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Organized Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Ukraine: Structure, Influence and Ideology*

ABSTRACT: In the wake of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine has witnessed a substantial growth in organized anti-Semitism. Central to this development is an organization, known as the Interregional Academy of Human Resources, better known by its Ukrainian acronym MAUP. It operates a well-connected political network that reaches the very top of the Ukrainian society. MAUP is the largest private university in Ukraine, with 57,000 students at 24 regional campuses. MAUP is connected to the KKK; David Duke is teaching courses in history and international relations at the university. Funded by Saudi Arabia, Libya and Iran, MAUP’s printing house publishes about 85% of the anti-Semitic literature in Ukraine. Until very recently, Ukrainian President Yushchenko and Foreign Minister Tarasiuk served on its board; former President Kravchuk still does. This paper is a study of anti-Semitism in Ukraine, of its intellectual roots, influence and strength. It traces the Soviet, Christian, German and racist political traditions and outlines the political ambitions of organized anti-Semitism in post-Orange Revolution Ukraine.

On August 28, 2005, a Jewish student in Kyiv was beaten and left for dead after leaving his synagogue to buy food. Thirty-two-year-old Mordechai Molozhanov was long in a coma, before being flown to Tel Aviv for brain surgery. At the time of writing, it is not clear whether he will survive.¹ The small Jewish community in Ukraine has been struggling to raise public awareness on the sharp rise in anti-Semitic propaganda and violence in that country.² Repeatedly, the Jewish community has called on the leaders of Ukraine to disassociate

¹ The author wishes to thank Stephanie Miller, graduate student at Harvard University, Professors John-Paul Himka and David Marples at the University of Alberta for inspiration, suggestions and encouragement. Special thanks also to Ilya Khineyko, Ph.D. candidate, University of Alberta. This article was made possible thanks to a Summer FLAS Scholarship from the U.S. State Department and the generous support of Professor Jane Samson, University of Alberta.
themselves from, and crack down on anti-Semitic propaganda. Until now, the response from the Ukrainian leadership has often been slow and half-hearted. “Manifestations of anti-Semitism worry the authorities no more than last year’s snow,” according to professor Oleksandr Naiman, who has specialized in anti-Semitism in Ukraine. Anti-Semitism has been treated as if it is not a serious problem but rather a marginal phenomenon at the fringes of society. “There is no such problem as antisemitism or other manifestations of xenophobia in Ukraine,” President Yushchenko stated on September 18, 2005, but added that he would “treat the problem of antisemitism attentively and responsibly.”

The aim here is to shed light on manifestations of contemporary anti-Semitism in Ukraine. Contrary to claims often voiced by diaspora groups and the Ukrainian government, this paper argues that anti-Semitism is more widespread than officially acknowledged. Moreover, I argue that this is a growing problem, and that aggressive anti-Semites constitute a well-organized and influential lobby with connections and influences that reaches the very top of society. My approach has been to analyze a number of writers, representative of contemporary anti-Semitism in Ukraine and to give a general idea of the arguments they promote. I will also discuss the centrality of the well-funded and powerful organization to which many of them are connected. One aspect of this anti-Semitic victimization is that it denies almost all Ukrainian agency. If the reader is to believe the selection of anti-Semitic literature offered by the book

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3 The word anti-Semitism is an ambiguous and problematic term. It is attributed to the German politician Wilhelm Marr, who in 1878 started to use the term in an attempt to distance himself from the Christian tradition of hostility towards Jews and instead provide a “scientific”-sounding terminology for racial or cultural, often secular, anti-Jewish sentiments. In this sense, even though this term is nonsensical, it has entered the vocabulary as an established term for hostility towards Jews. Hence, it differs little from the equally problematic word “racism.” Some scholars of anti-Semitism have argued that the label anti-Semitism should be reserved for more “pronounced and irrational forms of hostility, especially those that look to concerted legal actions against Jews. Such indeed was the intent of many anti-Semites when the form was first coined.” Henrik Bacher, *Återkomsten: Antisemitism i Sverige efter 1945* [The Return: Anti-Semitism in Sweden After 1945] (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2004) 26; and Albert S. Lindemann, *Anti-Semitism before the Holocaust* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2000) 10.


6 In doing so, I share the assessment of the Ukrainian Jewish community. “[L]ocal Jews today seem to agree that Yushchenko’s government has not shown enough political will or ability to implement economic and political reforms and combat anti-Semitism.” Ana Shidler, “Myths and Truths about Ukrainian Anti-Semitism,” *Ukraine Now* 4 Apr. 2004. http://www.ukrnow.com/content/view/31/2/ (accessed 3 Sept. 2005).
dealers on Prospekt Svobody in L'viv and Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kyiv, Ukrainians have never been anything but passive victims of Jewish evil. Ukrainian agency would be limited to a few outbursts of anti-Semitic violence under Khmel'nyc'kyi, the Black Hundreds and Petliura. From the perspective of the anti-Semites, Jewish domination of Ukraine began in the Middle Ages and have lasted until today. The Jews have ruled through “Jewish” tsars, Judeo-Communists, Judeo-Nazis and the current, “a-national” Jewish oligarchs and criminals, bent on destroying Ukraine and the Slavic world. The anti-Semites weave together an overall picture where Ukrainian history during the past one hundred years turns into something of a Dolchstoß legend: throughout the 20th century, Ukrainians have been stabbed in the back repeatedly by Jews and/or Zionists. The conclusion from this is that there was—and is—no Ukrainian agency whatsoever.

Given the subject of this article—anti-Semitism in Ukraine—it should be emphasized that the purpose of this paper is to shed light on an under-researched topic that deserves more scholarly attention. My goal is to focus on an aspect of territorial history, not to write a national one. Rather than a study of Ukrainians, it is a study of anti-Semitism among the people who share its territory. Needless to say, it is not my purpose to disgrace a culture, community, or ethnic group. One of the central themes in the anti-Semitic literature I have analyzed is the equating of communists, oligarchs, mass murderers and sexual predators with Jews. My intention is to avoid this form of argumentation. The anti-Semites, whose ideas are presented in this paper, are from Ukraine. This is not to say that Ukrainians are anti-Semites.

What makes this prevalent public anti-Semitism so remarkable is that there are hardly no Jews left in Ukraine. According to the 2001 Ukrainian census, there are only 103,000 Jews in Ukraine, or 0.2% of the population. Out of 130 registered nationalities in Ukraine, that leaves the Jewish minority numerically behind Bulgarians (204,000), Hungarians (156,000), Romanians (151,000) and Poles (144,000). This is a sharp decline from the 1989 and 1996 figures of 487,000 and 180,000, respectively, and today this number has declined further by an annual Jewish emigration of some 14,000 to 21,000 people. In fact, anti-

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Semitic literature is printed in editions, considerably larger than the entire Jewish population of Ukraine.\(^{10}\) According to a 1992 poll, 27 per cent of Ukrainians harbored anti-Semitic views.\(^{11}\) A 2003 study was largely consistent with these findings: it showed that 18.7 per cent harbored strong “modern,” i.e. secular, racist anti-Semitic views while 17.2 per cent harbored “traditional,” i.e. religious anti-Semitic attitudes. An additional 21.7 per cent held moderate “modern” anti-Semitic views; 24.4% held moderate religious anti-Semitic views.\(^{12}\) Both the numbers of “modern” and “traditional” anti-Semites were significantly higher in Western Ukraine than in the rest of the country (30.7% and 33.8%, respectively) while the lowest in Kyiv (5.6% and 7.4%) and the South (14.9% and 6.9%).\(^{13}\) According to a 1996 survey by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 25 per cent of the respondents did not want Jews to be citizens of Ukraine.\(^{14}\) This number has remained largely stable through the 1990s, hovering around one quarter of the population.\(^{15}\) On February 26, 2004 the paper *Pravda Ukrainy* published a survey by the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, finding that only 2.8% of Ukrainians would allow a Jew to marry into their family.\(^{16}\) Thus, there is a market for anti-Semitic publications.\(^{17}\) Many explanations have been given for Ukrainian anti-Semitism. Betsy Gidwitz at the Jerusalem Center for Politic Affairs attributes the recent growth in anti-Semitism to “continuing economic

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\(^{10}\) In fact, the anti-Semitic publications available from MAUP’s online bookstore alone are printed in volumes roughly in the same numbers as the Jewish population of Ukraine. See <www.biblion.com.ua>, which lists over 20 MAUP books with anti-Semitic content, each printed in editions of 5000 copies.


\(^{13}\) Krzemińska, 68-9.


\(^{15}\) The number of respondents opposed to Jews as *residents* of Ukraine was 21.9% in 1994; 24.2% in 1994; and 24.0% in 1998, according to nation-wide surveys, Natalia V. Panina and Evhen I. Golovakha, *Tendencies in the Development of the Ukrainian Society (1994-1998). Sociological Indicators (Tables, Illustrations and Commentaries).* (Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Sociology, 1999) 90-3.


\(^{17}\) Myrs’kyi, Naiman, 67-9.
distress, Ukrainian nationalism (particularly in western Ukraine), envy of welfare assistance provided by the comparably well-organized and well-financed Jewish community, and, in some cities, to propaganda efforts of Arabic students enrolled at local universities and other post-secondary institutions."\(^18\)

Anti-Semitism sells. Out of 19 book vendors on the streets of central L'viv during the summer of 2005, 16 were openly selling anti-Semitic literature. Roughly speaking, the non-fiction books that appear to be particularly popular among post-Soviet Western Ukrainian readers fall into three or four broad categories. Perhaps the most popular genre seems to be health. Alternative medicine, cookbooks and guides on how to improve your sex life sell well. Another genre that seems to strike a chord with Ukrainian readers is literature of religious or metaphysical nature, such as New Age and neo-paganism. This literature, referred to as “esoteric,” is often racist in nature. A third category is popular history and biographies, particularly books on Soviet history and Soviet leaders. These three first categories of books are almost exclusively published in Russian, the majority of them being printed in Russia. A fourth category, the focus of this article, is anti-Semitic literature of various sorts. While self-help guides, cookbooks, religious literature and biographies are staples of any Western European or American bookstore, anti-Semitic literature is not.

