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May 8, 2015

## 1945 After 70 Years, Ukraine At War Again 2015

Victory over Hitler  
May 8, 1945



Victory over Putin  
\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_?



The July 28 photo shows a billboard depicting Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin and Russian President Vladimir Putin on Independence Square in Kyiv. (AFP)

### Millions of Ukrainians sacrificed their lives to defeat Nazis

BY OKSANA LYACHYNSKA

Ukraine had the supreme misfortune of being stuck between Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin during World War II.

And Ukrainians paid a heavy price that is still felt today: More than eight million killed, the entire territory fought over by competing armies and,

tragically, instances of Ukrainians fighting on both sides – although most took part on the Soviet side. To this day, the soldiers in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army are vilified by the Kremlin for waging war against the Soviets in hopes of an independent Ukraine, a struggle that lasted into the 1950s.

But independence would not come

to Ukraine, of course, until 46 years after the war.

Still, despite the monumental sacrifices, Russian President Vladimir Putin has repeatedly shown contempt for Ukraine as a nation and denigrated its wartime contributions.

“We would have won anyway, because we are a country of winners,”

Putin said in 2010. “This means that the war was won – I do not want to offend anyone – mainly due to the human and industrial resources of the Russian Federation.”

Ahead of the 70th anniversary of the end of the WWII, Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko traveled to Odesa to take part in celebrations

dedicated to the liberation of the Black Sea port city on April 10. During his speech, Poroshenko addressed Putin's criticisms.

“Such words are the desecration of the memory of the slain soldiers and abuse of the feelings of living veterans,” Poroshenko said. “They would not have won this war without →17

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# World War II letters that never made it to their destinations

BY NATALIYA TRACH

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Iryna Churikova first thought it was a joke when a caller informed her that a 70-year-old letter from Austria was waiting for her. But it wasn't a joke: the Kyiv World War II Museum had kept a letter written by Churikova's grandfather to her grandmother, although both of them died in the 1990s.

In July 1941, Milentiy Demchenko, then a 32-year-old Soviet army lieutenant, was serving as a topographer in the 18th Army in Kamyanets-Podilsky in western Ukraine. He wrote a letter to his wife, Nina Lozova, but she never received it.

Demchenko's note is one of more than 1,200 letters that were taken by Nazi troops from the Kamyanets-Podilsky post office in July 1941. They aimed to study the personal messages to learn the mood of Soviet people at the beginning of the war. For 67 years, the letters had been collecting dust among the stacks at the Vienna Post and Technical Museums. Only in early 2010 were the letters returned to Ukraine and placed in the Kyiv museum.

In 2010 Churikova was Demchenko's closest living relative, so the museum delivered the letter to her.

"I was very worried when I was holding the letter for the first time," she says. "Reading the letter was like a conversation with my grandfather, who died some 20 years ago."

Nadiya Smolyarchuk, the head of the Scientific Exposition Department at the museum, was the first to unpack the letters from 1941.

"I had the feeling that I was talking to these soldiers and hearing their voices," she recalls.

It is clear from the letters that during that early period of the war, they had no idea of the hardships that awaited them. Only 3 percent of the soldiers who wrote the letters survived the war.

"They all wanted to live, and had plans for the future," she says. "That's why it's very hard emotionally to read these letters."

The letters have great value because they were uncensored, unlike many others, as the Soviets lost Kamyanets-Podilsky to the German army before



1,208 World War II letters written by Soviet soldiers in 1941 are kept at Kyiv War Museum as the museum employees try to deliver copies of the letters to their addressees. (Volodymyr Petrov)

they could examine the correspondence. Letters date back to June 23 through July 8, 1941, while the Germans invaded the city on July 10.

"People sincerely wrote what they witnessed and shared their true thoughts about the war," says war museum researcher Zlatko Zlatanov.

In a letter dated July 2, 1941, a soldier named Hnat Boruk wrote to his relatives, "I see how innocent people – women, children, the elderly – suffer from fascist bombing. I witnessed how a child died because of a bomb explosion."

Many were pessimistic about the war. Soldier Leonid Chepurny wrote to his parents on July 30, 1941, that "humanity did not see a war like this." Red Army soldier Yakiv Borovsky noted that "this war is very terrible. Every day there are victims."

Many were already beginning to realize that the war would not end quickly.

"The war is not ending, it even blazes more," Oleksandr Vdovychenko wrote to his parents.

Despite the horrors of war, these sol-

diers had many plans for their futures and worried about how their relatives were faring back home. Soldier Ivan Havrysh wrote his wife: "Do not sell the cow. If God is good, I will be back."

Some letters, appealing to soldiers' wives and beloved ones, are very intimate.

"These letters are full of such tender and poetic words that these men would not dare say to their beloved one's face," Smolyarchuk says, adding that dried wild flowers and even pine branches were found in many of the love letters.

Churikova says her grandfather wrote a very touching letter and even sent money to his wife.

"I am very sorry," she says, "that my grandmother never read the words that were written especially for her."

Museum workers decided to hand copies of the letters to their addressees shortly after they received them from Vienna in 2010. Over the past four years some 356 letters, most of which were written in Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, Belorussian and Georgian, have been delivered throughout the

former Soviet Union.

Often it is hard to figure out the address because of the spelling mistakes in names of people and places. The diversity of languages is another complication. More than 40 letters are written in Yiddish. Others are written in Kazakh but using the Latin alphabet (as was the practice until 1948), and now it's hard to find linguists who can translate them.

"It's our moral duty to deliver these letters because every such letter becomes a celebration to people who lost their fathers and husbands during the war. It's like a voice from eternity," Smolyarchuk says.

Kyiv Post staff writer Nataliya Trach can be reached at trach@kyivpost.com

War letters and other WWII exhibits are permanently on show in the National Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945  
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# Firtash claims kingmaker role in Ukrainian politics

BY JOHANNES WAMBERG  
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The case should have been about alleged bribes in India and whether influential Ukrainian oligarch Dmytro Firtash should be extradited to the United States to face trial on criminal racketeering charges.

Instead, Firtash turned a Vienna courtroom into a political drama about Ukraine's cutthroat politics. He claimed credit for propelling Petro Poroshenko to the presidency via secret talks last year in Austria along with Vitali Klitschko, the Kyiv mayor.

The self-proclaimed kingmaker and ally of disgraced ex-President Viktor Yanukovich convinced the judge on April 30 to reject the American extradition request on the grounds that the criminal indictment was politically motivated. He was set free the same day after spending a year restricted to Austria.

High-profile testimonies from Ukraine's political elite weaved the Firtash side's narrative that the U.S. criminal indictment was motivated by America's desire to promote its own energy interests and counter Firtash's Kremlin ties.

Firtash denied the allegations that he had conspired to bribe an Indian government official in an attempt to win licenses to mine titanium. A U.S. grand jury in 2013 indicted Firtash, along with a member of India's parliament and four others.

Klitschko, ex-President Leonid Kravchuk, Firtash business partner and Yanukovich's chief of staff Serhiy Lyovochkin and former Energy Minister Yuriy Boiko were among those called to testify.

Firtash said that Lyovochkin, Klitschko and Poroshenko visited him in Vienna in March 2014, two months before the presidential election, a revelation that fueled anger among Ukrainians who waged the EuroMaidan Revolution to stop the backroom dealmaking among Kyiv's ruling elite.

At the meeting, Firtash said that Klitschko dropped his candidacy for presidency, paving the way for Poroshenko's first-round election on May 25, 2014. "We got what we wanted - Poroshenko as president and Klitschko as mayor," Firtash bragged in court.

Poroshenko confirmed that the meeting took place but never disclosed the substance of talks. Klitschko's spokeswoman dismissed Firtash's bravado.

Oksana Zinovieva, a spokeswoman for Klitschko said: "Firtash's testimony was an attempt to discredit Ukraine and its political leaders and thereby destabilizing the country. There was no signed agreement between Klitschko and Firtash."

Some analysts think Firtash went beyond the framework of his legal defense when he mentioned a secret deal he had allegedly brokered with Poroshenko and Klitschko.

"It was a clear attempt at discrediting and blackmailing the presidency of Poroshenko," Oleksiy Haran, political science professor at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, told the Kyiv Post.

The same day as Firtash made his claims in the Vienna hearing, Poroshenko signed a landmark natural gas bill that will directly affect how Firtash's regional gas distribution com-

President Petro Poroshenko Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko congratulate each other after each got elected to office on May 25, 2014. (UNIAN)



panies in Ukraine do business. Firtash, according to members of parliament, controls a large share of regional gas supply monopolies. The legislation will force them to pay a fee to use the nation's pipeline system.

His vast chemicals empire under the Ostchem holding company - Firtash owns four of the six nitrogen fertilizer producers in Ukraine - now faces a criminal investigation on suspicion of embezzling Hr 5.7 billion, or \$247 million.

Parent company Group DF has in a statement denied the allegations, describing the investigation as part of a "deliberate and prolonged campaign of political persecution against Group DF and its owner," but didn't respond to a Kyiv Post written request for commentary.

A day before the extradition trial, a Kyiv court authorized the seizure of 500 million cubic meters of gas that Ostchem has stockpiled.

Poroshenko also that day said there "would be no more oligarchs in Ukraine," insisting that they will have to operate in a competitive and deregulated environment.

The president's comments came as Kyiv's pro-Western government and parliamentary majority have stepped up initiatives to boost competition and break up Ukraine's oligarchy.

The "deoligarchization" campaign has not been selectively focused on Firtash. Earlier this year, Poroshenko removed billionaire Ihor Kolomoisky as a regional governor as lawmakers moved to take control of lucrative state energy companies away from him.

More recently, authorities zoomed in on Rinat Akhmetov, Ukraine's richest man and a longtime backer of Yanukovich. Last month, prosecutors announced plans to cancel his DTEK energy holding's controversial acquisition of a top electricity generator under Yanukovich's rule because the process was uncompetitive.

Poroshenko's campaign was again voiced on May 6 during a National Security and Defense Council meeting in which he announced plans to break

Akhmetov's monopoly over the country's electricity sector.

Putting an end to "wild capitalism" in the "strategic corrupt gas sector" the state would no more be a "milk-cow" for people "skimming the cream" in order to enrich themselves, Poroshenko said. "I want this to be understood across the board, in Kyiv and in Vienna as well."

Firtash's wealth skyrocketed from 2004 through 2009 when, in partnership with Kremlin-controlled Gazprom, he controlled the supply of Russian and Central Asian gas to Ukraine.

The Firtash-Gazprom-owned company, RosUkrEnergo, won through litigation under Yanukovich's first year as president ownership over 12.1 billion cubic meters of gas worth billions of dollars from state-owned Naftogaz Ukraine. In prior years, Firtash reportedly borrowed heavily from Russian banks to purchase gas at privileged prices and gas-guzzling chemical companies, according to a Nov. 26 Reuters investigative report.

Firtash received another Russian loan to pay his record bail of €125 million in Austria. It came from from Vasily Anisimov, the billionaire who heads the Russian Judo Federation, the governing body of Putin's beloved sport.

Firtash has defended his intermediary relationship as essential to putting an end to haggling over gas prices between Ukraine and Russia. Ukraine's government has now cut out the intermediaries and reduced gas purchases from Russia in light of the ongoing war.

Speaking ahead of the court ruling, Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk accused Firtash and his business partner, Lyovochkin, of "feeding like vampires upon Naftogaz for decades, embezzling billions."

In the Vienna courtroom, Lyovochkin testified that Firtash was one of the few people Yanukovich listened to and took advice from, according to tweeted messages posted from the trial by Insider project manager Serhiy Scherbyna.

After Firtash realized in 2012 that

Yanukovich wasn't going to embark on meaningful reforms, he decided to back Klitschko's presidential bid, according to Scherbyna's account of the hearing.

Then the EuroMaidan Revolution changed everything as Yanukovich fled power on Feb. 22, 2014.

As the May 2014 presidential election neared, with both Poroshenko and Klitschko in the race, the meeting took place in Vienna because Firtash was under a travel ban while awaiting trial.

Suspicious that Poroshenko entered into a secret deal with Firtash have fueled criticism by those who note Ukraine's continuing corruption and susceptibility to oligarch influence.

Firtash's claim of exerting influence over Poroshenko and Klitschko could damage their popularity.

In the days after the revelations in Vienna, Poroshenko came under pressure to respond. Defending the president, lawmaker Yuriy Lutsenko, the former interior

Dmytro Firtash, one of Ukraine's most influential oligarchs, at his extradition hearing on April 30 in Vienna, Austria. (AFP)



minister who leads Poroshenko's bloc, dismissed Firtash's testimony.

"He tells the court of his role in Ukrainian politics," Lutsenko wrote on Facebook. "This is a form of defense. He doesn't want to tell the truth about the Indian deal and is trivially trying to place the blame on somebody else... (such) statements should be judged solely as the defense of a cornered predator."

Radical Party lawmaker Oleh Lyashko said Poroshenko's silence was a sign of his dependence on Firtash.

Political expert Taras Beresovets wrote that the trial raised fears that insider, self-interested politics still prevails over the public interest in Ukraine.

Firtash's combination of media resources like the Inter TV channel, major industries, big money and success in doing business with Russia could alter the balance of power in Ukraine.

"Firtash's attack on Poroshenko should be seen in the light of what is going on now, not their tactical election alliance last year" to defeat ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's presidential candidacy, Haran said.

"Klitschko had no chance against Poroshenko or Tymoshenko anyway," Haran said.

Volodymyr Fesenko, director of the Penta Centre for Political Studies, said Firtash is overestimating his influence. In fact, Fesenko said, Firtash made more enemies by alienating Poroshenko and Klitschko.

But Fesenko said the lesson to politicians is clear: No more backdoor deals with oligarchs. In a televised address, Poroshenko, himself an oligarch, rejected concerns that his deoligarchization campaign was a witch hunt.

"If the rules will apply across the board, then he is right," Fesenko said.

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## Editorials

## Today's soldiers

Ukraine joins the rest of the world this weekend in commemorating the sacrifices of all who fought in World War II. At least three million Ukrainian soldiers and five million Ukrainian civilians helped secure Nazi Germany's defeat on May 8, 1945.

It is also important, however, to think about the people we can still help, the living, especially today's soldiers and their families.

In 1945, Ukraine suffered unimaginable devastation after the Soviets and Nazis alternated control of territory. The war came a decade after the 1932-33 Holodomor in which Soviet authorities starved to death at least three million Ukrainians. The end of World War II gave Ukraine little reprieve under Josef Stalin, one of the most sadistic mass murderers in human history.

Today people and nations draw different lessons from the war.

We agree with Kyiv Post opinion writer Alexei Bayer that Europe became too reliant on pacifism while America and Russia grew too reliant on military strength to solve conflicts.

