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Zelenskyy's Peace Formula gains international momentum at Malta summit



Office of the President of Ukraine

Head of the Ukrainian Presidential Office Andriy Yermak (seventh from the right, facing camera) speaking at a Peace Formula summit held on October 28-29 in Malta.

by Roman Tymotsko

LVIV – A two-day summit focused on bringing a peaceful end to Russia's war on Ukraine was held in Malta on October 28-29 with representatives from 65 countries participating in the talks. The summit follows two similar previous meetings that were held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and Copenhagen, Denmark.

The most recent meeting took place in the ballroom of a Maltese hotel and was held behind closed doors. A list of delegates who attended the talks was not disclosed to the press, though Reuters reported that representatives of European, American, Arab, African and Asian countries did participate.

Russia did not take part in the talks and the country's officials criticized Malta for hosting the summit.

Maltese Foreign Affairs Minister Ian Borg said that Malta, although a neutral

country, "cannot but condemn the injustice, atrocities and abuse of power in the region [Ukraine]."

"Last year, I proposed a Peace Formula – 10 points cover all aspects of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. They are based on the principles of the U.N. [United Nations] Charter and the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly approved by the world. Over the past year, our Formula for Peace has gradually become global because all of you have supported it or at least shown an effective interest in working with it," Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said in his address to summit participants, according to a statement released the president's office.

"This formula has truly become a joint effort. The Peace Formula ensures the full force of the U.N. Charter to stop the aggression against our country and eliminate its

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As winter draws near, divided U.S. Congress debates additional military funding for Ukraine

Commander-in-chief Zaluzhnyi warns of stalemate if weapons supplies stop



Office of the President of Ukraine

A Ukrainian drone operator releases an unmanned aerial vehicle near the front line in Eastern Ukraine.

by Mark Raczkiewicz

CHICAGO – Two separate bills hang in the balance of the increasingly divided U.S. Congress that differ in funding for Ukraine as it fights an ongoing war launched by Russia. Those bills will be discussed now that the House of Representatives elected a new speaker.

The White House and Senate are moving forward with an aid bill that bundles assistance for Ukraine with border protection, whereas the new speaker of the House of Representatives, Mike Johnson, has proposed a separate package for Ukraine that isn't included in his Israel-only bill. Mr. Johnson has said he will prioritize a vote on

the latter that would provide Israel with a \$14.5 billion aid package.

The vote was scheduled for November 2 and the outcome wasn't known at the time The Ukrainian Weekly went to print.

"Separate aid for Ukraine doesn't mean commitment," said Andriy Futey, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, in reference to Mr. Johnson, who has previously voted against providing assistance to Kyiv during his tenure as a lawmaker.

The two competing bills, one by the House and the other by the Senate, coincide with a deadline of a potential government

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U.S. expands effort to choke Russia's supplies of military technology with new sanctions

RFE/RL

The U.S. Treasury Department imposed sanctions on November 2 on 130 entities and people from Turkey, China and the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.) that it says are providing Russia with technology and equipment from third countries needed to fight its war against Ukraine.

The sanctions also take aim at Russia's domestic industrial base, which the department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) said in a news release is "seeking to reinvent itself as the maintainer of Russia's war machine."

The Treasury Department said the sanc-

tion designations continue its efforts to "disrupt the networks and channels through which Russia attempts to sustain its beleaguered military."

In addition, the State Department imposed diplomatic sanctions targeting Russian energy production and its metals and mining sector.

Among the 130 designated for sanctions are Turkish national Berk Turken and two companies he owns, which OFAC said have been involved in enabling Russian intelligence services to procure technology for sanctioned Russian entities. Mr. Turken's network arranged payments and shipping details designed to "overcome sanctions

barriers" and move goods from Turkey to Russia, OFAC said.

One of Mr. Turken's two companies, Turken Digital, worked with the company TBS, based in Moscow, and Andrei Timoshin to arrange payment and shipping details, OFAC said. TBS is a technology company that provides testing systems for the microelectronic industry. OFAC said Russia's intelligence services have used TBS to enable payments and ship equipment on behalf of Russian customers.

A series of U.A.E.-based firms alleged to have shipped aviation equipment, machines for data reception, and other equipment were also sanctioned. In addition, the

U.A.E.-based ARX Financial Engineering was sanctioned for allegedly being involved in finding ways for Russian rubles to be sent from the sanctioned Russian VTB Bank and converted to U.S. dollars.

Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen said Russia "is dependent on willing third-country individuals and entities to resupply its military and perpetuate its heinous war against Ukraine and we will not hesitate in holding them accountable."

"Our global sanctions coalition has choked off Russia's access to key inputs for its military industrial complex and has

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Russia experiencing a new 'Afghan syndrome' with soldiers returning from Ukraine

by Vadim Shtepa
Eurasia Daily Monitor

At the end of last year, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu announced that 300,000 military-age men had been drafted into the Russian army following President Vladimir Putin's declaration of a "partial mobilization" (RBC, October 28, 2022). Official data on how many of these recruits have died and how many have returned home once their contracts expired has been kept a state secret. In September, however, independent journalists identified the names of more than 33,000 Russian military personnel who have died since the start of the war (BBC News Russian, September 29). Such reports bring back memories of the heavy Russian losses in the Afghan war (1979-1989). The main difference here, however, is that Russian losses in Afghanistan happened over almost a decade, while the over 33,000 Russian casualties already identified in Ukraine happened over only 18 months of fighting.

According to investigators of the September report, their presented figure is far from complete. This number, nevertheless, is already double the official tally of Soviet casualties in Afghanistan, where the 10-year invasion killed about 15,000 of the 500,000 troops who served there. Widespread reports of "Afghan syndrome" after that war appeared in the Russian media throughout the era of perestroika (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, June 18). This was the popular definition at the time for what psychologists today call

"post-traumatic stress disorder," which is typical for those who have experienced war. If veterans are unable to integrate into a peaceful life back home, they often fall into a severe depression or bring the violent methods of war to their communities. In the 1990s, many veterans of the Afghan war ended up as members of criminal gangs.

With the war in Ukraine, this phenomenon has returned to Russia. In December 2022, Federation Council Speaker Valentina Matviyenko declared that Russia will not allow the repetition of Afghan syndrome and will make concerted efforts to reintegrate dismissed military personnel back into civilian life (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, December 21, 2022). Symptoms of Afghan syndrome, however, will manifest themselves regardless of Moscow's wishes (FreeNews-Volga.ru, December 2, 2022). The current situation has been aggravated by such notions as the veterans of the war in Ukraine are very different from the veterans of the Afghan war. Back then, young, inexperienced conscripts were sent to Afghanistan. Today, those Russians who already have a criminal background are being actively recruited to fight in Ukraine. For example, the late Yevgeny Prigozhin was authorized to offer "amnesty" to those serving prison sentences for violent crimes if they agreed to sign and complete service contracts with the Wagner Group. Before his failed mutiny, Mr. Prigozhin reported that 32,000 former prisoners had returned

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Russia continues to forcibly recruit prisoners and migrant workers for war in Ukraine

Part I

by Sergey Sukhankin
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Russia's war against Ukraine has taken an unpleasant turn for Moscow. Instead of a speedy, triumphant victory, the Russian Armed Forces are effectively wasting human and material resources in the battle for Avdiyivka (Ukrinform, October 28). Three factors are pushing the Russian side to continue the forcible recruitment of prisoners and migrant workers for its war on Ukraine. These include an unwillingness to expend well-trained regular troops, the desire to wear down Ukraine's defensive potential, and the lack of resolve to launch a new wave of mobilization before 2024. Official Russian data confirms that prisoners are "disappearing" in large numbers. In total, 33,000 men have disappeared in 35 regions, with Samara, Chelyabinsk and Kirov oblasts leading the pack (Current Time TV, April 20). According to Russian Deputy Justice Minister Vsevolod Vukolov, the Russian prison population has now plummeted to a historic low of about 266,000, meaning that up to 54,000 prisoners may have been recruited to fight in Ukraine (Rus.azattyq.org, October 7).

At least in the short-term, Russia will continue to use both prisoners and labor migrants to shore up manpower shortages in Ukraine. Moscow is heavily reliant on three main groups to reinforce its regular forces. First, male prisoners constitute the

largest share of those being forced into taking part in the war. Information from Russian prisons and related sources suggests that, in the past several months, Russian officials have increased pressure on prisoners, urging them to sign contracts with the Ministry of Defense (MoD) (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, September 28). Recruitment efforts are being jointly conducted by representatives of the MoD and local administrators who directly threaten prisoners with "consequences" if their proposals are rejected. These prisoners experience both physical and mental pressure if they refuse to sign contracts (Gulagu.net, October 20).

This tactic will continue to play a central role in the recruitment of prisoners, though it has limits. Heavy losses in Ukraine and a high number of military-age men fleeing the "partial mobilization" last year mean that a relatively limited number of able-bodied young men who can perform military service are left in the country, including in Russia's prisons. Prison labor has also attracted the attention of Russia's state corporations, which have their own plans to integrate this cheap resource into their operations (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 23).

Second, Moscow is recruiting female prisoners in higher numbers. According to Olga Romanova, a Russian human rights activist and the founder of Russia Behind Bars, Russian officials are conducting a

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NEWSBRIEFS

Funding will pass divided Congress

A top U.S. diplomat says the Biden administration's plans to provide assistance to both Israel and Ukraine will pass in a divided Congress despite opposition from Republicans who say the aid packages should be considered separately. U.S. Undersecretary of State Liz Allen told RFE/RL in an interview on November 1 that it's critically important that the United States stand with Ukraine – alongside its allies and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – at the same time it sends aid to Israel, which would be used in part to fund humanitarian aid to Palestinians in Gaza. Speaking at RFE/RL in Prague, Ms. Allen noted that Secretary of State Antony Blinken and Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin testified the day before at a Senate committee to make "the very affirmative case for why we do need more funding for Ukraine alongside funding needs to resource Israel to defend itself." Their testimony was part of the Biden administration's efforts to convince Congress to pass a nearly \$106 billion supplemental funding request that includes aid for both Israel and Ukraine. The new speaker of the House, Rep. Mike Johnson (R-La.), has said the aid must be considered separately in order to pass in the House of Representatives. Asked whether the Biden administration can win the political fight over the funding, Ms. Allen said, "We can. We will continue to make the case." Mr. Johnson reportedly spoke about the aid packages with fellow Republicans in the Senate on November 1, telling them that Ukraine needs U.S. aid, but there is no way President Joe Biden's request for aid for both countries in one bill could pass the House. In a closed-door meeting, Mr. Johnson said that a fresh Ukraine aid package linked to U.S. border security would come up quickly in the House after lawmakers wrap up action on \$14.5 billion in aid to Israel. Senate Democrats remain skeptical of the approach, saying that separating the aid packages would face stiff opposition in the upper chamber where they hold power. Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) said that the House's decoupling of the funding was "a joke." The House bill cur-

rently under consideration would require that the \$14.5 billion for Israel be offset with spending cuts elsewhere – namely, the Internal Revenue Service, which received bulked-up funding last year to go after tax cheats. The Congressional Budget Office said on November 1 that the House's bill would end up costing the federal government \$12.5 billion because of the reduction in tax revenues. Ms. Allen noted that the White House and the Office of Management and Budget also have rejected separating the two aid packages and their assessments made clear that this "is not a solution to the very real geopolitical realities in the world right now." Ms. Allen's current tour of Europe included a stop in Varna, Bulgaria, on October 31 for talks with the Bulgarian military about security, the NATO alliance in the region, and the importance of bolstering the security presence in the Black Sea "not just to forestall further Russian aggression, but also to push back against its coercive actions in the region." She said the region must remember that there are "global consequences" to Russia's aggression, including a global food security crisis caused by Russia's invasion, which has reduced the flow of Ukrainian grains and other foodstuff on the Black Sea to many other parts of the world. "So, part of what we will do is continue to make sure that people understand the implications, and that we are working toward a whole-of-society approach to mitigate Russia's actions in Ukraine," she said. (RFE/RL, with reporting by AP)

Top U.S. officials urge Congress to approve aid

U.S. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin and Secretary of State Antony Blinken have urged Congress to send aid to Israel and Ukraine immediately, arguing that broad support from U.S. lawmakers for the assistance would signal strength to adversaries worldwide. Messrs. Austin and Blinken testified on October 31 before the Senate Appropriations Committee as Congress considers President Joe Biden's request for \$105 billion in emergency aid to fund ambitious plans for Ukraine, Israel and U.S. border security. Messrs. Blinken and Austin

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Global snack maker Mondelez in Chicago called out for ‘war profiteering’

by Mark Raczkiewicz

CHICAGO – The U.S.’s biggest Ukrainian advocacy group, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), staged a protest to call a boycott of staple goods maker Mondelez for its ongoing presence in the Russian market in a war that is entering its ninth year.

Downtown Chicago’s iconic Water Tower was the setting where dozens of protesters assembled on October 29 to call on the multinational snack maker of such products as Chips Ahoy and Oreo cookies to exit the market where last year it paid \$61 million to Kremlin coffers.

The company operates three factories in Russia where its yearly 2021-2022 revenue spiked from \$928 million to \$1.34 billion.

“Stop the flow of money to the Russian [state] budget,” Mariya Dmytriv, president of the Illinois Division of UCCA, said at the rally.

The money Mondelez pays, said UCCA Illinois Division vice president Ihor Diaczhun, “goes to feed [Russian leader Vladimir] Putin’s war against Ukraine.”

He said the UCCA is “calling on a boy-



Mark Raczkiewicz

A protester at Chicago’s Water Tower in the city’s downtown holds a sign on October 29 that accuses Mondelez of war profiteering.

cott of Mondelez products,” which also include Milka and Toblerone chocolates, Halls cough drops and Philadelphia



Mark Raczkiewicz

Protesters start to gather at the Water Tower in downtown Chicago on October 29 to call for a boycott of Mondelez products.

cream cheese.

Mondelez didn’t respond to emails and phone calls requesting comment on the

issue. Employees exiting the food processor’s headquarters in the Fulton Market area of Chicago refrained from commenting on November 1 as they were escorted by private security personnel to their vehicles.

A Yale University project in New Jersey that monitors foreign company activity in Russia says that another candy maker, Nestle, hasn’t exited the market, although coffee maker Starbucks and quick service hamburger cook McDonald’s have.

On a school rating system with grades ranging from A to F, the Yale University project gave Mondelez a D for only “scaling back [on] unspecified non-essential activities” in Russia.

U.S.-based agricultural giant Cargill and Illinois-based healthcare provider Abbott



www.mondelezinternational.com

A visual image shows the multitude of products that Mondelez sells worldwide.



Mark Raczkiewicz

The sign of Mondelez at its headquarters as seen on November 1 in the Fulton Market area of Chicago.

(Continued on page 12)

‘We need something new’: Ukraine battlefield ‘complex,’ as Zaluzhnyi warns of stalemate

RFE/RL’s Ukrainian Service

The operational situation in the east and south of Ukraine “remains complex,” the Ukrainian military said on November 1, as the commander of Ukrainian forces said the war is moving into a new phase that puts the opposing forces into a stalemate.

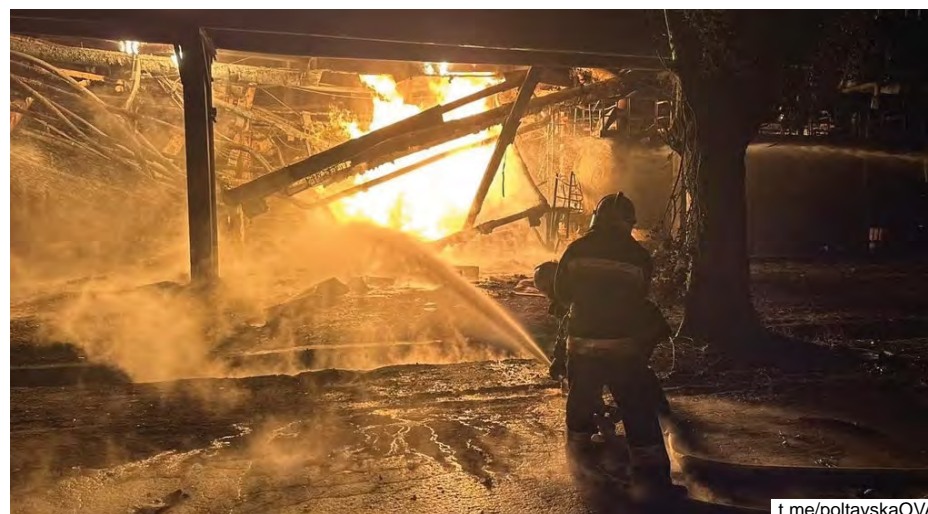
The General Staff of the Armed Forces said in its evening briefing that 43 combat clashes took place across the front line during the day. In addition, the enemy launched four rocket and 59 air strikes and 36 attacks from rocket salvo systems on positions of Ukrainian troops and populated areas.

In addition, Russian forces launched three Kh-59 guided air missiles and 20 Shahed drones. The General Staff said air-defense forces destroyed all three missiles and 18 of the drones.

“Private residential buildings and other civilian infrastructure were destroyed and damaged. Unfortunately, there are wounded among the civilian population,” the General Staff’s evening summary said.

