

Scourging of a Nation

CBS and the Defamation of Ukraine

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Respectfully dedicated to the memory of
Drs Walter Dushnyck and Alexander Granovsky,
two patriotic Americans who were in the forefront of the battle
against the Soviet-inspired defamation of the
Ukrainian national liberation movement
in the 1930s and 1940s.

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Illustration from Paladij Osynka, *Album of a Political Prisoner* (Munich: 1946)
(Illustration entitled: "*Arbeit macht frei*." – Labor will set you free.)

Yellow journalism is fast becoming a **CBS** norm.

A recent example was the **CBS** TV's **60 MINUTES** broadcast of 23 October 1994, *The Ugly Face of Freedom*, which purported to be about present-day Ukraine.

The program distorted historical fact, provided mistranslations of statements originally made in Ukrainian, altered dates on which events allegedly occurred, used statements out of context, produced unsubstantiated photos, accepted statements from discredited sources at face value, and, in numerous instances, employed half-truths to insinuate that a rising tide of anti-Semitism exists in western Ukraine.

The program opened with a Morley Safer monologue, identifying Ukraine as "a nation of 52 million people, the world's third largest nuclear power, and now free after 300 years of outside rule." Emphasizing that Ukraine is "hardly a unified entity," Safer focused attention on the western Ukrainian city of Lviv (spelt "Lvov," in Russian), which he described as being on "a binge of ethnic nationalism."

Ukraine for Ukrainians! can have "a frightening ring," noted Safer, "especially in a nation that barely acknowledges its part in Hitler's final solution." The camera then focused on a square in Lviv, where a group of Ukrainian men and women are having a discussion. One man says: "We Ukrainians do not have to rely on Americans and kikes."

From the outset, facts conflict with what **CBS** presented as reality in today's Ukraine.

Protesting the program's distortions in a letter to **CBS**, Yaakov Bleich, Chief Rabbi of Ukraine, reminded **CBS** that "former [Ukraine] president Leonid Kravchuk had publicly apologized for the crimes of those few Ukrainians who collaborated with the Nazis in the persecution and killing during World War II of Ukrainian Jews..."

The Ukrainian man interviewed in the street, moreover, used the term “**zhyd**” to refer to Jews, not “kikes.” In western Ukraine and Poland the proper translation of “**zhyd**” is “Jew.” In eastern Ukraine and in Russia the term for Jew is “Yevrey” (meaning Hebrew). “**Zhyd**,” in Russian, would be translated either as “yid” or “kike.” This anomaly was noted in Nikita Khrushchev’s memoirs. On his first visit to western Ukraine he was surprised to discover that “**zhyd**” was not a pejorative term. He writes:

I remember that once we invited Ukrainians, Jews, and Poles...to a meeting at the Lvov opera house. It struck me as very strange to hear the Jewish speakers at the meeting refer to themselves as “yids.” “We yids hereby declare ourselves in favour of such-and-such.” Out in the lobby after the meeting I stopped some of these men and demanded, “How dare you use the word “yid?” Don’t you know it’s a very offensive term, an insult to the Jewish nation?”“Here in the Western Ukraine it’s just the opposite,” they explained. “We call ourselves yids...Apparently what they said was true. If you go back to Ukrainian literature...you’ll see that “yid” isn’t used derisively or insultingly.”¹

Having set the stage with this blatant linguistic distortion, **60 MINUTES** the scourging. Rabbi Yaakov Bleich appears on screen and says: “There is, obviously, a lot of hatred in these people that are – that are expounding these things and saying you know – obviously if someone, you know screams, ‘Let’s drown the Russians in Jewish blood,’ there isn’t much love lost there”. Later, the rabbi is heard to say: “They’re saying they want the Jews out. They want the Jews out, they want the Russians out, they want everybody out that’s not an ethnic Ukrainian.”

Asked during a subsequent interview with a reporter from *The Ukrainian Weekly* (13 November 1994) to whom he was referring when he mentioned “they,” Rabbi Bleich replied that he was “talking about the extremists that they [CBS] had taken footage of. I certainly didn’t mean the Ukrainian government or the population at large. I mean, that’s crazy. That’s really a sick quote.”

As for how his statements were used, the rabbi replied unequivocally: "They were taken out of context. I think the whole thing is sick. The whole broadcast. It just shows the sickness of journalism. The problem is that some journalists do that for a living. They take people's words, and then they twist people's minds. They do that in print too."

CBS next shows a group of uniformed men marching and shouting **Slava Natsiyi! Slava Natsiyi!** Immediately following is war footage of Jews being rounded up, then a close-up of Simon Wiesenthal being interviewed.

Morley Safer explains: "The Jews of Lvov have reason to be concerned. These are the kinds of scenes they've been seeing lately, Ukrainian ultranationalist parties asserting themselves now that Soviet communism is gone. Their chants and banners mimic another, more fearsometime. The place they're marching in was once called Adolf Hitler Square. The same square greeted Hitler's troops 50 years ago as liberators. Thousands of Ukrainians joined the SS and marched off to fight for Nazism. In the process, they helped to round up Lvov's Jews, helped march more than 140,000 of them to extinction, virtually every Jew in Lvov. Among those who watched in horror was a young man who was to become the world's number one Nazi hunter, Simon Wiesenthal. Now living in Vienna, he remembers that even before the Germans arrived, Ukrainian police went on a three day killing spree."

More half-truths and disinformation. The words **Slava Natsiyi!** (**Glory to the Nation**) are never translated. What the unsuspecting audience hears are chants which can be easily misconstrued to suggest Ukrainian praise of Nazism.

Mention is later made about how the people marching are members of a political party that won three seats in the Ukrainian parliament. However, the fact that Ukraine's parliament has a total of 450 seats is not. Three out of 450 is hardly representative.

While the Ukrainians and other "captive nations" of the Soviet Empire did welcome the Germans as liberators (anything, they believed, was preferable to Stalinist terror) their infatuation was short-lived. No mention is ever made by **CBS** about how, within a few days of the Nazi invasion,

Ukrainians began organizing an anti-Nazi underground which eventually grew into a national liberation movement second to none in Europe.

The fact that there was no Ukrainian police force in Lviv prior to the arrival of the German army is also ignored. Ukraine was under Soviet occupation until 22 June 1941. Whatever police may have been active in Lviv would have been under Soviet control.

Yet Wiesenthal continues: "And in three days, alone, between 5,000 and 6,000 Jews were killed."

"I get the impression from people that the actions of the Ukrainians, if anything, were worse than the Germans," Safer intones.

"About the civilians I cannot say this. About the Ukrainian police, yes," replies Mr Wiesenthal.

What the Nazi hunter neglects to mention is that his life was saved by a Ukrainian auxiliary policeman. In telling Wiesenthal's life story, Peter Michael Lingens wrote:

The shooting stopped. Ten yards from Wiesenthal. The next thing he remembers was a brilliant cone of light and behind it a Polish voice: 'But Mr. Wiesenthal, what are you doing here?' Wiesenthal recognized a foreman he used to know, by the name of Bodnar. He was wearing civilian clothes with the armband of a Ukrainian police auxiliary. 'I've got to get you out of here tonight.' Bodnar told the [other] Ukrainians that among the captured Jews he had discovered a Soviet spy and that he was taking him to the district police commissar. In actual fact he took Wiesenthal back to his own flat, on the grounds that it was unlikely to be searched so soon again. This was the first time Wiesenthal survived.²

In another biographical account of Wiesenthal's life, we learn that Bodnar put his life at risk in saving Wiesenthal. As Bodnar was filing past a German sergeant, with Wiesenthal in tow, he was stopped. The German sergeant, already a little drunk, slapped Bodnar's face and said: "Then what are you standing around for? If this is what you people are

like, then later we'll all have troubles. Report back to me as soon as you deliver them [Wiesenthal along with a fellow prisoner]." ³

During a visit I had with Mr Wiesenthal, in 1977, he admitted that his life had been saved by a Ukrainian. He never told me what happened to Bodnar but when I asked him if he believed all Ukrainians were anti-Semitic, he replied, in flawless Ukrainian, "Absolutely not. The line that divides good and evil people runs through all nations."