About 70% of the anti-Semitic publications sold in Ukraine is being published by an educational institution called MAUP, Mizhrehional'na Akademiia Upravlinnia Personalom, or the Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management, which is linked to the journal Personal.\(^19\) MAUP is a large, well-connected and increasingly powerful organization, partly funded by


money from Libya and Palestine, but particularly from Saudi Arabia and Iran. It is also closely connected with white supremacy groups in the United States and to David Duke, the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. MAUP presents itself as "the only Ukrainian institution of science and higher education, dedicated to the studies of the thankless themes of the theory and practice of Zionism in the modern world." Its publications are sold openly on the streets of Ukrainian cities as well as in major bookstore chains such as Bukva. Moreover, some of these books are available in diaspora bookstores in North America. Not all MAUP books are written by Ukrainians. MAUP also sells Ukrainian and Russian translation of books such as David Duke’s *The Jewish Question Through the Eyes of an American: My Investigation of Zionism* and translations of anti-Semitic tractates such as Werner Zombart’s 1912 *Jews and*

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23 See, for instance <http://kolos.com/store/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=206&osCsid=4242763c764a4c6451c86bb1c4e8413c> (accessed 29 Aug. 2005), where MAUP publications could be purchased during the summer of 2005. The internet-based diaspora Ukrainian books store Kolos also sell some other of the racist books that were frequently sold alongside MAUP’s publications on the streets of L’viv and Kyiv, such as Ihor Kahanets’ *Aris’kyi Standart* [*The Aryan Standard*] (Kyiv: A.C.K, 2003). This book is introduced thus: “By combining latest achievements in the fields of archaeology, archeo-genetics, climatology, history, anthropology, psycho-informatics, and linguistics, the author is looking for the answer to many questions, which bother many people in Ukraine and outside her borders. Who was Jesus Christ—Aryan or Jew? How into Holly (sic) Gospel got inserts from enemies? What is Judeo-Christian lies? When human races appeared? Who were Slavs? To what kind of state we are moving—dictatorship, democracy, or Hetmanat (sic)? To all of these questions one can find answers by reading I. Kahanets book ‘Aryan Standard,’ which is published by Kyiv publisher ‘A.C.K.’”

the Economic Life. Other publications are dedicated to secret Jewish-Freemasonry “collaboration,” such as G. G. Mets’ The World-Wide Societies of Freemasons: Their Activities and Goals and Yakov Brafman’s The Book of the Kahal: The World-Wide Jewish Question. Vasył' Iaremenko has written the preface to Matviy Shestopal’s The Jews of Ukraine: A Short Historical Explanation. In addition to open hate literature, MAUP textbooks on supposedly apolitical subjects such as anthropology also contain anti-communist and anti-Semitic content.

25 Verner Zombart [Werner Sombart], Ievrei i khoziaistvennaia zhizn’: Avtoriz. per. s nem. pod red. G. Grosmana (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003). Summary: “In this work, first published in St. Petersburg 1912, professor Werner Sombart examines the peculiar conditions of Jewish influence on the economic life in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, their role in the birth and development of capitalism. Published as a historical memory.” Sombart began as a Marxist but became increasingly conservative. He developed into an anti-Semite and Nazi. Jews and Liberals found his 1911 Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben to be crudely anti-Semitic. By and large, scholars have found its sources (if given) questionable and without research merit. Nevertheless, Sombart’s book was successful on the marketplace, having a strong impact on the political climate in pre-World War I Germany. The book presents a stereotypical picture of the Jews, which Sombart associates with crass materialism and soulless capitalism.

26 G. G. Mets, Vsemirnoe obshchestvo masonov: sushchnost’ i tseli: iz kn. O. A. Platonova “Ternovyi venets Rossii. Tainaia istoriia masonstva 1731-1996” s neznachit. sokrashcheniiami (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003). Summary: “The book explores the history behind the birth of freemasonry—a movement, which appeared in the countries of Europe in the 18th century in form of a sect and secret societies with the pronounced goal of accomplish world supremacy based upon the Jewish teachings of the chosen people.”


28 Matviy Shestopal’s Ievrei na Ukraini: Istorychna dovidka [Jews in Ukraine: Historical Information] (Kyiv: MAUP, 2002). Summary: “In this book the author tells about the customs and traditions of Jewry from ancient times until today; out of a wide material of historical facts, particularly aspects of Jewish-Ukrainian coexistence, reflecting on the root causes of so-called anti-Semitism, gives his views on Zionism as a form of racism, and crushes the myth that the Ukrainian people would harbour a zoological hatred towards Jews. There was no such hatred in the past and there is not today.”

MAUP is the largest private educational establishment (nederzhavnyi uchbovyi zaklad) in Ukraine. “It has educated more government officials, diplomats and administrators than any other university and has the highest academic accreditation Ukraine provides as well as recognition from UNESCO.”

It operates a vast network of educational institutions. Recently, it has seen rapid growth. In 2004, 35,000 students were studying at its 55 affiliates and seven regional institutions across Ukraine. By September 2005, the number of students had grown to over 51,000, in November the same year to 57,000. The university is well-connected, linked to several Ukrainian top political figures. Until 2005, President Viktor Yushchenko himself served on MAUP’s board of directors and on the supervisory board of their anti-Semitic journal Personal. MAUP is headed by Heorhii Shchokin, who is also a co-founder of the far-right Conservative Party. His party calls for the reintroduction of the Soviet era “nationality” clause into Ukrainian passports, so that Jews can be properly identified; it demands that all Ukrainian bodies of power should consist of at least 80% ethnic Ukrainians, that only ethnic Ukrainians should be eligible to become head of state and that Jews should be barred from top positions.

In addition to receiving funding from Arab dictatorships, Shchokin
has addressed three conferences in Saudi Arabia and at least one “anti-Zionist” conference in the United Arab Emirates, in October, 2002. He made some headlines in the Ukrainian press when he claimed that Osama bin Laden really is a Jew by the name of Benya Landau. MAUP is permeated with the political views of its leadership and the Conservative Party, and all former and present students receive free copies of the anti-Semitic journal Personal Plus. The students at MAUP have been intimidated into signing up for Shchokin’s party. Students and staff, who have been reluctant to do so, have been threatened with violence or firing. In order to enlighten the public about the “practice of Zionism in the modern world” MAUP has arranged a number of “scientific” conferences. One of their more high profile conferences was the November 15, 2002 “All-Ukrainian scientific conference devoted to the memory of millions of people who perished from the famine in 1932-33.”

The MAUP leadership is convinced that “Jewish publicists are suppressing the facts on who organized the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1933.” At the 2002 conference one anti-Semitic presentation followed another. These anti-Semites are not marginal people at the fringes of society. Their circle includes

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Vladimir Matveyev and Walter Ruby, “Anti-Semitism in Ukrainian media up, and its acceptance is worrying Jews,” NCSJ, Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia, 21 Sept. 2004. His anti-Semitic speeches were later published as Heorhiy Shchokin, Kyl’turnoe raznoboazie mira: puti i prepyatstviia (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003).


Iaremenko, 96. In this Ukrainian Holocaust, “Not a single Jew died of hunger in 1933,” 97.
ambassadors and professors. The conference was even honoured by the presence of Leonid Kravchuk, former leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the first president of independent Ukraine. Kravchuk also serves on the board of MAUP. So does Ukrainian Foreign Minister Boris Tarasiuk.42

Among the participants were also well-established Ukrainian historian Yuri Shapoval and nationalist historian Volodymyr Serhiichuk.43 After Shchokin opened the conference, Kravchuk took the floor. He expressed his support for the conference, and encouraged the conference participants to “discuss [the Famine] thoroughly and constructively.” The former president asked the participants the rhetorical questions how the famine could have happened and who was to blame for the death of seven to ten million people.44 The question of who to blame for evils against Ukrainians is something MAUP has specialized in. Moreover, they seem to know exactly whom to blame.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the question of blame became a leitmotif for many of the participants. One of the first speakers to take the floor was Levko Lukianenko, former prisoner of conscience, presidential candidate, member of the Verkhovna Rada for the Yuliia Tymoshenko bloc and the first Ukrainian ambassador to Canada (1992-3). Lukianenko holds an Honorary Doctorate in Law from the University of Alberta.45 To Lukianenko, the question of blame

42 Matveyev and Ruby, “Anti-Semitism in Ukrainian media up, and its acceptance is worrying Jews,” NCSJ, Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia, 21 Sept. 2004.
43 It seems as if Shapoval was exploited by MAUP. Not only has he distanced himself from MAUP since—in June, 2005, he was one of the signatories condemning the activities of MAUP in the journal Krytyka. In January, 2006 MAUP sued him for defamation. “Proty ksenofobii, za evropeisku Ukrainu: Zaiaava ukrainskoi intelligentsii,” [“Against Xenophobia, for a European Ukraine: Appeal by the Ukrainian Intelligentsia”] Krytyka, 9.6 (June 2005): 32. “MAUP podala do sudu na akademikiv Natsional'noi akademii nauk” [“MAUP took academicians from the National Academy of Science to court”], 5 Kanal <http://5tv.com.ua/newsline/184/0/20564/> (accessed 16 Mar. 2006).
45 The University of Alberta convocation program for 1993 presents Lukianenko as “instrumental in organizing the Ukrainian popular movement, Rukh, to promote democratization and national rights.” Convocation 1993 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993) 30. The university policy regarding honorary degrees is “intended to honor individuals whose significant community service, scholarly or artistic achievements are worthy of the University’s highest honor. The awarding of honorary degrees is intended to encourage a standard of excellence which is exemplary to students and society. [...] By accepting an honorary degree, the recipient brings honor to the
had an easy answer: this evil was carried out by a “satanical” government controlled by the Jews.\textsuperscript{46} The former ambassador claimed that even though Jews made up only 2 per cent of the population of the Russian empire in 1917, they controlled the Soviet government. According to Lukianenko, 19 out of 20 people’s commissars were Jews,\textsuperscript{47} in the military commissariat 33 of 43 commissars were Jews and in the commissariat of Justice 20 of 21. “Thus out of 556 people who occupied the most important administrative positions in the commissariats, the Communist Party and the punitive organs almost 450, or 80\%, were Jews.”\textsuperscript{48} Lukianenko further informs the congress that both Lenin and Stalin belonged to the house of David. “Lenin-Blank. Jew on the maternal side, Kalmyk on the paternal side”; “Iosyp Stalin (full, correct name—Iosyp David Vissarionovych Dzhuhashvili-Kokhba) Georgian Jew.” Lukianenko continued in a similar fashion to list a number of other non-Jews as Jews.\textsuperscript{49} The ambassador informed the ex-president and the conference that in the central committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) 43 out of 59 people were Jews. All in all, according to Lukianenko, 83\% of the 500 most influential people in the USSR were Jews.\textsuperscript{50} Stalin’s purges of the late 1930s merely caused

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{47} Lukianenko (2002) 12.
\bibitem{48} Lukianenko (2002) 13. As source for these claims, he lists an anti-Semitic tract, B. Bohoslov’s \textit{Sionizm proty ukraintsiv} \textit{[Zionism against Ukrainians]} (Odesa, 2001). This was often sold next to \textit{Mein Kampf} on the streets of L’viv and Kyiv in 2004 and 2005.
\bibitem{49} Lukianenko (2002) 12.
\bibitem{50} Lukianenko (2002) 13.
\end{thebibliography}
“a part of the ‘Leninist guard’ being thrown in concentration camps or murdered.” Nevertheless, Jewish rule continued, and the apparatus of oppression was based upon assimilated Jews who worked and lived alongside gentiles.  