According to the General Staff, the Ukrainian military repelled attacks by Russian forces in areas around Kupyansk, Bakhmut, Avdiyivka, Marinsk and Shakh-tarsk.

Pavlo Dyachenko, a spokesman for the Main Directorate of the National Police in the Donetsk region, said that civilians were being taken out of Avdiyivka, which is under massive shelling by Russian troops.



t.me/poltavskaOVA

A Ukrainian firefighter battles a blaze at an oil refinery in Kremenchuk on November 1.

“If we take Avdiyivka specifically, people are leaving both from the city itself and from nearby settlements. Evacuation takes place every day. The shelling does not abate,” he said, adding that the Russian forces “use everything they can,” including rocket salvo systems, artillery, mortars and aviation.

The vast majority of civilians who remain in the city live in basements, he said.

Vitaliy Barabash, head of Avdiyivka’s military administration, said on October 31 that Avdiyivka is bracing for a new wave of attacks.

“The enemy is bringing in forces and equipment. Our boys are preparing for a new wave,” Ms. Barabash told national tele-

vision.

Ukrainian General Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, in an article published on November 1, spoke of a new phase of the war involving positional warfare and attritional fighting.

“Just like in the First World War, we have reached the level of technology that puts us into a stalemate,” Mr. Zaluzhnyi said in comments published by The Economist.

The general concluded that it would take a massive technological leap to break the deadlock and said there likely will be no such breakthrough.

“The simple fact is that we see everything the enemy is doing, and they see everything we are doing,” he said. “In order for us to break this deadlock, we need

something new.”

He argued that the Ukrainian military needs innovations in drones, electronic warfare, anti-artillery capabilities and demining equipment, including new robotic solutions.

“We need to ride the power embedded in new technologies,” he said.

He also called for Ukraine to build up its army reserves and expand the categories of Ukrainian citizens who can be called up for training or be mobilized.

The Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry said earlier on November 1 that 118 cities and villages were shelled by Russia on October 31, the largest number of settlements to come under attack this year. The shelling was recorded in 10 Ukrainian regions.

The ministry reported that an oil refinery in Kremenchuk, a city in the central Poltava region, was targeted by the Russian military, requiring nearly 100 firefighters to extinguish the ensuing blaze. No casualties were reported.

One person was reported killed and another injured as a result of overnight shelling in the northeastern Kharkiv region, according to the ministry.

In the eastern Donetsk region, one person was reported killed due to shelling by Russian forces.

Heavy shelling was reported in the southern Kherson region, resulting in two injuries and one death.

(With reporting by The Economist)

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Stories of resilience during a return to wartime Ukraine

by Austin Malloy
RFE/RL

KYIV – I was playing flag football with a group of teenagers when the air-raid siren blasted. My instinct was to run, but the kids were walking. They'd experienced it many times before, but for me this was new.

I spent nearly four years living in Ukraine as a journalist before leaving in January 2022, just weeks before Russia launched its full-scale invasion.

Now, I was back.

Much had changed. When I was preparing to leave the country, Kyiv was filled with speculation: Would Russia attack or wouldn't it? Now, here I was, with a war-weary 12-year-old named Polyna.

I had returned to Ukraine to report on three stories. The first was flag football.

Football for freedom

When the International Olympic Committee (IOC) recently added flag football to the 2028 Los Angeles games, they probably weren't thinking about the impact that decision would have on the Vinnytsya Wolves, a small club team some

155 miles southwest of Kyiv.

For Wolves head coach Yevhen Khomyn, the chance to represent Ukraine at the Olympics has helped fuel his passion for developing the sport at the grassroots level. It's a lucky break for the 36-year-old coach, who recently left his job in IT and then dedicated himself to promoting flag football in Ukraine. He tells me that's been his "dream since childhood."

He also tells me how difficult it was to watch his wife and two young sons leave for Romania during the first days of this war, not knowing when he'd see them again. And then there's the volunteer weapons training he attends every week in case "it will be necessary to protect our city or our country," he says.

With his days as a civilian possibly numbered, Mr. Khomyn is laser-focused on chasing his dream. It's one reason why he reopened youth practices and started to recruit new players amid the hardships of Russia's ongoing assault on the country. His practices not only show local boys and girls a new game, but also give them a chance to "be like champions," says Mr. Khomyn.

As a former football player, I get Mr.



Austin Malloy, RFE/RL

RFE/RL's Austin Malloy (left) films a football drill at the Vinnytsya Wolves youth clinic.

Khomyn's love of the game. But I have no idea what the pain of nearly losing everything must feel like. It's a pain most every Ukrainian must feel, though few seem to ever talk about it.

While the Vinnytsya native hopes his youth practices of today could be laying the foundation for a future Olympic medal, he

knows that football glory is not the priority in wartime Ukraine.

"[The kids] should have a place where they feel safe," he says.

For the young players living through a constant threat of Russian aerial attacks, weekly training gives them a chance to have a childhood.

"They think that they are alone in the world," says Mr. Khomyn, "but when you're part of the team, you're feeling like you're part of something bigger."

He believes this is especially important for the dozen or so children from displaced families who joined the team earlier this year.

"Let's throw the ball," 12-year-old Polyna Bezkorovayna, a new Wolves player who fled her home in the Zaporizhia region as Russian forces invaded, says to me. It's the third time she's asked me today.

With her father at the front line and her mother working in Poland to make ends meet, Polyna now lives in Vinnytsya with her aunt. She's surprisingly cheerful given the circumstances. All she wants to do is play.

Polyna teaches me how to put on the belt with flags before running pass routes she learned earlier in the day. She catches throw after throw with ease. She's a natural.

We are about to run another play when air-raid sirens sound the alarm ahead of a Russian attack. Around 50 players and coaches head for shelter.

"I think the sirens will stop in 20 minutes, like always," Polyna says as she clears the field. "I'll be back when they finish," she adds before heading to an empty apartment to wait out a possible Russian missile strike alone.

Fortunately, Vinnytsya was not hit. Twenty minutes later, the players and coaches return to practice. Polyna and I resume

(Continued on page 10)

FOR THE RECORD

U.S. announces additional 'sweeping' measures against Russia

The following statement was released by the U.S. State Department on November 2. It was attributed to U.S. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken.

Today, the United States is imposing further sanctions on over 200 individuals and entities in connection with Russia's war against Ukraine.

The Department of State is imposing sanctions on over 90 entities and individuals engaged in sanctions evasion and those complicit in furthering Russia's ability to wage its war against Ukraine. Our

actions today also target Russia's future energy capabilities, which will limit Moscow's ability to funnel future revenues toward its destructive aims.

Concurrently, the Department of the Treasury is imposing further sanctions on multiple networks used by Russia to circumvent our existing sanctions. The Treasury Department is also designating key manufacturing and other firms supporting Russia's industrial base, as well as additional Russian financial institutions. The Department of Commerce is also adding 13 names to the Entity List.

The United States and its allies and partners are united in our continued support of Ukraine. We will continue to use the tools at our disposal to raise the cost for Russia of waging this war and promote accountability for its atrocities and abuses in Ukraine.

For more information on today's action, please see the Department of State's fact sheet [<https://www.state.gov/taking-additional-sweeping-measures-against-russia/>], the Department of the Treasury's press release [<https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy1871>], and the Department of Commerce's press release.

U.S. releases statement on Russia's planned withdrawal of its CTBT ratification

The following statement was released by the U.S. State Department on November 2. It was attributed to U.S. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken.

We are deeply concerned by Russia's planned action to withdraw its ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). Unfortunately, it represents a significant step in the wrong direction, taking us further from, not closer to, entry into force. Russia's action will only

serve to set back confidence in the international arms control regime. We appreciate the similar statements of concern expressed by many other states in recent weeks about this action.

We will continue to emphasize the irresponsibility of Russia's recent rhetoric regarding nuclear weapon explosive testing and the CTBT. This continues Moscow's disturbing and misguided effort to heighten nuclear risks and raise tensions as it pursues its illegal war against Ukraine.

Russian officials say Russia's planned move to withdraw its ratification does not mean that it will resume testing, and we urge Moscow to hold to those statements. The United States remains committed to achieving the entry into force of the CTBT, and we reiterate our commitment to our zero-yield nuclear explosive testing moratorium, which has been in place for 30 years. It is essential that we preserve the global norm against nuclear explosive testing.

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: September 2023

Amount	Name	City	State
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\$120.00	Polishchuk, Serge	Jersey City	NJ
\$105.00	Kashuba, Ostap	Chicago	IL
\$100.00	Grabsky French, Ola	Parma	OH
	Hucal, H	Oxnard	CA
	Kondratiuk, Bg Leonid	Belmont	MA
	Lytwyn, Ted	Short Hills	NJ
	Riszko, John	Orchard Park	NY
\$55.00	Breslawec, Halyna	Potomac	MD
\$50.00	Szafanski, Joseph	West Bloomfield	MI
	Vena, Tanya	West Orange	NJ
\$40.00	Dziwak, Walter	Lake Hiawatha	NJ
	Sikorskyj, Lesia	Union	NJ
\$35.00	Dubno, Luba	New Haven	CT
\$25.00	Harhaj, Bohdan & Maria	Howell	NJ
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	Murskyj, L	Troy	MI
	Nebesny, Michael	Clinton	IN
	Obuch, Nina	Simi Valley	CA
\$20.00	Heltsley, Myra	Escondido	CA
	Paslowsky, Helen	North Brunswick	NJ
\$15.00	Bejger, Bohdan	Buffalo	NY
	Cehelska, Luba	University Hts	OH
	Maksymonko, G	Springfield	VA
	Stanko, G	Basking Ridge	NJ
	Tkacz, Virlana	New York	NY
\$10.00	Gebet, Gary	El Cajon	CA
	Terkun, Walter	Chantilly	VA
	Truchly, Lida	Chicago	IL
\$5.00	Movchan-Novak, Ola	Warren	MI
	Pakula, Lida	Dearborn	MI

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Ukraine's counteroffensive isn't going as well as many had hoped. The prognosis isn't great either.

by Mike Eckel
RFE/RL

In the obliterated eastern industrial city of Avdiivka, Ukrainian troops are trying to avoid being encircled by a multipronged Russian offensive – the largest single coordinated effort since Moscow launched its full-scale invasion in February 2022.

About 311 miles to the southwest, something else is happening: The Ukrainians are crossing the Dnipro River.

For nearly two weeks now, at a location along the marshy wetlands along the east bank of the river, Ukrainian marine infantry and other units have been holding out against assaults from Russian paratroopers and frequent poundings from fighter jets and artillery. A closely watched Russian war blogger this week reported a second Ukrainian bridgehead, further upriver.

It's far from clear whether the effort will succeed; river crossings are complicated and dangerous for even the best-equipped armies. Ukrainian forces will have to move more troops and heavier armored equipment across the water if there's to be any hope of opening a major new front against Russian troops, experts said.

At best, the river crossing is a glimmer of good news as Ukraine's larger counteroffensive, launched at the beginning of June, bogs down against formidable Russian defenses – and soon, wet, winter weather. At worst, it's a sign of desperation, a last gasp in a push that has fallen short of the goal of cutting through a Russian-held corridor and reaching the Sea of Azov.

"Russian defenses are now deep, well-prepared, and backed with significant reserves, whereas Ukraine is now fighting mostly with forces raised since the 2022 invasion and which have never had the luxury of time to train properly at brigade level and above," said Stephen Biddle, an adviser to U.S. Gen. David Petraeus during the Iraq War and now a professor of international relations at Columbia University.

"This combination is not propitious for quick offensive success," he said.

Russia strikes back

In the southern Zaporizhia region, one of the three locations that Ukraine focused on when it launched its long-anticipated counteroffensive in June, Ukrainian troops used Western-supplied weaponry – Leopard tanks, Bradley armored vehicles, Marder infantry vehicles – to try and punch through Russian defenses: a series of trenches, anti-tank obstacles and mine fields collectively known as the Surovikin Line.

The effort fell short, and much Western equipment was damaged or destroyed.

After breaching one or two sections of the defenses in September south of the Zaporizhia town of Orikhiv, Ukrainian troops have not gone much further. Kyiv's forces "advanced an average of only 90 meters per day on the southern front during the peak of their summer offensive," the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies said.

However, it added, "Slow progress on the southern front does not mean that Ukraine is failing or will fail in its objectives."

Still, the slow progress presents a major challenge for the Ukrainian military, as well as political leaders.

"The lack of a breakthrough in Ukraine's summer offensive and the shift in material advantage [toward Russia] mean that Kyiv must fight carefully if it is to retain the initiative," the Royal United Service Institute, a London research organization, said in a report last month.

'Give it a go'

In the Kherson region last year, Ukrainian troops ratcheted up pressure on Russian brigades that had defended the western banks of the Dnipro, which Russia had controlled since the early weeks of the invasion.

In November 2022, after months of attack, Russian forces withdrew to the opposite bank. There, they built fortifications and lobbed rockets and missiles into the city of Kherson, terrorizing civilians and pounding Ukrainian positions.

Ukraine began sending small units across the river and its delta in the weeks following; commandos staged small attacks on the Kinburn Spit, at the mouth of the Dnipro, but have been unable to dislodge Russian forces there.

After a major Dnipro dam at Nova Kakhovka that had been under Russian control was destroyed in June, thousands of hectares downstream were flooded, simultaneously complicating both Ukraine's advances and Russian defenses.

On October 18, Russian war bloggers reported that troops from Ukraine's 35th and 36th Marine Infantry Brigades had crossed the Dnipro, about 5 miles upriver from the now-destroyed Antonivskiy Bridge in Kherson. One report said units reached the village of Pishchanivka, about 1 mile southeast of the riverbank.

Russia's Defense Ministry later appeared to corroborate the reports of a river crossing.

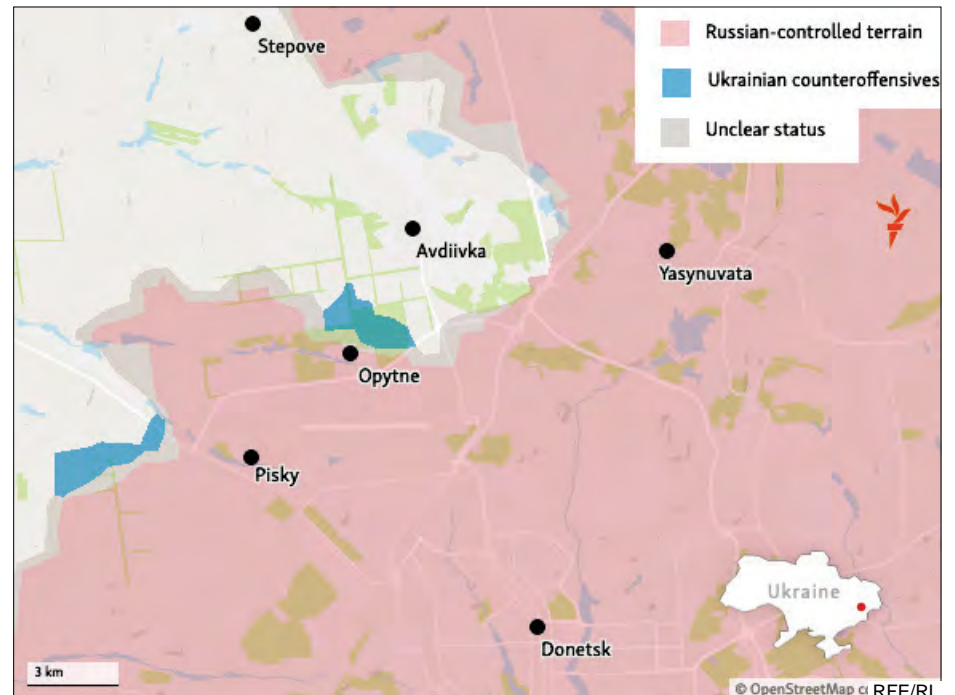
On October 30, meanwhile, Rybar, a Telegram channel linked to a former Russian Defense Ministry press officer, said Ukrainian troops had entered the village of Krynky, about 12 miles upriver from Pishchanivka.

Ukrainian forces "managed to gain a foothold: the village center is being held by several dozen members of Ukrainian units. Sweeping the settlement [of Ukrainian forces] is complicated by the heavy fire of enemy artillery and enemy electronic warfare operations," the channel said.

There was no independent confirmation of the report, though Ukrainian emergency officials reported that Krynky was under aerial bombardment overnight.

"The fact that they have been able to successfully cross the river and establish two or three bridgeheads is a significant achievement and shows that the Russians are having issues dealing with the array of consecutive operations in the northeast, east and south of the country at the moment," said Mick Ryan, a retired Australian Army major general who has written extensively on the war in Ukraine.

"That said, it is still early days and it remains unclear whether this is a demonstration to draw Russians away from [fight-



A map shows the location of Russian and Ukrainian troops around Avdiivka, a town in the far east of Ukraine.

ing] further to the east or is a significant operation in its own right. My sense is the Ukrainians have decided to 'give it a go and see what opportunities might fall their way,'" he told RFE/RL.

