

Ukrainian Culture in Wartime



MAY 29, 2024

**Briefing of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe**

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Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
234 Ford House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
202-225-1901
csce@mail.house.gov
http://www.csce.gov
@HelsinkiComm

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ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Helsinki process, formally titled the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, traces its origin to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in Finland on August 1, 1975, by the leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada. As of January 1, 1995, the Helsinki process was renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE].

The membership of the OSCE has expanded to 57 participating States, reflecting the breakup of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The OSCE Secretariat is in Vienna, Austria, where weekly meetings of the participating States' permanent representatives are held. In addition, specialized seminars and meetings are convened in various locations. Periodic consultations are held among Senior Officials, Ministers and Heads of State or Government.

Although the OSCE continues to engage in standard setting in the fields of military security, economic and environmental cooperation, and human rights and humanitarian concerns, the Organization is primarily focused on initiatives designed to prevent, manage and resolve conflict within and among the participating States. The Organization deploys numerous missions and field activities located in Southeastern and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. The website of the OSCE is: <www.osce.org>.

ABOUT THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission, is an independent U.S. Government commission created in 1976 to monitor and encourage compliance by the participating States with their OSCE commitments, with a particular emphasis on human rights.

The Commission consists of nine members from the United States Senate, nine members from the House of Representatives, and one member each from the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce. The positions of Chair and Co-Chair rotate between the Senate and House every two years, when a new Congress convenes. A professional staff assists the Commissioners in their work.

In fulfilling its mandate, the Commission gathers and disseminates relevant information to the U.S. Congress and the public by convening hearings, issuing reports that reflect the views of Members of the Commission and/or its staff, and providing details about the activities of the Helsinki process and developments in OSCE participating States.

The Commission also contributes to the formulation and execution of U.S. policy regarding the OSCE, including through Member and staff participation on U.S. Delegations to OSCE meetings. Members of the Commission have regular contact with parliamentarians, government officials, representatives of non-governmental organizations, and private individuals from participating States. The website of the Commission is: <www.csce.gov>.

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May 29, 2024

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Washington, DC

The briefing was held from 2 p.m. to 3:31 p.m., Room 2359, Rayburn House Office Building, Rachel Bauman, Policy Advisor, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, presiding.

Ms. BAUMAN: Hello. Whoa, okay. [LAUGHS.] Good afternoon, everyone. If you could find your seats and settle in, we are going to start right on time. I just want to note that our middle panelist has experienced the joys of public transportation today and will be a little late, so I am going to introduce her anyway and when she comes in you will know who she is.

Thus, good afternoon. My name is Rachel Bauman. I am a policy advisor at the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the U.S. Helsinki Commission after the Helsinki Final Act. For those of you who are not familiar with us, we are an independent U.S. government agency created in 1976, and our congressional commissioners represent both parties and both chambers of Congress.

Our focus is security and human rights in Europe and Eurasia, and we have been active on Ukraine for much longer than I have been around and continue to do so. Therefore, this event is really important to me personally.

I mean, I want to note that Russia's current inflict on Ukraine fits squarely into a historical pattern of Russian imperial erasure of Ukrainian culture including and sometimes especially during the Soviet Union.

At this point, it is impossible to suggest that Russia is accidentally bombing universities, theaters, museums, libraries, and historic buildings. Attacks on civilian institutions and cultural centers are part of the point. They are meant to demoralize, murder, and wipe cultural institutions off of the Ukrainian map.

Events in Russian-occupied territories reveal this even further. Russian forces have looted entire museums in occupied areas, bringing thousands of culturally valuable art and artifacts to Russia. Russian occupation authorities have tried to crush the Ukrainian language and literary heritage and replace them with narratives of empire.

Russia has leveled entire Ukrainian cities like Mariupol and persecuted minority groups with rich cultures like the Crimean Tatars. This is, clearly, not just a kinetic war but a war of cultural conquest.

We will take a very broad view of arts and culture here, encompassing many shared elements of Ukrainian identity. We will talk about how Ukrainians and international partners are helping Ukraine protect its culture from these attacks and how Ukrainians themselves have shaped their culture in response to war.

After all, I want to emphasize that Ukrainians are more than just victims here. They continue to be active producers of culture. We have a unique opportunity here at the Commission to convene these types of panels where we go really in-depth on a specific topic with experts, practitioners, and scholars so I would like to introduce our panelists today who are well-versed on these issues. Longer versions of their bios are in our handouts that you may have picked up outside or on the event page of our website, which is CSCE.gov. Therefore, I will introduce them very briefly.

Of course, there is more information in your handouts. Starting to my left here, Peter Doroshenko is the director at the Ukrainian Museum in New York City. Before his arrival in New York, Doroshenko was the director at Dallas Contemporary in Texas for 11 years. He is held director and curator positions at museums and institutions in Ukraine, the U.K., Belgium, and the United States. Doroshenko has organized over 200 exhibitions over the past 35 years and has worked with a number of Ukrainian artists as well. In 2007, 2009, and 2017 he was the commissioner for the Ukrainian National Pavilions at the Venice Biennale. He has also lectured and taught at postgraduate programs.

Ieva Gudaitytė, who we are waiting on—I am going to introduce her even though she is not here so she can jump right in—she is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oslo working on a project investigating the aural politics of alternative music and radio media communities in Ukraine and their partners across Eastern and Central Europe. Following her previous research on the independent community radio scene in Budapest, her practice operates on the intersection of sound studies and cultural musicology. Her wider practice involves cultural journalism, creative writing, curating, teaching, and various radio work. She has a master's in cultural musicology from the University of Amsterdam and a bachelor's degree in physics and music from the University of Edinburgh.

Lastly, Richard Kurin. Dr. Richard Kurin is currently the Smithsonian's distinguished scholar and ambassador at large focused on strategic and special initiatives, institutional representation, and philanthropic support. He previously served for more than a decade as an undersecretary overseeing all the Smithsonian's national museums, scientific research centers, and educational programs. Prior to that, he was the director of the Center for Folk Life and Cultural Heritage for 20 years. He worked with UNESCO to develop the 2003 Convention on Safeguarding Living Cultural Heritage which has been ratified by a hundred and eighty countries. He founded the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative after Haiti's 2010 earthquake and has worked to save cultural heritage endangered by natural disasters and human conflicts. An anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Dr. Kurin has taught at the Johns Hopkins SAIS and authored six books.

Therefore, with that, I think we will just start with Mr. Doroshenko and move downward, coming back to Ieva when she joins us.

Mr. DOROSHENKO: Thank you. Thank you, Rachel Bauman and the Helsinki Commission for organizing this briefing and keeping the focus on Ukraine and Russia's crimes in Ukraine.

It is an honor to speak among my distinguished fellow panelists on the topic that is not only central to my work as the director of the Ukrainian Museum in New York City but also a personal, deep commitment as a Ukrainian American.

Today I will address three key aspects of Russia's destruction of Ukrainian culture and simultaneous efforts to preserve it and revive it.

First, I would like to share what we at the Ukrainian Museum have learned from our partners and colleagues in Ukraine about the impact of the full-scale war on the country's cultural sector.

Next, I will highlight the initiatives the Ukrainian Museum has spearheaded to tackle the rising challenges of this work, and then, finally, I would like to provide recommendations on how we can collectively work to protect and support Ukrainian culture right now.

In the first weeks of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine on the February 24, 2022 the Ukrainian Museum began fielding desperate calls for help from our long-standing partners in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Museum was founded in 1976 by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and was envisioned to be a safe harbor for Ukrainian art and culture that was under persistent prosecution and threats of destruction even back then.

Over 48 years of its existence the Ukrainian Museum has become both a contributor and a beneficiary of Ukraine's rich cultural sector which has steadily advanced and developed in the years of Ukraine's independence. If you have been to Ukraine in the last five years then you have seen this firsthand. The number of museums, galleries, memorials, heritage sites, cultural centers, theaters, archives, and libraries is not just in the capital Kyiv but all over Ukraine.

The progress was exciting. Art residencies in various cultural institutions across Ukraine welcomed artists from around the world. Art critics turned their attention to Ukraine's emerging talents and cultural products. Archives teemed with young researchers from many universities, uncovering Ukraine's unique cultural heritage. In fact, Ukraine has just five elements inscribed on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. All five elements were recognized by UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage after the organized advocacy of the Ukrainian cultural sector after 2013, the year the Euromaidan, or the Revolution of Dignity, began in Ukraine.

Furthermore, Ukraine is home to eight UNESCO World Heritage Sites. All eight world heritage sites are within the reach of Russian rockets and missiles, including the ancient and Byzantine city-state of Chersonese Tavria in Crimea, which has been illegally occupied by Russia since 2014, when the Russian war against Ukraine began.

UNESCO reported this year that 341 cultural sites-including 26 religious structures, 150 buildings of historical or artistic importance, and 31 museums across Ukraine have been damaged, resulting in an estimated total cost of destruction to Ukrainian cultural property of \$3.5 billion.

Particular attention should be given to Russia's destruction, plundering, and looting of Ukrainian museums, which constitutes a war crime and has been brought up in the news and with various individuals around the world over and over again.

It has been documented that Ukraine's museums and cultural workers such as museum staff have been the targets of systematic destruction by Russian occupying forces. For example, the Kherson Art Museum reports that hundreds of pieces of fine art were stolen while the city was under Russian occupation for eight months in 2022 before the liberation of Ukrainian soldiers.

Civilians in Kherson spoke of, "truckloads of art" being taken out of the city by Russian forces. Nothing was left in the museum, not even office supplies. Kherson was occupied for three years by the Nazis in World War II, yet, residents, the museum director, cultural workers, and historians declared that the looting by the Russians in 2022 was, "much worse" than the Nazis' infamous looting of art in the last century.

Ukrainian culture, unfortunately, does not only suffer from Russian looting. Russian missiles have created havoc across Ukraine on a daily basis since February 2022 and inflict physical damage of varying but oftentimes critical degrees to buildings of historical cultural significance, requiring years, billions of—millions of dollars' worth of restoration.

In 2022 the National Literary Memorial Museum of Ukraine seminal philosopher Skovoroda in Kharkiv region was completely destroyed by a targeted missile attack. In 2023 the Odesa Art Museum in historic Odessa City Center was partially damaged and destroyed during a large-scale Russian aerial attack on the City Center.

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine has put Ukraine's art and culture at risk and, in many cases, irreparable losses. While what is already been destroyed cannot be recovered it is imperative that museums and cultural institutions in Ukraine receive ongoing support and their collections and research records be preserved and kept safe.

This is why the Ukrainian Museum in New York launched its SAFE program aimed at safeguarding Ukrainian culture in March of 2022. SAFE, the program, supports the vital needs and adaptive strategies of museums in Ukraine during the full-scale war and engages professionals in North America to assist their Ukrainian colleagues and counterparts, the stabilization of institutions, collections, heritage sites, reinvention of organizational approaches, and recovery tactics.

At the onslaught of Russia's full-scale invasion, the Ukrainian Museum created secure databases for museums in Ukraine to record object information and catalog cultural research that is vital to preserve and protect Ukrainian heritage.

The Ukrainian Museum also began small grants—a program of small grants to Ukrainian cultural organizations to meet their ongoing and evolving needs through the program. In March 2022, the Ukrainian Museum supported the Ivan Honchar Museum in Kyiv and their efforts to preserve their museum's collections.

Literally a few months later in July of 2022, the Ukrainian Museum supported Andriy Sheptytsky National Museum of Lviv with the purchase of computers to assist their continued work and ongoing cataloging of cultural objects.