None of that sentiment came through in the **60 MINUTES** interview.

Safer continues: "Many of the Ukrainian men of Lvov who marched off as members of the SS never returned, killed fighting for Hitler. But last summer, a good number of the survivors, veterans of the *SS Galician Division*, did return for a reunion laid on by the Lvov City Council. Ukrainian SS veterans now living in Canada, the United States and Ukraine. Nowhere, certainly not in Germany, are the SS so openly celebrated. And for this reunion, Cardinal Lubachivsky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, gave his blessing, just as his predecessor did to the SS more than 50 years ago."

Cardinal Lubachivsky appears. He is asked if he held a ceremony for the *Galician SS*. "Yes."

"And – they – you held a mass for these people," Safer exclaims.

"No," was the cardinal's response. "See. We didn't fight anybody here. We fought against the Russians in Austria and Yugoslavia, and we were under the Germans. We had to do whatever they want. We could not – we couldn't do anything that we want ourselves, really."

"The Ukrainian militia, the police, killed 3,000 people in two days here," Safer responded.

"It is not true," insists the cardinal.

More war footage follows, showing Jews being rounded up by non-descript individuals. Safer continues: "It is horribly true to Simon Wiesenthal. Like thousands of Lvov Jews, his mother was led to her death by the Ukrainian police. These are the remnants of a film the Germans

made of Ukrainian brutality. The German high command described the Ukrainian behaviour as 'praiseworthy.'"

Cardinal Lubachivsky's first response, a firm "No," was clearly taken out of context. There was a memorial liturgy and the cardinal would hardly have denied it. The remainder of his remarks, while authentic, were also taken out of context. In an interview, published in *The Ukrainian Weekly* (6 November 1994), the cardinal explained that he was, in effect, ambushed. "I must also add that my office was misled as to the actual thrust of the report," for "Mr [Jeffrey] Fager [the producer] presented the piece as one about 'post-Communist Ukraine'...I can only deduce that the goal of the report was to present all western Ukrainians as rabid anti-Semites."

Cardinal Lubachivsky was correct when he denied that Ukrainians helped kill 3,000 Jews in Lviv following the German invasion. According to a reputable Jewish source, Isaac Landam:

Nazi troops and agents spread anti-Jewish reports among the Ukrainian population, which, however, remained sympathetic toward the Jews refusing to participate in the massacres and in many instances giving shelter to refugee Jews from the Ukraine, Poland, and other parts of Eastern Europe.⁴

Another Jewish writer, Leo Heiman, reflecting on Nazi dissatisfaction with the Ukrainians, had this to say:

Each occupied nation had its share of pro-Nazi collaborators and the Ukrainians were no exception. The results of diligent Nazi efforts to organize "Ukrainian pogrom mobs" were disappointing, however. According to official German documents introduced by the prosecution during the Eichmann trial, the Nazi commander of *SD Einsatzgruppe "Kommando Lemberg"* complained to his superiors that... "to rely on local people to take the law of retribution in their own hands, and themselves carry out final solution measures against Jews is hopeless..."⁵

Many Ukrainians were involved in the rescue of Jews during the Nazi occupation. On 8 November 1992, *The Ukrainian Weekly* reported that during the first Jewish Congress of Ukraine, held in Kiev, “48 awards were handed out to Ukrainians and people of other nationalities who had rescued Jews during the Second World War.” None of this, of course, found its way into the **CBS** broadcast.

Commenting further on his **CBS** interview, Cardinal Lubachivsky reflected on how his predecessor, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, was treated by **60 MINUTES**: “If the producer of the report, Jeffrey Fager, and the correspondent Morley Safer, were interested in presenting a balanced report, I believe they would have included the fact that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky distributed a pastoral letter against the persecution of Jews in Ukraine titled *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, and the clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, particularly Metropolitan Sheptytsky, hid hundreds of Jews in monasteries and convents.”

This fact is confirmed by one of the Jewish-Ukrainian survivors, David Kahane, former Chief Rabbi of the Israeli Air Force. When the Jewish situation in Lviv began to deteriorate, writes Rabbi Kahane, he and one of his colleagues paid a visit to Metropolitan Sheptytsky:

He asked us detailed questions about living conditions in the ghetto. Everything interested him. It was clear that the current Jewish tragedy moved him to the bottom of his soul. He had even lodged a strong protest with Himmler against employing Ukrainian youth as executioners of the Jews and inciting one people against another. He received a stiff and coarse response...He told us he was issuing a pastoral letter to the Ukrainian people and the clergy on the subject of mercy, in which he stated emphatically that in times of trial one must pity not only the Ukrainians and Christians, but everyone, regardless of religion...As for saving our children, he stated his willingness to accept little boys and girls immediately...As for ourselves, his home was open to us at all times. In times of peril we could count on his assistance despite the fact that sheltering Jews entailed deadly risk. ⁶

This visit to Sheptytsky is also described by another historian of the Holocaust, Martin Gilbert:

The two rabbis asked Sheptytsky if he would find a hiding place for several Jewish children. Sheptytsky agreed, and asked both his brother and sister to help. His brother, Father Superior Clement Sheptytsky, was the spiritual head of the Uniate monasteries. His sister, Sister Josepha, was the Mother Superior of the Uniate nunneries. Both agreed to help, and 150 Jews, mostly small boys and girls, were found sanctuary. None was betrayed to the Germans. Sheptytsky himself hid fifteen Jews, including Rabbi Kahane, in his own residence in Lvov, a building frequently visited by German officials.⁷

Describing Metropolitan Sheptytsky as “almost saintly,” two Jewish-Canadian authors wrote:

We can never know how many Ukrainians were moved by Sheptytsky’s appeal. Certainly the church set an example. With Sheptytsky’s tacit approval, his church hid a number of Jews throughout western Ukraine, 150 Jews alone in and around his Lviv headquarters. Perhaps some of his parishioners were among those brave and precious few “righteous gentiles” who risked an automatic death penalty for themselves and their families by harbouring a Jew under their roof.⁸

Serious historians emphasize that the several thousand people who were killed in Lviv, just prior to the arrival of the Germans, were Ukrainian patriots, not Jews:

In Lvov, several thousand prisoners had been held in three jails. When the Germans arrived on 29 June, the city stank, and the prisons were surrounded by terrified relatives. Unimaginable atrocities had occurred inside. The prisons looked like abattoirs. It had taken the *NKVD* a week to complete their gruesome task before they fled.⁹

And what about Ukrainians serving in the SS out of loyalty to

Hitler? A half-truth. Ukrainians did serve in the *Waffen SS* but they did not die “for Nazism”. Nor were those Ukrainians involved in the killing of Jews.

The so-called *Galicia Division* (Himmler forbade use of the term “Ukrainian”) was established in the summer of 1943, when the German army was already beginning its retreat from Soviet territories. The rounding up of Ukraine’s Jews, begun in 1941, was essentially complete before the division was raised. The only Ukrainian Jews who did survive until 1943 were those being sheltered by other Ukrainians.

[In 1943] tens of thousands of Jews were still in hiding throughout the General Government [western Ukraine], the Eastern Territories and the Ukraine. But German searches for them were continuous.¹⁰

The *Galicia Division*, properly identified, at first, as the *SS Volunteer Division “Galicia”* became, from June 1944, the *14th Volunteer Grenadier Division of the SS, 1st Galician*. According to Ukrainian and German sources, the division was unique because (1) it was strictly a combat unit and so played no role in the management of concentration camps or death camps; (2) its Ukrainian members wore a lion rampant instead of an “SS” on their right collars during most of the life of the division; (3) its ranks and titles were those of the *Wehrmacht* rather than the *SS*; (4) it was accompanied by Ukrainian chaplains who attended to the spiritual needs of the troops; (5) it was kept separate from other German forces; (6) it was created with the proviso that it never be used against the Western Allies but only against Soviet forces on the Eastern front.¹¹

The *Galicia Division* fought the Soviets in a major engagement near the Ukrainian town of Brody. Decimated, its remnants retreated west. In early 1945, its survivors were regrouped into the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army, under the leadership of General Pavlo Shandruk. These Ukrainians all believed that the military training and experience they were receiving under German tutelage would allow them to establish a Ukrainian army capable of freeing Ukraine from the Soviets. Some of these Ukrainian veterans did indeed stay in Ukraine, joining the ranks of the underground. Others moved west where they fought with the French underground against the Nazis. Most ended up marching into northeastern Italy where the Ukrainian National Army surrendered to British forces.