In the east, Russian troops launched attacks from two separate directions on Avdiivka on October 10. Heavily fortified and home to Ukraine's largest coking plant, the city had been in Ukrainian control since 2014, giving its troops the ability to threaten road and rail lines to the east and southeast, toward the major city of Donetsk.

Initially, Russian troops suffered heavy losses; the White House last week claimed at least 125 Russian armored vehicles and more than a battalion's worth of equipment had been destroyed around Avdiivka. The Washington-based Institute for the Study of War estimated that Russia had lost hundreds of men and more than 100 armored vehicles and tanks.

'A substantial cost'

Russia has upped the ante, seizing several positions north and south of the city and adding to growing fears of a "cauldron" – an encirclement of Ukraine's troops. In recent days, Ukraine reportedly redeployed units from its 47th Mechanized Brigade – one of the more experienced and better-equipped units – from the front lines near Orikhiv to Avdiivka, a possible indication that Ukrainian commanders feared a collapse of their lines.

"There's a political decision, a political order to capture this city in the near future, and ... I think there will be serious military operations using all with the forces they have there; they're also bringing in

reserves there," Oleksiy Hetman, a Ukrainian military analyst, told RFE/RL's Donbas.Realities.

The assault on Avdiivka may also be an indication that Russia believed Ukraine's counteroffensive was petering out and its forces could seize the initiative, Mr. Ryan said.

"The Russians clearly thought that it was a weak point in the Ukrainian line, and ... had a sense that the Ukrainians were close to culminating [the counteroffensive] and this might be an opportunity to test that hypothesis," he said. "I think the Russians have found that the Ukrainians have not yet culminated and have units and effort in reserve able to deal with it."

More than a week later, Russian forces expanded the effort and began trying to advance at five or six other locations along the section of the 745-mile front line that runs through the Donbas – the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

That includes places like Bakhmut, a Donetsk region city that Russia captured, with massive casualties, in May after months of pulverizing street combat. Further to the north, Russian forces are also targeting Kupiansk, on the Oskil River in the Kharkiv region; Ukrainian troops captured the city amid a surprise offensive last year.

"The odds of a Russian breakthrough [e.g. at Avdiivka] aren't much higher," Mr. Biddle told RFE/RL in an e-mail. "If they pour enough resources into this fight, they can probably take the town, as they did at Bakhmut."

"And if the Ukrainians try to hold out too

(Continued on page 17)

FOR THE RECORD

U.S. issues statement on International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists

The following statement was released by the U.S. State Department on November 2. It was attributed to State Department spokesperson Matthew Miller.

More than 350 journalists have been killed since the U.N. [United Nations] General Assembly established the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists in December 2014, according to data from the Committee to Protect Journalists. Today, we reaffirm our commitment to ending impunity for crimes against journalists,

and we call on the global community to unite in holding accountable those who direct and perpetrate violence, harassment and intimidation against media workers. The United States is committed to continued partnership with the Media Freedom Coalition and our partners in the global human rights community to promote accountability for those who carry out violence against journalists simply for doing their jobs.

Corruption and abuse of power thrive where the free and independent press is suppressed. Violence, spurious deten-

tions, harassment and acts of intimidation against media workers carry a tangible harm to both the individual and to society at large. Combatting impunity for violence against journalists is a key line of effort under the Department's Journalism Protection Platform, announced at the first Summit for Democracy. We call on governments globally to bring to justice those responsible for crimes against journalists, so that they may continue their important work shining the light of truth free from fear of violence or harassment.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Time for our own counteroffensive

As the world grapples with an array of geopolitical challenges, the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States finds itself at a crucial crossroads. Now more than ever, our collective voice and advocacy are essential in ensuring the continued flow of U.S. aid to Ukraine.

Since the annexation of Crimea and the invasion of the Donbas in eastern Ukraine by Russia in 2014, the United States has sought to support Ukraine in various ways, including by providing military assistance, economic aid and political solidarity. Yet, this support is far from guaranteed in the ever-shifting landscape of U.S. politics, and it now faces its greatest threat.

The Ukrainian diaspora in the United States holds a unique position as a bridge between our two nations. Our cultural and historical ties to Ukraine, coupled with our status as American citizens, grant us the power to have a significant influence on U.S. policy decisions. By lobbying the U.S. Congress for continued Ukraine aid, we can ensure that the international community – led by the United States – maintains its commitment to a free and independent Ukraine.

The need for continued U.S. aid is multifaceted, but two crucial points are paramount. First, Ukraine remains locked in a conflict that demands ongoing assistance. In fact, U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin said during testimony before members of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee on October 32 that, “If Putin is successful, he will not stop at Ukraine. If you’re a Baltic state, you’re thinking you’re next, and there’s no question in my mind that sooner or later, he will challenge NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and we’ll [the United States] find ourselves in a shooting war” with U.S. troops on the ground.

Second, continued U.S. aid supports Ukraine’s economic and political reforms. It bolsters Ukraine’s ability to combat corruption, enhance the rule of law and foster a more transparent and accountable government. These reforms are not only vital for Ukraine’s stability and prosperity but they also align with U.S. interests in promoting democracy and good governance worldwide.

The Ukrainian diaspora’s role in lobbying for aid is not just an act of solidarity but also a strategic investment in a more stable and secure world. The global order is underpinned by principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination, all of which have been flagrantly violated repeatedly by Russia in Ukraine. By standing up for Ukraine’s right to determine its own destiny, the Ukrainian diaspora contributes to a world where these principles are upheld.

Moreover, U.S. support for Ukraine sends a clear message to other nations facing external threats. It demonstrates that the international community stands against aggression and expansionism, offering a powerful deterrent to further acts of aggression. This solidarity benefits the U.S. and its allies by helping to maintain the integrity of the rules-based international order.

In addition to these strategic considerations, the Ukrainian diaspora’s advocacy for continued aid is a reflection of the strong and enduring ties between the United States and Ukraine. Many if not most of us have personal connections to Ukraine, and our efforts are a testament to the enduring spirit of solidarity and shared values.

The need for us to lobby the U.S. Congress for continued aid to Ukraine cannot be overstated. As Andriy Futey, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, put it during an interview with *The Ukrainian Weekly*, it is essential that we “go on the offensive” and urge our political representatives, whether at the local or national level, to stand by Ukraine. The time has come for our diaspora to launch its own lobbying counteroffensive against the growing sentiment to abandon aid to Ukraine.

Nov.
3
2020

Turning the pages back...

Three years ago, on November 3, 2020, Victoria Spartz made history as the first Ukrainian-born person to be elected to the U.S. Congress. Rep.-elect Spartz, representing the 5th district of Indiana, was congratulated on her election victory by Andriy Futey, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, in a Facebook post.

“She hails from the town of Nosivka, Chernihiv Oblast, and has lived in Indiana since 2000,” Mr. Futey wrote. “We wish her much success and look forward to building a strong working relationship with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the entire Ukrainian American community.”

Rep. Spartz, who previously served as a state senator (appointed in 2017 after her predecessor resigned), won by a 4 percent margin against Christian Hale, and the Ukrainian won every county in the district except for Marion County.

Rep.-elect Spartz also became the first naturalized citizen to represent Indiana in the U.S. House of Representatives. She immigrated to the U.S. in 2000 at age 22, and became a U.S. citizen in 2006.

Her campaign, which ran on the Republican ticket, promoted the slogan, “Less government. More freedom.” Rep.-elect Spartz, following her victory, said, “I am so honored and humbled by the trust the people of Indiana’s 5th district have placed in me. This has been a long, tough campaign and I look forward to uniting Hoosiers around real solutions and serving every resident of Indiana’s 5th district by ensuring we have the right policies for a strong economy, good schools, affordable health care and a great quality of life.”

The Ukrainian Weekly’s editorial underscored the UCCA’s hope that “more promising, civic-minded Ukrainian Americans will run for office.”

Rep. Spartz announced this year that she would not be seeking reelection in 2024.

Source: “The first Ukrainian-born member of Congress,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 15, 2020.

Ukraine and the Global South: Putin’s two-front war against the West

Part I

by Vladimir Socor
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Addressing an expanded session of the Russian Security Council on October 30, President Vladimir Putin outlined a new concept for the struggle against the West (Kremlin.ru, October 30). Putin is seeking to enlist the Global South (not his term) into this struggle alongside Russia. The main novelties are: first, positioning Russia itself at the forefront of anti-Western forces, called upon to reshape the world order; and, second, merging Russia’s war against Ukraine and its hybrid war against the West into a single theater of conflict with intercontinental dimensions.

Putin tied his speech to the fighting between Hamas and Israel, ongoing since October 7. He used this context to enflame grievances against Western “neocolonialism,” directly aligning Russia with the presumably aggrieved. He portrays Russia’s war in Ukraine as not only a Russian cause but also a selfless, heroic effort on behalf of rising anti-Western forces in the world.

The Kremlin’s advisory apparatus and propaganda machine have only started elaborating on the themes Putin outlined in the speech (analyzed below). Its ramifications will undoubtedly extend to U.S. and European policies toward Russia, diplomacy surrounding the war in Ukraine, the Kremlin’s recruitment of allies in the Global South, the impact on Russia-watchers in the West, the response by traditional Russian nationalists, and Moscow’s handling of Muslim subjects in the North Caucasus. Based on the Russian president’s remarks, the following themes should be expected to emerge in the coming days and weeks:

Theme No. 1: The West as the common enemy

Putin posed the rhetorical questions, “Who, in fact, masterminds the tragedy of the peoples of the Middle East and other parts of the world?” He then provided an answer to his own question: “They are the current ruling elites of the United States and their satellites, the main beneficiaries of world instability, from which they draw their bloody rents.” Resisting the U.S.-led West, consequently, Russia “upholds [its] own national interests as well as the interests of peoples who suffer from the West’s neocolonial policy.”

Theme No. 2: The U.S. as the main strategic enemy

Putin said, “It is necessary to understand where the root of evil is: It is that spider trying to envelop the whole planet into its web, aiming for our strategic defeat on the battlefield.”

Theme No. 3: Those cooperating with Russia are reshaping the world order

“The American-style order, with one hegemon, is falling apart, going away, gradually but inevitably passing into history. But the United States is not reconciled to this; on the contrary, it tries to preserve and prolong its dominance, its global dictatorship,” Putin said. The U.S.-led West, however, comes up against “new centers of power in the world, sovereign countries unwilling to humiliate themselves and play the role of lackeys. Russia is one of the leaders of this

objective historical process.”

Theme No. 4: War in Ukraine to define norms of world order

Russia’s enemy in Ukraine is “the Kyiv regime and its masters across the ocean.” Putin, however, merges two theaters of conflict into one: “The U.S. ruling elites and their satellites” are pouring arms and money “both into Ukraine and into the Middle East,” he said. In Ukraine, therefore, “Russia fights a battle for the norms of a just world order, for countries and peoples to be free. We keep fighting. Our soldiers and officers are losing their comrades, our heroes, in this fight.” By the same token, the Russian president added, “helping [the cause of] Palestine is possible only by fighting against the masterminds of that tragedy. We, Russia, are fighting exactly against them in our special military operation [in Ukraine], both for ourselves and for those who aspire to authentic freedom.”

Theme No. 5: Russia is fighting the West in Ukraine

According to Putin, “The spider uses people on the territory of today’s Ukraine after having brainwashed them for decades. Fighting against this enemy in our special military operation, we – I emphasize this again – strengthen the positions of all those who fight for their own independence and sovereignty.” Putin comes up with a new motivation, beyond the national, for Russians to fight this war: “In order to genuinely stand for truth and justice, to resist the evil and oppression that the West spreads. Our soldiers and officers are fighting near Donetsk, at Avdiivka, on the Dnipro. Theirs is the choice of real men, real warriors: to join the ranks of their brothers, arms in hand. Be there, where Russia’s fate is being decided along with the fate of the whole world, including the future of the Palestinian people.”

Theme No. 6: The West is targeting Russia’s internal order

Putin casts the war in Ukraine and his call for global anti-Western mobilization as defensive actions by Russia: “They [in the West] plan to contain and destabilize their competitors, their geopolitical adversaries, among whom they count our country. ... Failing to advance on the [Ukrainian] battlefield, they are trying to weaken and split Russia on the inside, to sow the seeds of a smuta [state collapse].”

Theme No. 7: Putin draws closer to Hamas

While conceding that Hamas had initiated the present, all-out war through “terrorist attacks” on Israel, Putin proceeds to weigh heavily in Hamas’ favor: “Instead of punishing the criminals and terrorists, Israel unfortunately chose to avenge itself on the basis of collective responsibility, indiscriminately killing hundreds of thousands of innocent people. ... [Watching this], our fists are clenched and our eyes are filling with tears.” Putin’s concludes, “The key to resolution of this conflict is the creation of an independent, sovereign, full-fledged Palestinian state.”

The article above is reprinted from *Eurasia Daily Monitor* with permission from its publisher, the *Jamestown Foundation*, www.jamestown.org.

OPINIONS

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Zelenskyy's Peace...

(Continued from page 1)

consequences. Therefore, it can later become a model for similarly ensuring the full force of international law in the event of other aggression," Mr. Zelenskyy said.

According to the Presidential Office, the third meeting on Ukraine's Peace Formula focused on nuclear, food, and energy security, the release of prisoners and deportees, and the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity.

The five points of the Peace Formula discussed in Malta were previously worked out by diplomatic representatives of different countries. Ukrainian and foreign officials presented and commented on each point at the meeting.

The nuclear safety plan envisages the complete withdrawal of Russian personnel, weapons and equipment from the Zaporizhia nuclear power plant and the transfer of control over the plant to Ukraine, strengthening the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in monitoring compliance with the rules of operation of nuclear facilities and studying mechanisms of responsibility for failure to comply with the principle of nuclear safety.

The implementation of the energy security clause, as proposed by the working group, involves the development of an energy resilience model that would prevent energy security violations and make it possible to use energy as a lever of influence in future acts of aggression.

In the context of food security, the Peace Formula proposes the establishment of international security guarantees for the uninterrupted supply of food, including strengthening the protection of Ukraine's port and logistics infrastructure, ensuring the demining of sea routes in the Black Sea, and supporting the insurance of ships and cargo transported to and from Ukrainian seaports.

The action plan for the return of hostages and deported Ukrainians envisages the creation of an international monitoring group to collect information about them, gain access to their places of detention, additional sanctions against Russia and its officials for violations of international humanitarian law, and pressure on Russia to provide the U.N. and the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] with unimpeded access to Ukrainian prisoners.

With regard to the paragraph on compliance with the U.N. Charter and restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity and world order, the working group proposed to focus on reforming the U.N. Security Council and limiting Russia's use of its veto power in that body, strengthening the role of the International Court of Justice by recognizing the compulsory jurisdiction of the court in all disputes over violations of the U.N. Charter, and creating an early warning system for actions that violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states.

During the meeting, national security and foreign policy advisers discussed holding a Global Peace Summit at the level of heads of state and government, according to a statement following the meeting published by the Office of the President of Ukraine.

"At the meeting in Malta, the parties worked out the following areas to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace: nuclear and radiation safety, food security, energy security, release of all prisoners and deportees, and the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity. The initiative to hold the inaugural Global Peace Summit at the level of heads of state and government was discussed, and the parties plan to take the necessary steps to prepare for the event," reads the statement.

The participants discussed the fundamental principles on which a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for Ukraine should be achieved and on which it should be based. Media reports said that the national security and foreign policy advisers were expected to continue working closely with each other to ensure the broadest possible international support for bringing peace to Ukraine.

Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Dmytro Kuleba said via a post on Instagram that the meeting in Malta demonstrated the broad support by many countries around the world for Ukraine amid the escalation in the Middle East. He noted how the number of countries around the world that are discussing Mr. Zelenskyy's peace formula has increased over the past six months.

"Fifteen states took part in the talks in Copenhagen in June, 42 in Jeddah in August, and now 66 states and international organizations have already gathered in Malta," Mr. Kuleba said, adding that the diplomatic math is important for at least two reasons.

In particular, he noted that, over the past six months, numerous peace initiatives have fallen apart, and there have been calls for Ukraine to give up territories or make concessions to Russia in return for a peace treaty. Mr. Kuleba stressed that Ukraine will not make concessions in any peace negotiations that would sacrifice the country's territorial integrity.

"Today, all discussions are centered on a fair and honest Ukrainian formula that fully complies with the principles of the U.N. Charter and key General Assembly resolutions. This is the first, very concrete result of the formula," the minister wrote.

"The second is that the meeting in Malta is very timely and destroys two myths: One, the myth of a drop in attention to Ukraine amid the events in the Middle East and, two, the myth of Ukraine's loss of support from the so-called Global South. The number of participants [from the Global South in the peace negotiations] has increased, as well as the number of countries from outside Europe and North America," he said.

According to Mr. Kuleba, the formula has room for representatives from any country to participate, but he stressed that there is no room for "pseudo-pacifism."

"This is a pragmatic document that implements the principles of the U.N. Charter. Ukraine continues to work actively on its implementation and preparations for the Global Peace Summit, where leaders will record the agreements and move on to their implementation," Mr. Kuleba said.

China was not present at the meeting of national security and foreign policy advisers held in Malta, Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mykola Tochytskyi told Reuters on October 29. He confirmed that China was not present at the meeting in Malta, despite Ukraine's efforts to have Beijing send a representative.

