

Marta Havryshko: Zelensky Pays Tribute to Nazi Leaders

Marta Havryshko is a Scholar of Holocaust Studies & Ukrainian Nationalism. Dr. Havryshko discusses Zelensky paying tribute to Nazi leaders, and the West's silence under the guise of being "pro-Ukrainian". Follow Prof. Glenn Diesen: Substack: <https://glennDiesen.substack.com/> X/Twitter: https://x.com/Glenn_Diesen Patreon: <https://www.patreon.com/glenndiesen> Support the research by Prof. Glenn Diesen: PayPal: <https://www.paypal.com/paypalme/glenndiesen> Buy me a Coffee: buymeacoffee.com/gdieseng Go Fund Me: <https://gofund.me/09ea012f> Books by Prof. Glenn Diesen: <https://www.amazon.com/stores/author/B09FPQ4MDL>

#Glenn

Welcome back to the program. We are joined again by Marta Havryshko, a Ukrainian historian and scholar of Holocaust studies and Ukrainian nationalism, currently working in the United States. So thank you for coming back on the program.

#Marta Havryshko

Happy to be here. Thank you.

#Glenn

So recently we saw the Ukrainian state, led by Zelensky, giving full state honors to Andriy Melnyk, and his remains were then repatriated and reburied in Ukraine. You have come out and criticized this very fiercely. I was wondering if you can give some context to what is actually happening, because this is not the first instance of, I guess, let's call it whitewashing and paying tribute to quite dubious historical figures.

#Marta Havryshko

Yes, but this event is really a turning point in the national politics of memory in Ukraine. Why? For several reasons. First, Melnyk belongs to the Ukrainian nationalist movement. And the cult of the Ukrainian nationalist movement belonged, first of all, to Western Ukraine, where it originated. And when Ukraine obtained independence in 1991, this glorious cult of freedom fighters, members of the Ukrainian Nationalist Underground and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA, flourished and monuments appeared. And the members of this Ukrainian Nationalist Underground—Bandera, Melnyk, and Shukhevych—were celebrated as freedom fighters.

But after the Maidan Revolution, this cult steadily became more obvious in central Ukraine, let's say. But now, thanks to Zelensky, this cult has become more and more obvious on the nation-state level. So, I was surprised, actually, that the remains of Andriy Melnyk, the leader of one of the factions of OUN, were brought to Ukraine not by Yushchenko, President Yushchenko, who actually awarded the fascist leader Bandera the title of Hero of Ukraine, nor by Poroshenko, who actually had this very nationalistic agenda as well and instrumentalized this history of the nationalist movement for his political aims.

But the Jewish president, a president with Jewish origin, a president who paid tribute to his grandfather, Semyon Zelensky, a decorated war veteran who fought the Nazis in the ranks of the Red Army, the president whose relatives were killed by Nazi collaborators, and now he is bringing Andriy Melnyk, who was himself a Nazi collaborator, whose subordinates collaborated with the Nazis in the ranks of the auxiliary police—it means that they were hunting Jews as policemen, they guarded ghettos, they convoyed Jews to the killing sites, and they participated in shootings. And also Andriy Melnyk was a proponent of creating the Waffen-SS Division Galicia. The members of the Waffen-SS Division Galicia paid tribute to Hitler. They participated in the suppression of anti-Nazi partisan struggle in Slovakia and former Yugoslavia.

So why the hell would a president with such a background, with such ideology and worldview, bring this Nazi collaborator to Ukraine? And when I, Holger Scholar, a scholar of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, Jewish myself, a granddaughter of a Polish woman, saw the president kneeling in front of a group of Nazi collaborators, I was ashamed. I was ashamed. I was furious. I couldn't understand why the discussion even happened. It wasn't even an organized public discussion. Do we need, in democratic Ukraine, such a national hero whose people participated in the killing of their Jewish neighbors? So I was really surprised why now, and why it happened under President Zelensky. And the second reason: Zelensky, as a comedian in his 1950s, his entire career was built on making fun of Ukrainian nationalism.

When you see their sketches about Lviv and, you know, Ukrainian nationalists and their anti-Semitism and their chauvinism, they often made fun of all this. And now Zelensky is standing there with this, you know, face of, you know, pretending that he knows the history of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, a very complex history and all these war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated by the members of the Ukrainian nationalist underground movement. Oh, give me a break. And I was so, so frustrated. But also what is very, very important is the silence of Ukrainian historians and the silence of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. This silence started to be constructed back then, 10 years ago, when memory laws were adopted under Poroshenko.

