



My **Fulbright** Year

U.S. Fulbright Scholars
in Ukraine 2019-2020

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Fulbright Program in Ukraine
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***Dear Members and Friends
of the Fulbright Program,***

It is our great pleasure to introduce to you the Fall edition of the Fulbright Newsletter. It is actually compiled by the U.S. Fulbrighters 2019-2020 themselves. Through their stories, they illustrate in the best way possible what we call the "Fulbright experience" in its tangible, very personal dimension. They talk candidly about their successes and achievements, challenges they face when implementing Fulbright experiences into their work, joys and disappointments when translating knowledge gained into practice. These stories are an encouragement to those considering applying for a Fulbright, and inspiration to all of us at IIE-Kyiv Office — they are part of why we come to work every day.

Unique courses, new ideas, extensive cooperation of Ukrainian universities and U.S. Scholars on updating curricula and teaching resources, workshops and seminars, joint research projects — these were the basic events and activities of 2019-2020. In addition to their own projects and teaching assignments, many U.S. Scholars have traveled to other institutions and presented lectures, participated in conferences, discussions and consulted with members of academic departments about curriculum issues.

U.S. scholars considered that their Fulbright in Ukraine was intellectually stimulating and personally gratifying. And we thank the hundreds of people both sides of the ocean who have made experiences of our scholars Full and Bright.

We are greatly thankful to all Ukrainian institutions who hosted U.S. Scholars in 2019-2020 for their support, cooperation, hospitality and care shown towards U.S. Fulbrighters:

- Center for Urban History of East Central Europe
- Ivan Franko National University of Lviv
- Lviv Polytechnic National University
- National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy
- Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University
- Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance
- Ukrainian Catholic University.

And a very special thank you goes to our dearest Fulbrighters for all the great job they did and continue to do in our Ukrainian Universities and Research Institutions. Getting to meet and communicate with all of you has been a wonderful experience and we look forward to continuing those relationships moving forward.

Warmest Regards,

Veronica Aleksanych
Program Officer
Fulbright Scholar Programs



Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program



Michael Cronin

Monmouth University – West Long Branch, New Jersey
Social Work | *Building Psychosocial Support Capacity in Ukraine*
 National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv;
 Ukrainian Red Cross, Kyiv
September 2019, 10 months
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Dr. Cronin is a social work educator and disaster relief responder whose work focused on building psychosocial support capacity and contribute to the expansion of social work education and practice in Ukraine.

Summary of Project

Based on the needs of the School of Social work at NaUKMA, I had developed and taught a new course for the Master of Social Work students on Advanced Global Social Work with a focus on Sustainable Community Practice. Students each presented research on a specific Sustainable Development Goal and progress made by Ukraine on specific targets. The course was well received by students and faculty observer and has become part of the curriculum which will be taught by the observer faculty member.

Along with my Ukrainian faculty colleague, I co-taught a newly designed course on Social Innovation and Social Enterprise. This course utilized a design thinking approach and focused on global perspectives for

sustainable change in Ukraine, USA, and other communities. This was an energizing effort to bring together our different perspectives and interpretations to the subject matter. I am now using our newly designed curriculum back at my home University and the course will also continue to be taught by my colleague at NaUKMA.

Some additional highlights included an invitation from the All-Ukrainian Forum of the National Council on Children and Youth to serve as a respondent and offer consultation to three youth teams who have developed strategic leadership plans with the participation of the National Ombudsman for Children, Mr. Mykola Kuleba, and Ukrainian President V. Zelensky. I was also able to meet a local pop singer who is serving as a UNICEF youth ambassador! Another highlight was an invitation from the National University of Civil Defense for Ukraine in Kharkiv to deliver an open lecture for students, emergency response cadets, researchers, and faculty on Disaster Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergencies.



Students and Staff NaUKMA



Lecture for World Mental Health Day

We tend to focus on the negative aspects of a crisis. While this was quite a challenge, it is important to remember that crises are opportunities for organizational change and revitalization. A crisis can bring to attention issues that have been neglected, as well as present possibilities for innovation and improvements.



Experiential Activity in Social Innovations Class

And then there was COVID-19

This was a true test of my ability to adapt to the unexpected, both personally and professionally. While many Fulbrighters returned home, several of us had the opportunity to stay and fulfil their intended obligations. I was fortunate to be able to continue my work virtually as I quickly converted the remaining portion of a class already in session. I served as a mentor to other University faculty and students in making these changes.

As a result of the needs to understand how social workers can respond in a pandemic, I developed a new course for NaUKMA: Social Work in Emergencies. Students quickly learned and applied concepts and practical knowledge about disaster management and response. There was a focus on how these concepts apply to the current needs in providing psychosocial support and education during such an unprecedented situation.