Other speeches followed the same pattern. Professor I.A. Khyzhniak claimed that Lenin’s government was 90% Jewish. Unlike even Lukianenko, who gives seven references—primarily to his own writings or to other anti-Semitic pamphlets—Professor Khyzhniak does not bother to add even a single footnote to support his claim. However his article contains two quotes—in Russian—from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This may be the first time at a “scientific” conference that a professor of history treats the Protocols as an authoritative primary source for his research. “In the west[ern world],” we learn, “they are still regarded as the singular key to understanding the riddle of Bolshevism.” He cites protocol number one and ten, which spell out the “Zionist” ambitions to achieve world domination through hypocrisy and fraud. Thus, the 1921 famine was orchestrated by “Zionists,” the second one in 1932-33 by “Bolshevik Zionists animals.” Khyzhniak cites Congressional Records of the U.S. Senate in his attempts to back up claims of Zionist control over Bolshevism.

The index of the number of Bolshevik Zionists represented in the leadership of the Soviet empire, beginning in 1917, speaks for itself. They held 85% of the most powerful state positions. In the Congressional Records of the 65th session of the United States Senate it is registered that in the government apparatus in Petrograd 16 ethnic Russians worked but 371 Jews, 265 of which had arrived from New York, a city which is considered the centre of world Zionism.

MAUP has organized several similar pseudo-scientific conferences. The most recent one was the June 2005 “Fourth World Wide Conference” titled “A Dialogue of Civilizations: Zionism as the Biggest Threat to Contemporary Civilization?” While ex-president Kravchuk did not attend this conference, it was visited by some other high-profile guests. A guest of honour was David Duke, attending his fourth MAUP conference. Other foreign guests included

53 Khyzhniak 62, 64, citing The Protocols of the Elders of Zion number 1 and 10.
54 “bil'kovits'ko-ziionists'kii kreatury,” Khyzhniak, 62, 63.
55 However, Khyzhniak does not provide a footnote for this claim. Khyzhniak, 64.
56 Matveiev and Ruby. After MAUP awarded David Duke a Ph.D. in history he has been teaching classes there in history and international relations. His dissertation, defended on September 9, 2005 and titled “Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacism” was
the ambassadors of Iran, Syria and Palestine.57 Delegates at the conference called for the deportation of Jews from Ukraine.58 Former ambassador Lukianenko was seated next to Duke and gave him a standing ovation.59

This was not the first time that Lukianenko figured in openly anti-Semitic events. In July 2004, he published an anti-Semitic article in MAUP’s weekly Personal Plus, where he among other things claimed that Jews reject physical labour, again blamed Stalin’s terror on the Jews, claimed that “Zionists” “traditionally” are opposed to Ukrainianhood and that “instead of installing love of labour, the Jewish puppet masters who control mass media use their blood money to install instead love for the beautiful and soulless life in order to cultivate the animal instincts of our young.” In the same article he manages to claim that there is no anti-Semitism in Ukraine, since

[I have not met a single Ukrainian, who is opposed to all Semitic people. Therefore, the term ‘anti-Semite’ is inadequate from a scientific point of view. We Ukrainians base our attitudes to other nations and national groups, with whom we interact, on their attitudes towards us, not on the base of ethnic characteristics.60

In this regard, Lukianenko’s argumentation differs little from other contemporary anti-Semites. As Swedish scholar Henrik Bachner has pointed out: the anti-anti-Zionism became an important part of European anti-Semitic discourse after 1945.

Few, if any today admits an openly negative attitude to Jews. On the contrary […] an explicit distancing from anti-Semitism has become an important component in anti-Semitic argumentation.61

unanimously approved by the 10 member examining committee. One of the members on the committee was professor I.A. Khyzniak. This doctorate was Duke’s second from MAUP. They had previously awarded him an honorary doctorate. “David Duke Achieves Doctorate in Ukraine” <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=394>. See also the Anti-Defamation League’s site <http://www.adl.org/main_Anti_Semitism_International/maup_ukraine.htm> (all accessed 4 Oct. 2005).

61 Bachner 30.

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Despite calls in the English-language press of the Ukrainian capital for the party leadership to distance themselves from Lukianenko, he was not rebuked, either by then-prime minister Yuliia Tymoshenko or her party. Tymoshenko and Yushchenko apparently consider Lukianenko one of theirs. On April 20, 2005, only a few weeks before the “anti-Zionist” conference, president Yushchenko had awarded him the most prestigious order of the republic, Hero of Ukraine, “in recognition of his civic valor, selfless dedication in championing the ideals of freedom and democracy, and meritorious contribution to the building and development of the Ukrainian state.” Shchokin interpreted this as recognition of MAUP’s activities. Lukianenko responded to this honour by delivering an anti-Semitic acceptance speech. On December 7, 2005 Yuliia Tymoshenko presented her bloc’s top 10 candidates for the March 2006 elections. Lukianenko was one of them.

The government of Ukraine may have done little in terms of combating anti-Semitic attitudes, but there are important voices of dissent. Later that summer, a group of 97 Ukrainian and diaspora intellectuals signed an open letter which was published in the June 2005 edition of Krytyka, condemning the activities of MAUP. They pointed to the bad publicity MAUP has caused Ukraine and their communities.

62 “Tymoshenko: Toss out Lukyanenko,” editorial, Kyiv Post 9 Jun. 2005. For Lukianenko’s credentials, see Iuliia Tymoshenko’s official site: <http://ww2.tymoshenko.com.ua/eng/elections/partners/> (accessed 27 Aug. 2005). Incidentally, MAUP professor Vasyl’ Iaremenko singles out the editor of the English language newspaper Kyiv Post as one of its enemies. Iaremenko knows to inform us about the reason for Kyiv Post’s sensitivity to open racism: they are part of the conspiracy against Ukraine. “[W]e are consuming the information and spiritual productions of the Jewish ideological kitchen. Today we need to raise the question about creating a Ukrainian TV, which instead of supporting the politics, ideology, cultural disinformation or information of Zionist Jewish centers in the U.S., would promote our, Ukrainian [culture].” As an example of this un-Ukrainian media outlets, Iaremenko lists “Jed Sandes, American Zionist Jew, citizen of the United States, publishing the papers Korrespondent and Kyiv-Post in Kyiv.” Iaremenko 83-4.


The [activities of MAUP] peaked into a most powerful KGB-style anti-Semitic campaign under the banner of “anti-Zionism.” In an address to the president of Ukraine, the speaker of the Verkhovna Rada and the chief justice of the supreme court, the leadership of MAUP, accompanied by a number of supposedly patriotic organizations, two members of the Rada and almost one hundred “scientists, public and political figures” demanded “an end to the criminal activities organized by Ukrainian Jewry.” [...] The root of the problem is not the existence of MAUP or the statements and activities of this or that xenophobe, but in our inaction in the face of open evil, in our lack of preparedness to ask our politicians, which we stood shoulder to shoulder with on the streets during the days of the revolution: how long will these professors at the MAUP institutions bring disgrace to respectable professors by appearing alongside a mob of domestic semi-fascists/semi-chechists and imported clansmen? Our question to the leaders of Ukraine is: who stands behind this massive anti-Semitic campaign? Is this not a “fifth column” working within our society who wishes to introduce a foreign ethnopolitical conflict on our territory?67

Among the signers of this open letter were University of Alberta Professors Oleh Ilnytzkyj and Natalia Pylypiuk, as well as well-known Ukrainian intellectuals such as Mykola Riabchuk, Iaroslav Hrytsak and Iurii Shapoval, the latter with personal experiences of having a respectable academic paper appear alongside those of Lukianenko and Khyzhniak after participating in a MAUP conference in 2002.68 Alongside this open letter were two similar open letters from the Ukrainian American Congress and the Annual Scientific Conference on Ukrainian studies at Illinois State University, both condemning the anti-Semitism and pseudo-scientific activities of MAUP.69

However, a substantial part of the Ukrainian diaspora share President Yushchenko’s view that there is no such problem as anti-Semitism in Ukraine. If the consensus attitude towards Ukrainian collaboration and war crimes has been, as John-Paul Himka argues, a “blind spot in the collective memory of the diaspora,”70 Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk show how this “blind spot”

67 “Proty ksenofobii, za evropeisku Ukrainu: Zaiava ukrainskoi intelligentsii” [“Against Xenophobia, for a European Ukraine: Appeal by the Ukrainian Intelligentsia”] Krytyka, 9.6 (June 2005): 32.
68 “Proty ksenofobii...”
69 “Ukrainsi SShA zasudzhuit’ antysemityzm,”[“The Ukrainians of the United States condemn anti-Semitism”] Krytyka 9.6 (June 2005): 32.
was expanded to include the subject of Ukrainian anti-Semitism as well. In the diaspora narrative, anti-Semitism has often been downplayed and its existence even denied. While Bohdan Osadczuk claims that the integral nationalists in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, “unlike almost all other groupings of this type in all of Europe, did not have an anti-Jewish program,” Bohdan Wytwycky in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* goes even further to claim that “there has never... been a Ukrainian anti-Semitic organization or political party.” This highly questionable statement appears in an encyclopedia edited by the same man who took the initiative to create the *Waffen SS Galizien*, published anti-Semitic statements during the Holocaust, and in April 1941 called Hans Frank to set up an ethnically pure Ukrainian enclave in the *Generalgouvernement*, free from Jews and Poles.

In 2003 Ukrainian professor Vasyl' Iaremenko, published an essay titled *Jews in Ukraine Today: Reality without Myths*. This caused a judicial process that temporarily forced one of the country’s largest papers to close down. The article has since been re-published in a book by the same name. In 1989-90, Iaremenko was a visiting professor at the University of Alberta. In his anti-Semitic activities he actively associates himself with this Canadian university in

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75 Iaremenko taught the history of Ukrainian pre-revolutionary journalism and publishing for over thirty years and has a fairly impressive number of publications behind him. It is often tempting to seek explanations for such a violent and extreme anti-Semitic hatred in a person’s background. Little Iaremenko’s father was one of the victims of the terror. “In 1937 my father was arrested in the village Zahrunivka in the Zin'kivs'k rayon by two Jewish commissars and three NKVD soldiers. My mother, along with her four sons, was evicted from our house to live a wretched life as she could not find shelter in other rayons. And there were millions of Ukrainians who shared these destinies. We have our own Holocaust, there was a genocide aimed at the Ukrainian people that was carried out by Jewish hands.” Iaremenko (2003) 27, 55 and 106.
order to enhance his credibility. The book’s afterword by I. Pyvyshyn describes Iaremenko as “not only a famous scholar, but also a beloved professor for generations of journalists and linguists.” As a disclaimer, Pyvyshyn states that “there is nothing even close to [anti-Semitism] in professor Iaremenko’s publications.”

