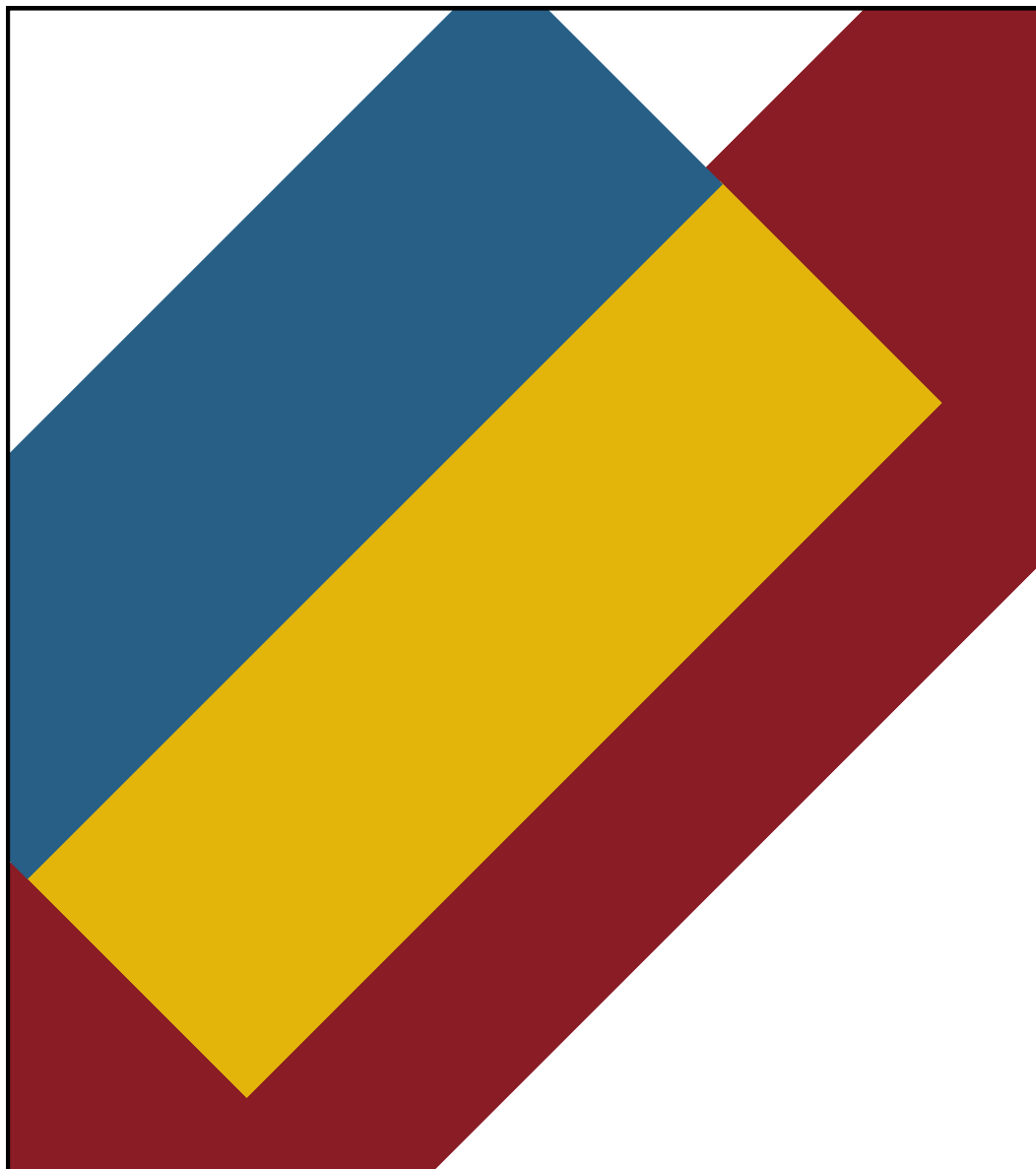




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The Ukrainian Review

ISSUE #004



INTERNATIONAL VERSION DECEMBER 2024

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DEAR READER!

The team of The Ukrainian Review has created the fourth issue of the print magazine, in which we have invested a lot of effort and time. Our aim is not just to remind the world about Ukraine but to bring to light the stark realities our people face today, making this issue a must-read for anyone interested in Ukraine, our culture, and current events.

In this issue, you will find many articles dedicated to strong Ukrainians who are defending our country on the battlefield or representing it in various international events, including sports and music. We also present a series of socially important texts about refugees, Russian captivity survivors, and the country's energy situation.

One of the areas of our activity is countering disinformation from our common enemy, Russia. Therefore, on our pages and website, you can find a lot of materials about manipulations regarding the Ukrainian issue, in particular, on the topic of the ceasefire.

We would like to express our special gratitude to our international guests from Lithuania, the United States, Canada, Georgia, and Germany for contributing to this magazine. Such a willingness to cooperate with our media shows that we are doing important work for the benefit of Ukraine and that we are not left alone with a cruel neighbour. We are grateful to our international friends for their daily support and thank our soldiers for allowing us to work behind the front line.

Everyone who holds this magazine in their hands will find something interesting and close to their heart. There is a lot of evil in the world, but this does not mean that it does not need to be fought for the sake of a brighter future for future generations.

Speak up and act decisively. Spread the truth as actively as possible and stay true to your views. Do not let the world forget about Ukraine.

TETIANA STELMAKH
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

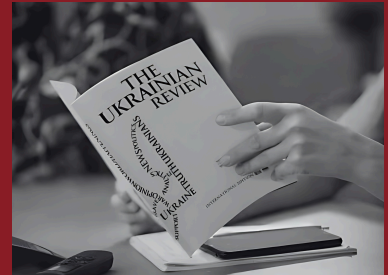


This magazine was created to help the world learn more about Ukraine. Our mission is to convey an objective picture of what is happening in our country and to share the thoughts and experiences of the Ukrainian people, who have been living in a state of war for three years.

Our team and like-minded partners have put tremendous effort into this issue. Most of the articles were written to the sounds of air raid sirens and explosions in five Ukrainian cities. I hope you will understand us and our story. Thank you for supporting Ukraine — we deeply value everyone who continues to stand with us.



VOLODYMYR SAVCHENKO
CEO THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW



Previous issue of "The Ukrainian Review"

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THE WORLD IS TIRED OF THE WAR IN UKRAINE

The world is tired of the war in Ukraine, and this plays into the hands of the aggressor. Many people, including politicians in different countries, are getting nervous, feeling the drop in support among their constituents because of their open support for Ukraine. Russia is waging a large-scale information war to exhaust the world, sow disappointment, and divert attention from its own crimes. However, it is important to remember why supporting Ukraine is more than a political issue. It is about protecting the values that the world should cherish.

Ukraine's history is filled with tragedies: The Holodomor, which is recognized as genocide, Soviet repression, two world wars, political persecution and attempts to destroy culture. Ukrainians have repeatedly fought for their right to exist, freedom, and dignity. And now, in the twenty-first century, Russia continues its policy of terror aimed at destroying our people.

Remember that Ukraine used to be part of a big geopolitical game: as part of disarmament, we gave up nuclear weapons, strategic aircraft, bombers and other powerful arsenal in exchange for international security guarantees. And today, independent Ukraine, which once made a choice in favor of peace, has become a victim of aggression by one of the world's largest countries. Dictatorial regimes continue to support this war by supplying weapons to strike Ukrainian soil, contributing to the killing and destruction.

Instead, the world media often focuses on Ukraine's internal problems, such as corruption, social difficulties, and migration. Yes, these issues exist, and we are working to overcome them. But shading the tragedy of war with these problems is part of the aggressor's tactics. Russia is trying to devalue our people by showing only our weaknesses, so that the world gradually loses interest in our struggle.



A destroyed house as a result of a Russian missile attack on Odesa on March 2.



Daughter of soldier Oleh Prudkyi at her father's grave



Five Ukrainian soldiers who lost limbs



This is the weakness of international support for the values of democracy and freedom. Ukrainians are now standing on the front lines for these principles, which should be important to the entire civilized world. Supporting Ukraine is not just a political gesture; it is a defense of humanity and freedom against dictatorship and lawlessness.

The world may get tired. This is the aggressor's goal: to make the attention fade, the support decrease, and leave Ukraine alone with the tragedy. But Ukrainians live in war, lose loved ones, see their homes and schools destroyed, and continue to fight and work for the future.

We call on the civilized world not to forget that the war in Ukraine is not just another conflict. It is an attempt to destroy the people who are fighting for their right to life and freedom. We cannot allow the aggressor to achieve its goal through fatigue and indifference. This struggle concerns not only Ukraine, but also the future of the democratic world.

The world may be tired of the war in Ukraine, and this is natural. The conflict should end, because any war ends in peace or negotiations. However, right now the world must demonstrate strength and understanding of the nature of aggressors, show a clear position of condemnation of such aggression and not turn away from the threat that affects global security.

If the world shows weakness and indifference, focusing only on its own problems, forgetting about the tragedy in a neighboring country, it could split the civilized world and lead to new, even greater conflicts. Dictatorial regimes, having tasted blood and seen weakness, will not stop until they overcome democratic values and impose their dictatorship.

VOLODYMYR SAVCHENKO, THE FOUNDER AND IDEOLOGICAL INSPIRER OF THE PROJECT



A family was hit by a rocket attack at the railway station in Kramatorsk on April 8, 2022



Little Yevhen at the grave of his father, military man Mykola Kuzmin



Residential buildings in Mariupol in March 2022



POLITICS DUAL PURPOSE RHETORIC: *Why does Moscow assure that it is ready for negotiations with Kyiv*

Moscow was talking about its readiness for peace negotiations in the fall of 2022. However, this rhetoric was misleading. At that moment, the aggressor's army lost its strategic initiative, was knocked out of the Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Sumy regions, and later from the Kharkiv region and the right bank of the Kherson region. To prevent the collapse of its own armed forces, Moscow was forced to announce a partial mobilisation and throw thousands of prisoners enrolled in the PMC Wagner into "meat assaults". The start of negotiations would allow the occupiers to take an operational pause, which the Russian generals really needed. However, Moscow did not receive such a gift. In addition, in October 2022, Volodymyr Zelenskyy implemented the decision of the National Security Council, which recorded the impossibility of negotiations with Putin.

During 2023, Putin returned to the topic of negotiations several times, and in 2024, assurances of his readiness for a diplomatic settlement became a constant refrain in the Kremlin's official rhetoric. However, in terms of their content, these were more like ultimatums than a real invitation to dialogue. For example, on May 30, 2024, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated that it is possible to "accelerate the settlement" in the case of "ceasing the supply of Western weapons and ending hostilities by Kyiv." It was clear that fulfilling these requirements would be suicidal for Ukraine.

Firstly, the Kremlin's statements about readiness for negotiations are part of a Russian propaganda campaign aimed at destroying the international community consensus regarding support for Ukraine. Attempts to convince the world that Putin's "SVO" was a response to Kyiv's aggressive intentions turned out to be pathetic, and Russian fakes about "biolaboratories" in which Ukrainians allegedly prepared weapons of mass destruction and similar nonsense became the subject of ridicule. Russia was unequivocally recognised as the aggressor, and Ukraine as the victim of an unprovoked attack. Now, the Kremlin has resorted to another attempt to manipulate international opinion. Its primary task is to convince the world that Moscow has long been calling for a peaceful settlement, while Kyiv stubbornly rejects the path of diplomacy and seeks continued bloodshed, exposing Western countries to the threat of uncontrolled escalation and forcing them to finance their own "militarism."



In Europe, invaluable support for Putin, in this campaign, is provided by Viktor Orbán, who in July 2024 carried out a “peacemaking mission”, visiting Kyiv and Moscow, after which he sent his own “peace plan” to the leaders of the European Council. According to Radio Svoboda, which has read the non-public document, Orbán relays Moscow’s position. It is obvious that such actions by the Hungarian leader help Putin promote his position on the European agenda. The same is happening in the United States, where Donald Trump’s ambivalent rhetoric sometimes openly resonates with Russian narratives. Apparently, Moscow hopes that the Western consensus will, sooner or later, fall apart, and Kyiv will have no choice but to accept Putin’s ultimatums.

However, the deceptiveness of Russian rhetoric is perfectly understood in the West. For example, on June 24, 2024, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz, commenting on Moscow’s “peace plan”, stated that “Putin is still fully committed to war and rearmament; no one can ignore this,” and that the main task at the moment is to prove to Putin that he cannot conquer Ukraine on the battlefield. This statement reflects the consensus of the West regarding the prospects of the Russian-Ukrainian war. There is no reason to accuse Ukraine of excessive ambitions because it was Kyiv that initiated the Global Peace Summit in Switzerland in June 2024. The fact that Russia tried to disrupt and discredit the Summit eloquently testified to its true position, which does not coincide with the Kremlin’s official rhetoric.

Secondly, the Kremlin’s peace-making rhetoric is part of an information campaign to destabilise Ukraine. Thus, from December 2023 to June 2024, Russia’s aggressive information operation to discredit Volodymyr Zelenskyy lasted. Its reason was the completion of Zelenskyy’s five-year term as president.



IHOR SOLOVEI — HEAD OF THE CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION SECURITY



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Moscow tries to convince Western societies, and primarily Ukrainians, that Zelenskyy is a usurper who uses the war as an excuse to maintain his dictatorial power. This operation failed: Zelenskyy remained legitimate to the world community, and there is a broad socio-political consensus in Ukraine that Zelenskyy should fulfil his powers until the end of the war. Now, the Russian operation has entered another phase: propaganda assures Ukrainians that Zelenskyy is the main obstacle to the end of this terrible war. The door to peace is open, but Zelenskyy, with his "Napoleonic ambitions" and "unrealistic" Victory Plan, only wants "eternal war".

Moscow is conducting this campaign not only through informational means. For example, the strikes on the energy infrastructure of Ukraine, inflicted by Russia in the spring and summer of 2024, were completely meaningless from a military perspective but greatly complicated the situation of the civilian population. Moreover, on July 8, Russians struck the Okhmatdyt Children's Hospital in Kyiv. All of this, coupled with the escalating pressure on the front, as per the Kremlin's plan, has to demoralise Ukrainians. Russia resorted to similar tactics at the beginning of the full-scale invasion, staging the Bucha massacre and a number of other punitive actions that were shocking in their cruelty. But, on the contrary, this consolidated the Ukrainians, who are now convinced that this war is of an existential nature and that the refusal of resistance would not mean peace but bloody mass terror. This time, the Kremlin chose a more cynical tactic, accompanying the terrorist attacks with assurances that peace negotiations could begin "at any moment", as Kremlin officials claim.

All this is accompanied by other aggressive propaganda campaigns provided by Russian special services. The Kremlin's disinformation machine is trying to immerse Ukrainians in an alternative reality, in which the Defence Forces of Ukraine are on the verge of collapse, the economy is rapidly approaching default, and the country is paralysed by fear of "violent mobilisation" and the approach of the "hardest winter", which will have to be experienced in the cold and darkness. It is possible that this winter Moscow will once again try to provoke a humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. According to Ukrainian intelligence, Russia is preparing to attack nuclear power facilities, which could have unpredictable consequences.



It seems that in the spring of 2024, the Kremlin seriously hoped that they would be able to raise the Ukrainians to the “third Mайдan”, which would paralyse state institutions and lead to a real collapse of the defence. Now, having updated its tactics, Moscow is trying to influence Kyiv’s position through the manipulation of public sentiments. However, according to sociological surveys, “Putin’s plan” remains unacceptable for Ukrainians. For example, according to the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 55% of Ukrainians insist on the inadmissibility of territorial concessions in exchange for peace.

Thus, Moscow’s statements about its readiness for a diplomatic settlement are now a weapon aimed at Ukraine. The involvement of soldiers from the North Korea in the war is a clear indication that the Kremlin is relying on escalation rather than diplomacy. Realizing this, Kyiv offers not only a Formula for Peace designed to end the war on the basis of justice, but also a Victory Plan, a strategy for military and political coercion of Russia to engage in honest diplomacy. Implementation of this plan will require determination on the part of Western partners, but Moscow’s actions show that this is the only realistic path to peace. The strategy of appeasement of the aggressor, which the West adopted in 2014, led to the largest armed conflict in Europe since World War II and the formation of an alliance of aggressive dictatorial regimes on the Moscow-Tehran-Pyongyang axis. That is why support for the Victory Plan proposed by Kyiv is the best investment not only in the future of Ukraine, but also in the entire world.

IHOR SOLOVEI

MOMENTS OF WAR



POLITICS LITHUANIAN VIEW:

Who wins in the diplomatic battle between Ukraine and Russia

The Ukrainian Review spoke with Dainius Žalimas, Member of the European Parliament from Lithuania, about the EU's policy towards Ukraine. In particular, on October 16, President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy presented the Victory Plan, which consists of five points and three secret annexes. The MEP commented that it is currently difficult to determine a clear position of the European Parliament on Zelenskyy's plan.

This plan has not yet been discussed at the European Parliament, except for some of its political groups. It is expected to be discussed probably in the forthcoming sessions. It is also likely that the Parliament may express its position in the resolution. The first talks are happening in our political group – Renew Europe.

However, looking at the resolutions already adopted on Ukraine by the Parliament of the present convocation, one can predict the general political support for Zelenskyy's Victory plan. Indeed, it seems to be the realistic platform for achieving a just peace based on respect for international law and aimed at lasting security for Europe. The European Parliament has already expressed its determination to support Ukraine as much as necessary to achieve victory in this war. It called on all the states to provide all the necessary weapons and equipment as well as to remove all the existing limitations on the use of weapons supplied. It also promotes the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

However, more important than the European Parliament's attitude to Zelenskyy's plan may be its attitude to the use of frozen Russian assets. There were many disputes over this issue throughout 2024, but eventually, diplomats found a way out of the situation. Now, Ukraine receives loans that will be repaid from the proceeds of frozen Russian assets. One of these is a €35 billion loan that the European Parliament approved on October 22.

Indeed, the European Parliament has called on the Commission to find a sound legal basis for the use of frozen Russian assets for the needs of defence and reconstruction of Ukraine.



More than 200 billion Euros are frozen in Europe, and one can only imagine what a positive effect on Ukraine's victory can be achieved by using all of them. However, what is achieved with the decision on the loans financed from the profit received from those immobilised assets is not yet a comprehensive and most effective solution to the problem. Though so far, it is acceptable to the overwhelming majority in the Parliament as the solution that does not raise doubts about legality. But there is also a need to move forward.

The Commission should initiate more courageous decisions regarding the complete confiscation of the frozen assets of the Russian state and those contributing to its aggression and their effective use in strengthening Ukraine's defence and ensuring Ukraine's post-war reconstruction, – said Dainius Žalimas.

He convinced that this could be done at the expense of future Russian reparations. By the way, the proposal of the Commission that the Parliament has approved clearly states that Russian state funds must remain frozen until Russia ends its aggressive war against Ukraine and compensates it for all the damage caused by the war.

So why not start using all these funds now? International law also provides for countermeasures that can be used by the entire international community against the aggressor, as all the international community can be regarded as the victim of such a severe breach of international peace. We must make these decisions as soon as possible because by postponing them to the future, we lose the opportunity to end the aggression most effectively, and, what is most important, we are losing the opportunity to save as many human lives as possible.

In the context of this article, we also spoke with Vigaudas Ušackas, former EU Ambassador to Russia and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. He explained how Russian diplomacy is currently working in the context of resistance to EU and US sanctions.

I think only force can stop Putin's military expansion. That's why it's so critical that Ukraine receives all necessary military support to increase precision strikes by long-range artillery and push Russia to focus on homeland security.

He believes that there are currently four scenarios under which Russia will voluntarily sit down at the negotiating table.

The first one is a situation when Russia militarily is not winning on the battlefield, and its expansionist goals are put on hold and refuted, while Ukraine is gradually regaining Russian-occupied territories, thus forcing Putin, albeit reluctantly, to start negotiations.

The second scenario is when internal political forces come into play. Exhausted by human losses and fatigue from waiting for the end of a "quick victory", the grass root movement [human protest – ed], in a similar way, was forced to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1989 completely.

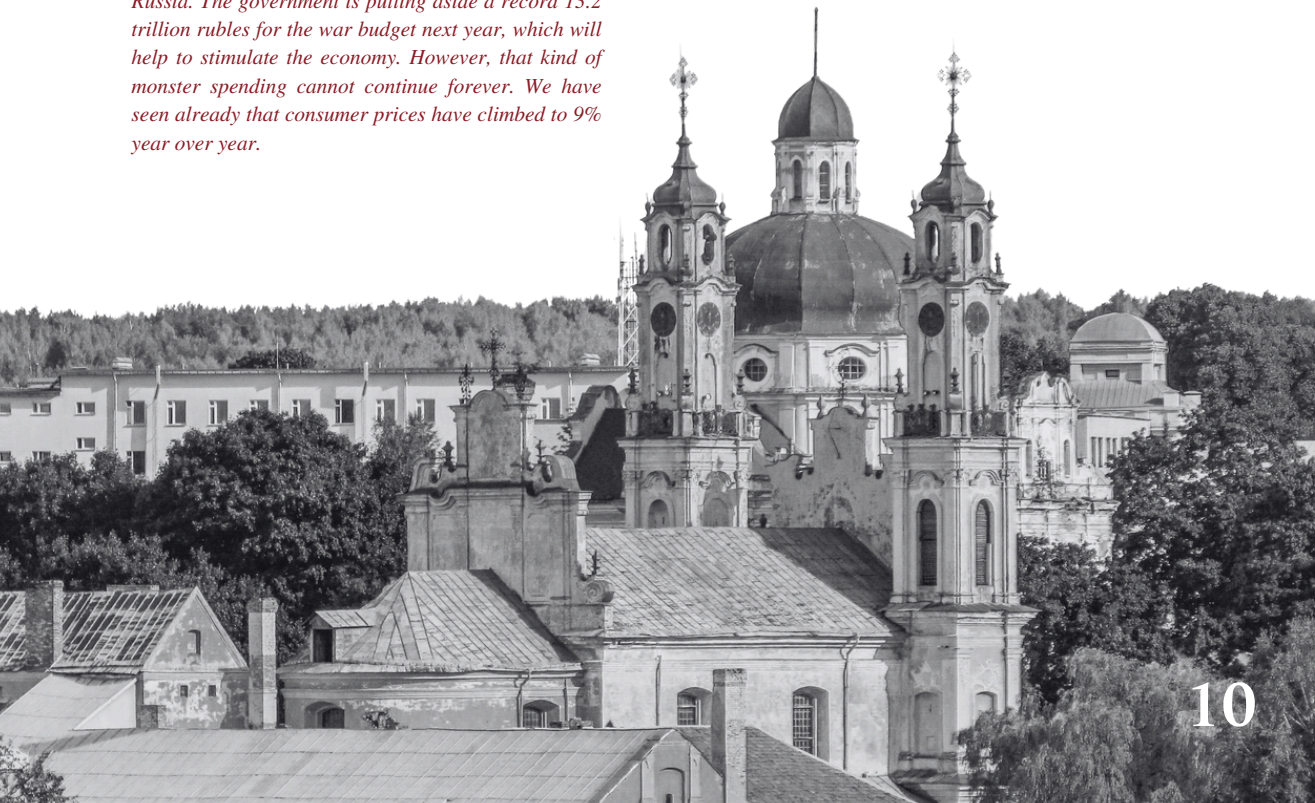
The third reason might be that of economic abscess in Russia. The government is putting aside a record 13.2 trillion rubles for the war budget next year, which will help to stimulate the economy. However, that kind of monster spending cannot continue forever. We have seen already that consumer prices have climbed to 9% year over year.