Ukraine Independence Day

An Unexpected Discovery

One of the most surprise components of this experience in Ukraine was the profound connections made in learning about my Ukrainian ancestry. As a third generation American, I knew very little about the lives and cultural identity of my great ancestors. When asked about my ethnic background, I knew my family was of Eastern European decent. As there were few that survived World War 2, I never knew much about my family history, their ways of daily life and the historical contexts of those times. In learning about Ukrainian history and culture, I learned about my family history, something that I have yearned for in my life. Things such as food and communication patterns that I thought were unique to my immediate family I now discover that these are all originated from this part of my ancestral homeland. These discoveries found a place in my work as a scholar in Ukraine. Each time a colleague or student would ask why I chose to come to Ukraine, it added to my reflections as I put the pieces of the puzzle together. It made for deeper connections with them, as they all wanted to participate in my learning about their country, history, and culture. It allowed for the "me and you" as individuals to become "we", as the relationships grew richer.

Upon return to my home University, I was officially appointed as the Fulbright Scholar Liaison and will spread the word about the opportunities available. This experience will continue to affect my personal and professional lives. I look forward to our planned collaboration with colleagues at NaUKMA and Monmouth University.



Mayhill Fowler

Stetson University, DeLand, Florida

History | *Theater on the Frontlines of Socialism:*

The Military-Entertainment Complex in Ukraine, 1940s-2000s

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Lviv

September 2019, 8 months

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Here are some numbers that attempt to tell the story of my Fulbright year, on a research and teaching fellowship at Ivan Franko National University in Lviv and the Center for Urban History: 1561 photos taken of Lviv theater journals and theater productions of the Theater of the Soviet Army in Lviv from the office of Bohdan Kozak, chair of the theater studies department; 17 full days working in the archives of the Ministry of Defense in Kyiv; six months preparing the aforesaid 17 days; six months spent at seven archives and libraries in Kyiv and Lviv researching two book projects; forty plays attended at fifteen theaters; five apartments (three in Lviv, two in Kyiv); four international conferences in Lviv, Vienna, Stockholm, and Ottawa; one *doktorska* defense and *furshet* attended, of Fulbright host Maya Harbuzyuk; 70 days spent in quarantine in Lviv; during which, five sightings of cat in apartment across courtyard, two *borshch* recipes attempted, two articles written, one Polish novel consumed, and five conferences cancelled.



But numbers do not tell the full story. Let me tell the story of my Fulbright through the work. I left (escaping a hurricane) on August 31, 2019 with one book project ready to research. I came back to the United States in late May 2020 (during a pandemic) with two book projects well advanced. My Fulbright project, "War Stories: Theater on the Frontlines of Socialism," tells the story of the former Theater of the Soviet Army in Lviv, Ukraine, from 1954 to today. This company, founded in Kyiv in 1931, entertained troops on the frontlines during World War II, was stationed in Odesa, and in 1954 transferred to Lviv. The theater told the story of World War II again and again, spinning stories of heroism and sacrifice to inspire the troops serving in the Carpathian Military District on the frontlines of socialism—until the story they were telling was of no interest to their audience. The story of the theater challenges us to rethink the history of theater in Lviv, in Ukraine, and in Eastern Europe more broadly: through invisible infrastructures, since all theaters had challenges in finance and audience; through incorporating the Soviet past into our understanding of contemporary theatrical culture; and through thinking about how people themselves make place, as much as institutional and political structures. The *Teatr PrykVO* is a Lviv theater, a Ukrainian story, and one that opens up uncomfortable questions about Soviet culture, yet also undiscovered achievements of culture in Ukraine.

The key achievement of my research year was accessing the collections at the Ministry of Defense archive in Kyiv. It took many months of emails, phone calls, and paper letters mailed from *Nova poshta* to gain access, but I finally was granted two days in November and three weeks in January. I read the *nakazy* of the military officer in charge of the theater, from 1954-1991. As a foreigner in a *rezhymnyi obyekt*, I had to sit separately from other researchers, but the very kind archivists brought a small heater (it was January)

and tea every day at lunch, and with time, we started chatting. My last day we had chocolates and talked about how research could build bridges between our countries. From this research I learned that—despite the mission to tell war stories!—the most-performed play, over 550 performances, was *Natural Disaster* by Ratser and Konstantinov, a light comedy about two couples brought together by a bathtub leak and an “acquaintance bureau.” That’s what the troops wanted to see. I also read the brief report confirming that the theater had indeed gone to Afghanistan, performing musical numbers and light comedy. So while war stories resonated in the immediate postwar years, by the late Soviet period military audiences wanted gentle laughter and song.

My other treasure trove was at the Stefanyk Library, where Bohdan Kozak allowed me access to his as-yet uncatalogued collection of “protokoly” of the often-tense discussions at the theaters’ artistic council. I discovered the play *Sashka*, by Viacheslav Kondratev, which was a success at the small stage in 1984, at the same time as the theater was failing to find a play adequate to addressing the war in Afghanistan. Finally, through the



regional archive, DALO, I learned that while the theater was funded by the Ministry of Defense, its failures and achievements were considered integral to Lviv’s Culture Department, which had to report everything to the Ministry of Culture in Kyiv — and the theater’s artists were active in local theater politics. I was able to do an interview about “War Stories” focusing on my chapter, “Sashka in Kabul: How to Tell a Soviet War Story,” with Dr. Sofia Dyak from the Center for Urban History in May.