A former OSS operative, and later chief of the CIA, William Casey, has this to say about Ukrainian involvement with the *Confracon maquis* in France:

The *Confracon maquis* numbered 200 well-armed and well-organized men who worked together with 700 men in German uniforms. These were the "Russians" Booth had heard about in England, only in fact they were Ukrainians. Like so many vignettes of the war, this one had a shooting script quality. In August, a German major and thirty SS officers rode into the area on horseback with 700 Ukrainians, then in German service, and 87 German non-coms walking on foot behind. They were to destroy the *maquis*. But the Ukrainians had had enough. Their ranking officer, a major named Holba, secretly met with the *maquis* to arrange for an ambush. Several nights later, the Ukrainians struck. A pitched battle followed in which the entire German cadre was wiped out. For several weeks this force of 900 seasoned troops had harassed Germans retreating up the twin roads from Dijon and Bescancon...¹²

These were the kind of men who held a reunion in Brody during the summer of 1994.

In the remaining minutes of the program, Morley Safer takes the viewer on a tour of the infamous Janowska Jewish ghetto. There, according to Safer, 200,000 Jews were killed. "Nothing marks what happened here," Safer tells his audience.

The figure of 200,000 dead seems inflated, especially for a camp that was never a Nazi extermination centre. Rabbi Kahane mentions that hundreds of Jews died in the ghetto but most were obviously killed elsewhere:

In January 1943, Jewish Lvov, the reduced and shrivelled ghetto, was the scene of one of the most bloody *Aktionen* unleashed against the Jews of Lvov. Before loading their victims onto the trains bound for Belzec, the Germans were stripping them practically naked.¹³

Next in the **CBS** thrashing of Ukraine, a newspaperman is quoted, again through the same interpreter, as saying: "Ukrainian villagers who represent the spirit of Ukraine have long considered the Jews to be exploiters, and this is reflected in jokes and anecdotes. In the terms of the Soviet Union, which is abbreviated *SSSR*, that stands for three kikes and one Russian."

If one listens closely, and understands the Ukrainian language, what the newspaperman actually does is use the word "**yevrey**" to identify Jews. He does not use the word "**zhyd**." A small point, but significant in underscoring the apparent bias of the translator.

Rabbi Bleich then mentions two physical attacks on Jews, one in a small town where "elderly Jews were attacked at knife point" and another in the Carpathian region.

"As troubling to Jews as nasty incidents and verbal abuse are the heroes and symbols chosen by this new nation," Safer continues. "Street names have been changed. There is now a Petlyura Street. To Ukrainians, Simon Petlyura was a great general, but to Jews, he's the man who slaughtered 60,000 Jews in 1919."

The viewer is shown a statue of Roman Shukhevych and Stefan Bandera, a dedication ceremony, street signs, and plaques. Safer states, "Roman Shukeyavitch is also memorialized. He was the deputy commander of the *SS* Division Nightingale. And then there's Stephan Bandera. To Ukrainians, Bandera is the father of the modern state. Peace Street in Lvov has been renamed Bandera Street. He's considered a great patriot, even though the Jews remember him as the leader of a notorious army of murderers."

"Now when someone puts up as his hero someone who we consider a murderer," Rabbi Bleich comments, "and you respect them even though you understand you are not respecting him because he is a murderer, whatever, that does send shivers down – you know, down your spine."

"The western Ukraine is fertile ground for hatred," charges Safer. "Independence only underlined its backwardness; uneducated peasants, deeply superstitious, in possession of this bizarre anomaly; nuclear

weapons capable of mass destruction thousands of miles away, the Soviet legacy. Western Ukraine also has a long dark history of blaming its poverty, its troubles, on others.”

Speaking through the same translator, a Ukrainian newspaperman is heard to say “kikes have better chances here than even the original population.”

“Than the Ukrainians?” asks Safer.

“Yes,” answers the newspaperman. “This newspaper considers the government’s chief task should be the well-being of the Ukrainian population, first and foremost.”

The next scene features an interview with Monsignor Dacko, of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the cardinal’s deputy. The monsignor points out, quite accurately, that the Jews of Ukraine traditionally identified with the ruling class and controlled much of the business in the city of Lviv. “And in the eyes of the peasant [most of whom lived in the countryside],” Monsignor Dacko explains, “the Jew was looked upon as an exploiter.” Dacko emphasizes that Ukrainians were hardly in a position to mount a pogrom against the Jews because they were never in full command of their national destiny. “What happened during World War II is a sad history,” he concludes. “...there were Ukrainians who were guards or perhaps persecuted the Jews. But identifying the Ukrainians as a strictly anti-Semitic society is unfair.”

The monsignor’s remarks are followed by scenes of a church service, men praying, and a torchlight parade.

“The church and government of Ukraine have tried to ease people’s fears,” concludes Safer, “suggesting that things are not as serious as they might appear; that Ukrainians, despite the allegations, are not genetically anti-Semitic. But to a Jew living here, or to one who only remembers the place with horror, such statements are little comfort among the flickering torches.”

The program ends with a full face view of Simon Wiesenthal who says, “not to believe...”

“What’s your reaction to this?” asks Safer.

“They have not changed,” replies Wiesenthal

That this episode of **60 MINUTES** was riddled with half-truths, revisionist history, and mistranslations should, by now, be evident. But a few additional examples are worth considering:

1. Simon Petlura was the head of The Directory, Ukraine’s third government (the first was the Rada, the second the Hetmanate) during the days of Ukraine’s first republic (1917-1920). The Ukrainian Social Democratic party to which Petlura belonged had a long tradition of friendly relations with Jewish political leaders:

Therefore, the Directory renewed Jewish personal-cultural autonomy [a Ministry for Jewish Affairs was first established by the Rada and abolished by the Hetmanate], attracted prominent Jews such as Arnold Margolin and Solomon Goldelman into its government, appropriated large amounts of money for pogrom victims, and even negotiated with the famous Zionist leader Vladimir Zhabotinsky about the inclusion of Jewish police units into its army. ¹⁴

Initially enlisting anyone who volunteered to fight Ukraine’s enemies, the Directory reluctantly accepted the aid of *otamany* (local war lords) and their rag-tag irregulars. It proved to be a very grave mistake. Unable to control these forces, some of whom took advantage of the anarchy which raged in 1919 in Ukraine by looting and pillaging Jewish households, Petlura issued *Order No. 131* to all of his troops on 26 August 1919:

It is time for you to realize that the Jews together with the majority of the Ukrainian population have recognized the evil of the Bolshevik-Communist invasion and know already where the truth lies. The most important Jewish parties, such as: “Bund,” “United Jewish Socialists,” “Poalei-Zion,” and the People’s Party have decidedly placed themselves on the side of the Ukrainian independent state and are working together hand-in-hand for its good.