That fall in 2022 the Ukrainian Museum launched a collaboration with the Museum Crisis Center and Heritage Emergency Response Initiative in Ukraine to support first aid mobile teams of cultural workers and advised museum colleagues on adaptive strategies and recovery tactics for those institutions.

A grant was also allocated to the Heritage Emergency Response Initiative for field trips, equipment purchases, and emergency capability building. The Heritage Emergency Response Initiative is committed to providing assistance to cultural organizations in preparing responses to war emergencies, collecting data on damage caused to cultural herit-

age, assessing losses and risks, and coordinating actions between authorities, the military, museums, cultural organizations, and international organizations.

For many of Ukraine's international partners, the Ukrainian Heritage Response Initiative is their eyes and ears on the ground when it comes to the protection of Ukrainian heritage, and the Ukrainian Museum is proud to support those efforts.

In August 2022, the Ukrainian Museum collaborated with the Tarnovsky Chernihiv Historical Museum to organize an exhibition at the Ukrainian Museum in New York educating the public about those Russian attacks on that particular museum earlier in that year, showcasing the museum's rich collection and safeguarding those efforts.

In September 2022 the Ukrainian Museum was proud to host the First Lady Olena Zelenska of Ukraine at the museum as she launched the global fundraising drive for restoring 1,500 Ukrainian museums and cultural heritage sites destroyed or damaged by the full-scale Russian invasion.

The First Lady applauded the SAFE program and presented photographs of several destroyed cultural institutions to the museum which were then part of the "Postcards from Ukraine" exhibition, which is still on today.

She also was there to open my first exhibit at the Ukrainian Museum called "Impact Damage" which highlighted some of the best folk and cultural and significant objects from the museum's collection. But there was a strange twist to it. No lights were on, and that was at a time when all museums were either closed or there was no electricity.

In December 2022 the Ukrainian Museum connected the Museum Crisis Center in Ukraine with the 9/11 Memorial Museum in New York City to facilitate information exchange among museum workers and the production of a lecture that focused on professional museum practices, reaching over a hundred twenty-five museum professionals in Ukraine.

Continuing and expanding on the Ukrainian Museum's commitment to preserve cultural heritage in Ukraine our initiative with SAFE has evolved into a new baseline, the new pressing need for cultural treatment of Russian and Soviet colonialism, and the urgency to implement policies for Ukraine across cultural institutions in the international arena.

In February 2023, to mark the one-year invasion—full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine the Ukrainian Museum hosted a sold-out roundtable discussion on the efforts to correct a hundred and fifty years of Russian and Soviet colonialism on Ukrainian culture, the first in the museum's ongoing decolonization cultural series.

The SAFE program continues supporting Ukrainian cultural institutions through grants, facilitating dialogue, information exchange, collaboration, exhibitions, and offering timely and relevant programming to new audiences.

The Ukrainian Museum envisions expanding the SAFE program to include smaller organizations and to give a leg up to artist-run projects in Ukraine in which initiatives to preserve mosaics, public art across Ukraine, and develop and preserve artist estates of famous Ukrainian folk artists and their extremely important modern legacies.

Ladies and gentlemen, the challenges before us are colossal. We can and should be doing more, not only as cultural workers and institutional members but as an American society as a whole. We should be actively involved in this decolonization process.

World-renowned artists such as Kazimir Malevich, Aleksandra Ekster, and Ilya Repin are still labeled as Russian in so many U.S. and American art institutions such

as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, and here in Washington, D.C., the Hirshhorn Museum.

Despite all the research and the evidence, the mislabeling of Ukrainian artists as Russian is a deliberate instrument of Russian erasure of Ukrainian culture and the lack of research on our American colleagues into this particular topic.

Thus, the destruction of Ukrainian culture is not happening only in Ukraine but in museums and galleries across the world and even in our own backyard, so to speak. As museum-goers and conscious citizens, which I am sure we all are, we must call this out and advocate the decolonization of Ukrainian art through the correct labeling of Ukrainian artists as Ukrainian.

Ukrainian researchers, art historians, and cultural experts must be more actively involved in those conversations about global art, history, and culture. Contributions of Ukrainian artists to modernism, avant-garde futurism, and even cubism can no longer be ignored.

It is 2024, two years after the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine and 10 years after the beginning of the Russian war against Ukraine. It is imperative that we have Ukrainian artists such as Sonia Delaunay, Aleksandra Ekster, Kazimir Malevich, and Volodymyr Tatlin relabeled as Ukrainian.

In addition to reprinting labels and editing catalogs, we should also be planning for the future. Ukrainian museums have done the work of preserving their collections and keeping them as safe as possible, evacuating them from immediate danger and storing them in the best conditions possible under the situations that are at hand.

American museums and cultural institutions can and should be doing more, exploring opportunities to establish relationships with the Ukrainian Museum's collections and fulfilling a double positive. Exhibiting Ukrainian art and culture to the large American public and temporarily safekeeping valuable Ukrainian art treasures in the United States and from those front lines is one just tangible way of supporting Ukrainian culture during this wartime.

Other opportunities include donating to cultural institutions in Ukraine, establishing scholarships, residencies, fellowships for Ukrainian artists and creatives in the United States and engaging in exchange practices with Ukrainian colleagues on digital archiving, conservation, and taking more of an interest in Ukrainian art overall.

It is with this that surely we will help Ukraine and Ukrainians. But it is also not going to stop the Russian missiles or the bombs from falling on Ukrainian territory and further destroying Ukrainians' cultural capital in smaller cities. For this to happen we need to be more invested in Ukraine's victory.

We need to support the delivery of military aid to Ukraine. This may sound strange coming from a museum director but is the result of the reality of working with them on a day-to-day basis in Ukrainian culture in wartime. Having visited Lviv and Kyiv last March in 2023 for a week I have firsthand knowledge of those current needs and Ukraine needs more weapons, not only to save Ukrainians but also to save Ukrainian culture.

The loss of Ukrainian culture has resounding effects on the whole world. Our children and their children's children will be affected by the loss which will exponentially take more resources and more time to recover that culture if Ukraine does not win the war as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Ms. BAUMAN: Wow. Thank you. Ieva Gudaitytė is here and, Ieva, you are up next if you would like to.

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Is this—thank you. Sorry for the delay.

I want to begin by expressing a sense of unease with which I am coming into this room. We are meeting here to examine, to learn, and to understand better what it means to create culture under an existential threat. But I am not threatened personally. I have never been to Mariupol or Bakhmut or even Kharkiv, the second biggest city and the center of Ukrainian publishing where civilian objects are constantly bombed these days.

What I am representing today is a position of allyship that first acknowledges the privilege of having the mental space to work with and for a Ukrainian cultural producer, in my case alternative music and media initiatives.

Hence, my main point today is to caution against romanticizing resistance and instead advocate that we should all take seriously how much we all benefit from the knowledge and culture produced in Ukraine in our classrooms, policymaking meetings, and concert halls, to recognize and thus offer sustainable support for those creating it under constant shelling, power outages, amongst burnt printing houses, in times of real uncertainty for the imminent and long-term future.

Therefore, when I say sustainability what I mean is access and the right to memory, the right to have your testimony be classified as knowledge in the long term, not just an illustration of a moment in broader geopolitics.

Last week as I was going through the special archives at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute I came across a satirical Cold War magazine of the Ukrainian diaspora in the U.S. called *Lys Mykyta* after Ivan Franko's stories and could not help but notice the striking similarity between the discourse, issues, and even language used to talk about the preservation of Ukrainian culture and identity then and now.

I think this is a good starting point for us today, understanding that the existence of Ukrainian culture has been threatened for centuries, you know, whether we start counting from the 13th/14th-century Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus' and following ones, and since had to prove its place in history over and over again. It has managed to survive Stalin's famines, various invasions, persecutions, and oppressions.

Many of the things we are observing today both horrible and admirable are not new. Thus, we should not be surprised by the diversity, resilience, or simply the quality of the Ukrainian cultural work done since Russia's full-scale invasion as if there was nothing but maintaining humanity and fighting for the right to sovereignty and identity possible for Ukrainians right now.

We should ask ourselves if we are paying attention to Ukraine now how can we make sure that this does not go to waste and we are not back in this room again in 50 years discussing the same attempts of preservation?

Do not get me wrong. The resilience of human imagination, and the ability to tell stories and make "rave tolokas" amongst the ruins of your past life is something that needs to be recognized and respected.

However, this resilience is as much of a work of contemporary ingenuity as it is of an intergenerational effort to maintain the personal and collective self through language, historical truth, oral traditions, and evidence of symbolic and material injustices. Perhaps because of that Ukraine produces culture and art at war as Ukrainians know how important it is especially in the face of a weaponized Russian culture.

My fellow panelists have much more expertise in individual and institutional art production so I will add what I can from the perspective of the Ukrainian alternative music scene, a kind of ad hoc infrastructure that is often overlooked in mainstream policy-making everywhere, not only when we talk about Ukraine, but one that tells us a lot about the civilian and the civic society and its imaginations.

What I would like to highlight is the importance of small cultural actors. Recent projects that started after the war began with the Crimean annexation in 2014 first and foremost aimed to respond to the cultural needs of the local communities. That is, to showcase lesser-known names or more niche sounds, challenge mainstream cultural production mechanisms, and focus on strengthening creative discourse bottom up.

Borne out of a community of artists and enthusiasts this scene has been diversifying the European and global electronic music scene and made Kyiv one of the capitals of such alternative culture alongside Berlin, to some extent, perhaps, New York as well.

From the many names that are still operating and have started since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, I want to mention a few that have been offering virtual and physical spaces for people to come together and make sense of the new Ukrainian reality by creating, sharing, and listening to music together. Therefore, these would be cultural venues like Kyrylivska 41 in Kyiv or Some People in Kharkiv, Jam Factory in Lviv; alternative community radios like 20ft or Gasoline radio; record labels like Systema or Muscut; DJ schools like Kultura Zvuku or collectives such as Cxema in Kyiv, Dnipropop in Dnipro, and many others.

They offer a range of cultural production that includes but is not limited to organizing and hosting live music events and festivals, producing video, audio, and other types of contents like releasing albums, supporting new artists and facilitating them with tools and platforms to create, doing cultural journalism and various research including archival and ethnographic.

To do such a work under constant air raid sirens requires resourcefulness, both physical, and I cannot stress this enough, mental. From crowd sourcing technical equipment, getting generators to overcome electricity shortages now, again, present across the country including Kyiv as a part of an energy saving plan as the sector has experienced severe damages from the Russian shelling.

Mobilizing social and cultural capital—there is a lot to be said about how culture is made in spaces where institutions have been historically superimposed by invasive regimes and, thus, were not to be trusted.

Reforms, international partnerships, and democratic governance have done much for the cooperation between state, municipal, and grassroots levels in Ukraine. But the certain capacity to respond to immediate material or symbolic needs has remained. Such horizontal self-organized culture projects reflect the status quo but also future aspirations, which makes them able to effectively mobilize their community and larger civic society for various purposes.

Full-scale invasion clarified our purpose. Now no cultural war goes without organizing fundraisings and other charitable or volunteer work to support defense and humanitarian efforts. As many cultural workers are on the front lines many are about to join them and many have been killed. This is the most important effort of preservation, that of lives.

In this involuntarily politicized reality of war Ukrainian culture production has deepened its local focus as the condition for sustainability. As mobility in and out of the country has been challenged audiences have changed. On the one side, the significance of cultural diplomacy has become more imminent so cultural experts have become one of the priorities.