Yet during the year, thanks to the conference “Between Kyiv and Vienna: Histories of People, Ideas, and Objects in Circulation and Motion,” at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, sponsored by the Ukrainian Institute and Center for Urban History, I realized that I was also writing another book: *Comrade Actress: Soviet Ukrainian Women on the Stage and Behind the Scenes*. This project re-tells the story of theater in Ukraine through actresses, from revolutionary studios in Kyiv, to Kharkiv’s *Berezil*, to the Stalinist divas and life journeys from Galicia to the gulag, all the way to the *menedzherka* in the post-Soviet period. The book focuses on Ukraine, arguing



that women's lives unfolded here in special ways that shed new light on larger imperial and national structures, ultimately showing that incorporating Ukraine in our analysis of Eastern European or Soviet history fundamentally changes our perspective.

Mine was a Fulbright for research and teaching, and I was welcomed by Dr. Maya Harbuzyuk and the entire *kafedra* at Ivan Franko State University. I will never forget Ira Patron's birthday *furshet* right before the university shut down! I was able to teach several sessions of my course, "New Approaches to Theater History," where I had students and faculty alike talking about Bourdieu using oral histories from the Center for Urban History collections. But in March, the archives closed. The university closed. Ukraine shut down.

But the productivity of the year does not tell the story of my Fulbright. Despite everything I have just said, the time spent in quarantine in Lviv was perhaps the richest part of the year. I was forced to spend so much time in my Habsburg-era apartment with two balconies and ridiculously high ceilings near the Polytechnic, reading my archive notes and thinking about theater, taking walks in parts of the city I had never explored. I learned about borders, in a way that Americans often don't experience, that borders can become fixed overnight and that you cannot go home. I have never felt so alone. I learned about myself: that I cannot make decisions in a crisis, that I am someone who stays even when—perhaps—it would be better to get on that plane and go. But I am grateful to have not gotten on that plane in March and to have spent time experiencing Ukraine in a new—and unexpected—way. I spent time waiting in line outside the shops, listening to people talk, referencing Chernobyl and the 90s as ways of understanding what we were experiencing. But I learned how people living the same crisis experience it, quite often, very differently. I had no real point of comparison to the pandemic, certainly not Chornobyl or the 90s. I felt more a part of Lviv than I have ever felt, chatting through masks with the owners of the produce shop and the meat store and the pharmacy, and yet felt the cultural borders more clearly: I was reacting to the pandemic differently than most Ukrainians I knew. I depended on my Fulbright cohort for support. And I depended on Marta Kolomayets, who reached out to all of us countless times, never failing to respond to even the most absurd question. I can't think of my Fulbright year without this strange liminal period in quarantine, and I can't think of that period without Marta. Reflecting on this year is so difficult with her passing.

The time in quarantine itself was a border, dividing pre-covid from post-covid life. I hope to give that talk in Mykolaiv someday, to visit Kharkiv again, to finally read those files I ordered in DALO. Mostly I hope to return to Ukraine. It is deeply humbling to leave for a sabbatical with a prestigious grant, full of lofty goals for my own project, and to return with the knowledge that our lives and our projects are mere footnotes to the larger narratives of our time. Yet on the other hand, global crises also lay bare the importance of the stories we tell, of how we choose to connect with each other, and of figuring out how our passions can address larger problems.



Marla Osborn

Rohatyn Jewish Heritage, Lviv, Ukraine

Arts & Heritage | A Jewish Cemetery Preservation

Demonstration Project for Western Ukraine

Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, Lviv

September 2019, 10 months

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At the time I applied for a Fulbright research grant, my husband and I had already been running several Jewish heritage projects in Rohatyn in the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast of western Ukraine, for nearly a decade. Rohatyn was the birthplace of my paternal grandmother; she emigrated as a baby to America on the eve of WWI.

Begun informally and later formalized when we moved to Lviv in 2016, our work through "Rohatyn Jewish Heritage" (our Ukrainian NGO) had focused on slowing deterioration of the two Jewish cemeteries and two Holocaust mass graves, but also on recovering Jewish headstones stolen from the cemeteries and misused as construction material for roads



Rohatyn's 400-year old Jewish cemetery, at one of the oldest headstones in eastern Galicia



Past years' volunteers helping us out at Rohatyn's new Jewish cemetery

and building foundations in Rohatyn during the Nazi occupation; it's a common history around western Ukraine. By the time of my application — 77 years after the war — we had recovered more than 500 of these displaced headstones and returned them to Rohatyn's "old" Jewish cemetery. But we were a bit stuck, struggling to progress through the critical next stage: redesigning the 2.5-acre devastated space as a protected but shared public place of history and remembrance, using the recovered stones to memorialize the Jewish families like mine that once called Rohatyn home.