It is time for you to understand that the peaceful Jewish population, their children and women, the same as

ourselves, have been oppressed and deprived of their national freedom...I most positively order that all those who are instigating you to pogroms be thrust out of the army, and as traitors to the fatherland be handed over to the court. Let the court punish them according to their crimes by giving them the severest lawful penalty. ¹⁵

As Arnold Margolin, a Ukrainian Jew who served in Petlura's government explained, the order was difficult to enforce in view of the forced retreat of the Ukrainian army:

Day by day the ill-equipped Ukrainian army continued to disintegrate...In the rout, criminal elements perpetrated terrible pogroms upon the Jewish population...These February and March pogroms were surpassed in cruelty and numbers of victims only by the pogroms inflicted by [General] Denikin's [white Russian] army in the fall of 1919. In this period of retreats, the Ukrainian government demonstrated its helplessness: it could not halt the disintegration of the army, stop the pogroms, or reestablish its authority. ¹⁶

Despite their eminent defeat, Ukrainian army regulars behaved honourably. In the words of Solomon I Goldelman:

Still the Ukrainian army retreated in order, at least as regards their relations with the Jewish population, on which now the "black hundreds" of the Denikinites hurled themselves with more fury and sadism than was ever attained by the best pogrom "experts." ¹⁷

The most savage of the pogromists, according to a historian of Ukraine, was Otaman Semeshenko. Irregulars under his command slaughtered several thousand Jews in Prokuriv early in 1919. Captured by Petlura's forces, Semeshenko was court-martialled and executed.

Given Petlura's behaviour throughout his life, he hardly qualifies as the "man who slaughtered 60,000 Jews in 1919."

2. There was a *Nachtigall* (Nightingale) battalion, and a

second, similar unit designated *Roland*. Both were German military units, formed on German territory prior to the outbreak of the war, whose Ukrainian soldiers had joined in the hope of being helpful to the cause of Ukraine's liberation from the Soviets. Neither unit belonged to the SS. Stepan Bandera was the leader of a faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was associated with *Nachtigall* but never a member. Roman Shukhevych was an officer in the unit. On 30 June 1941, soon after *Nachtigall* entered Lviv, Jaroslav Stetsko, one of Bandera's close associates, proclaimed the renewal of an independent Ukrainian state. The Nazis immediately ordered Bandera to rescind the proclamation. When he refused, the Nazis set out to destroy the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Bandera was arrested and spent the duration of the war in Nazi concentration camps. His two brothers, Oleksa (#51020) and Wasyl (#49721), were murdered in Auschwitz. Tens of thousands of other Ukrainian nationalists also perished. The *Nachtigall* unit continued to fight the Soviets until 1942. After its members refused, once again, to take an oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler, the battalion was disbanded and its officers arrested. Roman Shukhevych, the highest ranking Ukrainian officer, escaped. He eventually came to command the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*UPA*), an armed national resistance movement which first fought against the Nazis and then the Soviets, until the early 1950s.

3. Monsignor Dacko was correct when he suggested that the problems between Jews and Ukrainians were not solely the fault of the Ukrainians. As Chaim Potok observes, this problem goes back to at least the 17th century, when western Ukraine was under Polish rule:

Jews continued as partners of the Polish nobility in the effort to colonize, civilize, and Polonize the peasants along the west bank of the Dnieper. They leased the vast estates of the nobles, operated the inns, collected the taxes. ¹⁸

Many Jews were allied closely with the Soviet secret police. According to Leonard Schapiro:

By the time the Bolsheviks seized power, Jewish participation at the highest level of the Party was far from insignificant. Five of the twenty-one full members

of the Central Committee were Jews - among them Trotsky and Sverdlov, the real master of the small but vital secretarial apparatus of the Party...But Jews abounded at the lower levels of the Party machinery - especially in the *Cheka* and its successors, the *GPU*, the *OGPU* and the *NKVD*... It is difficult to suggest a satisfactory reason for the prevalence of Jews in the *Cheka*. It may be that having suffered at the hand of the former Russian authorities they wanted to seize the reins of real power in the new state for themselves.¹⁹

The author of a recent study of the *KGB*, Yevgenia Albats, agonizes over just this issue:

As a Jew, I'm interested in another question entirely: Why were there so many Jews among the *NKVD-MVD* investigators – including many of the most terrible? It's a painful question for me but I cannot evade it.²⁰

What some Jews did as agents of Soviet power to Ukrainians and others does not, of course, justify the negative perceptions or atrocious actions of some Ukrainians against Jews, but it does suggest that the latter's enmity was not simply the result of "genetic anti-Semitism."

The most outwardly devastating testimony presented was, of course, that of Simon Wiesenthal, the famed Nazi hunter. How accurate were his allegations regarding the *Galicia Division*? How good is his record? Consider the following:

► It was Simon Wiesenthal who insisted that Chicago's Frank Walus had been a member of the Gestapo-led auxiliary police unit which persecuted Jews. Walus was convicted by Judge Julius Hoffman, whose courtroom behaviour was so outrageous that an appeal for a re-trial was granted. When irrefutable documentary and eyewitness evidence later surfaced, proving that Walus had spent the war as a farm labourer in Germany, the second trial was cancelled and Walus was exonerated.

► In 1971, Wiesenthal claimed that "several hundred" war criminals were living in Canada, (*The Toronto Star*, 19 May 1971). The number was later inflated to "maybe 1,000" (*The Globe and Mail*, 5 July 1983). It then

shot up to 2,000 (*The Globe and Mail*, 21 November 21, 1983). Three years later, Wiesenthal was claiming a grand total of 6,000 Nazi war criminals living in Canada (*New York Daily News*, 16 May 1986). After a full investigation, Mr Justice Jules Deschênes, chair of Canada's Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals, reported:

Between 1971 and 1986, public statements by outside interveners concerning alleged war criminals residing in Canada have spread increasingly large and grossly exaggerated figures as to their estimated number...[among them] the figure of 6,000 ventured in 1986 by Mr Wiesenthal.²¹

Mr Wiesenthal finally submitted a list of 217 Ukrainian officers who had served in the *Galicia Division* to the Commission. Writes Judge Deschênes:

The Commission has tried repeatedly to obtain the incriminating evidence allegedly in Mr Wiesenthal's possession, through various oral and written communications with Mr Wiesenthal himself and with his solicitor, Mr Martin Mendelsohn of Washington, DC, but to no avail; telephone calls, letters, even a meeting in New York between Mr Wiesenthal and Commission Counsel on 1 November 1985 followed up by further direct communications, have succeeded in bringing no positive results, outside of promises.

It was obvious that the list of 217 officers of the *Galicia Division* furnished by Mr Wiesenthal was nearly totally useless and put the Canadian government, through the *RCMP* [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] and this Commission, to a considerable amount of purposeless work.²²

The final report of the Deschênes Commission concluded that:

► The members of the *Galicia Division* were individually screened for security purposes before admission to Canada.

► Charges of war crimes against members of the

Galicia Division have never been substantiated, either in 1950 when they were first preferred, or in 1984 when they were renewed, or before this Commission.

► Further, in the absence of evidence of participation in or knowledge of specific war crimes, mere membership in the *Galicia Division* is insufficient to justify prosecution.

► No case can be made against members of the *Galicia Division* for revocation of citizenship or deportation since the Canadian authorities were fully aware of the relevant facts in 1950 and admission to Canada was not granted them because of any false representation, or fraud, or concealment of material circumstances.

► In any event, of the 217 officers of the *Galicia Division* denounced by Mr Simon Wiesenthal to the Canadian government, 187 (ie 86 per cent of the list) never set foot in Canada, 11 have died in Canada, 2 have left for another country, no **prima facie** case has been established against 16 and the last one could not be located.²³

Given the above, one can only wonder if Messrs Fager and Safer were really seeking the truth about contemporary Ukraine. Was there any balance to their approach? The evidence cited above suggests not. But there is more.