According to one of these memory laws, the so-called decommunization law, members of OUN and UPA were recognized as fighters for Ukraine's independence. And they really were the fighters for Ukraine's independence. But two critical questions are still on the table. What kind of Ukrainian state did they desire? It was an authoritarian state, an ethnic state. That's why they perpetrated ethnic violence against Jews, against Russians, and against Poles. And the second question is, with what

tools? And these tools were this brutal ethnic violence against civilian neighbors, elderly people, civilian kids, against women. And this brutality took the lives of dozens of their neighbors.

So what we are glorifying today, we are claiming that we are protecting freedom and democracy. The Ukrainian government is claiming that Ukraine is moving toward the family of nations, the European family of nations, where human rights, human life, and human dignity are the most important. So why now are you celebrating Nazi collaborators? Why now, after decades of the existence of an independent Ukrainian state? Why now? And we understand why now, because Ukraine, instead of the Soviet myth, is creating a nationalist myth in order to mobilize society for the war against Russia. And we understand that seven million Ukrainians fought against the Nazis. Nazis nowadays are fallen heroes.

They are marked sometimes even as Soviet collaborators, as occupiers. And those Nazi collaborators, 300,000 of them, and only 100,000 were in the Ukrainian Nationalist Underground, now are perceived as national heroes? What is that? 73% of Ukrainians voted against this in 2019. And now they are afraid even to raise their voices against this. And nobody is asking them about their opinion because public discussion wasn't organized. The Office of the President just told Ukrainians, you know, we will bring this guy to Ukraine. It was just, you know, information. The public was just informed. No public discussion. No critical, you know, thinking about this. Do we need this Nazi hero on Ukrainian soil? Do we need such a hero?

What does it mean for our future? What does it mean to represent Ukraine? And another issue, which was very striking: the Ukrainian army nowadays is approximately 1 million people and 120 brigades. Why only one brigade, the 3rd Assault Brigade, which is rooted in the Nazi Azov movement, was present there? And among those guys were people with a problematic worldview. For example, the guy with the nickname McGregor, who posed with the Wolfsangel, a Nazi symbol. The guy who is a frontman of the band Sokyra Peruna, which has the song "Six Million Words of Lie," which is about Holocaust denial. And all those guys were present at this state funeral with these top military and state officials.

And what is very interesting, the same brigade recently celebrated the anniversary of the creation of the Waffen-SS Division Galicia, but they remained silent on May 8, when Ukraine, on the national level, marked the end of the Second World War and mourned the victims of Nazism. And Ukraine lost approximately 10 million people in the Second World War. Not even a word from this brigade. And this brigade formed a third army corps, approximately 50,000 people. They remained silent. But instead, they celebrated Nazi collaborators, the Waffen-SS Division Galicia, and they were invited by the Office of the President to participate in the state funeral and the state review of a Nazi collaborator. So it's not just some funeral. It's not just some event.

It's a very problematic sign and symptom of memory politics in Ukraine that turned into World War II revisionism, Holocaust distortion, and Nazi apology. And I was very struck by the fact that Germany, which is a guardian of the memory of Nazi atrocities in the Soviet Union, and particularly

in Ukraine—Germany sponsors so many monuments in Ukraine, memory sites in Ukraine—remains silent. Not a statement. Not a word. Mainstream German media are not critical even about this. German officials are not critical. Chancellor Scholz is silent. Why do they see the IDF as a far-right neo-Nazi movement but don't see that the Ukrainian government is celebrating neo-Nazis and inviting them to celebrate Nazi collaborators, to glorify Nazi collaborators openly? What is going on? We should all ask this question. What is going on in Ukraine? And where is Ukraine heading with this kind of memory politics?

#Glenn

Yeah, well, I can understand kind of how the, because the, you know, the fascist groups in Ukraine, they've always been small, marginal. I mean, it wasn't as if the Ukrainian majority wanted them, but I think they can be used in a very instrumental way. Because, well, the whole idea that the fascists are liberators, I think it's an interesting development, because I often make the point that the historical closeness of the Ukrainians and the Russians after living in the same state for centuries—I think it might be mistaken, but it could have been Solzhenitsyn who referred to it as a double-edged sword—because on one hand, in the East, you find many Ukrainians who essentially say, well, we're brotherly people. Many argue, you know, why do we even have two separate states?