The first article in the book is titled “The Myth of Ukrainian anti-Semitism.” Essentially the article is a collection of historical myths, on which Iaremenko elaborates further. He subscribes to the idea that Bolshevism is a creation by international Jewry. In Iaremenko’s reading of history, this conspiracy is aimed particularly against ethnic Ukrainians, who figure in the role of prime victims of Jewish conspiracies. In the introduction, Iaremenko states that “Today, Zionists [...] are the largest and most dangerous threat to Ukraine, to the rights of the Ukrainian people, its dignity, moral, spiritual and economic sovereignty.” Iaremenko claims that Jews hold a near-monopoly of the political, economic, intellectual power in Ukraine.

What Ukrainian Jewry today is going through is not a period of renaissance, but a process of legalization of its position as a political and ideological organization, not a national minority. It is well organized, well structured and generously financed. This so-called national minority distinguishes itself by its extraordinary aggression, which constitutes an enormous danger to the national security of Ukraine. Therefore it ought to be under a never relaxed governmental and public control. As an alien political force, which de facto controls international trade, national capital, mass media, the sphere of book publishing in Ukraine, it must be restrained and regulated by strict government and state control.

According to Iaremenko, a tiny national minority, which makes up less than 1/500th of the total population, dominates public life in Ukraine:

Jewry, as a political organization, rather than a national minority, demands state and public control. While the Jewish population in Ukraine makes up less than one percent of the population of Ukraine, there are 136 (158 according to other sources) deputies of Jewish nationality in the Verkhovna Rada (considerably more, than in the Israeli Knesset). [...] This gives rise to a number of questions. Who are they representing? The Jewish population? The people of Ukraine or the Ukrainian people? Who pays them? Whose money? 90% of Ukrainian banks are run by “managers” of Jewish nationality. In other words, Ukrainian finances are in Jewish

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76 “[Vasyl’ Iaremenko] taught at the Universities of Bratislava (Slovakia) and Alberta (Canada).” Vasyl’ Iaremenko, Ievreii v Ukraini s’ohodni: realnist’ bez mifiv (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003), back cover.
77 I. Pyvyshyn, “Pisliamova” ("Afterword") in Iaremenko 125.
78 Iaremenko 4.
79 Iaremenko 12-13.
hands. As a citizen of Ukraine and a member of the titular nationality, I am concerned about this and feel compelled to speak out publicly and ask questions, such as: is this a normal situation? Without any accusations of “anti-Semitism.”

The idea that the tiny Ukrainian Jewish community is manipulating or controlling the political life in Ukraine is central to the anti-Semitic argument. Similar ideas circulate in the organs of the Ukrainian diaspora as well. Following this line of argumentation, a columnist, Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, in The Ukrainian Weekly, the largest Ukrainian newspaper in the United States, claimed that “Jews” were behind Yanukovych in the first round of the Ukrainian elections in November 2004. This stirred up an emotional debate in the diaspora press. While the arguments of Kuropas differed in tone, the content differed little from the cruder anti-Semites at MAUP.

80 Iaremko 15. The same argument is repeated in other essays in the book, 33. If the number of deputies seems extreme, there are publications circulating on the streets of Kyiv listing the number as even higher. The nationalist journal Idealist No. 6 and 7, 2002 published two articles on supposed Jews in the Verkhovna Rada. The journal claimed that there were “326 Jews [zhydiv] in the Verkhovna Rada.” Svitova spil’nota ta slov’ians’ki narody neodminno vyluchat’ iz vlasnoho ta zhittia planety zlochnymi svitovymy sionizm, yakyi ie formou rasysmu ta rasovoi dyskryminatsii [The World Community and the Slavic Peoples have to uproot from the Power and the Life of the Planet the Criminal World Zionism since it is a Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination] (Ternopil’: n.p., 2003) 2.

81 Dr. Myron B. Kuropas wrote that “Jews were the tools of the Polish king; during Soviet times, they began as loyal members of the Soviet ruling elite. Later, Jews were especially well represented in the Soviet secret police. [...] This same phenomenon is making a comeback. Jews are backing the Kuchma gang. [...] The age-old Jewish strategy of clinging to those who rule. [...] Honest Jews have nothing to fear from honest government. [...] What will happen to Jewish oligarchs should there be a Yushchenko administration? Not to worry. Most will probably survive. They will simply do what their predecessors have always done: quickly join the power structure” Myron B. Kuropas “Jews for Yanukovych,” Ukrainian Weekly 72.44 (31 Oct. 2004). See also the replies: “As for Dr. Kuropas and his odious stereotyping, his article neither advances constructively the debate concerning Ukraine’s ongoing election, nor enhances the perception of Ukrainians in the 21st century.” Bohdan S. Ozaruk, “Anti-Semitism Must be Denounced,” Ukrainian Weekly 72.47 (21 Nov. 2004). “In his columns, Myron Kuropas frequently writes against the Jews, and I find it offensive. [...] I personally am ashamed to belong to a community were anti-Semitism is so blithely tolerated in its most representative newspaper.” John-Paul Himka “Comments about Kuropas Column,” Ukrainian Weekly 72.50 (12 Dec. 2004). See also the replies to Himka by Bohdan Vitvitsky: “Leon Trotsky, one of the two founding fathers of the Soviet state, one of the two most criminal states in the 20th century, was Jewish. As was one of Stalin’s two closest henchmen during the bloody 1930s, Lazar Kaganovich. As were a disproportionate number of those who built and ran the Soviet concentration camp system. We’re not talking about perimeter guards at some camp, we’re talking about people whocreated and managed this evil system. Again, how can the truth be anti-
Iaremenko lists SDPU(o)—the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united)—as a particularly active force in the hands of the Zionists, a political party led by Viktor Medvedchuk, who was the head of former President Kuchma’s administration. In his condemnation of SDPU(o), Iaremenko resorts to crude ethnic slurs, followed by the customary denial that this would be anti-Semitic.

The SDPU(o) is a Bundist type party, the leadership of which is in Jewish hands, and funded by Jewish money. [P]eople […] call the party not “united” [“ob’ednannykh”] but “circumcised” [“obrizanykh”]. That is not phobia and in no way “anti.”

Iaremenko never explains why a Bundist party would be the tool of “Zionists.” He claims that the agenda of the allegedly Jewish-controlled SDPU(o) is to remove power from the Ukrainian people: to destroy their culture, education, sports and carry out a Russification of unprecedented proportions in Ukraine. He claims that a “Jewish lobby” has made it easier for Zionist Jews to operate within Ukraine by removing the “nationality” category from the Ukrainian passports, and demands its reintroduction. “Ukrainian Jewry live by their own laws, and when these collide with Ukrainian laws, the Jews’ wins out,” Iaremenko states. He also claims that the myth about Ukrainian anti-Semitism is spread by mass media, which in its entirety is in Jewish hands. If there indeed were outbursts of anti-Jewish violence in the past, this was not due to Ukrainian anti-Semitism. Rather they were provoked by Jewish actions.

What are the root causes of so-called anti-Semitism? Why is the Ukrainian people being accused of harbouring zoological hatred of the Jews? This has never been the case and is not the case now. […] Zionism finds ways to exploit the local populations:

anything? […] Dear Prof. Himka, the problem today, as it has been for some time, is not purported Ukrainian anti-Semitism but rather actual Jewish Ukrainophobia. What are you, as a scholar in the humanities, doing to analyze and combat that?” Bohdan Vitvitsky, “The Real Problem is Ukrainophobia,” Ukrainian Weekly 72.51 (19 Dec. 2004).

Iaremenko 15-16.
Iaremenko 17.
Iaremenko 18.
Iaremenko 17.

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in the past through keeping people drunk in Jewish taverns and lending out money at exaggerated interest rates (usury), through outright extortion (as lessees, foremen to rich noblemen, or as managers, physicians, and lawyers), and in our times—through trade, the finance-banking sphere, outright swindle, and various criminal activities to the point of taking over mass media and culture, book publishing and distribution. When the patience ended, the people responded adequately: they destroyed their tormentors, their social and national enemies. The Ukrainians are not to blame for these acts of revenge. The blame must fall upon those who are the cause of the resentment.87

As an example of Jewish terror against Ukrainians, Iaremenko mentions the famine of 1932-33 and Stalin’s political terror from 1935-39, for both of which he holds the Jews responsible.88 In the 1920s and 1930s, Iaremenko claims, the Ukrainian government, NKVD and all punitive organs were up to 90 per cent in Jewish hands,89 only to have increased to 99 per cent at the time of the 1937-38 terror.90 He attributes the mass murder of Ukrainians during the Great Terror to the “Zionist government of Ukraine.”91 This government, he claims, was responsible for a “Jewish Holocaust of Ukrainians in 1921-22, 1932-33 and the genocide of 1937-38.”92 Accusations that the Jews were running the NKVD and the Communist Party are not new. They have been staple arguments of anti-Semites for a long time. Iaremenko does not give any sources for his claims, nor does he provide a historiography of current research conducted in the field.93

87 Iaremenko 19-20.
88 Iaremenko 15.
89 Iaremenko 23-4.
90 Iaremenko 109.
91 Iaremenko 32.
92 Iaremenko 55, 109.
93 While exact numbers are still unavailable for the lower ranking cadres, there are statistics available on the ethnic composition of the higher levels of NKVD personnel in Ukraine during the 1930s. Not even the Nazis themselves produced numbers close to those of Iaremenko. They estimated the numbers of Jews in the NKVD to a little over 50%. The available statistics for the higher echelons of the NKVD in the USSR on July 1, 1939 gives the number 3.92% for Jewish commissars while the number of Ukrainians was 12.92%. Before the Iezhovshchina however, the number of Jews were considerably higher. Jews, along with Latvians and Poles were heavily over-represented with 39.09, 8.18 and 4.55 per cent respectively on 1 Oct. 1936. J. Arch Getty, Gabor T. Rittersporn, Viktor N. Zemskov, “Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-War Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence” in The American Historical Review 98.4 (Oct. 1993): 1028. On January 1, 1945, 4.49% of the NKVD cadres in the Ukrainian SSR were Jews, most of who worked in the censorship department. N.V Petrov and K.V. Skorkin, Kto rukovodil NKVD 1934-1941: Spravochnik, ed. N.G. Okhotin and A.B. Roginskii (Moscow: Obshchestvo “Memorial,” 1999) 495. Amir Weiner, Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution (Princeton:
If pogroms under Khmel'nyts'kyi and the tsars were provoked by the Jews themselves, Iaremenko adds a new, interesting accusation: the Jews not only provoked the Holocaust, they were its very architects. Not only were they the financiers of the Nazis: they also made up the bulk of the SS. Iaremenko claims that Ukraine was “invaded by German fascists along with a 400,000-strong horde of Jewish SS men.”

Jewish historians suppress facts and deceive the citizens of the world that tens of thousands of Jews from all over Europe served in the fascist SS. These were distinguished by their particular cruelty towards Soviet Jews. Listen to what Iurii Mukhin writes in his book Ubiistvo Stalina i Beria [The Murder of Stalin and Beria] (Moscow: Forum, 2002) based upon documental evidence: The poet and famous Zionist Bialik wrote, that “Hitlerism is the rescue, but Bolshevism—the curse of the Jewish people.” Further: “To the Zionists, the Jews of the USSR became the enemies. And that, in turn, predetermined the particular cruelty of Hitler—the ally of the Zionists, towards the Soviet Jews. Today, people keep quiet about this question, but all over Europe historians are persecuted and locked up in jails for attempting to find out the truth about the extermination of the Jews by the Hitlerites in the so-called “Holocaust.”

Iaremenko continues, relying on Mukhin:

The Soviet army annihilated thousands of Jewish SS men (let them bewail this scum as well, if they so wish), and 10,173 Jews, soldiers of Hitler from the SS were taken prisoners (Iu. Mukhin, 187). Out of 24 nationalities taken captive—the Jews were in 13th place. Maybe this is the reason why the Jewish question is “delicate.”

When the article “Jews in Ukraine Today: Reality without Myths” was first published in the opposition newspaper Sil's'ki Visti on November 30, 2003, Iaremenko’s claim about 400,000 Jews in the SS caused a serious controversy because the paper, the largest opposition newspaper in Ukraine with a

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\textsuperscript{94} Iaremenko 111.

\textsuperscript{95} Iaremenko 105

\textsuperscript{96} Iaremenko 105-6.
circulation of 520,000 copies, was forced to close.\footnote{Ana Shidler, “Myths and Truths about Ukrainian Anti-Semitism,” \textit{Ukraine Now} 4 Apr. 2004 <http://www.ukrnow.com/content/view/31/2/>. Jan Maksymiuk, “Largest Opposition Newspaper Closed on Charges of Anti-Semitism” <http://www.rferl.org/reports/pbureport/2004/02/4-030204.asp> cites Iaremenko, Vasyly, “Evrei v Ukraini s’ohodni: real’ni st’ bez mifiv,” \textit{Sil’s’ki Visti} 30 Nov. 2003. (Both accessed 26 Aug. 2005).} \textit{Sil’s’ki Visti} is aligned with the Socialist Party of Ukraine and its leader Oleksandr Moroz, a key ally of Yushchenko. In the controversy following the process, Moroz supported the paper. “I have defended \textit{Silski Visti} and will continue to do so,” Moroz said. “I personally think the argument of the author of the article, Vasily Iaremenko, citing 400,000 Jews in the S.S. is incorrect, but I am not in a position to know all the facts.”\footnote{Matveyev and Ruby, “Anti-Semitism in Ukrainian media up, and its acceptance is worrying Jews,” NCSJ, Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia, 21 Sept. 2004. <http://www.ncsj.org/AuxPages/092104JTA_Ukraine.shtml> (accessed 7 Oct. 2005).} The editor of the paper, Vasyl’ Hruzyn, made even stronger apologetic claims about Iaremenko’s article: “Although we published the Iaremenko article as a paid advertisement and not as a position we ourselves endorsed, I happen to believe the figure of 400,000 Jews taking part in the German invasion of the Ukraine is not far from the truth.” The affair surrounding the paper was further complicated by the fact that \textit{Silski Visti} had failed to state that Iaremenko’s article was carried as an advertisement, paid for by MAUP. Therefore, many readers got the impression that Iaremenko’s article was editorial material, endorsed by the paper.\footnote{Iurii Mukhin is the main editor of the Russian anti-Semitic and Stalinist journal \textit{Duel}. He has published a number of books, presenting an alternative version of the Holocaust and World War II. He blames “Zionists” for the Holocaust, while romanticizing the Soviet army and its leadership. He is a regular at Stalinist meetings. At a meeting in Moscow to commemorate Stalin’s 122\textsuperscript{nd} birthday on 21 Dec. 2001, Mukhin delivered an address where he eulogized Stalin while blasting “democrats” and “Zionists.” See Charles Fenyesi (ed.) \textit{Bigotry Monitor: A Weekly Human Rights Newsletter on Antisemitism, Xenophobia, and Religious Persecution in the Former Communist World and Western Europe} 1.25 <http://www.fsumonitor.com/stories/122801 Russia.shtml>, and <http://www.fsumonitor.com/russiabook2001/Russia_Book_2001_Main_v2_pt4.pdf>. In addition to the cited \textit{Ubitstvo Stalina i Beriia} (Moscow: Forum, 2002), Mukhin has also published \textit{Otsy—komandiry: Zvezdy na pogonakh – zvezdy na mogilakh} (with Aleksandr Lebedintsev) (Moscow: Iauza, Presskom, 2005); \textit{Krestovii pokhod na vostok: “Zhertvy” Voroi mirovoi} (Moscow: Iauza, Presskom, 2003) and his most recent book \textit{Tainy Izraelia: eto ot tebia skryvaiut!} (Moscow: Iauza, Presskom, 2005). Mukhin (2005) 160.} Given Iaremenko’s Russophobe Ukrainian nationalism and anti-communism it is interesting that he uncritically accepts claims made by a Russian Stalinist such as Iurii Mukhin.\footnote{Matveyev and Ruby, “Anti-Semitism…”} It illustrates the phenomenon of Stalinists and Ukrainian nationalists finding common ground in Soviet-era anti-
Semitic discourse. Despite his political preferences, Mukhin’s arguments appear to have had a major impact on nationalist Ukrainian anti-Semites. In his recent *The Secrets of Israel: They are Hiding it From You!* Mukhin presents his version of the history of World War II. He is not a Holocaust denier per se, even though he defends some prominent Holocaust deniers from what he sees as political persecution at the hands of an international Zionist conspiracy. At the same time, he denies or marginalizes the existence of anti-Semitism in Russia. He also claims that Hitler’s nationalism was just a repeat of “Jewish racism.”

Hitler’s nationalism repeated Jewish racism. The Jews thinks that only they are the chosen nation, and that all other nations are goys, *Untermenschen*. Hitler only modified this: he also thought that the highest nation in the world was the Aryans and the Germans in particular, and that all other nations were *Untermenschen*.

While he concedes that the Holocaust took place, Mukhin claims that “the Zionists” organized it. In doing so, he expands on the old Soviet propaganda line of a Zionist-Nazi plot, a staple in Soviet and Arab anti-Zionist propaganda from the time of the Eichmann trial onwards. Yet, Mukhin takes this argument one step further, and argues that the Nazis simply were the agents of Zionism.

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101 Mukhin finds it “strange” that so many western governments are afraid of “revisionist” arguments, i.e., Holocaust denial. He cites the American “revisionist” Richard Harwood, who complains that “revisionist” historians are suffering from political and physical terror: Marcel Dupra was killed by a bomb put in his car. Ernst Zündel received a bomb by mail, then had his house burnt down. Swiss historian Jürgen Graff had his house burnt down. The same thing happened to a “Swedish researcher, who lived in Denmark and to the storage space of an American revisionist publishing house. French revisionist R. Faurisson was viciously beaten. “France, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland have all passed legislation against denying the “fact” that six million Jews were killed in Nazi Germany during the Holocaust.” German revisionist Germar Rudolf was sent to 18 month in prison for Holocaust denial. Iurii Mukhin, *Tainy Izrailia: eto ot tebia skryvaiut!* (Moscow: Iauza, Presskom, 2005) 68-9.

102 “[T]he rumors that almost all Jews have emigrated from Russia (except the Russian government and the Russian mass media) are clearly exaggerated. Since mass media gives so much attention to “anti-Semitism” of the Russians and attempt to stir up hatred for Russia, this means that there are still many Jews in Russia, and that there are still cadres for Israeli settlements.” Mukhin 58-9.

103 Mukhin 11.

104 For an example of this kind of “anti-Zionist” propaganda, see *Literaturna Ukraina* 14 Dec. 1979: “From the taped conversations of the Jerusalem process [the Eichmann trial] you can hear such sacramental expressions as: “Had I not been a German, but a Jew, I would absolutely have become a Zionist!” Here is an eccentric paradox: this very Eichmann was nothing less than... an agent of Zionist intelligence, the Mossad, recruited long before the creation of the state of Israel! Does this seem unbelievable? A fact remains a fact! The Soviet Russian author Iurii Kolesnikov convincingly tells the story of
Once again I would like to remind the readers that the founding fathers of Zionism were fanatics, i.e. people not thinking of the future of Jews, but Israelis. Those of the Jews, who did not agree with Zionist objectives, were seen as worse than non-Jews—they were nothing else than garbage and their lives were nothing in the eyes of the Zionists. I have no doubts whatsoever, that during the course of World War II, the Germans did not exterminate the Jews on their own initiative, but were instigated to do so by the Zionists.105

Mukhin explains the fact that the Nazis lost the war by claiming “the Zionists” soon changed sides in the conflict. During 1942 they switched their allegiances from Hitler to Stalin, “when they realized that their main ally—Hitler—would not be able to solve the problems of Zionism. Nevertheless, the relations of the USSR towards Zionism was never more than a tactical one, since in regards to their principal question the Zionists had to hate the USSR, and particularly Soviet Jewry.”106

The idea of the Jews being responsible for the Holocaust appears to be a new addition to the anti-Semitic discourse, even though its Soviet roots are easily distinguished. Thus Soviet-era accusations of a Zionist-Nazi plot find their way to Iaremenko through Mukhin.107 Iaremenko develops the argument of a Jewish-organized Holocaust even further. Without listing any sources, he this “small detail” in the biography of the SS bandit in his novel Zemlia obitovana [The Promised Land]. He backs up this claim with documental evidence. [...] The ideologues of “God’s chosen people” claim that every Jew, wherever he lives, ought to have dual citizenship, i.e., also consider himself subjugated to Israel. No anti-Soviet henchmen, who hypocritically defend murderous criminals and give material assistance to a bunch of deplorable degenerates—dissidents, who blab about “human rights violations” in our country are not in the position to teach us anything. Nor should they form a “fifth column” within our society.” Hryhorii Plotkin, “Zmova pryrechenykh: rozdumy pisliia prochytaania romanu Iu. Kolesnykova “Zemlia obitovana” [‘A Conspiracy of the Doomed: Reflections after the Reading of Iu. Kolesnykov’s Novel ‘The Promised Land’’]. Literaturna Ukraina 14 Dec. 1979, 4. See also Judith Vogt, “When Nazism Became Zionism: An Analysis of Political Cartoons,” in Ettinger, S., Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union: Its Roots and Consequences: Proceedings of the Seminar on Soviet Anti-Semitism held in Jerusalem on April 7-8, 1978, Vol. III (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983) 159-96, and Robert Wistrich, Between Redemption and Perdition: Modern Anti-Semitism and Jewish Identity (London and New York: Routledge, 1990) 225-35. For Arab proliferation of this argument, see David Matas, Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism. (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2005) 32.