On the other, many in the Ukrainian alternative music scene felt abandoned by their international colleagues due to their public silence after the full-scale invasion. Local voices have become more confident, nevertheless, perhaps even out of necessity to tell stories of collective history and firsthand experiences from being on the ground.

However, the sense of isolation from the outside world is painfully present. Now is the time for documentation of war through all artistic measures whether it is film, visual, literary, or sound art. Projects that contextualize daily air raid sirens, soundscapes, or audio documentaries emerged, weaved from stories of forced displacement, life at the front lines, or choice to stay in occupied territories and resist being erased from ever living there. They bring war closer to a listener or a reader in London or Washington.

Such storytelling allows reclaiming agency and control over what is being told and how it is being told. Does the writer describe the complexity of human experience in times of terror, which includes fear, and anger, but also desire, longing, and constant, constant grief? This gives hope for the possibility of solidarity but also helps to process these experiences for the creator. Art helps to maintain sanity and it also helps to claim the right to cultural history.

Alongside the rediscovered interest in dissident poets or musicians comes raising awareness of their faith. Many were killed, oppressed, or exiled to Siberia by the Soviets. Now in the digital world art produced on the front lines can be stored and shared with displaced communities instantaneously.

However, we still need to ensure it is valued, heard, and not easily forgotten. The full-scale invasion has exposed the fragility of memory and the paradox of historical significance once again, a realization that Ukrainian culture needs to be rediscovered over and over not only internationally but also locally.

This is about the destruction of cultural identity and memory as much as civic consciousness and political sovereignty and this is why local small niche grassroots initiatives are so important in making sure that art keeps being made before it becomes heritage. That culture exists before it arrives at an institution, that there are things to preserve in the first place—to make sure that there are things to preserve in the first place.

For that we need spaces where ideas can circulate and people can continue to exchange both frustrations but also inspirations and resistance against uncertainty, violence, and helplessness—that people are not left alone with their voices, their knowledge, and their experiences as they echo across the world.

The scene I want to highlight today is younger, perhaps more precarious, less well-resourced, made of people who are literally building institutions they want to see in the future. Yet, today many are also aware that these institutions are temporary and they may not hold. As mobilization intensifies cultural sphere is working hard to preserve the current moment, which is unique, but the future is uncertain and memory is easily lost.

Therefore, when we turn to art and culture to tell an accessible story we should also ask what is cultural work? What is the smallest unit worth of preservation? Who gets to

make those choices? Do Ukrainians have adequate representation and do we support local experts as much as we do those speaking for them?

After documentation comes analysis and discourse, comes the new cultural identity. We have to understand that the situation is dynamic and conditions are extremely difficult. People are tired, the material support is scarce, and the sense of temporality is omnipresent. We can talk about aid but let us also talk about partnerships, fellowships, tenures, institutions, archives. Let us move from solidarity to political kinship where knowledge is heard and culture is seen as knowledge. Let us do anything to make people feel less alone.

Finally, let me repeat literary scholar Mariia Shuvalova's recent words at the round-table at Columbia during the recent ASN conference which was aimed to address what academics should do in times of war, and we need to address the elephant in the room which—well, we have already addressed.

What Ukrainian cultural production needs now is air defense and military aid to win this war. Then artists, teachers, scientists, librarians, and activists can go back to their work and tell their own stories.

Thank you.

Ms. BAUMAN: Thank you.

Last but not least we will have a presentation from Dr. Kurin from Smithsonian.

Ms. KURIN: Thank you again. It is an honor to be here, an honor to be with colleagues in a discussion of the situation in Ukraine and its culture.

This war is in no small part and in a very large part about Ukrainian history, identity, culture, and language. Indeed, it is about the freedom to be Ukrainian and it is about restrictions on that in an effort to deny Ukrainian state identity.

The Smithsonian has done a lot of work with many colleagues around the United States, in Europe, around the world, and, of course, especially in Ukraine. I have a very detailed statement that I have given to the Commission, but I would rather talk through a number of key points, and we have some handouts for people in the room. They reference some of the material I will talk about.

I would like to talk about three key issues that we have been engaged in. One is the monitoring of cultural damage and destruction and doing that on a large scale and a research-driven scale. The other one is our provision of materials, supplies, equipment, advice, and professional help to our Ukrainian colleagues, something that Peter has also talked about.

Then, lastly, we have done a good bit of work in the public sphere informing the public, participating in symposia, seminars, podcasts, working with media, doing concerts, doing exhibitions both at the Smithsonian and helping with others to get the word out about what, indeed, is happening in Ukraine.

Let me go to monitoring first and, again, I have a summary on the table. We have, I do not know, looks like about 30 copies or 40 copies so there is enough for people in the room.

Therefore, what we started doing at the Smithsonian with our partners at the Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Maryland—has really developed over time a very complex effort to understand what is, indeed, going on.

Now, before the war started, we had a colleague who published a paper—it was actually January 2022, one month before the Russian invasion—and what he noticed in his study of the Donbas and Crimea was Russian monument building. Russian partisans were building monuments in public spaces, in parks, and all sorts of things. What was that about?

Well, that was about marking territory as Russian. Marking civic space, marking territory. When the war began—actually before the war began, the Smithsonian, working with our partners, had identified about 28,000 cultural sites in Ukraine—museums, libraries, churches, burial grounds, memorials, monuments, archives, archaeological sites, theaters, and so on—28,000 of them.

Now, as our colleagues in Ukraine remarked, that was only a fraction of what were cultural sites if you consider all libraries, all cultural sites, where things happen—performance venues, and so on. It is a lot more.

However, there are 28,000 key sites. Then we started using satellites to both monitor those sites and monitor what we call kinetic events—bombs, shelling fires. That is, from space using a number of satellites we could see where there were fires, where there were explosions, and then what we would do is take those points—imagine those as red points on a map and overlay them with where we knew were museums, archaeological sites, performing theaters, and then we could hone in and say that was a site that was probably bombed last night.

We can go back through satellite imagery and then look at that site over time. Then you can see what happened. I remember early on in the war the famous case, the Ivankiv Museum—with the work of Maria Prymachenko, a Ukrainian folk artist. You look at that image from satellite photography, say, two weeks before the Russian invasion and it is a museum. It is snowy. It is February. It is covered by snow. There are buildings around it.

You look at it in February—I think it was the 24th, 25th, sometime around there—and you can see right into the museum. There is no roof. You can almost see things on the wall.

Therefore, we started to monitor those sites and see what was happening. Well, we have now been at this for more than two years and what we do when we find these cases is we issue reports—and, again, I have those summary reports—but we issue reports on particular cases to try to understand what happened, what documentation we have of what happened, because that is, indeed, evidence of untoward behavior in war, in terms of what we understand are international norms.

Therefore, what we have now discovered and, Peter, to update those figures, at least the Smithsonian figures—I cannot speak for UNESCO—but at this point, the Smithsonian and its partners have identified over 2,100 cases of potential damage and destruction. Over 2,100. That is huge. That is almost, getting close to 8 or 9 percent of the total number of cultural sites we are looking at.

We keep statistics on these. We categorize them. About 950 of those cases are of memorials and monuments in Ukraine—about 45 percent. Thirty percent, interestingly enough, are religious sites, places of worship, and burial grounds. Sixteen percent are museums, libraries, and archives.

Therefore, when you are looking at that you are saying, okay, there is certain things that seem to be targeted, and I do not want to make too much of the numbers because

in some cases you can have one place that is destroyed that has such a horrific effect. If you think about the Mariupol theater where about 600 people took refuge and died, that is one in a number of those statistics out of that 2,100. Therefore, some of these are sites of tremendous significance.

Now, we have also looked at patterns. Our research team—some of the members are here—looked at damage to buildings. We looked at 63,000 buildings in Donetsk and found that cultural sites had not quite but almost double the chance of being damaged compared to other civilian sites including apartments, hospitals, and others.

There is reason to believe here with strong evidence that culture is in the sights of [Russian-caused] destruction. As you would imagine, most of that destruction has been in the Kharkiv area, Donetsk, Mariupol region, and beyond.

We have also had sites—where you—ask, why the Ivankiv Museum with Maria Prymachenko's folk art on the wall? Here was an internationally regarded folk artist. She would influenced so many people. You have got to ask why.

I remember when teams went to Chernihiv, the building was now a children's library but had been the first Ukrainian Museum of Antiquities that opened in the early 1900s. Children's books. Why bomb? Why bomb?

Then there is the Skovoroda museum. I will not be able to pronounce it properly. Skovoroda Memorial Museum near the border with Russia near Kharkiv. I remember we talked with the minister of culture of Ukraine. He had heard that there may have been a bombing and he said, could you at the Smithsonian take a satellite look at it?

There was cloud cover for, I do not know, five days, six days. We were really anxious to do it. Then pictures started emerging that Ukrainians on the ground had taken and the cloud cover moved, and we were able to see that that museum—and it was a museum in the middle of nowhere. I mean, really, no military target, no fortifications, and it was destroyed. Unbelievably and amazingly the statue of this late 19th-century philosopher who was an iconic figure in terms of Ukrainian composition, literature, poetry, teacher, a mentor; well, the statue survived.

Peter mentioned looting at the Kherson Regional Art Museum. We actually have those trucks on satellite imagery in front of the museum and another panel truck in the courtyard. The satellite imagery is backing up what people on the ground saw. Museum people also took photographs. That is very brave, as people—[Russians]—were loading up the trucks with the museum's literally, thousands of objects and driving those trucks to Crimea.

Therefore, we continue this monitoring effort. We do it every day with a team dedicated to, indeed, documenting what is happening at that large scale in terms of the destruction at least—Ukrainian physical culture.

The second area we have dealt a lot with is in terms of material support and advice. At the earliest stages—and, again, Peter mentions it—we all got calls from Ukrainian museums. I remember we got a call from a Ukrainian science museum located in a university. They had to pack up—I think it was, like, 400,000 specimens. How do you do that? You do that to save them because they were worried, they would be damaged by shelling, and they encapsulated a good deal of Ukrainian natural history and that historical heritage.

Therefore, we ended up working very closely with a number of Ukrainians, the people on the ground who are doing the work in saving and helping to save and safeguard

Ukrainian culture at this time; Ihor Poshyvailo, who had been a fellow at the Smithsonian, started with Vasyl Rozhko, HERI—the Heritage Emergency Response Initiative—in Ukraine. We would have endless conversations with Ihor and colleagues and Vasyl about the need for supplies like fire extinguishers. I think at one point we thought we would have bought every fire extinguisher in Europe, because you needed a lot of them, given all this shelling. Supplies, bubble wrap, cartons, crates, and so on were needed.

In all—Ihor sent me a figure yesterday. He says they have processed 274 tons of material to pack up museums, archives, and libraries—274 tons! You think about supplies in terms of tonnage and delivering that and having to get that to people so they could pack up in a hurry.

The Heritage Emergency Response Initiative spun off another project now called HeMo, the heritage monitoring work, and Vasyl and his team have done that. This is a team of largely art historians, museum people, and culture people, who take great risks. Thus far, they have visited over 850 museums in Ukraine to look at damage and confirm damage in other cultural facilities and, it is dangerous and they are doing that in the field.

They try to do whatever stabilization they can, whatever documentation, increasingly 3-D documentation, and so on, to try to understand because if you do not save what is there now you will not have it in the future. You will not have it for that rebuilding.

Then there is Svitlana Strelnikova who, under the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, runs something called the National Council of Research and Restoration. That is the country's official conservators' organization. She has about a hundred conservators.