Essentially, we're one people, we're all descendants of Kievan Rus'. But then in the western parts, there are many, and I would add quite reasonably, who argue that, well, this closeness also can diminish our sovereignty. That is, if we're all the same, why do we have our own state? So they can see this history as being a threat to sovereignty. So any anti-Russian narrative essentially that presents the Russians as being the inheritors of the Mongols, for example, the Golden Horde, the Asiatics, while the Ukrainians represent the real Russians—you know, Aryan Europeans—that's a good way of solidifying, I guess, a distinctive identity. So I can see the pragmatism of this. I'm not condoning fascist ideology, just to make it clear.

But I think also if you look at why Germany would be quiet, because you pointed out Germany, I think it's important that, you know, when the Germans defeated the Russians in the First World War, you had, you know, it was ended with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. It was, again, represented as Germany liberating the Ukrainians. But in reality, every historian agreed that this was, you know, simply taking Ukrainians from being part of the Russian Empire to being vassals of the Germans. And then, of course, afterwards, the Germans were defeated. And then we have the Second World War, and we see the Germans yet again. They see all these nationalists, and they think in Ukraine who want to have a greater distance from Russia. They see, you know, a tool essentially they can use.

So they begin to cooperate with many. You see then among the Ukrainian nationalists, many beginning to become integrated into the fascist ideology. And now I would argue a third time we see again after the Cold War, that is, our goal was to create a collective hegemon who was going to unify all of Europe eventually under the EU and NATO, either as members or de facto members, except for Russia. So creating a Europe without Russia, you know, this means de-Russifying the

continent. And suddenly I think the fascist groups in Ukraine become our natural partners because they want to de-Russify Ukraine. We want to de-Russify Europe. When I say we, I mean our political leaders. So it kind of goes without saying that there's a common interest.

I'm not saying that the Western leaders have subscribed to Nazi ideology. It's a bit like whitewashing Jolani in Syria. We can be friends with jihadists, we can be friends with fascists, you know, as long as they serve a goal. So again, I think it's instrumental. But what was the takeaway of the way Western media has addressed this cause? In Poland, there's outrage because of all the Poles that were killed by Ukrainian fascists during World War II. But I'm looking at the Western European media, especially, and there's, you know, crickets. There's nothing there. I read some, yeah, I think it was the New York Times when they said, oh, a divisive historical figure about Andriy Melnyk, which is a weird way, you know, they can call Hitler divisive as well if they want. But, you know, this is—what's your take on it? Controversial.

#Marta Havryshko

Yeah, controversial. They also—I saw some controversial things they can say, you know. What can I say? So we had this burial of Melnyk, and the next day Zelensky awarded one military unit the title Heroes of UPA, yeah, Ukrainian Insurgent Army. And then Poland was very offended, and we had this series of protests from Polish officials, especially President Duda, Polish President Duda. He said that he would strip Zelensky of this high state honor, the White Eagle. Then we had a statement from Prime Minister Tusk. He said that this decision harms the memory of victims of UPA, because according to the Polish Institute of National Memory, there were at least 100,000 Polish civilians killed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia during the Second World War.

And today we saw that Lublin City Council removed the Ukrainian flag from their building. And today another Polish official said that Zelensky should make a call to Navrotsky and bring his apologies. So we still have this outrage from the Polish side because for Polish people it's a very sensitive topic. And the Ukrainian side does not want to apologize. And what I noticed is that many people in Ukraine, even very liberal people, started to adopt this far-right formula: our land, our heroes. This was a formula that we heard at the Svoboda party, these far-right neo-Nazi marches that celebrated Bandera's birthday, you know. But now it's a mainstream slogan. You know, for the past four years, since 2022, Ukrainians have constantly been feeding this narrative.

You protect Europe, you protect all of us. And basically, European politicians and Western media, they raised this messiah complex in Ukrainians. And they really believe that they can have these, you know, fascist and Nazi heroes, and it's no one's business, and everyone must just give them money, and they can spend this money for, you know, state bureaus of Nazi collaborators and building these, you know, fancy cemeteries for them and fancy monuments for them. No, it's not. Ukrainians must understand that European values actually mean that they adopt this World War II memory formula about "never again." Okay, we can discuss what "never again" basically means nowadays.