105 Mukhin 62-3.

106 Mukhin 61.

claims that it was not Ukrainian auxiliary police that murdered the Jews at Babyn Yar, but the Jews themselves. Writes Iaremenko: “If we are to be honest, the Ukrainian police stood back, while the Jewish Polizei were brought to Babyn Yar. And there were 15,000 of them! That is also a truth that the Zionists want to conceal.”

In addition to the Holodomor (famine), the terror, and the Holocaust, Iaremenko holds the Jews responsible for organizing slavery and international sex trade through the centuries.

[There is] evidence to support the claim that the Jews were already engaged in slave trade during the antiquity and the Middle Ages. The Jews castrated Slavs and sold them to harems of rich Muslims who needed eunuchs. Beautiful girls from Rus’ were sold to harems for depraved entertainment. In the past decade 500,000 Ukrainian girls have been sold to brothels in Europe, Africa and Asia. There are also brothels in Kyiv. Who runs them? Who are these contemporary slave traders and whoremasters? […] If we babble about an open civic society, then I, as a citizen of Ukraine, want to know who sold half a million of my fellow Ukrainians to brothels around the world. I want to know the ethnic make-up of the Verkhovna Rada. I want to know in whose hands the outdoor markets of Ukraine are, who controls the Ukrainian TV channels and unlawfully privatized ‘strategic’ factories. The data should be verified by an independent body. Then it will become clear whether the issue of national security is pertinent now. The Jewish element is carrying out for real the plans of international Zionism in regard to Ukraine. It tries to conceal them under the disguise of a taboo on any discussion of the “Jewish issue.” It utilizes fear mongering by attaching the label of anti-Semitism to it, a malicious Zionist invention. Only when such data are obtained can we know whether the Jewish element poses a threat to national security.

Iaremenko also conveys to his readers and students that it is “Jewish oligarchs, funded by international Zionist centers” who prevent a renaissance of Ukrainian culture and instead flood Ukrainian TV channels with porn, rape, murder and drugs. Julius Streicher developed this kind of argumentation into an art already in the 1920s. The Jew as a pimp and sexual predator was a central theme in Der Stürmer. Other than articulate details of lewd Jewish sexual

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108 Iaremenko 106. Ironically, in the recent past, other extreme Ukrainian nationalists have publicly found the Ukrainian participation in the mass murder at Babii Yar a source of pride. For instance, in the Rivne city Rada in 1995 the extreme nationalist Shkuratiuk stated: “I am proud of the fact that among 1,500 Polizei executioners in Babiy Yar there were 1,200 OUN men but only 300 Germans.” Mîrs'kyi, Naiman, 46, citing the nationalist newspaper Neskorena natsiia 5 (1995).
109 Iaremenko 22-3. See also page 85-7.
110 Iaremenko 64.

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exploitation of Slavs, there is little new in Iaremenko’s argumentation. Again, he does not provide any references for his claims.\textsuperscript{111}

Iaremenko is only one of many anti-Semitic writers. Another star on the Ukrainian anti-Semitic publishing scene, whose writings are published by MAUP, is Eduard Khodos. He claims to be a Jew himself, titling himself “the first Baron of Kharkiv.”\textsuperscript{112} Ferociously anti-Semitic, Khodos leads an obscure group in Kharkiv, called the “Kharkiv Jewish religious community of liberal orientation.”\textsuperscript{113} If Iaremenko’s eye opener was the arrest of his father “by Jewish commissars,” Khodos’ moment of truth supposedly came in 1991 when he was invited to the Chabad headquarter in Brooklyn, New York as a representative of one of six Jewish communities from the USSR. Here, Khodos claims he was introduced to Chabad’s methods of infiltration and their plans to grab power all across the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{114} Since then, he has been dedicated to spreading the word about a Jewish world conspiracy. Khodos is a productive writer. On average, he has produced one book per year during the past decade. His books have found distributors among mainstream book dealers and are readily available across the country. Other Ukrainian anti-Semites make frequent use of the “theories” developed in his publications.\textsuperscript{115} Khodos claim to fame is his “theory of the three Khazarias,” articulated and developed in a series of books called \textit{The Jewish Syndrome}, of which there are four volumes to date.\textsuperscript{116} These “theories” are widely circulated among other Ukrainian and Russian anti-Semites, and Iaremenko utilizes these in his interpretation of the current Ukrainian political situation.\textsuperscript{117}

Khodos’ central argument or “historical theory” is that of Jewish conspiracies finding concrete historical expressions in three so-called Khazarias.

I claim that during different times on the same territory, three Khazarias were created:

The first Khazaria—the Great Khazarskii Kaganate (VII-X centuries)


\textsuperscript{113} Eduard Khodos. \textit{Kogda evrei marshiruiut...: Tri pis'ma k situatsii vokrug gazety “Sil's'ki visti} (Kyiv: MAUP, 2004) 5.

\textsuperscript{114} Khodos (2004) 11.


\textsuperscript{116} Khodos (2002) 5.

\textsuperscript{117} Iaremenko 50-1.
The second Khazaria—the *Sovdepiia* (1917-late 1920s)

The third Khazaria—The Commonwealth of Independent States (1991-?)

As a result of a number of unifying factors (territory, multi-ethnicity, economic emphasis on the development of trade, the overwhelming majority of Jews in the highest organs of state power), these three “kaganates” where by their nature based upon different ideological foundations, all however, deriving from Khazaria. In particular:

The first Khazaria was based upon the ideology of Judaism

The Second—on the ideology of atheism

The Third—on “the ideology of the desert.”

Khodos’ books contain a mix of conspiracies, esoteric speculations on Satanism and traditional anti-Semitic hatred in a particularly virulent form. His books contain reproductions of anti-Semitic caricatures from the 1920s, depicting Jewish communists, followed by their “real names” next to their Bolshevist *nom de guerre*.119

Khodos is obsessed with the Hassidic Jewish sect Chabad.120 Their dress code makes them stand out physically and thus easy to orientalize. They also fulfill a role in that the Lubavitch Rabbis originated from the Chornobyl’ area. This is central to Khodos’ theories, as he links Chabad to the 1986 nuclear catastrophe. Chabad is engaged in charity work and proselytizing among Ukrainian Jews. Khodos links this to notions of monetary privileges, exclusiveness and “Jewish racism.” Chabad is a somewhat unlikely candidate as a representative for “Zionism.” Over the past century Chabad has moved from moderate rejection of, to lukewarm embracing of, the Zionist ideology.121 Its

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120 Khodos’ attitude is reflected in the official policy of MAUP and Shchokin’s Ukrainian Conservative Party. In August 2005, Shchokin’s party called on Yushchenko to open criminal proceedings against Jewish groups in Ukraine and demanded that the “Tanya” a Hassidic text, written by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of the Chabad Lubavitch be banned in Jewish schools.” Ukrainian Politicians Call to Ban Jewish Ground—Jewish Leaders Respond,” *European Jewish Congress* 29 Aug. 2005.
121 “The [Chabad] movement as a whole, when it addressed the issue of the success of Zionism, claimed that secular Zionism’s undermining of piety and religion had thwarted Habad’s attempt to usher in the messianic age, and thus the Zionists were partly responsible for the Holocaust.” M. Avrum Ehrlich, *The Messiah of Brooklyn: Understanding Lubavitch Hasidism Past and Present* (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2004) 116. Moses M. Schneerson, the Lubavitch Rebbe himself “refused to set

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presence is visible in Ukraine, and many of the Jewish community centres and relief agencies in Ukraine are linked to, or organized by, Chabad, such as the model Beit Baruch Assisted living facility in Dnipropetrovs'k. Due to Chabad’s active involvement in the region, Chabad today runs most synagogues in the former Soviet Union. Of course, there are also many other Jewish organizations in Ukraine, supporting the ageing and rapidly diminishing Jewish community. The Jewish Agency for Israel focuses mainly on assisting people to immigrate to Israel, while the American Joint Distribution Center funds Jewish cultural and community activities.

Khodos’ “theories” are representative of the quasi-historical style of the anti-Semitic discourse. The reader is confronted with a peculiar mix of facts and fiction. A “first” Khazaria did indeed exist. Writes Khodos:

Of course, Jews, given their high level of civilization, energy, enterprising spirit, craftsmanship, and, particularly, trading capital rose quickly and Judaized the local leadership. Soon they were ruling the Khazaria, their nomad kingdom. Judaism became the state religion of the Khazars.

The Khazars have also been given particular attention in MAUP’s journal Personal, and Khodos refers his readers to this paper for additional information.

Thus, Judaism became the founding, or rather, only ideological foundation upon which the Khazar state expanded and flourished. And, as you have already understood, I am not the only one to speak about this.


124 Khodos (2002).


126 Khodos (2002) 11. However, historians such as Omeljan Pritsak have been reluctant to call this system a Jewish national state: “My analysis of the Khazar political system shows that the empire of the Khazar kagan could not have been a Jewish national state in any sense of the word. The Jews, both proselytes and those from the Jewish diaspora, made up a significant but not total part of the Khazar ruling elite, the significant exception being the military. [...] The Arab writers of the first half of the tenth century al-Mas'udi and al-Istakhri noted that the Khazar capital’s population consisted of four religious groups, in the following proportions: 2/7 Jews, 2/7 Christians, 2/7 Muslims and
From an unorthodox interpretation of the Khazar political system, Khodos develops a “theory” that this was only the “first” in a number of Khazaras, or Jewish states, on Ukrainian soil. After the fall of the “first” Khazaria, a second, atheist, Khazaria was established in roughly the same area in the 20th century. 127

In this regard, Khodos follows in the steps of the Soviet archeologist and philosopher Lev Gumilev. The bulk of Gumilev’s research on Khazaria was conducted in the 1960s, during a period of increased anti-Jewish repression, and the official Soviet policy of “anti-Zionism” is reflected in Gumilev’s work and language. Gumilev portrays Khazarian Jews in a negative light. Gumilev is particularly hostile to the Khazars in his Drevniaia Rus’ i velikaia step’, where the Khazarian Jews are depicted as being involved in the Middle Eastern Slave trade. 128 Gumilev also put the main blame on these Jews for cooperating with the Vikings and allowing them to exploit the local Slavic population. 129 Gumilev claimed that Khazarian Jewish influence rather than socio-political reasons led the people of Rus’ into military conquest of neighboring areas, in the process of which a great deal of Rus’ian blood was spilled. Gumilev’s negative account of Khazaria remained popular among Soviet and post-Soviet Russian nationalists, such as the people around the often openly anti-Semitic journal Nash sovremennik. 130

Gumilev shows his colors both as a crude and sophisticated anti-Semite. He labels the Jews as a parasite ethnos, which has ceased to exist as a separate ethnos. In fact, according to this view, the Jews are not a nation at all, but a specific way of thinking by a certain group of people having Jewish genetic heritage and/or sharing the moral norms of Judaism. In Gumilev’s view, every time a parasite ethnus dominated an indigenous ethnus, revolution, civil war, and the creation of what he calls a

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129 In much, he follows his colleague and teacher Mikhail Illarionovich Artamonov, who argued that the Jewish leadership of the Khazaria had been “parasiting” off their people. M. I. Artamonov in L. N. Gumilev, ed., Istoriia khazar (Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 1962) 457-8.