"I don't know the reasons. As far as I remember, in Jeddah, Chinese representative Li Hui said he planned to attend," Mr. Tochytskyi said.

He said Ukraine has an open-door policy for China or any other country to participate in future summits. Mr. Kuleba called China's participation in the last meeting in Jeddah a "super breakthrough."

Kyiv still wants to hold a peace summit by the end of this year.

"This goal remains necessary and possible. It was demonstrated that there is interest in this," Mr. Tochytskyi said shortly after the meeting in Malta.

He noted that Ukraine's efforts to win over the countries of the Global South are not affected by the war between Israel and Hamas, though he added that it may make it difficult for diplomats to focus their attention on Ukraine.

'Not doomed' but uncertain: What does the new U.S. House speaker mean for aid to Ukraine?

by Reid Standish
RFE/RL

After 22 days of legislative chaos in the U.S. House of Representatives, Republican Mike Johnson – a little-known lawmaker from Louisiana – became speaker of the lower chamber of Congress on October 25, reflecting a rightward shift by his party that raises new questions over the future of U.S. aid for Ukraine.

The new speaker inherits a slew of looming policy deadlines, including a potential government shutdown on November 17, but attention has quickly turned to how Mr. Johnson will approach a sweeping, nearly \$106 billion package that U.S. President Joe Biden sent to Congress. It includes some \$60 billion in assistance for Ukraine and \$14 billion for Israel, as well as funding for security in the Indo-Pacific and enforcement on the U.S. border with Mexico.

Before becoming speaker, Mr. Johnson previously voted against aid to Ukraine, joining some other House Republicans who argue that the money could be better spent at home and that the United States should not be so deeply involved in overseas conflicts.

One day after being elevated to his new role, Mr. Johnson once again expressed concerns over Ukraine funding during a Fox News interview on October 26 and said that aid for Ukraine and Israel should be handled separately, suggesting he will not back the White House's \$106 billion aid package in its current form.

"Israel is a separate matter – we are going to bring forward a standalone Israel funding measure [of] over \$14 billion," Mr. Johnson said in the interview.

"We can't allow [Russian President] Vladimir Putin to prevail in Ukraine because I don't believe it would stop there," Mr. Johnson continued, but he called for greater scrutiny on aid for Ukraine as Russia's full-scale invasion has passed the 20-month mark with no end in sight.

"We want to know what the object is there, what is the endgame in Ukraine," Mr. Johnson said, echoing calls from various quarters for a clearer explanation of U.S. goals. Mr. Biden has said the United States will support Ukraine for "as long as it takes," but some on both sides of the debate over aid for Kyiv want more details.

What does Mr. Johnson's election mean for U.S. assistance for Ukraine, a crucial element in Kyiv's efforts to defend itself and drive Russian forces from the country?

Experts who spoke to RFE/RL said that they expect a tough legislative road ahead, but that bipartisan support for Kyiv is still strong across Congress.

"Johnson as speaker does not doom Ukraine aid, though it may complicate the overall process toward getting a vote on the \$60 billion package," Andrew D'Anieri, a resident fellow at the Washington-based Atlantic Council's Eurasia Center, told RFE/RL.

Here's what we know so far – and what analysts are watching as Mr. Johnson settles into his new position as speaker for the 435-member House.

Who is Mike Johnson and what are his views on Ukraine?

Shortly after Mr. Johnson's election as speaker on October 25, he held back on his views regarding Ukraine, making no mention of the country or Russia's war against it in remarks in which he emphasized, "We stand with our ally Israel." When a reporter asked whether he supports additional U.S.

aid to Ukraine, he said he would not talk about policy and another Republican lawmaker at his side loudly urged the journalist to "go away."

Prior to that, Mr. Johnson – a lawyer who also played a leading role in former U.S. President Donald Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election – has walked an unclear line toward Ukraine since Russia launched its full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022.

He came out forcefully in support of Kyiv later that day, saying in a statement that Moscow's invasion "constitutes a national security threat to the entire West."

He also called for "debilitating sanctions" against Russia and concluded that "America's prayers remain with the Ukrainian people." In April 2022, Mr. Johnson voted in favor of legislation that made it simpler for Washington to supply weapons to Ukraine.

But in May and December 2022 and in September, Mr. Johnson voted against appropriations that included aid to Ukraine.

He has argued for more accountability due to transparency and corruption concerns with Ukraine handling U.S. taxpayer money, echoing statements by some other prominent Republicans, such as then-speaker Kevin McCarthy, that Kyiv should not be granted a blank check.

"They deserve to know if the Ukrainian government is being entirely forthcoming and transparent about the use of this massive sum of taxpayer resources," he said in February of this year.

This – in addition to Mr. Johnson's comments since becoming speaker – have raised questions about the level of support toward Ukraine that can be expected from Republicans in the House under Mr. Johnson.

How has Ukraine responded?

Kyiv is looking to shrug off the political jostling on Capitol Hill. Oleksiy Danilov, secretary of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council, welcomed Mr. Johnson's election as an end to the stalemate in Washington and said in televised comments that he was "more than sure that cooperation will continue, assistance will continue."

Mr. Danilov seized on a separate comment in which Mr. Johnson, when asked on October 25 whether he supports more aid for Ukraine, told reporters: "We all do. ... We are going to have conditions on that so we're working through."

"The statement made by the speaker that they would like to check the assistance they provide – this is a completely natural thing," Mr. Danilov said. "We're happy to provide all information about the aid, there are no secrets."

A "report card" issued by a Republican group that advocates continuing support for Ukraine gives Mr. Johnson a "very poor" rating based on his votes and public comments since the full-scale invasion.

Two of the three Republicans who made unsuccessful bids to become House speaker before Mr. Johnson was nominated have been more supportive of Ukraine – which may have hurt their chances because of the stance of hard-right lawmakers such as Matt Gaetz, who led the push to oust Mr. McCarthy from the speaker post.

Mr. McCarthy's ouster on October 3, unprecedented in U.S. history, complicated the Biden administration's efforts to secure

(Continued on page 12)

Columbia's Harriman Institute hosts discussion by Center for Civil Liberties director on war crimes in Ukraine

by Alice Mee

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University on October 4 hosted distinguished guest Sasha Romantsova, executive director of the Center for Civil Liberties (CCL), a Kyiv-based organization that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2022.

Having worked as a human rights defender at the CCL since May 2014, Ms. Romantsova gave the Harriman community a fascinating insight into the work of human rights organizations and the challenges facing those seeking justice for

Russian war crimes in Ukraine.

Noting the historical legacy of Russian-Ukrainian relations, Ms. Romantsova highlighted a project in which her organization has been involved since the first day of Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022.

The initiative, called T4P (Tribunal for Putin), unites 27 human rights organizations in Ukraine that contribute to a database on war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide in Ukraine.

T4P's live statistics on their website represent one of the largest collections of information about the war, amounting to over 50,000 cases to date. The records are

collected from all parts of Ukraine and correspond to more than 1,000 per week of the full-scale war. Besides offering a valuable record of human rights violations, the database also facilitates analysis of the patterns of such violations, in terms both of the nature of incidents and their regularity.

Ms. Romantsova emphasized the personal risk taken on by human rights defenders, noting that both she and Oleksandra Matviichuk, head of the CCL, are on Russia's so-called "kill list."

She believes that her work, however, is worth the risks because of the possibility that justice can at some point be achieved for the cases they record.

Ms. Romantsova went on to explain some of the technicalities of human rights work, noting that submissions to the International Criminal Court (ICC) must demonstrate a systematic element to the alleged crime in question.

To date, T4P has presented four submissions to the ICC: genocide in Mariupol; the shelling of civilian structures; the kidnapping of civilians; and extrajudicial executions.

Ms. Romantsova explained that a particularly useful resource for initiating investigations by T4P is Facebook, since almost every village in Ukraine possesses a well-used page on the site.

When the team is alerted to a possible incident, they visit the place in question and interview eyewitnesses, given that first-hand evidence is necessary for submissions to the ICC. However, they are careful to never ask more than eight questions of a witness, since the ICC does not accept testimony from witnesses who have been publicly questioned several times, due to the possibility of inconsistencies.



Courtesy of Sasha Romantsova

Sasha Romantsova

While Ms. Romantsova's organization does not have a mandate for prosecutions, since only the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office or international organizations such as the ICC can open formal cases, the CCL is nonetheless able to pass on information gathered to the relevant prosecutors.

As a result of this technicality, their work does not focus on questions of the identities of alleged perpetrators. However, their partner organization, Truth Hounds, which has also been working on war crimes in

(Continued on page 12)



Ekaterina Venkina

Sasha Romantsova (left), executive director of the Center for Civil Liberties (CCL), a Kyiv-based organization that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2022, discussed the work her organization is doing in Ukraine during a discussion at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University on October 4.

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STAND WITH UKRAINE

Ukrainian Heritage Consortium holds annual meeting in Detroit

by Ksenia Rychtycka

DETROIT – Members of the Ukrainian Heritage Consortium of North America (UHCNA) gathered in the metro Detroit area from September 21-24 for their long-awaited annual conference, which had been delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The weekend proved to be fruitful and exciting as colleagues from Canada, the United States and Ukraine reconnected and discussed successes and challenges as well as future plans.

Founded in 2012, the Consortium is a collective of Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian museums, archives and libraries whose individual missions are to preserve and protect their collective Ukrainian heritage in North America. This mission is especially vital today in the face of Russia's horrific war against Ukraine and its people, cultural legacy and identity.

As witnesses to the continual destruction of cultural institutions, the UHCNA is actively working to support their colleagues in Ukraine. Hosted by the Ukrainian American Archives and Museum (UAAM) located in Hamtramck, Mich., the conference highlighted the theme "A Culture Endangered: Rescue and Reconstruction."

Two museum professionals from Ukraine – Olha Honchar, director of the Territory of Terror Museum in Lviv and founder of the Museum Crisis Center in Ukraine, and Kyiv artist Maksym Davydenko, co-founder of the Cultural Heritage Fund of Ukraine and the Wounded Culture Project – provided insight into the current situation and highlighted the work of the Wounded Culture Project, which documents wounded museums using virtual reality technology and records interviews with museum colleagues about their work experiences during wartime.

Members of 13 institutions participated in the conference: the Ukrainian American Archives and Museum (UAAM) of Detroit; the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University; the Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage; the Shevchenko Scientific Society of the U.S.A.; the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre; the Ukrainian History and Education Center; the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland; the Ukrainian Museum and Library of Stamford, Conn.; Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre of Winnipeg; the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Ontario Branch; the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, national office in Saskatoon; and the Ukrainian National Museum of Chicago.

The overall organization and success of the conference was due to the hard work and combined efforts of many individuals, including UAAM Executive Director Olga Liskiwskyi and the Planning Committee, made up of Donna Belgan, Dr. Andrew Dzul, Martha Hnatiuk, Dr. Roman Hryciw, Stephen Pobutsky, Marta Sobko, Tamara Slywinsky, Marta Tatarsky and Donna Voronovich along with members of the Board of Directors, among them Zwenyslava Hayda (president) and Dr. Alexander Lebedovych.

In addition, Lilia Kudelia, curator at the Ukrainian Museum in New York City and visual resource curator for the University of Texas (Arlington), played a pivotal role in the organization, logistics and planning process for the keynote speakers from Ukraine.

The conference also received wide support from the Ukrainian community and its institutions. The Selfreliance Federal Credit



Individuals who gathered for the Ukrainian Heritage Consortium of North America annual conference included (front row, left to right) Olha Aleksic, Oksana Kyzyma, Alexandra Shkandrij, Lubow Wolynetz, Dzvinika Hayda, Jen Budney, Natalia Deliyeva, Lydia Tkaczuk, Orysia Sopinka, Olga Liskiwskyi, Arnie Klein (not pictured) and (second row standing, from left to right) Valeriy Kostyuk, Martha Hnatiuk, Marta Sobko, Halyna Sarancha, Tamara Ivanochko-Haney, Rev. Protodeacon Dr. Ihor Mahlay, Olenka Dobczansky, Oksana Pasakas, Natalie Honcharenko, Olha Honchar, Maksym Davydenko and (third row, from left to right) Taras Hayda, Natalia Mysakowec, Marta Tatarsky, Aniza Kraus, Marusia Foster and (fourth row, from left to right) Stephen Pobutsky, Donna Voronovich, Andrew Dzul, Andrew Fedynsky, Donna Belgan, Christine Fedynsky, Jurij Dobczansky, Dr. Alexander Lebedovych, and Michael Andrec.

Union provided key sponsorship along with notable contributions from George and Zenowia Jurkiw, Lida Jurkiw Gulawsky, and George and Natalia Stasiw. Supporters included the Ukrainian Selfreliance Michigan Federal Credit Union and the Shevchenko Scientific Society branch in Michigan. Community partners included the Ukrainian American Veterans (Post 101), the Ukrainian Selfreliance Federal Credit Union (Pennsylvania branch) and Network for Good. There were also many individual donations.

The conference opened on Thursday, September 21, with a warm welcome and a wine and cheese reception at the Hampton Inn in Dearborn, Mich.

On Friday, September 22, there were field visits to the Henry Ford Museum and the Arab American National Museum (AANM). Along with tours and an informal round-table meeting, behind-the-scenes discussions took place with curators, conservators, managers of collections, librarians and archivists. Museum colleagues at both institutions were generous in sharing their expertise and time. Special thanks are due to Sophia Kloc (manager of collections operations at the Henry Ford Museum), Charles Sable (curator of decorative arts at the Henry Ford Museum), Mary Fahey (chief conservator at the Henry Ford Museum), Dawod Serio (curator of education at the AANM) and Elizabeth Barrett Sullivan (curator of exhibits at the AANM).

The daytime museum tours ended with a viewing of the "Coming to America, Living in America and Making an Impact" exhibit at the Arab American National Museum.

The first full day of the conference concluded with a keynote speech by Dr. Taras Oleksyk, associate professor at Oakland University in Michigan, who focused on genome diversity in Ukraine. Affiliated with the highly ranked Uzhhorod National University in the Carpathian region of Ukraine, Dr. Oleksyk has been doing fascinating research on the Ukrainian genome in comparison to other European nations. Early results could alter perceptions of how Ukrainians are related to other Europeans. There were many questions and comments from the audience after this fascinating presentation. The talk was cosponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society branch in Michigan.

On Saturday, September 23, participants

gathered at the Ukrainian American Archives and Museum in Hamtramck, Mich. The conference began with an interesting presentation by Valeriy Kostyuk, associate producer at Starvox Entertainment, who spoke about the emergence and use of immersive exhibit systems and highlighted their work in creating "Immersive Shevchenko: Soul of Ukraine" and the recent premiere of "The Immersive World of Ukrainian Art" at the Oseredok Centre in Canada. Ukrainian immersive exhibitions are an innovative format, serving as an effective tool in augmenting and sharing Ukrainian identity, traditions and history.

Conference participants were also invited to enjoy the Van Gogh immersive exhibit at the Detroit Lighthouse ArtSpace Gallery, which was put on by Starvox, and many participants did exactly that after the close of the conference on Sunday, September 24. Additionally, Ukrainian activist Natalya Delieva, who is also affiliated with Starvox, presented a clip of the immersive exhibit "Ukraine, Land of the Brave."

After the presentation, much of the day was devoted to sharing updates and reports as well as discussing challenges and current efforts in archival research and mounting exhibits. Participants also had the opportunity to view the stellar exhibit "Ukrainian Mythology, Legends and Folklore," featuring over 30 artists from around the world as well as the museum's permanent collection and facility.

Later that afternoon, conference members regrouped at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Mich., for a tour of the reorganized center library with its recently completed cataloging of thousands of books. The library has also held several literary events and book fairs. The library team is comprised entirely of volunteers and includes administrator Tamara Slywinsky, Marta Tatarsky, Iva Lisikewycz, Sophia Woloszczuk, Roxolana Karanec, Myra Kowal, Lydia Tarnavsky and Jaroslav Berezowsky.

The evening portion of the conference then continued with a surprise singing performance of "Mnohaya Lita" by the Kobzarska Sich youth ensemble, who were participating in a musical event nearby. Music director and conductor Oleh Mahlay congratulated conference attendees for all their efforts in preserving and sharing the Ukrainian story.

The two evening keynote speeches of the conference focused on the destruction of Ukraine's cultural heritage and the efforts to preserve and protect it. In a compelling slide show, Ms. Honchar presented "Stories from Ukraine: People, Museums, War, Resistance," highlighting the work and exhibits at the Territory of Terror Museum, which included the commemorative events "Victims of the Olenivka Terror Attack," "Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Deportation of Crimean Tatars," and the international video project "Lost Childhood."

Ms. Honchar's overview covered the efforts of Ukrainian museums to support colleagues whose institutions were looted by Russians, bombed or destroyed. The Wounded Culture Project documents the vast destruction and thefts along with recording eyewitness accounts from museum directors, staff and volunteers.

In his remarks, Mr. Davydenko noted the need to support Ukrainian artists both in Ukraine and outside its borders, especially now with so many refugees having to flee their homeland.

In 2022, he and Ms. Honchar founded the Cultural Heritage Foundation of Ukraine to support initiatives in cultural heritage, assist museum institutions in Ukraine and promote Ukraine's image abroad.