I originally proposed to Fulbright a somewhat narrowly-defined project: research and design options for Jewish cemetery care and preservation using Rohatyn's old Jewish cemetery as a demonstration example. We were already accustomed to partnering with other NGOs and individual heritage activists both from Ukrainian communities in my region and from Jewish descendants groups in America and the world. I realized once my Fulbright research got underway that the research results could be broadly useful to others if I could go beyond demonstration by organizing the data and guidance for sharing with anyone wishing to find, mark, preserve, and commemorate Jewish burial sites in the region. My motivation was simple: the many

people who contact me each year for advice and help, and the lack of available expertise to direct them to.

So, partway into my research, I broadened my Fulbright project to: identify the more than 500 known Jewish cemeteries and Holocaust mass graves in the Lviv, Ternopil, and Ivano-Frankivsk oblasts; detail 16 real-life local case studies of past, ongoing, planned, or paused projects by others; discuss ideas for developing local partners and advocates; present region-relevant guidance from my and others' experience on how to meet the challenges which heritage projects typically encounter, including long-term sustainability; and share an extensive bibliography of print, web, and video resources for further investigation. My husband and I had visited more than half of the identified Jewish burial sites in western Ukraine to confirm their locations and assess their status before the COVID-19 pandemic forced me to stop my work in the western region in late March, but I was able to continue the intangible portions of my project from afar through to the end of my term. Part of that work included my original proposal of a detailed plan and design for rehabilitation and commemoration at Rohatyn's old Jewish cemetery, now on our NGO's website.



Jay Osborn clearing at Rohatyn's south Holocaust mass grave memorial

The result of my expanded research was released in July as a new public website — "A Guide to Jewish Cemetery Preservation in Western Ukraine" — a work in progress with nearly 80 webpages already completed and online in English and Ukrainian. The website is accessible and hopefully useful to both foreign Jewish descendants and local Ukrainian activists who wish to ensure a brighter future for Jewish heritage in western Ukraine and beyond:
<https://jewishheritageguide.net/>



Jewish headstones discovered while dismantling an old foundation, being returned to the cemetery by friends from Lviv and Rohatyn

Hopefully soon my husband and I will be returning to our life in Lviv, and in addition to continuing the field research we can also resume conversations begun before we left with experts in a few key technical fields important to complete the new website. I had the great fortune early in my project to be approached at the Fulbright orientation in Kyiv by a Ukrainian Fulbright alumnus who had read about my project and offered to connect me to her colleagues in architecture and heritage conservation at Lviv Polytechnic University. Together they provided important references and essential advice on conceptualizing heritage projects. Through that same orientation and other informal meetings in Lviv, I also had interesting discussions this year with several young American Fulbrighters on topics from their varied backgrounds, about interactive mapping applications for telling history and new connections to a village near my core study and work area where I had already been researching Ukrainian righteous people who saved Jews during the Holocaust.



Jay and Marla (Rohatyn Jewish Heritage) with a neighbor of the old Jewish cemetery

Honestly, meeting all of the 2019-2020 US researchers, teachers, and policy advisors in Ukraine as well as many who went both directions in prior years, from the first day of the PDO through the end of my term and beyond, has been incredibly rewarding for my work and for me personally. This is a remarkable bunch of smart and wise people, each of them doing interesting and beneficial things for Ukraine, America, and the world. It has been thrilling to be with them, to learn about their own work, and to admire their capabilities and their courage. It's no wonder that many Fulbright scholars and alumni had recommended the program to me in past years; I am now a proud advocate myself!



Gennadi Poberezny

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Political Science | *Policies of Red Genocide:*

Making of Homo Sovieticus Ucrainus

Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, Kyiv

September 2019, 10 months

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My name is Gennadi Poberezny; I am a "genocide guy", as I came to Ukraine to study genocide policies in the twentieth-century Ukraine perpetrated by the totalitarian Soviet regime. The high point of these policies, of course, was the Holodomor, a man-made famine that killed some four million people between 1932 and 1934. While this Great Famine is recognized as one of the world's greatest atrocities, it has not been systematically studied as an episode in a series of catastrophes, constituting in totality one of the gravest genocides of the twentieth century – the Soviet genocide of the Ukrainians.

I had a good fortune of being a 2019-2020 Fulbright fellow (that was suddenly and drastically cut short due to the worldwide COVID pandemic) and enjoyed a very close and productive relationship with the

Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance (UINR) – my host institution – that helped facilitate academic contacts, which significantly expanded my circle of scholars and civic activists involved or interested in the topic of research on the Soviet genocide and colonial policies in Ukraine. My time spent here as a Fulbrighter was quite productive and rewarding; I have made good progress in conceptualizing my research approach, established a theoretical framework, and restructured the body of my arguments. I was fortunate to have met experts in the fields other than my own discipline of political science: lawyers, historians, sociologists, psychologists.