While the CBS TV crew was filming in Ukraine, in the spring of 1994, a Ukrainian Canadian met them, inquired about their purpose and was told that **60 MINUTES** was preparing an episode on Ukrainian-Jewish relations. That Canadian informed Professor Lubomyr Luciuk, director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and a university teacher in Canada. On 16 May 1994, Dr Luciuk wrote and faxed a letter to Morley Safer, in Lviv, copying his correspondence to Mr Fager in New York, offering **CBS** the benefit of his voluntary services "in the preparation of what I understand is a forthcoming story dealing with western Ukraine in the Second World War period, with a particular emphasis on Ukrainian/Jewish relations." Dr Luciuk wrote:

In 1984, I prepared and successfully defended a dissertation on this and related themes. During the

course of my studies, I interviewed dozens of veterans of the *Ukrainian Division "Galicia"* and others who were involved in assisting with their emigration throughout the West. I have also written extensively on that unit's wartime record and postwar experiences. I hope this suggests that I could be of some use to you. As I am sure you fully realize, the issues involved are controversial, and, unfortunately, have sometimes been presented in a very one-sided manner. Appreciating the quality of your program, I hope that my offer will be a welcome one.

Dr Luciuk never received the courtesy of a response.

What also makes it difficult to believe that the program was not a malevolent attempt to defame a nation is the use **CBS** made of the infamous "gutter girl" photograph. It shows an unidentified teenaged girl, down on her knees, crying, in a gutter. She is being held by another, older woman. This very same photo accompanied a 22 February 1993 **TIME** magazine story, which focused on rape as an instrument of terror in war, particularly in Bosnia. Although Ukrainians were not even mentioned in that story, the photo caption read: "Traditions of Atrocity: Jewish girl raped by Ukrainians in Lvov, Poland, in 1945."

Ukrainian Americans and others protested vehemently and, on 19 April 1993, **TIME** admitted that "more than 750 readers have written" and its staff were forced to investigate further. **TIME** concluded:

Despite our best efforts, we have not been able to pin down exactly what situation the photograph portrays. But there is enough confusion about it for us to regret that our caption, in addition to misdating the picture, may well have conveyed a false impression.

Obviously, **CBS** had no qualms whatsoever about using a photograph whose authenticity and subject-matter are open to serious question.

And, finally, there was that torchlight parade which Morley Safer told us represents so terrifying a spectacle for Ukraine's Jewish community. The marchers were boy scouts. Torch-light parades are an accepted part of the scouting tradition, throughout Europe. Surely Lviv's Jews can recognize scouts, even if Mr Safer can't.

Ukrainians in Ukraine and North America's community were outraged by the 60 MINUTES episode, *The Ugly Face of Freedom*. The following represent the feelings and considered opinions of only a few of those thousands of persons who protested to CBS after the 23 October broadcast:

As an official representative of Ukraine I wish to convey my government's utter resentment at the stridently biased segment on the alleged rise of anti-Semitism in the Ukrainian city of Lviv, in western Ukraine and Transcarpathia...The segment is not only far from being objective and impartial, it is worded in tone and essence as a classic example of "cold war" journalism, hardly befitting a major US network which has a sizable audience in Ukraine. **CBS** co-host Morley Safer has abused his position with a large international audience to insinuate that a newly born independent and democratic Ukraine is "hardly a unified entity" and that Ukrainians are genetically anti-Semitic...We expect that **CBS's 60 MINUTES** will carry a retraction...and present an official apology...If your staff is unable to do an impartial, well-researched report on the state of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine and prefers to resort to trite generalizations ...we strongly advise that you should provide air time to a Ukrainian embassy representative...

Valery Kuchinsky
Chargé d'Affaires of Ukraine, Washington, D.C.

Your blatantly defamatory segment on anti-Semitism in the Ukrainian city of Lviv...attained new levels of journalistic irresponsibility and inaccuracy. Morley Safer's statement impugning all Ukrainians as "genetically anti-Semitic" was so maliciously racist that it may be unique in the recent annals of television...

You aired clips of youth scouting groups in Lviv, falsely implying a renewed "*Hitlerjugend*." You showed footage of Jewish residents being rounded up and a Jewish rape

victim decrying her attackers, and attributed the atrocities to the Ukrainian police. However, the film and photo date from the Soviet occupation of Lviv! This arrogant, even amateurish disregard for truth was pervasive throughout the segment...

*Askold Lozynskyj, President
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America*

The over 60,000 members of the Ukrainian National Association are shocked at the defamatory story on Ukraine...It violated all principles of journalistic ethics...The fact is that there has been less ethnic, racial and religious violence in Ukraine during its three years of independence than there is on any single day on the streets of New York...

*Ulana Diachuk, President
Ukrainian National Association*

An **ad-hoc** committee of ten Ukrainian Americans, representing a cross-section of the community, met with Messrs Safer, Fager and CBS vice-president, Joseph Peyronnin, on 31 October 1994. After a heated exchange, lasting nearly two hours, CBS “pledged to revisit the issue, convene its own meeting of researchers and experts, convene a meeting with Rabbi Bleich when he arrives in the U.S. and make a decision.” This was reported in the 6 November edition of *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

Taking CBS at its word, hundreds of Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainian Canadians prepared and sent quantities of evidence to CBS, demonstrating how egregiously the network had erred. CBS failed to respond to these letters, not even with a form letter acknowledging their receipt.

On 2 November 1994, some 100 Ukrainian Americans demonstrated in front of CBS headquarters in Washington. On 14 November, over 500 Ukrainian Americans demonstrated in front of the CBS production headquarters on West 57th Street, in New York, and at its corporate headquarters ten blocks away. Protests continue to this day.

Jewish Americans also reacted negatively to the CBS slander of Ukraine and Ukrainians.

Brooklyn-born Rabbi Bleich was highly indignant. In his original statement the rabbi made it clear that while some Ukrainians did participate in the Holocaust, “the Ukrainian people should not be blamed collectively for the sins of a few.”

Those “few” represented approximately 0.0002% of Ukraine’s total population of some 45 million people at the time of the Second World War. Their collaboration with the Nazis was, and remains, unforgivable. But, it must also be recalled, there was far less collaboration in Nazi-dominated Ukraine than in other parts of Europe, Vichy France, for example.²⁴

In a subsequent interview with *The Ukrainian Weekly*, published on 6 November, the rabbi also said:

I’ll bring up another issue, because it was something that was distorted by the people from CBS. This is the matter of the renaming of streets. This is not really a matter of concern, the way they made it out to be. I don’t think these people are being honoured for whatever negative things they might have done, right? They are being honoured because they are heroes to Ukraine...

In a 31 October 1994 press release Rabbi Bleich declared:

In conclusion, as an American citizen living in Ukraine for five years, having witnessed Ukraine’s transition from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to a modern democracy, I must state “the beautiful face of freedom” in Ukraine is a lot more predominant than the ugly one. I feel that the CBS broadcast was unbalanced, since it focused on a very small minority, ignoring the majority and the positive achievements of Ukraine in its three years of independence. The revitalization of the Jewish community in Ukraine, which has become the strongest and most flourishing Jewish community in the former Soviet Union, is but one example of the bright side of freedom and democracy in modern Ukraine.

While in New York, in conjunction with a visit to the United States of Ukrainian president, Leonid Kuchma, Rabbi Bleich did meet with Messrs Safer and Fager. *The Ukrainian Weekly* reported, on 1 January 1995, that during the meeting:

Rabbi Bleich requested an on-air reading of his 31 October 1994 statement, in which he faulted the program for having quoted his words “out of the context that they were said” and that “the broadcast did not convey the true state of affairs in Ukraine.” Rabbi Bleich said he would consider this gesture a retraction of sorts. In reply, he was told: “We already read off the Cardinal’s letter and we won’t read yours.” When the Jewish religious leader suggested that 60 MINUTES make another segment, and this time show the positive things about Ukraine, “since there are many more positive aspects to life in the country than what they showed,” Rabbi Bleich reported that Morley Safer said: “Right now we have no interest.” Rabbi Bleich also brought up the issue of the false pretexts under which the interviews were conducted in Ukraine. Cardinal Lubachivsky had been told CBS was doing a story on religion in post-Soviet Ukraine, while Rabbi Bleich expected to speak about “the help American organizations were providing for rebuilding in Ukraine.” The rabbi challenged the newsmen, saying, “why did you say this to me if those were not your intentions? He was told “Well, we were planning on doing that sort of report, but while we were there we chanced on this other story, which we thought was much better.”