Yeah, looking at Gaza, you know, the West Bank and all this stuff — never again for whom, and so on and so forth, yeah? So we can discuss all this. But you can celebrate neo-Nazis, you can arm neo-Nazis, basically, yeah? You can celebrate ethnic violence. And Ukrainian officials now really, really can't understand that it's not only their business, right? You know, 10 million, 10.5 million Ukrainian pensioners are completely dependent on the West. Ukrainian teachers, Ukrainian doctors, Ukrainian children — everyone in Ukraine is dependent on the West. And nowadays, when Ukraine completely depends on the mercy, I would say, of its Western partners, Zelensky is doing this? I can't understand this.

We saw these, you know, we saw these new statements from Hungary, right? Yeah, about protection of the Hungarian minority. So now we have problems with Hungary. Serious problems with Hungary. Yeah. And Zelensky created more problems now with Poland. And why is it problematic? Because Poland is the second country with the biggest number of Ukrainian refugees. So the ordinary people may suffer the consequences. I mean, hate crimes, for example. Yeah, so local people, ordinary Ukrainians who have nothing to do with Zelensky's politics, you know, and his chutzpah, will suffer the consequences in their daily life, may suffer consequences, because we already see the rise of hate crimes in Poland against Ukrainians.

We see this, yeah, many people say in Poland, we are fed up with Ukrainians — no more help, no more, you know, hospitality, no more. I believe it was a very stupid move from Zelensky. And, you know, when you put heroes of football, yeah, on the title, on any title, yeah, you need a school and so on and so forth, you just close the discussion. Yeah, it's a way to celebrate, glorify, to make them, you know, only heroes. It's not about debate. It's not about their complicity in ethnic violence. It's basically the road to punish everyone who criticizes them.

That's why, for example, when I was put on this Myrotvorets list, one of the pieces of evidence against me was my academic article about gender-based violence against women perpetrated by members of the OUN and UPA. Rape and other shame-based punishments of women, for example cutting their hair off for romantic relations with Red Army officers. For example, there were Ukrainians — those guys were Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine — but they were bad Ukrainians because they were Soviets, yeah, so they were Russian-speaking and they believed in Soviet Ukraine.

So Ukrainians, they were perceived as enemy men, and local women, local girls, were punished by them, by members of the OUN and UPA, by cutting their hair off. And back then, 80 years ago, this kind of punishment undermined the social standing of those women and their families. They became non-marriageable after that. So it became a strategy for those women, especially in rural areas, in their villages. And in this article, they killed Polish women, for example, or raped them. They killed those women from eastern Ukraine who were sent to western Ukraine. And when I published this article, I was punished basically for this article.

So every single historian now who is trying to preserve critical thinking about OUN and UPA has no prospect of an academic career in Ukraine. They will be stigmatized, stripped of their job, and

basically removed from any prospects in Ukraine, in this kind of Ukraine. Yeah, so I believe it's very, very problematic. These kinds of developments in Ukraine are very problematic. And it's not about, you know, some specific field of research or some specific academics and historians. It's about a state of society where war criminals and those who perpetrated war crimes against innocent children, women, and the elderly are celebrated as heroes, as national heroes. It's very problematic.

#Glenn

Well, this is the thing. Before, I said there could be some strategic advantage in leaning into the nationalist narratives as a wartime strategy and also to, I guess, reorient Ukraine away from Russia. But if I was advising the Ukrainian government, I would say it would also lead to some predictable strategic problems. One, when you dehumanize millions of Ukrainians themselves – you can't really have a cohesive society. And even with the war fighting, it has an impact because now there are all these people who are either among the millions who fled Ukraine or people in hiding in Ukraine who do not necessarily see the incentive in fighting for a government that treated them as second-rate citizens and essentially called their own language, their mother tongue, something that made them criminals and traitors.

So, it's, you know, Arestovych, former advisor to Zelensky, he actually made this point. I know he has shifted his position more than once, but I thought this was a sound one. It's, well, the argument in itself, irrespective of who came with it, is quite reasonable. That is, this was a key mistake. They could have had millions of patriots wanting to defend the homeland. But when the homeland's defined in these extreme nationalist terms, you know, millions of people were... well, essentially turned their back on it. This is not a strategic move, but also, of course, the second was alienating important partners. Now, I know a lot of Western governments have done their best to look the other way, but there are still some people who are asking questions. So what are we doing here?