They have offices headquartered in Kyiv but also offices in Odesa, Lviv, and Kharkiv, and they actually are charged with taking care of Ukraine's national collections in the government museums, and they want to do their work.

They view their work as really the protection of heritage. Again, given that culture and Ukrainian identity are so much in the front of this war, protecting artifacts, protecting collections, protecting and documenting that heritage goes to the heart of the matter. These collections are the touchstones of Ukrainian identity. You lose them, you lose the material evidence of their historical existence.

Therefore, Svitlana's folks—in terms of material culture—had to take care of stuff. But as people evacuated museums very quickly, as I said at the Ukrainian Museum when we did the event with the First Lady, for a lot of museums it was, like, hey, we got to get this stuff out. Kids and the Mona Lisa in the back seat and let us go.

Therefore, a lot of collections were very hastily packed and then put in places that you do not usually find museum collections—in basements, underground, villages, and so on. Svitlana and her crew needed to find a way to take care of them, but their vehicles needed to be used for civil defense purposes.

Therefore, how to get her curators to do that conservation house calls all over the country to take care of those collections because, again, you could take your treasured art, put it in a basement somewhere, and after a few months you have mold and pests and other things and you start losing them in other ways.

We tried to find vehicles. I worked with the State Department to call—try to call every consulate and embassy in Europe. I figured there must be a Volkswagen van on some consulate parking lot in Portugal that they can give us so we can send teams of

eight or 10 curators with equipment and supplies to museums and collections to help them out—and there was none.

Then the State Department got me in touch with a company called Uber, and so it is, like, you know, the movie "Ghostbusters," I guess. It is like, "Who are you going to call?" Call Uber.

Therefore, every day Svitlana and her team call Uber and they come with eight-, 10-, 12-person vans. Uber has done hundreds and hundreds of trips taking the conservators from the National Center for Research and Restoration to almost 400 museums now, traveling I think over a hundred thousand miles around the country, going into war zones, going into those areas that have just been liberated from Russia to deal with those collections.

Those people, indeed, are serving their country by trying to protect those resources. They do a lot of condition reports, and inventories, and they have done thousands of restorations. That work continues every day.

The third aspect of work is more diffuse. It is public information. It is exhibits. It is participating in conferences and so on. Certainly, training. We have done a lot of training with our Ukrainian colleagues where hundreds of Ukrainian conservators have been on Zoom calls.

One of the things with COVID was the use of Zoom. In this case, a positive effect because we could reach people in many parts of Ukraine and so you can have conservators from the Smithsonian, from the international organization that does this work, ICCROM, from other organizations, to advise and answer questions—how do you preserve collections in a museum when there is no heat or climate control?

Museum people go crazy over that and, yet here you have those conditions where Russians bombed the power grid. There was no power—you do not want to lose collections because you do not have power. How do you deal with the material in such a situation?

Therefore, we did a lot of training. One of the things we at the Smithsonian do with the U.S. Army is train the next generation of monuments officers—monuments men and women—and we have been doing that for several years with the U.S. Army and NATO forces. Last summer the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine agreed to send a contingent of Ukrainian officers so they could do the work on the ground, and at that level that becomes official because it is incumbent upon the military to, indeed, comply with the Hague Convention with regard to the protection of cultural heritage and resources in wartime.

Therefore, they are now at the front line also doing that documentation, the evidence gathering, and so on that in the end could lead to whatever legal action will emerge after the war.

We have also done exhibits at the Smithsonian in the American History Museum—a wonderful exhibit on Ukrainian currency. Why Ukrainian currency? Because in Ukrainian currency you see these symbols that have lasted and been around for hundreds and hundreds of years. They are expressions of Ukrainian identity and those are on currency.

At the stamp museum, the Smithsonian's National Postal Museum, we put on display collections of Ukrainian stamps particularly, those used during the period of Ukrainian independence—the Ukrainian Republic in 1918, thereabouts.

Then at Peter's Museum, the Ukrainian Museum in New York, during that event with the First Lady we canceled a special stamp dedicated to the reconstruction of the

Skovoroda museum, later with the thankful attention of the postmaster general of Ukraine and the embassy here in D.C. worked out getting the acquisition of the famous Snake Island stamp and first-day cover from Ukraine signed by President Zelensky and the First Lady.

For many Americans they remember during World War II the use of, Rosie the Riveter's "We Can Do It"—posters gave Americans a sense of morale. They were posted all over. Well, Ukrainians have used stamps in somewhat the same way. They are very creative, very artistic, very well done and, of course, the Snake Island stamp was very famous.

For those less familiar with it, it depicts when the Russian battleship approached the guards on Snake Island in Crimea and told the Ukrainians to surrender and the Ukrainian guards basically gave the finger and told the Russian ship—battleship— where to go.

Therefore it is kind of a rallying cry. But that helps document the art and that is to Ieva's point, it is not like Ukrainian culture stops during the war. You highlight a lot of the music that people are creating and a lot of the narrative and poetry that people are creating.

People are also creating new songs. They are coming up with new creations. I saw some jewelry—a necklace where burnt wheat sheaves depicted in black metal punctuated gold wheat sheaves to show what the Russians were doing to destroy fields and food supplies. Creativity in war is incredible.

At the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival last year on July 4, our Independence Day in America, we hosted a number of folk groups from Ukraine—and it was very moving. It was here on the National Mall of the United States, July 4, our Independence Day. We had Ukrainian groups singing for their freedom, singing for their independence.

Ambassador Markarova gave opening remarks that were very poignant and one of the most poignant moments of the concert was when one of the groups included a bandura player named Taras Kompanichenko. He is a soldier. He was on the frontline, and he joined that concert on the mall via his cell phone.

Therefore, we continue to feature Ukrainian culture. We have done many presentations and podcasts. Smithsonian Magazine has a number of features. I see Katja Smaglyi from the Ukrainian embassy here at the briefing. We did a program together at the Cosmos Club on what was happening with Ukrainian culture and many, many others have done that.

The Smithsonian has been proud to work with international organizations, again, our partners, a lot of esteemed partners, but mostly the Ukrainians who have the strongest share in this. I have to say—at the same time that these people are worried about the survival of their families, their own welfare, their own safety, they are doing a tremendous service to their country and fighting for the ability to live free and be Ukrainian—and that is something that is very brave and admirable.

It is the same community, whether it be musicians, artists, curators, archivists, or librarians, that have the really heavy task after the war of picking up the pieces and rebuilding. I have worked with the Smithsonian almost for 50 years with a lot of museums and been involved in a lot of projects—and I have learned that culture is like the DNA of society.

It is the creativity, the artistry, the knowledge, the talent, the skills, the elements out of which we as humans will always create our new and ongoing future. We will take stuff from the past. We will use it in new ways. We will compose new art, new songs, new material creations, new buildings, and new architecture. But you do it on some basis and that basis is your heritage who you are and the elements you have to work with.

Therefore, that is what these folks are, indeed, protecting-not only their past but their future. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 3:31 p.m., the briefing ended.]

APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. RICHARD KURIN

I made my first visit to Ukraine in the late 1980s, and in 1990, when leading a Smithsonian American music and cultural exchange project, I witnessed in Kyiv the spirit and excitement in the freedom movement as Ukraine sought its independence from the Soviet Union. It was, to be sure a heady, if uncertain time, with Ukrainians confidently re-investing in the touchstones of their national identity—in the Ukrainian language, traditional foods, fashion, art, and symbols of its history.

I am an anthropologist with almost five decades of Smithsonian service to America's and the world's cultural heritage, and am not an expert scholar in Ukrainian history, culture, or art. I have not had much professional involvement in matters Ukrainian until recently. That involvement is traced back to the Smithsonian's cultural response to the devastating Haitian earthquake in 2010. Influenced by the fine work of Corine Wegener, a museum curator, and former U.S. Army "monuments woman," I, as Smithsonian Under Secretary, started an initiative that has responded to cultural crises caused by conflicts in Mali, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and now Sudan and Ukraine, and by natural disasters across the continental United States, in Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, The Bahamas, Nepal and most recently in Maui Hawaii.

In Haiti, more than 200,000 died and its infrastructure was debilitated. But following the lead of our Haitian colleagues we came to realize the importance of culture as a source of strength, identity, and resilience in the face of disaster. Art, sculptures and murals, historical archives and libraries, preserved artifacts, significant buildings, and sites—all provided important touchstones that gave people a sense of their collective identity, a resolute pride in the historical accomplishments of their forebears, and most of all, a sense of meaning and purpose. National, regional, and even local treasures embodied the cultural DNA of their society, encapsulating the will to survive and the resilience of a people, and providing key elements, themes, values, and stories that would drive future creativity and re-building. We at the Smithsonian led a multipronged, multi-organizational, multi-million-dollar effort to save more than 35,000 artworks, archives, and artifacts, stabilize and improve numerous cultural facilities, train more than 100 Haitian conservators, and establish a cultural conservation center in Port-au-Prince.

Ihor Poshyvailo, a Ukrainian folklorist was a Fulbright scholar in residence at the Smithsonian who observed this effort and learned from it. As we at the Smithsonian realized, we were likely to see cultural heritage increasingly endangered by conflicts and natural disasters. We, along with the Prince Claus Fund and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property [ICCROM], began to train international cultural heritage experts in disaster and conflict response. Poshyvailo became a trainee, and then a trainer and a strong advocate for disaster planning, preparation, and response.

MONITORING AND THE DAMAGE TO UKRAINE'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

Visiting the Smithsonian again in 2014, Poshyvailo presented what was happening in Crimea and the Donbas, and during a 2020 visit accentuated his warnings about Russification in occupied territories and the threat to Ukraine's cultural heritage. We listened.

In 2021, the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative, led by Wegener, and the Virginia Museum of Natural History formed the Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab headed by Hayden Bassett to start looking at Ukraine, as well as other conflict regions in more granular ways. In January 2022, just a month before the Russian invasion, one of our colleagues, Damian Koropeckyj, published a paper in the *Small War Journal* documenting how Russian monuments—more than 90 of them, and themed around the 2014 conflict, World War II, the Russian Empire, Stalin, and Russian heroes—were being built in public spaces in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea. Partisans in these regions were marking public space—territory—as distinctly and presumably in the minds of monument builders, permanently Russian.

The Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab had already begun to build a database of cultural sites in Ukraine, following a procedure we had developed in Syria and Iraq. Supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation, the Smithsonian, along with the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Penn Cultural Center at the University of Pennsylvania Museum identified the location of cultural heritage sites at risk in Syria and Iraq and used satellite imagery to monitor damage and destruction by ISIS over the course of several years. The idea was to monitor damage and destruction, but also explore patterns and discern ISIS' strategy. Now, again the Smithsonian's Katharyn Hanson joined with Bassett, and with colleagues Brian Daniels from the Penn Cultural Center, Jacob Aronson, and Deniz Cil from the University of Maryland Center for International Development and Conflict Management to focus on Ukraine. We have identified the location for some 28,710 cultural sites in Ukraine—monuments and memorials, museums, archives, libraries, performing arts centers, cemeteries, places of worship, archaeological sites, and significant historical buildings. Poshyvailo reminded us that this was a fraction of the more than 150,000 sites in Ukraine, but they represented the largest and arguably most significant sites.