I was equally blessed to receive solid support from and forge a great relationship with the IIE/Fulbright Office in Ukraine under the caring guidance of its director (the most sadly late) Marta Kolomayets. Moreover, a collaboration was initiated between the IIE/FOU and UINR in promoting Lemkin's concept of Soviet genocide that regrettably remains largely unknown and misunderstood in an attempt to launch a much-needed public awareness campaign aimed at re-evaluating and reassessing Ukraine's Soviet experience. A proposal was presented to a team of IIE/FOU and UINR officers that included a co-sponsored lecture-tour of mainly educational institutions (over a dozen colleges and universities) across the country in co-operation with and assistance from the UINR regional branches. I would like to particularly recognize the efforts and good will of Veronica Aleksanych of the IIE/FOU and Olena Okhrimchuk of UINR central office as well as Bohdan Halayko and Ihor Kocherhin from its regional offices.

The IIE/FOU decision to enter into a partnership with UINR regarding the tour and its promotion, including reaching out to the potential discussants, commentators, media outlets, resulted in several TV and

FULBRIGHT Ukraine Програма імені Фулбрайта в Україні та Український інститут національної пам'яті

ЦИКЛ ПУБЛІЧНИХ ЛЕКЦІЙ-ДИСКУСІЙ З ГЕНАДЕМ ПОБЕРЕЖНИМ

• БЕРЕЗЕНЬ
19 – Київ, 18.30, Інформаційно-виставковий центр Музею Майдану, Майдан Незалежності, 18/2
25-26 – Львів
27 – Івано-Франківськ

• КВІТЕНЬ
6 – Рівне
7 – Острів
8 – Луцьк
22 – Одеса
23 – Миколаїв

• ТРАВЕНЬ
12 – Дніпро
13 – Запоріжжя
19 – Чернігів

• ЧЕРВЕНЬ
2 – Полтава
3 – Харків
23 – Київ, Закарпатська дискусія за участю науковців та різномісцевих регіонів України

Рафаїл Лемкін та колоніальний вимір совєцького геноциду в Україні

Влада геноциду завжди називають «ключовим» або «приворотним» лемкінським поняттям, що навісне жорстоке маранне «таборів смерті». Але ця концепція не завжди використовувалася виключно для позначення намісних масових вбивств цивільного населення. Рафаїл Лемкін, науковець і правник, який вигадав слово геноцид і домігся в 1948 році ухвалення міжнародної Конвенції «Про запобігання та покарання злочинів геноциду», спираючись на його самі жорстокі злочини, надавав культурного розуміння людства. За Лемкіном, геноцид чинився з наміром викоринити групу як таку проти людей, чий спосіб життя, вірування і звички і інші відмінні аспекти культури були призначені на знищення. Лемкін вважав, що СРСР чинив геноцид українців (за з тим що не всі його події були повністю геноцидними, зокрема кримські) спокладано застосування насильницької та чужої мови, примусової для знищення українського народу задля політичного й економічного зиску совєцької імперії.

Геннадій Побережний (poberezny@fas.harvard.edu) є асистентом дослідника Харківського інституту українства, де він працював, головним картографом розвитку «білої» геноциду для міжнародного агентства України (http://fas.harvard.edu/harvard-ukraine/). Він бере участь в низці наукових проєктів, пов'язаних з геноцидом: редагує український переклад книги свого колеги Дітмара Фрішмана про Рафаїла Лемкіна та його концепції геноциду; координує колекцію матеріалів Лемкіна, а також працює над власною книгою про совєцьку політику геноциду в Україні. Доктор Побережний є випускником Рутгерського університету, де він здобув магістратуру та докторантуру в галузі географії, політики та глобалістики (на одруженні Олександра Мотика) та викладає курси в політичній географії та порівняльній політиці пост-комуністичних суспільств Східної Європи. Наразі в академічній професії працює в Українському інституті національної пам'яті в Києві, а також у співпраці з U.S. Fulbright Program 2019-2020 в Україні.

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radio appearances, invitations to speak before student audiences. Furthermore, the inaugural public event organized by the IIE/ FOU – a lecture-discussion titled 'Raphaël Lemkin and a Colonial Dimension of the Soviet Genocide in Ukraine' – to launch the tour took place on February 25, 2020. It happened right before the pandemic struck, thus presenting serious challenges for the joint venture. The tour would have been a



tremendously beneficial and mutually gainful endeavor for everyone involved providing feedback from various audiences and allowing for the dissemination of findings in both English and Ukrainian. Also, it would have further expanded my academic network in Ukraine, popularize Lemkin on the occasion on his 120th anniversary, and underscore the Fulbright program's role in this process.

Nevertheless, all those efforts did not go to waste as most of the scheduled activities moved online culminating in two dozen public presentations, discussions, and interviews that generated a rather surprisingly large pool of followers. In turn, I was able to lay a firm foundation for my study by raising awareness of genocide policies and establishing a circle of concerned scholars and activists through Lemkin Center for Genocide Studies to investigate them further. Hopefully, this will become a good inroad into my subsequent attempt at fulfilling a mission to propagate Lemkin's concept of the Soviet

genocide of the Ukrainians because he knew and wrote about it, studied it, and dedicated much of his life to advocating on behalf of the Ukrainian people.

Raphaël Lemkin, the jurist and scholar who coined the term **genocide** and was instrumental in adopting the 1948 UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, explicitly defined it as a colonial crime of destroying cultural diversity and led a campaign to outlaw the crime at the United Nations. Lemkin originally defined genocide as a "coordinated plan with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves," which had two phases: the "destruction the national pattern of the oppressed group" and then the "imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor". Genocide was conducted against people whose ways of life, beliefs, and distinct culture were targeted for destruction in an explicit attempt to get rid of the group as such.

Notably, Lemkin did not define genocide in terms of mass killing to account for the actual World War II experience. Rather, he developed his earlier concepts about acts of barbarism and vandalism during the interworld war years while working for the League of Nations on the establishment of humanitarian laws that would address the treatment of both various minorities in his native Eastern Europe and the colonized peoples around the world. Several historical cases shaped Lemkin's ideas on the subject, among them was the Holodomor. The origin of Lemkin's concept was closely related to his study of the role of Soviet criminal law in the system of Soviet violence against various minorities. Furthermore, Soviet famine and terror in Ukraine was instrumental to his legal thinking and his conception of genocide.

Lemkin considered the latter to be one of the major genocides of his time. In Ukraine, he believed, the Soviet Union was committing genocide through coordinated violent and non-violent policies intended to destroy the Ukrainian "family of mind" for the political and economic gains of the Soviet regime. Scholars have relatively recently begun to study the Soviet Union as an empire with the Russian imperial state exercising control over other Soviet colonial states, but it has not been argued that genocide was used as a strategy to consolidate Russia's imperial power in its Soviet empire. The Soviet genocide in Ukraine was as an outcome of Soviet imperialism and was a form of colonial rule.

While the Russian Soviet state openly and explicitly derided Western imperialism, it benefitted by committing colonial genocide. The forced starvation of the Ukrainian peasants during the Holodomor aided the Soviet collectivization of agriculture by destroying previous economic agricultural forms and social patterns of the peasantry. Mass starvation facilitated agricultural transformation, as the collectivization was a particular form of internal colonial extraction, placing Moscow in control of agricultural production, enabling it to sell grain to foreign markets, and ensuring funding for urban industrialization while peasants famished. The Holodomor was at the apex of a long list of genocidal policies that helped assert and consolidate Red Moscow's colonial rule over Ukraine by destroying non-Soviet Ukrainian national patterns while simultaneously imposing the Russified Soviet ones upon its people.



Studying all this is not only gives us a retrospective into what happened to the Ukrainians in the past but illuminates how and why the contemporary Ukraine has become what it is, which provides us with perspective on what could possibly be done to overcome the Soviet totalitarian, colonial, and genocidal legacies. Then Ukraine's destiny could be as good as its promise!



Gregory Stricharchuk

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History/Journalism | *The Ethnic Cleansing of Operation Vistula*

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September 2019, 10 months

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Maria Tsap unfurls a map she made of her former village whose inhabitants were forcibly deported to Ukraine. She is 88 and lives in a village near L'viv.



Maria Tsap, stooped and walking with two canes, eased herself onto the kitchen chair and began unrolling a long brown paper on which she had drawn every house in her native village and 99 of the 100 families who had lived there. One Christmas a visitor supplied the 100th and final name, she said.

Maria, 88, recounted how she was hospitalized with burns on her arms and

eyes and separated from her mother as the Soviets began forcibly deporting people from her village in April 1945. A bottle of kerosene exploded, sending her running from her house in flames.

She was among dozens of interviews I conducted during my Fulbright. Roughly 1.5 million people were moved to and from Ukraine and Poland at the end of World War II as new boundaries for those countries were established. The Soviets decided that people they deemed to be Ukrainian based on religion, language, and even the vagaries of appearance were to be moved to Ukraine. People lost homes where ancestors had lived for centuries, livestock, virtually everything. When Maria was released from the hospital she returned briefly to her village and found the church destroyed and Poles living in some of the newer houses. Ultimately she reunited with her mother in L'viv.

My interest in the so-called people exchanges began after learning in 2017 that my Ukrainian cousins were among those deported. I wrote about them for the New York Times <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/23/travel/christmas-in-ukraine.html>

I believe that article along with interviews I conducted in January 2019 of people who returned to Poland after their deportations helped me land my Fulbright.

When I arrived in Kyiv in September 2019 several people, including former Fulbrighters, warned me my project—humanizing the deportations—was doomed because most of the people I needed to speak with were dead or wouldn't be able to remember details. As a result, I used the same practices I had used as a lifelong journalist. I backed up my project with secondary lines of inquiry. For example, I researched UPA, Ukraine's underground army, because I suspected the Soviets were determined to quash support for an independent Ukraine, and it made sense

that the Soviets would try to disrupt UPA's support network through deportations. I also felt that combing through KGB files would yield compelling stories as well as documentation related to the deportations. There is no question my backup research helped my main project.

The people I found who experienced the deportations first-hand turned out to be delightfully resilient individuals with lots of details and anecdotes. The topic also is still being discussed. I attended three conferences in Kyiv and L'viv where experts spoke and presented papers and where I met survivors and obtained leads on people I should interview.

One of the most valuable pieces of advice I have for incoming Fulbrighters is the same advice I was given: say yes to invitations to peoples' homes, to cultural events, to experiences that might take you out of your comfort zone. I said yes, for example, when Alex Krakovsky, a young computer programmer in Kyiv I had gotten to know through Facebook, asked whether I'd like to attend a court hearing involving a lawsuit he had filed over photographing civil records contained in Ukraine's archives. In all, I attended three hearings and was in the courtroom when Krakovsky, who came to hearings with little more than a copy of Ukraine's constitution, prevailed in a suit against Ukraine's Ministry of Justice. Without any legal training he had beaten government lawyers. I wrote about his efforts for H-Ukraine <https://networks.h-net.org/node/4555727/blog/khroniky/5581535/access-and-digitization-trial-alex-krakovskys-archival-battle>. Since then two genealogy websites re-published my story. In turn, Krakovsky graciously spent days helping me comb through KGB files, work I doubt I would ever had been able to do on my own. We also spent lunches chatting and sharing insights about both Ukraine and the

U.S. and he graciously invited me and my wife to his apartment for dinner where we met his wife and child.

Luck or serendipity are important when you are a Fulbrighter. In 2018 during a trip to Cleveland, Ohio I visited the Ukrainian museum in the neighborhood in which I had grown up and was introduced to Alex Debych, a Ukrainian Fulbrighter who was curating old photos and tracking down films produced by the Ukrainian diaspora. We quickly became friends. In January 2019 Alex and I literally walked across the snowy border of Poland and ultimately met people who traced their families to the same Lemko village where my mom was born. These were people whose families tried to return after deportations and faced everything from prejudice to prison and even torture and murder. Those interviews helped crystalize my Fulbright application and opened my eyes to the fact some deportees never gave up hope of returning to their ancestral homelands.

Later, during my Fulbright, Alex Debych and I traveled to western Ukraine where he helped me locate interview subjects and acted as my translator. I forever will be thankful to him.

I was planning additional interview trips when Ukraine locked down because of the pandemic. In quarantine in an apartment in Kyiv I tried conducting interviews over the phone but found they didn't go well. Ukrainians tend to be suspicious of strangers even in person. Fear that phone conversations are monitored make phone interviews nearly impossible. I soon gave up.

The decision to return to the U.S. was not an easy one. In March we preferred to remain in Ukraine because it seemed a far safer place than heading back to the U.S. But the embassy in Kyiv urged us to return, Fulbright was ending its program early as well as my health care and President Trump was urging Americans to come home.



Marta Kolomayets., the late head of the Fulbright Program in Ukraine, said she had booked us on a charter flight along with Peace Corp volunteers who were being evacuated. But when I learned the plane had departed without us my wife, Cheryl Reed, who had been a Fulbrighter in 2016-17, quickly booked us on a Ukrainian Air charter flight to London.

We dreaded the exposure we faced at both Kyiv's and London's airports. Few people were aboard the Ukraine Air flight when we boarded. I found myself staring at the flight attendants who donned Chornobyl liquidator outfits—tall black boots, hazmat suits from head to toe, orange goggles and several layers of masks. "You think this is funny?," an attendant yelled at me in English. I said I was sorry as my wife elbowed me for being rude.

When I asked the attendant whether I could take a picture of her she said no and demanded that another passenger erase the photos he had snapped of her.

As soon as the plane became airborne the attendants passed out small bottles of water and told us the bathroom at the front of the plane was off-limits and that we were not to pull back the curtain to the area where they had sequestered themselves. That was essentially the last time we saw the attendants until we landed in London about three hours later.

All seemed normal on our Norwegian Air flight to JFK. The attendants were attentive, the service excellent and the trip seemed festive until the pilot announced our flight was the airline's last to the U.S. because of

the pandemic with no idea when service might resume.

As we waited for a rental car at JFK to drive home to Syracuse, New York we found ourselves among more than 100 Peace Corp volunteers from Ghana who were shivering in shorts and T-shirts, some bundled in blankets. As I helped a woman load heavy bags into her rental car I asked whether she was a Fulbrighter. "State department," she said, explaining that she was an embassy employee and that most employees at U.S. embassies around the globe had been called back to the U.S.

I was stunned as I realized America's eyes and ears around the world were no longer functioning. Our country stood naked at a time when we needed information. That was the moment the pandemic became far more frightening to me.

A key person I need to thank is Marta Kolomayets. She intently followed my research into my Lemko-Ukrainian roots and urged me to apply for a Fulbright. I might not have met Alex Debych had she not suggested I stop in Cleveland. I will forever be thankful for her support. She was a shining light as director of the Fulbright program in Kyiv. May she rest in peace.