Individuals who would like to help support their efforts can make a donation to the account of the Ukrainian Museum in New York. All funds collected will be directed toward projects of the Museum Crisis Center, Wounded Culture and other actions.

After the presentations ended, it was time to personally sample the latest discussed technology as UAAM volunteers Adrian Hutsul and Maria Churina assisted attendees in utilizing virtual reality headsets to view the Ohtyrka Museum in Sumy, Ukraine, in its current state of destruction. These headsets were used in various fundraising events throughout Europe to bring the reality of the cultural destruction to audiences.

The conference ended with plans to schedule regular Zoom meetings to discuss sharing processes and resources. There is a hope to have the 2024 annual conference in Canada. For more information about the UHCNA, individuals may visit the website www.uhcna.org.

Stories...

(Continued from page 4)

our game of catch. She seems unfazed by what's become an almost daily routine.

It feels good to be around the team after facing one of my first air-raid sirens. It's a chilling experience no one should have to go through.

I watch Mr. Khomyn teach his players a new drill on a sun-dried soccer field with worn-out footballs.

"We are not just players, we are family," he told me before the air-defense warning.

With his sons now by his side at most practices, Mr. Khomyn's real family, and his football family, are together again. The sport, it seems, is just one avenue for him to bring them closer during difficult times. And the lofty Olympic dream is just big enough to keep him going.

A bird's-eye view of Kyiv

The last time I saw Kyiv was on January 15, 2022, a little over a month before Russia launched its full-scale invasion. Back then, when I was one of the few people in the city with a drone, the skies above the Ukrainian capital were my playground. Now, a war of drones dominates those same skies.

It's hard to fathom. A tool I used to capture stunning footage of Kyiv's golden-domed churches is now an increasingly vital weapon of war.

While Russia is using drones to launch daily attacks on Ukrainian cities, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) armed with the latest technology are helping Kyiv punch above its weight on the battlefield.

Ukrainian UAV manufacturers have

made technological leaps and bounds in the last year alone. Artificial intelligence and smart tech are now helping home-grown aircraft to fly despite Russian electronic jamming.

Dmytro Kovalchuk, co-founder of Warbirds of Ukraine, says that his company is just one of many in Ukraine that is constantly upgrading its drone fleet with new tech.

"We are putting a lot of resources into research and development," he says. "New technology," Mr. Kovalchuk adds, "will help Ukraine defend itself against Russia."

He's happy to speak to the media but is understandably guarded when it comes to discussing details about Ukraine's highly secretive domestic drone industry. The former drone reconnaissance pilot doesn't hide the fact that innovation is a top priority as we tour an undisclosed production facility on the outskirts of Kyiv.

"We are in a competition with our enemy over who will make a smart drone first," he says.

As a drone enthusiast, I marvel at the UAVs he shows me. They're so much more capable than anything I've used that I wouldn't know the first thing about flying them. I tell Mr. Kovalchuk about my drone, which I once flew for a record flight distance of just under two miles in perfect conditions.

He tells me one of Warbirds of Ukraine's latest models "can even fly to Moscow."

Ukraine's camo queen

"This isn't borscht," she says as she lifts the lid on a big red pot that's sitting on her stove. "This is where I color the material [green]."

With new capabilities in aerial reconnaissance, soldiers on the ground need better cover to avoid detection. Luckily for



Coach Yevhen Khomyn (left) and the Vinnytsya Wolves hold a flag football clinic for children at a local school.



A Warbirds of Ukraine worker tests a new Galka UAV at an airfield on the outskirts of Kyiv.



Coach Yevhen Khomyn (left) and the Vinnytsya Wolves run plays at a local school.

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Ukraine, hundreds of volunteer groups across the country and abroad make homemade camouflage nets and ghillie suits for military personnel.

Many of the groups learned their craft from camouflage guru Olesia Koryahina. Her apartment is full of DIY camouflage earmarked for soldiers on the front line.

She lifts the lid on another pot to reveal a piping hot soup. The dedicated volunteer serves me a bowl as she explains how she helped build an international network of camouflage producers. She's quick to give others credit.

"There are many groups I've helped set up, but they've done most of the work by themselves," she says.

Ms. Koryahina's training videos have taught thousands of people how to weave the protective mesh. She also handles logistics and communications for over 100 volunteer groups.

In the next room, Ms. Koryahina tries on a homemade mosquito head net that she says can be tailored to match Ukraine's seasonal foliage. The low-cost camo is in high demand as Ukraine's counteroffensive continues to grind forward.

When I ask what motivates her to give so much of her time and energy to help defend Ukraine, she answers, "I have a son,

and I want him to live in a free country."

Ms. Koryahina's volunteer efforts provide some small relief to a country struggling with depleting resources. But it will take much more than camouflage netting to give Kyiv the support it needs, especially as the country braces for what promises to be a harsh winter.

At the end of the trip, there's a sense of relief as I cross the border into Poland and the security of the European Union.

I share a train sleeper car with a Ukrainian mother and her two young sons. She tells me they're happy to have a break from the war as her boys climb into bed.

I'm just about to doze off when the air-alert app on my phone warns me of an incoming strike on Vinnytsia. I shut it off before it wakes the family now sleeping silently in the dark and rumbly train.

I'm kept awake by thoughts of Polyna and others taking shelter in Vinnytsia as Russia launches yet another attack.

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Olesia Koryahina sits in front of a camouflage net she is weaving at her apartment in Kyiv.

University of Connecticut hosts human rights summit focused on Russian war crimes

by Alex Kuzma

STORRS, Conn. – The University of Connecticut and the Dodd Center for Human Rights hosted a human rights summit on October 25-27 that brought together scholars and human rights leaders from around the world to assess the threats to democracy and the struggle for human rights.

A primary focus of the summit was the continuing war in Ukraine and the need to hold Russia accountable for the massive atrocities committed since the start of the February 2022 full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

The keynote address was delivered by Oleksandra Matviichuk, whose Center for Civil Liberties has played a major role in documenting Russian war crimes and rallying international support for Ukrainians' defense of their freedom and sovereignty. The center was awarded the 2022 Nobel Peace Prize.

Other speakers included human rights activists from India, Kenya, Mexico, Hungary and Jordan.

On the evening of October 26, the University of Connecticut also honored the Babyn Yar Memorial Association with an awards banquet that drew dignitaries, including Connecticut Gov. Ned Lamont,



The University of Connecticut and the Dodd Center for Human Rights hosted a human rights summit on October 25-27 that brought together scholars (from left to right) Andrea Peto, Anna Vyshniakova, Kristine Hook and James Waller.



Alex Kuzma

Oleksandra Matviichuk (right) and summit co-organizer Davis Chacon Hurtado.

former Sen. Christopher Dodd, Ukrainian business leader Victor Pinchuk, Chief Rabbi of Kyiv Yonathan Markovitch, and Yale historian Timothy Snyder.

The Dodd Center for Human rights was established in memory of former U.S. Sen. Thomas Dodd, who served as the U.S. chief prosecutor during the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

At many points during the summit, attendees and speakers called for the establishment of a new tribunal to hold Russia accountable for its war of aggression against Ukraine and for the wide range of crimes against humanity its army has

committed against the country's civilian population.

In her keynote address, Ms. Matviichuk noted that, even without access to many of the areas still occupied by Russian troops, Ukrainian investigators have already started criminal proceedings against many of the 100,000 individuals who have been identified as potential war criminals based on extensive research and documentation.

"People are not numbers," Ms. Matviichuk said. "We must return to people their names."

(Continued on page 19)



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Russia experiencing...

(Continued from page 2)

to Russia from Wagner's forces (Svoboda, June 18). It is not at all surprising that, once free, some have reverted back to their criminal past (Verstka.media, July 5).

Russian state-controlled media does not report on this state of affairs. Still, Russian-language media outlets abroad are monitoring the situation. Meduza, considered a "foreign agent" in Russia, reported on October 24 that Putin has told pro-government Russian media to not report on the criminal activities of soldiers returning from Ukraine "so Russians do not fear them." Instead, emphasis is placed on showing "that the people returning from the front are really polite, sensitive and caring people" (Meduza, October 24).

Those returning from Ukraine have demonstrated a tendency to commit a high number of crimes, but local authorities cannot strictly punish them since they are officially considered "patriotic heroes." In the Republic of Buryatia, these former "defenders of the Motherland" are terrorizing the local population (Sibreal.org, July 31). For the Russian courts, however, the veteran status of criminal defendants is often a "mitigating circumstance" in dismissing some cases.

The Russian state encourages the spread of violence in society with such policies, seemingly without realizing that such an approach could turn against itself. This has already happened in a number of regions. Yet, even for attacking police officers or selling weapons, demobilized military personnel do not receive a prison sentence like ordinary citizens, but are usually let off with a minimal fine. Some experts warn that this highlights the rapid erosion of Russia's entire legal system (Kavkazr.com, October 5).

The crimes of the veterans returning from Ukraine have resonated widely in Russian society. For example, a former Wagnerite, pardoned by Putin's decree, massacred six people in the Republic of Karelia in August (Golosameriki.com, August 3). Overall, Russian military personnel and mercenaries of paramilitary structures returning from the war in Ukraine have committed at least 20 crimes in various regions in which 27 people died (Severreal.org, October 4). Some media outlets have provided more alarming figures. In 2023 alone, at least 147 Russian military personnel have been put on trial for murders outside combat zones (Verstka.media, October 9). Thus, the war against Ukraine

has returned to Russian territory, with the demobilized Russian veterans showing the same cruelty to their fellow citizens as they did to Ukrainian civilians.

Most of those who were mobilized last fall signed one-year contracts, many of which expire this month. The massive return of previously contracted soldiers to their native lands could greatly aggravate the criminal situation throughout Russia. The Russian Ministry of Defense is carrying out extensive efforts to extend these contracts due to severe manpower shortages in Ukraine. Eduard Sharafiev, a member of parliament in the Republic of Tatarstan, recently proposed a bill that clearly defines service terms for contract soldiers. The document, however, was not approved by the State Duma (Realnoevremya.ru, October 12). Andrey Kartapolov, head of the Duma's Defense Committee, said that contract soldiers will return home en masse only after the "special military operation" has ended (Moskovskij Komsomlets, September 9).

Russia's war against Ukraine has created another serious societal problem that did not exist during the Afghan war. In 2022, the Russian government committed itself to paying the families of fallen servicemen 12 million rubles (about \$120,000) as compensation for their loss (Holod.media, August 4, 2022). For most Russian regions, this is an enormous amount of money that most likely would not be earned in their lifetime. This stands in stark contrast to the Afghan and Chechen wars, when the families of conscript soldiers protested and demanded the return of their sons, brothers and fathers. Today, the picture is rather different, with the lives of relatives being "sold" to fight against Ukraine (Svoboda, July 22, 2022).

The spread of violence by returning veterans and the lack of preventative action from the Kremlin have heightened fears of an even more unstable and dangerous future within Russia. This could lead to widespread discord among the Russian population regarding the return of these soldiers and official charges to ignore their nefarious activities in favor of reintegrating them back into society. This moral catastrophe cast doubts on Putin's statements that Russia is defending certain "traditional values" and looks to be even more dangerous for the country's future than the original experience with Afghan syndrome.

The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, www.jamestown.org.

Global snack...

(Continued from page 3)

Laboratories were also given D grades, meaning that the companies in this category have postponed "future planned investment, development, marketing while continuing substantive business," Yale University says.

The money Mondelez pays to the Kremlin's coffers is enough to produce 315 projectiles that could target Ukraine, the UCCA said in a news release.

The company "has no shame," said another UCCA Illinois Division vice president, Marta Farion. "Their profits [are used to] kill [Ukrainian] children, rape women and support [Russian] soldiers who commit all sorts of war crimes."

In turn, the company on its website says it has "condemned this brutal aggression against Ukraine," and has given \$15 million to its charitable foundation "to support the country, Ukrainian citizens as well as refugees, with cash and in-kind contributions."

The same statement said that, "if we suspended our full operations, we would risk turning over our full operations to another party who could use the full proceeds for their own interests."

Both Mondelez and Nestle are designated as "international sponsors of war" by Ukraine's National Agency on Corruption Prevention (NAZK).

"After Russia's [full-scale] invasion of Ukraine, Mondelez employees in the Baltic

region, covering Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, sent a petition to the company's CEO Dirk Van de Put with a request to stop all business in Russia, to which Mondelez responded formally by announcing the suspension of new investments and advertising in Russia," NAZK said. "However, judging by its financial performance, the Russian market remains promising for the company."

Still, Ms. Farion said, the company's products also go to children affected by the war in Russia, and many of those products are "sugary" and have little to no nutritional value. She also drew the parallel between companies that continued doing business with Nazi Germany during World War II and those that did not.

The Ukrainian Weekly confirmed that some products made by Mondelez are still being sold in the country, including 7 Days croissants, Oreo cookies and Barney the Bear snacks, as well as Belvita biscuits.

After the rally in Chicago, the group walked down Michigan Avenue to the landmark Wrigley Building where a Peet's coffee store is located to call on customers to refrain from buying beverages there since Mondelez owns a sizable minority stake in the brewer's chain.

It is the world's second largest packaged coffee maker and also operates in the Russian market.

"It's most likely going to be an enduring war, which means we have to take a more enduring solution," said Fabien Simon, JDE Peet's chief executive officer, in an interview with the Wall Street Journal.

Columbia's...

(Continued from page 8)

Ukraine and further afield since 2014, liaises with prosecutors and carries out detailed investigations – to date more than 50 – with the aim of identifying and tracking down alleged perpetrators.

Another valuable project of the CCL is Prisoner's Voice, an initiative that works for the release of Ukrainian citizens who have been imprisoned or detained in connection with Russian aggression in Ukraine.

As Ms. Romantsova explained, since 2014 they have been working with political prisoners, for example in occupied Crimea, and the CCL successfully campaigned for the release of famed Ukrainian filmmaker and writer Oleh Sentsov. After this, they began a campaign entitled Let

My People Go, which sought to inform the international community about political prisoners in Russia and occupied territories.

Under Prisoner's Voice, their work has now expanded to include efforts to raise awareness of the plight of civilians taken prisoner by Russia.

However, in Ms. Romantsova's view, the work of human rights organizations operating in Ukraine is severely limited by the unwieldy international system for the prosecution of war crimes.

In particular, Ms. Romantsova noted that the international justice system has not been sufficiently adapted to new challenges, such as hybrid warfare. Despite this, she voiced the opinion that justice does not simply begin when the perpetrator is punished, but rather when a crime is called a crime. That is why, she said, justice can still be achieved even if Putin is never tried.

'Not doomed...'

(Continued from page 7)

new aid for Ukraine.

Four days later, the massive attack on Israel by the Palestinian militant group Hamas added a major new factor, sparking a new Middle East war that has diverted attention from Ukraine and created a potential competitor for urgent U.S. aid.

The Atlantic Council's D'Anieri said that Mr. Johnson's past voting record may not be a straightforward rubric for how he will approach Ukraine as speaker, noting that previous aid packages made it through the House with significant bipartisan majorities and Mr. Johnson had not faced pressure over the direction of his past votes.

"After winning the speakership, [Mr.] Johnson told reporters that he's willing to support aid with conditions and talks with the White House on 'accountability and [clear] objectives,'" he said. "Now he'll have to make good on those promises, but they may not be such a bad thing [for Ukraine] if

he pushes both of those in good faith."

Will Ukraine be able to get its funding approved?

Combining aid to Ukraine in a single package with \$14 billion in support for Israel, as well as money for Republican-backed causes such as border security, is an attempt by the White House to convince House Republicans wary of sending additional money to Ukraine and increase the legislation's chances of approval.

On October 25, Mr. Biden congratulated Mr. Johnson and said it was "time for all of us to act responsibly" and adopt a measure to avert a U.S. government shutdown next month, as well as providing aid for Ukraine and Israel.

In his interview with Fox, Mr. Johnson has now signaled he intends to split Ukraine funding from that of Israel in the proposed funding package, setting up a legislative battle over the coming month.

But doing so will also expose divides within the Republican Party itself over Ukraine.

"Republicans in the House are divided over this, but most Republicans in the Senate generally support continuing the assistance to Ukraine," John Deni, a research professor at U.S. Army War College, told RFE/RL. "They understand that Ukraine is dramatically degrading the land power of one of the United States' two major adversaries in the world."

Mr. Deni added that, given high support among Democrats in the House and Senate for Ukraine aid, it's still likely that the package of military assistance to Kyiv will be bundled with other legislation.

However, with a potential government shutdown in November a real possibility, any future scenario is difficult to predict, and analysts expect tough political battles ahead.

Mr. D'Anieri said that it was still unclear whether Mr. Johnson could succeed in separating Ukraine and Israel funding from the same bundle, and that Mr. Johnson probably could not have won the speaker's post without assuaging more moderate Republicans who support aid to Ukraine.

"The fact that the entire caucus [of Republicans in the House] rallied around the ultraconservative Johnson suggests that moderate members received major assurances of some kind," he said.

Mr. D'Anieri added that bipartisan support for both Ukraine and Israel remains high, including from Democratic Senate leader Chuck Schumer and Republican Senate leader Mitch McConnell.