Rabbi Bleich was also interviewed by *The New York Times*. His views appeared in an article, “Out of Ukraine’s Torment, a Jewish Flowering,” written by Jane Perlez, published on 6 January 1995:

“When I came, I said get them out of here as quickly as possible,” Rabbi Bleich explained. “But I’ve modified my aim.” The major reason, he said, is that it is now possible to lead a religious life in Ukraine these days. By

any measure, there has been a lively revival of Judaism since Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991... The official attitude toward religion in general has warmed in Ukraine – the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has undergone a renaissance – and the government has gone out of its way to emphasize reconciliation with Jews...

In a letter to Jeffrey Fager another Jewish-American religious leader wrote:

I feel that your program on Lviv and Ukrainians was most unfair. To show boy scouts and say they are Nazis marching, to translate “Zhyd” as kike (in western Ukraine “Zhyd” is the word for Jew), to infer that the word nation – “natsiya” – might mean Nazi, etc. – is most upsetting to many of us who know today’s Ukraine.

It really is time for us to enjoy the resurgence of Jewish life in Ukraine after the horrors of the German occupation and communism, and to appreciate the heroic efforts of the Ukrainian people and government to assist the Jewish community in all their endeavours. The history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations, often tragic, is a complicated one, but you would have done well to have informed the public of the better aspects of those contacts. For instance, Ukraine was the sole independent nation that had complete Jewish autonomy (1917) and had Yiddish speaking ministers in the government representing the rights of minorities. Today, when Russian Jews send their children to Ukraine for safe keeping in times of danger, no good can come from distortions such as those portrayed in your program.

*Rabbi David H Lincoln
Park Avenue Synagogue
New York City*

Interestingly, Rabbi Lincoln’s letter earned him a conference call with Messrs Fager and Safer, on 1 November 1994. According to his

subsequent interview with *The Ukrainian Weekly* (13 November 1994), Rabbi Lincoln said the CBS journalists “tried to cajole him into accepting their position.” He “locked horns with the pair over the contention that ‘Jews [in Ukraine] are living in great fear,’ which he countered by saying that, although Jews are now free to leave, many are choosing to stay and are establishing schools and summer camps throughout the Lviv region, the ‘fertile ground’ for anti-Semitism as alleged in the CBS broadcast. “He also,” *The Ukrainian Weekly* continued, “rejected the segment’s allegations that there are no memorials of Jewish suffering, citing the large monument in central Lviv (with plaques in Hebrew, Yiddish, Ukrainian and English) to the victims of the city’s ghetto; as well as plaques and memorials he had seen in Ivano-Frankivske and Kolomyia.”

“The distraught religious leader said it was obvious ‘I had to be exceedingly careful with them,’ and mentioned Rabbi Bleich’s experience of having given an extensive interview, out of which snippets were taken “that distort everything one says.”

The American Jewish Committee also weighed in with a letter to CBS. After reviewing its *raison d’être*, the AJC letter read:

That said, it is our view that the current situation in Ukraine is more complex than portrayed in your segment. Regrettably, this complexity was missing from the broadcast. From our own frequent contact with many Ukrainian Jews, including Rabbi Yaakov Bleich, who was quoted on the air, as well as our visits, most recently this summer, and our regular communication with a wide range of Ukrainian political, cultural, religious and media personalities, we believe there to be important constructive forces at work within Ukraine that seek to establish a society based on openness and tolerance...to simply allow the impression that Ukraine is little more than a hotbed of vicious anti-Semites and nostalgic Nazi collaborators and that, as consequence, all Ukrainian Jews must, at least by implication, live in mortal fear is to yield, I fear, to simplistic and

stereotypical images unbefitting a program of the quality and sophistication of **60 MINUTES**...

David A Harris
Executive Director
American Jewish Committee

On 9 December 1994 CBS finally replied:

On October 23, the CBS News broadcast **60 MINUTES** included a report on the rise of ultranationalism in Western Ukraine and the fears felt by the Jewish community in that region of the country. CBS received a number of letters from Ukrainian Americans regarding the report and CBS management met with a representative group who expressed their concerns for the segment. **60 MINUTES** has broadcast a selection of the letters it received and, while CBS News recognizes the right of these groups to peacefully protest, it stands behind the broadcast.

It is estimated that some 17.5 million+ households watched this **60 MINUTES** episode. Even more may watch it this summer, if it becomes part of the CBS summer re-run series.

I believe that Messrs Fager and Safer knew exactly what they were doing when they put together *The Ugly Face of Freedom*. Theirs was not an example of shoddy reporting. Was it a wilful act of hate-mongering?

The fingerprints of the *KGB* can be seen all over the CBS broadcast. As far-fetched as this may sound to many North Americans, many people in Ukraine who have seen the broadcast believe it reflects the work of the Russian secret service, former *KGB* agents, who were working at undermining Ukraine's stature just prior to President Kuchma's visit to Canada and the United States of America. This is exactly what Mr Kuchinsky, Ukraine's *chargé d'affaires*, meant when he identified the broadcast as "a classic example of 'cold war' journalism."

Soviet defamation of Ukrainian nationalist supporters in the USA began soon after President Franklin D Roosevelt recognized the Soviet

Union, in 1933. In publications like *The Hour* and a book entitled *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America*, Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, two avowed Jewish-American Stalinists, attacked the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (*OUN*), and the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (*ODWU*), an American group which supported the national liberation struggle in Ukraine. Sayers and Kahn even went so far as to accuse *ODWU* of espionage on behalf of the Nazis:

Many *ODWU* members have been painstakingly trained in espionage and sabotage techniques at special schools established in the Third Reich and even in the United States by the German Military Intelligence. *ODWU* members learned how to steal military secrets, how to photograph factories and transportation facilities, how to disrupt trade unions, how to make bombs, explosive devices.²⁵

Colonel Evhen Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, came under especially vicious attack by these two Stalinist authors:

Konovaletz was a tall, blondish man with gray watery eyes, a military bearing, and passion for jewels. He had earned himself considerable notoriety in Ukraine as a rapist and killer...By 1930, Konovaletz was known to the intelligence bureaus of the world's powers as one of Germany's leading espionage agents...The international organization of spies and saboteurs which Konovaletz set up under the supervision of the Intelligence Department of the German War Office went by the name of *Ukrajinska Organizace Nacionalistov* (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, commonly referred to as the *OUN*).²⁶

Since the book was published during the war the FBI investigated *ODWU* but found no evidence of espionage or of any other anti-American activities.

A similar defamation campaign was launched in Canada with the publication of *This Is Our Land*, by Raymond Arthur Davies, a Jewish-Canadian communist who attacked the Ukrainian National Federation for its support of the *OUN*:

The Ukrainian National Federation has revealed itself openly in Canada as a group opposed to the allies and favouring Germany, and details about the work of the American affiliate of the O.U.N. have become available, indicating the existence of a serious situation also in the United States...The Federation is also violently anti-Semitic. Nearly every issue of *The New Pathway* [the organization's weekly publication] contains anti-Semitic material...The program of the Ukrainian National Federation as illustrated by *The New Pathway* is typically Nazi in character... ²⁷

During the Cold War, the *KGB* sponsored and published dozens of English-language pamphlets condemning Ukrainian nationalists, the *Galicia Division*, and the Soviet-outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church. All such publications were for distribution overseas and for use by various "agents of influence" in the West.