Now imagine each of those thousands of sites as blue dots on a map of Ukraine. With the Russian invasion in February 2022, we started to monitor those sites via satellites. The Smithsonian uses remote sensing data from a variety of sources, primarily the U.S. government's commercial satellite imagery. Some of our remote sensing data comes from NASA's thermal anomaly data; these satellites use infrared signals to detect kinetic events—heat signatures, explosions, and fires. Imagine those as red dots. Our University of Maryland colleagues created a computer program to separate out agricultural burns, and then we looked for where the red dots—indicating bombing, shelling, missile strikes, and the like—overlap with the blue dots. When and where they do, we can then focus on possible damage to cultural sites and view satellite imagery. We examine before and after photographic images to see evidence of damage and destruction; we look for evidence of collateral damage to surrounding buildings and areas, and of course, we can see how isolated a site is.

We then seek confirmation through various account—legitimate news sources, eyewitness accounts, and onsite documentary reports by our colleagues in Ukraine.

Days after the Russian invasion, Poshyvailo, who had become the director of the Maidan Museum in Kyiv, and his colleague, Vasyl Rozhko, head of the Tustan State Historical and Cultural Reserve near Lviv and former head of the museum division of the Ministry of Culture, co-founded the Ukrainian Heritage Emergency Response Initiative [HERI]. The mission was to organize civil society cultural workers to help cultural institutions stave off and respond to damage, and to document its impacts. HERI has grown to

a network of 25 Ukrainian institutions and collaborative partnerships with the Smithsonian, ICCROM, UNESCO, Cultural Emergency Response [CER, grown out of the Prince Claus Fund], and other international cultural organizations. Early on, Poshyvailo and his HERI team visited scores of cultural sites, documenting damage and providing immediate aid.

Given the need to do more formal and systematic onsite documentation, HERI spun off the Heritage Monitoring Lab [HeMo], led by Rozhko. HeMo had a core team of about 30 and has now expanded to a network of more than 100 experts and nine institutions. To date, HeMo teams have visited some 850 cultural sites and facilities to methodically document damage to internationally accepted standards including the use in some cases of laser scanning and photogrammetry. They have stabilized buildings, where they can salvage art, artifacts, written records, and related items. HeMo also works to document Russian looting of museums and has developed a database for some 2,000 museums using among other sources information compiled by the Smithsonian and its Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab.

To date, the Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab has documented possible damage and destruction at 2,122 cultural sites, with confirmation for more than 450. Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative researchers with colleagues at the UPenn Cultural Heritage Center and University of Maryland, along with Ukrainian colleagues compose detailed site reports posted online at the Smithsonian's digital archival repository. I offer for the record attached to this statement our latest summary "Potential Damage to Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Sites Report Coverage: February 24, 2022 to April 30, 2024."

We categorize each cultural site and then record the number of cases for that category. Currently, we have 950 cases of damage to memorials and monuments—45 percent of the total. Places of worship-including cemeteries constitute 633 cases or 30 percent. Museums, libraries, and archives follow with collectively 331 cases or 16 percent, heritage buildings at 102 cases and 5 percent, and archaeological sites at 20 cases or 1 percent. There are 13 cases of damage to performing arts centers constituting less than percent. But in that number are devastating attacks, such as the bombing of the Donetsk Academic Regional Drama Theatre in Mariupol in March 2022 that not only destroyed the facility but killed hundreds of people taking shelter therein—including many children—to the horror of many across the planet.

The highest number of potentially damaged sites is as one might expect in the Mariupol, Kharkiv, and Donetsk regions, but mapping the cultural sites reveals just about every region of Ukraine has suffered some damage or destruction. Our researchers have also analyzed the data to discern patterns. For example, we examined building damage in Donetsk. In a database of 61,543 buildings, the research team found that cultural buildings had more than a 20 percent chance of being damaged compared to a 13-14 percent chance for any other civilian building—including hospitals. This leads us to believe with some confidence that cultural buildings were deliberately targeted in the region's cities.

Of the more than two thousand cases recorded across Ukraine, all are significant but a few cases of destruction early in the invasion were especially poignant for me. One was the Ivankiv Local History Museum which contained a collection of iconic paintings of Ukrainian and world-renowned folk artist Maria Pyrmachenko. Ivankiv was along the route of that long Russian army column heading toward Kyiv at the outset of the war. It burned to the ground just days after the invasion. From the satellite imagery a week

before the invasion, one can see the snow-covered roof and surrounds. After the invasion and burning, the satellite imagery allows one to peer into the museum itself and see its walls, as the roof is gone. Significantly, there is no evidence of damage to nearby and surrounding buildings—prompting one to ask—was the museum targeted?

Another example came a few weeks later with the severe damage inflicted on the Chernihiv Children’s Library. The library was in a historic building—one of Ukraine’s first museums known as the Tarnovskyi. A classic neo-Gothic style building, the museum was opened in 1902 and originally held important collections of Ukrainian antiquities and history. It had survived previous wars and had been converted into a library for youth. Onsite documentation indicated a compromised, collapsed, and failing structure with books and shelves strewn about.

Certainly, one of the more egregious cases was that of the Hryhoriy Skovoroda Literary and Memorial Museum. Skovoroda was an iconic figure of the 18th century—a philosopher, poet, composer, linguist, and teacher regarded as one of the exemplars of Ukrainian culture. He traveled extensively and died in a small village currently known as Skovorodynivka near Kharkiv and close to the Russian border. In early May 2022, we at the Smithsonian were asked by the Ukrainian Minister of Culture and Information Policy to see if we could use satellite imagery to determine whether information drifting in from the war front was true—that the museum had been shelled and destroyed. The museum was housed in an isolated historical building on the estate where Skovoroda had died. We tried for several days to garner satellite imagery, but cloud cover made that impossible. Photographic images started to come in at the same time the cloud cover dissipated—indeed the building was destroyed. But a statue of Skovoroda amazingly survived and was saved.

An art and history museum, a children’s library, a philosopher’s memorial—what possible strategic value were these targets? We know of no evidence indicating the use of these buildings as stationing Ukrainian troops or being used as military defenses or fortifications.

SO, THE QUESTION IS WHY?

Russian leader Vladimir Putin has wrongly made culture both a justification and an object of war with Ukraine.

Putin claims that Ukrainians lack the history, culture, and identity worthy of a national state separate from Russia. In his revealing 2021 essay “On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians” Putin argued that Russians and Ukrainians are “one people,” sharing a common Slavic background, a common source language—Old Russian, a common motherland, and a common Eastern Orthodox religion. His basis for legitimate statehood is the millennia-old ancient Rus ethno-polity that shared these characteristics and covered a vast territory. He designates Ukraine by its anachronistic and now disparaging term, Malorussia, “little” or “lesser” Russia, and by Novorossiia, or “new” Russia that included the territories like Crimea Tatar state conquered by the czarist empire in the late 18th century.

Putin selectively draws upon a mythologized ancient past, periods of the czarist Russian Empire and the Soviet era to make his case that Russians and Ukrainians are one people in spirit, heart, kinship, and history, conveniently denying crucial cultural realities. He writes and speaks little of the Ukrainian language, the country’s art and its history,

the centrality of Kyiv as the seat of the ancient Rus state, the 19th-century flowering of Ukrainian culture and nationalism, the post-World War I Ukrainian republic, the Ukrainian independence movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s and its reaffirming Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Euromaidan Revolution in 2013-2014—all of which represent an undeniable Ukrainian identity that is centuries in the making. He also leaves out Ukraine's cultural complexity ignoring the amalgam of its diverse ethnic and religious strains—not only ethnic Russians and adherents to Eastern Orthodoxy, but also Cossacks, Turkic Crimean Tatars, Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians, Germans, Poles, and Italians and inhabitants of Jewish, Muslim, Catholic and Protestant faiths. Basically, Putin sees Ukraine's Russian identity historically denigrated by outside forces motivated to keep Russia weak. Among those forces he asserts are the Poles and Lithuanians, the Austro-Hungarians and the Germans, Catholics and Latinizers, misguided Soviets, Ukrainian elites, and the West, including the United States. Modern Ukraine, he declares is fratricidal, built on hate of Russia. Thus, in his view, Russian advances, annexations, and invasions are defensive—a way of maintaining a people and motherland others are trying to rip apart.

In 2014, Putin pursued his program by supporting ethnic Russian separatists in the Donbas forcibly taking the Crimean Peninsula a region with a complex ethnic history and one of displacement under the Soviet Union. Then in 2022, he launched a full-scale war to take over the whole country.

The attacks on cultural heritage sites are not just random, nor do they represent collateral damage. Rather, they suggest a targeted attack on Ukrainian history, culture, and identity, a means toward Putin's ends—the destruction seems to be a deliberate attempt to obliterate the physical evidence of Ukrainian history and culture. His forces figure they can simply bomb away the country's cultural heritage as a means of erasing Ukrainian identity.

That strategy has its ironies. There has been of course a long and rich inter-mixture of Russian and Ukrainian history, commonalities and interchanges that go back centuries. Collections in Ukrainian museums include paintings by artists who identified as Russian as well as Ukrainian. Early on in the invasion, as the Kharkiv Art Museum was being shelled, curators noted that among other treasures they were saving were Russian paintings endangered by Russian bombs.

However, it is not only destruction being visited on Ukrainian cultural sites and institutions. There is also looting and thievery. Recall Putin's declaration of the Russian annexation of Kherson oblast at the end of September 2022. Just about a month later, Russian crews arrived at the Kherson Regional Art Museum with two large trucks and a van and removed thousands of items from the museum's collection. We have satellite imagery showing the trucks at the museum, and onsite photographs captured the removal and loading of artifacts and artworks—corroborating staff accounts. The trucks then departed for a museum in Crimea. In Putin's view he was perhaps taking what he declared to be his, but given the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property—both of which Russia, Ukraine, the U.S. and most nations have ratified, the destruction and the looting of cultural heritage provide evidence for running afoul of international law.

It is not the Smithsonian's job nor in its purview to decide or adjudicate claims of cultural war crimes. That is for other U.S. and international bodies to determine. But our monitoring and documentation and that of our Ukrainian colleagues can be used in an evidentiary way in such investigations and determinations.

RESPONDING TO THE THREAT, DAMAGE, AND DESTRUCTION

At the onset of the Russian invasion, many thought that Kyiv could fall within a matter of days and that there might be a need to immediately evacuate Ukraine's most prized national collections. Evacuation is something that many countries have considered in wartime—as indeed did the United States during World War II, with the Library of Congress sending the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to Fort Knox in Kentucky, and the Smithsonian sending significant collections to a National Park Service facility in Luray, Virginia. In this case, such evacuation out of the country was not seriously considered—as Ukrainian forces courageously held off and repelled the Russian advance.

With the onset of the Russian invasion Ukrainian cultural officials, leaders, and workers started to do what they could to protect facilities and collections. Statues were sandbagged, buildings boarded up, paintings and rare volumes packed up. We at the Smithsonian were immediately in touch with Poshyvailo, and through the HERI network received calls from Ukrainian colleagues requesting immediate assistance—they needed plywood and other materials to protect buildings and facilities as well as packing materials, boxes, bubble wrap, and crates to carefully remove and store important artworks, historical artifacts, archives, and scientific specimens.