"A split funding bill would be dead on arrival in the Senate," he said. "So, [Mr.] Johnson will face huge pressure from many in his own caucus, Senate Republicans, and the White House to pass a joint Ukraine-Israel spending bill. It will be tough for [Mr.] Johnson to push back against them."

(Steve Gutterman contributed to this report.)

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warned members of the committee that the consequences of failing to help Ukraine in its war with Russia and Israel as it strikes back against Hamas would be dire. "I can guarantee that without our support [Russian President Vladimir] Putin will be successful," Mr. Austin said, adding that if the United States fails to lead, the cost and the threats to the United States will only grow. "We must not give our friends, our rivals, or our foes any reason to doubt America's resolve," Mr. Austin said. Mr. Blinken agreed that inaction would threaten the security of the United States and the rest of the world. "Our adversaries and competitors alike recognize that our strategies are working and they continue to do everything they can to disrupt us," Mr.

Blinken said. "We now stand at a moment where many are again making the bet that the United States is too divided or distracted at home to stay the course." Mr. Biden has requested \$14.3 billion for Israel and \$61.4 billion to support Ukraine. The remaining money would go to humanitarian efforts in Gaza and elsewhere, the Indo-Pacific and to protect the U.S. border. While there is bipartisan support in the Senate, Mr. Biden's request faces problems in the House of Representatives, where Republicans are trying to focus on funding for Israel alone. Messrs. Blinken and Austin argued that the aid should be tied together because the conflicts are interconnected. Mr. Blinken said that assisting Ukraine and Israel also will strengthen the U.S. position against Iran, a financial backer of Hamas. "Since we cut off Russia's traditional means of supplying its military, it has turned more and more to Iran for assistance," Mr.

Blinken said. "In return, Moscow has supplied Iran with increasingly advanced military technology, which poses a threat to Israel's security. Allowing Russia to prevail with Iran's support will embolden both Moscow and Tehran." Mr. Austin said the money would help Israel and Ukraine defend themselves against aggression – and replenish U.S. stockpiles. About half the \$61.4 billion for Ukraine would be spent in the United States to backfill weapons stocks drained by previous support for Kyiv. "In both Israel and Ukraine, democracies are fighting ruthless foes bent on their annihilation," Mr. Austin said. "We will not let Hamas or Putin win. Today's battles against aggression and terrorism will define global security for years to come." Messrs. Blinken and Austin were repeatedly interrupted by protesters who called for Israel to end its bombardment of the Gaza Strip and called for an immediate ceasefire. Mr. Blinken told the committee after the protesters were escorted out of the hearing room that he heard "the passions expressed in this room and outside this room" about aid to Israel. The United States is committed to protecting civilian life, he said, "but all of us know the imperative of standing up with our allies and partners when their security, when their democra-

cies, are threatened." (RFE/RL, with reporting by Reuters and AP)

Russia detains suspect in assassination attempt

Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) said on October 31 that it apprehended a man suspected of coordinating an assassination attempt in Russian-occupied Crimea of former Ukrainian lawmaker Oleh Tsaryov, a pro-Moscow public figure who was reported to have been lined up by the Kremlin to lead a puppet administration in Kyiv after Russia's invasion. According to the FSB, the suspect confessed to the charge while Mr. Tsaryov's condition has improved and his life is no longer in danger. Russian-installed officials in Ukraine's Crimea region said last week that Mr. Tsaryov was in intensive care after being shot. (RFE/RL's Russian Service)

Orban: EU's strategy on Ukraine 'has failed'

Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, the only European Union leader to have met with Russian President Vladimir Putin since he launched his full-scale invasion of Ukraine, says the bloc's strategy with regards to the war "has failed" and a plan B

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U.S. expands...

(Continued from page 1)

undermined the Kremlin's ability to wage its unprovoked war," she said in the statement.

The sanctions freeze any U.S.-based assets owned or controlled by the individuals and entities. They also block financial transactions with those designated and prohibit the contribution of funds, goods and services to them.

The latest sanctions build on other rounds of sanctions, visa bans and financial penalties imposed on Russian businesses and individuals, banks and oligarchs since

its full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Along with imposing sanctions, the United States and its European allies have frozen Russian Central Bank funds, restricted Russian banks' access to the main system for global financial transactions, and imposed a \$60-per-barrel price cap on Russian oil and diesel.

(With reporting by AP)

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Russia continues...

(Continued from page 2)

"massive recruitment of female prisoners for the war in Ukraine." This approach has not been widely successful in the occupied territories of Ukraine. In Russia's Lipetsk Oblast, however, the number of female recruits has reached "massive proportions." Ms. Romanova argues that, "unlike men, female prisoners are much more susceptible to propaganda and go to war much more ardently than men." Additionally, she said that female prisoners "have been spotted in stormtrooper units fighting on behalf of the MoD. ... They are kept separately from men, but they are fighting together" (Dw.com/ru, August 3).

In 2022, the number of female prisoners in the Russian penitentiary system stood at approximately 30,000. Close to 30 percent were convicted of violent crimes, with only a fraction being the initiators (Forbes.ru, November 23). This means that only a small percentage of female prisoners would be considered theoretically eligible to join stormtrooper units or similar formations on the Ukrainian battlefield.

Third, the Kremlin continues to lean on migrant workers to replenish its forces at the front (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, February 16, September 13). These migrants mainly come from Central Asia, with a high concentration coming from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Russian military officials are actively searching for potential recruits among migrants at mosques and immigration centers. According to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), Central Asian migrants are being offered bonuses of \$2,390 and a salary of \$4,160 per month for signing a contract (RFE/RL, April 18). Additionally, migrants willing to sign a contract with the MoD are offered a "fast track" to Russian citizenship. Those who sign contracts can receive citizenship in six to 12 months, instead of having to wait for the regular five-year term (Eurointegration.com.ua, May 8).

A group of Kyrgyzstani citizens currently serving time in Russian jails have filed a petition to be transferred back to their home country to serve out the rest of their sentences (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, September 13). This is presumably due to the fear of being pressured to join the Russian Armed Forces. According to official data, 1,064 Kyrgyz citizens are currently

serving prison time in Russia. Many of their relatives have already turned to the Kyrgyzstani government to do everything it can to bring their family members back home. An undisclosed number of Uzbekistani nationals serving prison time in Russia have also appealed directly to President Shavkat Mirziyoyev to do whatever possible to transfer them back to Uzbekistan. They, too, are afraid of the growing pressure to join Russian mercenary formations (Mediazona.ca, June 8).

According to the Ukrainian MoD's Main Directorate of Intelligence (GUR), Russia is mobilizing up to 20,000 men a month to participate in the war against Ukraine. The GUR has argued that Russia is energetically searching for recruits from various walks of life, ranging from "prisoners to people with financial arrears ... and former military personnel who are made to re-sign contracts" (Twitter/@dw_russian, October 22). In the coming months, Moscow seems set on drastically increasing the search for additional "cannon fodder" to send to Ukraine. The forcible recruitment of prisoners and migrant workers is destined to remain a central part of these efforts.

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U.S. expands...

(Continued from page 1)

shutdown of November 17.

Mr. Futey has called on all UCCA members "to go on steroids and go on the offensive" to urge their political representatives, whether at the local or national level, to push for more aid to Ukraine as the winter season in Ukraine approaches.

"Our communities are trying to gear up contacts with Congress members, on social media, on local radio talk shows and to touch base at home and go to local district offices" to ensure Ukraine's needs stay on the legislative agenda, Mr. Futey told The Ukrainian Weekly in a phone interview.

"Ultimately, I believe the final legislation is going to deal with Ukraine and Israel together. That's because the great majority of people in both the House and the Senate want that to occur," Sen. Mitt Romney (R-Utah) told National Public Radio this week.

The U.S. has provided Kyiv with more than \$90 billion in military assistance since 2014 when Russia initially invaded sovereign Ukrainian territory.

In this sense, Mr. Futey said, "Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is fighting two 'Goliaths,' one against Russia, the other among Ukrainian skeptics in the U.S. legislature."

Wrangling in Washington, D.C., didn't go unnoticed by Ukraine's Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, who penned an essay in the London-based Economist magazine this week voicing concern.

The four-star general said that Ukraine is entering a "positional" stage of the war that doesn't favor Kyiv.

"A positional war is a prolonged one that carries enormous risks to Ukraine's Armed Forces and to its state," Mr. Zaluzhnyi said. "This will benefit Russia, allowing it to rebuild its military power, eventually threatening Ukraine's Armed Forces and the state itself."

Ukraine still lacks air supremacy, he said, while emphasizing the need for more "technology," which he sees as the answer to beating Russia.

"We need radar-like sensors that use invisible pulses of light to detect mines in the ground and smoke-projection systems to conceal the activities of our de-mining units," he continued. "We can use jet engines from decommissioned aircraft, water cannons or cluster munitions to breach mine barriers without digging into the ground. New types of tunnel excavators, such as a robot which uses plasma torches to bore tunnels, can also help."

Nearly 18 percent of Ukraine's territory remains occupied by Russia, including the Crimean Peninsula, which was forcibly seized in 2014. Kyiv forces have liberated about 50 percent of the territory it initially lost when the full-scale invasion was launched last year in February but it still struggles to liberate more territory against a foe that has more manpower and resources.

U.S. public opinion is sinking with regard to Ukraine support. A nationwide Gallup poll released on November 2 says that 41 percent of the adult population aged 18 years and older say their country "is doing

too much to support Ukraine."

Fear of winter blackouts

Ukraine says that it is better prepared to avoid power blackouts that affected the country last winter season when 50 percent of its energy infrastructure was damaged or destroyed, often plunging the country into darkness.

Kyiv called them "spot strikes" and says it has prepared "passive resistance" defense systems that include reinforced concrete, anti-drone nets and the removal of non-essential equipment to underground storage.

"We call it passive protection," Ukraine's Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal told the Financial Times. He said the country was "much more prepared" after testing and improving its fortifications during Russia's missile strikes last winter.

Still, the attacks have started, and Ukraine's biggest privately owned power producer, DTEK, owned by billionaire Rinat Akhmetov, reported that one of its facilities was damaged on November 1 without specifying the location due to Kyiv's mandatory operational silence amid martial law.

The company announced winning a \$267 million lawsuit against Russia on November 2 at The Hague's International Court of Arbitration for damages caused after Moscow forcibly seized Crimea and took over its Krymenergo plant in 2014.

The power plant had provided 80 percent of electricity to the peninsula, yet "it's unclear how the ruling will be enforced," Bloomberg reported.

Battlefield

Mr. Zelenskyy said that he saw progress near the Donetsk regional town of Vuhledar where the 72nd mechanized brigade is fighting. Based in the Kyiv regional town of Bila Tserkva, the brigade is famed for saving Kyiv from the February 2022 Russian onslaught of Kyiv where it fought on both sides of the Dnipro River to stem the massive flow of the invasion.

"Thank you, guys! Maryinka – the paratroopers of the 79th brigade, well done! Avdiivka direction – the 31st, 47th, 53rd, and 110th separate mechanized brigades. I thank every soldier!" he said. "And Kupiansk direction – the 14th and 32nd separate mechanized brigades, the 57th separate motorized infantry brigade – I'm proud of you, guys!"

More Russian sanctions

The U.S. Treasury Department imposed additional sanctions that impact Moscow on November 2 for warmongering, this time targeting 130 entities "in third countries that provide Russia with high-priority technology and equipment for its war machine."

Components from drones and rockets obtained by Ukraine still reveal foreign components, many from Western countries that have imposed restrictive measures on Russia.

"Unable to domestically produce much of the technology, equipment and other materiel it needs to sustain and maintain its military-industrial complex, Russia has offshored that production, relying on third-country suppliers to acquire the goods it needs," the Treasury Department said.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

should be created as Kyiv will not win the frontline battle against Russia. Speaking in Brussels on the sidelines of the European Union summit where discussion was focused on support for Ukraine, Mr. Orban said there was a "big battle" over the matter and added that he saw no reason for Hungary to send its taxpayers' money to support Kyiv, which has been battling to repel invading Russian troops sent by Putin since February 2022. Mr. Orban's comments came as the European Commission is seeking unanimous support from member states to increase the long-term E.U. budget before the end of the year, in particular to ensure the continued flow of financial aid to Ukraine. The commission proposed a revision of the 2021-2027 E.U. budget worth 1.1 trillion euros (\$1.2 trillion) to provide 50 billion euros to Ukraine and spend another 15 billion euros on migration. But the budget top-up needs backing from all member states, who will be required to make additional contributions from their national budgets. The E.U. leaders discussed the revision of the budget during the first day of their summit in Brussels, but they did not find an agreement and only decided to "take work forward, with a view to reaching an overall agreement by the end of the year." Mr. Orban, whose government continues to cultivate closer ties with Russia, unlike the other E.U. states, has been seen as a potential opponent of increased aid for Ukraine. "We found this proposal had not been worked out properly and was not suitable to be a basis for serious negotiations, so we rejected it," Mr. Orban told his country's state radio on October 27. "It was a big battle, especially on the Ukrainian issue." Mr. Orban said the biggest problem was that the Brussels strategy to send money and military aid to Ukraine to help its fight against Russia "has failed." "Today everybody knows but they do not dare to say it out loud, that this strategy has failed. It's obvious that this will not work ... the Ukrainians will not win on the front line," he said, adding that a plan B was needed.

Mr. Orban's comments came as Budapest is trying to unlock billions in aid envisaged for Hungary in the E.U. budget but blocked by the executive European Commission over rule-of-law concerns. Mr. Orban's position drew criticism from other E.U. leaders. Luxembourg Prime Minister Xavier Bettel said on October 27 that Hungary should not keep the E.U. "hostage" over Ukraine aid. "You can't say: if you want money for Ukraine, we want money for us. We shouldn't be the hostage of Mr. Orban and I'm convinced we will find a positive solution," he said. Mr. Bettel was among several E.U. leaders who criticized Mr. Orban for having met Russian President Vladimir Putin in China this month as Moscow wages a war against Ukraine and the E.U. is shunning the Kremlin. "It is really showing the middle finger to a country that suffers daily under Russian missiles and bombs," Mr. Bettel said on October 26. But Mr. Orban defended his decision to meet Putin, saying that he was "proud" to keep communications open with Moscow. Mr. Orban was not the only E.U. leader who did not agree on the commission's proposition for a revision of the budget. Backing up Mr. Orban over his fears of what happens to funds headed to Ukraine was his northern neighbor, Slovakia. Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico, who was appointed on October 25, said aid to Ukraine should include guarantees that the funds would not be misappropriated. "Ukraine is among the most corrupt countries in the world and we are conditioning what is excessive financial support on guarantees that European money, including Slovak, will not be embezzled," he said in a statement. Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda said the proposed 50 billion euros for Ukraine was not enough, while Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas said that – beyond supporting Ukraine – joint expenditure should grow to improve E.U. defense capabilities. Belgian Prime Minister Alexander De Croo backed continued support for Ukraine but called on the commission to make better use of the cash in its own coffers instead of asking the E.U. members for bigger contributions. A decision on the budget revision is expected at the next E.U. summit in December. (RFE/RL, with reporting by Reuters and AP)



With deep sorrow we announce that

Roman Komarnyckyj

son of the late Mykola and Anastasia Komarnyckyj,
brother of the late Petro and Bohdan,

passed away on October 17, 2023 at the age of 94.

He was born on May 17, 1929 in Synevyske Vyzhne,
just south of Stryi in Western Ukraine.

His family and many relatives lived in this area for many generations. Roman's father was very active in Western Ukraine's negotiations with Poland to achieve its independence from Poland-controlled lands.

After WWII broke out, Roman's immediate family, realizing their perilous situation, made plans to migrate to the West. They spent the war years in Allies-controlled parts of Western Germany, eventually immigrating to the United States in 1949.

As a young adult, Roman was very much involved in the Ukrainian immigrant community in New York City. He was a member of St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church. He participated in several social activities and was a very active member of PLAST and sports. He was a team member of the Ukrainian-American Soccer Club, founded by his brother, Bohdan.

Later, he was accepted by the Cossack Men's Choir as a tenor, touring with it while performing for many years in the major cities of Europe, Australia, Asia and the United States. After retiring from the Choir, he obtained a position with Pfizer Corporation until retirement. He moved from Manhattan to Brooklyn, NY in 2018 to enjoy one of his favorite activities – the ocean view and swimming.

He is survived by his niece, a grand niece and two grand nephews and their five children.

RIP Uncle Roman



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**ПАЧКИ, АВТОМОБІЛІ
ТА КОНТЕЙНЕРИ
В УКРАЇНУ**

Ukrainian pro sports update

by Ihor N. Stelmach

Ukraine tops medals table at 2023 World Combat Games

That Ukraine is fighting an ongoing war with Russia had little or nothing to do with the success Team Ukraine enjoyed in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, at the 2023 World Combat Games on October 20-30. The competition in martial arts and combat sports attracted 1,500 athletes from more than 120 countries with athletes competing in 16 different disciplines.

Ukraine's combat athletes captured first place in gold medals (21) and their 53 total medals ranked first overall. Heading into the 11th and final day of the event, it was a three-way race between Ukraine, Kazakhstan and host Saudi Arabia to see who would prevail as the top medal winner. At the conclusion, it was Ukraine earning top honors with their 21 gold, 17 silver and 15 bronze medals. Their final total of 53 medals was two better than runner-up Saudi Arabia.