Why, you know, we're being told in the West that, no, no, well, you know, Zelensky is Jewish. This is all Russian propaganda. But then we get the media reports. We see the fascist symbols adopted by the army. We see both Poland and Israel express outrage about these fascist symbols and reviving the fascist memories. It's hard to explain this. The narrative starts to crack. But how do you think this—how can this go on to such an extent, you think, and still be ignored? Because in Europe, I mean, you know, Zelensky can be everything. He can be caught red-handed in corruption. It doesn't matter. He can purge the political opposition, the media, the Orthodox Church, and still he's hailed as a democratic hero. You know, let's give him the Peace Prize. How do you make sense of this, though?

#Marta Havryshko

You know, in 2022, actually, when the war started, I imposed self-censorship, and I didn't criticize him. I started to criticize in 2023 when I was struck by this, you know, when Azov Regiment and the 3rd Assault Brigade organized this exhibition where they recreated photos of the Waffen-SS Division

Galicia. And basically, they compared themselves with members of the Waffen-SS Division Galicia. So it wasn't Kremlin propaganda, yeah, but they themselves compared their fighters to those who fought for the Nazis, yeah, and served the Nazi cause. And when I pointed to this fact, I understood that, you know, nobody actually from my colleagues was willing to support me. Nobody, even those who study the Holocaust, even those who had Jewish origin, even those in the West, those in Western academia.

And it was a very interesting phenomenon for me. They explained to me that it's not the right time to criticize the Ukrainian government because all these are important. Yeah, those talks are very important, but these problems are minor compared to Russian aggression, and they must be postponed until Ukraine's victory. And I told them that you will be terrified by the society that you will build by your silence. You will be terrified by this society. And now, a couple of years later, what do we see? We are terrified by this society because Zelensky concentrated more and more power, and Ukraine became more authoritarian. Now, the Ukrainian army became an army of slaves. Ninety percent of men who ended up in the army are caught in the streets by the draft officers.

Those who don't comply are severely beaten. And, you know, many people still in the West are making reference to some legality. And I explained to them that racial laws in Germany in 1935 were also legal, and racial segregation in the US was legal, and lynching was legal. So it's a very bad idea to justify forced mobilization by the law. And today we see that Azov started from, you know, 1,000 plus people. Now, at the moment, they have two army corps. You know, I was laughing when I was watching this Black Sea Security Forum in Odessa that was last week. And, you know, the chair of one of the sessions was introducing guests, and he said, "And now we invite the member of the elite brigade."

And I was laughing because I was sure that it would be the Azov-rooted 3rd Assault Brigade. And I was right. They changed the discourse about Azov, and now, in public opinion, it's an elite brigade. The 3rd Assault Brigade — all commanders are from the old Azov. They are radicals with white supremacist views. Now they advocate, with very racist and chauvinistic slogans, against labor migrants. They are misogynists, they are very racist, they are anti-Semitic. And they still call them elite brigades. So now we have two corps formed from Azov movements. And, you know, I really believe that those Western countries, and especially Ukraine's neighbors — like Poland, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic — must be worried about those developments.

Because Azov has the concept of Greater Ukraine. And I encourage all those people who still believe that Azov is really innocent to look at their concept of Greater Ukraine and the map of Greater Ukraine that includes parts of the neighboring states. Azov has an imperialist concept, and Ukraine has the most hardened army in Europe. And I believe that in the future, there's really a great probability that Western countries, NATO countries, will have a problem with Ukraine — not with Russia, but with Ukraine — and with these very radical, but very active and ideologically motivated guys who will try... Because, you know, just last week, Azov commanders talked about going to Transnistria, to Pridnestrovia, and helping Moldova.

Zelensky talked about helping Romania. Yeah. And we don't know what it means. Yeah. And Moldova and Romania are talking about joining into one state. And, you know, they are threatening Belarus, for example. Yeah. Also, we are hearing talks about locating some brigades in the Baltic states to protect, you know, Ukraine, in order to protect Ukraine. We are hearing these talks now from high-level, top Ukrainian commanders. Just listen to them. Just listen to what they say. They are talking about, you know, and they have really great military experience, combat experience, and they have great NATO weapons. Yeah. And in comparison to the Polish army and to the armies of other NATO countries, they have great military combat experience, war experience. So I'm not optimistic.

I'm not optimistic about the future of Ukraine. And the main ideology in Ukraine is ethnonationalism. It's a very, very dangerous ideology. Very dangerous ideology. Pushed by Azov. And now it works in turbo mode. And supported by Zelensky. Because the Zelensky regime relies on Azov. That's why we see that all neo-Nazis in Ukraine, all far-right groups, they support Zelensky, they constantly advocate Zelensky, they constantly whitewash Zelensky. All corruption scandals, they go to different shows and say, but you know, Zelensky didn't know. He's innocent. He didn't know. It's unbelievable. It's unbelievable. I couldn't believe that I would witness such an alliance between Zelensky's office and his inner circle and neo-Nazis and the far-right in Ukraine. But this is a fact now.

#Glenn

We see a lot of strange groupings come up. I saw you mentioned the security forum now in Odessa. And I saw also on the guest list, there was Reza Pahlavi, who is the monarchist from Iran, the one who wants to bring essentially the Shah's rule back. It's a very strange mix of people. I was waiting only to see Jolani pop up on the list as well. But I agree. I think the idea that you can just take this kind of group and use them as an instrument to achieve some strategic objective is very dangerous. And as you said, it can corrupt the entire collective consciousness of Ukraine. I mean, if you want to save Ukraine, I don't think putting these people, the Banderas, to essentially define the Ukrainian soul, if you will — you might end up killing it.

And also, if you look at Germany during World War I, they sent Lenin into the Russian Empire because they hoped that if you had a communist revolution, it would take them out of World War I. Well, now you have the Bolsheviks ruling Russia for the next few decades. Same as supporting Bin Laden to fight the Soviets then later on. Then you have the jihadists, global terror. So you can see... we're sowing problems for the future here. But it's very difficult to even criticize Nazis anymore, even in Western Europe, because in political propaganda, you often want to divide everything into two simple binaries.

That is, you're either supporting the Russian invasion of Ukraine and all the horrors it has caused, or you're supporting Ukraine by not criticizing it. So if you criticize the celebration of fascist groups, then you're undermining the standing of Ukraine, which means then you're taking Russia's side. If

you're showing some empathy towards or even reporting on the Ukrainians who are dragged out of their homes, the busifications, sent to the front to die, well, then you're also taking Russia's side. If you point to the fact that the majority of Ukrainians want negotiations, indeed, that in 2019 as well the majority voted for peace, well, then you're also taking Russia's side because this is taking credibility away from the government.

So, you know, what's considered pro-Ukrainian in Europe is essentially, you know, to ignore the will of the Ukrainians and just, you know, boycott diplomacy, just send more weapons in and fight to the last Ukrainian. It's kind of a gruesome thing. And, you know, even in this country, I'm in Norway, and there is this politician who is the head of the Committee on Foreign and Defense Affairs in Parliament, and he goes to Ukraine, he takes a picture with Biletsky, and then posts it on his... This is the guy who, before the Russian invasion, you had British media, all media, reporting quotes from him. He said the mission of Ukraine is to lead the white race against the Jews and the Untermensch. There's no way you can whitewash these comments.

They've done their best. But also, yeah, also then greeting, of course, Azov members with all their logos and symbols on in the Parliament. And this is considered to be pro-Ukrainian. I mean, I think it's shameful for Norway and shameful for Ukraine. These people don't represent us in any way, but... But, you know, Boris Johnson did the same, waving the big Azov flag in the British Parliament. I mean, our forefathers must be spinning in their graves. This is just... Yeah. And also, it doesn't... I mean... if it did something at least to help Ukraine, that would be one thing.

But imagine if you're sitting in Moscow now and you see this. You're essentially now thinking, well, you know, all these historical Russian territories, all the millions of Russians who now live in Ukraine, the social contract has been broken. They're not allowed to represent them anymore. We'll take all the territory back. I mean, at least when the war began, there was a more modest rhetoric from Moscow. These days, they refer to Ukraine as country 404, so-called Ukraine. It's becoming quite aggressive, failing to even recognize not just the government, but the legitimacy of Ukraine as a country. This is a disaster, which... it should be toned down.