Within days of the start of the invasion, the international cultural heritage community came together to support Ukrainian colleagues. The Smithsonian stepped forward as did many in the international community—particularly the ALIPH Foundation, which organized large-scale purchases and extensive shipments of supplies and materials and committed millions of dollars to improving facilities for the storage and preservation of collections. Large credit is due to ALIPH's scientific director at the time—Maja Kominko and to Polish organizations that stepped forward quickly to gather and transport needed materials to Ukraine. As of today, ALIPH has supported the preservation efforts of nearly 400 Ukrainian organizations. The Smithsonian used its federal funds and grants from Bank of America, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Omidyar Foundation to purchase materials and supplies, and has worked with CER and the Kosciuszko Foundation and its partner, the Folkowisko Foundation to get them into Ukraine and distributed by HERI and others. Many other museums and cultural institutions in Europe also mobilized and helped. The effort had its challenges. Many organizations lost power and needed portable generators. Given the bombing and shelling of cultural facilities, fire extinguishers were a big need at the outset—and at one point I thought our various groups trying to organize aid exhausted the supply in Europe.

The fact that people in the international cultural community were able to come together and get aid, resources, and supplies together and to those in need so quickly was incredible. However the real heroes and heroines were of course the Ukrainians who had to take care of their families while at the same time risking their lives to protect the treasures of Ukraine's history, art, and national identity. Imagine the effort and time it takes to say board up your house and pack up the scores or hundreds of keepsakes in

your home so as to protect and evacuate them. Now imagine doing it for thousands or tens of thousands of items—priceless and irreplaceable artworks, books, archival records, historical artifacts, and other national treasures, and doing it in just days or hours. That was what directors, curators, librarians, archivists, conservators, and others faced in Ukraine. Thanks in good part to the efforts of Poshyvailo and his HERI team—which has managed to deliver some 274 tons of supplies and materials to 420 museums and cultural institutions—they did an amazing job.

One of the Smithsonian’s major partners in the effort to protect Ukraine’s cultural heritage is the National Research and Restoration Center [NCRRC] headed by Svitlana Strelnikova. The organization is under the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and Information Policy and is staffed by some one hundred conservators who are responsible for the national collections. They are headquartered in Kyiv and have branch operations in other major cities. They needed supplies and equipment to take care of millions of items in museums spread across Ukraine. But they had a problem. Many of those collections in sites of heavy battle and bombardment were quickly packed and sent into storage in disparate, safer areas around the country. The Center’s vehicles were needed for civil defense purposes. Therefore how to arrange for conservators to visit and care for those now dispersed collections without transportation?

We tried finding vans at U.S. embassies and consulates in Europe that could be devoted to moving conservators around the country to take care of the collections, but to no avail. We looked at getting vehicles donated, buying used vans, and even ordering new ones. Basically, vehicles from around Europe were being used to help the war effort and the ferrying of displaced persons from the hot zones to regions and countries of refuge. Then, I got a lead from the State Department. They put me in touch with Uber, which was providing vehicles to move refugees. An empathetic Matt Devlin at Uber arranged to help on the culture front and provide 8-person, 10-person, and larger passenger vans to shuttle conservators, their equipment, and supplies around the country to check on collections stored in villages, churches, basements, and other non-conventional spaces. To date, Uber has provided almost a thousand free trips, traversing tens of thousands of miles. Conservators have visited more than 360 cultural sites and museums, inventorying collections, doing condition reports, stabilizing collections, and caring for the treasures of Ukrainian art and history. More than 2,600 objects have been treated for damage and restored—among them Prymachenko paintings, a monument to Taras Shevchenko, graffiti, and murals by British artist Banksy, the Italian artist TVboy, and the French artist Christian Gemi. The NCRRC helped conservators at the Odesa National Art Museum prepare almost 200 works of art for evacuation. Smithsonian conservators at the Lunder Center also advised on that effort.

These trips and the work accomplished are not for the faint of heart. When Ukrainian forces would take back Russian-controlled territory, the conservators would go in pretty quickly and pass bombed-out tanks and destroyed buildings to get to collections and enable their preservation. These conservators—women and men—are in the thick of the war and are serving their country.

Toward the end of 2022, with Ukraine forces fending off and repelling the Russian advance, the situation stabilized a bit. Supply needs shifted. As collections were stored in unconventional places, like underground in damp basements and village storehouses, there was a need for dehumidifiers to prevent mold and actions to prevent insect infestation. Facing winter, Ukrainian conservators sought advice from the Smithsonian and

international conservators. How best to store and preserve manuscripts when a building is bereft of electricity and heating or any climate control? Concerns shifted from short-term packing and storage of collections to more long-term sustainable stabilization.

From the onset of the invasion, the Smithsonian joined with international partners such as UNESCO and ICCROM to hold training sessions for Ukrainian conservators and museum directors on protecting and preserving collections endangered by the war and perilous conditions. Conservators from the Smithsonian's Museum Conservation Institute, the Smithsonian American Art Museum, the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Libraries and Archives, and others participated in sessions with hundreds of Ukrainian participants. In the early stages of the war, communication with Ukrainian colleagues was by email, telephone, and Zoom sessions. This has continued. But as the situation stabilized and COVID dangers also subsided, training sessions, meetings, and conferences have also proceeded in person. Ukrainian partners have joined various meetings in Europe. The UPenn Cultural Center held in-person meetings with HeMo's forensic documentation teams in Philadelphia.

The scope of cultural heritage protection work has also broadened.

In 2023 the Smithsonian, which with the U.S. Army trains "monuments men and women," hosted six officers from the Ukrainian defense forces alongside U.S. and other NATO military officers to learn how to comply with the requirements of the Hague Convention and other international treaties concerning the treatment of cultural heritage in conflict situations. This includes understanding and documenting cultural heritage looting, damage, and destruction as possible war crimes. The Ukrainian team spent time training at the Smithsonian in Washington and then at Fort Liberty in North Carolina before returning to Ukraine—where we understand, the Ministry of Defense has indeed established a unit to undertake this work.

WHAT HAS THE SMITHSONIAN DONE TO INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS ABOUT UKRAINIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE IN WARTIME?

The Smithsonian has had a number of exhibitions that showcase Ukrainian history and culture. The National Museum of American History produced a fascinating exhibition of Ukrainian currency and coinage that illustrates the continuity of symbols of national identity over the centuries.

Soon after the invasion, the Smithsonian's National Postal Museum placed on exhibit a collection of Ukrainian stamps from 1918-1920 when Ukraine was an independent state. With the cooperation of the head of Ukraine's Postal Service Igor Smelyansky, the museum also acquired stamps and first-day covers issued during the war. Ukrainians have creatively issued stamp art to inspire morale at home and attention abroad. One of the museum's acquisitions includes First Day covers signed by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and First Lady Olena Zelenska commemorating how early in the war Snake Island border guards bravely confronted a Russian battleship by depicting one with a raised middle finger.

In 2023, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival included a concert by Ukrainian Village Voices an ensemble from New York City. Several groups from Ukraine: Bozhychi, Katya Chilly, Mariya Kvitka, and Shchuka Ryba journeyed to Washington to give a special July 4 Independence Day concert entitled "De Libertate: Songs of Freedom and Hope" on the National Mall. Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States Oksana Markarova introduced

the program. In an especially poignant moment, soldier Taras Kompanichenko, a singer and bandura player, joined the performance by video from the front line of the war.

The Smithsonian has also produced podcasts and webinars, participated in conferences, and otherwise cooperated with various media features—whether on the PBS News Hour or stories by network news or newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal* or *USA Today*, to provide information about the effort to protect and preserve Ukrainian cultural heritage. I had the honor during U.N. General Assembly week in September 2022 of joining Ukrainian First Lady Olena Zelenska and Ambassador Markarova at the Ukrainian Museum in New York, hosted by its director and today's fellow panelist Peter Doroshenko, to discuss work and findings presented at today's briefing.

With the cooperation of the State Department, the Smithsonian also hosted several Ukrainian Fulbright scholars. One of these worked with the Cultural Rescue Initiative and helped its research team with satellite imagery assessments and analyses.

Additionally, the Smithsonian has continued to work with the State Department-led Interagency Cultural Heritage Coordinating Committee on the preservation and protection of Ukrainian heritage in light of the *Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act* passed by Congress and signed by the President in 2016. We also work with other U.S. agencies on the monitoring and protection of Ukrainian scientific documentation and collections and are actively involved with the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Science through the Smithsonian Science Education Center to provide curriculum materials—in Ukrainian—for student instruction.

Of course, the Smithsonian's efforts are only one part of the picture. Numerous organizations in the United States, in Europe, and around the world online have been doing their part to inform the public and policymakers about the war's impact on Ukrainian cultural heritage. This has been done through conferences, webinars, podcasts, exhibitions, written articles, television programs, and documentary features—and here today for the U.S. Helsinki Commission. Most importantly, it has been Ukrainians themselves at the forefront, driving the effort, who have the expertise and experience and who have exhibited the professionalism and courage to do the work on the ground and tell the story. Poshyvailo, Rozhko, and their teams have mounted physical and virtual exhibitions in Ukraine and internationally and held conferences to examine the status of cultural heritage in wartime working closely with UNESCO, World Monuments Fund, Smithsonian, Cultural Emergency Response, ALIPH, Blue Shield and numerous other organizations. Photojournalists, documentarians, and filmmakers have highlighted the war's impact on Ukrainian culture in works such as *Erase the Nation and Culture vs. War*, and the Ukrainian Freedom Orchestra's performances and tours to the Metropolitan Opera in New York and the Kennedy Center in Washington have done much to appraise the public of how Ukrainians are fighting for their identity and freedom. Here in Washington, Ambassador Markarova and her staff have been remarkable in representing the situation in a clear, rational, and evidentiary way, accompanied by the passion it deserves and the sense of humanity it invokes.

IN THE AFTERMATH-

At some point, the war will end, and Ukraine will face a massive rebuilding effort. Obviously, major international funding will be needed for the power grid, roads, bridges, rail lines, housing, hospitals, and schools. Rebuilding the cultural infrastructure will also be part of that. Cultural heritage can play an important role in post-conflict recovery in the rebuilding of civic life and contributing to the cultural and creative economy. Doing that needs planning and support, and I expect that we and others will continue to help our Ukrainian colleagues in that immense task which is likely to persist for a very long time.

A major part of that effort means continuing to protect and preserve Ukrainian cultural facilities and collections now. They are still daily threatened and endangered, both by bombs and shells, but also by lack of climate control, mold, pests, and insufficient care and resources. To effectively do their work, our Ukrainian partners need to document and care for cultural resources now—because once lost, valued art, important artifacts, and crucial archives cannot be replaced. Numerous documentation, preservation, conservation, digitization, and 3D scanning projects are underway. But they all require equipment and personnel, logistics, and financial support.

It is not only things that need support. People—artists, musicians, culture bearers, those in the building arts, scholars, curators, archivists, and others—the keepers of the living culture will also need help in restoring their lives, making their way, and contributing mightily to a vibrant and flourishing Ukrainian future. Contemporary civic life and booming economies are built upon cultural industries—food, fashion, tourism, performances, festivities, museums, media, digital productions, and the like. If a post-war Ukraine is to prosper it will be important to plan for and encourage the creative use of its cultural heritage. Indeed, that heritage has been an object of war; that heritage has been targeted and damaged; and that heritage—embodying their identity and the basic freedom to embrace it is precisely what Ukrainians have fought for and defended—and is indeed an undeniable, invaluable, and crucial resource for the country's future.