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Historic Preservation | *Historic Wooden Artifacts: Wood and Its Coatings*

Lviv Polytechnic National University, Lviv

September 2019, 1.5 months; September 2020, 1.5 months

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A few days after my arrival in Lviv in October of 2019 on my Fulbright Fellow award, I accompanied Professor Mykola Bezv, Head of the Department of Architecture and Conservation at the Lviv Polytechnic National University (LP), and his team, to Subotiv, Cherkasy Oblast.

Subotiv is the home of the famed Illinska Church, built by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Both the church and the village were the subjects of a watercolor and a moving poem by Ukraine's bard Taras Shevchenko, and they hold deep historical meaning for Ukrainians. My task was to determine the wooden balcony's authenticity in the restored church.



Illinska Church, c. 1653, Subotiv, Ukraine

For an American teaching wooden objects conservation at the Lviv Polytechnic National University, such a site visit provided a welcome opportunity to share my knowledge and expertise and uncover new insights into Ukraine's past. My Fulbright involvement with Ukraine began in 2016 when I was awarded Fulbright Specialist status, so returning to Ukraine, even on other occasions, has already started to feel in some ways like coming home. It started when Professor Bezv desired to expand his department's existing stone conservation program to include the conservation of wooden architecture and artifacts as well. His goal was to educate his students utilizing a Western model so that they would be able to preserve Ukraine's UNESCO World Heritage Site wooden tserkvas (or churches in Ukrainian).



Balcony of the Illinska Church, c. 1653, Subotiv



Tserkva of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, c. 1598, Rohatyn



Tserkva of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, c. 1502, Potelych, Ukraine

While this led to my advising on the preservation of these churches and their interiors, I soon realized that the issues were both much broader and deeper. For example, I viewed over 1,200 renaissance and baroque polychrome sculptures, many hundreds of icons and paintings on canvas at the art object repository of the Lviv Art Gallery in Olesko. They were all in dire need of conservation. When I toured the art conservation educational institutions, I discovered that chemistry was not on the curriculum, there were very few microscopes and that the students did not have access to art conservation labs. On one of my visits, I noticed a large graffiti in Lviv reading "Так нищать Львів" highlighting the disregard for historic preservation in Ukraine.



Street graffiti in Lviv which reads "This is how the city of Lviv is being destroyed"

These experiences led to my realization that what was truly needed was adopting a more scientific attitude toward art conservation, upgrading their conservation curriculum, formulating a code of ethics, and ultimately treating art conservation is a profession.

This situation led Myron Stachiw, former Head of the Fulbright Program in Ukraine and myself to organize a visit to the United States East Coast art conservation educational institutions and museums for Professor Bevz and his faculty. It also led to my colleagues at the University of Delaware Art Conservation Program to assist in the scientific analysis of the painted surfaces of the magnificent Assembly Hall at the LP, whose ceremonial opening will occur in late September 2020.



Julian Oktawian Zachariewicz Assembly Hall at the Lviv Polytechnic National University during conservation

Also that month, LP will add chemistry to its curriculum for art conservators. My students spent many engaging hours learning microscopic wood identification, an unknown subject I had introduced them to.



Students using a loupe to examine wood anatomy features



Student preparing sample for microscopic wood identification



Students learning microscopic features of wood anatomy using a digital microscope



Yuri Yanchyshyn and students from the Lviv Polytechnic National University visiting Krakow, Poland to attend the International Student Conference for the Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art

Later, we traveled to Krakow, Poland, to attend the International Student Conference for the Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art. Their perspectives were broadened when they listened to their peers from other European nations present academic papers in English, and later interacted with them.



Yuri Yanchyshyn addressing Parliament on April 18, 2018

When the LP decided to establish the first-ever university art conservation lab in Ukraine, I donated two of my firm's microscopes, and through the efforts of Myron Stachiw, Roger Williams University donated eight Zeiss microscopes. The reaction of both faculty and the students was very positive. They felt that actual change was taking place. My addressing Ukraine's Parliament, advocating for increased funding for historic preservation, made all concerned feel they are not alone in preserving Ukraine's past.

And all of this happened over many great vegan dinners and making many new friends.

Ukraine is an old nation, but relatively new as an independent and sovereign post-Soviet state. It chose the West during its Revolution of Dignity in 2014 and is redefining its identity, re-examining its history, re-assessing its cultural heritage, and how best to preserve it. The Fulbright Program permitted me to become aware of this process, to meet the faculty and students of the Lviv Polytechnic National University, and others, who are on the front lines of this process, and in a small way to become a part of it. It was a life-changing experience.



The Virtual Fulbright Ukraine:

Don't forget to visit us on the website www.fulbright.org.ua to become aware of a wide range of events showcasing the accomplishments and contributions of Fulbrighters to Ukrainian and U.S. scholarly, cultural and social life.

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We look forward to receiving your stories!

Letters to the Editor or Opinion Pieces are welcomed.
Please send them to valeksanych@iie.org.

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