“chimera” statehood, followed. [...] He says [the Khanate] was a horrible, corrupt entity that oppressed its neighbors. The source materials for Gumilev’s view of the Khazar Khanate are not clear. Gumilev and his followers use the example of the Khazar Khanate as a model for analyzing the history of the Soviet Union. According to Gumilev, the Soviet Union was created by Jewish revolutionaries. Lenin and Stalin bastardized the Russian People, turning them into Communist Untermenschen (sovok). \[^{131}\]

The idea of links between Khazaria, Masonry and Judeo-Communism is further developed in the writing of Russian Stalinist Oleg Platonov. Khodos’ brand of anti-Semitism echoes Platonov’s line of argument. \[^{132}\]

[...] International Jewry established a bloody connection with internationalist Jews and atheist masonry, relying on their ideological closeness to the Bolsheviks. [...] It is also worth noticing that the Bolshevik leadership at the time was following two different political lines: Lenin’s cadres (who were financed by and returned to Russia by the Germans in 1917) and Trotsky’s cadres (who were financed by and returned to Russia by the Americans). What is central here is that in both cases the money came from the Shifts and the Warburgs—the Jewish financial elite. [...] Trotsky and Lenin honestly believed that the bankers who were cosmopolitizing the world would “subconsciously” bring about a world revolution. In reality, the latter had calculated everything perfectly. By setting up conditions for the Bolsheviks, they understood perfectly well that, as the revolutionaries ruined the world of Christian values, they helped the world’s puppet masters in establishing world domination. \[^{133}\]

However, this second Khazaria was short-lived. Stalin ended it by throwing Trotsky out of the country. Khodos cites Karl Radek: \[^{134}\] “Moses led the Jews out of Egypt, and Stalin led them out of the Politburo.”


\[^{132}\] Platonov is on the publishing committee of the publishing house of the Institute for Historical Review, the world’s leading organization for Holocaust denial. While he denies the Holocaust, he believes in the authenticity of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Platonov (2003) 4. Like Iaremenko, he insists that Lenin was a Jew by the name of Blanke. He also claims that Brezhnev was “unclean” and Andropov was possessed by a Jewish-Masonic Demon. Oleg A. Platonov, *Bich Bozhiy: epokha Stalina* (Moscow: Algoritm, 2005) 4; Oleg A. Platonov, *Ternovyi venets Rossii: Zagadka Sionskikh protokolov* (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003b); Johnson’s Russia List: <http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/2479.html> (accessed 27 Sept. 2005), Center for Defence Information, 16.11.98.


\[^{134}\] Or, as he likes to point out: Radek (Sobelson). Khodos (2002) 17.
According to Khodos, Stalin’s theological training at the Tbilisi theological seminar meant that he was not only well oriented in questions of religion. He was also aware of the how prince Sviatoslav had crushed the first Jewish Khazaria. Thus, Stalin decided to personally end the Second, atheist Khazaria. He labeled Chabad a fascist sect and threw it out of the USSR in the early 1930s along with its leader, the Lubavitch Rabbi. To Khodos’ dismay, the uprooting of the Chabad conspiracy was not thorough enough. “[Stalin] could hardly imagine that his great country, which had already suffered so much would be returned to a bottomless Khazaria, and that the refined elders of Zion would devise a new way to reanimate their ambitions—the ideology of the desert.”

From the 1940s onward the central staff of the Chabad-Lubavitch [Rabbi] was located in Brooklyn, New York. From 1950 to 1994 the sect was led by the seventh and last Lubavitch Rabbi. During this period Chabad evolved into a powerful political, financial and economic empire, whose goal was worldwide expansion.

Chabad, according to Khodos, became instrumental in establishing a third Khazaria prior to the collapse of the USSR. He argues that the beginning of the end was the “hellish explosion” at the Chornobyl’ nuclear power plant on April 26, 1986.

For the first time in a long time, within the “united family [of Soviet peoples]” all kinds of accusations and pretensions surfaced, and the “brotherly people” began attacking one another. The Desert, which had turned the very center of the Slavic world into “a dead zone” began transforming the hearts and souls of the “great Soviet people” and pushed the Socialist Empire into the “black hole” of the Third Khazaria. The reason for this Apocalypse was... an experiment! Well, sure, there was “an unsuccessful unscheduled experiment” conducted (still unknown by whom) in the night before the main religious holiday of the “great Khazarian architects.” Is it possible to imagine that somebody purposely decided to appear in the role of “experimenter” and risk the division that marked the beginning of the end of a giant

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superpower? Of course! No matter how strange it may sound... For a lot of money, as we have seen, everything is possible (even to utilize several commercial airplanes in the attack on the World Trade Center!).

And the reason for this?

It is necessary to point out that to the members of the sect Chabad the Chornobyl' catastrophe was always considered a holy punitive revenge. After all, it was Bohdan Khmełnyts'kyi who with “fire and sword” had severed the “Chornobyl' branch” of the ancestors of Chabad. It is not a coincidence that the accident that took place at the Chornobyl' nuclear power plant, of which the whole world exclusively refers to in terms of “tragedy” or “catastrophe,” is referred to by the Lubavitch sectarians as “the Chornobyl' miracle.” Neither is it a coincident that in the beginning of the 1990s, in the period of active construction of the Third Khazaria, the Chabadites “opened a season” of ritual bacchanalias in Prypiat', the epicenter of the Chornobyl' desert.

Thus, the Chabadists, according to Khodos, embodied an ultimate, irredeemable evil. Both their bodies and souls were corrupted beyond redemption:

Chabad is a Judeo-Nazi sect, organized along the principle of a clan, at the head of which there is a “godfather”—the Lubavitch Rabbi. The members of Chabad are ultra-orthodox. Their men and women are easily distinguishable by their outer physical attributes: the men are either too fat, either too skinny, always bearded, in caftans and black hats. The women are skinny, with shaved heads and wigs. Extremely few people are let into the sect. In the world today, there are only 20,000 followers of Chabad-Lubavitch. [...] Chabad is the only orientation within Judaism with a Führer at its head—the Lubavitch Rabbi.

Following in the anti-Semitic tradition of Wagner and Fichte, Khodos claims that the Jews are degenerated beyond redemption. Much like Wagnerian operatic characters such as the Flying Dutchman and Kundry, the “Wandering Jews” can only be redeemed from the curse of “Jewishness” by self-destruction or physical expulsion from the community. Yet Khodos’ theories of a Judeo-

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144 German anti-Semites, in turn, were also inspired by anti-Semitism in Russia. In her diary, Cosima Wagner described Richard Wagner's reaction to news about pogroms in the Russian empire. “When news of Russian pogroms of the Jews reached Wagner in
Nazi alliance falls within the Soviet “anti-Zionist” tradition. He claims Jews fanned ethnic hatred between formerly brotherly people. The “friendship of people,” or družba narodov, which Terry Martin has described as the imagined Soviet community, came to an end due to outside influences—an international conspiracy by a Jewish fifth column. It was replaced by an "ideology of the desert," a reference to the dead zone surrounding the now-decommissioned Chornobyl nuclear power plant. The new leaders, according to Khodos, were Judaized aristocrats, who, if they are guided by any principles at all, are guided by an “a-national” desert philosophy, lacking a “national idea” for Ukraine. This “desert philosophy” found expression in radical, capitalist reforms that resulted in genocide of Ukrainians. Khodos claims that the Ukrainian population decreases by 50% every 25-30 years, meaning that in 50-60 years there will no Ukrainians left in Ukraine. Khodos predicts that this void will be filled by a massive immigration from Asia and Africa.

Like professor Khyzhniak, Khodos is a true believer in the authenticity of the Protocols. Khodos cites Metropolitan Ioann of St. Petersburg and Ladoga who until his death in 1995 was one of the more infamous anti-Semites at the top of the Russian Orthodox Church:

There are different points of views regarding the origins of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. But, as far as I am concerned, it is not important how they came about, but rather, that the history of the Twentieth century with frightening clarity played out according to the ambitions, expressed in that document.

August 1881, he happily commented ‘That is the only way it can be done—by throwing these fellows out and giving them a good thrashing.’ And a few days later: ‘Reports of Jew-baiting in Russia ... Richard observes that this is all that is left, expression of a people’s strength.’ The Russians were evincing a spontaneous racial anti-Semitism that Wagner hoped the Germans would regain.” Paul Lawrence Rose, Wagner: Race and Revolution (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992) 163-4, 178-9.


Khodos (2002) 24, citing his own Evreiskii sindrom 2 1/2 (Kyiv and Kharkiv: Intertechnolohiia, 2001), in which he in turn cited an unnamed article from Argumenty i Fakty 48 (November 2001). Specifically, Khodos predicts that Vietnamese, Afghans and Africans will replace the “titular nation” in Ukraine after the leadership of the Third Khazaria has all but annihilated the Ukrainians. These people, replacing the Ukrainians, will be under Jewish rule. See also Iaremenko, citing Khodos, “Tri Khazarii—tri ideologii,” Personal 7 (2002): 16-20.