Richard Kurin began his Smithsonian career working on America's Bicentennial celebration in 1976. He is currently the Smithsonian's Distinguished Scholar and Ambassador-at-Large, focused on special initiatives and institutional representation. He previously served for more than a decade as Under Secretary overseeing all of the Smithsonian's national museums, scientific research centers, and educational programs. Prior to that, he was the Director of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage for twenty years, producing major cultural and educational programs including the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival and national celebration events for the openings of national museums and memorials. He worked with UNESCO to develop the 2003 Convention on safeguarding living cultural heritage which has been ratified by 180 countries. He founded the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative after Haiti's 2010 earthquake and has worked to save cultural heritage endangered by natural disasters in Nepal, Puerto Rico, Texas, and Maui, and by human conflicts in Iraq, Syria, Mali, Afghanistan, and currently Ukraine and Sudan. He has served as Smithsonian liaison to the White House Historical Association and the U.S. President's Committee for the Arts and Humanities, and as a member of the U.S. Cultural Heritage Coordinating Committee, the Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage, and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. An anthropologist with a PhD from the University of Chicago, Kurin has taught at the Johns

Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, authored six books, is an elected fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council Arsht-Rockefeller Resilience Center.

Ms. BAUMAN: Thank you to our panelists.

We have about a half hour left so I want to turn it over to the audience. Our fellow Ashleigh will be around with a microphone so everyone can hear you if anyone has any questions. That guy.

QUESTION: Sounds like it works. All right. Well, thanks very much. Excellent, excellent panel. My name is Paul Massaro. I am the staff director of the Helsinki Commission.

I have a question for Mr. Doroshenko and anyone else who would like to jump in, I guess. I really appreciate the emphasis on the decolonization elements and sort of the need to particularly recognize these individuals, these artworks, and so on and so forth as Ukrainian, which has often been viewed or mislabeled most often purposefully as Russian abroad and, indeed, sometimes even within the region.

I guess my question is this. There have been these cycles of genocide and there is an ongoing genocide of Russia against Ukraine and there—I mean, this is, in my view, derived from this claim of Russia on Ukrainian identity itself. I wonder, can there exist a Russian identity that does not claim Ukrainian identity? What could that look like?

Mr. DOROSHENKO: I cannot completely answer that question, but what I can answer is—be it through art, through music, through other creative vectors—that a lot of Russian culture, all those roads lead to Ukraine. That is a given fact. Just because an artist born and raised in Kyiv maybe had—for economic reasons had to move to Moscow to work in theater, dance, whatever it may be, for a few years, and then move back to Ukraine, or to Berlin, or to Paris, does not make that person Russian. The list keeps going on and on and on.

Yes, for different economic reasons, all of the resources—even up until Ukraine's independence—were either in Moscow or St. Petersburg. Therefore if you wanted to teach, you wanted to have an art practice, you had to move. This has been ongoing, like I said, up until the mid-1990s. Russia has used that as a tool to make it its own—make those people, those creatives—cultural creatives their own, and it has not stopped. It still continues today.

One can also see that in various universities. I do not think there is one—since the beginning of the war—one university, at least in America, that has changed its Russian and Eastern European Studies to European Studies, or Eastern European Studies, or whatever label they want. The word Russian is still there, and until, you know, there is a real wakeup call, and it has to be like a great earthquake for academics, for scholars, for historians, it is not going to change.

I mean, once again, every book ever written on Kazimir Malevich—with some of the best institutions in the United States, all of them in New York, D.C., Los Angeles, Chicago—Russian, Russian, Russian. It is hard for me to believe that somebody researching those shows on Malevich—and a lot of people went to Moscow to do that research and work with colleagues in Moscow—could not do their own independent research to discover his autobiography, which he wrote a year before his death—38 pages. On page 36 it says, I am a Ukrainian. Really? What kind of scholarship was that? It is hard to believe, you know.

Therefore that is just one little, you know, example. However, I like to think that, yes, Russia has its own culture, but I would like to discover that culture because all they are doing is riding the coattails of Ukrainian creatives.

Ms. BAUMAN: Anyone else?

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Can I add to that just very quickly?

Ms. BAUMAN: Oh, yes, go ahead.

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: This question, I think, is whether there is a Russian cultural or civic imagination without imperial ambition. I do not know if we are seeing that, and that is up to them to discuss, right? But I think this is the point. Until the empire is broken, right, until the imperial ambition, until the project is not based on sort of territorial expansion, settler colonialism, et cetera, then I do not think that, you know—what are we talking about?

QUESTION: I am Laura Davis, and I am here—I have a question for Dr. Kurin, and it relates to getting the word out—or a portion of it. You did mention a lot of sorts of museum-like ways to get it out, which makes sense since you are in museums—but you also mentioned podcasts.

My other question, though, is to reach sort of a different, maybe younger audience, have you reached out to some of the other influencers, like YouTubers? There is a whole section of Ukrainian YouTubers. Anna from Ukraine does the cultural thing. Professor Gerdes highlights all of them. But has that been a consideration to reach an entirely different audience?

Mr. KURIN: Our primary work has been both in the monitoring and the work on the ground in supplying aid. At the beginning, we were a little reluctant to be too public about what we were doing because, as you are dealing with, for example, the movement of collections, or the creation of safe facilities, or even highlighting particular people and networks that are doing it, you do not want to take a big flag and say, hey, here is the stuff; bomb here—or go after these people and institutions.

Therefore, we were relatively circumspect about, you know, public outreach, and then doing things in ways the Smithsonian does them. You publish something in the Smithsonian magazine, you do an exhibit in one of our museums, and so on.

We have done work with some of the media, I have to admit probably more mainstream. You know, CBS; "60 Minutes" did a nice piece on some of Ihor Poshyvailo's work. The PBS "NewsHour" has done a few programs and interviewed people. Are we that sophisticated about getting to influencers and getting the word out overall? Hmm. [LAUGHS.] Not so much. [LAUGHS.]

Therefore, if you know people and want to put them in touch, I will leave you my card afterward and maybe someone wants to do an interview with one of our people, or do a particular story about it. We have done podcasts, though, and participated in various conferences.

QUESTION: Hi, thank you. I am with Rep. Spartz's office. I have a question specifically for Gudaitytė—is that how I pronounce it? Okay, thank you.

Ms. BAUMAN: Sorry, can you state your name as well as your affiliation?

QUESTION: My name is Victor.

Specifically, what I did want to ask, though, is similar to what the last person asked about the rise of independent media. I read in your bio that you focused on that, particu-

larly in Budapest, so I am not sure exactly how much you are aware of that rise in Ukraine if there is any.

However, you know, here in America, I would say that there is plenty of crossover between independent broadcasters—you know, YouTubers, podcasters, et cetera, and distinguished members in government, you know, that hold some type of office, particularly when it comes to, you know, the sort of culture or, you know, sort of improving that narrative.

Do you think that is possible in Ukraine? Do you think it is possible to have that level of interaction that you see here in the U.S. as, you know, a further way of spreading the word and having a very meaningful conversation, particularly when it is coming from, you know, independent media sources rather than legacy media?

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Thank you for your question. If I understand correctly, I think—well, one of the moments is I think that, of course, what I wanted to highlight is there is a pluralism of media in Ukraine, right, so that there are different kinds of bodies that are working in different kind of levels. When we talk about cooperation, I mean, there is this phrase that was—I think President Zelensky picked it up at the first weeks of the nation—*kozhen na svoiemu mistsi*. That means everyone has their own role in times of crisis, in times of full-scale invasion, right?

I think this—so the question of long-term cooperation is also a question of building institutions, et cetera, and some of these things take work and take time. Therefore I am not sure if I am answering your question. I think there is an understanding of collaboration or working towards something similar.

Now if we are talking about cultural policy and how independent actors can influence Ukrainian cultural policy, I think some of these questions will have to wait, right, if we are talking about cultural reform. I am not sure if that is the best time now.

I am not sure if that was your question, though. If you maybe—yes—

QUESTION: I guess I was more sort of referring to just the—it is not necessarily—not to get into particularities—[off mic]—

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Right. Because the comparison with Budapest, if we are to compare—and, yes, it worked in the Budapest context but in other places as well—I think the very important moment is an active civic society in fostering these independent actors, right? That is definitely something that I can see in Ukraine, which I think is one of the problems, perhaps, within the Hungarian media landscape, right, so kind of the apathy following the certain media policy has spread. I do not think that is the case in Ukraine.

QUESTION: Hi. My name is Chris Moore. I am from Congresswoman Jennifer Wexton's office.

My question was for Mr. Doroshenko. I recently am a college graduate at Savannah State University. You spoke about how a lot of people in Ukraine, are being misrepresented as Russian. How do we change, from an academic perspective, to make sure that those who are educating us are made aware of those types of misleads by the Russians or being misdirected because of what they do not know—I know a lot of people, you know, may go through undergrad, graduate school, PhD, as you said, and did not know until his autobiography, page 36, he is Ukrainian after you had so many people claim him to be a Russian?

Mr. DOROSHENKO: Thank you for the question. That is a Mount Everest to climb, to be quite honest with you. That is about bringing those particular facts and that informa-

tion to the different instructors and professors, and kind of sharing that information with them, be it through email, or printing something, or showing a book, or trying to get them interested in, you know, these particular aspects of Ukrainian culture—what was past, what is happening today. Otherwise, that needle is not going to shift because, in academia, there is certain—you know, it is a comfortable situation. You do not have to—you have your routine, you have your systems, you have your teaching in place; you know, why rock the boat? Therefore to rock the boat, I think it really needs to be at a student level, to be quite honest with you, to make—may share this information with those particular instructors or a particular department at a university for them to take it seriously.

You know, once again, in that decolonization process, we have a researcher on our staff who, two years ago when the war broke out, created a Twitter account. It was called Ukrainian Art History, and it is still active. She started calling out the biggest museums by saying, hey, this artist is Ukrainian, not Russian, or hey, this musician is Ukrainian, not Russian—on and on and on. People then started following her, and just through social media, which is now such a powerful tool, guess what? Museums started changing labels, websites, and things—it was not, I would not say, gigantic shifts, but there was a change, that I would have never expected.

The same goes with Cooper Union, a university literally almost across the street from our museum in New York—a very famous, very well-respected art and architecture university. Well, they had a Russian avant-garde exhibit about a school program—a very famous program. Once again, a fourth of the faculty was Ukrainian, but it was like a heavy-duty Russian focus. This opened after the war. Nobody thought this through, nobody, you know—basically nobody took the time or cared. Then, of course, the Ukrainian community in New York and in the Northeast just went crazy on the internet, writing, calling, blah, blah, blah. Well, that show never opened—and not that it would not have been an important show to have, but the context was wrong.

Therefore, what I am trying to say is, you know, sending the message, either through social media or just a one-on-one conversation has influence and it can change things, but it takes a lot of people to be involved in that process.

QUESTION: Good afternoon. Thank you so much for your presentation.

My name is Elizabeth Peterson, and I am a summer intern at the Religious Freedom Institute. I had a question for all three of the panelists. Therefore you mentioned briefly the effect of religion in this war and the impact it has had on religion. I know in Russia the Russian Orthodox Church is very, very institutionalized, and it is a big part of their culture, and it is actually, to some degree, a driving force in this war.

I know in Ukraine—Ukraine has a history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Now there is also a Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and I was just wondering how that ties into this conflict, if you could speak to that a little bit. Specifically, there seem to be some instances of Russia actually targeting some religious sites—so if you could just speak to that a little bit, please, I appreciate that. Thank you.

Ms. KURIN: I am actually looking at some of the members of the research team that are here today because we are looking at that hypothesis about the attack on non-Russian-Orthodox places of worship and sites. Therefore we do not have something firm to say about that right now, but it is something that we are looking at. Again, when you think about Vladimir Putin's whole construction of identity in his famous article on Russians and Ukrainians. He looks at the territory. He looks at the language—ancient Rus-

sian. He looks at Eastern Orthodoxy as those bases of statehood and commonality, and he—for some reason, his history—maybe it is a mythologized history—and it stopped a long time ago.