Forty-two of Ukraine's 53 medals and 20 of their 21 golds were won in three combat disciplines: wrestling (15 total medals, 9 gold), arm-wrestling (14, 5) and sumo (13, 6). One gold medal was captured in karate and Ukraine also earned medals in savate (3), kick boxing (3) and ju-jitsu (2).

A stand-out highlight of the 11-day competition came in sumo's open weight division when Ukrainian women swept the podium: Svitlana Yaromka (gold), Yelyzaveta Morenko (silver) and Ivanna Berezovska (bronze) made it an all-Ukrainian sweep.

Two Ukrainian fencers win gold in Istanbul

Two Ukrainian fencers won gold medals in Istanbul at the International Fencing Federation's Satellite Tournament held October 21-22. Twenty-one-year-old Alina Poloziuk won gold in the women's senior foil individual competition, while Olympic, World and European champion Olha Kharlan won her gold medal in women's senior saber. Right behind Kharlan was her compatriot Alina Komashchuk, who finished second in the saber competition, earning herself a silver medal.

Ukraine wins eight medals, places third at Fit-Model Championships

Dariia Savula-Lyvtvin (Beginner Fit-Model Up Open), Anastasia Illiuk (Fit-Model up to 160 cm) and Hanna Tunik (Fit-Model up to 168 cm) won gold medals at the International Fitness Championships held on October 21-23 in Vilnius, Lithuania. Ukrainian models won a total of eight medals including an additional three silver and pair of bronze medals, totaling 65 points in team classification, which was good for second place overall behind China's 75 points. Fifteen nations competed at the event.

Ukraine wins nine medals at U-23 wrestling championships

Ukrainian women won seven of the nine medals claimed by Ukrainian Under-23 wrestlers at the Freestyle, Greco-Roman and Women's World Championships held in Tirana, Albania, on October 23-29. Ukrainian men won a pair of silver medals in the Greco-Roman discipline, while the women captured one gold medal, one silver and five bronze medals.

Solomiia Vynnyk's gold medal in women's freestyle 59-kilogram followed the gold medal she won at this year's U-23

European Championships in March. The 21-year-old dominated her opponents by scores of 10-0, 11-5 and 10-0 before a 1-1 finals victory by VPO1 over Japan's Sena Nagamoto (VPO1 is a victory by 9 or less points when the losing wrestler scores at least 1 point).

Ukraine finished fifth in the final rankings and their nine total medals were also fifth best among 22 countries earning medals.

Ukrainian men's and women's teams win bronze in sitting volleyball

The 2023 European Sitting Volleyball Championships for men and women were played on October 9-15 in Caorle, Italy. Twelve countries competed in the men's tournament where the Ukrainian men placed third overall, winning the bronze medal by defeating Poland 25-17, 25-12 and 25-16. Ten nations faced off in the women's competition and the Ukrainian women's team matched the men's performance by winning the bronze medal when they beat Germany 25-17, 21-25, 26-24 and 25-12, finishing third in the final rankings.

Ukrainian players earning special recognition for their play included Yaroslava Lakatosh (best receiver), Anastasiia Filon (best blocker) and Denys Bytchenko (best blocker).

Both the men's and women's sitting volleyball teams still hope to gain qualification for the 2024 Paralympic Games.

Ukrainian ambassador drops the puck at Tampere Cup

The 28th Aamulehti Tampere Cup, a pre-season hockey tournament for club teams founded by Finland's oldest morning newspaper, Aamulehti, faced off the night of August 11 at the Nokia Arena in Tampere.

This year's tournament especially resonated for Ukraine since local clubs Ilves and Tappara agreed to donate 50 percent of ticket sales from the Cup's matches to the Ukrainian Hockey Dream fund. Also, because of the sister city cooperation between Tampere and Kyiv, Tampere will furnish additional humanitarian aid providers to Kyiv.

Of interest is that in 1989 Kyiv's Ukrainian hockey club Sokil won the inaugural Tampere Cup. The roots of hockey collaboration between Kyiv and Tampere go back to 1984. Sokil regularly participated in exhibition games against Ilves and Tampere both home and away until the collapse of the USSR.

Although there was no Ukrainian presence in this year's Tampere Cup, Ukraine was prominent in the opening ceremonies that included a video from the "Ukrainian Hockey Dream" foundation, Mayor Kalerou Kumala's words of support for Ukraine and the stirring insightful words of Ukraine's Ambassador to Finland Olga Dibrova, who performed the ceremonial dropping of the puck at center ice to open the tournament.

A little earlier in the day the ambassador gave an interview to the Aamulehti's website in which she shared her impressions of her recent visits to her war-torn homeland.

"There is so much greenery and many rivers around. Then the mind suddenly gets a depressing feeling when you hear the terrible sound of an air raid in the middle of the street in Ukraine, when all of Ukraine is



Turkish Fencing Federation/Eskrim.org

Ukraine's Alina Poloziuk (right) won against Marta Camilletti of Italy in the women's foil final at the International Fencing Federation Satellite Tournament on October 21-21 in Istanbul.

under attack. Then you can't know where the missiles will hit. It can be any place. After minutes or seconds, you can see the approach of the rocket.

"The future is Ukraine's victory and when Russia leaves Ukraine," Dibrova emphasized to Finnish reporters. "However, peace is more than the withdrawal of Russia from Ukrainian territories. Peace must be on Ukraine's terms. Peace includes the restoration and strengthening of the integrity of the territory of Ukraine. Ukraine also wants guarantees that the war will never happen again."

In Tampere, they're playing hockey with thoughts of Ukraine. Tampere has been Kyiv's sister city since 1954. Tampere was one of the first to assist the people of Kyiv when Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022. Many Ukrainians found refuge in Tampere and the city's authorities and citizens send humanitarian aid to Kyiv on a regular basis.

In the summer of 2022, Tampere began hosting a group of vacationing children from Kyiv. The children's camp includes a program of sports and educational activities that include more of an acquaintance with culture and the creation of an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust between Ukrainians and Finns.

This past January, Kyiv received three passenger buses from Tampere that were loaded with humanitarian aid collected by Finnish citizens for the people of Kyiv. In July, 31 generators of various capacities and one super generator (with a 120-kilowatt capacity) arrived in Kyiv from Finland.

Last October 1, on City Day in Tampere, Kyiv Mayor Vitaliy Klitschko was celebrated for his life's work and awarded the "For Merit" medal of the first degree in a demonstration of solidarity between the two sister cities and its residents as they fight against Russian aggression.

Ukraine reacts to late entry of Russian athletes at karate championships

The Ukrainian Karate Federation (UKF) expressed disappointment and anger over a decision to allow late entry for 20 Russian and Belarusian athletes to compete as neutrals at the 2023 Karate World Championships in Budapest from October 24-29.

Athletes from the two countries had been suspended by the World Karate Federation (WKF) since March 2022 in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In early October, the WKF Executive Committee agreed to allow Russian and

Belarusian karateka to participate under a neutral banner.

The WKF's policy change aligns with the International Olympic Committee's March guidelines stating that athletes from the two countries should be permitted to return to the international sporting stage provided they do not support the war and have no military affiliations.

Twelve Russians and eight Belarusians were allowed to compete in Budapest.

The UKF decided not to boycott the tournament, but did file a formal protest with the WKF over the admittance of Russian and Belarusian athletes, focusing on the late submission of the athletes' applications. The UKF was researching if any of the athletes have been involved in the Russian army or are supporting Russia in its war on Ukraine.

Ukraine fielded a 22-member team competing in 15 categories in Budapest, hoping to continue their medal-winning ways in the sport of karate.

Horuna accuses WKF of promoting terrorism

Ukrainian Olympic bronze medalist Stanislav Horuna accused the World Karate Federation of "promoting terrorism" by allowing Russian and Belarusian athletes to compete as neutrals at the 2023 World Championships in Budapest. Horuna is a member of the WKF Athletes' Commission, but claims opposition to Russian participation was ignored by the WKF's Executive Committee.

Horuna contends the move to allow Russian athletes to compete promotes the country's propaganda while his homeland remains under siege. Horuna described it as "hypocrisy" and explained that international competition is where people watch athletes representing their country's values. Allowing Russian and Belarusian athletes to compete only legitimizes their terrorist behavior toward Ukraine, Horuna said.

Horuna said that his calls for Russian and Belarusian athletes to remain banned received support from fellow WKF Athletes' Commission members, but it was not enough to influence the governing body's decision.

A Ukrainian Karate Federation's investigation into the 20 athletes from Russia and Belarus who were cleared to compete as neutrals in Budapest revealed Russian Ernest Sharafutdinov and Belarusian Aliaksei Furyk have ties to the military. The

(Continued on page 18)

Ukraine's counteroffensive...

(Continued from page 5)

long, they could even lose some forces to an encirclement. But a clean breakthrough would be much harder, and to exploit a breakthrough with operational-level consequences would be even harder still – especially for a Russian army that has shown little ability to sustain

advances into great depth in this war," he said.

Ukraine's counteroffensive "certainly inflicted a substantial cost on the Russian military," Michael Kofman, a Russian military analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said in a podcast broadcast on October 18.

"From the standpoint of an offensive operation, where usually the attacker bears the larger share of casualties and material losses, the Ukrainian military did reasonably

well, certainly about as well as could be expected under the conditions and the level of training that they had available," he said.

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Congratulations to the Inductees to the 2020, 2021 and 2022 Ukrainian Sports Hall of Fame!

Saturday, December 9, 2023 at 4 pm

TRYZUB Ukrainian American Sports Center, Lower State And County Line Roads, Horsham, PA 19044



2020 CLASS of INDUCTEES of the UKRAINIAN SPORTS HALL OF FAME

PROFESSIONAL:

Osyp Choma	Boxing	USA
William "Wild Bill" Ezenicki	Hockey/Golf	Canada
Paul Henry Konerko	Baseball	USA
Tony Leswick/Lesvick	Hockey	Canada
Gene Makowsky	Football	Canada
Ivan Podubny	Wrestling	Ukraine
Tammie Lee Shewchuk	Hockey	Canada

OLYMPIC

Peter Fick	Swimming	USA
Volodymyr Holubnychy	Race Walk	Ukraine
Yana Klochkova	Swimming	Ukraine
Inessa Kravets	Triple Jump	Ukraine
Larissa Latynina	Gymnast	Ukraine
Volodymyr Morozov,	Kayaking	Ukraine
Oleksandr Shaparenko	Rowing	Ukraine
Zinaida Turchyna	Handball	Ukraine
Nina Umanets	Rowing	Ukraine

AMATEUR:

Bohdan Anniuk	Soccer	USA
Zenon Bilas	Barefoot Water Skiing	USA
Peter Eshenko	Football	Canada
Ivan Firtsak	Boxer/Wrestler	Ukraine
Andrew Hlushko	Soccer	USA
George Korol	Tennis	USA
Daniel Kupchuk	Soccer, Tennis	USA
Marika Rumasavich	Volleyball/Tennis	USA
Taras Szczur	Soccer	USA

BUILDERS :

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Ihor Tj Kostecky	USA
Ostap Stromecky	USA

Ray Kinasewich	Canada
Valeriy Lobanowskyi	Ukraine
Mike Martynovyyh	USA
Mijalo Paliwoda	USA
Severin Palydowycz	USA
George Popel	USA
Lorne Sawula	Canada
Anatoli Volochyn	Ukraine
TEAMS :	
1948-1949 Ukrainian Hockey Team in Mittenwald GERMANY DP (Displaced Persons Camp)	
LEGACY	
SUMA Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, Yonkers NY	
Nova UA Federal Credit Union Clifton, NJ	
Ukrainian National Federal Credit Union, NY	
Svoboda - Ukrainian Newspaper, Parsippany, NJ	

2021 HALL of FAME INDUCTEES

OLYMPIC and WORLD		
Marco Ray Evoniuk	Racewalker	USA
Michael Slyziuk	Curling	USA
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETE		
Igor Vovchanchyn	Martial Arts	Ukraine
Dennis Maruk	Hockey	Canada
Wally Stanowski	Hockey	Canada
Danny Lewicki	Hockey	Canada
BUILDER		
Stefan Bodnar		USA
Taras Jaworsky		USA
Ron Shewchuk		Canada
Peter Charuk		USA
AMATEUR		
Oleh Karawan	Soccer	USA

Mark Howansky	Hockey/Soccer	USA
Myron Hura	Soccer	USA
TEAM		
Winnipeg Ukrainian Kozaks 75-77 Hockey Team Canada		
LEGACY		
LYS Sports academy USA		

2022 HALL of FAME INDUCTEES

OLYMPIC and WORLD		
Oleksandr Volkov	Basketball	Ukraine
Ernest Slyziuk	Curling	USA
Paul Pinkewich	Table Tennis	Australia
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETE		
Pietro Vierchowod	Soccer	Ukraine
Vladimir Kozlow	Wrestler	Ukraine
George Lesyw	Soccer	USA
Walter Sczcerbiak	Announcer/Athlete	USA
Dmytro Serbin	Football	USA
BUILDER		
Walter Gretzky		Canada
Bud Selig		USA
Andrew Sheparovich		USA
Mykola Kostenko, Coach		Ukraine
Ivan Mykolayovych Bobersky		Ukraine
AMATEUR		
Ilya Buynevich	Archery	USA
George Varoff	Pole Vault	USA
Kerry Burtnyk	Curling	USA
Andrij Bushak	Football	USA
LEGACY		
The Ukrainian Weekly newspaper, Parsippany, NJ		

UKRAINIAN HOCKEY PLAYERS STANLEY CUP (ONGOING)

ALL CURRENT and FUTURE (now) 58 UKRAINIAN PROFESSIONAL HOCKEY PLAYERS WHOSE NAME ARE LISTED ON THE STANLEY CUP NATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUES PLAYERS of UKRAINIAN HERITAGE WHO HAVE WON the STANLEY CUP

Nick Wasnie 1930/1931 Montreal Canadiens	Микола Васній	Red Wings	Mike Nykoluk 1974, 1975 Philadelphia Flyers	Михайло Николоук	Richasrd Matvichuk 1999 Dallas Stars	Річард Матвійчук
Jack Leswick 1934 Chicago Black Hawks	Джек Лесвик	Danny Lewicki 1951 Toronto Maple Leafs	Mike Bossy 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 New York Islanders	Михайло Босий	Brent Severyn 1999 Dallas Stars	Брент Северин
Alex Shibicky 1940 New York Rangers	Олександр Шибіцький	Terry Sawchuk 1952, 1954, 1955, 1967 Toronto Maple Leafs	Dave Semenko 1984, 1985 Edmonton Oilers	Давид Семенко	Brad Lukowich 1999, 2004 Dallas Stars/Tampa Bay Lightning	Бред Лукович
Jack Shewchuk 1941 Boston Bruins	Джек Шевчук	Dmytro Prystal 1952, 1954, 1955 Detroit Red Wings	Wayne Gretzky 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988 Edmonton Oilers	Дмитро Пристал	Darryl Sydor 1999, 2004 Dallas Stars/Tampa Bay Lightning	Деррел Сидор
Peter Langelle 1942 Toronto Maple Leafs	Петро Лангель	Tony Leswick 1952, 1955, 1955 Detroit Red Wings	Larry Melnyk 1985 Edmonton Oilers	Тоні Лесвик	Oleg Tverdovsky 2003, 2006 NJ Devils/ Carolina Hurricanes	Олег Твердовський
Wally Stanowski 1942, 1945, 1947, 1948 Toronto Maple Leafs	Володимир Становський	Victor Stasiuk 1952, 1955 Detroit Red Wings	Mike Krushelnyski 1985, 1987, 1988 Edmonton Oilers	Віктор Стасюк	David Andreychuk 2004 Tampa Bay Lightning	Давид Андрейчук
Turk Broda 1942, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951 Toronto Maple Leafs	Володимир Брода	Paul Masnick 1953 Montreal Canadiens	Randy Bucyk 1986 Montreal Canadiens	Павло Масник	Ruslan Fedotenko 2004, 2009 Tampa Bay Lightning/ Pittsburgh Penguins	Руслан Федотенко
John Paul Holota 1943 Detroit Red Wings	Іван Голота	Eddie Mazur 1953 Montreal Canadiens	Jeff Chychrun 1992 Pittsburgh Penguins	Едвард Мазур	Anton Babchuk 2006 Carolina Hurricanes	Антон Бабчук
Gus Bodnar 1945, 1947 Toronto Maple Leafs	Август Боднар	Eric Nesterenko 1961 Chicago Black Hawks	David Michayluk 1992 Pittsburgh Penguins	Ерик Нестеренко	Joe Motzko 2007 Anaheim Ducks	Йостф Моцько
William Ezinicki 1947, 1948, 1949 Toronto Maple Leafs	Бил Єзиницький	Eddie Shack 1962, 1963, 1964, 1967 Toronto Maple Leafs	Brian Bellows 1993 Montreal Canadiens	Едді Шак	Johnny Boychuk 2011 Boston Bruins	Іван Бойчук
Bill Barilko 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951 Toronto Maple Leafs	Бил Барилко	Johnny Bower 1962, 1963, 1964, 1967 Toronto Maple Leafs	Joseph Kocur 1994 New York Rangers	Джон Бавер (Іван Кишкань)	Barry Trotz COACH Washington Capitals 2018	Барі Тротц
Victor Ivan Lynn 1947, 1948, 1949 Toronto Maple Leafs	Віктор Іван Линн	Bill Lesuk 1970 Boston Bruins	Bruce Driver 1995 New Jersey Devils	Бил Лесюк	Colton Parayko 2019 St Louis Blues	Колтон Парайко
Joe Klukay 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951 Toronto Maple Leafs	Йосиф Клюкай	John Bucyk 1970, 1972 Boston Bruins	Ken Daneyko 1995, 2000, 2003 New Jersey Devils	Іван Буцик	Tyler Bozak 2019 St Louis Blues	Тайлер Бозак
Bill Juzda 1949, 1951 Toronto Maple Leafs	Бил Юзда	Orest Kindrachuk 1974, 1975 Philadelphia Flyers	Curtis Leschyshyn 1996 Colorado Avalanche	Орест Кіндрачук	Caleb Makar 2022 Colorado Avalanche	Кейл Макап
Walter Humeniuk 1950, 1961 Chicago Black Hawks Detroit	Володимир Гуменюк	Dave Schultz 1974, 1975 Philadelphia Flyers	Tony Hrkas 1999 Dallas Stars	Давид Шульць		

Tickets for the Induction banquet will be \$150 per person. Please send a list of attendees and a payment by check to: **Ukrainian Sports Hall of Fame, 36 Mountainside Drive, Randolph, NJ 07869.**
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Ukraine's rowers compete at 2023 Head of the Charles Regatta in Boston

by Ihor N. Stelmach

The historic Head of the Charles Regatta is the world's largest rowing event that draws talented competitors from all over the globe. Among those competing at this year's edition from October 20-22 was a Ukrainian contingent led by 2012 Olympic gold medalist and European champion Nataliia Dovgodko. For her and her teammates, this preeminent event is not just a competition. It also an opportunity to display Ukrainian pride and to thank everyone who has supported and helped Ukraine since Russia launched its full-scale war on Ukraine.