Instead, we're just encouraging the worst instincts, which will get the worst possible reactions. It's hard to understand where this is going. But I guess that's my last question. How sustainable do you think this is? Because I can understand a lot of Ukrainians get caught up. You know, they're invaded, they lost a lot of men, territory's lost, infrastructure being destroyed. I guess I can understand the logic that, you know, with the war being the main priority, all these other things, we push aside, we'll deal with it later. At least this is the sentiment, I think, among the Western political class. But how durable do you think this is? Do you see any cracks?

#Marta Havryshko

No. You know, Western media... so nowadays, Zelensky recently told Ukrainian media that probably we can expect that until the end of this year, the war will end. But in reality, Western media

published information based on their sources that Zelensky is preparing for two or three more years of war. So basically, this narrative about half a year of war is for the Ukrainian audience, only for the Ukrainian audience. It's about, "Please wait a couple more months, everything will be okay, everything will be okay. We will deal with this, we will get money, we will reform draft office centers, they will be more polite. They will ask your husband politely to go to this van, you know, and to go to the infantry, you know." But it all sounds like, you know, fairy tales. And more and more people in Ukraine, they are losing hope.

I'm talking to all my relatives in Ukraine now, and it's like a never-ending nightmare. And what we see is that those people who are now trying to escape from Ukraine are mostly men. Not even women, but men. Because nowadays the main objective for people is to survive. And for men, to survive this war is becoming, you know, the task. It's just, you know, you can't do this. Because those hunters are everywhere — at bus stops, in the streets, in gyms, in hospitals. Everywhere you go — you go to grocery stores and you are kidnapped, you go to your dentist and you are kidnapped. You are not safe anywhere. And Ukrainian men are the most vulnerable. You know, we have this feminist mantra that women and children are more vulnerable in war, but nowadays we observe how men are vulnerable. Their bodily integrity is completely violated.

When we see this harsh scene, how they are beaten, how they are brutalized, it's just unbelievable. And nobody asks them, do you want to die for this corrupt state? That's why I have no hope. Ukraine is turning into a private military company of the West. And returning to this Black Sea Security Forum, when I listen to Senators Kelly and Blumenthal, they want to fight. They're still feeding Ukrainians with these, you know, fairy tales about, you know, you are close to victory, just keep going. And I listened to Kellogg, and he's talking about this enormous, you know, suffering of Russia and losses of Russia. And nothing, nothing about Ukrainian losses. Nothing about, you know, and I'm tracing losses of my city and Lviv region every single day. And every single day, five names, six names, up to eight names every single day. And nobody counts them.

They are just numbers. And for Kellogg, Kelly, Blumenthal, and others, neocons who advocate the interests of merchants of death and arms sellers, arms producers, those people don't exist. They are just numbers. And they don't even dare to name these numbers. They don't even talk about these numbers. They never mention these numbers because those numbers are also terrifying — the losses of Ukraine. They never talk about deserters. Even official numbers — 300,000 deserters and those who went AWOL. These are huge numbers. Nobody's talking about them at these security forums. Nobody's talking about the price. Nobody's talking about the fact that Ukraine, that Zelensky, can't protect civilians from drone attacks and from bomb attacks.

Nobody is talking about that. And nobody is talking about the fact that Ukraine is also targeting civilians, like it was in Starobelsk. And those students were Ukrainians, born in Ukraine and raised in Ukraine. And now, in Ukraine, military discourse, media discourse, they are called collaborators — just collaborators who are not deserving of our pity. They are just collateral damage. And the Mirotvorets hit website even put teachers of this Starobelsk College, several teachers, on their

website, accusing them of collaboration with Russia. So basically, Ukrainian people are raised in this hatred, even towards their own people. So when I hear these, you know, these words from Zelensky — “We will not leave our people” —

We will not leave Donbass because they are our people. No, it has nothing to do with Donbass, and it has nothing to do with the people. He just doesn't want the war to stop, because stopping the war for him means losing power and losing the source of profit for him and his inner circle. So I'm not optimistic about Ukraine, and I'm very concerned about the society that Ukraine is building — this highly militarized society, ethno-nationalistic society, very chauvinistic society, full of hate and full of censorship. I don't want, you know, this kind of future for Ukrainian children.