This way, Khodos attempts to circumvent the issue of authenticity. “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion present the exact scenario for the subsequent development of world events and what has been happening for the past 200 years until today,” he writes.149 In a 2004 publication, published by Khodos through the MAUP publishing house in defense of Iaremenko, Khodos goes further to predict a repeat of the Jewish Holocaust on Ukrainian soil:

I am afraid that the horrendous analogy with Germany will repeat itself [in Ukraine] also in its final chord [i.e., the Holocaust]. Then no appeals to “tolerance,” such as those the starving Ukrainian people hear today from the yids and Judaizers (zhidovstvuyushchije) participants of today’s kosher banquet, will suffice. Neither will any “lessons of the Holocaust” pacify the Ukrainian people, which during the past 13 years have been turned into a multi-million victim of the Judeo-Nazi butchers. [The Jews] will not receive any help from America and Israel—the “strategic” sponsors of the construction of a Jewish temple of Ukrainian blood… The horrendous hour of revenge will strike—revenge for the Purim feast which has been there for all to see. The moment will come in a not too distant future.150

Khodos believes there is one Slavic leader who stands up to “the Zionists” and bravely defied the Third Khazaria. Khodos admires Aliaksandr Lukashenka, “the Slavic bat’ko, which the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Aleksii II calls nothing less than ‘the defender of the Orthodox Faith.’ He singles out Lukashenka as the only ‘popularly elected president’ of a Slavic state, which does not work on behalf of the ‘great architects’ of the Third Khazaria.”151

Khodos’ ideas are an amalgam of traditional anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, Gumilev-esque historical generalizations, xenophobia and Brezhnev-era “anti-Zionism.” It is curious that Khodos’ variety of anti-Semitism finds adherents among anti-Soviet Russophobe nationalists such as Iaremenko. Again, we are reminded that anti-Semitism transgresses ethnos, religion, class and political orientation.

During the past fifteen years, a number of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories have been circulated. Two experts on Ukrainian anti-Semitism—Rudolf

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Ternovyi venets Rossi: Zagadka Sionskikh protokolov (Kyiv: MAUP, 2003b). Neither Khodos, nor Iaremenko, seem to have any problems recycling anti-Semitic arguments originating from people who are open enemies of Ukrainian independence, nor does MAUP seem to have any problems publishing their works. This is somewhat peculiar, as a central theme of the MAUP publications is to focus on threats to Ukrainian sovereignty and independence.
Myrs'kyi and Oleksandr Naiman, both from Ivan Franko National University in L'viv—have listed some of these more outlandish claims in their book *Judeophobia Against Ukraine*. They cite Iosyp Terelia, who in 1992 “revealed” a number of grotesque historical “facts” about the Jews in Ukraine and Russia. He let his readers know that the Russian Romanov dynasty were the descendents of “the Jew Katz,” that both Lenin and the president of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Valentyna Shevchenko were Jews and that Lazar Kaganovich “until April 26 1991 was the emperor of the USSR and the so-called socialist countries.”

**Conclusions**

The majority of the anti-Semitic literature sold in L'viv and Kyiv, including many of MAUP’s publications, is linked to nationalist, anti-communist and Russophobe circles. Yet, their anti-Semitic arguments and rhetoric differs little from that of greater Russian nationalists and Stalinists, such as Mukhin. While the historical themes of Iaremenko’s and Lukianenko’s anti-Semitism are specifically Ukrainian, Khodos fits solidly into a Stalinist and Russian/Soviet “anti-Zionist” tradition. Remarkably, these two camps seem to co-exist rather comfortably, sharing arguments and rely on one another. Thus, anti-Semitism seems to be a factor, which transcends national narratives. Shchokin positions himself somewhere in the middle, attempting to forge a coherent ideology out of these trends, uniting west and east, Ukrainians and Russians against a common enemy, “Zionism” or Jews.

Conspiracy theories, always central to anti-Semites, are a shared theme. That the Jews are to blame for the misfortunes of Ukraine and the Soviet Union is never in doubt. The issue seems to be rather what conspiracy to blame on the Jews. Were they the Stalinist murderers, as in Iaremenko’s world, or the Nazi murderers, as in Mukhin’s theories? Or were they, as Khodos claims, both the pre-Stalin communist atheists and the oligarchs of the CIS “desert ideology”? The irony is that despite their wildly different national and political narratives and agendas, the anti-Semites of Ukraine have no problem borrowing freely from one another. Agreement on the issue of the guilt of the Jews seems to be more important than what they are actually guilty of. In some ways, this resembles the situation in the Wilhelminian Germany in the 1880s, when anti-Semitism became a uniting factor in German politics after Bismarck’s

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divisive—and largely unsuccessful—*Kulturkampf*.

Much as anti-Semitism united Protestants and Catholic in Germany, MAUP now attempts to use it as a tool to unite left and right, Ukrainophones and Russophones, and to heal the factional Ukrainian society.

Another commonality is that these writers all have a pseudo-historical perspective, and that they present their ideas as “thinkers” and “theoreticians.” By elaborating their racism in terms of “theories” they seem to believe that they are excused from backing up their claims with facts. Their anti-Semitism becomes “philosophy” and “theory,” much like the invented “national narratives” or the myth making associated with the appearing nation states in the nineteenth century. It becomes a prism through which to view history. In this sense they operate like theologians, rather than historians. Perhaps this ought not surprise us, since in many ways anti-Semitism resembles religion with its moral absolutes and articles of faith. Like a political virus, anti-Semitism mutates as it moves from one political environment to another.

In the contemporary anti-Semitic discourse in Ukraine we recognize many of the patterns of the German and Soviet anti-Semitic traditions: the Jew as a pimp and sexual predator was a staple in *Der Stürmer*; the Zionist connection to Nazism was a frequent theme in Soviet “anti-Zionist” propaganda following the 1961 Eichmann trial. The narratives by Lukianenko, Khyzhniak, Iaremenko, and Khodos teach us little about Jews. However, it does shed light on a previously under-researched subject in post-Soviet Ukraine.

If one-fourth to one-fifth of the Ukrainian population really believes that there is a Jewish or Zionist conspiracy against Ukraine (or Russia/Belarus), which of these theories do they subscribe to? To what extent do the men and women on the street find these theories credible? These questions are of course hard to answer and unfortunately the academic interest in this subject has been weak. Maybe there is a line that can be drawn between university professors on one hand and self-proclaimed Barons of Kharkiv on the other. Perhaps some arguments are more credible than others. MAUP’s ambition is to legitimize anti-Semitism by bringing it into academia and thus giving it intellectual respectability. Therefore, they purposely associate themselves with recognized scholars. MAUP is assisted by powerful interests. Its connections and influence reaches the very top of the Ukrainian government. The government, in return, has been eager to keep the support of the anti-Semites. Yushchenko’s government distanced itself from the radical anti-Semites only when they became a political liability and the links to MAUP an embarrassment for the state. It required substantial pressure by Western governments to make Yushchenko act. In regards to Tymoshenko, her bloc re-nominated Lukianenko.

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Despite the eccentric nature of many of these anti-Semitic arguments, they need to be taken seriously. To keep denying or downplay their existence and influence would be a mistake. These attitudes reflect a weak democratic tradition. They are holdovers of a political culture in which open debate was not allowed while anti-Semitic attitudes were largely tolerated.\footnote{At the same time, it should be remembered that the organizers of the pre-perestroika “anti-Zionist” campaigns were aware of the dangers of anti-Semitism and issued instructions to avoid overt racism in their campaign against the refuseniks. “In organizing the struggle against pro-Zionist sentiment, one must keep an eye out for nationalistic manifestations, including antisemitic ones. As was declared at the 26th CPSU Congress, ‘In our country national feelings and the national dignity of each person are respected. The CPSU fought and will always fight against nationalist aberrations, whether, for example, antisemitism or Zionism.’” Leonid Kravchuk, “Guidelines: Trends in Subversive Anti-Soviet Propaganda by Foreign Zionist Centres and Measures to Counteract It, 13 September 1984” in Khanin, 311. “Individual work is being carried out with people who intend to leave for Israel or another capitalist country. Attention is paid to avoiding any antisemitic remarks in the course of this work.” M. Kobyl'chak, Kirovograd Obkom Secretary in secret letter to CPU CC “Manifestations of Pro-Emigration Attitudes Among Individuals of Jewish Nationality, 16 April 1979,” Khanin 277.} Given the circumstances, it could be argued that the democratic development that actually took place in Ukraine during the past year is perhaps more remarkable than the fact that a substantial minority harbours ethnic hatred towards Jews. Yet, anti-Semitism remains a serious and growing problem in Ukraine. Hopefully this essay can shed some light on political attitudes and a publishing industry that until recently has been largely neglected by western scholars.

**POSTSCRIPT**

Since this article was written in August-September 2005, there have been some important developments regarding MAUP. On November 4, Shchokin issued a statement of solidarity with the new Iranian President Ahmadinejad’s threat to wipe Israel off the map. This international attention led Tarasiuk to finally cut his ties with MAUP in November 2005. Reportedly this happened after pressure from Yushchenko, who had distanced himself from MAUP a few months earlier.
On December 6, 2005, Yushchenko condemned MAUP for the first time, and on January 23, a similar condemnation followed from Tarasiuk. “I think that all positive forces in Ukraine must evaluate the activities of MAUP. There is no place for anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Ukraine,” Tarasiuk stated. At the same time, Tymoshenko presented her list of candidates for the March 2006 elections to the Rada. Lukianenko was re-nominated as one of her bloc’s top candidates.

Anti-Semitic violence is still on the rise. On September 11, 2005 a rabbi and his teenage son were attacked by skinheads in Kyiv; on February 6, 2006 there was an attack on the Central Brodsky Synagogue in Kyiv by a knife-yielding man, shouting “Jews should be killed.” On December 13, 2005, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency’s correspondent Vladimir Matveyev was severely beaten at the entrance of his apartment building, a few days after reporting on the activities of MAUP. A week later, on December 21, 2005, the Pecherskyi district court of Kyiv ruled that two newspapers, Stolichne novosti and Stolichka had published “negative and non-factual” reports on MAUP. Not only were the newspapers temporarily closed, they were forced to pay MAUP $10,000 and Shchokin personally $5,000 in damages. This was interpreted as an attempt by the government to silence media voices that criticize anti-Semitism in Ukraine. Emboldened by this ruling, MAUP decided to sue a number of well-established historians, who have signed a petition accusing MAUP of xenophobia and causing “moral damage” to the reputation of Ukrainian academia.

At the same time, a long list of leading Ukrainian and diaspora intellectuals, including most of the leading experts in Ukrainian studies, signed a letter in

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163 The academicians sued were Myroslav Popovych, Jaroslav Iatskiv, Nataliia Iakovenko, Stanislav Kal'chytskyi, Oleksandr Maiboroda and Iurii Shapoval. “MAUP podala do sudu na akademikiv Natsional'noi akademii nauk” [“MAUP took academicians from the National Academy of Science to court”], 3 Kanal <http://5tv.com.ua/newsline/184/0/20564/> (accessed 7 Mar. 2006).
support of the sued academics and condemning MAUP’s anti-Semitism. In addition, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta made a strong, separate statement of solidarity with their Ukrainian colleagues, condemning MAUP’s anti-Semitic statements “as an affront to academic ethics.”