The clear lesson for Ukraine is to fight for its independence as a nation at all costs. Securing Ukraine's peace and independence against Russia's war has claimed more than 6,000 lives already in the last year. Ukraine bears the greatest burden in this struggle. The nation's citizens can and do need to do more. But Ukraine cannot and should not wage the battle alone. Just as World War II required an alliance to win, today's war will require more Western financial and military aid to Ukraine.

It would help if politicians would get educated or simply keep their mouths shut and stop justifying the Kremlin's assault on global security. Here we single out former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who met with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow last month. Later, Carter amazingly told Voice of America that the Russians want peace, that he opposed supplying weapons to Ukraine and that he believes Crimea belongs to Russia. He is wrong on all counts and, despite his many accomplishments, became another of Putin's useful idiots. His remarks underscored Western ignorance about Ukraine.

But the priority remains the war front.

As we have learned in one war after another, the soldiers who do the fighting and dying are often neglected at the battlefield and after the shooting stops. Ukraine's must take better care of the families of slain soldiers. For those who return from the war front, jobs, special benefits and psychological assistance must be provided. Patriotism only goes so far. Sacrifices must be shared by all democracy-loving people everywhere.

## Firtash struts

Nobody came out looking good in the April 30 extradition hearing in Vienna, Austria, regarding criminal bribery charges against Ukrainian oligarch Dmytro Firtash.

The American indictment looked flimsy and politically motivated, as Firtash's legal team showed, to punish the industrial tycoon for his support of ex-President Viktor Yanukovich and his close ties to Russia.

The Austrian judge, Christoph Bauer, agreed and denied the U.S. request. The U.S. case was argued in court by an Austrian prosecutor. Bauer even questioned whether witnesses cited in the indictment even existed, according to The New York Times account, which reported that a U.S. grand jury indicted Firtash in 2013 on charges that he bribed Indian officials to secure a titanium-mining deal that never materialized.

While the indictment still stands, and the U.S. will appeal, it appeared Washington didn't want Firtash badly enough to provide the judge with more supporting evidence of the criminal charges.

The Firtash side even elicited testimony that the arrest warrant against him would have been cancelled had his political ally, then-President Viktor Yanukovich, signed the association agreement with the European Union. Instead, Yanukovich's refusal triggered the EuroMaidan Revolution that led to his downfall in February 2014.

President Petro Poroshenko and Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko also came off looking bad for flying to Vienna, Austria, in March 2014 and meeting with Firtash two months before Ukraine's presidential election. Firtash in court said he convinced Klitschko to drop his presidential candidacy in favor of Poroshenko. If true, such backroom dealing leaves Ukrainians thinking that the oligarchic system is still alive and well, despite the revolution.

Ukraine's criminal justice system also comes off looking bad. If it is so obvious to Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk that Firtash and his partner, former Yanukovich chief of staff Sergiy Lyovochkin, were "feeding like vampires upon Naftogaz for decades, embezzling billions," then why isn't it obvious to Ukraine's police and prosecutors?

Finally, while Firtash made a strong case about U.S. hypocrisy in rule of law, he didn't look good either. Instead, as Ukraine's current government closes last year's \$10 billion deficit of state-owned Naftogaz, the public is reminded how much better off Ukraine is without the intermediary gas-trading role of Rosukrenergo, co-owned by Firtash and Russia's Gazprom.



**NEWS ITEM:** The list of foreign leaders who agreed to come to Moscow for the pompous 70th Anniversary Victory Day celebrations on May 9 is short. It became even shorter when two of the invited guests – North Korea leader Kim Jong Un and Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov – dropped out a week before the celebrations. This leaves Moscow with guests from Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Venezuela as well as several Asian and African countries.

**NEWS ITEM:** Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter won the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize and served in the White House from 1977-1981, during Cold War years when Leonid Brezhnev ran the Soviet Union. But Carter looked foolish after a two-hour meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin on April 29, accompanied by other members of The Elders group of retired global leaders. Carter, 90, pronounced Putin as committed to the Minsk peace agreements. Carter also backed Russia's annexation of Crimea, saying that it was inevitable and represented the will of the peninsula's people. Considering that Putin invaded Ukraine's Crimea by military force and instigated the year-old war in eastern Ukraine with Russian soldiers and equipment, Carter's assessment was laughably uninformed and carries no credibility.

**NEWS ITEM:** Acting State Emergency Services Director Zoryan Shkiryak's expedition to evacuate Ukrainians from earthquake-struck Nepal started on April 29 and took almost a week and Hr 7.4 million of state budget money. The plane broke down, leaving the mission staff stranded in India and Nepal for days. More than a dozen journalists invited by Shkiryak instead covered his failure to organize a smooth evacuation. It was duly noted that the director brought his girlfriend along.

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People take selfies in front of giant red stars before rehearsals for the Victory Day military parade in central Moscow on May 4. (AFP)



# US, Europe, Russia learn wrong lessons



ALEXEI BAYER

Russia is putting on a grandiose show for the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, but at times it seems as though the country is merely returning into 1945, wishing the past 70 years somehow to go away. The national obsession with the Soviet victory over Germany is being deliberately harnessed in the war against Ukraine. Wartime anti-Nazi rhetoric has been revived to describe the Ukrainian government and its armed forces. Far from honoring the veterans of the old war, the military review on Red Square features the latest Russian weaponry for the new one.

Here is what Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote in the *Gulag Archipelago*: "It is a simple truth but it needs to be suffered through to be understood. In a war, it is defeat that is precious, not victory. Victories are for governments, whereas defeats are for the people. A victory whets the appetite for more victories, whereas after a defeat the people demand more freedom - and they usually get it. Nations need defeats in the same way some individuals need suffering and misfortunes, for they force us to expand our inner lives and open the way for spiritual growth."

At the end of World War II, all European nations suffered a defeat regardless of what side of the conflict they had fought on. Europeans thus developed a healthy aversion for war and rather than fighting each other every few decades in the hope of scoring the ultimate victory, as they had done throughout their history, they tried peace for a change - and ended up with an unprecedented era of prosperity and harmony.

The Soviet Union and the United States - the real winners in that war - drew very different conclusions. They figured that their military might can solve all problems. New wars - and new victories, which were pretty much guaranteed by their military superiority over all potential foes - will strengthened them further and will allow them to dictate their will to the losers.

And so Americans blundered into the war in Vietnam. Predictably, US armed forces beat up on the North Vietnamese and Vietcong irregulars in

every battle they fought. But the war, it turns out, isn't the sum total of individual battles and in the end America found itself a loser. Meanwhile, its ill-advised entanglement in Southeast Asia echoed painfully at home. It called forth an unprecedented social and political turmoil that was followed by a period of economic and military weakness, which Jimmy Carter famously described as a "crisis of confidence" and "malaise". The Soviet Union was strengthened and its allies began gaining ground around the world, not just in Indochina but in Africa, Latin America and even Western Europe.

Since then, Moscow and Washington have alternated getting involved in stupid, dragged-out, unwinnable conflicts, not only needlessly wasting blood and treasure, but suffering severe domestic upheavals, as well.

The Soviets, blinded by America's weakness in the late 1970s, decided to push their advantage home and sent their own soldiers into Afghanistan - where they remained bogged down for the next decade despite winning most battles against local resistance fighters. By the time Mikhail Gorbachev withdrew the last Soviet troops from Kabul, not only the Soviet empire in Europe but the Soviet Union itself were well on their way to disintegration.

For a while, it seemed that American leaders had drawn the correct conclusion from their own debacle in Vietnam as well as the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan. Under Ronald Reagan and the first George Bush, the United States embarked on a major military buildup and modernization program, but it showed extreme reluctance when it came to using American troops for anything more serious than policing operations in the Caribbean and Central America.

Where the danger of a deeper involvement loomed in Lebanon in 1983, when US marine barracks were blown up, Reagan instantly pulled back. The same judicious approach prevailed in the First Gulf War, when Bush kept the US-led military campaign focused on the liberation of Kuwait, overruling his advisors who wanted to go to Baghdad and to get rid of Saddam Hussein.

As a result, the final decade of the 20th century was when American military power reached its highest point. Its military was universally feared - but only because it was used so sparingly and not tested by a major conflict on the ground.

This era came to a swift end once George W. Bush chose to respond to the al Qaeda attacks on New York and Washington by declaring the Global War on

Terror and sending American troops to Afghanistan and Iraq. More than a decade later, both wars drag on. They plunged the Greater Middle East into chaos, with numerous insurgencies presenting deadly security challenges for America's allies in the region.

There is another aspect of Bush's military misadventures. The wars were not funded by American taxpayers but paid for with borrowed money - and mainly foreign money at that. The Congressional Research Service calculated that in 13 years Congress appropriated \$1.5 trillion for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The overall cost of the wars, according to a study by Harvard University, will eventually reach between \$4 trillion and \$6 trillion. The wars opened a large hole in the US budget and boosted national debt. The 2008-09 financial crisis was, in many respects, the direct consequence of Bush's wars.

The United States withstood the upheavals of the 1970s and after the disasters in Iraq and Afghanistan, which killed nearly 7,000 Americans, domestic stability endures - at least for now. But the Soviet Union was a lot weaker than the United States. Its economy in particular could not withstand the double burden of fighting in Afghanistan and the intensified arms race that Soviet invasion unleashed.

The Russian economy is, if anything, even weaker. It took the Soviet Union a few years to start feeling the pinch. Vladimir Putin's economy, which relies heavily on exporting oil and gas to world markets and importing everything else, began to crumble ten months after the annexation of Crimea. Being integrated into the global economy and dependent on international financial markets, the Russian economy simply can't survive when it finds itself under economic sanctions with its major customers rapidly reducing their reliance on its energy supplies.

Putin has chose to draw no conclusions from history over the past 70 years - neither from the American experience, nor from the Soviet Union's catastrophic involvement in Afghanistan. He blithely blundered into a Ukrainian quagmire from which he has no idea how to extract himself. In this conflict, Russia will follow the same pattern as in all the previous wars the two great powers have waged since the end of World War II. It will eventually have to get out of Ukraine, but not before it is too late for its economy and its political system.

Alexei Bayer is a New York-based economist and writer. His detective novel, *Murder at the Dacha*, set in the U.S.S.R. in the 1960s, was published in 2013.

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## Did Russia's war against Ukraine change your perception of Victory Day and World War II?



Olena Prokopchuk, biologist

"I was 7 when my father came home from the war. We were happy that the war was finally

over. This Victory Day will not be any different. We will remember those who are no longer with us."



Ihor Goodman, unemployed

"On Victory Day, I grieve. My father, a survivor of World War II, could understand

Germans who were forced to fight, but he couldn't understand the actions of NKVD (Soviet secret police). Today Ukraine is no different from Poland back in 1939. The world is playing games in Ukraine. God grant that the Ukrainian nation is mature enough to survive this challenge."



Andrei Panov, lawyer

"To be honest, recent events in Ukraine did not change my perception of the war. It did change its

meaning and Victory Day for many people, especially in Russia. While the war was the greatest disaster of the 20th century, now it is pictured as the greatest achievement of the Soviet people."



Ivanna Tkachuk, student

"I have never perceived May 9 as a day of victory because of the overwhelming number of

people who died in World War II for nothing, probably in the interest of Soviet Union. For me it has always been a day of mourning. It is a victory of those who manipulated and continue to manipulate people, like the U.S.S.R. did in World War II."



Volodymyr Orlyk, researcher

"Of course, my perception of Victory Day has shifted. I'm disappointed with the way

some people treat UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) as fascist allies. Similar to the Red Army, we defended our motherland."



# Branson gives pep talk to students, others in Kyiv

BY BOZHENA SHEREMETA  
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Personas like Richard Branson, the founder of Virgin Group, the seventh richest person in the United Kingdom with a net worth of \$4.9 billion, do not visit Ukraine often. But when they do, they cause a stir.

And that's what happened on April 30, during the Forum One Ukraine business conference where Branson was the headliner. Despite ticket prices ranging from \$150 to \$5,000, more than 3,500 people turned out.

Beforehand, Branson showed up at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute to give a 20-minute pep talk to students free of charge. Branson talked a lot about new opportunities for Ukraine in crisis. As always, he stressed the human element.

"The future of Ukraine is in people who will come up with ideas that will make lives of other people better," Branson said. "They can do that through creating business on the Internet, creating scientific breakthroughs, medical breakthroughs. Ukraine needs this more than ever right now."

Assuming that peace will come to eastern Ukraine soon, Branson said, Ukraine is positioned to make progress with its great educational institutions and smart people. Branson wants to see many new profitable Ukrainian startups within the next few years.

"You are hungry to prove yourselves



Richard Branson welcomes students of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute as he visits, wearing a traditional Ukrainian embroidered shirt, on April 30. (Ukrafoto)

and achieve things," Branson said.

Students asked about the willingness of Virgin Group, with more than 400 companies in its portfolio, to invest in emerging Ukrainian startups. Branson said he would send some of

his team members from Virgin Group to Ukrainian universities. "Maybe we could come to universities and spend some time there to see if there are any ideas which we could work on in the future," Branson replied.

On the stage of the Forum One event, Branson continued talking up the advantages of the Ukrainian business environment. He said the success of the Ukrainian economy depends on the IT industry in many ways. "IT

is very exciting and it will transform people's lives in many different ways," Branson said.

He also mentioned the importance of new businesses to cut energy consumption, noting that most money in the Ukrainian budget is spent on energy.

"There should be a clean energy revolution in Ukraine. Your president or your business people should say that '10 years from now we are not going to let a single penny go out of this country for energy. We are going to create our own clean energy,'" Branson said. He said solar power and electrically powered transport can help.

Branson expressed hope that the war will not flare-up after the May holidays.

"As an international community we need to do everything possible to help you. It's not right, if thousands of young people are being lost over a few fields," Branson said.

In August 2014, Branson called for a peaceful resolution in an open letter signed by a group of high-profile international businessmen, including the founders of PayPal and WhatsApp. "I really hope that the problems in the east of Ukraine get resolved soon, so that Ukraine can become a really great independent country, hopefully, closely affiliated with Europe," Branson told the Forum One crowd.

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## Business community praises expulsion of state-owned waste disposal company

BY ALYONA ZHUK  
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Importers and producers of packaged goods are moving forward to replace a state-owned waste management company that had dominated the market for 14 years.

After the Cabinet of Ministers eliminated Ukrecorsury on March 18, the business community and government officials drafted a bill designed to bring Ukraine's recycling market to European Union standards in five years.

If lawmakers pass the law, it will take the market about a year to start recycling 15 percent of waste and an additional 5 percent each year afterward, according to Volodymyr Slabky, head of the Ukrainian Ecological Packaging Coalition. The European Union average is 40 percent.

The new law, according to a written explanation by the European Business Association, is built on principles that place additional responsibility on producers, a common practice in European countries.

"The gist of it is that business will be able to create new companies for the collection and recycling of packaging, therefore it will develop healthy competition in this market, which is new for

the country," the EBA concluded.

According to Slabky, one of the authors of the law, this will be the fourth attempt to pass the bill. Previously Ukrecorsury had kept the bill off parliament's agenda. This time, after the state monopoly was eliminated by a March 18 Cabinet of Ministers resolution, he said, "we hope there will be enough votes to pass it."

Svitlana Kolomiyets, deputy head of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources, said that the ministry is not completely happy with the proposed measures.

"We need to work not only with the recycling of new waste, but also to decrease its generation, to develop a system of separate collection, and to develop the recycling of waste that has been already collected," she said.

However, Kolomiyets said, the ministry doesn't object to the liquidation of Ukrecorsury's monopoly.

The business community and current officials praised the March 18 resolution as a step for further cracking down on corruption.

State-owned waste processor Ukrecorsury had for 14 years abused its government-sanctioned position by coercively steering business its way while neglecting to actually handle waste, Economy Minister Aivaras

Abromavicius said at an April 28 conference in Kyiv.

Importers or producers of packaged goods such as bottled beverages were required to either use the government-run company for recycling waste or a third party company, according to the resolution. In reality, law enforcement bodies would investigate companies that bypassed Ukrecorsury, Taras Kachka, vice president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine, said.

So it got to a point that a business, wishing to responsibly recycle waste, would have to pay twice – a fee to Ukrecorsury and to a private company that actually handled the waste, Kachka said.

In essence it was a monopoly.

After the resolution was passed, the EBA reported that, throughout its existence, Ukrecorsury was receiving about Hr 30 million per month on importers fees, but "nothing was done whatsoever."

Some of the money then went toward financing political parties, Abromavicius said.

"The liquidation of the Ukrecorsury's monopoly – is a small step in the nationwide scale, but is a huge victory for business," EBA said. "For years business has been talking



Waste gets sorted at Ukrecorsury on June 6, 2013, a state-owned waste management company that dominated the market for 14 years, but which was eliminated on March 18 by a Cabinet resolution for rent-seeking. (Ukrafoto)

about this problem, and only now the authorities got enough of the political will to root out this corruption scheme."

Anatoliy Ivashchenko, Ukrecorsury deputy head, denied it was a corrupt monopoly.

"Resolution 915 stated that the companies that produced or imported the packaged goods were supposed to take care of the waste, on their own or to sign the contract with Ukrecorsury," Ivashchenko told the Kyiv Post. "Those who chose to do that themselves, turned to third parties, which were private recycling companies."

Ukrecorsury serviced only 30 percent of companies on the market, according to Ivashchenko.

Only about 4 percent of all waste gets recycled in Ukraine, while the rest goes to landfills, according to the Ministry of Regional Development and Utilities of Ukraine. Reliable statistics on the area of landfills are unavail-

able, according to Svitlana Kolomiyets, deputy head of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources.

But Tetra Pak's environmental protection manager, Anna Tarantsova, said that landfills occupy more than 7 percent of Ukraine's territory or more than 42,000 square kilometers, which is one and half times the area of Kyiv Oblast.

According to Kachka, Ukraine now needs a company to operate the whole waste disposal system. Usually it is a company that is either created or financed by market players – recyclers, importers and manufacturers of packaged goods.

"In our case, the state (had) created such an organ, which, due to its isolation from market participants, didn't start working, and switched to the collection of money," Kachka told the Kyiv Post.

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# KYIV POST THANKS ITS READERS AROUND THE GLOBE

## Kyiv Post social media flashmob engages readers worldwide

On April 30, the Kyiv Post promoted a social media flashmob to support its global subscription campaign. The newspaper's international audience took pictures with the subscription poster and published on their Facebook timelines or Twitter profiles.

Thank you for your continuous support and participation in the flashmob!

Here are some of the photos taken. You can find the rest at the Kyiv Post 20th Anniversary Facebook page.



Team members of Domivka, the radio of Ukrainian diaspora in America, at the Times Square in New York City.



Pavlo Sheremeta, Ukraine's former economic minister, at the Royal Palace of Amsterdam, Netherlands, on April 30.



Dominique Serres in front of the Triumphal Arch of Paris on April 30.



U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt supported the Kyiv Post on April 30: "I'm a proud Kyiv Post subscriber: independent reporting on Ukraine's democratic transformation."



Yeh Shih Kai in front of Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall in Taipei, Taiwan, on April 30.



Vic Jackopson in front of the ancient Bargate of Southampton, England, on April 30.



Micaela Spears Bartunek and Ben Dane in Seattle, Washington, on April 30.



Irene Aksenova-Tomczak at Plac Wolności in Poznan, Poland, on April 30.



The dog of Kyiv Post reader, Artem Zverkhovskyy, a MIT Sloan Fellow in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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# Shukhevych: 'The threat looming over Ukraine has united all Ukrainians'

BY OKSANA LYACHYNSKA  
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For much of his 82 years, Yuriy Bohdan Shukhevych has lived on the wrong side of those in power.

As the son of the Soviet Union's most wanted man in the 1940s – Ukrainian Insurgent Army commander Roman Shukhevych – he was forcibly made to live in an orphanage at the age of 12 and kept in prisons for 31 years, during which time he lost most of his eyesight.

Even when he was released during the waning days of the Soviet Union, the KGB prevented him from returning to his native Lviv for another five years. In exile, he had an unsuccessful operation that made him completely blind.

By the time he was reunited with his family in 1989, Soviet propaganda had managed to thoroughly demonize his father and the military group he led, known as UPA, branding them as enemies of the state and Nazi collaborators. That was the Soviet version of history.

So he set about struggling to restore what he views as historical justice regarding the UPA, but without harboring hatred toward his persecutors, he told the Kyiv Post.

"First I was deeply shocked by the cruelty with which they (punitive Soviet authorities) treated not only my family but people in general," Shukhevych says. "But on the other hand they were an interesting category of people... Many of them, especially the older ones, were orphaned during World War I and the civil war and grew up in Soviet orphanages... They were raised as Soviet patriots convinced that everything they did was justified, that the people they killed and repressed were enemies of the nation who prevented a better future and building paradise on earth... Maybe in this respect, they were also victims of this system..."

Justice finally came on April 9, when Yuriy Shukhevych, as a member of Ukraine's Parliament, voted with others in the pro-government coalition to recognize UPA veterans as combatants who fought for Ukraine's independence among other groups in the legislative package of "decommunization" bills.

Now he says the time has come for Ukrainians to unite against their common enemy: Vladimir Putin's Kremlin.

"The time for reconciliation and forgiveness has come," Shukhevych said. "The threat looming over Ukraine has united all Ukrainians and everybody understood where their real enemy is."

Supporters of UPA say that one of the group's foes is who Ukraine faces today: Russia.



Iryna Raikhenberg, the Jewish girl who the Shukhevych family helped save from the Holocaust. (sbu.gov.ua)



Lawmaker Yuriy Shukhevych (R), son of Ukrainian Insurgent Army commander Roman Shukhevych, is greeted by Sviatoslav Shevchuk, the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (L), during the newly-elected parliament's first plenary session on Nov. 27, 2014. His wife, Lesya, a Ukrainian born in Munich, stands between them. (UNIAN)

After World War I, much of modern-day Ukraine was partitioned between Poland and the newly formed U.S.S.R.

Roman Shukhevych ended up living under authoritarian Polish rule in western Ukraine. At a young age he joined the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose mission was to establish an independent Ukraine by all means necessary, including terrorist acts and assassinations. Many members of the OUN political group would later join the ranks of UPA fighters in the 1940s with other Ukrainians from across the country, as well as Jews, Russians, Tatars and others who fought in the unit.

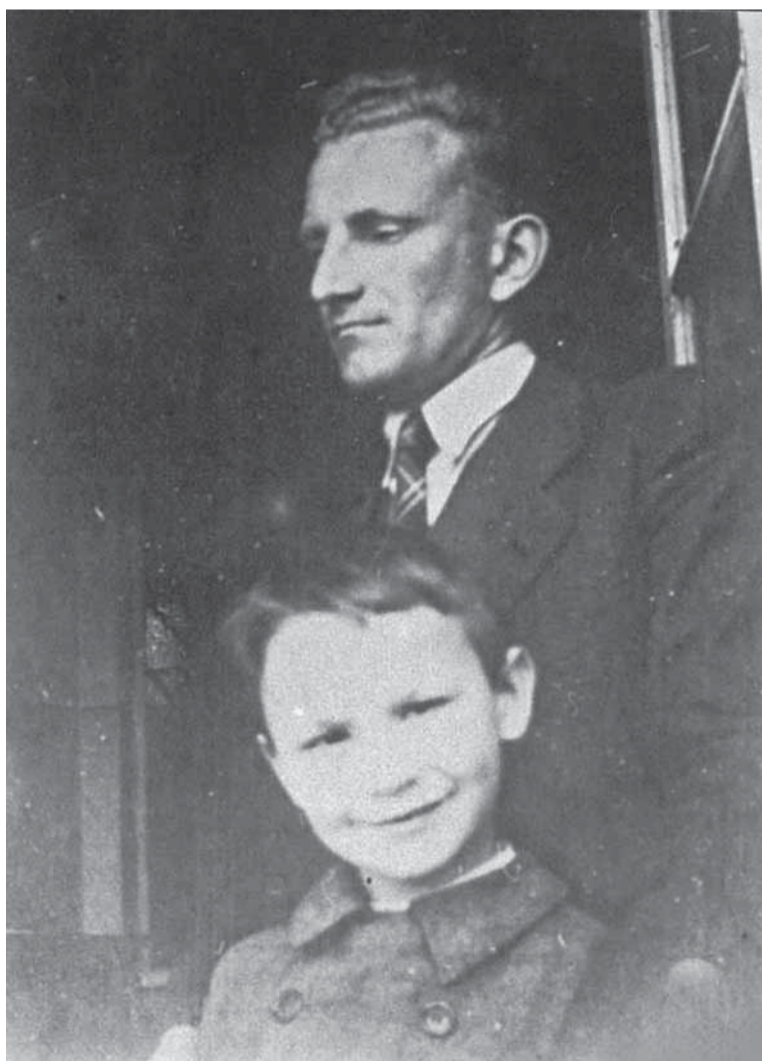
Not long after Yuriy Shukhevych was born on March 28, 1933, in the village Ohliadiiv in Lviv Oblast, his father was charged in the murder of a Polish interior minister and arrested. After almost three years behind bars, Roman Shukhevych took up arms in the battles for the independence of Carpathian Ukraine in March 1939.

Yuriy Shukhevych remembers moments of peaceful family life between 1939 and 1941, when he and his mother joined his father in Krakow and his sister Maria was born.

Later his mother had to divorce his father in order to protect herself and her children. She even gave them her maiden name. However, she met with her ex-husband secretly whenever possible.

Roman Shukhevych re-entered Ukraine as the commander of a Nazi military sub-unit in 1941, consisting mostly of Ukrainian nationalists, eventually taking Lviv from Soviet forces who had invaded western Ukraine two years earlier following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In the circumstances of the time, he considered Germany the only possible ally for a Ukraine struggling for its independence. When Roman Shukhevych realized that Hitler's Germany was not interested in an independent Ukraine, he started fighting against it as well.

During part of the German occupation, Yuriy Shukhevych lived in Lviv with his sister and mother who took



Yuriy Shukhevych and his father, Roman Shukhevych, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army leader who fought against Soviets, circa 1940-41. Roman Shukhevych was killed in 1950 during a Soviet secret service operation. (cdvr.org.ua)

in a young Jewish girl in 1942-43. His father secured counterfeit documents for her, changing her name from Iryna Raikhenberg to Iryna Ryzhko, according to the Security Service of Ukraine. When the Gestapo arrested his wife, Roman Shukhevych arranged for Ryzhko to be hidden in a church-run orphanage.

Shukhevych led UPA from October 1942 until his death on March 5, 1950. When Soviet authorities arrested

Yuriy Shukhevych's mother in July 1945, he and his sister were sent to an orphanage in Chornobyl and then to Stalino, now Donetsk. In the summer of 1947, he ran away and several months later met with his father in the forests near Rohatyn, in western Ukraine. During this meeting, which lasted a day and night, Yuriy told his father about those members of their family who were arrested by the Soviets and about those who died in prison.

He often recalls how his father replied to the dire news of relentless persecution by the Soviets: "We do not fight in order to take revenge. We fight in order that such an inhuman system cannot exist anymore."

During their last meeting at a secret apartment in Lviv in January 1948, his father allowed him to return to the orphanage to get his sister out. But in Stalino, Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested.

While his son was in prison, Roman Shukhevych continued his work fighting in the Ukrainian underground and resisting pursuit by Soviet NKVD forces. In 1950, they finally caught up with him and heavily wounded him during a shootout in a village near Lviv. Rather than being captured alive, Roman Shukhevych shot himself in the head before the Soviets got to him, according to his son. The 17-year-old Yuriy Shukhevych at the time was briefly taken from prison to identify his father's body.

UPA still resisted Soviet occupation well into the 1950s, but stopped waging openly pitched battles and engaged mostly in the spread of pro-Ukrainian literature and other underground activity meant to undermine Soviet authority.

After the parliamentary vote that recognized UPA as freedom fighters, Yuriy Shukhevych said that although many veterans aren't alive today, "they are given this status in order that people commemorate those who struggled for Ukraine's independence and paid with their lives for it or lived with this idea and worked for it."

Yuriy Shukhevych believes that the decommunization laws should have been adopted soon after Ukraine gained independence in 1991. Given the strong legacy of the USSR, Ukraine wasn't ready for them. Now a new generation of Ukrainians has grown up who think differently about Ukraine's past. The EuroMaidan Revolution and Russia's annexation of Crimea and military aggression in eastern Ukraine also made the adoption of the laws possible.

Yuriy Shukhevych said he also never felt any hostility or anger toward Red Army veterans who fought against his father and who were honored by the Soviet state.

"Should I feel hatred to those who survived in that war?" he asks rhetorically. "Of course, no."

Yuriy Shukhevych says that two totalitarian regimes, the Nazi and Soviet, clashed in World War II and one of them won. While the Nazi leadership answered for its crimes, the Soviet authorities were never punished. He refers to the British city of Coventry, completely destroyed by the Nazis, the German city of Dresden, leveled by the Allies, and Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroyed by atomic bombs dropped by the U.S.

"Those were innocent victims," Shukhevych says. "It would be worth commemorating and paying respect to the dead from one side and from the other."

As a member of parliament, Shukhevych has big hopes for a younger generation of Ukrainians.

"I hope the state does not create obstacles for them," he says. "The task of the state is not to build a paradise on the earth, but to assist a human being's development and self-realization."

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# Ukraine breaks from Russia in commemorating victory

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA  
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At Andriyivsky Uzviz, one of Kyiv's most popular tourist destinations, Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin stares out at tourists from T-shirts, badges, hats and even kitchen magnets. However, if Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko signs a package of laws meant to dismantle the dark legacy of the Soviet Union, one could conceivably get up to five years in prison for selling or buying communist-related souvenirs.

Parliament passed a number of decommunization laws on April 9. These include the law that bans Nazi and Communist symbols and replaces the Soviet term "Great Patriotic War" with the more common "Second World War."

The law bans the display of images of Soviet leaders, which also includes monuments, quotes, flags, badges and emblems with the communist insignia. According to the law, public performances of the Nazi and Soviet national anthems are also prohibited. However, the law doesn't specify if the Russian national anthem, which uses the Soviet music with different lyrics, is subject to the law.

Special status was also granted to all Ukrainian military organizations of the 20th century, including the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought for the country's independence against Soviets and Nazis. Another law opens access to Ukrainian KGB archives from 1917 until 1991.

If the laws come into effect, Ukraine will be the second country, after Lithuania, that has passed such stringent restrictions on Soviet and Nazi symbols among the 15 post-Soviet republics.

Lawmaker Hanna Hopko of the Samopomich party, one of the authors of the bill that bans communism propaganda, thinks that Ukraine should have followed the example of Lithuania long time ago.

"Lithuania and other Baltics states had a deliberate policy of decommunization," Hopko says. "After the president signs those laws, Ukraine will break with its communist past."

Volodymyr Viatrovych, one of the authors of the bills and the head of the Ukrainian National Memory Institute, says that the Russian national anthem won't be prohibited. The law only bans the anthem of the USSR with the old lyrics.

Ukraine's communists were outraged. Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko believes these laws "undermine national security and thwart everything the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact had declared."

Communists often argue that western Ukraine had been transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist



Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko (L) places a poppy in the World War I Honor Roll during a visit to the Australian War Memorial in Canberra on Dec. 12, 2014. (AFP)

Republic as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939. "Then you also should mention that Lviv needs to be under Polish rule again," Symonenko says.

The laws also sparked discussions among academics, many of whom don't believe they should go into force.

German academic Andreas Umland, a senior research fellow at the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, along with a number of historians and activists, recently published an open letter to the president calling on him not to sign the so-called "anti-Communist law."

"In their current form such laws would damage Ukraine's international reputation and national reconciliation," Umland says. He believes, however, that the laws could be useful, as long as they do not limit the freedom of speech. "Some current formulations of the laws on communist symbols and on independence fighters are unhelpful, to put it mildly."

A solution, as he sees it, is a broad discussion in the expert community that would help to improve the laws' texts.

Vasyl Rasevych, a senior researcher at the Institute of Ukrainian Studies, agrees.

He says decommunization laws contradict many existing laws and international obligations to freedom of speech. They also lack a clear mechanism for implementing them. Rasevych says it was a populist move by the govern-

ment and is certain the laws will need to be amended.

"It feels like (the lawmakers) acted in an enthusiastic manner (while introducing the laws), characteristic of the Soviet Union's communist youth league," Rasevych says.

→ Ukraine shedding Soviet symbols of victory

So Parliament introduced amendments to the law on Communist and Nazi propaganda on April 23. The law now doesn't ban wearing original colors, medals and other military decorations that were given out before 1991.

If the law is signed by the president, all monuments for Communist figures should be demolished and streets named after communist ideologists will have to be renamed. It also means that at least 42 Ukrainian cities – mostly in the Donetsk, Luhansk, Odesa and Dnipropetrovsk oblasts – will have to find new names.

There was an attempt to wipe out the Soviet past from Ukraine's his-

tory during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, Ukraine's third president. He started the process of opening up KGB archives and in 2007 he issued a decree aimed at removing state symbols from the totalitarian past. However, the effort came to nothing.

Mykhailo Kalnytskyi, a historian and a member of Ukrainian Association for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, believes it's not high on the agenda to rename cities in times of war. Lawmakers should consult with historians before changing city names, he said.

## Remembrance Poppy vs. St. George's Ribbon

By removing symbols of the Soviet past, Ukraine is also distancing itself from Moscow's view of history, which places the start of World War II in 1941 when Nazi Germany invaded the USSR. This includes minimizing the use of another symbol linked to the Kremlin, St. George's Ribbon.

The origin of the orange-and-black striped ribbon goes back to 1769, when Empress Catherine the Great issued the Order of St. George as the highest military decoration of Imperial Russia.

Pro-Kremlin propaganda maintains that the ribbon symbolizes the Soviet Union's victory in World War II. But the ribbon wasn't recognized by the Red Army and was only reintroduced as a Russian state award in 1992.

Yulia Latynina, one of Russia's most

respected independent journalists and critics of the Russian government, says the ribbon is merely an effective public relations tool.

She said that it was introduced as the Kremlin's response to the 2004 Orange Revolution in Ukraine. In 2005, journalists from the RIA Novosti news agency and a youth civic organization launched the campaign and called on volunteers to distribute ribbons in the streets ahead of Victory Day. It is now a yearly practice.

"However, this is a clear sign of historical illiteracy," Latynina says.

"In the 1960-70s there were no St. George's Ribbons seen during the Victory Day parades. If someone showed up with a ribbon, it would be a violation. That's why now only people who have little understanding of history would pin military decorations to clothing. It's the same as giving epaulettes to random people in the streets."

It has become a cult for Russians, as they often tie St. George's ribbons to cars, pin them to bags and clothes and even to dog collars. Later it became associated with those who are fighting pro-government forces in eastern Ukraine.

Meanwhile, there is another side to the medal that is often omitted by Russian media. St. George's Ribbon – along with the tricolored flag – was often used by the Russian Liberation Army that fought alongside the Nazi army during World War II.

Instead, Poroshenko said Ukraine will use the Remembrance Poppy, a British wartime symbol that commemorates the fallen soldiers of World War I.

Some historians believe it's a narrative that Ukraine should pursue.

Both Rasevych and Viatrovych believe that for most Ukrainians, St. George's Ribbon is not a sign of victory. Viatrovych of the Ukraine's National Memory Institute also says the ribbon has become a symbol of terrorists.

"Poppy is also a Ukrainian symbol," Viatrovych explains. "According to Ukrainian folklore, poppies bloom where Cossacks blood had been spilt."

However, many people lack an understanding of what the red poppy symbol means.

Volodymyr Kyanov from eastern Ukrainian city of Artemivsk is uncertain about the poppy symbol.

"Why should we use it?" he asks. "What's that? We used to give carnations for the Victory Day – aren't those a symbol of remembrance?"

Kyanov explains it's not easy for him to forget Soviet holidays, as he served in the Soviet army. He also says he's not against the new symbol being used, but added that people should know more about it.

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These are some of the symbols that will be banned by the decommunization laws include. They include, from left, the Soviet flag, emblems with the Soviet hammer & sickle, monuments of Soviet political and military leaders as well as the Soviet-era star. (Volodymyr Petrov, Courtesy)



# Ukraine in World War II



England's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (L) and Adolf Hitler in Munich on Sept. 30, 1938, after signing the Munich Agreement. (Courtesy)

The Munich Agreement signed by Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany divided Czechoslovakia. Carpathian Ukraine, which used to be part of Czechoslovakia, was gradually occupied by Hungary, a future ally of Nazi Germany.

An Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists parade in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast honors Polish Governor General Reichsleiter Hans Frank. (Courtesy)



Relying on Germany's support, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaimed the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence in Nazi-occupied Lviv. Instead of support, the newly formed Ukrainian government was arrested and sent to concentration camps in Germany, part of Nazi repression of Ukrainians.



Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ostrog, Ukraine, in December 1943. (Courtesy)

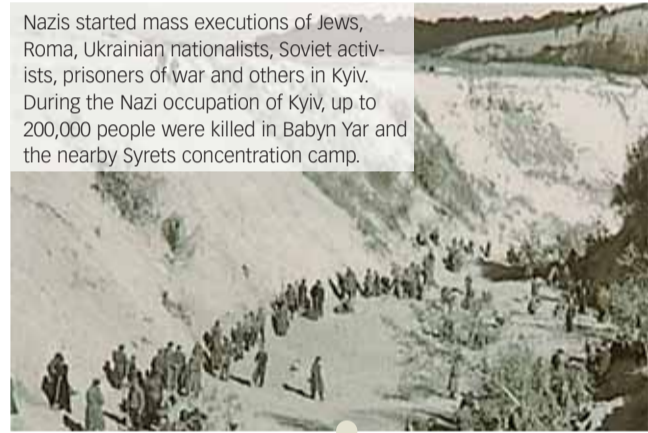
The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera decided to fight against the Nazis. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as UPA, was founded on Oct. 14, 1942 and started its resistance activities in Nazi-occupied Volyn. Struggling for an independent Ukraine, UPA had to fight against three enemies at the same time: Nazis, Soviet army and partisans and the Polish Home Army, which considered parts of western Ukraine as belonging to Poland. UPA took part in the Ukrainian-Polish War that unfolded during World War II and took thousands of Ukrainian and Polish lives. UPA existed until the late 1950s, when it was defeated by Soviet authorities.



Nazi German soldiers dismantle a Polish border gate. (Courtesy)

Germany invaded Poland. Polish citizens of Ukrainian origin initially fought on Poland's side. On Sept. 17, the Soviet Union launched its own invasion of Poland, occupying Halychyna and Volyn, which then belonged to Poland, and started mass repression against the local population. Ukrainians also fought on the side of the Soviet Union. The Soviets soon annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna, both then part of Romania.

Nazis started mass executions of Jews, Roma, Ukrainian nationalists, Soviet activists, prisoners of war and others in Kyiv. During the Nazi occupation of Kyiv, up to 200,000 people were killed in Babyn Yar and the nearby Syrets concentration camp.



Soviet prisoners of war buried land plot of Babyn Yar, where were the Jews shot. (Courtesy)

Sept. 30, 1938

Aug. 23, 1939

Sept. 1, 1939

June 22, 1941

June 30, 1941

Sept. 19, 1941

Sept. 29, 1941

Dec. 18, 1942

Feb. 17-21, 1943



Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty. It included a secret protocol known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that divided Eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence. According to this pact, parts of western Ukraine that belonged to Poland and Romania became part of the Soviet sphere.

Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov and Germany's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop sign the non-aggression treat in Moscow.

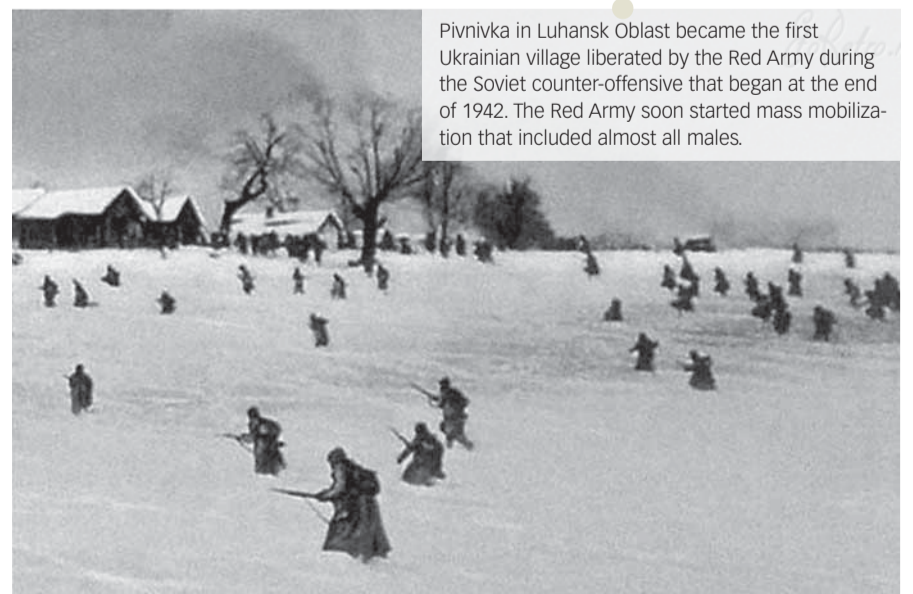
After the 71-day Battle of Kyiv, Hitler's Germany seized the Ukrainian capital. Prior to that, Nazi troops crossed the Dniro River near Zaporizhzhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Kremenchuk and Cherkasy. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Red Army were surrounded and captured. Others retreated to the east, destroying buildings and infrastructure to prevent their use by Nazis. Most historical buildings in downtown Kyiv were blown up by Soviets.



A guard of the fascist German Wehrmacht on the citadel of the previous day, the on Sept 19, 1941, conquered city of Kyiv and a view of the city with the burning Dniro bridge. (Courtesy)



A map of Operation Barbarossa, Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, which was launched on June 22, 1941. (Courtesy)

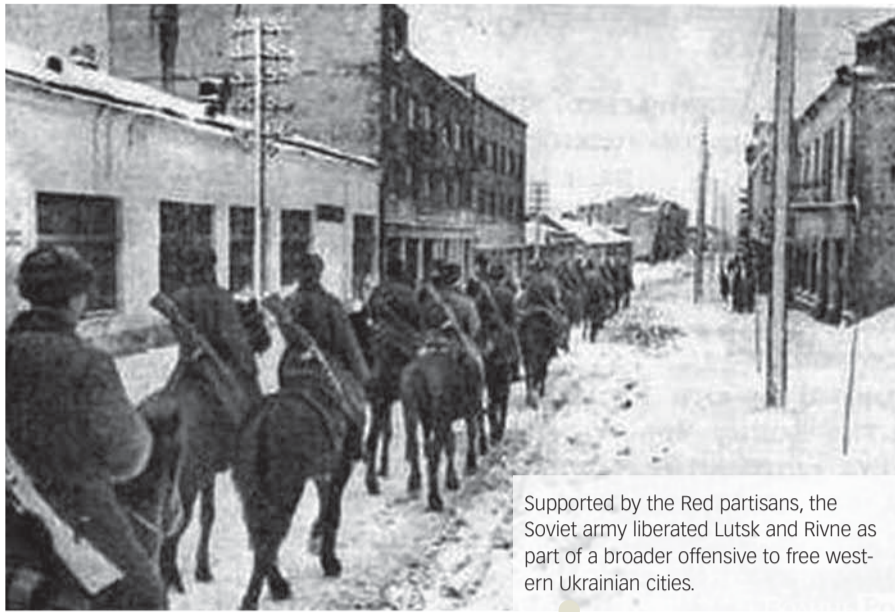


The Soviet liberation of Voroshilovgrad, now Luhansk on Feb. 14, 1943. (Courtesy)

Pivnivka in Luhansk Oblast became the first Ukrainian village liberated by the Red Army during the Soviet counter-offensive that began at the end of 1942. The Red Army soon started mass mobilization that included almost all males.



Units of the 1st Cavalry Red Guards Corps enter in Lutsk on Feb 2, 1944. (Courtesy)



Supported by the Red partisans, the Soviet army liberated Lutsk and Rivne as part of a broader offensive to free western Ukrainian cities.



Ukrainians in the ranks of the Red Army took part in liberation of Auschwitz, one of the biggest Nazi concentration camps, located in Poland.

A doctor (C) with the 322nd Rifle Division of the Red Army walks with survivors at the entrance to the newly-liberated Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland on January 1945. (Courtesy)

Soviet troops move near the German sign for Stalino, the former name for Donetsk in Ukraine's eastern Donbas region. (Courtesy)



The Soviet army liberated Stalino, now Donetsk, as part of a sweep through industrial areas that pushed the Nazis back to the Dnipro River.

After five-day storm and fierce fighting on Sapun Hill, the military port city of Sevastopol was liberated. Within days, Soviet authorities took control of the entire Crimean peninsula and soon began deportation of more than 180,000 Crimean Tatars to other Soviet republics for alleged collaboration with the enemy. Among Crimean citizens deported there were also Greeks, Bulgarians, Gagauzes and others.



Soviet soldiers salute in honor of the liberation of Sevastopol in May 1944. (Courtesy)

Japan unconditionally surrendered, marking the end of World War II. Ukrainian Kuzma Derevyanko signed this historical document on behalf of the Soviet Union. Prior to that, Ukrainians in the Soviet army took part in the defeat of Japan's Kwantung Army in the Far East.



Ukrainian Kuzma Derevyanko signs Japan's Instrument of Surrender on Sept. 2, 1945. (Courtesy)

August 23, 1943

Sept. 8, 1943

Nov. 6, 1943

Feb. 2, 1944

April 10, 1944

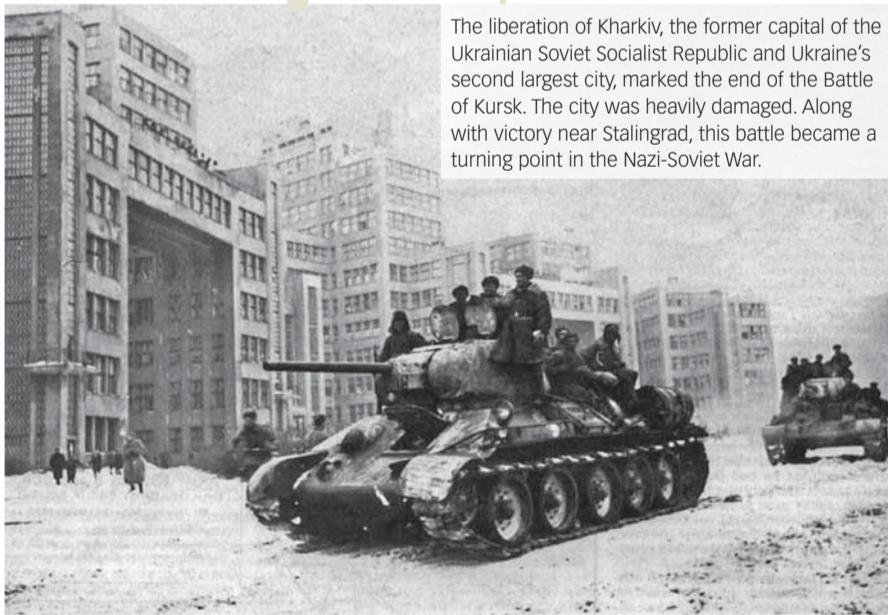
May 9, 1944

Oct. 28, 1944

Jan. 27, 1945

May 8, 1945

Sept. 2, 1945



The liberation of Kharkiv, the former capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Ukraine's second largest city, marked the end of the Battle of Kursk. The city was heavily damaged. Along with victory near Stalingrad, this battle became a turning point in the Nazi-Soviet War.

Soviet tanks of the 5th Guard Tank Corps ride on Dzerzhinsky Square in Kharkiv on Feb. 16, 1943. (Courtesy)



The liberation of Odesa marked the end of the operation during which other south Ukrainian cities such as Kherson and Mykolaiv were freed.

Units of the 3rd Ukrainian Front move through liberated Odesa streets. (Courtesy)



Soviet Katyusha rocket launchers send volleys sitting on American made Studebaker truck chassis in the Carpathian region of western Ukraine, 1944. (Courtesy)

Nazi Germany capitulated. Ukrainian Oleksiy Berest was one of three Red Army soldiers who placed the Victory Banner at the top of Reichstag building in Berlin a few days earlier.



Soviet troops liberated Kyiv after crossing the Dnipro River, after regaining the river cities of Zaporizhzhia and Dnipropetrovsk. The Battle for the Dnipro River became one of the largest and bloodiest military operations in history.

Soviet soldiers prepare rafts to cross the Dnipro River (the sign reads "To Kyiv!") during the Battle of the Dnipro in 1943. (Courtesy)



Staged photo hoisting the Red flag over the Reichstag. (Eugen Khaldey)



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# West snubs Putin's plans for big Victory Day parade

BY OLEG SUKHOV  
REAGANX84@GMAIL.COM

Russian President Vladimir Putin turned his May 9 Victory Day parade into a popularity contest, with the Kremlin keeping a scorecard of world leaders who accepted and rejected invitations.

It turned out to be a contest that Putin lost in the West as one leader after another snubbed his invitation to come to Moscow and celebrate the 70th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany.

Putin has lost popularity among democratic leaders after he annexed Ukraine's Crimean peninsula and launched an invasion of eastern Donbas with a combination of Russian forces and separatist proxies.

Maybe the separation among wartime allies is long overdue. While the West still strives for democratic values, Putin's 15-year rule is hard to describe as anything other than a dictatorship.

Both sides have different views of the war.

The West mourns the dead and vows to never let another Nazi Germany arise. Russia, instead, looks upon the Soviet Union's commanding role in securing the victory in Europe as justification for its modern-day claims of superpower status.

"This is a demonstrative act in response to Putin's attempts to show off his clout and make the West play by his rules," Russian political analyst Dmitry Oreshkin told the Kyiv Post. "But his rules are not accepted."

Some of the exceptions to the no-shows in Europe include the leaders of Serbia, an Orthodox Christian nation with historic ties to Russia; Greece, where a Kremlin-friendly, far-left government was elected in January, and Cyprus, an ally of Greece. They accepted Russia's invitation.

German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, seen as soft on Putin, will bypass the Moscow parade but attend ceremonies in Volgograd, scene of a decisive victory by the Red Army. Czech President Milo Zeman, who backed out of accepting the parade invitation under pressure, still plans to travel to Russia.

Surprisingly, Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenko, one of the



Russian T-72B3 tanks roll across Dvortsovaya square in central Saint Petersburg during a rehearsal of the Victory Day parade on May 5. (AFP)

staunchest Kremlin allies, refused the invitation. He has even condemned Russia's invasion of Donbas and sought closer ties with Ukraine.

Another blow to Russia was North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un's about-face in refusing to come after initially accepting an invitation.

The parade will be attended by the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan — Russia's allies in the Caucasus — and the Kremlin's Central Asian protégés. Other attendees include the leaders of China, India, Vietnam and several African countries.

In Russia, Victory Day has always been one of the most important holidays. Before Putin came to power in

2000, the Moscow parade was scaled down significantly and focused largely on celebrating surviving veterans.

Under Putin, who regards the collapse of the Soviet Union as the 20th century's greatest geopolitical catastrophe, festivities were ramped up to show Russia's military might.

Putin also uses the holiday to promote the mythology of Russia's messianic role due to its "liberation" of Eastern Europe from Nazi rule. Therefore, in Putin's world view, Russia claims that its neighbors, especially Ukraine, are part of the Russian sphere of influence. Putin has even gone so far as to stay that there is no difference between Ukrainians and Russians.

Oreshkin said the mythology is designed to mask the Kremlin's economic and geopolitical setbacks.

"Putin needs symbolic victories because he has no real ones," he said. "The war is the cornerstone of the regime's ideological structure. Putin wants to present himself as the successor of Russian emperors and Josef Stalin."

Last year Russia passed a law introducing criminal penalties for "lying" about the Soviet Union's role in World War II — a move that critics say aims to stifle debate about the war. Russian authorities insist that their version of history is the ultimate truth.

The aggressive stance also extends to demonizing any groups who fought against the Soviet Union. For instance, Kremlin propagandists have branded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as UPA, as "Nazi criminals" despite the fact that many of its soldiers fought against Soviet and Nazi troops.

Kremlin propagandists have also routinely used WWII imagery to describe the war in Ukraine, presenting Russia and its proxies in Donbas as the successors of the Soviet Union and Ukrainian authorities as heirs to Nazi Germany. On a program aired on Russia's Channel One on April 8, television host Alexander Gordon proposed sending troops that will take part in the Victory Day parade to seize Kyiv.

The Kremlin's official version of history extols Joseph Stalin and Soviet generals, downplaying the incompetence that led to the Soviet Union's gigantic losses of territory and colossal battlefield mistakes. "Soldiers did not want to fight, and commanders were not capable of commanding," Mark Solonin, a Russian historian who has challenged the official position in his books, told the Kyiv Post.

The Kremlin's historians have also lashed out at critics who say that Soviet authorities were careless with the lives of their own soldiers by carrying out meaningless offensives without regard to the human cost. At least 26.6 million Soviet soldiers and civilians were killed, and many of them were Ukrainians.

"The Red Army's casualties, including those who were killed, died of wounds and in captivity, were four-to-five times more than Germany's casualties on the Eastern Front," Solonin said. "At the beginning of the war, the ratio was absolutely mind-boggling — in 1941 it was 25-28 against 1."

Yet, as the war progressed, the ability of the Soviet Red Army, partisans and civilians to drive Nazi Germany out of Russia, Ukraine and the rest of Eastern Europe is nothing short of astounding. Of course, the United States, Great Britain, France and other allies played crucial roles in securing the Victory in Europe. The allies were also fighting a war against Imperial Japan on another front.

Putin's ideologists mostly ignore Soviet repression and war crimes, including massive rapes of German women, during the war. Stalin's regime also used its own troops to kill retreating soldiers and carried out summary executions. Millions were exiled for political reasons in the late 1930s and 1940s, and thousands were executed.

The Kremlin has also refused to acknowledge any guilt on the part of the Soviet Union for its compact with Nazi Germany, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which divided up Eastern Europe in 1939, a move that arguably defines both totalitarian regimes as aggressors in the war.

Kyiv Post staff writer Oleg Sukhov can be reached at reaganx84@gmail.com.

Russian soldiers attend the Victory Day military parade night training on May 4 on Red Square in Moscow. (AFP)





# Ukraine poised to open Soviet archives to public

BY ALYONA ZHUK  
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Parliament on April 9 opened the once-secret Soviet and Communist Party archives that historians say will shed light on and help rid the nation of some of the darkest chapters of its past.

Part of a package of four decommunization laws, the measure further widens the gulf between Ukraine's move toward democracy and Russia's warring policy that justifies its Soviet legacy in part by keeping the same archives sealed from public view.

According to Vladyslav Hrynevych, a political scientist who specializes in the history of World War II, opening the archives will foster democracy taking root in Ukrainian society. "Russia remains stuck in the Soviet mythological heritage," Hrynevych says.

"The additional incentive for such openness is the complete secrecy about the same archives in Russia," he said. "Basically Ukraine has opened the doors for researchers of Stalinism and totalitarianism that are closed to them in Russia. Certainly, in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, it is a very important and necessary step. There is no wonder it caused panic in Moscow."

A member of Russia's State Duma, Vyacheslav Nikonov, said in a televised interview that "these archives will be declassified with only one goal – to demonize Moscow, to demonize Russia and to shift the responsibility for, as

→ 'There is no wonder it caused panic in Moscow.'

– Vladyslav Hrynevych

an example, the repression that was very severe in Ukraine because of the position of Ukraine's authorities of that time."

The law stipulates that all documents of "repressive" Soviet agencies from 1917-1991 be turned over to the historical Ukrainian National Memory Institute, as well as be scanned and published online.

President Petro Poroshenko has yet to sign the law.

Repressive Soviet policies led to the murders of millions of Ukrainians who opposed the regime. A famine engineered by Soviet leader Josef Stalin and Communist Party leaders in Moscow in Kyiv alone starved to death at least three million Ukrainians in 1932-1933 during the Holodomor, which many Ukrainians regard as genocide. Millions more in 1917-1991 were sent to labor camps, shot or expelled from their homes never allowed to return for their political views.

Other new laws ban Communist and Nazi symbols as well as propaganda, and grant special status to all Ukrainian 20th century military organizations that fought for Ukrainian independence, including the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought Nazi and Soviet forces mostly in the western part of the country.

This isn't the first time that authorities have tried to open access to Soviet archives. Access was first eased under Viktor Yushchenko, who was president from 2005 to 2010. His successor, Viktor Yanukovich, closed access again.

Now, for example, Andrew Wozniac, who lives in the U.S. city of Cleveland, Ohio, says that he will be able to learn about his grandparents, who were Ukrainian and were arrested and sent to Siberia by the Soviet regime.

Wozniac is eager to learn when



A soldier guards the grain warehouse in the village of Kharkiv Oblast during the famine of 1932-1933 years. (avr.org.ua)

he can begin his research in the digitized archives. His parents didn't reveal much about their family history, he says, because they were "scared of repercussions."

However, there still a long way to go before he can access the documents.

According to Volodymyr Viatrovych, head of the Ukrainian Institute for National Memory and one of the authors of the bill, it will take at least a year to single out and systematize all the documents, as they have been stored in several different places and no one is sure how many in fact exist.

Millions of documents are now divided between the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, the Interior Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service, and local state archives.

After experts find the appropriate storage facility for the material, they will carefully move the documents under strict supervision, Viatrovych said.

"We will probably start solving the digitizing issue during this process,"



Three women suffering from the famine. Kharkiv, 1933. (avr.org.ua)

Viatrovych said. "But even with the most modern scanners, we are talking about 30-40 years of scanning."

In the meantime, it will still be possible to access the actual documents themselves. Researchers will need to show their passports and file requests.

But according to Viatrovych, it's necessary to take the material away from the control of the current special services, depriving them of their own Soviet heritage.

"It is also an element of the Security Service and Interior Ministry reforming," he said.

Some archivists believe that access to the documents must be opened, but that the papers themselves should remain where they are.

Oleksandr Garanin of the Archivists Association of Ukraine believes that not all the documents will be found, especially in the provinces. Therefore, according to Garanin, it is not worth removing them because they might get damaged in the process of being moved.

Staff writer Alyona Zhuk can be reached at zhuk@kyivpost.com.



A girl suffers from the famine in Kharkiv in 1933. (avr.org.ua)



Documents from the Soviet era will be consolidated and kept at the Ukrainian Institute for National Memory in Kyiv. (avr.org.ua)



A leaflet, produced by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, saying: "And for your hard work you will be rewarded with a starvation to death. Death to the tyrants - to Stalin and his gang." (avr.org.ua)



# Not a WWII veteran? No problem for Victory Day

BY ZENON ZAWADA

Year after year, Kyiv's visitors were treated to a puzzling sight as the annual May 9 Victory Day parade on Khreshchatyk Street was packed with thousands of marchers who had little to do with the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany. They could have only been teenagers at best, or not even born, at the time of the fighting.

As it turns out though, the Ukrainian government has always welcomed them to its annual Victory Day festivities, which had to find participants to replace those veterans passing away.

This year will be no different, with the involvement of the latest group of veterans from the Anti-Terrorist Operation. And while the government has begun to rear Ukrainians away from the Victory Day celebration towards the May 8 Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation, this year's May 9 events at the local level will largely retain the standard rituals and militarism of previous years.

"There were those in the military who served in conflicts in Vietnam, Egypt or Algeria and they had a nice uniform and appearance," said Yuriy Krykunov, a Kyiv City Council member and a key organizer in this year's events. "Though they were no longer in the military, they joined veterans organizations and were placed in the front rows at ceremonies."

Such younger veterans eventually took over many organizations when their predecessors died and were automatically included in ceremonies, Krykunov said.

"That's how a professional class of veterans was created," he said. Whereas at least a hundred actual World War Two veterans would show up for May 9 from each Kyiv district, no more than 150 will arrive for the national ceremonies this year, he said. The youngest an actual World War Two veteran can be now is 85 years old.

To ease the transition away from May 9 anachronisms, the government recommended to local authorities the elimination of parades and processions, as done on the national level. Instead, they are organizing concerts, wreath-laying ceremonies and visits to schoolchildren.



Senior citizens dance at event organized by Kyiv's Solomyansky District Administration on May 7, 2014 to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the allied victory over Nazi Germany. (Anastasia Vlasova)

This year's scaling down will serve to filter out those who did try to pass themselves off as actual veterans, said Gennadii Sintsov, the head of the Darnytsia district administration. His district will limit its festivities to two concerts on May 9, in addition to simple film displays, flash mobs and wreath-laying ceremonies throughout the week.

"In our district, a procession traditionally went along Pryvokzalna Street to the Park of Partisans' Glory and they were considered to be veterans of the Great Patriotic War," he said.

"But I considered it blasphemy to see children giving flowers to mere officers of the Armed Forces who served 20 or 30 years. And I resented these scenes in which the veteran took the flower, his breath reeking of alcohol, and he was in his 60s, born after the war. Children endured a break in their consciousness about the war."

Yet other district administrations indicated in their schedules they'll be recycling many traditions from previous years, including lectures on bravery to schoolchildren and clichéd ceremonies such as serving porridge.

And the lack of actual veterans means others will be involved. For example, an Afghanistan war veteran will speak at a flower-laying ceremony in the Podil district. In the Darnytsia district, they will get Donbas veterans to speak.

"The World War Two veterans die every day and just yesterday a veteran died who was born in 1927," said Svitlana Bernadska, a district administration official responsible for organizing Podil's ceremonies.

Besides veterans of the anti-terrorist operation, participants will be drawn from citizens belonging to six social categories that were created in the 1990s and 2000s as part of populist

politics that granted official status – and accompanying government perks – to anyone even remotely related to World War Two.

They include war participants, including disabled war participants, their relatives, military participants, rehabilitated war victims who were repressed by the Soviet government and the biggest category, Children of the War, which applies to anyone under 18 as of September 1945.

That they wear medals doesn't necessarily mean they're posing as veterans since the events took on a meaning beyond the 1945 victory, Krykunov said. The medals could have represented other forms of military service.

"It was a militaristic holiday for a long time, and that disturbed me. I thought to myself, 'How long are we going to wage war?'," he said, acknowledging that shell organizations of veterans have emerged to take advantage of the situation and inadequate reviews

are performed of those who claim these social categories.

Moreover, officials at the local level admitted that few reviews will be performed on the age of participants, their World War Two category, or whether they fought in any war.

Once they've made it onto the lists for the various World War II-related social categories, they can't be removed, Bernadska said.

She and other officials acknowledged they continue to rely on veterans organizations to provide participants for events without verification. Yet that step could be considered pointless anyhow.

Given that the requirements for many of these categories are so lax, particularly with Children of the War, that the vast majority of Ukrainians who lived during the World War II era qualify and receive state benefits, said Petro Oleshchuk, a political science lecturer at Shevchenko National University in Kyiv.

"The further we got from the war, the more categories they invented," he said. "The veteran of war status could be gained by anyone who even worked during the Second World War."

On May 9 for example, more than 2,000 living veterans of the Podil district will receive packets of basic food items, Bernadska said.

Yet Oleh Soskin, the director of the Institute of Society Transformation, said only 5,000 living veterans are left in all of Kyiv. He said the inflated estimate demonstrates that such May 9 infantile traditions as distributing food packages – rather than raising pensions and wages – are being kept alive for political patronage and possible theft schemes.

Instead of cleaning house, the current city government, led by the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform party, is merely feeding off the web of government handouts and rituals that make little sense in the Ukraine of the 21 century, he said.

Meanwhile, capitalizing off the social inertia is simply more expedient, Oleshchuk said.

"Anyone acknowledging the fact that no true veterans are left will be demonized as dishonoring the memory of the war and the victory," he said.

## Ukraine embraces poppy as war remembrance symbol

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA  
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In a rebuke to World War II symbols popular in the Soviet Union and now in modern-day Russia, Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko in April signed a decree that designated a poppy as the symbol of the 70th anniversary of the allied victory over Nazi Germany, celebrated in Ukraine on May 9. It will be also used on May 8, during the newly-established Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation.

With this decision, Ukraine joins a range of Western countries that use a poppy flower as a remembrance

symbol for the war victims. And yet, historians argue that this symbol is not imported. It is found in Ukrainian folk culture, they say.

"The red poppy is a traditional Ukrainian symbol of the shed blood of Cossacks," Volodymyr Vyatrovych, head of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, said at an event to promote the remembrance poppy in Kyiv on April 7. "It is (also) a European symbol that commemorates victims of the World Wars."

The Ukrainian folk song "Po Horakh Snihy Lezhat" ("Snow Lies in the Mountains") tells about the Cossacks killed on their way to fight Tatars in Crimea. In the song, the red blooming alongside the road

are a metaphor for the blood of the Cossacks.

"Those are not red poppies, those are young Cossacks," the song goes.

Ukrainian Cossacks, the democratic military community, emerged in the 14th-15th centuries and active in the next two centuries, so that is when the folk song with a poppy reference was probably written.

In Ukraine, the Remembrance Poppy symbol was first used publicly in May 2014. Kharkiv-based designer Serhiy Mishakin came up with a Ukrainian version of a red poppy symbol for the Victory Day. It replaced the orange-and-black St. George's Ribbon, the Victory Day symbol imposed by Russia and previously

used in Ukraine too. In 2014, the ribbon began to associate with Russia-backed separatists in Crimea and Ukraine's east and their supporters.

In an interview to *Ukrainska Pravda*, Mishakin explained that the red poppy looks like a wound. The image shows an allusion, resembling a trail of blood.

Official Ukrainian version of the Remembrance Poppy was designed with the assistance of Ukrainian National Memory Institute and the National Television Company of Ukraine. The poppy is accompanied by a motto that reads, "Never Again."

"We tried to find a solution that was graphically simple," Mishakin was quoted as saying. "When you pin it

(to your clothes), it's like you try on a bullet wound."

In the English-speaking countries, the poppy badge honors all soldiers who fought and died in all wars.

Canadian surgeon John McCrae wrote a poem during World War I called *In Flanders Fields*.

"Once the war was over, the poppy was one of the only plants to grow on the otherwise barren battlefields," the BBC explains.

### Where to buy a poppy flower

Ukrainian Souvenirs  
Maidan Nezalezhnosti metro station  
(booth located closest to entrance  
from post office)  
Price: Hr 20





# Red Army veteran lives fine in Lviv among nationalists

BY YULIANA ROMANYSHYN  
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**LVIV, Ukraine** – One would think that Andrii Kulykivskiy, a 90-year-old World War II veteran from Lviv, is in a tough position.

He fought in the ranks of the Soviet Red Army, and yet now he lives amid supporters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA, whose soldiers fought both Soviet and Nazi forces in the war.

Despite living in a city that has even been hostile to World War II victory celebrations, Kulykivskiy feels comfortable and has friends among the UPA veterans who were once his foes. In his opinion, both armies were fighting aggressors in their own ways.

"I highly appreciate UPA's participation in World War II," he says.

Kulykivskiy co-founded the Lviv-based Ukrainian Veterans Association, which unites veterans of both UPA and the Soviet army.

Lviv, like many in western Ukraine, does not embrace its Soviet heritage. The Victory Day celebrations in 2011 and 2013 in Lviv were overshadowed by clashes between police and nationalists who protested against the holiday that is seen as Moscow's glorification of a totalitarian regime.

But Kulykivskiy merely sees Victory Day as a symbolic holiday of not great importance. "Victory Day is an inappropriate holiday," he says. "It would be much better just to have a remembrance day for the soldiers who died



**Andrii Kulykivskiy, a 90-year-old World War II veteran from Lviv, fought with the Soviet Red Army. But today the writer has no trouble embracing western Ukrainian nationalists, including those who supported the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that fought for national independence against the Nazis and Soviets. (Yulia Voloshynska)**

in all wars."

Kulykivskiy lives alone in an apartment in the center of Lviv. His wife died 18 months ago. He has no children.

But he is the author of several memoirs that he published at his own expense. And he continues to write. He even learned how to use a computer,

opened a Facebook account and uses email.

Kulykivskiy was born in the Canadian city of Winnipeg to a Ukrainian family.

From the age of two, Kulykivskiy lived in a village in western Ternopil Oblast.

He was called up to the Red Army in 1944 at the age of 19. In his local battalion he was the only soldier who had been to school.

Kulykivskiy was promoted to division commander. After a minor wound, he was assigned to become an assistant to a medical doctor. After the war, Kulykivskiy worked as a psychiatrist for 38 years in Kyiv before retiring and moving to Lviv.

He doesn't like recalling the battlefield. But he was afraid to shoot. His commander even called him a coward.

But his worst war memory didn't come from fighting. The worst was seeing his fellow Soviet soldiers raping a teenage girl who ran away from shelling in a suburb of Königsberg in present-day Kaliningrad.

"I was begging them to stop, saying, 'What are you doing? She is barely breathing!' But they just told me to 'stand in line,'" he recalls.

The combined Russian-separatist war against Ukraine now weighs on his mind. He's been writing letters to Parliament and the president, trying to persuade them to impose martial law. He believes it will help Ukraine win.

It pains him that he cannot contribute more to Ukraine's victory.

"My heart bleeds that I can't be more active," Kulykivskiy says.

*Kyiv Post* staff writer Yuliana Romanyshyn can be reached at romanyshyn@kyivpost.com.

## Putin denigrates Ukraine's role in World War II victory

→ **1** Ukrainians. There is even nothing to argue about! But one could argue whether the war would have started if the Kremlin did not sign the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact."

The non-aggression treaty, signed on Aug. 23, 1939 by Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, included a secret pact which divided Central and Eastern Europe into Soviet and German spheres of influence.

The evil alliance gave Nazi Germany the green light to invade western Poland a little more than a week later, on Sept. 1, without any fear of Soviet repercussions. Some mark this day as the start of WWII, although Hitler had already annexed Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland and Austria by that time.

On Sept. 17, the Soviet Union launched its own invasion of Poland, occupying Volyn and Halychyna, historical Ukrainian territories which then belonged to Poland.

It took Nazi Germany less than two years to violate its pact with the Soviet Union. On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union.

Some historians consider it pointless

to argue whether Ukraine's contributions to victory were decisive. "We don't know what would have happened," said historian Oleksandr Lysenko.

More than seven million citizens of Soviet Ukraine fought in the Red Army, according to the Institute of History of Ukraine and National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, where Lysenko works. This constituted 23 percent of the Soviet Union's armed forces and the second biggest representation in the Red Army after Russia. Another 300,000 Ukrainians became partisans assisting the Red Army in their operations. Some 100,000 people participated in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as UPA, which fought against Soviets, Nazis and Poles. Another 250,000 Ukrainians fought in the ranks of other allied armies.

Marshals and generals of Ukrainian origin headed more than half of the 15 fronts that operated during the Nazi-Soviet war. The Hero of the Soviet Union title was given to 2,072 Ukrainians. One Ukrainian pilot, Ivan Kozhedub, won the award three times for his success in shooting down 64 German aircraft.

On Jan. 27, 1945, Ukrainians in the

Red Army took part in liberation of Auschwitz, Poland, one of the biggest Nazi concentration camps.

A Ukrainian, Oleksiy Berest, was one of three Red Army soldiers who set the Victory banner at the top of Reichstag building in Berlin few days before Nazi Germany capitulated and unconditionally surrendered on May 8, 1945, for Victory in Europe Day.

After that, Ukrainians in the Soviet army took part in the defeat of Japan's Kwantung Army in the Far East. It was a Ukrainian, Kuzma Derevyanko, who signed Japan's Instrument of Surrender on Sept. 2 the same year, marking the official end of WWII.

But Ukraine was devastated by then, experiencing a second successive decade of mass killings, the first coming when at least 3 million Ukrainians were killed in Stalin's forced famine of the Holodomor, from 1932-33.

By the start of 1945, with the war having killed at least eight million people, the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic dropped to 27.4 million from 41 million as recently as 1941.

Around 3.5 million of the dead were Ukrainian citizens who fought in the Red Army, a casualty rate that

amounted to half of the more than seven million soldiers mobilized into the Red Army.

More than five million civilians were killed, including 1.5 millions Jews murdered in Nazi-occupied Ukraine.

At least 700 cities and some 28,000 villages in Ukraine were destroyed or heavily damaged.

"Demographic and economic losses of Ukraine in this war were terrific," said Volodymyr Viatrovych, head of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance. "And it seems to me we will never know the exact number as there are almost no initial sources."

Viatrovych said that Soviet propaganda hid the enormity of the losses because it would spoil the myth of the great victory.

Russia still keeps its archive on Red Army soldiers, including Ukrainians, closed. Ukraine has just opened its archives of the Soviet secret services after a law adopted by Parliament on April 9, which could shed light on war crimes.

"Immediately after the expulsion of the Nazis from Ukraine, another totalitarian regime – communism – established on its territory," Viatrovych said.

"It also led to terrible losses."

The tragedy of Ukrainians in World War II was that they did not have their own state and fought against each other in the ranks of the Polish Army, the Nazi unit SS Halychyna, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Red Army.

This was another reason Ukraine's losses were so huge.

"This is very complicated and controversial history," Lysenko said. "This is a big tragedy. There is no place for one-sided views here. This is war."

Many view the biggest lesson from WWII for today's 45 million Ukrainians is to fight to keep their independence as a nation. Russia's war in eastern Ukraine has driven home this point at a cost of more than 6,100 people killed thus far in the 13-month old conflict.

As the new war rages on, historians in Ukraine continue to count the victims of WWII. They are kept in a special Book of Remembrance at the war museum in Kyiv. At the moment, the list consists of 6,038,000 names.

And this is not the end.  
*Kyiv Post* freelance writer Oksana Lyachynska can be reached at oksana.lyachynska@gmail.com.



# Death, destruction – and victory



➔ After seizing Kyiv on Sept. 19, 1941, Nazi authorities turned the modern-day Presidential Administration into one of their headquarters (1). Nazi soldiers took over the streets of Kyiv, regarding Ukrainians as subhuman or "untermensch." (2) A Nazi propaganda poster calling June 22, 1941, the day of Adolf Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, as the beginning of the liberation from Soviet terror. Soon after their retreat from the city, Soviet troops blew up most historical buildings in downtown Kyiv with the help of radio-controlled mines (4). On Nov. 3, the 11th century Assumption Cathedral of Kyiv Pechersk Monastery was also blown up (5). The destruction came with the deaths of thousands of Jews and other nationalities, murdered by Nazis in Babyn Yar (6). Paradoxically, life in Nazi-occupied Kyiv included robust street trade (7) and football matches between the conquerors and civilians (8). Ukrainians were used as forced labor in the Third Reich (9). Kyiv was liberated on Nov. 6, 1943, after the bloody battle of the Dnipro River (10). Victory Day on May 9, 1945, in Kyiv was greeted with fireworks at the square featuring Bohdan Khmelnytskiy's monument (11). (Courtesy by Kyiv history museum)





# Top WWII movies involving Ukraine



A screenshot from the Soviet propaganda movie "Ukraine in Flames" ("Battle for our Soviet Ukraine"), shot by Oleksandr Dovzhenko in 1943. (Courtesy)

BY OKSANA TORHAN  
OKSANAUKMA@GMAIL.COM

As the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the victory over Nazism in Europe approaches on May 8, the Kyiv Post picks our choices for the five best movies that feature Ukraine in World War II. All the films are available with English translation or subtitles.

## 'Between Hitler and Stalin - Ukraine in World War II: The Untold Story' (Canada, 2003)

The documentary tells about the struggle between the Nazi and Soviet regimes in a chronological order, from Ukrainian perspective. It was produced by the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center.

The movie features different aspects

of the war: Ukraine as a battlefield of Eastern Europe, the tragedy of Jews, Ukrainian Insurgent Army, forcible repatriation of Ukrainians to the Soviet Union and Ukrainians captured to be slave workers (Ostarbeiters).

The film was produced and directed by Slawko Nowytski and narrated by Jack Palance. It contains eyewitness memories, documentary material, rare film footage, photos and documents

obtained from numerous sources.

Norman Davies, an English historian, commented in the film: "Many people in the West don't realize that Ukrainians, like many of their neighbors, like the Poles, were fighting both against (Adolf) Hitler and against (Joseph) Stalin. And after the Soviet victory in 1945, there was a remnant of the wartime resistance continuing, attempting to resist the Soviet takeover." →21

## Book Review



WITH OKSANA TORHAN  
OKSANAUKMA@GMAIL.COM

## 5 books that enlighten on Ukraine's WWII tragedy

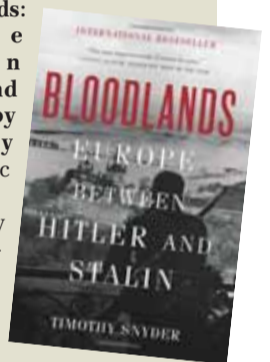
Ukraine's history in World War II was often in the shadows. But after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when many archives were opened for the first time, historians gained an opportunity to learn the truth. The Kyiv Post selected some historical books about Ukraine in World War II that are available in English.

### "Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin" by Timothy Snyder (Basic Books, 2010)

Timothy Snyder, a professor of history at Yale, writes about mass killings committed by Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler. The two regimes left 14 million people murdered. Snyder outlines the history of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and the Baltic states. The author offers a fresh account of the civilian victims of famine, Holocaust, and war.

The book was awarded by numerous prizes: the 2013 Hannah Arendt prize for political thought, the Leipzig book prize for European understanding, the Phi Beta Kappa Society Emerson Book Award; the Gustav Ranis International History Prize.

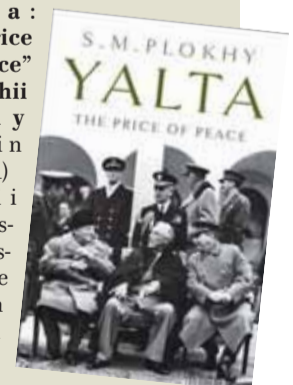
Price at Amazon.com: \$13.78



### "Yalta: The Price of Peace" by Serhii Plokhy (Penguin Books, 2011)

Serhii Plokhy, history professor at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, writes about the Yalta conference of 1945 when Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Josef Stalin met in Crimea to negotiate about Europe's postwar future. It was the pivotal meeting that planned the defeat of Nazi Germany.

Plokhy gives an overall view of what happened in Yalta. He describes the eight-day-long meeting, using data from all three sides, including the fresh informa- →21



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# Kyiv Post's Best of Kyiv awards still hang on walls of winners

*Editor's Note: This is another article in the Kyiv Post 20th Anniversary Series to mark the newspaper's founding on Oct. 18, 1995. All articles in the series, as well as some Kyiv Post classic articles of yesteryear, can be found at [www.kyivpost.com](http://www.kyivpost.com), under the hot topic "Kyiv Post's 20th Anniversary Series."*

BY DARYNA SHEVCHENKO  
SHEVCHENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

Almost five years after the Kyiv Post held its last Best of Kyiv contest, winners still proudly and prominently display their awards in their establishments.

In O'Brien's Irish Pub, a popular expat hangout, an entire wall by the second-floor bar is devoted to Best of Kyiv diplomas.

"We won the Best Beer Choice, the Best Breakfast and the Best Pub. We were picked best in a lot of categories," said bar manager Ihor Nosenko. O'Brien's took home at least five awards in the 10 years of the Best of Kyiv's existence.

The Kyiv Post launched the contest in 2000 "to honor the businesses that make the difference in Kyiv community," according to the newspaper's first publisher, Jed Sunden, and former chief editor, Greg Bloom, in the first Best of Kyiv Awards supplement.

Years after the last contest took place, Nosenko said that the diplomas are more than a sweet reminder of good times. "They mark the whole epoch of very active restaurant life that ended then," he said, referring to the last Best of Kyiv supplement in 2010.

Stuart McKenzie, the managing director of Pulse Marketing Agency, a co-owner of Shooter's nightclub, said the Best of Kyiv awards "were a good way to keep in touch with where to go, what was new, what was good."

McKenzie, who also serves as president of the Kyiv Lions Club, was emcee for the penultimate Best of Kyiv gala in 2009, a year before the newspaper retired the awards in 2010.

The Best of Kyiv events and contests helped the local community – particularly expatriates – bond, McKenzie said. He also thinks the recognition

helped some winners attract business. Shooter's won the best nightclub category in 2009.

McKenzie noted that Arizona Bar BQ, one of the first expat hangouts in independent Ukraine, had a Best of Kyiv award on its wall "from the first year until they closed it down in the last year." He said that trust in the Kyiv Post is why people and businesses still display the awards. "If it was just any old newspaper, you wouldn't have the pride of putting it on the wall," he said.

Yaroslavna Onishchuk, the general director of TGI Fridays, said their awards are still on the wall of their administrative office. "Back then we were a big chain, and we are just one restaurant now – so the diplomas inspire us for future achievements," Onishchuk said.

The award's launch coincided with the Kyiv Post's 5th anniversary. The winners were initially picked by a jury of community leaders and Kyiv Post staff. The number of categories increased to several dozen at times, with winners eventually chosen by a combination of online vote and jury panel. The first award winners included McDonalds (best multinational company), Chumak (best Ukrainian company with foreign investment) and Obolon (best Ukrainian company).

## KyivPost 20<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY SERIES

The first restaurant awards came in 2003 and soon became one of the most prestigious honors.

"I can remember only a few contests and events held at such a level," says Svitlana Yastrubenko, the owner of the Docker Pub, also an award winner. "I remember myself being so proud to be at the ceremony and getting the award."



The Kyiv Post's Best of Kyiv awards are still proudly and prominently displayed in O'Brien's Irish Pub, nearly five years after the newspaper ended the 10-year contest that ran from 2000-2010. The Kyiv Post is celebrating its 20th year in business throughout 2015 by republishing its best stories and recalling its best events. First person stories are also published online by current and former staff members, readers and advertisers, throughout the year. A September Kyiv Post gala will be held. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Olha Yakovets, an administrator of Oliva Restaurant on Velyka Vasylkivska Street, said the restaurant's award in 2010 carried special meaning. "We had this whole stratum of clients – foreigners and expats, who, we knew, would read the paper and value our victory," she explained. "It meant something to them, so it meant a lot to us."

Other Best of Kyiv winners agreed. "We know the paper has a qualitative audience and, besides that, people just like to know what other ordinary people think of their favorite places," Yastrubenko of Docker Pub said.

The Kyiv Post ended the awards in 2010 for a variety of reasons. One was

the effort, time and cost involved in assembling juries, conducting online voting and putting on award banquets. Another was the steady migration online of customer-generated reviews and paid advertising. A third reason was simply that many of the categories and winners were becoming repetitious.

"There was a sense that its time had come and gone," said Kyiv Post chief editor Brian Bonner. "On the news side, we'd be open to reviving it in a way that the community finds useful. But I know the commercial side would need to be convinced that this is a financially viable undertaking."

McKenzie said he thinks that the community would support revival of the Best of Kyiv awards in some fashion, if only to provide people with

another opportunity to get together. "Any high-end networking event is very good for business," McKenzie said. "There's so much happening that people need to share information and thoughts."

Yastrubenko of Docker Pub said restaurants with expat clientele would gladly welcome the contest's revival.

"Due to the latest events in the country, many foreigners fear to come over, but your audience trusts you, so the contest held by the Kyiv Post might be a good boost for our businesses," Yastrubenko explained.

And all would be happy to win again.

Kyiv Post staff writer Daryna Shevchenko can be reached at [shevchenko@kyivpost.com](mailto:shevchenko@kyivpost.com)

## Victory Day events in Kyiv

### March for Peace

A March for Peace will go from the Obelisk in the Park of Eternal Glory near Arsenalna metro station to the Museum of the War History. The march will bring together the military brass bands from several countries. Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko will lead the ceremony of cadets taking an oath.

*March for Peace. Obelisk in the Park of Eternal Glory (Arsenalna metro). May 9, 11:15 a.m. Free*

### 'Remembering 1939-1945' art exhibition

The art exhibition dedicated to the dramatic events of World War II features more than 100 paintings, graphics, sculptures, and documentary materials.

*"Remembering 1939-1945" art exhibition. Museum of Russian Art (9 Tereshchenkivska St.). May 6-8, 10 a.m. – 6 p.m. Hr 35*

### Organ concerts

Musicians of the Organ Hall will per-

form the masterpieces of organ music dedicated to the Day of Memory and Reconciliation on May 8 and Victory Day on May 9.

*Organ concerts. Organ Hall (77 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). May 8-9, 7:30 p.m. Hr 40-140*

### Mozart and Schubert music

Osnabrück Symphony Orchestra from Germany will perform a concert of classical minor music by Austrian Wolfgang Mozart and Franz Schubert.

*Classical music concert. National Philharmonic (2 Volodymyrskiy Uzviz St.). May 9, 7 p.m. Hr 100*

### WWII documents on show

The National Archival Fund presents exhibition of the Nazis instructions, orders, and denunciation reports "Ukraine: The Road to Victory." The show includes letters of Ukrainians that display what daily life was like under

Nazis occupation.

*World War II documents exhibition. State Archive of Public Organizations (8 Kutuzova St.). May 8-15, closed on May 9-11, 9 a.m. – 5 p.m. Free*

### Military Festival

The main idea of the Military Festival is to show a life of soldiers during World War II from the other side. Guests will be able to see where soldiers lived, how they worked in the hospitals, rested at front, and take a picture of that time. A sergeant will teach how to create a camouflage fabric.

*Military Festival. Motocross (Chervonopraporna Street, Purohiv village) May 9, 11 a.m. – 9 p.m. Free*

### WWII family memories exhibition

"Family Memories About War" exhibition displays family photo albums, letters, war stories, and documents - 1,000 exhibits altogether. The exhibits were donated to the museum by the



Children climb tanks near the World War II museum in Kyiv on May 9, 2013. (UNIAN)

offspring of veterans and participants of WWII.

*War World II memories exhibition.*

*War World II Museum (24 Lavrska St.). May 8 and to the end of 2015, 10 a.m. – 4 p.m. Hr 15*

Compiled by Yuliana Romanyshyn



In a Victory Day video Ivan Zaluzhnyi, a 97-year-old World War II veteran from Zaporizhzhia, speaks of his grandson, Ivan Gutnyk-Zaluzhnyi, who died fighting Russian-separatist forces in eastern Ukraine in August 2014. (Courtesy)

## Veteran's poignant story tugs heartstrings in video

BY YULIANA ROMANYSHYN  
ROMANYSHYN@KYIVPOST.COM

As Ukraine prepares to celebrate Victory Day on May 9, several social advertising videos were released and quickly went viral.

The videos came as a response to Russian media propaganda denigrating Ukraine's role in defeating Nazi Germany and accusing many in the nation of sympathizing with Adolf Hitler.

One of the ads, released by the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance on April 30, features the story of 97-year-old World War II veteran Ivan Zaluzhnyi from Zaporizhzhia. In the video he says that he would like to celebrate Victory Day with his grandson, Ivan Gutnyk-Zaluzhnyi, a National Guard battalion commander.

But it will never happen.

His grandson was killed in the war in eastern Ukraine in August 2014. The 23-year-old man was slain by combined Russia-separatist forces near Amvrosiivka in Donetsk Oblast.

"My grandson used to say that he will be defending (his land) like his grandfather," Zaluzhnyi says in the video. "He said, 'I am ready to give my life for the freedom of my Ukraine.'"

The sorrowful video titled "Eternal Glory to the Heroes" was recorded and produced by Ukrainian director Oles Sanin, the winner of the 2004 Oleksander Dovzhenko Ukrainian State Award for the movie "Mama!" (2003).

YouTube users appreciated the video.

"In 1945, this veteran probably couldn't imagine that his grandson would be killed defending his land from the people who called themselves his brothers," Natalia Nikitina commented under the video.

Earlier, a Ukrainian nongovernmental organization, Information Resistance, released two social ads, "Grandfather" and "Grandmother."

In "Grandfather," a young Ukrainian soldier calls his veteran grandfather with Victory Day congratulations. After a short and touching talk, the

soldier goes into battle. In the end, a slogan shows up: "We remember, we are proud, we will win."

In the second video, "Grandmother," a nurse from a war hospital gives a similar call to her veteran grandmother.

Actors Nina Antonova and Volodymyr Talashko, who played the roles of grandmother and grandfather, are known for their acting parts in Soviet war movies.

The ads were produced by Tabasco advertising company and Lime Lite Studio and directed by Israeli director Eli Sverdlov. The two videos gained 1 million views in just first two days since their release date on April 27.

Normally, a production of two such videos would cost more than \$2 million, according to Volodymyr Yatsenko, the general producer of Lime Lite Studio. But a filming crew of 60 people agreed to work for free to make the videos.

Kyiv Post staff writer Yuliana Romanyshyn can be reached at romanyshyn@kyivpost.com.

## Ukraine's role in WWII comes alive in these 5 books

→19 tion he discovered researching archives in Russia.

Price at Amazon.com: \$14.49

"The Living and the Dead: the Rise and the Fall of the Cult of the World War II in Russia" by Nina Turmakina (Basic Books, 1995)

Nina Turmakina, history professor at Wellesley College, examines the cult of the Great Patriotic War in Russia. She writes about the way the Soviet regime played with people's patriotic feelings, transforming the tragedy of war into a heroic story.

Turmakina was an adviser to U.S. President Ronald Reagan. She served as one of six "Soviet experts" who briefed the president, vice president, and key officials before Reagan's historic first meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 at the Geneva Summit. President Bill Clinton read "The Living and the Dead," preparing for his visit to Moscow for the Victory Day in 1995.

Price at Amazon.com: \$20.82

"The Soviet History of World War II. Myth, Memories, and Realities" by Matthew P. Gallagher (Greenwood Press Reprint, 1963)

Likewise Turmakina, Matthew P. Gallagher also researches the

interpretation of war in the Soviet Union and the distortion of historical facts. The authorities created the postwar official line of Soviet belief: magnifying the role of the Stalin and the Party.

The author pointed up that an exact story of the WWII can't be read from Soviet historical books because of the USSR historical policy.

Price: \$18.32

"Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine Under Nazi Rule" by Karel Berkhoff (Belknap Press, 2004)

Karel Berkhoff is an associate professor at the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. He also teaches at the University of Amsterdam. In the book, Berkhoff researches the reality of life under the German occupation regime in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

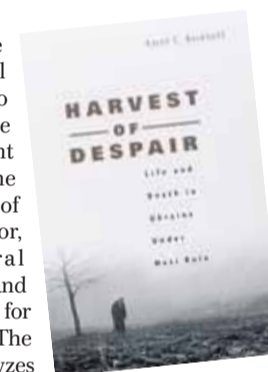
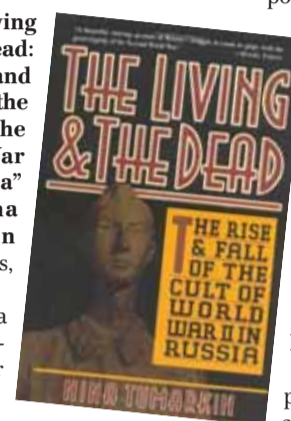
The historian shows the Nazi

policies in Ukraine and local reaction to it. Ukraine was meant to become a source of cheap labor, agricultural products, and empty lands for expansion. The author analyzes the impact of Soviet repressive practices onto the Ukrainians which sometimes led to little resistance to invaders.

The book is based on the research paper that won Berkhoff the 2001 Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History.

Price at Amazon.com: \$26.36

Kyiv Post staff writer Oksana Torhan can be reached at oksanaukma@gmail.com



## These movies tell Ukraine's war story

→19 'Golden September. The Galician Chronicles 1939-1941' (Ukraine, 2010)

This Ukrainian documentary film tells about the occupation of western Ukraine by Soviet troops in September 1939. Under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Soviet forces occupied territories and absorbed them to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, redrawing the borders of Europe.

The movie was directed by Taras Himich and produced by Taras Choliy. The score included songs by Ukrainian a capella band Pikardiyska Tertsiya.

In Soviet times all the information about the events featured in the documentary was classified.

'Ukraine in Flames' ('Battle for our Soviet Ukraine') (USSR, 1943)

This Soviet documentary was filmed during World War II by famous director Oleksandr Dovzhenko, whose silent film "Zemlya" ("Land") was named as one of the 12 greatest movies of all time by a group of 117 film historians

and critics at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair.

Released in 1943, "Ukraine in Flames" was a straightforward Soviet propaganda. Dovzhenko's work was censored and the movie was a compromise between the director and the Soviet regime.

The film's role was to encourage people to fight for Soviet Ukraine, as the 1943 was a turning point. That year, Soviet troops launched an offensive in the western front and started the liberation of the occupied territories.

The film includes battle footage produced by Germans and seized by Soviet soldiers.

'In Darkness' (Poland, 2011)

The drama film is based on a true story. It was written by David F. Shamoon and directed by Agnieszka Holland. The movie appeared on the big screens in 2011 and was nominated for an Oscar in the foreign film category.

The film tells the story of Jews during the German occupation of Lviv. The main hero, Leopold Socha knew

the city's sewer system and helped Jews to escape the Holocaust for 14 months.

The film is a Polish-Canadian-German coproduction and based on a book "In the Sewers of Lvov" (1990) by Robert Marshall.

'Haytarma' (Ukraine, 2013)

Shot in Crimean Tatar language, the movie tells a tragic story of the mass deportation of Crimean Tatars by the Soviet regime in 1944.

"Haytarma" is a Crimean Tatar dance, its name literally meaning "return" in Crimean Tatar.

Movie's protagonist Amet Khan Sultan, a Crimean Tatar fighter pilot awarded with the Hero of the Soviet Union medal, comes home for a brief break from the fighting only to witness the eviction of his nation.

The movie was released in 2013 and directed by Akhtem Seitablaev. Many of the Crimean Tatars in the movie were real victims of the deportation.

Kyiv Post staff writer Oksana Torhan can be reached at oksanaukma@gmail.com



Canadian documentary "Between Hitler and Stalin - Ukraine in World War II: The Untold Story" (2003) tells the story of WWII from Ukraine's perspective. (Courtesy)



May 12-13



(Courtesy)

## Gastro Project Workshop

Gastro Project will hold a conference for restaurant's owners, professional cooks, and amateur chefs. It includes cooking classes that will uncover the secrets of molecular gastronomy, desserts, and coffee making.

**Gastro Project Workshop. Nivki Hall (84 Peremohy Ave.). May 12-13, 10 a.m. – 6 p.m. Hr 1,500 (including workshops), Hr 750 (without workshops)**

May 14-16



(canactions.com)

## Canactions Festival

Canactions, an annual architectural festival, invites those interested in modern architecture and urban innovation. Canactions will also award the best architecture project in a contest among young people.

**Canactions Festival. Art Cluster (7B Inzhenerna St.). May 14-16, 1 p.m. – 8 p.m. Hr 50 for one-day ticket, Hr 180 for all-day ticket**

May 9



(Rome/facebook)

## Rome band to play

The Luxemburg music band Rome will perform in Kyiv for the first time. The band was founded in 2005 and plays music in industrial folk style. Frontman Jerome Reuter, a poet, writes the band's lyrics.

**Rome Music Show. Atlas (37-41 Artema St.). May 9, 7 p.m. Hr 250-300**

## Druga Rika

Ukrainian rock band Druga Rika will present its new album "Supernation" with the Orchestra of Folk Instruments Naoni. The show involves more than 30 folk instruments.

**Druga Rika. Opera Theater (50 Volodymyrska St.). May 14, 7 p.m. Hr 490-1,590**



(Druga Rika)

May 14

## Aviation Festival

The First Aviation Festival will show 50 models of light aircraft like the Beechcraft Baron D55, An-2 and Extra 330. Parachute jumpers and acrobats will perform a show in the sky while the planes will make demonstrational flights.

**Aviation Festival. Kyiv Chaika Airfield (5 Antonova St., village Petropavlivska Borshchahivka). May 16-17, 12 p.m. – 8 p.m. Hr 120**



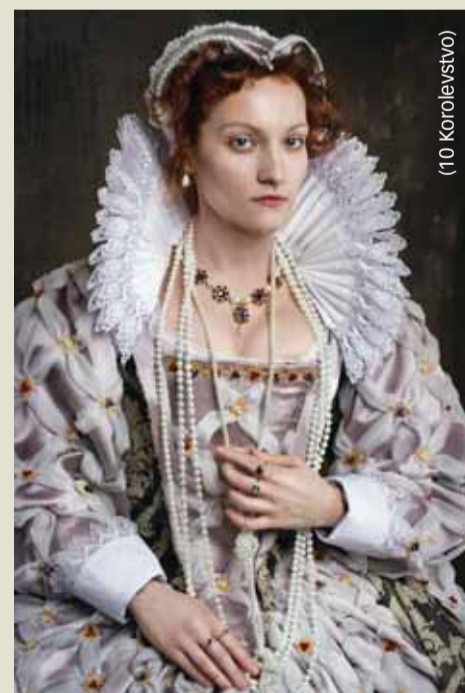
(aeroclubchayka.kiev.ua)

May 16-17

## Costumes exhibition

Some 30 reconstructed costumes from the 14th-20th centuries will be on display in an exhibit put on by the Museum of Western and Oriental Art and 10th Kingdom design studio.

**Costumes exhibition. Museum of Western and Oriental Art (15-17 Tereshchenkivska St.). April 30 – June 7, 10:30 a.m. – 5:30 p.m. Hr 50**



(10 Korolevstvo)

April 30 – June 7



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Under the supervision of the Communication Officer, the person will be responsible for strategic partnership building with key target groups, digital outreach, public campaigns in support of effective programme delivery, timely production of communication assets and organization of advocacy events.

Please submit your applications to [recruitment\\_kiev@unicef.org](mailto:recruitment_kiev@unicef.org). More detailed information can be found at [www.unicef.org/ukraine/overview\\_10566.html](http://www.unicef.org/ukraine/overview_10566.html)



**Pact** seeks a **Finance Team Leader** for USAID funded Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms project aimed to strengthen and assist leading pro-reform Ukrainian civil society organizations

Finance Team Leader is responsible for full cycle of financial management of the project; strategic planning and budget development; audit and finance; internal controls; policies and procedures compliance; control program expenditures and ensure timely billing and expense collection; prepare monthly financial reports, and performs additional duties as assigned. Financial Team Leader plays a key role in leading the finance team and provides overall financial support and advice to Pact Ukraine finance team and Country Director.

**Education and Experience Requirements:**

- BA/BS in Finance, Accounting, or related field required, CPA Certification preferable;
- At least 3-years of relevant experience with USAID-funded project preferred;
- Knowledge of Ukrainian and international accounting standards;
- Knowledge of Ukrainian accounting rules and laws;
- Excellent computer skills are required, including database, spreadsheets, ERP software (Excel, Microsoft Dynamics NAV or similar) and word processing;
- Fluent Ukrainian, English and Russian language skills, both written and spoken.

**To Apply:** Please send your CV and cover letter to [jobs@pact.org.ua](mailto:jobs@pact.org.ua) and put "Financial Team Leader" in the subject by May 20, 2015. Short-listed candidates will be invited for interview.



**Management Sciences for Health implementing the USAID funded Systems for Improved Access to Pharmaceuticals and Services project is looking for a Senior Technical Advisor – Supply Chain Policy and Management**

Interested professionals may access a full job description and apply online at <https://jobs-msh.icims.com/jobs/8160/senior-technical-advisor> or email a CV to [uasiaps@msh.org](mailto:uasiaps@msh.org). CV submission deadline May 27, 2015

**HEALTH CONSULTANCY OPPORTUNITY**

Deloitte is seeking resumes for the following position:

**REGIONAL COORDINATOR DNIPROPETROVSK.**

These positions will support 'HIV Reform in Action', a five year USAID project.

For qualifications and job descriptions refer to: [www.kyivpost.com/employment/job/174](http://www.kyivpost.com/employment/job/174)

**A national environmental NGO, implementing international projects and operating as a network of local branches, seeks highly qualified professionals for the following full-time positions:**

**Programme Director**

For detailed job description and qualifications please visit [www.mama-86.org.ua](http://www.mama-86.org.ua)

Qualified candidates are invited to submit their CV and motivation letter in English till **24 June 2015** to [job@mama-86.org.ua](mailto:job@mama-86.org.ua), indicating the position sought in the subject line.

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Kyiv Post

# EMPLOYMENT FAIR

# #peoplematter



May 16, 2015  
10<sup>00</sup> — 16<sup>00</sup>



The Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce & Industry  
33 Velyka Zhytomyrska St.

## Seminar schedule



10:00 — 10:45

Roman Waschuk, Ambassador of Canada to Ukraine

*“Going global: as an individual, as an organization, as a nation”*



13:30 — 14:15

Sasha Borovik, Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine

*“Taking risks in your career”*



11:00 — 11:30

Company workshop

Auchan



14:15 — 15:00

Vyacheslav Klimov, Co-Founder, Nova Poshta

*“What does market expect from you?”*



11:30 — 12:00

Company workshop

ACCA



15:00 — 15:45

Dimitri Podoliev, Co-Founder and CEO of Seed Forum Eastern Europe Foundation and co-founder of the iHUB incubator network

*“What it takes to be an entrepreneur”*



12:00 — 12:45

Yuriy Golianych, Managing Director Ukraine & Eurasia, Mondelez International

*“Being a CEO: what it actually takes”*



15:45 — 16:30

Nataliya Bugayova, CEO of Kyiv Post

*“Getting into Harvard”*



13:00 — 13:30

Company workshop

METRO Cash&Carry

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