That's why I took my child. And every single day, I'm happy that I saved my child from this. Because when I see all these developments, I'm just, you know, when I see Azov guys, use Azov, Centuria, in Ukrainian public schools, and they are allowed into all these schools, and all these far-right organizations, you know, performing lessons of courage in Ukrainian public schools with all these hate symbols, I'm just terrified. What are you doing, guys? And all this is so normalized in Ukraine nowadays. I feel very sorry. I feel very sorry. It's like hell nowadays. Yeah.

#Glenn

The problem is when the war is over as well, because of this new identity they're trying to create, many, like yourself, will probably not come back. And it's going to be very hard to rebuild if the people don't actually come back. So it's... what kind of country one creates. It's not, you know, "we'll deal with this later." I think it's a big problem. But for me, always the main frustration is, again, as I mentioned before, this simple binary — you know, you're pro-Ukrainian or you're pro-Russian, that's all. And this essentially makes any discussion, you know, or anyone, immune to criticism because you're not allowed to be pro-Russian, and apparently, if you're worried about Ukrainians being sent to their deaths, that means you're cheering for the invasion.

There's no middle ground. But I'm thinking back, for example, to March of 2014. Henry Kissinger wrote an article saying that we should give up this idea right after Russia took Crimea. We should give up this idea of making Ukraine a front line, either of the West against Russia or Russia against the West. The only way Ukraine can remain intact and not destroyed is if it becomes a bridge, not a front line. This today would be considered anti-Ukrainian. But if you argue, you know what, the best way to end this war is for the NATO countries to agree on a security arrangement with Russia in which we stop, for example, NATO expansion, essentially remove Ukraine from the front lines of a divided Europe, and this way we can save that nation.

This would also be considered now to be a pro-Russian agreement. And even people like, you mentioned Keith Kellogg before — you know, General Keith Kellogg, who again became this envoy — he was giving this speech, you've probably seen it, where he argued that, you know, this is just the top of professionalism. What we're doing now is, you know, we're having Ukrainians fight Russia so

we can weaken Russia, and then we can focus our resources on confronting China. So the Ukrainians are meat we can throw at the Russians. I made a comment about this, and he tweeted me back saying, well, this is Sun Tzu stuff, which is very weird. But anyway, my point is, he's considered pro-Ukrainian. Why?

Because he openly said we can use the Ukrainians to knock out Russia from the ranks of great powers, which allows us to focus on China. Why is this pro-Ukrainian? The only logic is that it weakens Russia. So if it's bad for Russia, it's good for Ukraine. I looked up this article from 2023 because this was... It's in the Washington Post. It was after this disastrous counteroffensive by Ukraine. Again, they got slaughtered when they went down in Zaporizhzhia. Just a lot of men perished. And this is a direct quote from the Washington Post. It said, again, after the horrible counteroffensive, it says, yeah, the West's most reckless antagonist has been rocked. NATO has grown much stronger with the addition of Sweden and Finland.

Germany has weaned itself off dependence on Russian energy and in many ways rediscovered its sense of values. NATO squabbles make headlines, but overall it's been a triumphal summer for the alliance. And it goes on saying that the last 18 months have been a windfall. It's been a great success, except, of course, for all the dead Ukrainians and the destruction of the country. But again, this is how pro-Ukrainian rhetoric is these days. And if you criticize this thing, then they say, well, they can't win. Why are we continuing to do this? Well, that's a pro-Russian argument, and you're a traitor. I have never seen political propaganda like this in my lifetime. It's quite extraordinary. But anyway, any final thoughts before we wrap up?

#Marta Havryshko

I just hope that this war will end because there's too much suffering, you know. And I hope that, you know, shows like yours and others will undermine this mainstream hawkish discourse in the West that keeps feeding this war and presents this as a war for Ukraine, actually. Yeah, because I'm, and many, many people in Ukraine are tired of this. Yeah, let's hope for the better. Yeah.

#Glenn

I agree. I guess our last example, which could have been made, was when the head of German intelligence made a point that we should keep this war going for another five years so we can prepare ourselves for conflict with Russia. So this is yet another pro-Ukrainian statement. We need them to go to the front lines for another five years so we can prepare ourselves. It's horrible, a horrible... I can't believe it's gone this far and probably will go even further if it continues to go on. But like you, I hope this war comes to a quick end—too much suffering already. Anyway, on this very sad topic, nonetheless, thank you very much for your time. I appreciate it.

#Marta Havryshko

Yeah, thank you, Glenn. Thank you so much.