They made their way back to Boston from their war-torn country, Europe and other parts of the U.S. by plane, train and automobile. Members of the Ukrainian national team were back in Boston, ready to row after being received with open arms and hearts a year ago.

Last year, logistics and sponsorship organizer Andrii Ivanchuk successfully got the team to Boston for more than just a rowing competition in a foreign land. The master plan was to build bridges and forge a connection between Ukraine and the United States by joining together regular, common people.

Currently the head crew coach at Simmons University and one-time Ukrainian national team member, Ivanchuk took it upon himself to get Ukrainian boats out of their country and find other places to compete. The ongoing war with Russia has made it impossible to hold regattas at home, as government funding is nonexistent. Ukrainian rowers have been displaced



Ukraine's women's championship four team includes (from left to right) Kateryna Dudchenko, Yevheniia Dovhodko, Nataliia Dovgodko and Daria Verkhogliad who were pictured at the 2022 European Championships in Munich. The team won second place at the Head of the Charles Regatta on October 22-23 in Boston. (Anastasiia Kozhenkova, not pictured, replaced Dudchenko at the competition in Boston.)

to neighboring European countries, such as Bulgaria and Italy, for training and preparation for summer competitions. At home in Ukraine, athletes struggle with basic necessities, as they lack electricity, heat, food and medical care.

The rowers' experience at last year's Head of the Charles Regatta stood out

because of the incredible warmth and adulation bestowed upon the Ukrainian rowers by those in attendance. The Ukrainian team was surprised by the elite level of competition shown by the collegiate teams in the field. This year, the rowers arrived with managed expectations and hoped to improve on their finishes

from a year ago. The team was in North Carolina for the High Point Autumn Rowing Festival to face Atlantic Coast Conference rowing teams before traveling to Boston and training one full week ahead of the regatta. Ukraine competed in the women's championship fours, men's championship eights, women's and youth singles, and men's pair.

Dubbed "the city of rowing" by Dovgodko, the trip to Boston evoked mixed emotions of worry for the well-being of loved ones back home and appreciation of those present for their support, assistance and sense of hope. The opportunity to do some rowing gave these athletes some normalcy in their lives. They might have been excited by the competition and the extravaganza of the event, but they also could not escape fear for the safety of their families and friends in Ukraine. And they have not forgotten the sirens, bomb shelters and power outages that made training almost impossible.

The Head of the Charles Regatta was another opportunity for the rowers to represent Ukrainians from all over the globe, renew hope in Dovgodko and her teammates and allow them to demonstrate their national pride.

On the water, Team Ukraine's best showing was an outstanding second-place finish in the women's championship fours (18:00.349 seconds), which included Dovgodko, Yevheniia Dovhodko, Anastasiia Kozhenkova, Daryna Verkhogliad and Jenny Sichel (coxswain). Elsewhere, Illia Chykanov finished 19th out of 46 in youth

(Continued on page 19)

Ukrainian pro...

(Continued from page 16)

former reportedly serves in the army, while the latter serves in Belarus' National Security Agency.

Olympic and World bronze medalist Horuna retired from individual competition, choosing to compete in the kumite team competition in Budapest.

Shakhtar Donetsk names new head coach

A mere 24 hours before their Champions League clash with Barcelona, Shakhtar Donetsk announced the appointment of a new head coach in the person of Marino Pusic. The 52-year-old received a contract through the 2025-2026 season.

The Croatian had a limited playing career with four clubs in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. His coaching career began in boys' futsal and in 2013-2014 he got his first professional coaching job as an assistant with NAC Brada in the Dutch professional league. Except for a year as head coach for Dutch club FC Twente in 2018-2019, Pusic has been a career assistant coach. His last position prior to his new Shakhtar post was as an assistant with Feyenoord Rotterdam.

Pusic replaces acting head coach Dario Srna, who led Shakhtar to a 3-0 victory over Luhansk in the Ukrainian Premier League. Srna had replaced Patrick van Leeuwen, who was fired on October 16 after winning only seven of 12 matches in his first year as coach of the club.

Barcelona defeats Shakhtar 2-1 in UEFA Champions League play

First-half goals by Ferran Torres and Fermin Lopez were enough for Barcelona to secure a 2-1 home win over Shakhtar



Shakhtar Donetsk club owner Rinat Akhmetov welcomed Marino Pusic of Croatia as the club's new head coach on October 29 in Kyiv.

Donetsk in Group H of the UEFA Champions League action on October 25. The locals dominated from the start despite missing seven key players due to injury and suspension.

Torres opened the scoring in the 28th minute with a volley off a rebound after a Lopez strike from in close smashed off the right post. The goal required a VAR check to confirm Lopez was onside when he shot from inside the box.

Barca's head coach was forced to call up eight academy players to replace the injured Robert Lewandowski and Raphinha, among others. One of the replacement players was Lopez, who extended Barcelona's lead in the 36th minute with a thunderous shot that ricocheted off the left post on its way in. Lopez hit the post on two later occasions and Barca had two goals nullified by VAR for tight offsides.

Shakhtar midfielder Heorhiy Sudakov stroked in a neat finish off a counterattack in the 62nd minute to narrow the deficit, but the home club was fortunate that most of their opponents' shots missed their target, except for a Taras Stepanenko attempt off an Irakli Azarov pass that hit the near post. Barca held on to grab their third win in three games. After three matches in group play, Shakhtar sits in third place with three points.

In the debut of new head coach Pusic, Shakhtar was trying to win consecutive Champions League matches for the first time in over five years. Pusic was appointed Shakhtar's coach one day earlier, joining the club from Dutch champion Feyenoord where he served as an assistant. In a post-match press conference, Pusic offered his take on his club's mindset and mood: "My team went through a lot of emotions.

They've had three coaches in a few days. They are footballers, but they are people, too - we can't forget that they have emotions. They showed up and competed with Barcelona tonight, so I'm enormously proud."

Shakhtar's next Champions League game is a return match against Barcelona on November 7.

UAF reiterates appeal to UEFA

The Ukrainian Football Association (UAF) again formally appealed to UEFA in the form of an official letter, asking Europe's football governing body to take decisive action regarding the possible integration of football clubs from temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories into Russian national championships.

UEFA and FIFA both previously said that Crimean football cannot be incorporated into the Russian football system. Russia has ignored this message and has included Crimean clubs in its football structure, a blatant violation of FIFA and UEFA rules.

The UAF and the Ukrainian Premier League adhere to position that the acceptance of Crimean teams and by extension teams from Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia into Russian football only legitimizes the annexation and appropriation of another country's territory.

In its letter released to the media on October 27, the UAF asked UEFA to pay attention and react decisively to Russia's "violation, lawlessness and manifestation of exceptional disrespect for the entire football family."

(Based on reporting by AP, Para Volley Europe, the Hockey Federation of Ukraine, Inside the Games, Obozrevatel, Football Espana, Reuters and UAF.)

Ihor Stelmach may be reached at iman@sfgsports.com.

OUT & ABOUT

- Through December 21 Chicago Art exhibit, "Don't Close Your Eyes," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, www.uima-chicago.org
- Through December 30 Chicago Art exhibit, "Unbreakable: Ukrainian Contemporary Art Created During the Russian-Ukrainian War (2022-2023) and Brought Directly From Ukraine," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, www.uima-chicago.org
- November 6 Cambridge, MA Memorial discussion, "Nations After Communism: Panel in Honor of Roman Szporluk," Harvard University, www.huri.harvard.edu
- November 7 New York Film screening, "Dovbush" by Olesia Sanina, Razom for Ukraine, Angelika Film Center, www.eventbrite.com
- November 7 New Brunswick, NJ Presentation by Serhiy Yekelchuk, "The First Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920," Rutgers University, 848-932-6103
- November 8 Cambridge, MA Book talk with Olena Stiazhkina, "Ukraine, War, Love: A Donetsk Diary" and "Cecil the Lion Had to Die," Harvard University, www.huri.harvard.edu
- November 8 New York Presentation featuring Iya Kiva, "How Fire Descends: N.Y. Poets and Artists Respond to Ukrainian Poetry," Yara Arts Group, Bowery Poetry Club, www.bowerypoetry.com
- November 10 New York Poetry presentation by Alex Averbuch, "Of Rage and Longing," Shevchenko Scientific Society, www.shevchenko.org
- November 10 New York Film screenings, "A Bit of Bravery," Razom for Ukraine, Fredrick P. Rose Auditorium, Cooper Union, www.razomforukraine.org
- November 11 Chicago Benefit Gala, "The Art of Resilience," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, www.uima-chicago.org
- November 12 Jenkintown, PA 90th anniversary Holodomor commemoration, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, www.ueccphila.org
- November 12 New York Concert, "Celebrating Virko Baley," with violinist Solomiya Ivakhiv, clarinetist Viktoriya Luperi and pianist Steven Beck, Ukrainian Institute of America, www.ukrainianinstitute.org
- November 12 New York Film screening, "Pamfir" by Dmytro Sukholytkyy-Sobchuk, The Quad Cinema, www.eventbrite.com
- November 13 New York Literary event, "Olena Stiazhkina, Oksana Lutsyshyna and Andriy Kurkov: The New Ukrainian Novel," Razom for Ukraine, New York Public Library, Stavros Niarchos Foundation Library, www.showclix.com/event/ukrainiannovel/tag/nyplwebsite
- November 15 New York Poetry evening, "Today is a Different War: Poetry of Boris and Lyudmyla Khersonsky," Razom for Ukraine, Shevchenko Scientific Society, www.shevchenko.org
- November 16 Piscataway, NJ Film screening, "Mr. Jones," Ukrainian National Women's League of America and Ukrainian Club at Rutgers University, Rutgers University Cinema, mariaflynnohio@aol.com or 540-553-1558
- November 18 Chicago Gala fundraiser, Ukrainian National Museum, www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org
- November 18 Ottawa Ukrainian Christmas Market, Ukrainian Banquet Hall, www.ukrainianorthodox.info or 613-728-0856
- November 18 New York Holodomor commemoration, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, St. Patrick's Cathedral, www.ucca.org
- November 18 New York Performance by Alexander Chaplinsky, Pavlo Gintov and Anna Shelest, celebrating composer and pianist Sergei Bortkiewicz, presented by #PlayUkrainianMusic, Faust Harrison Pianos, www.eventbrite.com
- November 18 Chicago Night at the Museum fundraising evening, Ukrainian National Museum, www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org
- November 18 New York Presentation, "Jewish-Ukrainian Relations and the Birth of a Political Nation: Adrian Karatnycky in conversation with journalist Vladislav Davidzon," Shevchenko Scientific Society, www.shevchenko.org
- November 19 Jenkintown, PA Traditional Thanksgiving Day Dinner, Ukrainian American Senior Citizens Association in Philadelphia, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 215-663-1166
- November 19 North Port, FL Holodomor Famine-Genocide Commemoration, United Ukrainian American Organizations of Southwest Florida, St. Andrew Religious and Cultural Center, drdanvira@yahoo.com
- November 19 Lehigh, PA Thanksgiving Diner, Ukrainian Homestead of CEC ODWU, www.ukrhomestead.com
- November 19 Jenkintown, PA Thanksgiving Dinner, Ukrainian American Senior Citizens Association, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 215-663-1166
- November 25 Montreal 90th anniversary commemoration of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadian Congress - Quebec Provincial Council, with a Memorial Service at Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Ukrainian Catholic Church, 438-764-9393

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in The Ukrainian Weekly. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows. Please send e-mail to mdubas@ukrweekly.com.

University...

(Continued from page 11)

She cited the murders, rapes and many cases of torture and dehumanization that have been well documented.

"In the past, Russians have enjoyed impunity for war crimes in many countries. The firebombing of Grozny, Aleppo, and Mariupol cannot go unpunished," she said.

Ms. Matviichuk hailed the extraordinary courage of ordinary Ukrainians.

"When the United Nations withdrew its staff, it was ordinary people who rescued their neighbors, ... who risked their lives for people they had never met before," she said.

She recalled the harrowing first days of the invasion when the Russians advanced on Kyiv in their belief that they would overturn the government in a matter of days.

"We refused to evacuate. We celebrated every morning, every night that we had survived with Ukraine's independence still intact," Ms. Matviichuk said. "If this war has taught us anything, it has taught us that people matter!"

Among other notable speakers were Prof. Andrea Peto of the Central European University, now in exile in Vienna after the regime of Victor Orban banished the uni-

versity from Budapest.

Ms. Peto reminded the audience that sexual violence against civilians has been standard practice for the Red Army since World War II. Massive, systematic rapes were committed by Russians in Hungary and Germany after the war.

The practice continues in Ukraine.

Russian soldiers are encouraged by their commanders, propagandists and even their spouses to rape Ukrainian women in order to bring more Russian children into the world, Ms. Peto noted.

To underscore these atrocities, the Embassy of Ukraine provided a traveling exhibit showing the locations of massacres committed by Russian soldiers, discrete photos of victims, graphic images of damage to buildings and churches, and an audio roll of intercepted phone conversations between Russian soldiers and their relatives openly discussing and congratulating them for their war crimes against Ukrainians.

Anna Vyshniakova, a young attorney and co-founder of the non-governmental organization LingvaLexa, and Kristina Hook, a Fulbright scholar, cited the various ways in which Russian war crimes already meet the accepted definition of genocide.

According to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention of Genocide,

"direct and public incitement" of crimes against humanity would also fall within the scope of prohibited acts.

There has been a steady stream of provocative statements from Russian propagandists, among them Vladimir Solovyov, Dmitry Medvedev and others, calling for the brutalization and extermination of Ukrainians. Russian invaders have been targeting police and prosecutors for execution. Under these conditions, Ms. Vyshniakova said, prosecutors working for the War Crimes Department of the Ministry

of Justice and the Chief Prosecutor's Office should be seen as "superheroes."

The University of Connecticut School of Law, together with the Dodd Center for Human Rights, has entered into a partnership with the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv to develop a new curriculum on international law that can address some of the key challenges facing Ukraine in the aftermath of the current conflict. More information about that project can be obtained by emailing svitlana.khyliuk@ucu.edu.ua, or calling (773)235-8462.

Ukraine's rowers...

(Continued from page 18)

singles, Kateryna Dudchenko placed 11th out of 24 in women's singles, the men's eights ended in 17th place out of 27 and the duo of Mykola Mazur and Maksym Boklazhenko were fourth out of five in the men's elite pair.

The Ukrainian rowers left shocked and humbled by the degree of attention and support they received from the media, fellow rowers and everyday people at the Head of the Charles Regatta two years running. Totally unexpected, it gave them a

strong sense of belief and understanding of the support America has for Ukraine. It strengthened their hope of winning their war and to someday once again live in peace. It uplifted their spirits and provided inspiration toward achieving that victory, not on the water, but in real life.

A bond has been built beyond the actual regatta, and Ukrainians departing Boston in 2023 felt the love more than ever.

(Based on reporting by The Harvard Crimson and Head of the Charles Regatta, <https://hcor.org/>.)

Ihor Stelmach may be reached at iman@sfgsports.com.



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