For example, a 1967 publication, allegedly written by a "reformed" Ukrainian nationalist, tried to convince Ukrainians abroad that Soviet rule was supported enthusiastically by Ukrainians in Ukraine:

The people living on western Ukrainian territory welcomed Soviet government with open arms; their greatest hopes and aspirations had come to life again. They believed that only Soviet rule, which was truly a people's rule, could satisfy the needs of the workers; that only Soviet government served the interests of the people. That is why Ukrainian workers and farmers hated us, the Ukrainian nationalists...We also received greetings from the nationalist emigration. They wrote: "We are proud of you! We shall soon come to aid!" But the Ukrainian people did not summon them for help. Instead, they sent them the following warning: "If you gentlemen show your noses, you'll get it good! We have already seen the independent debauchery of Petlura and the way you sold our people to the Polish bourgeoisie and German fascist Gestapo. Enough!" ²⁸

A 1982 booklet insisted that:

At the bidding of the *SS*, *SD*, and *Abwehr* they [the Ukrainian Nationalists] had sent out numerous emotional appeals to leaders of the Nazi party and armed sources asking for permission to form army units of non-German nations to fight “Jews and Bolsheviks” alongside the German army.²⁹

In 1984, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was vilified in another Soviet tract:

In all his letters, memoranda, and petitions addressed to various German bodies of authority, Sheptytsky always presented himself as a most loyal subject, ever prepared to exert his influence as head of the Uniate [Ukrainian Catholic] Church to the benefit of Hitler’s Germany.³⁰

Under communism, Ukrainians and Jews drew closer together, realizing that they were fellow victims of Moscow’s oppression. This phenomenon did not go unnoticed by the *KGB*. “For this very reason,” writes Professor Possony, “the anti-Semitic propaganda emanating from Moscow is given a Ukrainian coloration, in the hope that the traditional hostility can be kept going.”³¹ Jews in the Ukraine were not fooled by this ploy. To the chagrin of the *KGB*, Jews voted overwhelmingly for Ukraine’s independence in 1991. As most Jews who either live in Ukraine or have spent considerable time there will tell you, indigenous Jewish commitment to Ukraine remains firm.

Is it possible that Mr Safer and the CBS were hoodwinked by a Russian agent? If they were, this certainly wouldn’t be the first time that an American correspondent was so fooled. One is reminded of the Pulitzer prize-winning Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times*, Walter Duranty, who was wined and dined by the Soviets and allowed to live in relative luxury in Moscow. According to his biographer, Duranty “put the [Ukrainian] famine down to Nazi propaganda. Hitler’s Germany had been conspiring against Soviet Russia, its agents conducting intrigues with subversive Ukrainian nationalists...The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 remains the greatest man-made disaster ever recorded, exceeding in

scale even the Jewish Holocaust of the next decade. It was Walter Duranty's destiny to become, in effect, the symbol for the West's failure to recognize and understand it at the time." ³²

Lending credence to CBS's Duranty-like approach to Ukraine are the many unanswered questions which surround the 60 MINUTES broadcast. Who were the translators? Who were the CBS "researchers?" How was it that an obviously racist and Ukrainophobic remark to the effect that Ukrainians are "genetically anti-Semitic" was not caught by CBS editors? Why has CBS exhibited such indifference and hostility to honest queries from concerned citizens about the nature and content of *The Ugly Face of Freedom*? Why did they refuse to even consider other, well-documented and legitimate perspectives? Why does CBS continue to stonewall when it comes to answering such legitimate questions? Honest journalists just don't behave the way CBS has.

And what about the *KGB*? Does it still exist? According to Yevgenia Albats, the Russian-dominated *KGB* never went away. And it still functions in Ukraine.

Furthermore, the *KGB* is the only institution from the previous regime to have preserved horizontal ties with the now autonomous republics of the former Soviet Union...Russia is creating its own network of agents in Ukraine as elsewhere in the former Soviet republics. ³³

What most Ukrainians found especially outrageous about the CBS broadcast was not the reminder they received about the war crimes of a small percentage of those who collaborated with the Nazis in occupied Ukraine. *Every nation and people*, including the Jews, had their share of scoundrels during the Second World War. Nor are the charges of anti-Semitism especially galling, despite the fact that Ukrainians, as much as any group in Europe – with the possible exception of the Danes – kept countless Jews out of harm's way. Ukrainians have been called anti-Semites by their enemies for decades. These charges always wound, but they are not much cause for surprise. Indeed, the more vigorously Ukrainians have protested against such defamation, it seems, the more some people have been apt to say "they protest too much."

No, the most slanderous affront of Messrs Fager and Safer was the impression they left with the over 17.5 million North American households who watched *The Ugly Face of Freedom* that Ukrainians were somehow willing allies of Adolf Hitler during the Second World War. Anyone who presumes to write about Ukraine and Ukrainians during the twentieth century should remember that:

1. Prior to the Second World War, Ukraine lost over seven million men, women and children during Stalin's politically-engineered Great Famine of 1932-33. Another million Ukrainians perished in Stalin's *Gulag* for various imagined crimes against the Soviet state. The West was either unaware of this genocide or, more likely, simply chose to ignore it.³⁴

2. Arguably, no other European nation suffered losses comparable to those of Ukraine during the Second World War. An estimated 14.5 million Ukrainians, including 600,000 Jews, were lost to Ukraine, through deaths, deportations and evacuations. The war also destroyed over 700 Ukrainian cities and towns and some 28,000 villages. "The whole titanic struggle which some are so apt to dismiss as 'the Russian glory' was first of all a Ukrainian war," wrote *Saturday Evening Post* correspondent Edgar Snow on 27 January 1945, after touring the war-ravaged Ukrainian countryside. Ukrainians fought the Nazis ferociously:

In the Soviet army alone were 4.5 million citizens of Ukraine. According to Soviet statistics, 409,668 Ukrainians were awarded medals for bravery in the war; 961 became heroes of the Soviet Union; and 60 percent of the 250,000 strong Soviet partisan force in Ukraine were Ukrainian.³⁵

This chapter of Ukrainian history has also been ignored.

3. When the war ended, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian displaced persons and political refugees were forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union, to end their days in Stalin's *Gulag*. The Anglo-American powers were responsible.

Probably no European people has suffered more in this century than the Ukrainians. And yet today, if one carefully monitors the Western media, one can't help but notice how many self-appointed and

self-anointed “experts” there are out there, writing about Ukraine, a country whose existence they barely acknowledged, if at all, before 1991. They are now writing supposedly learned articles describing Ukraine as a “nuclear threat to world peace,” “a destabilizing force in Eastern Europe on the verge of collapse,” and “a nation of xenophobic nationalism.” The frequent appearance of such articles does not seem to be coincidental. Their nature and their tone are too similar. They are also very reminiscent of Soviet-era jeremiads of like quality and import. As Walter Laqueur pointed out in his most recent book, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia*, Russians have yet to accept Ukraine’s independence as a reality. Anything Russia’s clandestine organs can do to subvert that reality they will.

An orchestrated campaign against Ukraine is now again upon us.

C ONCLUSION

Ukraine, as portrayed by **60 MINUTES**, a dangerous and unstable nation about to be taken over by “nuclear-armed Nazis” does not exist and never will. What the CBS did, however, was remind us that Soviet-style “journalism” remains in vogue in some North American circles. For over four decades, citizens of the USSR were exposed to “documentaries” and “books” which portrayed a morally and politically bankrupt North American society run by nefarious cabals - sometimes the Ku Klux Klan or the military-industrial complex, even the international Zionists. Routinely, the West was presented as a place of high unemployment, racial violence, rampant crime, homelessness, drug addiction, the exploitation of the many by the privileged few, all inevitable results of a tottering capitalist system. We would soon collapse into a maelstrom of race war, urban decay and economic chaos.

The truth was, of course, far different. It is the Soviet Union which is no more. And Ukraine, finally free, is a much better place for all of its citizens, whatever their ethnic, religious or racial heritage, than it

was in the Soviet era. Regrettably, representing this truth did not fit into the **CBS** agenda.

Despite the many eligible candidates who will all eventually have to be recognized for their anti-Ukrainian efforts the 1994 *Walter Duranty Award* goes to Morley Safer. No contest.