However, one of those things is the issue of the Russian Orthodox Church and the split with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, so it is something that bears looking at.

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: I am just going to add very quickly, I think it is a good kind of parallel symbolically, right? We are talking about the Russian Orthodox Church. In Ukraine, we have the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Jewish, the Muslim minorities, right, the Crimean Tatars, et cetera. Therefore the very plurality that does not allow the monopolization of power within the religious could be something to speak about the civic society, as well.

Just to add—because I am not an expert on the contemporary religious scene, I think it is interesting to also think about how religion was a side of resistance within the Soviet occupation as a space for, you know, various members of the church, you know, press—illegal press, and sort of fostering that space. Therefore perhaps there is something there, as well, but probably not, yes.

Mr. DOROSHENKO: Great question, thank you. You have to understand, just as my colleagues have mentioned, Ukraine is very multicultural and has many ethnic groups from the Tatars in Crimea to Ukrainian Catholics in the west, to Orthodox in the east. There are Protestants—every religion exists in Ukraine. I cannot say that for Russia. Yes, in theory, they are tolerated, but if you really follow the press, and you take a look at the patriarch in Moscow, I mean, this is an extension of the Putin government. There is nothing Christian about it. I mean, if they were true Christians, you would not have your priests blessing rocket launchers. I mean, it does not make any sense. I have never seen that in the Bible somewhere.

Therefore, I think that, you know, the calamity—I mean if it was not humorous, it would be pathetic. It needs to be kind of examined, as your question pointed out. It does not—you know, this is—this is a time where Putin and everybody in the Kremlin are just—they are just making stuff up as they go. Unfortunately, religion is part of that process. In Ukraine, religion is important. But for Russians, it is just an extension of the propaganda, or the brainwashing, or the whole political structure, and that is sad. That is really sad. That is all I can say.

Ms. BAUMAN: I would like to ask a question. I give myself permission to speak.

This would be for Ieva. I know that we did not really get too much into language and literature here, not—I mean, we could do a whole briefing on that, obviously. But just from your research experience, do you have any observations about the state of language in—the Ukrainian language versus the use of the Russian language? How has that changed? How have people maybe come to embrace the Ukrainian language more since the start of this war? Do you have any observations on that? I would be interested.

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Well, I mean, Ukraine is—again, coming back to this multiculturalism, right, there is—it is a linguistic plural society, as well. Of course, there has been a shift towards the Ukrainian language, and this is a part of the decolonization process I think for a lot of people and sort of, also, yes, access to historical memory, rediscovering Ukrainian literary texts I think is very important. Also, you know, we lost some great poets like Maksym Kryvtsov half a year ago, right—a year ago, who—I cannot imagine him writing poetry on the front lines in Russian, you know.

I mean, it is about language, but it is also about—it is about identity, right, so—but, I mean, of course, the language pluralism exists and, you know, especially as a lot of internally displaced and externally displaced people come from Eastern Ukraine regions that there are Russian-speaking Ukrainians who still, you know—and people are learning Ukrainian even under these conditions. Some people have been twice displaced since the 2014 war started and then the occupation has extended.

Therefore, it is complicated and, you know, language also embeds a lot of personal trauma, and I think it depends on who people are speaking to, so I think often you would start—at least from my experience—sometimes a conversation will start with Ukrainian, but then you move to Russian language if a person is a Russian speaker because it might bring them ease in communicating themselves, but that does not necessarily mean that that is a choice in their sort of—you know, it is complicated.

However, I guess the general answer from my experience is that of course I think there is a—I think it is a bigger pride of—feeling proud and sort of fighting the long—you know, the long history of positionality of being colonized creates a strange relationship with your own language and your own culture, and I think that is probably the main change that effects that. I do not know if perhaps something should be added here.

Ms. BAUMAN: No need. We probably have time for one more question if there is one; if not—

QUESTION: Thank you for being here. My name is Bridgette. I am a fellow with the Helsinki Commission this summer, and I think actually this question might be a good way to end it.

I know that all of you have worked on individual projects with different organizations inside of Ukraine and outside. I am wondering how you envision those projects continuing after the war, and continuing those relationships that you founded now. Thank you.

Mr. DOROSHENKO: Maybe I will start out. Well, the Ukraine Museum in New York, is the largest institution of Ukrainian artifacts and cultural objects outside of Ukraine. Therefore for us, this is a day-to-day situation. It is in our DNA; it is what we do.

Obviously, the partnership since the founding of the museum in the 1970s has always been there, and it will always continue. Our ambitious programs, exhibitions, workshops, and learning events, will always be in place, but I think with the war, as was discussed, it is about helping Ukrainians and organizations in Ukraine not so much pick up the pieces, but give them that boost because they are doing a great job already under the circumstances; to let them know that there are others in the cultural world who are interested either directly in Ukraine or indirectly through partnerships; that we are here, we are supporting them; and we will continue celebrating the history, but also focusing in on what is happening today.

Ms. GUDAITYTĖ: Well, I think one of the important moments that will happen after the victory is going to be the reconciliation between different groups of society, so one will be people coming back from the front lines with the civilian society. The other one will be a diasporic community—because the art sphere, at least the kind of communities at our work, are also dispersed across these different places.

You know, storytelling always is a part of human nature, so this is where the culture may be helpful perhaps, in coming to terms with trauma. But I am also thinking it is not going to be easy, and I think it is—I am hopeful, and I am very certain that grassroots culture, alternative culture, music will continue to be created.

I think it is also—it is going to be difficult for the art world in many ways.

Ms. KURIN: Therefore obviously, in the short term we will continue our efforts. We have been involved with a lot of dedicated people at various institutions working within and alongside the Smithsonian with our Ukrainian colleagues. Therefore there are things to do.

The other thing that it is very important not to lose sight of is, that as horrific as war is in struggle, and tough as it is, you learn from it. Therefore take one of the cases, like Ihor Poshyvailo, who has been one of our key partners in this. He came to the United States as a Fulbright fellow in 2010. He worked with the Folklife division. He was a folklorist by background. He ended up seeing what we were doing in Haiti, and he said, you know, we might need some of this stuff in Ukraine. Now Haiti and Ukraine, are pretty far—worlds apart. But he saw those efforts to save the culture and work with our Haitian colleagues after that horrific earthquake—talk about 200,000 people dying, and cultural infrastructure totally in ruins.

He became a trainee in our cultural rescue program and then a trainer, and now he and Vasyl and other colleagues have gone so much further that they are teaching us because when you are in war, you learn a lot and you learn fast. You learn what works, you learn what you have to do.

Therefore we, as an institution, we as a cadre of—a collective of institutions who are involved in cultural response, cultural recovery work, we are learning a lot from our Ukrainian colleagues, and that is put into practice. That may emerge somewhere else—in Sudan or some other country. Therefore it is learning, it is the professional relationship. This is not just us helping Ukraine. This is Ukrainians helping teach us, learn with us, and work with us as collaborators in a practice that can help others.

I think about the term of work—and, you know, Peter is going to be involved forever. That is your institution. Ieva, this is your world.

For us, it is always where culture resides on the list of things to be done. If you think about the rebuilding of Ukraine, it is going to be engineers getting together and prioritizing power grids. Well, who is opposed to power grids? You need them. Schools, housing, hospitals, roads—well, the scope of disaster and destruction in Ukraine is so major that that is going to take a lot of work. Our work, again—the Smithsonian allied with all sorts of other organizations—is going to be putting culture somewhere on the list. Put culture on the list—because for one, it's what people fought for and died.

The other reason is that culture provides a basis for a creative economy. If we look at the rebuilding and flourishing of places around the planet—yes, you need a steel mill there, you need an auto-building plant there. But if you think about the proportion of economies—of modern economies that are invested in cultural industries, creative work, whether it be film, or on the web, or online, or digital forms, or whether it is in various forms of media creation, cultural tourism and facilities, food and restaurants and museums—all of these things kind of go together. They can help in building—rebuilding the economy.

Therefore, from our point of view, it does not leave culture out of that rebuilding effort because it could actually be a great engine. It is good for civil society. It is good for morale. It is good for the spiritual healing and regeneration of society, but it also makes good economic sense. Therefore I think we want to be able to help our Ukrainian colleagues in making that argument and doing that work.

Ms. BAUMAN: We are at a time now, so I want to thank our panelists for taking the time to join us here today. I think this was a really interesting discussion. Like I said, we get to do some unique things here at the Commission that you would not normally find in Congress, on the Hill. Therefore, I appreciate the deep discussion and interesting chat we had. Therefore thanks, everyone. [APPLAUSE.]

SUBMISSION FOR THE RECORD

Potential Damage to Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Sites

Report Coverage: 24 February 2022 to 30 April 2024



CULTURAL
HERITAGE
MONITORING LAB

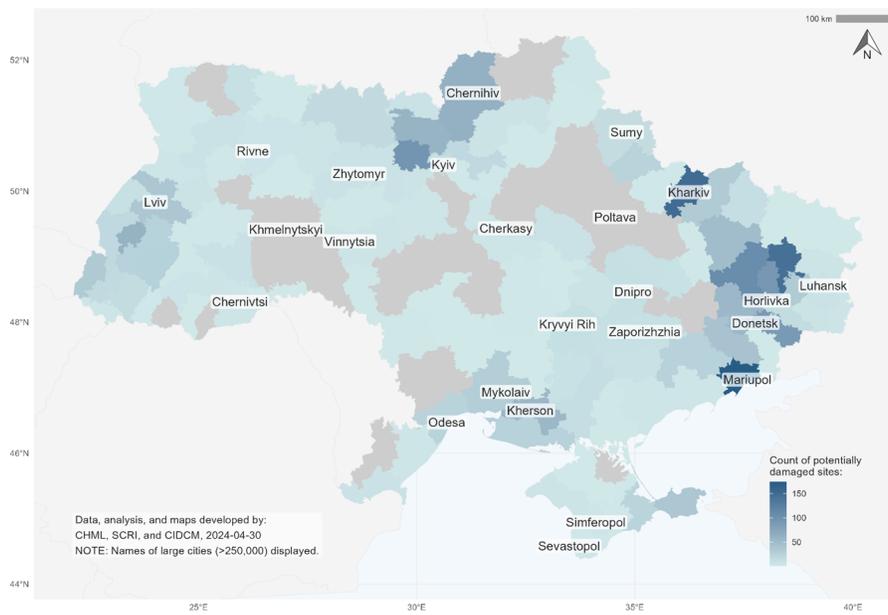


Smithsonian
Cultural Rescue Initiative



CIDCM
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT & CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Executive Summary: This report describes the potential damage to cultural heritage sites in Ukraine that occurred between 24 February 2022 and 30 April 2024.¹ In total, potential damage to 2,122 out of 28,710 cultural heritage sites in Ukraine has been identified. This number reflects a change of 310 sites from the prior report that analyzed potential damage through 31 July 2023.² Of these new instances of damage, 271 occurred in the period from 01 August 2023 to 30 April 2024 while the remainder occurred before that period. Overall, damage has occurred primarily in the raions of Mariupolskyi, Kharkivskyi, and Sievierodonetskyi. The cultural heritage site types most likely to be damaged during the conflict so far include Memorial/Monument and Place of Worship & Burial.



¹For the previous report, see: Bassett, H. F., Aronson, J., Cil, D., Hanson, K., Meharry, J. E., Narimanova, N., