there will definitely be no one to work in the economy if 2-3% of the workforce drops out? Hardly. According to our estimates, mobilization will hit the economy and lead to a decrease in GDP growth this year. Instead of growing, for example, by 4.5%, we will see growth of 4%. Economic growth during the war. There is probably no need to mention what will happen to the economy without the army? No need to remind what happened to the GDP of Mariupol," Fursa wrote on Facebook. Theoretically, this view can be agreed with. Practically – even defense companies lose specialists due to gaps in the mobilization law and the booking system, including specialists without whom the further operation of the enterprise is impossible. This does not benefit either defense or the economy, as it threatens to reduce the production of weapons. For example, in an interview with "Economic Truth," the drone thermal imaging company "Oko camery" shared that it lost a design engineer in May. The company operates under a state contract but could not book a critically important employee: to arrange the booking, it is necessary to update data at the Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center. The Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center mobilizes people even before the

booking is finalized. "We invested for two years, formed a team, and unique competence. A specialist who performed three functions was taken from the street. The state got one soldier, and we lost an engineer who influences the supply of hundreds of thermal imagers for UAVs of the Armed Forces of Ukraine," said the director of "Oko camery."


Many people have not updated their military registration data for decades. Currently, the law prohibits hiring candidates without up-to-date documents. These men must first update their data by contacting the territorial center to undergo a military medical commission. At this commission, a mobilization summons can be handed to a specialist who controls the entire enterprise's work, even though he came to arrange documents for booking. Natalia Martynenko, head of the Transcarpathian branch of the NAUDI association, said that one of their mortar shell producers signed a state contract as a co-executor. But to obtain the status of a critically important enterprise, it is necessary to submit documents confirming the supply of products under this contract or confirm receiving an advance. This agreement was signed on post-payment terms. Before the first batch was shipped, several months passed during which the plant lost qualified workers. While the plant is searching for candidates, the equipment is idle, and the state cannot receive ammunition. The "Technological Forces of Ukraine" association also believes that the lack of deferral for workers of defense companies from mobilization during the update of military registration documents is an urgent problem.

It should be noted that the problem may also lie in the fact that the term "mobilization" is perceived unilaterally by the leadership of Ukraine. During a war that will definitely not end within the next few years at least, limiting to forced mobilization of any serviceable people is a slow path to defeat for many reasons. Despite all indications that the war will not end tomorrow, the government has not yet begun to develop a strategy that takes the situation into account in the long term. If such a position could still somehow be logically justified at the beginning of the full-


scale invasion when Ukrainian officials assured the frightened people that the war would not last even a month, then in the third year of the full-scale war, such a short-sighted decision only confirms the opinion that incompetent people are in the country's leadership. Mobilization is not just about staffing the army. Mobilizing the economy itself is a risky step but necessary, as the historical experience of leading countries shows. At the same time, this development option is becoming more likely if the situation does not change. Ukraine has been at war since 2014, but the government continues to perceive its economy as pre-war.

Transitioning to a war economy requires a large workforce: thousands of people can be provided with jobs with official income; the country will receive stable tax payments and an increase in military production several times. It would be entirely logical to give such enterprises the opportunity to fully book all employees, as their actions, although not on the front line, will significantly accelerate Ukraine's victory. Also, there have been repeated situations when Ukrainian ammunition runs out, and partner assistance has not yet arrived. Mobilizing the economy can make the state less dependent on international partners' aid. However, as noted by Oleg Pendzin, Executive Director of the Economic Discussion Club, any actions related to the transition of the economy to a "war footing" (a set of measures aimed at ensuring the functioning of the state and its defense capability in times of war) will have little chance of success. "People always count the money in their wallets first. But when transitioning to a 'war footing,' the political force freezes social standards. Ukrainian politicians do not look very much like kamikazes ready for anything for the sake of the country. They primarily think about their political future. Therefore, I am very pessimistic that we will see the country's transition to a 'war footing.'"




Strengthening military recruitment can also help in the current situation. According to Senior Officer of the Land Forces Command Pavlo Kyshkar, the effective work of recruiting centers and changes in legislation will allow units to be staffed with motivated people. Currently, Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center employees simply take men off the streets who often do not have the necessary training for service. At the same time, despite the fact that some of the mobilized are motivated to serve and even have referrals, the TCC sends people to brigades accor-



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ding to the distribution. "I have not been able to call people to myself since 2014 because after they go to the Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center, I will never see them. They will be assigned to other people I don't know. Why can't I call those I fought with in 2014? Motivated people who know how to do everything. (...) Well, if we are making a movie for Russian television, then leave everything as it is. Change nothing, continue the policy of warming up Ukrainian society," Kyshkar said on "Espresso TV." Indeed, while the government cannot come to

the most optimal decision, the Russians only use the ambiguous opinion of Ukrainians about mobilization, trying to create a split within the country. Instead, it is necessary to consolidate all forces, both in the economy and all other spheres, because only then can we properly resist the enemy. It should be noted that the problem may also lie in the fact that the term "mobilization" is perceived unilaterally by the leadership of Ukraine. During a war that will definitely not end within the next few years at least, limiting to forced mobilization of any service



# «WITH THE SHIELD OR ON THE SHIELD» 2024 year

*The world saw the new book of Major General of the Armed Forces of Ukraine Serhiy Kryvonos "With the Shield or on the Shield. The Truth About the War"*

**Maksym Bezruk**  
 Founder of the NGO  
 "Veterans of Special  
 Operations Forces"

«Nothing can stop an idea  
 whose time has come»  
 —Victor Hugo, "History of a Crime"  
 1877 pik

The Ukrainian people have over a millennium-long history and uninterrupted statehood. This is a special form of national thinking, whose core is the will for self-determination and the creation of an independent Ukraine based on spiritual values, cultural traditions, freedoms, and the rights ingrained in the Ukrainian gene. General Serhiy Kryvonos is one of the prominent figures in modern Ukrainian history, demonstrating through his actions the importance of preserving, creating, and developing Ukrainian statehood, maintaining the spirit of the people, freedoms, and reforms in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the army in general. His tireless fight against lawlessness and incompetence in power is vividly reflected on the pages of his new book "With the Shield or on the Shield. The Truth about the War," which sharply arose during the full-scale invasion of the aggressor country into Ukraine on February 24, 2022.

To be objective and consistent, the author aptly and accurately draws attention to the inactivity, and sometimes criminal negligence, of past Ukrainian presidents, who systematically dismantled the state's defense capability, leading to a general weakening of the country's defense potential and receiving dubious dividends from such activities. The coverage of issues in personnel policy, where the ruling elite employed and placed loyal leaders in key state positions who did not meet the requirements of their positions and acted openly against Ukraine's interests, often harming rather than developing the departments and enterpri-



ses of the defense industry they led, is thoroughly discussed.

The problematic issues of corruption in the army and the incompetence of commanders, the expulsion of professionals and experienced officers from the armed forces, the reduction of their motivation, and the lack of desire among the higher leadership for army reforms, which have not bene-

fited Ukraine, are repeatedly emphasized by the author.

Special attention is given to the failures of Ukrainian intelligence, where inept personnel changes initiated by the authorities before the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, including the dismissal of professionals such as the head of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense,

the constant change of leadership in the Special Operations Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, dubious appointments in the Security Service of Ukraine, and the intelligence committees that did not strengthen these agencies but instead unbalanced Ukraine's intelligence bodies, leading to the failure of many sensitive operations and, at times, the death and exposure of intelligence officers and operatives.

The author's credo, as a true patriot and professional who understands that withholding crucial information on the battlefield during war can border on crime and result in the loss of personnel, is reflected in West Point's golden rule adhered to by General Kryvonos: **"Do not lie, do not cheat, and do not remain silent when others do."** This well illustrates the entire spirit of the book, which highlights glaring facts and miscalculations of the authorities and the state in this bloody war. In each line of the book, the author's personal concern for the actions on the battlefield, in the rear, and on the international stage is palpable. The complete lack of preparation for the defense of southern Ukraine, the encirclement of Mariupol, the surrender of Melitopol and Kherson, the lack of preparation for the defense of Kyiv, Hostomel, Bucha, Irpin, inept actions of the authorities during the PR of battles in Bakhmut against the background of the absence of clear defense plans, protective structures, preparation of reserves, the deployment of Special Operations Forces units as assault infantry to plug gaps, the sending of unprepared Territorial Defense units into fierce battles, the lack of a general mobilization plan, and the transfer of the entire country to a military footing do not add to the credibility of the authorities and their leaders, which the author repeatedly notes.

All of General Kryvonos' predictions in this full-scale war since 2022 have come true. The "dodgers" from the President's Office constantly try to invent or create their special method of war management but eventually return to the author's advice, who consistently warned and advised on what to do both before and during the full-scale invasion. The result of such actions can be read on the pages of the book – it is the loss of time, human lives, and territories of Ukraine. The author provides practical advice on solving state problems and miscalculations in the defense industry. A systematic analysis of problems in the Ukrainian army at all levels, starting



You can buy the book by following the link:

<https://brightbooks.ua/zi-schytom-abo-na-schyti-pravda-pro-viynu>

from state management and management, the interference of MPs in the activities of the Commander-in-Chief and the blatant tarnishing of the image of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, misunderstandings, and in many cases, complete lack of communication between the Commander-in-Chief and the President. The problems of the state concern "Ukroboronprom," the state enterprise "Antonov," and the State Kyiv Design Bureau "Luch," its

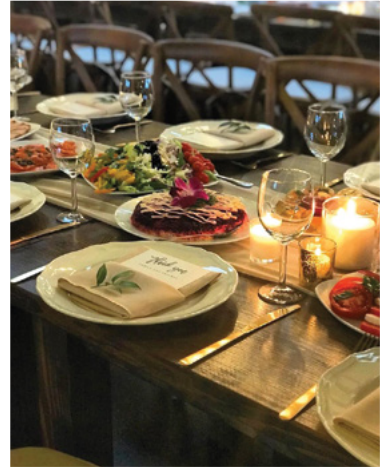
unsystematic work, miscalculations in work and delays in procurements of the Ministry of Defense, its newly created agencies, corruption, spending money on road construction instead of purchasing drones and shells, misunderstandings with Western partners and allies prove that General Kryvonos is deeply knowledgeable about military and state problems. Despite the accurate and appropriate criticism of the President, the Cabinet of Minis-



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ters, state enterprise leaders, and MPs, this cannot be seen as criticism for the sake of criticism. The author immediately gives sound and practical advice and mechanisms for solving these problems, showing how to counter these challenges, providing many examples of similar issues being resolved by our allies and partners, highlighting our domestic developments.

The book urges to awaken from the "lulling of the single marathon" of power, inept "predictions" and forecasts of "pseudo-experts with 33 combat missions in the rear." To soberly and pragmatically assess the state of the war and the prospects of future confrontation. To reflect and make one's own analysis of events on the front line, in the rear, about Ukraine's place

in the world. General Kryvonos provides enough material on the pages of the book for such reflections and considerations.

This war, as the author repeatedly emphasizes, proves that beyond all personnel problems and incompetence of the authorities in Ukraine, there is a real and powerful military and civilian cadre of experienced generals, staff leaders, and mid-level officers and commanders. The people of Ukraine and the volunteer movement are a mighty force that always stands to defend statehood and comes to help in difficult times, stands for the defense of independence and freedoms. The author emphasizes that Commander-in-Chief Valeriy Zaluzhny and his team, with the support of patriotic citizens, have proven to the

world that Ukrainians are tough nuts, that European and world values are not alien to them, and that we aspire to a civilized world.

For anyone seeking direct, objective information, wanting to understand the events that happened and are happening in this war, striving to change life for the better, join state reforms, participate in building a modern Ukraine, revive historical memory, consolidate society, strengthen and achieve victory for Ukraine – the book by General Serhiy Kryvonos will be relevant and essential for familiarization.

**"On this path, in glory and trials, the Ukrainian nation emerged, nourished and supported by centuries-old roots of statehood."**





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弁護士 垣貫 ジョン

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Fax 415-492-2012  
john@kakinukilaw.com  
www.kakinukilaw.com

1050 Northgate Dr, Ste 270  
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## EVENTS 2024

## JULY

Дд/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			

15 JULY

## DAY OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD, DAY OF BAPTISM OF KYIVAN RUS-UKRAINE

21 JULY

## "FOR CHILDREN OF UKRAINE" CHARITY EVENING | SAN FRANCISCO

**Hromada & PodiYaSound**

**Where:** Ukrainian Hall San Francisco, 110 Brussels St, San Francisco, CA 94134

**When:** Sunday, 5 PM – 8:30 PM

We invite you to a charity evening, the purpose of which is to raise funds for Ukrainian orphans.

Our guests of the evening, Orest and Hanna, are bringing us a wonderful musical program. Also, there will be an opportunity to participate in the auction with really valuable lots!

Your presence is an opportunity to continue financing the initiatives of the Community and its "Anhelyk" Foundation.

Let's join our efforts so that children's smiles shine on faces even in difficult times of war.

This assistance has been provided to Ukraine since 2018 and is extremely important.

The recommended donation is **\$65**. The ticket price includes a delicious snack, dessert, tea, coffee.

You can donate via the following link:

[https://www.paypal.com/donate/?cmd=\\_s-xclick&hosted\\_button\\_id=SAYBXMBOXBU7W](https://www.paypal.com/donate/?cmd=_s-xclick&hosted_button_id=SAYBXMBOXBU7W)

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1683258972498266>

## 11 AUGUST BAY AREA UKRAINIAN FEST 2024

**St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church**

**Where:** Sunnyvale Baylands Park, 999 East Caribbean Drive, Sunnyvale, 94089

**When:** Saturday, 11 AM – 5 PM

Join Us for the 11<sup>th</sup> Independence Day Picnic! The Biggest Ukrainian Picnic in the Bay Area!

- Live Ukrainian Music
- Entertainment for Kids & Family: Bouncy houses, Pinata, Soccer and Volleyball
- Traditional Ukrainian cuisine: Kovbasa, Varenyky and many other Ukrainian foods.
- Plenty of Parking

Exceptional Raffle sponsored by St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church

We're honored to kick off Independence Day Festivities on the 33<sup>rd</sup> Year Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine!

EARLY BIRD TICKETS ON SALE

UNTIL JULY 15<sup>th</sup> ONLY!

TICKETS GO UP TO \$50.00 AFTER JULY 15<sup>th</sup>!

Buy your Tickets Now! Tickets include Lunch, Concert, Vendors and Ukrainian Childrens Village!

Liturgy starts at 11:00! First lunch meal served at 12:30!

The Biggest Ukrainian Picnic in the Bay Area! Live Ukrainian Music,

Ukrainian Food, Kids & Family Fun & Best Raffle in the Bay!

**Tickets: \$5 to \$45**

<https://www.facebook.com/events/778349774419943/>

## 24 AUGUST UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION | LOS ANGELES

**Ukrainian Culture Center – UCC**

**Where:** Ukrainian Culture Center, 4315 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, CA

**When:** Saturday, 1 PM – 4 PM

You are invited to celebrate Ukrainian Independence Day with us at the Ukrainian Culture Center of LA.

80 years of dedication to Ukraine's culture and Independence presents:

Performances from Anatolii Matviichuk, Anychka, Kobzar Choir, Ridna Shkola, Chervona Kalyna, bandura artists and more.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1179951833044026/>

## 25 AUGUST BIKE FOR UKRAINE | SAN DIEGO

**House of Ukraine & Oleh Kernytsky**

**Where:** Embarcadero Marina Park South

**When:** Thursday, 7 AM

Celebrate 33 years of Ukraine's independence by participating in 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Bike The Bay, organized by San Diego Bike Association. It is San Diego's finest annual non-competitive bike ride with gravel loop option. Pedal across the San Diego – Coronado Bay Bridge and around the San Diego Bay. Wear an embroidered Ukrainian shirt, t-shirt with Ukrainian symbols and/or Ukrainian flag. Please register at

<https://www.bikethebay.net/>

<https://www.facebook.com/events/2113555042363308/>



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HANNA KOHANCHIK

## 29 AUGUST THMK | SAN FRANCISCO

### MoLoKo & THMK

**Where:** City Nights, 715 Harrison St,  
San Francisco, CA 94107

**When:** Thursday, 7 PM

We're preparing for charity concerts  
in the USA and Canada.

An explosive North American tour  
from the classics of Ukrainian hip-  
hop. Several generations have been  
listening to their albums for almost  
30 years. For the first time in 20 years,  
Fahot and Fozzey (LIVE performance)  
in the USA and Canada.

16 cities and 17 concerts – and  
at each one, we will be collecting  
donations to help Ukraine. This is  
the main goal. The charity tour is  
supported by the Main Intelligence of

the Ministry of Defense, and this time  
we are raising funds for one of the  
most powerful special units – 'Artan'.

No matter what, Goodness will  
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Your support and donations are  
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**Tickets: \$70 to \$85**

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at\\_0700PM](https://moloko.ticketleap.com/tmksf/dates/Aug-29-2024_at_0700PM)

[https://www.facebook.com/  
events/469435565658239/](https://www.facebook.com/events/469435565658239/)

## 1 SEPTEMBER UKRAINIAN FESTIVAL

## 2024 – LAWN PROGRAM | SAN DIEGO

### House of Ukraine

**Where:** House of Ukraine cottage,  
667 Pan American Rd W, San Diego,  
CA

**When:** Sunday, 11 AM – 5 PM

Treat yourself to potato and cheese  
varenyky with sour cream and fried  
onions, kovbasa, salads, sweet treats,  
watermelon and drinks (11:00 a.m. –  
4:00 p.m.).

Enjoy our lawn program (2:00 p.m.  
– 3:30 p.m.) featuring the Chervona  
Kalyna Dance Group (Los Angeles),  
U3Zub, Iaroslava Caracosa, Ridna  
Shkola students, and more.

[https://www.facebook.com/  
events/448409024785284/](https://www.facebook.com/events/448409024785284/)

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