FOOTNOTES

- [1] Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers* (New York, Bantam Books, 1971), page 145.
- [2] Peter Michael Lingens, as quoted in *Justice Not Vengeance*, by Simon Wiesenthal, (New York, Grove Weydenfeld, 1980), page 8.
- [3] Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (London: Constable Publishers, 1993), page 37.
- [4] Isaac Landam, ed, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, Volume 10 (New York: Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, 1948), page 339.
- [5] See Leo Heiman, "Ukrainians and Jews," in Walter Dushnyck, ed, *Ukrainians and Jews: A Symposium* (New York: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1966), page 60.
- [6] David Kahane, *Lvov Ghetto Diary* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), pages 58-59.
- [7] Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), page 410.
- [8] Harold Troper and Morton Weinfeld, *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians and the Hunt for Nazi War Criminals in Canada* (Markham, Ontario: Viking Press, 1988), pages 17-18.
- [9] Gwyneth Hughes and Simon Welfare, *Red Empire: The Forbidden History of the USSR* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990), page 133.
- [10] Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War*, page 553.
- [11] On the history of the *Galicia Division* see Wolf-Dietrich Heike, *The Ukrainian Division "Galicia," 1943-1945: A Memoir* (Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1988). Also see Myroslav Yurkevich, "Galician Ukrainians in German Military Formations and in the German Administration," in Y Boshyk, ed, *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), pages 67-87 and Richard Landwehr, *Fighting For Freedom: The Ukrainian Volunteer Division of the Waffen SS* (Silver Spring, MD: Bibliophile Legion Books, 1985).
- [12] William Casey, *The Secret War Against Hitler* (Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1988), pages 175-176.
- [13] Kahane, *Lvov Ghetto Diary*, page 149.

- [14] Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), page 364.
- [15] See *Ukrainians and Jews*, op cit, page 151. On 19 February 1995, a letter from Rabbi David H Lincoln, published in *The Ukrainian Weekly* under the title "Let's get our history right," noted: "While there can be no doubt that there were terrible atrocities against Jews, [following World War I] those who were present in Ukraine during that period know that Petliura severely condemned the perpetrators and had always been friendly to Jews. The greatest Jewish political leader of the time, Vladimir Jabotinsky, most certainly did not blame Petliura and desired to work with him for a peaceful outcome to the troubles. Some of my friends, sadly, have fallen for the propaganda of the Bolsheviks."
- [16] Arnold D Margolin, *From A Political Diary: Russia, the Ukraine and America, 1905-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pages 38-39.
- [17] Solomon Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920* (Chicago: Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1968), page 119.
- [18] Chaim Potok, *Wanderings: Chaim Potok's History of the Jews* (New York: Fawcett, 1978), page 457.
- [19] Leonard Schapiro, "The Role of Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement," *Slavonic and East European Review*, Volume 40 (December 1961), pages 164-165, as cited by Taras Hunczak, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Soviet and Nazi Occupations," *Ukraine during World War II*, page 43.
- [20] Yevgenia Albats, *The State Within a State: The KGB and its Hold on Russia, Past, Present and Future* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1994), page 147.
- [21] Government of Canada, Jules Deschênes, *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals: Part 1: Public* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1986), page 249.
- [22] op. cit., *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals: Part 1: Public*, pages 257-258.
- [23] op. cit., *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals: Part 1: Public*, page 261.
- [24] See Stefan T Possony, "The Ukrainian-Jewish Problem: A Historical Perspective," *Plural Societies*, (Winter, 1974). Professor Possony notes that "The records of Israel's War Crimes Investigations Office indicate that throughout occupied Europe some 95,000 Nazis and Nazi collaborators were directly connected with anti-Jewish measures, massacres, and deportations, including 45,000 Germans, 8,500 Austrians, 11,000 Balts, 7,500 Poles, 3,000 West Europeans, 9,000 Russians and and Byelorussians, and 11,000 Ukrainians." Since only a small fraction of Russia was occupied, Possony believed that the Russian quota was "understated" while, for a variety of reasons, "the Baltic rate is probably overstated." According to Possony, the

incidence of "murderous anti-Semitic criminality" in Ukraine involved 3 out of every 10,000 people. Possony's article was republished in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Volume XL, #4, 1984, pages 369-381).

- [25] Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America*, cited in Myron B Kuropas, *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), page 293.
- [26] Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), pages 85-86.
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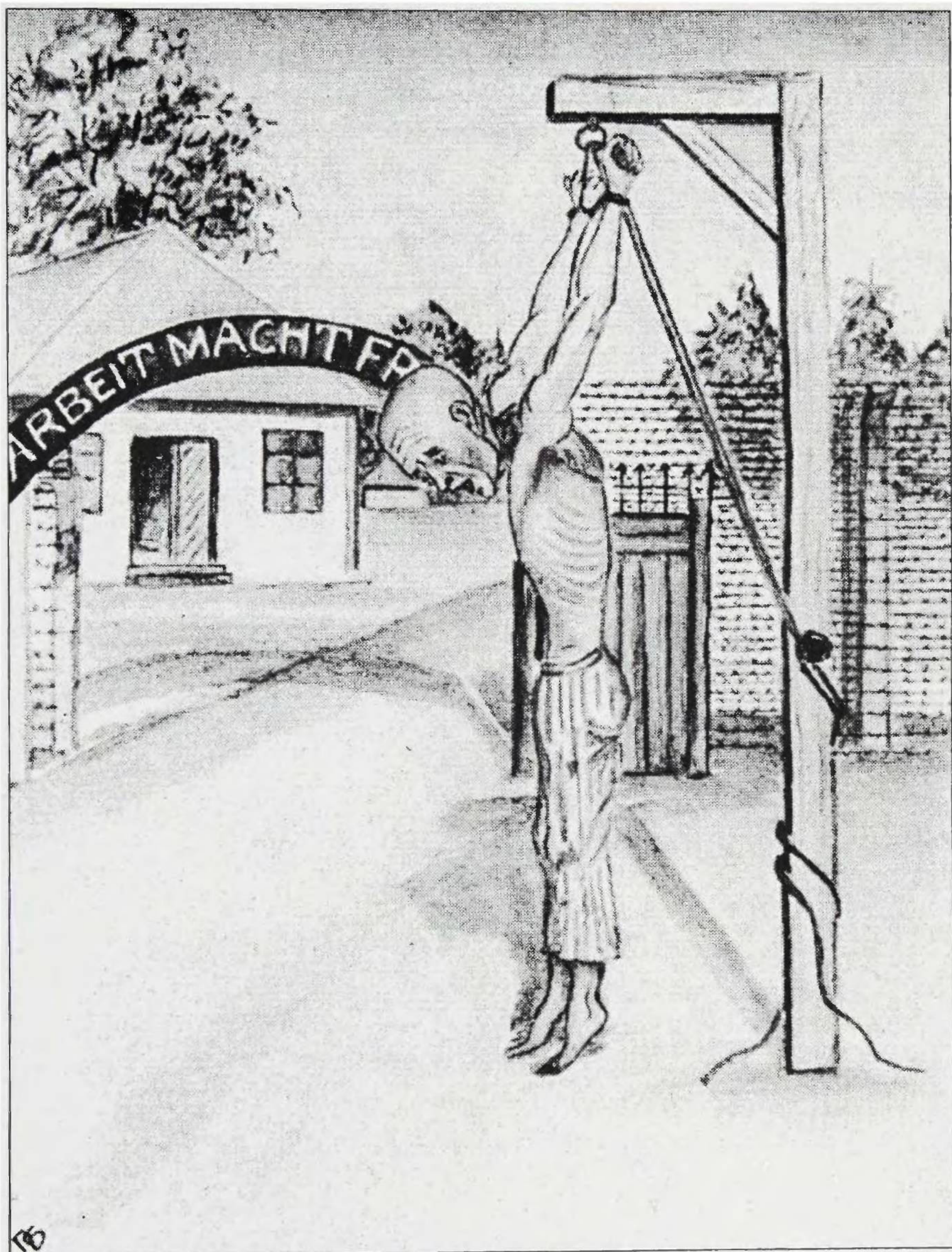
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"Arbeit macht frei" – Labor will set you free
A sketch by a Ukrainian survivor of Auschwitz