And the last factor which would influence Putin to sit at the negotiating table is asserting that Ukraine is, of course, if Ukraine and its Allies accept the terms of peace dictated by Russia, which aims at recognising control of occupied territories, withdrawing Ukraine's application for NATO membership, calling for a change in the leadership of independent Ukraine, imposing ceilings on military, including foreign presence in Ukraine and its particular territories, etc.

We asked the former Lithuanian foreign minister if he expected Russia to appear at the Second International Peace Summit, which was to take place in November this year. He replied that there is no need for Russia to do so because **it wants to talk to the "boss."**



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I don't expect Russia to participate in the International Peace Summit. Why should they? If you follow Putin's rationale and behaviour, he wants to talk to the new boss in the White House, not even to Zelenskyy. He wants to divide spheres of influence. He wants to talk to the boss, not the client. His people can talk with the government in Kyiv, but his main target and his main counterpart for negotiations is the White House, who is going to be the new President of the United States. That's what matters.

Despite the importance of proper communication with the new US president, Vigaudas Ušackas advised not to underestimate Europe's contribution to supporting Ukraine. It is this region that plays a key role in the agreements with the United States and in rebuilding Ukraine after the war.

And I hope Kyiv appreciates that it will be Europeans who will assume great responsibility, and by not only the European Union but inevitably the United Kingdom and Norway who have key roles to play. It has its own traditions and is a strong and voiceful ally of Ukraine, so while President Zelenskyy conducts his negotiations with the United States, my humble advice is to talk to Europeans and come with Europeans together on a contract with a new White House regarding Ukraine.

So Europe and Ukraine need to act together to work out a new contract with the U.S. after the November elections, which would ensure that Americans stay engaged in Ukraine, that Americans stay engaged militarily on the eastern flank, which is of primary interest for the Baltics, Poland, Romania and others. That would allow Americans to retain diplomatic influence, and American diplomacy is the most influential diplomacy in the world through their networks of talented diplomacy.

Why are Lithuanians doing all this?

More than 2,5 years goes Russia's war against the independence of Ukraine. The whole time, and even earlier, the government of Lithuania and ordinary people demonstrated solidarity in all possible ways to help Ukraine stay as an independent country.

Since February 2022, Lithuania provided military assistance to Ukraine for 705 mln. EUR. The whole assistance programme of Lithuania to Ukraine is more than 3 billion EUR.



ALVYDAS MEDALINSKAS —
POLITICAL ANALYST OF MYKOLAS
ROMERIS UNIVERSITY, VILNIUS
FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,
PARLIAMENT OF LITHUANIA
INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANT,
EXPERT OF THE UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



DAINIUS ŽALIMAS —
LITHUANIAN LAWYER, JURIST
AND POLITICIAN WHO SERVED AS
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT OF
LITHUANIA

Alvydas Medalinskas, Political Analyst of Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Former Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Parliament of Lithuania International Consultant, and Expert of The Ukrainian Review, summarised his countrymen and explained why Lithuania has become a loyal friend to Ukraine.

Let's look just at 2 military assistance programmes in which Lithuania is involved. On November 4, 2024, Laurynas Kasciunas, the Minister of Defense, brought to Kyiv the part of the assistance package from the Western demining coalition: 230 pick trucks and 240 mine detectors. For the next year, Lithuania allocated 30 mln EUR in the budget for the needs of the demining coalition and also a significant amount of money for drones, which Ukraine will be able to buy from Lithuanian producers. Lithuania also allocated some amount of money for the support of the Ukrainian long range weapon "Palianytca" programme. Various structures of The Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania also provided military assistance programmes. There are other assistance programmes from other ministries of Lithuania and state institutions. Probably every state institution of Lithuania is involved in whatever assistance and partnership programme in Ukraine.

The Lithuanian government and businesses are involved in building shelters together. Lithuania, on the Government level, has two severely damaged towns by Russia's aggression in the Kyiv region: Borodyanka and Bucha signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the development of these towns and their planning, and reconstruction.

Alvydas Medalinskas, in addition to briefly describing the assistance provided by Lithuania to Ukraine, also answered the main question – Why are Lithuanians doing all this?

First of all, there is a great sense of solidarity with people of Ukraine, who are fighting for independence against Russian aggression. Lithuania also fought for freedom during the Cold War until the end of the Soviet Union, and many people know that.

Secondly, we understand that there is a common danger for European security: Putinism, which has a very aggressive ideology on foreign and security policy, and all efforts of various nations have to be united in order to help Ukraine against such an enemy.

Thirdly, we also have to look at the future. Two European nations, Lithuania and Ukraine, will have many common points for the cooperation when the war against Russia is over, and hopefully, Ukraine will also be in the Euro-Atlantic community. Today, with common efforts from the government and society, we are building a solid basis for such cooperation between the two European nations in the future.

TETIANA STELMAKH
ARTEM KASPARIAN



VIGAUDAS UŠACKAS — FORMER EU AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA AND FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF LITHUANIA



ARTEM KASPARIAN — PROJECT PARTNER — LAWYER AND A CIVIL ACTIVIST



POLITICS

JOHN BOLTON:

US elections and possible outcomes for Ukraine



Is it true that Trump could withdraw the United States of America from NATO? Will Trump's election lead to a more isolationist policy in the USA? And do they not abolish all their duties before the European allies in the face of the threat from the Russian Federation?

And I think it's important to face this head-on. A lot of people are saying he wouldn't do it, it's not that bad, he's going to strengthen NATO. I tell you: I was in the room with him in Brussels at the 2018 NATO summit. I wrote about it at length in my book. He was very close to withdrawing from NATO then. And that was before the Russian invasion. He doesn't understand collective defence alliances. He thinks basically that the United States is defending Europe, and they won't pay for it. He doesn't appreciate that in a strong functioning alliance like NATO, the United States benefits from our security being enhanced. Certainly, the security of European members is enhanced, but so is ours. And I think it'll take a lot of work to try to convince him to stay in NATO and to stay the course in supporting Ukraine. His supporters are constantly offering ideas about what a Trump policy would look like. **I don't think you can take any of them seriously because I'm not sure Trump even reads them or cares what they say.** This isolation is not part of a coherent approach. He does not policy in the same sense we understand that word to be in the press.



JOHN BOLTON — FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

What about JD Vance and his role in foreign policy? We are concerned because his statement on Ukraine was so weird. He said that Ukraine must stop thinking about returning all the lands, and so on.

His role in foreign policy or is just his meaning about Ukraine it's only direction. But where Trump has impulses that make up his decisions, because Vance is much brighter, he can put an isolationist policy in a coherent context, which in my view, makes him more dangerous than Trump. I think it's important to try and find ways to explain to Vance that the foundation of his view that Ukraine is not important is wrong. His argument is the US has limited capabilities. We can't bother with Europe anymore. We can't bother with the Middle East anymore. The main threat is China, and that's where we have to put our resources. I think we've got more resources. We need to have the will to put them into play. And I think that the idea that China is a threat only in Asia is incorrect. The China-Russia axis makes it a threat around the world, especially in Europe, where China has aided Russia in many respects over the past two and a half years now. So, Vance's theory is wrong, but I think he's very malleable when it comes to policy. But what the rule that he follows is, I want to think about what Donald Trump might do, and that's where he wants to be.

STANISLAV KINKA



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POLITICS CULTURAL DIPLOMACY *in war time*

Cultural diplomacy is always important, even in times of war. It connects people on a human level, and reminds us of our common humanity.

While we all have different national histories and life experiences, cultural diplomacy can help us identify commonalities and shared experiences. Food and the arts are often what brings people together to share our culture. Breaking bread together is symbolic of building a trusting relationship. More broadly speaking, it builds connection that lead to collaboration and cooperation such as trade, education, and our joint responsibility for the environment. While at the local level, these connections can help us build stronger communities; at the international level, this helps establish stronger bilateral relations and more secure global systems.

When a country is attacked, its identity and culture are most often also attacked, denied and often followed with suppression. Ukraine has faced this previously with Sovietization when Russian culture and language were given supremacy, and Ukrainian was actively denied the same status. Ukraine and Ukrainians faced multiple stages of colonisation by Russia.

This war returned many of the prejudices that Ukraine suffered in the past, where they felt in very real and violent terms the attempts to deny and destroy Ukrainian identity, history and culture, and bring the country and its people back under Russia's cultural dominance.

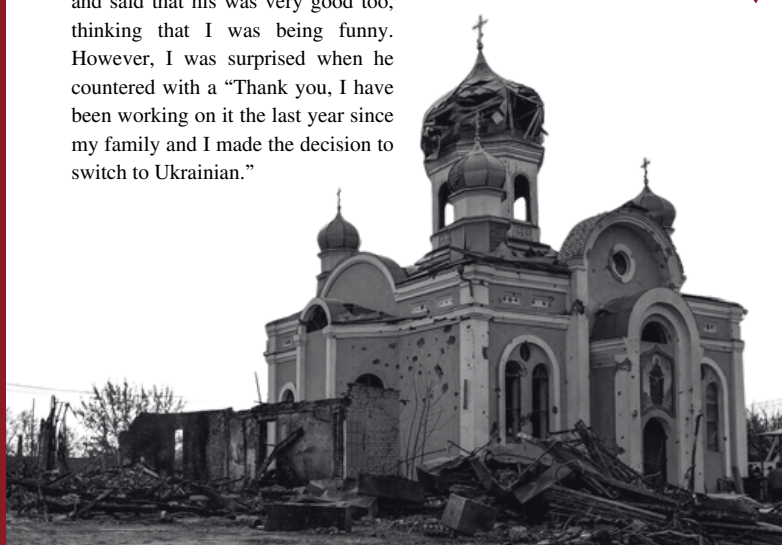
We witnessed this policy with this war. Since the beginning of a full-scale invasion, at least 117 people of art and culture were killed, according to PEN Ukraine. Russia has systematically destroyed Ukrainian cultural sites. As of July 2024, UNESCO has verified damage to 431 sites in Ukraine:

- 138 religious sites,
- 214 buildings of historical or artistic interest,
- 31 museums,
- 32 monuments,
- 15 libraries,
- 1 archive.

It destroyed the largest Ukrainian-language publishing house in Ukraine, which was located in Kharkiv.

We have also witnessed that these attempts to suppress Ukrainian culture have not been successful and, in fact, had the counter effect. Since independence, Ukraine has been both Ukrainian and Russian language speaking. Since the war, we've seen this changing. Russian-language people and families are making the active decision to now speak Ukrainian.

A kind salesperson complimented my Ukrainian a few days ago. I laughed and said that his was very good too, thinking that I was being funny. However, I was surprised when he countered with a "Thank you, I have been working on it the last year since my family and I made the decision to switch to Ukrainian."



Ukrainian culture, literature, poetry, theatre and music are rich with a long and proud history. Ukrainian song and tradition have been passed down through generations, especially important when not everyone could read and write, songs were an important way of passing down history. Now Ukrainian artists are important advocates to speak on behalf of Ukraine. They are the ambassadors who speak through film, stories and dance. The international community recognises that it is crucial to join forces in supporting Ukraine's cultural resilience. Canada understands this. Canada understands that this war is being fought on multiple fronts, including culture.

As such, Canada included in its bilateral agreement on security cooperation the importance of culture and history. On February 24, 2024, Prime Minister Trudeau signed this agreement in Kyiv that included a contribution of \$15 million (CAD) to the continued construction of the National Museum of Holodomor-Genocide. This builds on Canada's contribution of \$4.8 million to UNESCO in 2022 to support the protection of Ukraine's cultural and heritage sites.

Another part of the agreement focuses on countering disinformation. Canada is providing funding to help enhance the fact-checking capabilities of Ukraine's media and general public in order to better detect and counter disinformation in the country.

Through the Partnership Fund for Resilient Ukraine, we are supporting efforts that are saving, preserving and assisting the further development of cultural entities of frontline communities affected most by the war.

We will continue to support cultural resilience in Ukraine and the bridges with other cultures that it is building. This is a contribution to protecting the democracy and freedom of Ukraine.



**NATALKA CMOC — AMBASSADOR
OF CANADA TO UKRAINE**



POLITICS ATTACKS ON THE POWER SYSTEM:

The PSYOP Behind Ukraine's Electricity Exports

Russia continues to attack the Ukrainian energy system. Until 2022, Ukraine's domestic electricity production amounted to about 55 gigawatts of electricity and was one of the largest in Europe. Today, it has more than halved in size.

Since March 22, 2024, Russia has targeted several thermal and hydroelectric power plants in Ukraine, including the complete destruction of the Trypillia TPP, the largest in the Kyiv region, on April 11. Further attacks in June-August led to blackouts. On May 12, Ukraine halted electricity exports while imports increased.

What is the current situation in the Ukrainian power system?

According to the Ministry of Energy of Ukraine, between April and June 2024, Ukraine lost about 9 gigawatts of generation. To understand the scale, this is the amount of power consumed in summer by the Netherlands, Slovakia, or the Baltic States combined.

The National Power Company Ukrenergo explains that the restoration of the Ukrainian power system is carried out daily and continuously.

One of the main tasks of the energy sector is to put as many damaged generation facilities back into operation as possible before the start of the heating season. Unfortunately, NPC Ukrenergo cannot disclose specific data on electricity generation at the moment. Similarly, information on restoring damaged power facilities remains confidential, – explains Svitlana Riznooka, the company's former spokesperson.

Balancing the power system is a key responsibility of NPC Ukrenergo, ensuring electricity consumption matches production and imports at all times. From May to August 2024, Ukrainian power plants supplied all their electricity for domestic use, halting exports. This can be verified on Ukrenergo's platform, where export auctions are held, and on the official website of the European Network of Transmission System Operators for Electricity (ENTSO—E), which provides data on commercial agreements between countries.



**THE BATTLE FOR LIGHT™ INSTALLATION:
A DESTROYED TRANSFORMER FROM UKRAINIAN
THERMAL POWER PLANTS AFTER RUSSIAN
ATTACKS.**

Blackouts and the fight against fake news: how propaganda is trying to destabilise public sentiment

Even though blackouts were a necessary measure to balance the energy system, Russian propaganda decided to use it to its advantage.

Starting in May, social media and Russian media began to spread reports that Ukraine allegedly continued to export electricity despite the acute shortage.

Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ukraine Yuriy Boyko emphasises that electricity exports have been suspended. However, the Ukrainian energy system is part of the European energy network. It is connected to other systems, such as the Moldovan, Romanian, Hungarian, Slovak, and Polish, and there are technical flows between them.

This is a natural phenomenon determined by the laws of physics: electricity always tends to flow where there is less resistance.

Electricity flows between Ukraine and neighbouring countries are typically minimal without commercial contracts and are managed by special algorithms used by European system operators. The maximum daily import capacity is 1700 megawatts. Despite this, Russia continues to spread misinformation about exports. In late July, the Center for Countering Disinformation debunked a Russian claim that a Ukrainian nuclear plant was preparing to supply electricity to Poland.

Russian media outlets circulated a photo of a letter allegedly from Energoatom addressed to the Minister of Climate and Environment of Poland, Paulina Hennig-Kloska, regarding the alleged readiness to start exporting electricity.

We sent a request to the Ministry of Climate of Poland to find out if the letter was indeed a fake. In response to the request, we received the following answer:

Poland as a country does not purchase electricity, the electricity market does not function that way. On the other hand, issues of contracts between market participants are covered by confidentiality rules.

We have also contacted the Ukrainian Embassy in Slovakia to get a response to a similar question from the Ministry of Economy. The response received by the embassy stated that Slovakia does not import electricity from Ukraine:

We would like to inform you that we have received official information from the Ministry of Economy of Slovakia confirming that Slovakia does not buy Ukrainian electricity.

We have also sent inquiries to other countries that used to buy Ukrainian electricity: Hungary, and Romania. We have not yet received any responses, but we have not seen any signs of electricity exports to these countries in the ENTSO-E network.



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What is the danger of manipulations on electricity exports?

Blackouts not only affect the daily lives of citizens but also pose many challenges for businesses. This creates negative sentiment among citizens.

Several Ukrainian cities held protests against power outages in late July. For example, almost 200 people gathered in Dnipropetrovsk region on July 12. In Zaporizhzhia, residents receive messages about the meetings through house chats.

Ukrenergo notes that the problem of the spread of PSYOP falls under the responsibility of law enforcement agencies. Similarly, identifying the authors of fake information about electricity exports during a shortage is the task of law enforcement.

However, we see that hundreds of comments on this topic from closed accounts appear almost simultaneously on social media, including our Facebook page. This is evidence of a deliberate attempt to influence public opinion through the PSYOP.

The information about exports certainly causes absolutely fair indignation among consumers. If you put false information in their heads about Ukraine's exports and string together a few phrases about how "oligarchs are getting rich off the fact that consumers are without electricity," it certainly has the desired effect. "We have no electricity, and they are selling it", and it certainly heats up the situation emotionally. There is definitely such a component to these protests.

Finally, there is an important psychological aspect besides the social justice factor. When there is a shortage of a particular product, the need for it is felt more acutely. Consequently, citizens become more vulnerable to manipulation.

Is it realistic to stabilise the situation in the energy system now?

As the national nuclear power company Energoatom explains, about 60% of the total electricity is currently generated by the nuclear industry.

This summer's electricity shortage, caused by Russian attacks on shunting generation, coincided with scheduled maintenance at Ukrainian NPPs when up to 3 out of 9 power units were under repair.

The duration of the repair campaign in 2024 had to be reduced by 25 days.

In the extremely difficult conditions of the destruction of Ukraine's manoeuvrable power generation facilities by the Russians, the nuclear industry has borne the main burden of providing the country with electricity. In these conditions, we have to look for opportunities to optimise the scheduled terms of repair campaigns without reducing the quality of the work performed to stabilise the power generation of NPPs, – Energoatom explains.



SVITLANA RIZNOOKA — FORMER
SPOKESPERSON FOR NPC UKRENERGO

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Reducing repair time is a challenge for nuclear safety engineers, but it doesn't compromise plant safety. Preventive maintenance is done annually to prepare NPPs for optimal operation in autumn and winter, typically lasting 45-60 days. Afterwards, the units can run continuously for 300-320 days. Most units have already completed maintenance and returned to the grid, with all repairs expected to be finished by the start of the autumn-winter season.

There are expectations that the situation will stabilise somewhat by winter. However, new Russian attacks could completely offset these expectations.

Yuriy Boyko emphasises that in the current situation, it is essential to understand that the aggressor country should be blamed for the lack of electricity supply.

However, energy companies need to improve communication with consumers so that they understand how the system works in the face of security threats:

Regional power distribution companies receive schedules from NPC Ukrenergo, which are usually presented in the form of three queues. We follow the instructions of NPC Ukrenergo and carry out dispatching of the Ukrainian energy system. There is a real electricity shortage at the moment, – says the Prime Minister's advisor.

In the end, energy companies emphasise that they are doing everything possible to improve the situation. However, they should continue to be wary of Russian manipulations regarding electricity exports. Neither the energy sector nor government officials can predict precisely what the situation will be in the future, as it depends on whether Russia will strike again.

DARIIA PODVYSHENNA



YURIY BOYKO — ADVISOR TO THE
PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE



POLITICS

DOVYDAS VITKAUSKAS

Ukraine will have to start decommissioning all its nuclear reactors within 10 years

The topic of energy in Ukraine is being discussed especially actively now that the 2024-2025 heating season has started. With the onset of cold weather, Russia has also become more active and launched a new series of missile attacks on our energy system. This affects not only people but also the economy. We spoke about that with Dovydas Vitkauskas whose various high-level consultant roles in Ukraine include being a Team Leader of various EU-funded public and corporate governance reform projects since 2016, and providing advice to the Office of the President of Ukraine since 2021.

What is the biggest problem in Ukraine's energy sector?

Ukraine's energy sector has many issues of economic and political nature. They range from weak energy efficiency in the country's industry to the ongoing Russian gas transit. And from the need to import diesel to the underdeveloped waste management. But probably the key problem now is a shortage of electricity supply.

What are the roots of the problem?

Russian aggression is the cause of various short-term electricity shortages. However, long-term problems are home-grown: the minor role of wind and solar generation, the outdated Soviet electricity grid and plants, the lack of financial incentives to invest in production, and the over-reliance on nuclear energy.



DOVYDAS VITKAUSKAS — FORMER
LAWYER AT THE EUROPEAN COURT
OF HUMAN RIGHTS



How much does it cost to produce electricity from nuclear?

If we exclude the capital investment, the current operational cost of nuclear electricity in Ukraine is about 2.5 euro cents per kWh without the transportation costs, or 7.7 euro cents / kWh including all the grid operator and seller charges. It is relatively cheap by the European average. But this pie is shared by some players, including State-owned companies, such as Energoatom, the operator of nuclear plants, and Ukrenergo, the high-voltage grid operator. The supply chain also includes private companies – Oblenergo, 25 regional “last mile” grid operators, and DTEK, the seller. All in all, it is hard to tell the real cost, owing partly to the financial engineering by some of these players. It is enough to say that whatever is earned from producing nuclear electricity, is not enough for Energoatom’s balance sheet. The company has earned the title of the biggest loss-maker in Ukraine for the last 2 years.



What about renewable energy?

Only 20% of total electricity production (20 tWh annually) in Ukraine comes from renewable resources. However, half of the renewable production comes from the Soviet-era 1930s-1960s hydroelectric plants. Wind and solar production makes up only 10% (10 tWh per year) of the total electricity output. Ukraine needs more green energy not because EU bureaucrats are asking for it. But because it is cheaper and more efficient – and can guarantee long-term energy independence for the country. Non-renewable electricity (gas, coal, nuclear) is unavoidable in the medium term, but its proportion in the overall mix must and will decrease over time. Betting, as the government appears to do now, on the goal of nuclear power generation still making up as much as 50% of the total electricity output in 2050 is unrealistic. If all currently working 9 nuclear reactors are decommissioned by that time, new ones will have to be built. How much will it cost – 10, 20 billion EUR per reactor? And at least 20 years of implementation? Comparable practice in the UK, France, and Finland says so. A much wiser long-term option would be installing more green energy capacity coupled with synthetic fuels.

The country also has short-term needs, such as surviving the winter of 2024-2025?

The more electricity producers there will be, the better. Decentralised power and distributed generation will also be safer, and less susceptible to Russian rocket attacks. This principle should guide both the policy and financial decisions of Ukraine’s Western partners and the authorities. This applies to both new green (wind and solar) as well as “gray” (gas-powered mobile co-generation gensets with 1-4 mWe output) electricity capacity, which can be installed relatively quickly. Secondly, any material or financial “gifts” to the Ukrainian energy system should benefit the Ukrainian end customers and not private monopolists. Otherwise, I am convinced the Ukrainian people and businesses will survive as they already have until now – by using small diesel-run generators and rationing electricity, and controlled “black-outs”, continuing to show their tremendous resilience in the face of the Russian aggression. However the Ukrainian people and businesses have the right to expect much more from the government and the donors.

ARTEM KASPARIAN

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BUSINESS

ODESA REGION:

Economic features and opportunities for investors

Odesa region is a highly developed, industrial region. On its territory are located enterprises for oil processing, machine building, repair and installation of machines, metallurgy and metal processing, chemical and petrochemical, food, light industry and other industries.

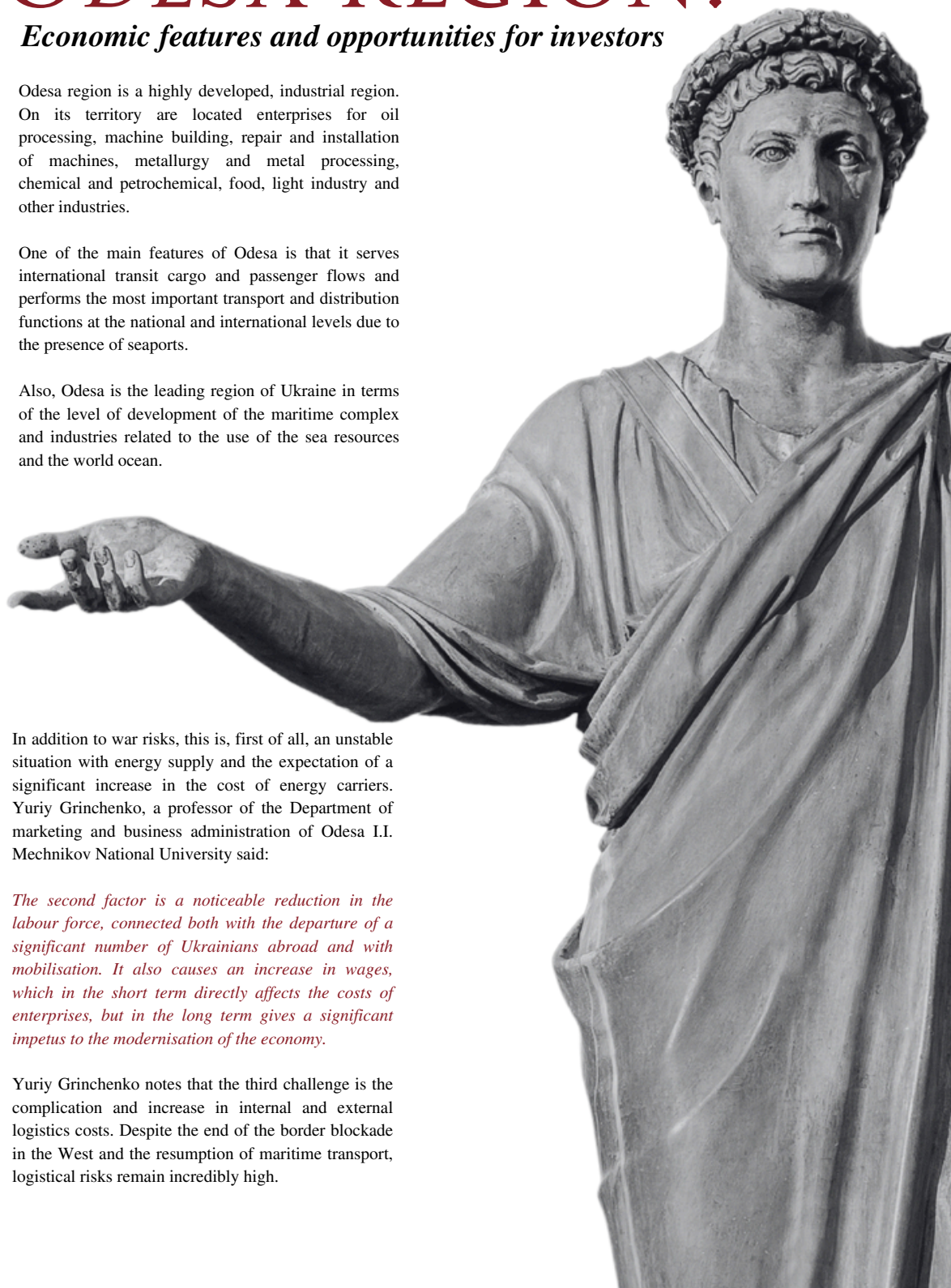
One of the main features of Odesa is that it serves international transit cargo and passenger flows and performs the most important transport and distribution functions at the national and international levels due to the presence of seaports.

Also, Odesa is the leading region of Ukraine in terms of the level of development of the maritime complex and industries related to the use of the sea resources and the world ocean.

In addition to war risks, this is, first of all, an unstable situation with energy supply and the expectation of a significant increase in the cost of energy carriers. Yuriy Grinchenko, a professor of the Department of marketing and business administration of Odesa I.I. Mechnikov National University said:

The second factor is a noticeable reduction in the labour force, connected both with the departure of a significant number of Ukrainians abroad and with mobilisation. It also causes an increase in wages, which in the short term directly affects the costs of enterprises, but in the long term gives a significant impetus to the modernisation of the economy.

Yuriy Grinchenko notes that the third challenge is the complication and increase in internal and external logistics costs. Despite the end of the border blockade in the West and the resumption of maritime transport, logistical risks remain incredibly high.





The Ukrainian Review spoke with Yan Shapiro, founder/CEO of U-Nation, ambassador of the Regional Development Agency of the Odesa region, and ambassador of The Ukrainian Review, about Odesa's business development during a full-scale invasion.

According to him, despite the war, Ukraine managed to keep the economy afloat, which is a unique phenomenon in history and once again proves that we have a great future ahead of us.

It has been mentioned more than once that this year the logistics volume of grain transportation reached 95% of the pre-war level, agro-industry is working, even the tourist season in Odesa was in the summer – apart from domestic tourists, I personally know Germans who bought real estate in Odesa, and regularly they come to us during the warm months.

An important role in this is played by the participation of international programs and projects aimed at attracting European and American partners to economic recovery. Innovative projects are beginning to occupy an increasing share of influence, which opens up many opportunities for partnership with the technological ecosystems of world leaders.



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There are also international programs and partnerships aimed at supporting businesses in the region. But it is important to understand that the majority will still be implemented ahead, since we are moving from a humanitarian direction to an economic one. And society needs to be prepared for this.

There are also attractive startups in Odesa that can make entrepreneurs in the agro-industrial vector more competitive, which fully corresponds to the relevant focuses of the Odesa region.

ANYA OSTYMCHUK

ODESA

ODESA IS A CITY OF PROMISING INVESTMENTS

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF ODESA REGION

Odesa is one of the key port cities in Ukraine, and it opens the way for sea transportation. Tourism was also highly developed here. Since the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion, the city, like the rest of Ukraine, has experienced upheavals, and the economy has faced huge challenges. Nevertheless, there are still organizations operating on its territory that do their best to keep the region afloat and attract the attention of foreign investors to Odesa's prospects.

Regional Development Agency of Odesa Region is a non-profit and non-budgetary institution that was created on the basis of partnership between the state, private, and public sectors with the aim of effective implementation of state regional policy. They provide a wide range of services in the Odesa region. They include such kinds of offices: Investment, European Integration, Grants and Cooperation with territorial communities.

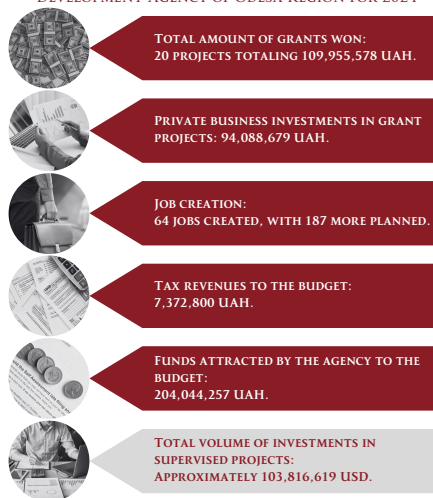
Our mission is to provide a solid foundation for sustainable socio-economic development of the united territorial communities and the Odesa region as a whole. Creating practical conditions for European and Euro-Atlantic integration within the framework of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, – said Sergiy Kononenko, Director of the Regional Development Agency of Odesa Region

He added that their philosophy is to make territorial communities capable and public services qualitative. The Agency helps communities develop initiatives that create added value, jobs and strengthen the region's economy.

Our partnership with international and domestic businesses, scientists helps to develop new opportunities for local entrepreneurs, increase their competitiveness and promote investment in the region, – told us Director of the Agency.

On November 2024 Regional Development Agency of Odesa Region signed a grant agreement with Ukraine's Cohesion and Regional Development project, UCORD which is implemented with the support of Switzerland via the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation through NIRAS Sweden AB. The aim of the agreement is to provide institutional support to the agency for its transformation into an effective platform that will unite and coordinate the efforts of local, regional, national and international actors for the sustainable development of the Odesa region.

KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATORS OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF ODESA REGION FOR 2024



SERGIY KONONENKO — DIRECTOR OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF ODESA REGION.



The Agency considers the restoration of the medical sector, in particular, the Odesa Regional Children's Clinical Hospital and the Odesa Regional Clinical Hospital, to be a priority area for investment. They need a lot of equipment to keep Ukrainians alive.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that every day, the Odesa region hosts people from more affected regions, such as Kharkiv, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions. As of June 2024, 52,049 internally displaced persons have received almost UAH 110.6 million from the state budget. These people, who lost their homes, also need our support, so if you invest in us, you'll invest in their well-being, – said Sergiy Kononenko.



RDAOD.COM.UA



Kurt Volker, Permanent Representative of the U.S. to NATO, Special Representative of the U.S. Department of State for Ukraine.



Visionary Mykola Viknianskiy at a meeting at the Regional Development Agency of Odesa Region

Investments are also needed in the following areas:

- to ensure the sustainable passage of the autumn-winter period of 2024-2025, the Odesa region needs assistance with the equipment (Autotransformer 330 kw with power 200 mw, 500 generators of various capacities from 10 kW to 500 kW, etc);
- creation of a safe educational environment, the organization of the functioning of civil defense structures and shelters of the required capacity;
- an urgent need to install 10 water treatment systems and drill wells in the Odesa region in Rozdilnyansky, Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiyi and Bolhradsky districts;
- restoration of the irrigation system (total need – 31 million EUR);



YAN SHAPIRO — FOUNDER/CEO OF U-NATION, AMBASSADOR OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF THE ODESA REGION

ODESA REGION IN NUMBERS

THE REGION WHERE UKRAINIAN REVIEW WAS CREATED



MOLDOVA



ROMANIA



● PORT OF YUZHNY

● PORT OF ODESSA

● PORT OF CHORNOMORSK

● BILHOROD-DNISTROVSKYI PORT

● RENI PORT

27

● IZMAIL PORT

THE AREA OF THE ODESA REGION IS ABOUT 33,300 KM².
THE POPULATION IS APPROXIMATELY 2.35 MILLION PEOPLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE:

- 7 DISTRICTS
- 19 CITIES
- 91 UNITED TERRITORIAL COMMUNITIES

FAVORABLE ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION:

- BORDERS WITH 3 REGIONS: VINNYTSIA REGION, KIROVOHRAD REGION, MYKOLAIV REGION
- BORDERS WITH 2 COUNTRIES: REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA, ROMANIA
- POPULATION OF NEIGHBORING REGIONS AND COUNTRIES EXCEEDS 20 MILLION PEOPLE

TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE:

- ALL TYPES OF TRANSPORT ARE PRESENT
- 5 INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT CORRIDORS
- 2 CORRIDORS OF THE TRANS-EUROPEAN TRANSPORT NETWORK
- 7 SEA PORTS

FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR AGRICULTURE:

- TOTAL AGRICULTURAL AREA: 2.6 MILLION HECTARES
- CLIMATE: MODERATE-CONTINENTAL
- TERRAIN: PLAIN
- SOIL: CHERNOZEM (FERTILE BLACK SOIL)

MINERALS:

- 145 MINERAL DEPOSITS
- 80% ALLOW PRODUCTION OF BUILDING MATERIALS, MINERAL WATERS, AND THERAPEUTIC MUD

TOURIST ATTRACTION:

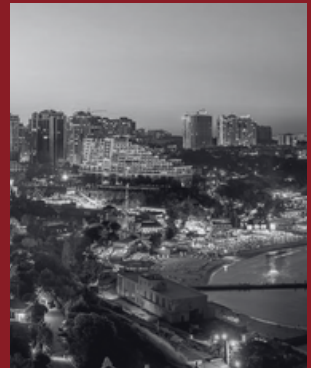
- OVER 285 BASES AND OTHER RECREATION FACILITIES
- 36 SANATORIUM-RESORT AND HEALTH FACILITIES
- 150.8 THOUSAND HECTARES OF NATURE-RESERVED TERRITORIES

LABOR POTENTIAL:

- 31 INSTITUTIONS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, TRAINING SPECIALISTS IN 169 PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS
- OVER 41 HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
- 15 RESEARCH INSTITUTES

BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT:

- OVER 99.4 THOUSAND SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES
- ACTIVITIES REPRESENTED IN MORE THAN 20 INDUSTRIES



PORT TO KEY WESTERN PARTNERS:

Why Odesa's development is important

Odesa also remains an important center for diplomatic meetings, which confirms the city's strategic importance. Over the past year, Odesa has been visited by numerous high-ranking officials, including the ambassadors of the UK, France, Germany, and the US, who have emphasized the importance of supporting the region. Visits from the European Union and other international organizations exploring opportunities for recovery and investment have also been important.

The war has forced Odesa businesses to radically revise their strategies and find new ways to survive in the face of constant challenges. Logistics companies are adapting routes and processes to focus on safer domestic and international destinations via Romania and other EU countries. The manufacturing sector, including agricultural processing, is shifting to shorter supply chains to reduce risks by investing in storage and local transportation.

In addition, export-oriented agribusinesses have intensified their work on innovative solutions to maintain supply volumes, in particular by developing dry ports and expanding warehouses in the rear regions.

Odesa has always been a strategic port city for Ukraine. Before the war, Odesa's ports accounted for up to 65% of the country's trade turnover, handling up to 120 million tons of cargo annually.

This role, despite the temporary decline in traffic, remains extremely important. While volumes are currently down due to military risks and restrictions, port operations continue, particularly for the transportation of agricultural products, which are critical to exports. International companies such as Maersk, MSC, and Hapag-Lloyd have expressed interest in the future development of Odesa's ports and plan to invest in their modernization and security. This demonstrates the high potential attractiveness of the port of Odesa as a strategic facility for the global logistics industry.



**VASYL IYEREMIYA – MEMBER OF THE
ODESA CITY COUNCIL**



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Another important area worth mentioning is tourism, which is not only a part of Odesa's identity, but also one of the most important areas of economic development for the future. The city is now actively considering opportunities for the development of medical and rehabilitation tourism, which will not only bring back the tourist flow but also attract a new audience. After the war, tourism will help restore the local economy, strengthen cultural ties and expand Odesa's influence as an important recreational center.

Odesa region, including its ports, continues to demonstrate resilience and flexibility in the face of military challenges. Despite the decline in traffic, the infrastructure retains its importance for Ukraine's logistics system and has great prospects for development. With the support of international investors and new technologies, Odesa's ports will be able to return to their pre-war performance levels and even exceed them. This will allow Odesa to continue to play an important role in the global logistics network and become a key logistics hub for Eastern Europe.

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VASYL IYEREMIYA



BUSINESS ARTEM BORODATIUK

Ukraine has every chance to move from the Third World to the first

Tell us what your company does?

Netpeak Group is a group of IT companies that unites 25 businesses, 3 public organizations, and 1500+ specialists around the world. In fact, we are building a factory of businesses that have different directions.



The structure of the group includes:

- Venture builders.
- A group of digital agencies: Netpeak Agencies Group (Netpeak Ukraine, Netpeak Kazakhstan, Netpeak Bulgaria, Netpeak Alliance, RadASO).
- Services: digital marketing agency Inweb, recruitment agency Netpeak Talent.
- SaaS (software as a service): Ringostat business telephony, AcademyOcean cloud LMS, Serpstat search marketing platform, Saldo Apps fintech ecosystem of mobile and web services for financial management, CoreHR HRMS system, Netpeak Software, developer of search marketing tools.
- Choice31 online university.
- A group of social projects: Group 31 (My City and GladPet).

What achievements are you most proud of?

The biggest achievement of our team is that the companies of the group are really developing independently, we have done a strong recruitment drive and have our own flow for launching new businesses. It's too early to relax, but we are already moving to the third stage of the group's development, and for me, this is an indicator that our team is able to work with processes in a structured, clear and systematic way and scale up.

How has your business adapted to the challenges of war?

Since the beginning of the great war, I always emphasize that we have to work twice as productively as in peacetime. That's why, instead of stagnating, Netpeak Group started moving towards growth – we launched eight new businesses, including Netpeak Core, a consulting company, Kiss My Apps and Netpeak New, a startup mobile app studio, and Netpeak Talent, an IT recruitment agency. The digital marketing agency Netpeak was transformed into a group of digital agencies Netpeak Agencies Group, and Tonti Laguna was transformed into a startup studio Tonti Laguna Group.

In terms of rhubarb in USD, Netpeak Group grew by 18% year-on-year in 2022, by 50% in 2023, and we expect it to grow by 76% in 2024.

We are also actively helping the Defense Forces – from February 24, 2022, to date, the amount of charitable support has amounted to UAH 141,794,135. And we will continue to donate until we win.



ARTEM BORODATIUK –
FOUNDER OF NETPEAK GROUP

Speaking of scaling, the group of marketing agencies is entering foreign marketplaces. What advice would you give to businesses that have the same plans?

Netpeak Agency Group is really specialized in this issue and is an Amazon partner in three programs. I can give three main tips that we have formulated based on our experience:

- 1 Before deciding to enter a particular country, analyze the local market. Answer the following questions: where to enter, with what assortment, whether you need to refine the product, and whether you should enter at all?
- 2 Resolve legal issues and set up logistics before you start preparing your entry strategy. Adapt the content and design of the product packaging, and also find out what certificates you need (in case you need to reflect this in the packaging or content) - it can take up to 14 weeks to get some certificates in Europe, so it's better to apply for them before the release of the batch, which will have time to deteriorate before obtaining a sales permit. The same with logistics, build it taking into account market demand, if on average competitors in the niche sell 1,300 sku per month, and you can only ship 300 and with a delay, then again, it is better to solve this before the start.
- 3 Develop marketing, content, and a promotion strategy tailored to the cultural characteristics of the target audience in a particular country - from texts to images. You should even take into account that the name of the product may be different in the UK and the US.

What challenges do you see for the IT sector in Ukraine today?

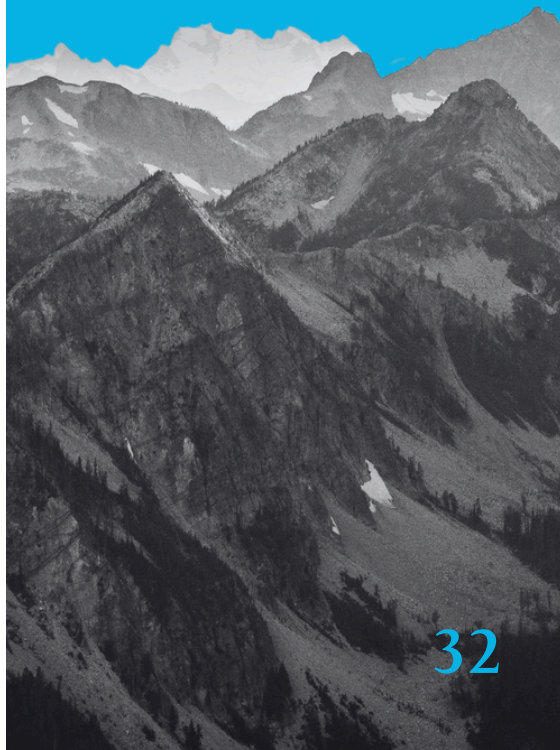
Firstly, there is a lack of human capital. This applies to both the IT sector and the labor market in general. Obviously, there are military risks – both direct threats to life and mobilization of high-quality specialists, and it is becoming more difficult to attract investments.

TETIANA STELMAKH



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NETPEAK
DIGITAL GROWTH PARTNER



BUSINESS FOREIGNERS DURING THE WAR:

Over 100 nations opened businesses in Ukraine

3 075 companies have been founded by foreigners in Ukraine since the beginning of the full-scale war. In total, citizens from 101 countries have started businesses in Ukraine despite the war.

Turkish citizens are the most likely to start a business in Ukraine – 396 companies, or 12.9% of the total. Citizens of Uzbekistan are next, owning 312 companies (10.1% of the total). Polish citizens round out the top three, with 224 firms or 7.3%.



OPENDATABOT – IS A SERVICE FOR MONITORING THE REGISTRATION DATA OF UKRAINIAN COMPANIES AND THE COURT REGISTER TO PROTECT AGAINST RAIDER ATTACKS AND CONTROL COUNTERPARTIES. THE SERVICE COMBINES DATA FROM OPEN STATE REGISTERS AND PROVIDES COMPLETE INFORMATION ABOUT A PERSON OR COMPANY.

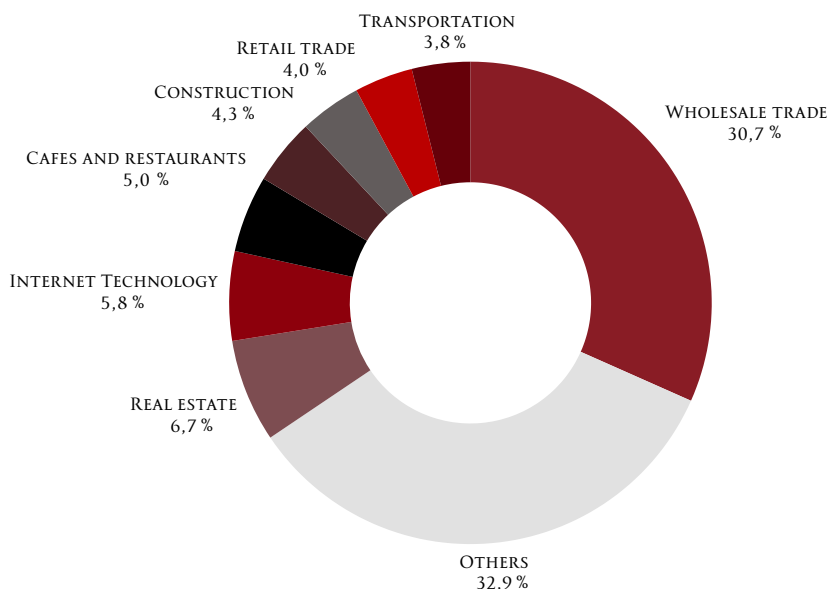


Dell Loy Hansen, the ultimate beneficiary of Jugen JSC, which ranks second in terms of authorized capital among foreign businesses in Ukraine, with President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy

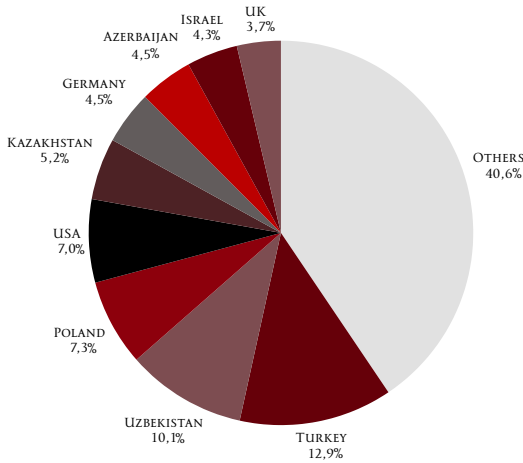
The top 10 also includes citizens of the United States, Kazakhstan, Germany, Azerbaijan, Israel, the United Kingdom, and China. It should be noted that one company may have more than 1 owner.

Almost half of the total number of companies with foreign owners were registered in Kyiv – 1 517. Citizens of Uzbekistan most often set up businesses in the capital – 175 companies.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY OF FOREIGN-OWNED COMPANIES.



WHICH FOREIGNERS OPEN A BUSINESS IN UKRAINE DURING THE WAR MARCH 2022 - JULY 2024.



Lviv region is next, with 460 businesses: foreigners from Poland most often settle here (105 companies). Odesa region is also in the top three, with 273 companies. Turkish citizens are the most likely to set up companies – 99 businesses in this region.

The largest number of companies with foreign owners are engaged in wholesale trade (30.7%), real estate operations (6.7%), and computer programming (5.8%).

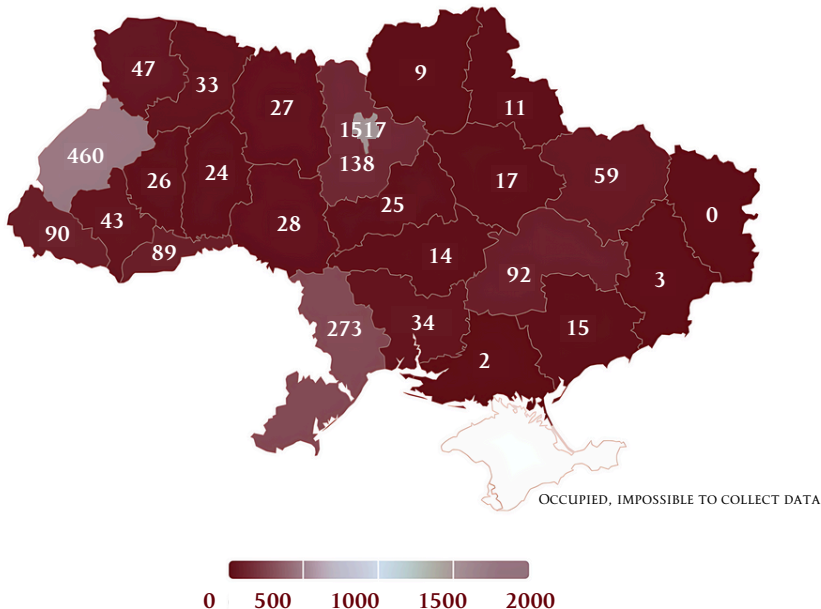
“TENSIMA”, with an authorised capital of UAH 1.28 billion, has become the largest business opened by foreigners since the beginning of full-scale operations. It is owned by an Armenian citizen.

The second position is occupied by JSC "Closed Non-Diversified Venture Corporate Investment Fund "Jugen" with an authorised capital of UAH 700 million. The ultimate owner is a US citizen.

“LFS” LLC, founded by a Polish citizen, rounds out the top three. The company has UAH 300 million of authorised capital.

BY OPENDATABOT

WHERE IN UKRAINE DO FOREIGNERS ESTABLISH COMPANIES MOST OFTEN? MARCH 2022 - JULY 2024.



BUISENESS

THE FUTURE OF UKRAINIAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT:

Challenges and Strategic Perspectives

Ukraine's path to recovery and modernisation after the war hinges on a transformative vision for urban development. Today, the average Ukrainian city has a population of around 500,000 people, yet most cities lack the essential infrastructure and planning necessary for a high standard of urban life. This creates an urgent need to address urban comfort, accessibility, and sustainability, aligning Ukrainian cities with European standards. Additionally, Ukraine is home to several major metropolitan centres with populations in the millions, including Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Lviv, and Dnipro. These cities are crucial to Ukraine's economy and identity, making their modernisation and recovery a top priority.

One of the critical pillars of this transformation is modern urban planning. Ukrainian cities have grown chaotically for decades, with little regard for urban functionality or resident needs. Unlike many European cities prioritising multi-use neighbourhoods and accessible public spaces, Ukraine has often lagged in adopting a systematic approach to urbanism. This has left cities with few green spaces, limited pedestrian-friendly areas, and fragmented city layouts that fail to offer citizens a coherent and comfortable living environment. Correcting this will require a concerted shift towards strategic, multi-functional urban areas designed to serve communities better.



Tram passing the Bahnhofbrücke bridge in Zurich, Switzerland

Equally important is the creation of green zones. Green public spaces are central to the well-being of urban populations, providing areas for relaxation, community activities, and improved air quality. Yet, over the years, green zones in Ukrainian cities have diminished due to unregulated construction and poor urban policies. Prioritising these spaces in urban development plans can offer citizens a much-needed retreat from the fast pace of city life, fostering a healthier and more enjoyable urban experience.

However, one of the most pressing challenges is waste management. Many Ukrainian cities lack an organised approach to sorting and recycling waste, which has led to significant environmental issues. Building a system for sorting and recycling waste can help manage resources more effectively and align Ukraine with European environmental standards. This will require not only infrastructure but also a public education campaign to shift cultural attitudes towards waste management.

Public Transportation is another priority. The over-reliance on personal vehicles, combined with a shortage of reliable public transit options, has strained the infrastructure and worsened congestion. Additionally, almost every Ukrainian city lacks bicycle infrastructure entirely. Ukrainian cities seem unaware of what proper bicycle infrastructure could contribute to urban life; city governments show little to no effort in developing it. In contrast, European cities like Zurich and Vienna demonstrate the importance of eco-friendly transportation alternatives, including well-established bicycle lanes and walkable neighbourhoods. For Ukrainian cities to thrive, we must follow these models by building an extensive, accessible public transport network and incorporating bicycle infrastructure that makes city life more sustainable and convenient.

The Issue of Competence in Municipal Governance



A key barrier to effective urban development in Ukraine is the competence of municipal leaders. Over the past 33 years, corruption has infiltrated many areas of local governance. Rather than focusing on sustainable city development, many city council members have used their positions to entrench corruption, resulting in cities that lack adequate infrastructure and community resources. Addressing this systemic issue requires a commitment to professionalising municipal governance and electing city council members who are genuinely qualified to address the complex demands of urban development.

Selecting skilled individuals for these roles, both in local councils and executive positions, will ensure that urban development is prioritised over personal interests, allowing for a productive collaboration with civil society, urban activists, and city planners.

Furthermore, Ukraine's urban infrastructure suffers from outdated Soviet-era communication and utility networks. The majority of Ukrainian cities operate on old engineering and utility systems that no longer meet modern demands. Upgrading to contemporary engineering networks that adhere to international standards is essential for sustainable urban development. Transitioning to modern systems will not only increase efficiency but also enhance safety and sustainability in Ukrainian cities.

In our efforts, Urban Buro has been actively engaging with European partners, learning from cities that have successfully implemented sustainable urban solutions. We have initiated dialogues with architects and urban developers from cities like Zurich, Switzerland; Bucharest, Romania; Prague, Czech Republic; and Vienna, Austria. These exchanges provide invaluable insights into effective city planning, offering us a roadmap to overcome Ukrainian cities' challenges. By working with these partners, we can bring international expertise and proven practices to Ukraine, building the necessary skills and frameworks to transform our urban landscape.



URBAN BURO

Is a team of urbanists striving to make Ukrainian cities comfortable, modern, and livable. We focus on developing and implementing projects that enhance public spaces, improve urban infrastructure, and create conditions for sustainable urban development.

The main office of Urban Buro is located in Odesa, but our ideas and initiatives extend to cities across Ukraine.



URBAN BURO TEAM

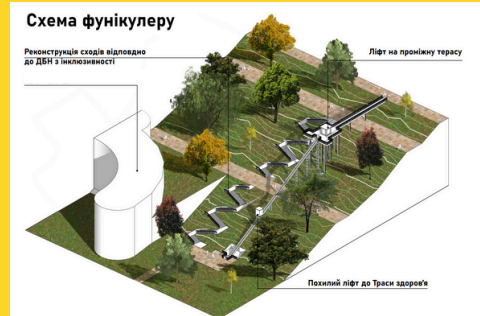


A SHARED VISION FOR URBAN TRANSFORMATION

For Ukraine's cities to become vibrant, comfortable, and efficient, it is essential that the government, civil society, and international partners collaborate closely. Urban Buro remains committed to facilitating these partnerships and supporting municipalities in creating well-planned, inclusive, and resilient urban environments. By fostering professional relationships with global experts and involving local architects, activists, and the wider community, we can ensure that this vision for Ukraine's cities becomes a reality. The stakes have never been higher.

With millions of Ukrainians displaced by war and many now living in well-planned European cities, there will be a strong demand for the same level of urban comfort and functionality upon their return. Making Ukrainian cities as places where people feel comfortable, safe, and proud to live is not just an urban planning goal; it is a necessary investment in Ukraine's future. This transformation is also a way of honouring the resilience of the Ukrainian people, who have fought heroically for their nation's freedom and independence.

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN ODESA



At Urban Buro, we see this mission as central to our work. By drawing on the expertise of our European partners and working alongside dedicated Ukrainian professionals, we are confident that we can support our cities in achieving the high standards and quality of life that all Ukrainians deserve. Through collective effort and strategic planning, Ukrainian cities can emerge stronger, greener, and more resilient than ever.

If you are reading this and would like to support our urban development vision in Ukraine, please feel free to reach out to me directly at ua.savchenko@gmail.com. I would be glad to connect with individuals who care deeply about Ukraine's future and are eager to contribute to this transformative journey.

WHY DO UKRAINIAN CITIES, PARTICULARLY ODESA, FACE SIGNIFICANT URBAN AND INFRASTRUCTURAL CHALLENGES THAT HINDER THEIR DEVELOPMENT? THE MAIN REASONS ARE:

- **Corruption:** Widespread abuse of power and misappropriation of budget funds slow down urban development.
- **Lack of strategic vision:** Local authorities focus on short-term projects instead of long-term development plans.
- **Shortage of qualified professionals:** Urban planning and infrastructure management often suffer from inadequate expertise and a lack of modern approaches.
- **Clannishness and oligarchic influence:** Powerful interest groups prioritize personal enrichment over the well-being of the community.
- **Consequences of the “black privatization” of the 1990s:** Strategic infrastructure assets were privatized, making large-scale projects difficult to implement. Instead of modernization, urban spaces have become overrun with chaotic construction, billboards, and kiosks.
- **Neglect of public input:** Planning often occurs without considering residents’ needs, leading to conflicts and inefficient use of resources.
- **Outdated infrastructure:** Most networks and systems date back to the Soviet era, with insufficient funding for upgrades and modernization.
- **Lack of environmental focus:** There is little attention to greening, ecological initiatives, or integrating sustainable solutions into urban environments.
- **Uneven development of districts:** Significant disparities exist between city centers and peripheral areas due to selective investment.

Odesa is effectively managed from abroad, with key decisions and the primary financial benefits from the city’s budget controlled by individuals living outside Ukraine. A significant corrupt clan that holds power over Odesa resides in the United Kingdom, making the city’s governance detached from the needs and interests of its local community.

VOLODYMYR SAVCHENKO



The building density in one of the city districts



Aerial view of the Arcadia district



An attempt to develop the unique city landmark "The Wall House"



The condition of the famous "Odessa courtyards"



A collapsed before war architectural heritage monument in a state of disrepair on Bazarnaya Street

PROSPECTS FOR LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN UKRAINE

We talked to Maksym Dzis, Founder and CEO of the Legal Aid Center, who spoke about the prospects for developing the legal sector after the end of the war in Ukraine. He also emphasised that there are difficulties with corruption in Ukraine.

In recent weeks, society has seen a growing trend of public coverage of the fight against corruption, especially in the areas of mobilisation and MSEC. At the same time, the regulatory framework for this issue is not covered at all. As of today, the fight against corruption is mostly limited to the dismissal of persons accused of corruption (sometimes even without actual criminal prosecution).

Therefore, political decisions in the area of fighting corruption are currently systemic. There is no need to talk about the systemic nature of legal regulation of this issue. In recent months, not a single legal act has been adopted that would increase liability for corruption or be aimed at a systemic solution to the problem.

In his opinion, reforms, especially in the area of fighting corruption, are always a green light for foreign investors. However, it should be understood that in order to attract more foreign investment, reforms must have a clear legislative justification and be systemic.

Judicial and, in general, legal practice, especially in the field of military law and related areas, is still being actively developed. Therefore, given the sensitivity of society in wartime and the imperfection of legislation in many areas, lawyers should, through bar associations and public organisations, make proposals to improve the legal framework for the most effective implementation of all reforms.

The first requirement for Ukrainian law from our key partners may be reforms in the area of anti-corruption. It is not only about strengthening responsibility for corruption but also about changes of a more systemic nature (reforming state bodies, liquidating state bodies and changing the approach to their staffing).

After the war is over, we should also expect to see thorough reforms related to the protection of victims of war, military personnel and their families. Key partners have already provided guarantees of financial support to Ukraine in this area, but the state itself must develop a legal framework to ensure that the system of compensation and support is functioning. This is a huge pool of legal acts with very few analogues worldwide. Therefore, in order to receive support from partners, Ukraine will need to provide a ready-made legal plan for implementing reforms.



Legal services in Ukraine and the West are very different. In particular, in the West, the concept of free legal services is virtually non-existent in the sense we are used to. Of course, most countries provide for free legal aid, but this mostly applies to criminal cases. Consulting a non-governmental lawyer in Europe or the United States is quite expensive. In contrast, in Ukraine, legal services are often much cheaper, and counselling is mostly free.

Since the outbreak of war, the number of cases related to protecting the rights of military personnel, persons liable for military service and their families has almost exceeded the number of cases related to other areas. The very dynamic legal framework in this area makes it virtually impossible for an average citizen to understand the intricacies of the law without proper practice and professional training.

Investing in the legal sector of Ukrainian business is an extremely promising segment. The fact is that the dynamism of Ukrainian legislation, especially in the area related to the performance of military duty, is enormous. Accordingly, the demand for legal services in this area is constantly growing and will continue to grow. The only obstacle for investors in this area may be political issues and a partially unfavourable investment climate.

The competitiveness of our lawyers in the West is quite high. This is due to the high quality of legal education in Ukraine and the flexibility of the average Ukrainian lawyer, who is used to adapting to constant changes in legislation and court practice during the war.

Maksym Dzis identified three main problems of Ukraine's legal sector:

The first and the biggest is the close connection between the legal framework and political decisions. In today's Ukrainian reality, adopting a particular legal act is always associated with a certain political decision. Moreover, the legal acts often differ from the previously adopted ones and the established court practice.

Another significant problem is the adoption of bylaws that are sometimes illogical and inconsistent with the existing legal framework. State bodies (particularly those related to mobilisation) are guided exclusively by bylaws, even if they contradict the law, which has higher legal force. And the third, but not the least, is the frequent lack of legal tools for lawyers to help their clients. Despite the existing regulatory framework, it is often simply impossible to protect the client's interests here and now, and court practice varies and does not contain a single position on many issues.

VOLODYMYR SAVCHENKO

A black and white portrait of Maksym Dzis, a man with a beard and short hair, wearing a dark cardigan over a white shirt. He is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. A small red and white logo is visible on his cardigan.


**MAKSYM DZIS — FOUNDER
AND CEO OF THE LEGAL AID
CENTER**

BUSINESS A WOMAN BECAME COLDER:

How the War Affected the Gender Gap in Business

We spoke to Hanna Krysiuk, President of the Business Woman Club, founder of the international glossy Business Woman, advisor to the Ombudsman for Human Rights, and ambassador of the International Women's Entrepreneurship Embassy. She spoke about the role of women in modern business.

Do you think certain stereotypes about women in business still exist today? How has the war affected the image of women in business?

The role of women has changed nowadays. Many women have begun to master “male” professions. Given innovations, many things can be learned faster than before.

Women have become cooler. There are no stereotypes. On the contrary, about 30 programs for women have been opened. This concerns new areas of activity that can work as critical infrastructure. This is invested by the state, the Ministry of Economy, employment centers, and international donors. The latter include the US government, European foundations, the Swedes, and the embassies of many European countries.



HANNA KRYSIUK – PRESIDENT OF THE BUSINESS WOMAN CLUB, FOUNDER OF THE INTERNATIONAL GLOSSY BUSINESS WOMAN, ADVISOR TO THE OMBUDSMAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF UKRAINE, AND AMBASSADOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURSHIP EMBASSY.



What can Ukrainian business borrow from its Western partners? What processes are currently not well established in Ukraine?

Firstly, a simplified taxation system. I don't know if even our Western partners have this, because in Europe the situation is even more difficult in terms of reporting than in Ukraine. However, it is possible in countries that have free economic zones with other countries, such as Spain, the Baltic States, and where there are ports. Many people are interested in and bet on Romania. We study a lot as part of the Business Woman Club program, because we have members from 22 countries and hold teleconferences every three months to discuss how Ukrainians, especially women abroad, can start a business, and what the conditions are for paying taxes and introducing accounting.

We have very interesting offers from Spain, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Of course, Asian countries also make a lot of offers, but the issue of logistics and everything else is not so simple. Therefore, the most important thing now, in terms of exports, is to work with Europe. It is more open and understandable.

In your opinion, which business areas will be the most relevant in Ukraine after the war is over?

- The first is definitely rehabilitation, mental health and everything related to it.
- The second is food and medicine, especially water and eco-food, because in addition to the war, there is also global warming.
- The third is innovation, artificial intelligence and all business optimization.
- The fourth is mechanical engineering and everything related to logistics, but with innovative approaches.
- The fifth is education, innovation, and the search for new solutions.



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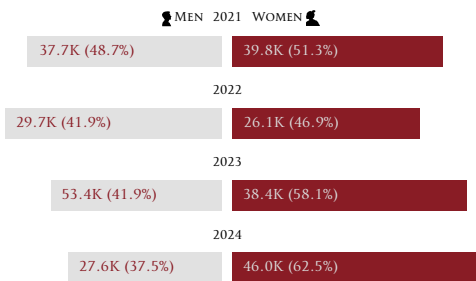
BUSINESS NATALIA CHOBAN:

Health of the nation is the basis of a healthy economy and society

Can you tell us about your own dental initiative to help the military and IDPs with acute pain? How many people have you managed to help?

I decided to stay in Ukraine and, as a volunteer of the humanitarian headquarters at the regional military administration, attracted international support for our common misfortune. My initiative was born out of a desire to support those who need help the most – the military and women with children who were forced to leave their homes because of the war. From the moment the initiative was launched to the present day, I have already helped more than 150 people. Of course, each case is unique, but for me the main thing is to return a healthy smile to as many people as possible.

GENDER DYNAMICS OF SOLE PROPRIETOR REGISTRATIONS (JUNE–AUGUST 2021–2024)



NATALIA CHOBAN – DENTIST, FOUNDER OF THE CHARITABLE FOUNDATION “CORP32”



Are there any peculiarities that a doctor working with military personnel who have returned from hot spots should pay attention to?

Yes, working with the military requires not only professionalism but also empathy. They often return with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which affects their emotional state. I believe that it is also important to create adaptive conditions for people with disabilities. This is an important component of inclusive medicine, particularly in dentistry. This includes providing access to clinics, specialized equipment that allows us to provide services to patients with reduced mobility, as well as training medical staff to work with such patients.

What can you say about the role of women in business during the war?

Ukrainian women today are incredible in their resilience and strength, because they have taken on the role of defenders not only on the front line, where the “steel defenders” of our country stand every day, but also in the rear. They have become those who lead, make decisions and are responsible for the security, support and development of their communities. Many of them have taken on leadership responsibilities usually performed by men, demonstrating confidence, management skills and the ability to make decisions in the here and now.

At this crucial time, women are not only strengthening their leadership skills, but also creating new standards of governance, where strength, flexibility and humanity are at the forefront. Her determination and ability to act with heart but with a cold mind help to restore and unite society, forming a reliable rear for the future generation.



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BUSINESS OLEKSANDR YAVTUSHENKO:

Perspectives of Economic Recovery of Ukraine

The government's strategy is not only focused on reconstruction, but also on ensuring that Ukraine becomes self-sufficient in critical areas such as construction materials. As Yuliia Svyrydenko, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economy of Ukraine, highlights:

The building materials market plays a significant role in housing reconstruction. 60% of the total construction cost is for building materials. Their import could significantly increase the cost of rebuilding due to additional logistics and customs expenses. That means everything we can produce in Ukraine, we must manufacture in Ukraine.

This push for local production is crucial to avoiding shortages and preventing price surges as demand for materials grows. It's projected that the need for building materials will increase by 30% during the recovery phase, reaching approximately \$24.5 billion annually. But this is more than just an economic necessity – it's a strategic move that directly impacts the nation's long-term economic sustainability.

Local production doesn't just keep costs down; it reinvests in the Ukrainian economy. By producing building materials domestically, the country can retain a significant portion of the economic benefits. As Svyrydenko notes:

Up to 40% of the revenue from goods produced in Ukraine goes back to Ukrainians in the form of salaries and taxes, which directly support our defence efforts.

The Role of Youth, Internally Displaced Persons and Migrants in Economic Growth

In addition to building local production capacity, Ukraine must invest heavily in its human capital. Young people, migrants, and internally displaced persons (IDPs) represent key groups that will be instrumental in driving this recovery. These programs ensure that young people, who have shown remarkable resilience throughout the conflict, remain actively engaged in rebuilding the economy.

Ukraine's youth are the driving force behind our economic recovery. They are already playing an active role in key sectors such as IT, agribusiness, and renewable energy.

By creating the right conditions for young entrepreneurs to thrive, we not only foster the growth of new businesses but also encourage our youth to stay in Ukraine, knowing their efforts make a difference here and now, – Oleksandr Yavtushenko emphasises.

Furthermore, the state has introduced grant programs aimed at supporting young people in starting their own businesses. This is not only a boost to individual entrepreneurs but also a strategy to keep Ukraine's brightest minds at home.

While youth are critical to this effort, so too are skilled migrants, many of whom left Ukraine during the war. Their return is vital for filling key roles in the rebuilding process. These individuals bring with them valuable expertise and new skills acquired abroad, which can accelerate the development of industries like construction, healthcare, and digital services.

The return of Ukrainian migrants, who have gained valuable skills and knowledge abroad, is essential for our recovery. They can bring fresh ideas, new technologies, and global experience that will help us create jobs and foster economic growth, – says Yavtushenko.



OLEKSANDR YAVTUSHENKO
Chairman of the Internally Displaced
Persons' Council of Kyiv Region, Vice-
President of WDP0

Additionally, the focus on reskilling IDPs is an essential component of Ukraine's broader economic strategy. Many of these displaced individuals were professionals before the war, and by providing them with the necessary retraining, Ukraine can address pressing labour market needs.

Internally displaced persons represent a vast untapped resource for our economy. Many of them were highly skilled professionals before the war. By providing them with retraining opportunities and integrating them into new sectors of the economy, we not only rebuild Ukraine's economy but also give these individuals a sense of purpose and contribution in our nation's recovery, – Yavtushenko notes.

Strategic Investments for Long-Term Growth

Investment will be a cornerstone of Ukraine's recovery, and the government is actively seeking both domestic and international investors to fill critical gaps in production. For example, as Svrydenko points out:

For the realisation of a project to produce sheet glass, about \$300 million of investment is needed. We also want to launch the production of electrical equipment for homes in Ukraine.

This push for investment aligns with President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's "Made in Ukraine" policy, which aims to provide accessible loans, grants, and other support for industrial parks and projects with significant investments.

A total of 45 billion UAH has already been allocated for business support programs this year, and more efforts are being made to ensure that these investments are used wisely to build the country's future, – Svrydenko says.

Additionally, there is a strong focus on aligning Ukraine's recovery with European Union principles, such as environmental sustainability, energy efficiency, and digital transformation. As part of this vision, Ukraine is also working on recycling construction debris, with the first recycling lines already planned for the Kyiv region.

Finally, the recovery of Ukraine is not just about rebuilding what was lost – it's about building a stronger, more resilient economy. The government's focus on localising production, creating jobs and attracting investment is key to ensuring that Ukraine emerges from this crisis with a self-sustaining economy capable of supporting its citizens and securing its future. As Yuliia Svrydenko makes clear, these are not just ideas; they are actionable steps that are already underway.

OLEKSANDR YAVTUSHENKO



**YULIIA SVRYDENKO — FIRST DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF
ECONOMY OF UKRAINE**





PEOPLE IN WAR

VICTOR TORKOTIUK “TITAN”

The word “impossible” does not exist for us

The war with Russia has been going on in Ukraine for almost 10 years. During this time, hundreds of thousands of soldiers have been defending our independence, including the fighters of the DIU’s “Artan” special forces unit. The commander of this special unit, Viktor Torkotiuk, nicknamed “Titan,” shared his team’s experience with *The Ukrainian Review* and told how the fighters have been modernised since the beginning of the full-scale invasion.

How many soldiers does the DIU’s “Artan” special unit currently have and what are the specifics of your activities on the battlefield?

Of course, we cannot disclose the number of personnel. This is classified information. And it is because of the specifics of our activities. The only thing I can say is that all the fighters are highly qualified specialists in their fields. Because a unit is not only attack aircraft, artillery, or UAV operators, but also drivers, logisticians, and so on. And each of them performs an important function for the overall success.

The specifics of our activities are quite broad. Firstly, it is assault operations, clearing operations, because “Artan” is an active operations unit of the Defence Intelligence of Ukraine. We also carry out special operations, each of which is unique and is developed according to separate algorithms. Of course, these include reconnaissance, sabotage, and work behind enemy lines. We also take part in battles on the front line, performing tasks more typical for infantry units. If the situation at the front requires it, we support other units of the Ukrainian Defense Forces.

We operate both on land and at sea. We are ready for any task that requires a high level of coordination and rapid response. The word “impossible” does not exist for us.



VIKTOR TORKOTIUK — NICKNAMED
“TITAN,” COMMANDER OF THE DIU’S
ARTAN SPECIAL FORCES UNIT.

Tell us about the most successful operations in which the “Artan” unit took part and which you are proud of?

In fact, I'm proud of every operation my guys, the “Artan” Special Forces, have performed. After all, there are no simple operations, especially given our specifics. But for obvious reasons, I cannot tell you about all of them. We will postpone this for later when we talk after the victory.



“Artan” special forces unit

Nevertheless, there are several unique operations of “Artan” that are already known to the general public. These include the return of the so-called Boyko towers, gas production platforms in the Black Sea, and operations in the temporarily occupied Crimea, on the Tendra Spit. These are all parts of a comprehensive plan to liberate Ukrainian land. Their main result at the moment is that we have changed the balance of power in the Black Sea, helped unblock the grain corridor and stabilise its safe operation. Now, it supplies as much food to countries that desperately need it as it did before the full-scale invasion.

There were many ground operations. The biggest ones were in Bakhmut, in the Kupiansk sector. This year, it was Chasovi Yar's defence and the Kharkiv region's liberation. Together with other active units of the Defence Intelligence of Ukraine, we liberated 400 hectares of forest where the enemy was literally “buried”. We were opposed by professional and experienced troops, but we accomplished the task set by our commander, Kyrylo Budanov. As always, because our credo is that the task must be completed.

What was the most difficult thing for you in this war?

The hardest thing for me is losing my comrades. We are a successful unit, but we still suffer losses. It always leaves a deep mark on your heart. It is important to remember each of our Heroes by continuing the fight, supporting their families, and keeping their memory alive.

Which operations are the most difficult for your guys? (water/land, maybe some directions or a specific type of task)

Each operation has its own specifics and challenges. Working on the water, when it's night and the nearest shore is 200 kilometres away, waves are rising, enemy planes are in the sky, and you need to refuel, is interesting in its own way. Behind enemy lines, where logistics and evacuation are complicated, is also interesting, but in a different way. Sitting in the trenches, in the rain or in the cold, with tanks and other heavy equipment constantly coming at you like crazy, is even different. Every soldier has a hard job. And everyone contributes to the overall victory.

What will be the first thing you do after the war is over?

I'll turn off the phone (laughs). Seriously, we will work to restore the country, strengthen the army, and support veterans so that they are not left alone with the consequences of the war. I am also convinced that our experience will be useful to our international partners. So we will share it.

TETIANA STELMAKH



Viktor Torkotiuk nicknamed “Titan”



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PEOPLE IN WAR
FOR DEMOCRACY, AGAINST EVIL:
Ukrainian soldiers about their mission and international support

IVAN TARN: COLUMN TO THE 1000TH DAY OF THE WAR
FRONTLINE COMMENTARY



By reading this column, one can see that the war would have lasted more than 1,000 days. It is time to summarise the results. At the time of writing, November 2024, the situation at the front is difficult: the enemy is slowly but surely advancing along almost the entire contact line. The front is retreating, and one of the main reasons for this is the lack of personnel. Paradoxically, the mobilisation policy is not working as well as in the first months of the war when there were queues at the military commissariats. Society mostly sabotages mobilisation, not seeing a clear strategy for victory. As a result, we started with a poorly equipped, well-staffed volunteer army, and now we have a well-equipped but understaffed army with Soviet approaches.

At this point, we have to recognise that we want to be in NATO not only in words but also in deeds. This means that we need to implement not only equipment standards but also a philosophy where human-centeredness and a strategic approach come first. Without this, we will remain an army fighting for square kilometres, not to save every life. Our victory depends not only on weapons but also on the full mobilisation of society. Not everyone has to fight on the front line, but there is work for everyone. Everyone should be involved, and this requires public trust in the state.



IVAN TARN — UKRAINIAN WHO GREW UP AND BUILT A SUCCESSFUL CAREER IN BELGIUM BUT RETURNED TO UKRAINE WHEN RUSSIA'S FULL-SCALE AGGRESSION BEGAN. HE JOINED THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES UNIT AND WENT THROUGH NUMEROUS CHALLENGES, INCLUDING THE BATTLE FOR BAKHMUT, WHERE HE LOST PART OF HIS LEG WHILE SAVING A WOUNDED COMRADE. AFTER RECEIVING PROSTHETICS, HE CONTINUED HIS SERVICE, DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE FREEDOM OF UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE IS WORTH THE HIGHEST PRICE.

Trust is only possible through a genuine and fair fight against corruption. Unfortunately, corruption is a powerful ally of our enemy and destroys our defence capabilities, costing the lives of our defenders. As Viacheslav Lypynskyi once warned: “We are not afraid of Moscow lice, we are afraid of Ukrainian nits.” This enemy is destroying us from the inside and undermining the mobilisation policy in the country.

Many of the problems we face are artificial. The laws and protocols that make them possible are lobbied for and perhaps even supported by our enemy. For example, fraud with the MSEC (Medical and social expert commission) could be easily prevented by the introduction of electronic document management. This would not require significant costs or time, but it does require political will. Currently, most people are aware of these problems but perceive them as “normal” or “not relevant”.

As Winston Churchill said: “I have nothing for you but blood, toil, tears and sweat.” It is important to understand this harsh reality now because accepting it will help us act in a coordinated and responsible manner. The longer we delay real change, the longer and harder the road to victory will be. But we will definitely win. The only question is, at what cost? And it depends on us how many more days like this will be on this path before our soldiers return alive and do not become part of the statistics.

**IVAN TARN – IN THE
LINE OF DUTY DURING A
COMBAT MISSION.**



SVYATOSLAV LAVRUSENKO, UKRAINIAN SOLDIER, ARTIST, AND PUBLIC ACTIVIST



Currently, Svyatoslav serves in the Ukrainian army, dedicating his rare spare moments to creating war sketches. Before joining the military, he worked as an artist and produced several patriotic and social graffiti pieces in Odesa.

When you are alone against the strongest state, which has more resources, both human and technical, it is very difficult, even when there is motivation; it is not realistic. That is why we greatly appreciate the support of our friendly countries. It gives us, Ukrainians, an opportunity to continue fighting and liberating our land. Everyone understands that if Ukraine falls, it will not be the end of the war but the beginning of Putin's ambition to go further. The more other states actively support us, the fewer chances the enemy has.

To be a Ukrainian soldier now is a great responsibility to your family, your country and its sovereignty, and yourself because war is not a game but a reality. You have to be 100% certain that everything will be fine and that you will succeed because the lives of your comrades and civilians behind depend on you. A Ukrainian military man is someone who looks in the eye of death and remains unafraid every time they go on a mission.

However, there is something that few people see what a soldier feels. It is a great test for health, psychological, and mental endurance. There were times when I had to sit under shelling and assaults without sleep, water, and food for a week. We are ordinary people, we are not robots; we get tired, and we miss our families whom we do not see for half of a year. To be a soldier is to forget the life you lived before, sacrificing it for the sake of our people and our children being free and happy.

In addition to ensuring the national security of their own country, the Ukrainian soldiers are strengthening the defence capability of Europe as an ally. We contribute to NATO's defence proficiency by providing valuable practical experience in modern warfare and helping partners adapt their strategies and tactics to the new challenges of technological progress. Since this war is unlike any other, many things need to be changed in the defence industry and, in general, strategies for waging modern fighting.

EUGENE LATA, COMBAT MEDIC OF THE ARMED FORCES OF UKRAINE, HEAD OF MARKETING IN IT, MOUNTAINEER, TRAVELER.

Eugene is a combat medic in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, head of marketing in IT, a mountaineer, traveller, and constant adventurer.

We talked to Eugene Lata, a senior combat medic with a fire support company, about volunteering in 2014, preparing for an invasion, and about what motivates and keeps him in the hottest spots for over a year.

In 2014 you were a volunteer who returned from the UK as a successful National Geographic TV cameraman. Nine years have passed, and I would be glad to know how things went for you and what happened during this time.

When I returned from the ATO, I moved to Tanzania. It was a psychological retreat, a break from everything. For some time, I lived among the tribes, then worked as a guide on Kilimanjaro. Only a year later, I realised that I could safely return to Ukraine and got a job in an IT company. For six years, I worked as a head of marketing in IT in various companies. I travelled, worked in IT and played sports.

Where was it that the war caught up with you in the year 2022?

It so happened that my wife and I went to Georgia in January 2022. We were thinking about whether we should return because we realised that I definitely could not stay away, I would join the army. We came back just a week before the war started. On February 24 (2022), she packed her things, took the dog and left, and I went to the military registration and enlistment office and was drafted in the evening.

You have already seen war, how did you not fear going again? What is your motivation?

I am much better prepared psychologically for this war. Living on the front line makes you an animal with basic needs and instincts. I try to fight my psychological problems and switch to additional points. For example, to read books, try to plan something, and sometimes do some exercise. It helps. Last week was a year since my unit went to the Mykolaiv region. We took part in the Kherson Company, in the liberated Kherson region, and now we are in the active phase of forcing the Dnipro. And we haven't gone home in a year. We had a 10-day vacation, and that was it.



 NATIONAL
GEOGRAPHIC

OLEKSANDR LYASHUK , UKRAINIAN SOLDIER, DESIGNER , CONTENT CREATOR & THE CAT “SHAIBA”



Oleksandr's blog gained widespread fame after he posted a video of himself building a cats'checkpoint. Now, with “Shayba”, a cat he adopted at the front, he creates positive content and advocates for the importance of caring for animals. Oleksandr also shares insights into his military experience. Before joining the army, he was focused on developing his clothing brand and worked as a photographer.

Support from the international community is always important because politicians cannot ignore society's requests, and they have to reckon with this. This, in turn, affects the level of assistance provided by governments, including both financial aid, humanitarian support, and in the supply of weapons that we need to protect our state. Therefore, this influence is direct and essential.

The role of the Ukrainian military was clearly defined at the beginning of the war. These are people who defended their state and the values of the free democratic world on which the entire civilised and progressive world rests. They became a symbol of a strength and freedom. When the whole world said that we would be captured in three days, despite everything, we did not kneel before the second-largest army in the world but stood up for protection as true heroes, showing the whole world how Ukrainians truly believe in their values. The Ukrainian military represents the modern-day story of David versus Goliath.

The war has been going on for three years instead of three days, so I am proud to bear the title of the Ukrainian soldier. I do not consider myself a hero. I simply try to do everything that depends on me and a bit more. However, our military, especially those who are now at the forefront, are heroes to me, particularly those who have given their lives for our freedom. In the world press, compared to the beginning of the war, there is less and less information about it, negatively impacting global support. People tend to forget that the war is still ongoing, but this will not change the fact that the Ukrainian military are real heroes of the modern world.

SERHIY DZHERDZH, UKRAINIAN SOLDIER, CANDIDATE OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, HEAD OF THE UKRAINE-NATO CIVIL LEAGUE

Serhiy is a Ukrainian public figure, politician, and candidate for political sciences. He also serves as the Head of the Public League Ukraine-NATO. In 2022, he joined the military as the head of the battalion's medical post. Currently, he provides commentary on internal and international topics for the media.

An extremely difficult mission has befallen us. The fact is that all the worst that could have happened in the history of the Second World War is being used in Ukraine, but new technologies are being applied to it. Thousands, millions of shells have already been fired from Russian artillery systems and tanks. Plus, there is the war of drones. Our battalion's medical centre evacuates the wounded. If we use light vehicles, such as jeeps, to transport people, they are fast, but the armour is not strong, meaning it can be pierced by machine gun fire. If you use tracked armoured vehicles, which protect against such bullets and small fragments, but are massive, the enemy can see them, and such a target is attractive. There has never been a war like this before, especially now with the use of a large number of KABs, which are difficult to counter with something, if our infantry is in combat positions and a 500 kg or 1000 kg bomb flies there, of course, there is no protection.

Only preventive actions, such as using long-range missiles, can help. Without this, the lives of soldiers, young people who often have not yet started a family, are lost here while waiting for these permits to defend themselves more intensively.

If Ukraine, with its great geographic, economic, military, industrial, agricultural, and human potential, is part of a democratic Europe as part of both the European Union and NATO, then all of Ukraine's potential works for common security. If Russia succeeds in colonising Ukraine in any way, then Russia will turn the entire Ukrainian potential against Europe. They use, for example, Chechens and Buryats against Ukraine. Moreover, if these people are killed here, it is good for the Kremlin, because there will be fewer of these people on their national territories, and Moscow will have fewer problems with national liberation movements. If these people kill Ukrainians, it is also good for the Kremlin.

We would definitely like to strengthen ourselves, but by uniting with European structures.

DARIA MASLIENKOVA



PEOPLE IN WAR
IEVGEN GALYCH, O.TORVALD:

Now I am no longer afraid to see hell because I have seen it on earth

Ievgen Galych is a Ukrainian rock musician, showman, and the frontman of the rock band O.Torvald. The band has existed for since 2005. When Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine started, he made a drastic decision to put on pause his music career and join the fight to defend Ukraine.

The Decision to Join the Military

In 2022, I could not stand aside — I just had to defend my home. If it had been an incomprehensible war for me, if I had any doubts, I would not have gone. But it was very obvious that our peaceful cities were being bombed, and our peaceful territories were being seized in a completely lawless and boorish way, so we had to fight.

In the early days of the full-scale invasion, Ievgen started actively volunteering and searching for ways to join the armed forces, even though his first attempts were unsuccessful.

My best friend and I stood in lines at military registration and enlistment offices to negotiate to be accepted into some units. Since we had not been involved in the army before, we were not accepted anywhere, although I held the rank of junior lieutenant. It turned out that we had mutual acquaintances in one of the territorial defence battalions, and they were looking for officers, so I joined the 135th Territorial Defense Battalion of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which eventually became a full-fledged battalion of the Armed Forces.

I had my first combat missions in the summer of 2022.

And then, until January 2024, I spent 99 % of my time in military service, in the war. My primary duties were to be in a unit, fulfil the tasks the higher command assigned to us, and participate in combat operations.

Now, the situation has changed because I have other tasks from the state, and I try to fulfill them, although I am still a military man.

Music and charity

We have never measured the total amount of aid. When I was constantly involved in the unit, we raised money through my media activity. At that time, we collected money for certain purchases. At first, it was for military uniforms, then for bulletproof vests and helmets, vehicles, drones and so on. Some people helped us with the necessary equipment. For example, once I started collecting donations for a car, and a friend told me, "I have a completely appropriate SUV in my yard. Come pick it up, but it won't start. If you can get it running, it's yours".



Coming back to music

In April 2024, O.Torvald released their first album since the full-scale invasion, titled *Fatigue*. To record this, the members of the band gathered together in one house and switched all the devices off to immerse themselves in the creative process.

We have always been interested in writing more art-therapeutic music, especially recently. We're not interested in using literal clichés. That's why we wrote the album about our experiences metaphorically enough to make it more poetic and creatively presented. The album begins with the track "704", symbolising 704 days of the full-scale invasion. It was on this day that we started writing the album. The album ends with the track *Fatigue* and the final lines, in which I say that now I am no longer afraid to see hell because I have seen it on earth. This literally describes what I witnessed during the war.

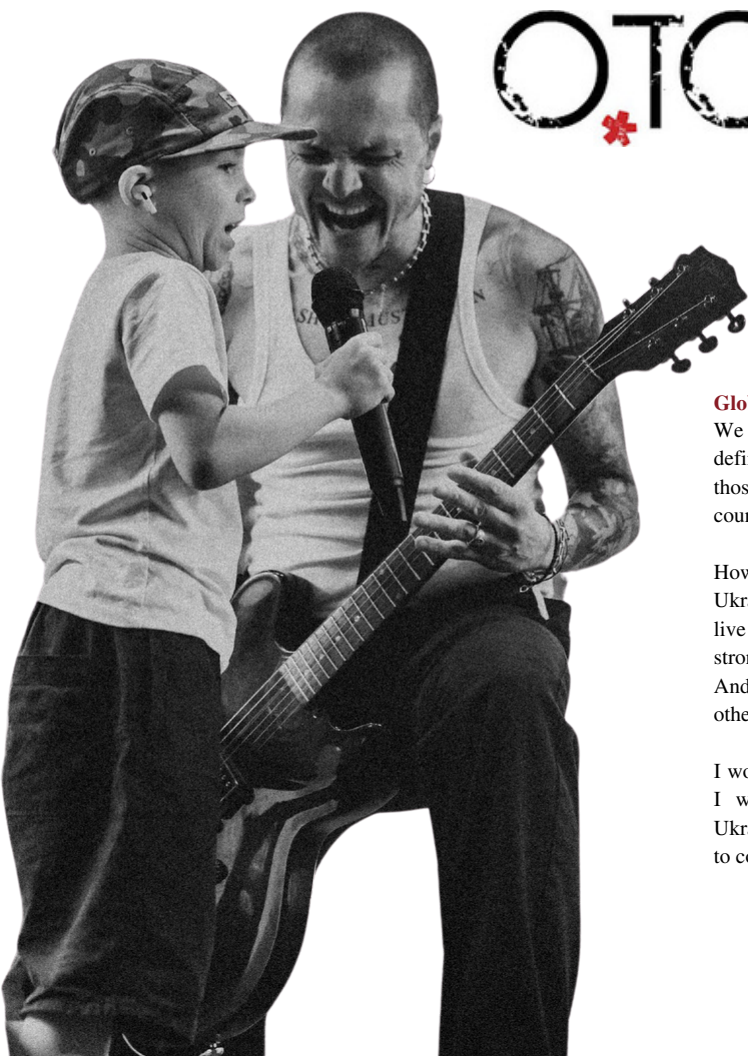
The impact of art and artist

When asked, How do you think your decision to join the Armed Forces of Ukraine has affected your fans and people who know you? Ievgen answers with the particular cases.

I can only talk about the feedback I have received. Some musicians, my friends, have joined the Armed Forces, thanking me for it.

They were like, 'Hey, dude, thanks for helping us understand why we should join.'

Unfortunately, some followers lost their lives. There was a guy from Mykolaiv who went to serve. I think our common patriotic thoughts inspired him. I know that he was very fond of O.Torvald, he attended many of our concerts. We are at war with a completely inadequate enemy, absolutely unprincipled and morally destroyed. We have to be prepared for the fact that we all will have to fight, and some of us will die.



OTORVALD

Global plans

We are planning a foreign tour for next year. It will definitely be a charity tour, but we want to perform for those refugees who have been forced to leave the country legally.

However, our main task is not to perform only for Ukrainians, but for our Western partners, people who live in peaceful cities. We would like to tell them how strong, prosperous, and unbreakable our country is. And we will tell all this in our songs for people from other countries who will attend concert.

I would like the whole world to know Ukrainian. And I would like it to become fashionable to speak Ukrainian, although I'm also ready to sing in English to convey the meanings.

DARIA MASLIENKOVA



PEOPLE IN WAR

STANDING WITH UKRAINE:

Taras Topolia on Western Music Icons, Crimea, and the Power of Global Solidarity

In this interview, Taras Topolia, the leader of Antytila band, reflects on the diminishing international focus on Ukraine's ongoing struggle, the crucial role of Western music stars in raising awareness, his unwavering support for Crimea, and how his experiences on the front lines have shaped both his life and creative work.

Taras, how do you assess the importance of Western singers supporting Ukraine? Is this support active today?

Objectively speaking, attention to the war in Ukraine, namely the occupation of part of Ukrainian territory by Russian troops, violation of conventions, numerous cases of execution of Ukrainian citizens by Russian soldiers, destruction of civilian infrastructure, hospitals, kindergartens, and inhumane treatment of prisoners of war, has decreased significantly. Unfortunately, the world has got used to it. That is why everyone, who supports Ukraine and helps draw attention to our resistance to a totalitarian regime and, in fact, to the already united totalitarian regimes of Russia, Iran, and North Korea, matters.

Especially when these individuals are global stars with an audience of billions. For example, Ed Sheeran or Bono. This is very valuable. It works in our favour.

Last year, you said that you wanted to be involved in the counter-offensive in Crimea. Why Crimea? Do you plan to return to the front as a paramedic in the near future?

We follow the instructions and orders of our superiors. After we were withdrawn from the front, we were given specific instructions, and we followed them. For over two years, we have raised almost a million dollars and transferred them to the needs of the Armed Forces. Most of these funds have already been converted into equipment used in sabotage operations by special units of the Defence Intelligence of Ukraine in the Crimean direction and, in the future, will be used in offensive operations.

TARAS TOPOLIA – THE LEADER OF ANTYTILA BAND

If we receive an order to return to the 130th Battalion and take up the positions of paramedics, we will carry out this order.

Why Crimea? Because I have always supported and cared about the fate of the Crimean Tatar people, who are currently being persecuted and oppressed there, waiting and doing a lot to make the yellow and blue flag fly over Crimea. Every time I mention Crimea, I emphasise that I believe and am confident in its future de-occupation, it is my personal support for all those who are waiting and fighting for the actual return of Crimea to its home, to Ukraine. I am also convinced that a NATO base should appear there.

How has your worldview changed since you have been at the front? Did it affect the direction or themes of your work?

My worldview has not changed. For us, the war began in 2014, and since then, we have acted and are acting not only as musicians but as citizens of our homeland, with all the duties and responsibilities for its future. That is why we have been singing about the things that hurt us, about the way people live. Sometimes, these songs are sad, sometimes ironic, sometimes cheerful and carefree, but all of them are honest.

Your team often collaborates with international partners and artists. What was your most important and useful cooperation experience during these difficult times?

Well, everything is evident here – it's the collaboration with Ed Sheeran and the joint song 2Step, which happened on his initiative. And also we had several performances with great friends of Ukraine, living legends – U2, especially Bono and The Edge, first on the Khreshchatyk metro platform in Ukraine and then at our solo concert in London.

This is an experience that, unfortunately, is caused by the war in Ukraine. But, fortunately, stars of this magnitude stand side by side with the Ukrainian people, and this is significant. And we are very grateful that they did not remain silent and used their talent for the sake of Ukraine.

What message or advice would you like to pass on to our readers around the world, those who are helping Ukraine?

Keep going! Ukraine will win!

IRYNA KOVALENKO



PEOPLE IN WAR STORIES IN EVERY FRAME:

Till Mayer's lens on war, loss, and resilience in Ukraine



Till Mayer during his work on the Ukrainian front



Ukrainian soldiers firing a mortar in self-proclaimed DPR.

When photographing such intense situations, how do you balance documenting the reality of the war with respecting the people involved and their emotional state?

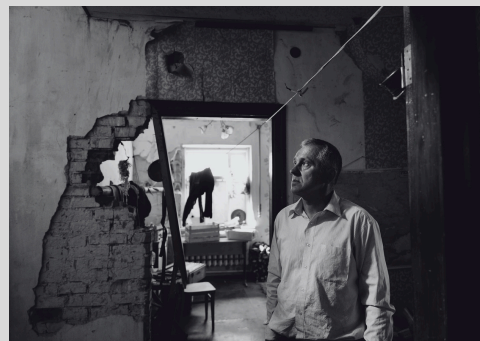
Thankfully, many people in Ukraine are very welcoming of me. That is one of the reasons why I have been reporting from Ukraine since 2017. I always have someone supporting me. Sometimes, there is no chance of getting closer contact with those I photograph. For example, when I followed up on the evacuation close to Vovchansk, police officers and volunteers risked their lives to rescue the last remaining people of the villages. The frontline was very dynamic. Some police officers even got into shootings with the invaders. Everything happened fast, clouds from incoming Grad rockets and grenades rose straight up in the sky.

The photojournalist Till Mayer has been documenting the war in eastern Ukraine since 2017. Since the start of the full-scale invasion in February 2022, he has been reporting regularly on the consequences of the Russian war on Ukraine. He has received several awards for his photos and reports. His volume of reports, "Europe's Front - War in Ukraine", was recently published by ibidem publishing house.

Please share a specific moment where a photograph you took during the war in Ukraine deeply moved you or changed the way you view the situation. Which particular photo are you referring to, and where can people see it?

I met Jelena in a village close to Kupiansk in autumn 2022. The settlement had just been liberated in the ongoing Kharkiv offensive. Smoke still rose up from the destroyed buildings. Dead Russian soldiers were lying on the road, packed in black body bags.

Jelena buried her son in a shell crater right in front of her house. Her son was killed by Russian forces firing at his white transporter. Jelena had tried to evacuate the dead body of her son. But Russian snipers were targeting her. She fled to Kupiansk and returned when her village was under Ukrainian control. It was less than a day ago that she had buried her son when I interviewed her. Jelena told me her story so I could tell it to my readers in Germany, showing the injustice that happened to her and her son. My article, which included a photo of Jelena in front of the grave, was published in many newspapers and in my book. Her photo is also displayed in my travelling exhibition.



Bakhmut front line in January of 2023

I will never forget the faces of those who fled. In shock, some were crying – no one knew if they would ever see their home again. There were grenade hits, houses were burning. It was painful. But even though the men and women were under stress, they let me do my work. They allowed me to be with them.

If the situation is different and calmer, people let me follow up their lives. They open their doors for me: the widow who lost her husband on the battlefield, the torture survivor in Kherson, and the soldiers in their positions. They all trust me.

That is an incredible honour for me.



Anita serves as a paramedic. She got wounded. She continues to risk her life. In her eyes, you can read that she pays a high toll.



Jelena buried her son in a shell crater right in front of her house. Russian forces killed her son.

In your experience, how powerful is photography as a tool for documenting war crimes, and how can it serve as undeniable evidence in bringing justice to the aggressor?

Pictures can be a weapon. They can be abused. They can be used out of context. They can be faked. Longtime documentation of a war is the opposite. It is a search for truth.

Honest photos are a voice for the people who have to endure pain, destruction and death. I show the war in text and photos with portraits of the people who are in this unbearable situation. People like you and me. You cannot imagine how many heroes I met in my line of work in Ukraine.

My photos give evidence to the readers and viewers. They trust me because they know I travel to Ukraine monthly. I have engaged myself for many years and will continue. I would be proud if photos of mine would be shown one day in "The Hague" to prove war crimes. But above all, I photograph to document for the media and to inform the public. To remind people in Germany that there is a war in the middle of Europe, a threat to their own freedom.

What challenges do you face when documenting war crimes? Are there any problems in ensuring that the global community sees and trusts these photos?

What worries me is the growing influence of photos composed by artificial intelligence. It is more complex and harder to differentiate them from the originals. It could lead to the end of truth as we know it.



Stabilisation point at Bakhmut front line.

How do you connect with the people in your photographs to ensure that you authentically capture their emotions and the truth of their experience?

Photographing people at war often means showing strong emotions. The protagonists of my photos and features undergo pain and danger. The key to gaining access to them is showing respect. They can feel if you are really interested in them as people. Or if they are just seen as a story. Just another one to be photographed.

I have the chance to come close, especially when I portray a person with my camera and a written text. Thanks to social media, I often keep in contact.

There is Vasyl, for example, a very good man living in a destroyed village close to Izjum. When I travel with my colleague Oles Kromplias, we always try to make a stop at his place for tea or coffee on our way to self-proclaimed DPR. His honey is amazing and tasty. There is Dmytro, a doctor serving in a stabilisation point close to the front line. I am proud to have him like a photo on my Instagram account. He sacrifices so much more than I do. Like all these people I meet.

As I have been reporting for a long time from Ukraine, I also have a network of friends giving me good hints for features. On Facebook, 34.000 people follow me. Many of them are Ukrainians. They also gave me ideas and connected me with people worthy of being portrayed.

What have you learned from the war, and will you continue to come to Ukraine?

War and love stand for the most evil and the most beautiful things people can do to each other. Both ask you to give all you have to offer. It is bitter and hard for Ukrainians to defend their freedom. They are fighting for my freedom as well. I can not express enough my gratitude. Unfortunately, I am afraid this is the beginning of a troublesome time for all of us in Europe. We can overcome this when we Europeans stand together as a family. Freedom, as well as love, are worth sacrificing. There is nothing more precious. I will continue to report from Ukraine until there is peace and justice. And then? Sometimes, I dare to dream about the beautiful stories waiting for me to be covered.



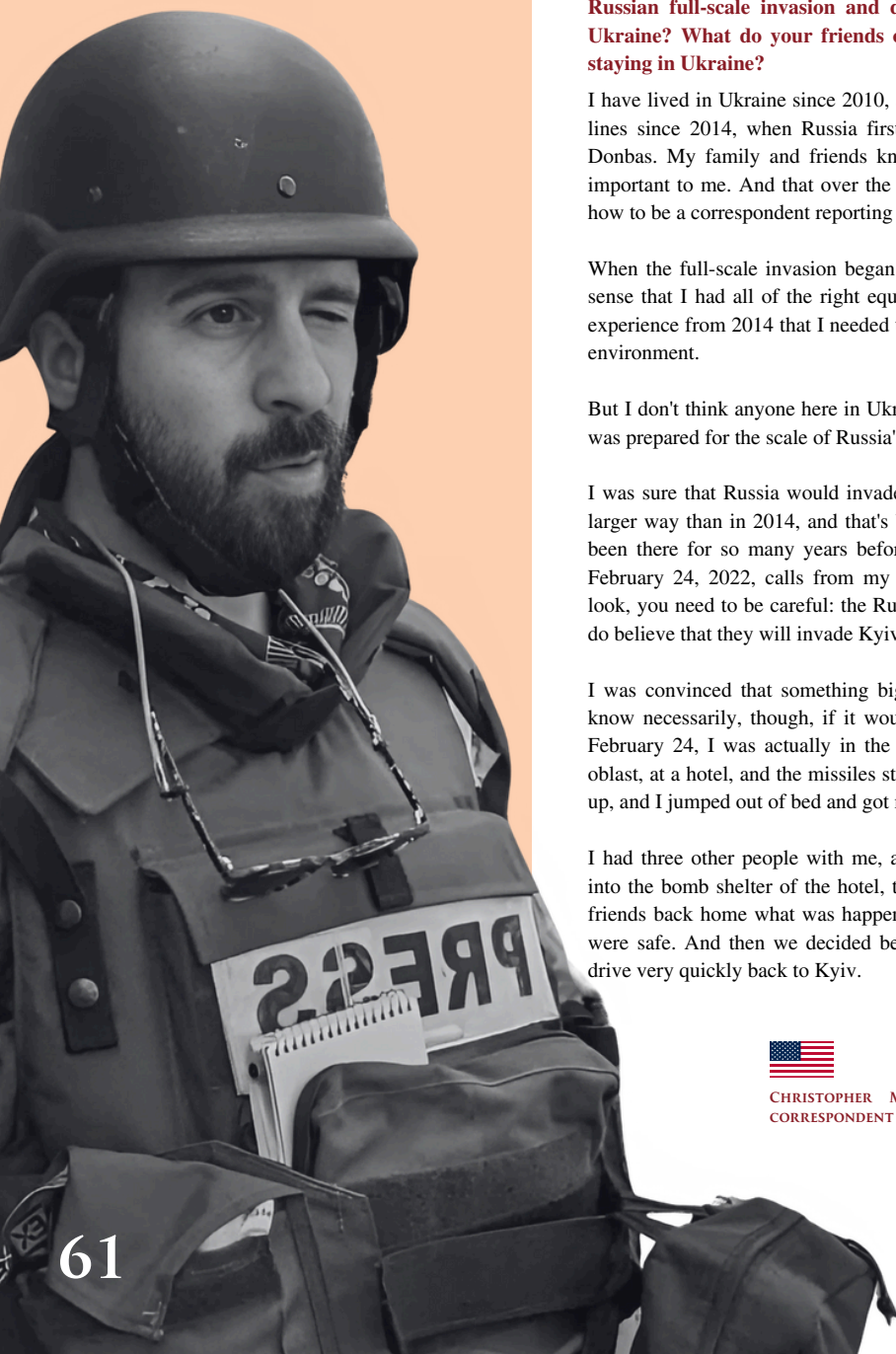
Bakhmut front line in January of 2023.



KHERSON GOT LIBERATED.



FINANCIAL
TIMES



PEOPLE IN WAR
CHRISTOPHER MILLER

I still think that Ukrainians are determined to fight for the future.

An interview with Christopher Miller – Chief Ukraine correspondent for the Financial Times. He first arrived in Ukraine in 2010 and spent about two years volunteering in Bakhmut (then Artemivsk), Donetsk region. He was in Ukraine during the war and now reports from war-torn Ukraine.

What was your first impression when you heard about the Russian full-scale invasion and did you were at that time in Ukraine? What do your friends or your family say about you staying in Ukraine?

I have lived in Ukraine since 2010, and I have reported on the front lines since 2014, when Russia first invaded Crimea and then the Donbas. My family and friends know that my work here is very important to me. And that over the last many years, I have learned how to be a correspondent reporting in a war zone.

When the full-scale invasion began in 2022, I was prepared in the sense that I had all of the right equipment that I needed. I had the experience from 2014 that I needed to know how to behave in a war environment.

But I don't think anyone here in Ukraine or even outside of Ukraine was prepared for the scale of Russia's invasion in February 2022.

I was sure that Russia would invade at least the Donbas again in a larger way than in 2014, and that's because, of course, the war had been there for so many years before 2022. But some days before February 24, 2022, calls from my sources told me: "Christopher, look, you need to be careful: the Russians will invade, and we truly do believe that they will invade Kyiv".

I was convinced that something big would happen. I still did not know necessarily, though, if it would happen around Kyiv. So on February 24, I was actually in the city of Kramatorsk in Donetsk oblast, at a hotel, and the missiles struck that morning and woke me up, and I jumped out of bed and got my team together.

I had three other people with me, and we first got everybody safe into the bomb shelter of the hotel, then we notified our family and friends back home what was happening and let them know that we were safe. And then we decided between our team that we would drive very quickly back to Kyiv.



CHRISTOPHER MILLER – CHIEF UKRAINE
CORRESPONDENT FOR THE FINANCIAL TIMES

What moments in the past two and a half years in the war in Ukraine do you consider the most important? What was important for you personally and maybe in the scale of worldwide politics? What shocked you?

There are a lot of different ways I can answer that. I guess, you know, first I will say I'm relieved that all of my good friends and acquaintances, who I knew from Bakhmut and in nearby cities in Donetsk oblast, were able to leave safely and they have now moved to other places in Ukraine or have gone abroad, and they're safe. So, I was very relieved at that. But in terms of what shocked me, I mean, the scale of the invasion in the first weeks was shocking, of course.

I think the next great shock to me was what happened in Bucha and the massacre of Ukrainian civilians by Russian soldiers. I think that shocked me; it certainly shocked Ukrainians, and it shocked the world and Western leaders as well. And I think that marked a very significant point because for the first three weeks, a lot of Western governments, including my country's government in the United States, didn't know if Ukraine would survive the first several days or several weeks of Russia's full-scale invasion.

When Ukraine did survive that first month and managed to push Russian soldiers back out of the capital, that was remarkable. But what was found in the aftermath of that operation in Kyiv was horrific, and it galvanised Western support. It got the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, all the other European nations, and NATO nations on the same page. And got them to decide collectively on this massive amount of military and financial support for Ukraine. Ukraine showed that it could resist one of the largest armies in the world. It also showed what atrocities Russia was capable of, and that was a huge turning point in getting Western support.

Surprises were, of course, the Kharkiv offensive by the Ukrainian military in 2022. I watched with great surprise and certainly cheered on the offensive as Ukrainian forces took back all of the territory that had been lost early in the war in the Kharkiv region.

I think since then, it's been a lot harder for Ukraine, and we're at this critical moment right now where the support that I mentioned from my country and other Western countries needs to increase.

Ukraine has shown that it can fight and that it is willing to fight even at great cost to its people. But it needs more support, and so I'm hoping that maybe the next big surprise will be Western governments and the American government, in particular, saying, okay, we are going to provide you with a lot more weaponry and more support because maybe now they will believe that is what can turn the tide of the war.

What prompts you to continue covering the war in Ukraine for Western readers and viewers? What is the resource for you to keep doing it?

As I said at the beginning of our conversation, I'm not Ukrainian, but I've lived here for a very long time, for 14 years. When I'm 40 years old, that's a third of my life I've spent living here. I have a lot of Ukrainian friends, and I consider this to be my adopted second home. I care very deeply about what happens to Ukraine and what happens to my friends. So, I feel a responsibility to continue reporting about what is happening.



Christopher stands with Ukrainian territorial defense soldier Vitaliy Koshel in a trench between Bakhmut and Chasiv Yar in May 2022. Koshel was killed in combat two months after the photo was taken

Over the years the Western media and other Western governments oftentimes start looking away at other major global events, and they tend to sort of forget about Ukraine at moments when Ukraine needs support.

So, part of my job as a journalist is not only to report the news but, I think, also to try to keep Ukraine as one of the main focuses of the United States and the European Union and policymakers in those places who can help Ukraine and have an impact on its progress going forward. So that's why I stay here.

It's a job that I think is important. I think that because of my experience here, I'm well-positioned to do this work, and I feel like I have a personal stake in it because I have been here for such a long time and have those deep connections with people and places here.

INTERVIEWED BY STANISLAV KINKA
EDITED BY IRYNA KOVALENKO



FULL VERSION WITH
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A MEMORABLE INTERVIEW WITH THE FALLEN HERO, WHO DIED FOR UKRAINE'S FREEDOM

PETER FOUCHÉ:

“If you have brains, you don’t talk about freezing the war,”

WHAT WAS YOUR PERSONAL MOTIVATION TO JOIN THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES?

My personal motivation to join Ukraine was to help defend Ukraine. It was very simple and very sudden and very impactful. It was one very sad moment. I was sitting in my lounge on my sofa and watching TV. My mother had just come from South Africa to visit me in London. And on TV, I was watching the news, and I saw children being raped and murdered. I saw the news about children,

UKRAINIAN CHILDREN BEING RAPED AND MURDERED

As an ex-policeman and as a father, I have a strong desire, as any parent does, to want to protect any innocent child. And that was my motivation. My love, my direct love for my daughter, created an explosion of care. If I can put it that way, it is an explosion of desire to come and help, care, and protect the children of Ukraine. And I shouted upstairs to my mom: ‘Mom, I’m going to Ukraine’. And the rest is history.



WHAT IS YOUR MISSION IN UKRAINE? I READ SEVERAL ARTICLES. IN ONE, YOU WERE MENTIONED AS A VOLUNTEER, AND IN ANOTHER, YOU WERE MENTIONED AS A MILITARY MAN.

WHAT IS YOUR MISSION NOW, AND HOW DO YOU HELP THE UKRAINIANS? IS IT RELATED TO THE UNIT WITH MEDICAL EVACUATION, OR DID YOU TOOK PART IN THE FRONTLINE ROUTINE AND FIERCE?



I’m a medic right now. I am a contracted soldier in the armed forces of Ukraine, and I’ve been a medic for the last year and a half. I joined the army five months ago, the year before that project, Konstantin, the charity I started with Tetiana Millard, who passed away five months ago. She was driving another donated vehicle from England. She was born in Bakhmut but has lived in England for the last 17 years. She was driving another vehicle to Ukraine and had a terrible accident in Pokrovsk. She passed away. My mission in Ukraine since I arrived here was as an instructor. I was teaching soldiers how to shoot and some combat tactics, and then I started Project Konstantin, which was doing humanitarian deliveries and rescues around Ukraine for civilians, and that evolved into casualty evacuations of injured soldiers in and around Bakhmut and eventually in Serebryansky Lis [Wood], and that has evolved into me now joining the army as a full-time medic.

EXCLUSIVE VIDEO
INTERVIEW WITH A
FALLEN HERO





YOU WILL FOREVER REMAIN IN OUR HEARTS.
THANK YOU FOR EVERYTHING, HERO.

SOCIAL

MARIA MEZENTSEVA:

Rehabilitation and adaptation of Ukrainian society and the military

The aggressor disregards international law, and Ukrainian military and civilians in Russian camps and prisons face outright acts of sadism. Member of Parliament Maria Mezentseva is only in her first term in the Verkhovna Rada and is the head of the Ukrainian delegation to PACE, where she regularly raises the issue of protecting the rights of Ukrainian prisoners.

Let's start with the most general: what is the broad range of problems that Ukrainian prisoners of war face?

As for the main problems: the fundamental one is Russia's violation of international law. The Russian Federation is a party to the Geneva Conventions, which should apply in any armed conflict, but the occupying force does not comply with them. These are basic rules between two warring parties. At the same time, we understand that Ukraine is defending itself, upholding its right to exist, while Russia is the aggressor country.

Russia must provide access to detention centres.

We know that many of our defenders are held illegally, either in existing detention centres or in artificial ones. The whereabouts of prisoners of war are not always known, and their status is not always established.

A joint mechanism exists for those who have disappeared "under special circumstances." This is a joint project of the HUR MO, the Security Service of Ukraine, and the National Police – a common database that includes both military and civilian persons, although we are talking about different circumstances of disappearance.


**MARIA MEZENTSEVA — THE
HEAD OF THE UKRAINIAN
DELEGATION TO PACE**



What is PACE doing to ensure the rights of our military personnel who are currently in captivity?

Firstly, we have registered the initiative for a resolution that is to be presented to the entire PACE and written as the main document on this topic, which we would like to combine with the issue of civilians in captivity. Imagine, the military and civilian captivity issue even appeared in resolutions concerning Navalny and Kara-Murza. We always try to expand a specific case into a more significant problem. Next, we expect our initiative to become a top topic for the next session. Then – the preparation of the resolution text and voting.

And thirdly, work with the Swiss delegation of the ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross. There is a certain non-public case. There have been many instances when, concerning missing persons whose whereabouts the family did not know, or if they even knew whether the person was alive, the ICRC was able to deliver a box of personal belongings, a letter, etc. Each time it looks like some secret special operation, but it happens.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Many people face horrific torture in captivity. Is this a factor of personal hatred and permissiveness on the part of the occupiers or a targeted policy?

As far as I know, they are not the decision-makers in this process. They are the executors of torture within the genocidal policies of the Russian Federation imposed according to a manual. For example, we found out that there is a clear motive behind the raping of women and children (including boys): to discourage, pardon the bluntness, the desire to reproduce and give birth to more Ukrainians. In other words, rape was ordered as a policy. We try to comment on this from a human perspective, but there is nothing human about it. I was in Kupyansk. They turned the district police department into a torture chamber. I can't even describe in words the methods and ways I saw there.

KOSTYANTYN GRECHANY



FULL VERSION WITH THIS QR CODE



Maria Mezentseva Speaks at PACE Session



Council of Europe conference room

SOCIAL THE HORRORS OF CAPTIVITY:

Firsthand Stories of Surviving Russian Imprisonment

The Ukrainian Review has heard confirmation of Maria's words from direct witnesses. Ukrainian chaplain and rector of the Holy Trinity Church of the OCU in Odesa, Father **Vasyl Vyrozub**, was taken prisoner by Russia when he went on a humanitarian mission to Zmiinyi Island (Snake Island). The priest was first taken to Crimea, and from there to Shebekino in the Belgorod region of the Russian Federation to a prisoner of war camp. **It was 70 days of constant torture.**

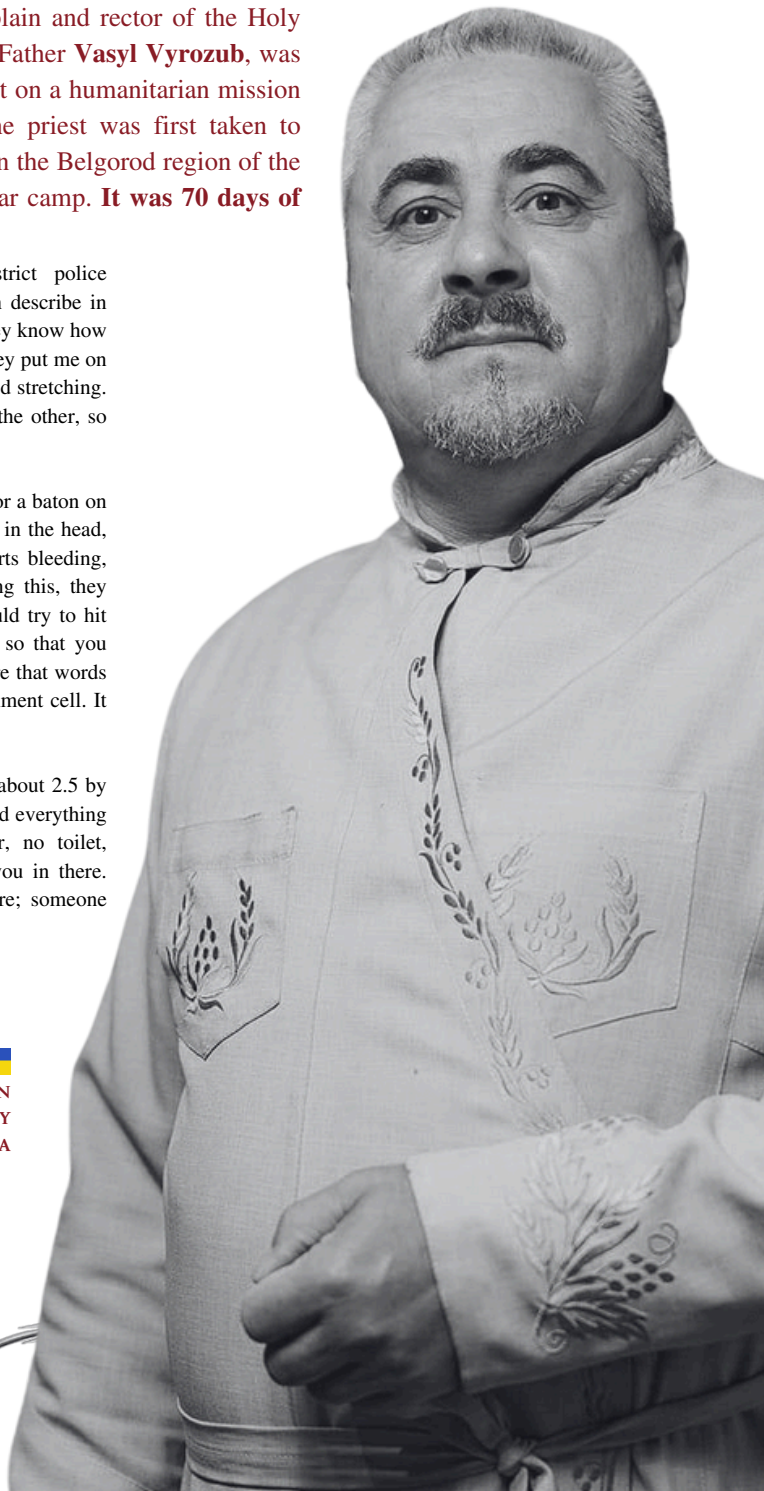
I was in Kupyansk. They turned the district police department into a torture chamber. I can't even describe in words the methods and ways I saw there. Oh, they know how to torture – effectively and in different ways. They put me on a twine with my head close to the wall. It's called stretching. One sits on you from one side, the other from the other, so the tendons start tearing.

During this, you are beaten with tactical gloves or a baton on the kidneys and in the head. When they hit you in the head, you hit the wall with your face, your nose starts bleeding, and you're covered in that bloody soup. During this, they could also beat you with a stun gun. They would try to hit you in the kidneys, genitals, or under the ear, so that you would immediately twist. The pain was so severe that words cannot describe it. They threw me into a punishment cell. It was called "rezinka" (rubber in English).

It was about +7 degrees inside. It was a room about 2.5 by 3.5 meters; there was no airing or ventilation, and everything was covered with rubber. There is no water, no toilet, nothing. They stripped you naked and threw you in there. And, of course, someone had been there before; someone used a room as a toilet for all kinds of needs.



**VASYL VYROZUB — UKRAINIAN
CHAPLAIN AND RECTOR OF THE HOLY
TRINITY CHURCH OF THE OCU IN ODESA**



All this excrement was under my feet. The corresponding fumes began to corrode your respiratory system. In half a day, you start coughing up pus. And you can't even sit down, you have to heat one place because it's cold, and you stand there. I stayed there for 3.5 days without food, water, or sleep. After that, they take you for interrogation again, and they beat you again, and again with electricity, and again with a baton... **They have learned how to torture.**

They also blew up nails. When you're on your knees, and your hands are behind your back, they start twisting your nails. One nail was blown up with a nail, and the other... There are such round-nose pliers. They put one sharp tip under the nail and twist it – one way and then the other.

In 2021, Oleksandr Demenko signed a contract and joined the 9th Operational Regiment of the National Guard of Ukraine (later to become the 15th Brigade of the Kara-Dag Offensive Guard). During the defense of Mariupol, Oleksandr was wounded and taken prisoner by Russia for more than a year and a half.

We were held by the Russians, who called themselves self-proclaimed DPR. Basically, they fed us, but the attitude was, how can I tell you... There was moral pressure, and physical pressure, regular interrogations, beatings. International humanitarian organisations were not allowed to visit us.

The beatings were so-called "regular", i.e. for non-compliance with the rules of detention. Someone fell asleep at the wrong time, someone did something in the house contrary to their routine – they regularly beat them for that. We were also beaten for not knowing the anthem of the Russian Federation, for not learning Soviet poems and songs that they forced us to learn (we were always walking around in the organised pattern listening to Soviet songs). Of course, there were beatings during interrogations.



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There was also an operational department where prisoners were selectively taken in order to tell them who did not follow their "rules of detention". They asked them to inform on each other.

Actually, it went on like that until January 23, 2024, when we were transferred to Taganrog. There we were beaten several times a day. There, the treatment was worse than brutal. The food was terrible, and very little food was given, the conditions were terrible. All the clothes were ragged, there was no heating (and I need to remind you, it was January), no hygiene, no medical care.



"Azovstal" during battle for Mariupol

REHABILITATION AND ADAPTATION

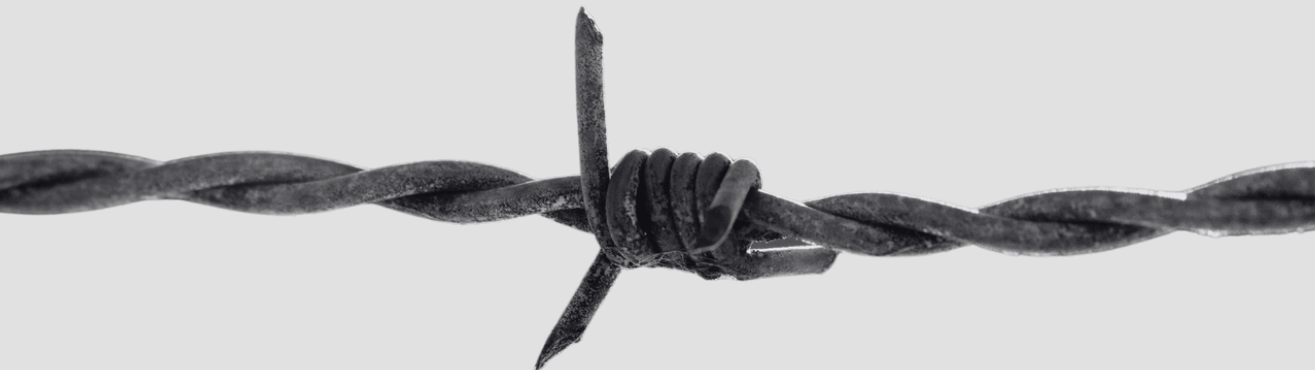
Where can people who have returned from captivity turn to, and what support programs are available for them now?

The latest update, which will be supplemented and updated, is the “Army+” app. If “Reserve+” was created to understand how many people we can cover with recruitment, then “Army+” appeared so we can understand how many veterans we have, what their needs are, where there is full family support and care, and where no one is taking care of them, where there is disability and prosthetic needs, and so on.

In terms of social adaptation, it is very important to help people find and establish a workplace. Currently, all regional Employment Centers have a specific task from the state – to promote, encourage, and sign memoranda with the corporate and public sectors for the greatest possible involvement of veterans in employment.

KOSTYANTYN GRECHANY

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OLEKSANDR DEMENKO — NATIONAL GUARD FROM AZOVSTAL

SOCIAL STRENGTH IN ADVERSITY:

The Resilience and Integration of Ukrainian Refugees Amidst Disinformation

One of the pernicious narratives spread by Russian misinformation is the portrayal of Ukrainian refugees as burdensome, either through bad behaviour or as a strain on the resources of host nations. Dmytro Shevchenko, the Chancellor of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, has explicitly challenged this narrative. In addressing these claims, Shevchenko acknowledges that while the employment rate among Ukrainian refugees in Germany may be lower compared to some other European countries, it is not an anomaly when compared to other ethnic groups within Germany. In fact, the employment rate among Ukrainians is notably better than that of Syrian and Afghan refugees.

The notion that Ukrainian refugees are lazy or overly reliant on social benefits is a deliberate manipulation. Germany has long dealt with challenges related to low-wage employment, and this issue did not suddenly arise with the arrival of Ukrainian refugees.

Shevchenko emphasises that the lower employment rates are partly due to the demographic composition of the refugees, primarily women and children, who face additional challenges such as childcare responsibilities. This demographic reality complicates their ability to work full-time, a situation similar to what other refugee groups have faced.

A Eurofound report in 2024 described the integration of Ukrainian refugees into the labour market within the EU member states as quite high: ranging from 11% to over 50%. This is higher than any other refugee group. Take the example of Poland, where more than 1 million displaced Ukrainians found shelter in that country alone. It's estimated that they contributed between 0.7% and 1.1% to the national GDP in 2023. This positive economic impact is due to their active participation in the labour market, more than 40%, the taxes they paid, and their contributions to social insurance.

Valentin Jedraszkyk, the founder of Echoes from Ukraine, an online magazine which highlights the endurance of the Ukrainian civil society since the beginning of the full-scale war in February 2022, specialising in Central and Eastern European studies and Export Development Manager at Bpifrance in New York says that these results are very significant when you consider that, because of the martial law in place in Ukraine, most of these refugees are women accompanied by children. Additionally, they face other significant challenges, such as language barriers, recognition of qualifications, and lacking on a social network.



DMYTRO SHEVCHENKO — THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH



VALENTIN JEDRASZYK — THE FOUNDER OF ECHOES FROM UKRAINE, AN ONLINE MAGAZINE WHICH HIGHLIGHTS THE ENDURANCE OF THE UKRAINIAN CIVIL SOCIETY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE FULL-SCALE WAR IN FEBRUARY 2022, SPECIALISING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES AND EXPORT DEVELOPMENT MANAGER AT BPIFRANCE IN NEW YORK.

Experiences in Serbia

The situation of Ukrainian refugees in Serbia offers another perspective on the refugee experience. Despite Serbia's historically close ties with Russia and the significant presence of Russian migrants and capital, Ukrainian refugees have generally been met with a positive reception. Volodymyr Tolkach, the Ambassador of Ukraine to Serbia, notes that many Serbians express empathy towards Ukrainians, often drawing parallels with their own experiences during NATO's intervention in 1999.

The general attitude towards Ukrainian refugees in Serbia is one of understanding and sympathy. Many Serbians relate to the Ukrainian experience, having themselves experienced displacement and conflict.

However, Tolkach also acknowledges the complex political landscape in Serbia, where pro-Russian sentiments are prevalent. This has sometimes led to a lack of widespread condemnation of Russia's actions in Ukraine, which can influence public perception. In practical terms, Serbia provides temporary protection status to Ukrainian refugees, which includes the right to reside and work in the country. Unlike in some other nations, the Serbian government does not offer direct financial aid to Ukrainian refugees. This policy has contributed to preventing negative stereotypes from taking hold, as there is no perception of refugees living off the state's resources. Instead, the focus has been on enabling refugees to become self-sufficient.

The Serbian government's approach, supported by the European Union, includes providing housing and food in a designated refugee centre in Vranje. However, the uptake has been relatively low, as many Ukrainian refugees in Serbia are elderly or women with young children, who may not find these arrangements suitable, – Tolkach explains

Despite these challenges, Ukrainian refugees in Serbia are actively seeking ways to integrate into society. They are learning the Serbian language, their children attend local schools, and some have even started small businesses. An example of this is a sewing workshop established by Ukrainian women in the refugee centre.



VOLODYMYR TOLKACH — THE
AMBASSADOR OF UKRAINE TO SERBIA



The Role of Disinformation and Physical Threats

The Russian efforts to undermine the image of Ukrainian refugees are well-documented and pervasive. Oleksiy Goncharenko, a member of the Ukrainian Parliament and President of the PACE Committee on Migration, Refugees, and Displaced Persons, highlights the extensive measures taken by Russia to discredit Ukrainian refugees.

Russia does everything possible to discredit Ukrainian refugees abroad. Their extensive European agent network provides these opportunities, and pocket media outlets amplify the disinformation. These information campaigns are primarily aimed at ordinary citizens of Western countries. Each country's government understands refugees' significant contribution to their economies, – Goncharenko said.

Goncharenko underscores the importance of combating this disinformation.

We must oppose this. It is clear that if enough ordinary citizens believe these falsehoods, populist politicians will emerge who will repeat Kremlin propaganda, – he warns.

Furthermore, he highlights the physical threats faced by Ukrainian refugees, noting incidents of violence perpetrated by Russians against Ukrainians in Western countries.

Several women have been killed, and Ukrainian soldiers undergoing rehabilitation have been beaten on the street simply because they are Ukrainian. Western justice systems must address these issues to prevent further incidents.

Long-term Contributions and Integration

The narratives surrounding Ukrainian refugees, as articulated by Shevchenko and Tolkach, highlight a broader truth: these individuals are not passive recipients of aid but active contributors to their host societies. Valentin Jedraszky emphasises this point, arguing that the presence of Ukrainian refugees offers an opportunity for host countries to reaffirm their commitment to humanitarian values and international solidarity.

The integration of Ukrainian refugees not only helps those displaced by the conflict but also enriches the cultural and economic landscape of the host countries. Their presence is a reminder of the importance of supporting those in need and the potential benefits of welcoming diverse communities, – Jedraszky writes.

There is also a high potential for entrepreneurship among Ukrainian refugees. Not only do they launch businesses for their own subsistence, but they also contribute to boost local economies, create jobs, etc. This is particularly true in the USA, to which over 187,000 Ukrainians had arrived by the end of March 2024 under President Biden's "Unite for Ukraine" program. While figures and statistics are great, there is no better argument than a personal story.

Valentin's good friend, Anastasiia Lozik, who now resides in New York, where he is also based, serves as the best case for this point. She relocated to the US from Ukraine on March 1, 2022, due to the war. Drawing from her experience as a Client Partner for a global data and BPO company, Anastasiia co-founded IdeaQ in 2023—a data validation and verification platform. With her partner, Serhiy Zaporozhets, she has run successful trial programs with top U.S. marketers.



OLEKSIY GONCHARENKO — A MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE PACE COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION, REFUGEES, AND DISPLACED PERSONS

In Germany, for instance, the potential long-term contributions of Ukrainian refugees are becoming increasingly evident. As they settle and integrate, these refugees are poised to fill crucial gaps in the labour market, particularly in sectors experiencing shortages.

Germany has a history of integrating diverse groups of migrants, and the current wave of Ukrainian refugees is no different. The skills and talents these refugees bring can address specific needs in the economy, from healthcare to technology, – Shevchenko notes.

In Serbia, the integration process is shaped by the unique socio-political context. While the country has not experienced the same level of influx as some Western European nations, the presence of Ukrainian refugees has nonetheless been significant. Tolkach highlights that Serbian society, with its recent history of conflict and displacement, has shown a degree of empathy and understanding towards the Ukrainian plight. This empathy is crucial in facilitating the integration of refugees, as it creates a welcoming environment where they can feel safe and supported.

However, the integration of Ukrainian refugees is not without its challenges. Language barriers, cultural differences, and the trauma of displacement can complicate their adjustment to new environments. Moreover, the contributions of Ukrainian refugees extend beyond the economic sphere. Their cultural heritage, traditions, and perspectives enrich the cultural tapestry of their host countries. This cultural exchange fosters mutual understanding and respect, breaking down stereotypes and building stronger, more cohesive communities.

The cultural contributions of Ukrainian refugees help bridge gaps between different communities. They bring with them a rich cultural history that can enhance the diversity of their host societies. I can mention some examples of the vivid contribution of Ukrainian exiled artists to my city of Paris. An event that profoundly impacted me was the exhibition "High-Precision Love or the Third World War" by Ukrainian artist Igor Gusev from Odesa, held at the cultural centre in Paris at the beginning of this year. This exhibition featured his works reflecting the daily impact of the war on Ukrainian society.

Being the fashion capital, Paris has hosted numerous events by exiled Ukrainian designers who have gained international recognition. A notable initiative is the "Tripolar" exhibition organised by Vogue Ukraine in November 2022.

These fashion events have popularised Ukrainian creativity and folk traditions, fostering cultural exchange between Ukraine and France. Ukrainian music has also reached French audiences, with the Kyiv City Ballet taking temporary asylum at the Théâtre du Châtelet and performing to full auditoriums, – Jedraszkyk notes.

As the global community continues to grapple with the refugee crisis, the experiences of Ukrainian refugees offer valuable lessons. They underscore the importance of providing refugees with the necessary support to rebuild their lives and the benefits of fostering an inclusive and supportive environment. The stories of Ukrainian refugees in Germany, Serbia, the USA and other countries serve as a reminder of the human capacity for resilience and the positive impact of embracing diversity. The experiences shared by Dmytro Shevchenko, Volodymyr Tolkach, and Valentin Jedraszkyk highlight the importance of understanding the complexities of the refugee experience and recognising the potential for positive contributions. In doing so, host countries can not only support those in need but also enrich their own societies, creating a more inclusive and diverse global community.

OLEKSANDR YAVTUSHENKO



OLEKSANDR YAVTUSHENKO —
CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNALLY
DISPLACED PERSONS' COUNCIL OF KYIV
REGION, VICE-PRESIDENT OF WDPO



The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) positions itself as a neutral, impartial and independent humanitarian organisation. It based in Geneva, Switzerland. ICRC works in around 90 countries and employ more than 18,500 staff worldwide. The organisation is funded largely with voluntary contributions from states who are party to the Geneva Conventions.

The organisation has had an office in Ukraine since 2014, employing more than 600 staff here. The ICRC is part of the global Red Cross Red Crescent (RCRC) Movement, the world's largest humanitarian network of staff and volunteers.

The ICRC defines itself as an organisation that works to protect the lives and dignity of people affected by armed conflict. Patrick Griffiths explains that in the course of their work, they communicate with parties to the conflict about their responsibilities under the laws of war, and work with communities to help them reduce their risks.

However, at the beginning of the full-scale war in Ukraine, it became much more difficult for the ICRC to remain neutral and not be criticized. One of the cases is that the international media investigations have repeatedly mentioned that the Russian Red Cross cooperates with the Kremlin.

Patrick Griffiths says that the Russian Red Cross is a national society, one of around 191 around the world, within the Red Cross Movement. In any country, national societies act as an auxiliary to authorities – and can be called on to provide support in response to a range of humanitarian emergence.

In my country, for example, the Australian Red Cross is called to support people who lose homes, livelihoods or loved ones from bush fires every year. In Ukraine and Russia, the Ukrainian Red Cross and Russian Red Cross work with their respective authorities to support people suffering as a result of this international armed conflict. We work with both the Ukrainian and Russian Red Cross societies to support them in this life-saving work.

SOCIAL PATRICK GRIFFITHS

I can't describe how frustrating that is – an ICRC representative in Ukraine

How the ICRC reacts to the humanitarian needs and threats

When armed conflict escalates, humanitarian risks increase. More people need help more urgently. Patrick Griffiths says this is what the ICRC saw in Ukraine in 2022: new frontlines and new communities that may have been further from armed conflict before 2022 but were now directly affected by it.

That meant new humanitarian needs. It meant a massive upscale in our humanitarian response. We had to adapt, rapidly — as did everyone else. For us, it means refocusing our response in new locations, hiring new staff, revising the balance of our different programs.

The escalation created a quickly changing environment for humanitarians, raising security risks for everyone in Ukraine, even for the ICRC staff. The situation is especially complicated by the fact that the aggressor country regularly violates the Geneva Conventions and attacks civilians. Russia deliberately attacks civilian objects, residential buildings, and critical infrastructure. Among the civilians killed by Russia were vulnerable categories of society, the elderly, the disabled, and even children.

Patrick Griffiths explains that despite the new humanitarian challenges and threats, the ICRC can only help others when its staff is safe. And when the dynamics of armed conflict change rapidly, staff safety becomes a challenge. But at the same time, the ICRC assures that its humanitarian response is diverse, reflecting the diverse needs of people in crisis.

In Ukraine, as elsewhere, we start by thinking about what essential things people need to live. People need food – so we provide emergency rations and run livelihood programs in support of farmers. People need water – so we work with vodakanals [Companies that supply water to Ukrainians houses] to repair or strengthen the resilience of existing water systems. People need access to healthcare – so we work with partners on programs as varied as physical rehabilitation for weapon-wounded patients, or providing medical equipment, — Patrick Griffiths says.

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS



How the ICRC works with refugees

Patrick Griffiths explains that there are very technical criteria to be classified as a refugee, but generally this term applies to people who have had to flee their home country.

Within Ukraine, the ICRC Delegation in Kyiv provides support in different ways to people internally displaced by the armed conflict. We know close to four million people have been displaced in this way. For Ukrainians outside Ukraine, our colleagues and the RCRC Movement in neighboring countries and the broader region, have provided support in various ways – helping families separated in the chaos to locate each other and reconnect, being just one example.

Violation of the rights of prisoners of war and forced deportation of civilians

The ICRC faced significant criticism after numerous reports of Russian abuse of Ukrainian POWs during the full-scale war, including the high-profile Olenivka attack on July 29, 2022, which killed around 40 and injured 130. Despite the UN and ICRC's guarantee of safe surrender for Azovstal's defenders in Mariupol on March 16, this promise went unfulfilled.

Additionally, while the ICRC is responsible for ensuring humane detention conditions, their statements about regular visits conflict with accounts from detainees and families. Even Ukraine's Human Rights Commissioner, Dmytro Lubinets, reported that most Ukrainian POWs had not seen ICRC representatives.

Under the Geneva Conventions, states must establish national information bureaus (NIBs) in conflicts, as both Russia and Ukraine have done. Pat Griffiths states that the ICRC and their Geneva-based “central tracing agency” act as neutral intermediaries, facilitating information exchanges on POWs' status and enabling communication with their families.

The lives, wellbeing and dignity of all prisoners of war must be respected. In any international armed conflict, when we visit prisoners of war, we seek to monitor their conditions. Are they receiving the food, water or medicine they need? How are they being held? How are they being treated? When we have concerns about their wellbeing, we share these directly with the authorities concerned – advocating, as best we can, for the law protecting the rights of prisoners of war to be upheld, — Pat Griffiths says.

To be able to engage in direct dialogue with all sides of the armed conflict, the ICRC maintains a neutral approach and does not share details of its findings publicly. According to Patrick Griffiths, this approach provides the best chance to reach and assist those whom others cannot.

Are there limits to our humanitarian access? Absolutely. I can't describe how frustrating that is.

This accounting of POWs—including the duty to search for and care for those who are sick or wounded — is the responsibility of the parties to the conflict. So is the facilitation of the exchange of prisoners of war and their families.

There are limits and challenges. We need to acknowledge those. But this system of accounting for and exchanging information is working. More than 9000 families have received news about missing loved ones since the start of the escalation. More than 7300 messages have been exchanged between prisoners of war and their families. It's not enough. It's not everyone, — the ICRC representative says.

ICRC response to forced deportations of Ukrainians to Russia

Russia made a forced transfer of Ukrainians from the occupied territories to Russia in the first weeks of the war in 2022. In the first case, the ICRC continued to emphasize its neutrality, providing basic humanitarian assistance. In the second case, the organization has not yet been able to resolve the issue of Ukrainians illegally taken to Russia.

The head of the Belarusian Red Cross, Dmitriy Shevtsov, during his regular visit to the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine, admitted in a report by Belarus 1 TV channel that his organization was involved in the removal of children from Ukraine.

Patrick Griffiths says that this issue is the responsibility of the IFRC. They are the ones responsible within the Movement for accountability mechanisms when there is a possible breach of our principles or standards related to a national society, like the Belarusian Red Cross.

The IFRC looked into the case in your question and took action based on their findings. One point it might be important to highlight from the IFRC statement is that their investigation found that no part of the Red Cross Movement was involved in the forcible deportation of children. From our side, we take any breach of integrity incredibly seriously. We share the same concerns stressed by the IFRC on the importance of upholding a strict neutrality to ensure humanitarian access to people affected by armed conflict.

The “cherry on top” is that the ICRC turns a blind eye to the cooperation of the Russian Red Cross Society with pro-war organizations in Russia. There have been no official statements by the ICRC on this issue.

On the other hand, the ICRC representatives themselves have repeatedly suffered from the war unleashed by Russia. The example is the attack on Viroliubivka near Chasovyi Yar, which resulted in the deaths of three mission workers, two injuries and the destruction of humanitarian aid.

We lost three colleagues last month. We feel that pain. Our colleagues died helping people close to the front lines who are suffering because of this armed conflict. Our neutrality is the tool that gives us the best chance of reaching those who need help. It gives us the best chance of helping others.



PATRICK GRIFFITHS,
an ICRC representative in Ukraine

It means that we avoid politics, naming names or pointing fingers in public, as counterintuitive an impulse as that may sound. Don't mistake that for silence – we are always talking, through our direct and confidential dialogue with parties to the conflict.

Formally, the ICRC declares its readiness to support Ukrainians for as long as it is needed. However, the effectiveness of this organization can be assessed from different perspectives.

We're prepared to here as long as we need to be. For as long as people affected by the armed conflict need help, we are ready to provide that support, — the ICRC representative says.

Today, organizations like the ICRC are viewed with skepticism. On the one hand, it supports civilians with humanitarian and psychological aid, tries to establish communication with the Russians on the treatment of prisoners, and works in a constant state of threat. On the other hand, the “friendship” of the Russian Red Cross with terrorist organizations, the lack of assistance to deported Ukrainians, and the position of neutrality that is being criticized.

The Ukrainian Review will contact the ICRC for more information on the situation of Ukrainian prisoners in Russia and hopes for mutual interest in communication with ICRC representatives.

DARIIA PODVYSHENNA



A VOLUNTEER FROM THE ICRC TOGETHER WITH A UKRAINIAN WOMAN IN A COMBAT ZONE.

SOCIAL
SPORT IS ABOUT PEACE
and fair fighting, but not here

Oleksandr Usyk, Ukrainian professional boxer reigned as the undisputed world heavyweight champion to June 2024

On the night of May 19, 2024 the Ukrainian Oleksandr Usyk defeated the British Tyson Fury and became the absolute world champion in super heavyweight. However, after the fight, Fury said that the referees favored Olexander because of the ongoing war in Ukraine. However, former heavyweight world champion Volodymyr Klitschko, former heavyweight world champion Lennox Lewis, WBC, WBA, WBO welterweight world champion Terence Crawford praised Oleksandr Usyk and congratulated him on his well-deserved victory.



20,000 spectators watched the fight directly in the hall, in total, at least 20 million people watched the fight through online broadcasts. This allowed Ukraine to enter the global arena, drawing attention to its problems and challenges in the conditions of war.

As a symbol of national pride, Oleksandr Usyk used the platform to talk about the challenges facing his country, boosting patriotic sentiment and demonstrating that sport can have a powerful political impact.

However, Ukrainian athletes not only publicly draw attention to the war in Ukraine, spread information and defend the country's interests. They have also been actively supporting Ukraine since the beginning of the full-scale invasion: they organize charity events, collect funds for the needs of the army and the population.

For example, boxer Oleksandr Usyk has donated more than 12 million hryvnias through the UNITED24 platform since December 2022. Part of the funds was directed to the restoration of a multi-story residential building in Irpin. Usyk Foundation – Near 1 mln USD for Armed Forces, near 1,3 mln USD for other (humanitarian needs).

Many Ukrainian athletes, including boxers, took up arms to defend the country when the full-scale invasion began. Those who continue to compete on the international stage, also have a crucial mission.



Oleksandr Usyk beats Tyson Fury to become undisputed heavyweight world champion

Firstly, they play a key role in boosting the morale of Ukrainians. I always say: my victory is our common victory, while my defeat is mine alone. Every victory – whether on the battlefield, the football field, in the ring, or at the Olympics – lifts the spirits of the nation, especially in a time when the war brings so much devastating and terrible news.

Global sporting events also serve as a powerful platform to keep Ukraine and the war in the world's consciousness. These sports achievements contribute to the image of a country that fights and wins. That's why our athletes continue to train and prepare for competitions, despite the incredibly difficult circumstances – enduring shelling, using destroyed infrastructure, and facing constant worry for their loved ones. – said Usyk for The Ukrainian Review



THE WBC BELT FOR THE WINNER OF THE FURY - USYK FIGHT.

VLADA AND MARYNA ALEKSIIVY

bronze medalists of the Olympic Games, and multiple world and European champions in artistic swimming

How did the war affect your sports career and the careers of your colleagues?

First, the war had a very strong effect on all athletes morally. You can't be focused on your goal and your achievements all the time – war is a distraction. It is also difficult for athletes when he is in another country and all his relatives are in Ukraine. You are very worried about them.

Secondly, during the war in Ukraine, almost all the sports grounds were destroyed, where all the athletes used to practice and train (including ourselves). Because of this, we are forced to move to another country in order to continue training. Therefore, the war greatly affected the training of all athletes for the worse.

How can sports help raise awareness about the war in Ukraine?

First, these are international competitions. When a Ukrainian athlete takes first, second, third place... Or when he says something that people remember, all the mass media write about it. In this way, Ukraine gets into the world news.

The second, as an example, is the films made about Ukrainian athletes. This one was taken about me and my sister (Vladyslava Alekseyeva and Maryna Alexiyiva. "The Will to Win – Will to Victory!"). It was already shown on French television and many French people watched it. After that, they said that we understand how strong you are, how you don't breathe, and so on. Therefore, these are some of the options for how sports help in raising awareness about the war in Ukraine.



Why do Ukrainian athletes demand the complete elimination of Russian athletes from international competitions?

First, sport is about peace and a fair fight. And here we are not talking about her, because Ukrainian athletes compete in unreal conditions during the war in our country. And Russians are training normally, in calm circumstances. While we must issue every air alarm, interrupt our contest. This greatly affects the moral and physical condition of the athlete.

ANYA OSTYMCHUK



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PARIS 2024





VLADA AND MARYNA ALEKSIIVY BRONZE MEDALISTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES, AND MULTIPLE WORLD AND EUROPEAN CHAMPIONS IN ARTISTIC SWIMMING

SOCIAL

BOXING IN UKRAINE:

The voice of the country in sports or an additional field of confrontation

Amid a full-scale war, the slogan “Sport is out of politics” lost its relevance in Ukraine. For many athletes, it became unacceptable to compete in European and world-level competitions alongside Russians because they are citizens of the aggressor country.

We talked to WBC Ukraine President Mykola Kovalchuk about the role boxing plays in this. Has this sport become the voice of Ukraine at the global level? Is it permissible to contact Russians in the ring? How can the personal position of boxers affect the country's reputation? Read about all this in the interview.

The WBC office has been active in Ukraine since 2021. Initially, WBC management believed it would boost both professional and amateur boxing in the country. However, the office has operated mostly during wartime. What goals have you managed to achieve over these three years, and which ones remain unmet?

For a long time, we couldn't operate fully as a sanctioning organisation, but we've been actively working since the start of the full-scale invasion. So far, we've held five title fights, including the Ukrainian Champion title (National League of Professional Boxing of Ukraine), with plans for two more in November and another in January. Each WBC Ukraine title event has been a charity tournament supporting the Armed Forces of Ukraine. It's hard to pinpoint any unmet goals.

Since the war began, the sports world has debated whether sport is truly outside politics. What is the WBC Ukraine office's stance, and has this caused conflicts with WBC management?

This has never caused any conflicts. As I've mentioned before, WBC President Mauricio Suleiman and the entire team have been very supportive, showing great respect and gratitude for everything done for Ukraine. Regarding whether sports are separate from politics, they certainly are not. While sport is often seen as a neutral space, in reality, it has always been a tool of political influence.

First, the WBC officially excluded Russians and Belarusians from its ratings. In spring 2024, however, WBC Ukraine posted a fight poster featuring Russians Dmitry Bivol and Artur Beterbiev on Instagram. Does this incident reflect a shift in WBC's general policy?

It all happened because of the banal indiscretion of a new employee who was not yet fully familiar with the boxing world and did not coordinate the publication with the management. People tend to make mistakes, and they can happen to anyone. So we quickly just changed the post, understanding our subscribers' indignation, and continued with our work.



The legendary Ukrainian boxers – the Klitschko brothers with their trophies.



Oleksandr Usyk with his trophies

Ukrainian boxers have had many successful fights over the past three years. In your opinion, how do these victories represent Ukraine abroad?

The successes of Ukrainian boxers in the international arena over the past three years are of great importance for the representation of Ukraine abroad. Each victory of Ukrainian athletes raises the prestige of the country, demonstrating the strength, resilience and talent of Ukrainians. Especially now, in the context of the war. Every Ukrainian who steps into the ring and wins becomes a kind of ambassador for the country. The coverage of the events by our champions largely informs foreigners and constantly reminds them of the conditions in which we live now.

What are the prospects for holding international matches in Ukraine? During the war, this question does not arise, but can this change?

It's sometimes hard to believe, but in recent months, there have been three international title fights: the WBC Silver in bantamweight (101.61 kg) between Sergiy Radchenko and Andre Pesic, the WBC Interim Youth in welterweight (66.68 kilograms) between Yaroslav Mikhalushko and Oscar Molina Espinoza, and the WBC Youth Silver in super lightweight (63.5 kg) between Nazri Rahimov and Jorge Moya. In the latest tournament in Lviv on September 28, where our team competed, nearly all Ukrainian boxers faced international opponents from Mexico, Argentina, and Poland.

Speaking of the local role of WBC Ukraine, what are the current conditions for the development of professional and amateur boxing in Ukraine?

We also work a lot in the area of amateur boxing. Until recently, we often visited amateur tournaments to encourage young athletes and show them that they have something to strive for. However, I hope that soon we will be ready to announce some great news related to amateur boxing, as we have recently received a new WBC Ukraine Amateur belt.



MYKOLA KOVALCHUK – WBC
UKRAINE PRESIDENT

Does the issue of mobilisation affect professional boxers? Can you give examples of boxers who are currently at the front?

There are many heroic examples among boxers who joined the front lines. WBC CISBB champion Vladyslav Baranov joined the assault brigade at the start of the invasion, while talented judge Konstantin Rovensky also volunteered. Our podcast "WBC TALKS" discusses their motivations. We remember referee Viktor Fesechko, a judge at the first Usyk vs. Joshua fight, and international judge Elchin Muradov, who lost his life in the war. These are just a few of the many boxers who took up arms to defend our country.

Do you think the Ukrainian voice is sufficiently present in international sports?

Absolutely, and it's noticeable. Within the WBC, we actively engage with everyone involved in shaping boxer rankings. Importantly, the rating commission recognised that due to martial law in Ukraine, not all Ukrainian boxers can regularly compete, so many of their positions have been preserved. It's also crucial to understand that what people abroad learn about Ukraine results from sustained, collective efforts—individually, our voices may not make an impact, but together, with such passion, we become impossible to ignore. We must keep pushing to connect with the global sports community.

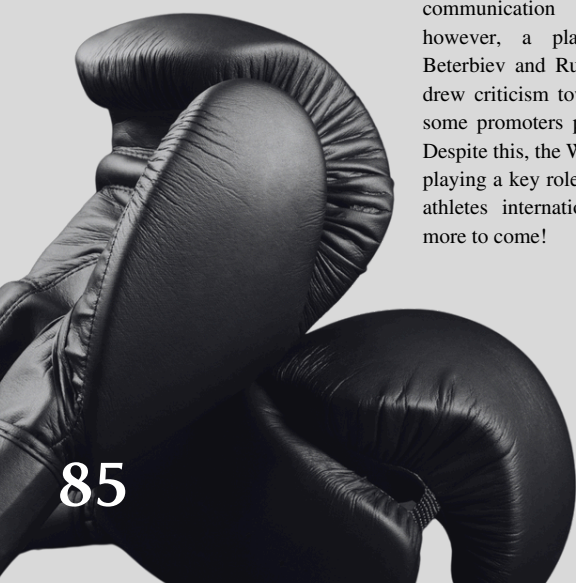
How long will it be possible to ban the sanctioning of Russians' participation in international matches, given that it is already becoming more difficult to do so?

Predicting how long we can maintain sanctions is challenging, as commercial boxing organisations rely on multiple promoters. We are doing everything possible to extend this period, keeping the war in focus during WBC congresses and in direct communication with WBC leaders. Recently, however, a planned fight between "Canadian" Beterbiev and Russian Bivol (both Russian citizens) drew criticism toward the WBC for cancelling it, as some promoters pressured for the match to proceed. Despite this, the WBC has strongly supported Ukraine, playing a key role in promoting Ukrainian boxing and athletes internationally. I'm confident there's even more to come!

DARIIA PODVYSHENNA



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UKRAINIAN WBC CHAMPIONS

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

OUR COLUMNISTS:



RUSSIA MUST BE BROUGHT TO PAY FOR ITS VIOLATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

At a recent security conference in Prague, Mette Frederiksen, the Danish Prime Minister, said the following: "There can be no question of a Russian victory. A defeat in Ukraine would constitute a life-threatening defeat for our democracy and our entire European way of life." Quite right. Military aid, of both a defensive and offensive nature, must be increased, and the Ukrainians must be enabled to use the weapons delivered as they see fit in the occupied parts of Ukraine and in Russia (excluding undisputed civilian facilities).



IF I HAVE TO DIE, LET IT BE IN UKRAINE

Writing on the Middle East and the US and a European trilogy, I am too busy to be present in Ukraine on the 24th of August, but my heart will be there. I am watching with great interest the recent incursion by the Ukrainians into Russian territory near Kursk, seeing it as a sign that the scales of the war are tipping, ever so slowly, in favour of Ukraine. Having entered, what is considered old age, I hope and pray that I shall see Ukraine, our lost daughter, safely inside the European house, safely in the EU and NATO, rebuilding and modernising to the highest standard, emerging within the next generation to be a leading member of our European family.



RUSSIAN FASCISM IS A MENTALITY, NOT AN IDEOLOGICAL OR EVEN A POLITICAL CHOICE

The attack on the children's hospital in Kyiv was deliberate and precise. The X-101 air-to-ground cruise missile is a highly sophisticated weapon, whose use of preceded coordinates ensure an almost faultless hit at the intended target. As such this attack was one more war crime, politically. Politically a terrorist act with the purpose of terrorizing innocent children and innocent parents and of sending a message to the NATO-summit in Washington: we will do whatever suits us. The thinking is fascist. Pure and simple.



PER NYHOLM

Per Nyholm has been a Danish journalist since 1960. He is based in Austria and is a columnist and foreign correspondent at the Jyllands-Posten, a liberal Danish daily newspaper.



A NEW BATTLE FOR CHILDREN. ON BOTH FRONT LINES

Evacuation. For the third year, the Ministry of Education pretends that nothing happened. That children and educators from the occupied territories do not exist. There are no us — there are no problems. Unfortunately, we have nothing to oppose the propaganda of the Russians. There is no high-quality and safe media and educational product in the occupation to compete with Russian propaganda.



1,300 SQUARE KILOMETERS OF TRUTH, OR WHAT PUTIN DID NOT SAY

Therefore, all supporters of theories about the existence of a point of unacceptable losses for Putin should throw their theories in the trash can of history. Simply, such a point does not exist. As it did not exist for all previous totalitarian dictators. And that means – it must definitely be crossed out from the equation in the analysis of perspectives.



THE FAILURE OF THE “RUSSIAN PARTISANS”

Sabotage continues in the occupied territories, committed by OUR people sincerely from the heart, not for money. Even the detained actual members of the resistance movement openly talk about hatred and struggle, not money.



PETRO ANDRYUSHCHENKO

Petro Andryushchenko was an adviser to the mayor of Mariupol. After the Russian Federation started war in Ukraine in February 2022, he became the de facto “voice” of Mariupol. On his Telegram channel, “Andryushchenko Time”, he tells the truth about the horrors of the occupation.



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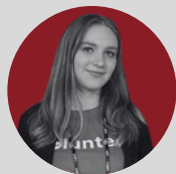
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The Ukrainian Review is an English-language analytical media outlet that works in two directions: countering enemy disinformation and analyzing events related to Ukraine or important events in the world. Our goal is to inform foreign readers about the situation in Ukraine, to cover all of Russia's war crimes, and to help Ukraine win the information war.

We also actively cooperate with foreign speakers and provide them with the opportunity to contribute to our columns or participate in writing socially important materials. Our resource presents the opinions of various leading politicians, volunteers, military, public figures and experts in various fields.

The media was created by Volodymyr Savchenko.

The Ukrainian Review is an independent English-language analytical media outlet operating entirely on a volunteer basis. Our project exists thanks to the support of dedicated Ukrainians and generous partners who believe in our mission and contribute resources and funding.

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We're planning to expand The Ukrainian Review and publish the journal in multiple languages, including French, Spanish, German, Greek, and Japanese. If you are interested in contributing to the project's development, supporting its distribution, or creating localized editions, we are open to collaboration. Follow the link to learn more and get in touch with us.

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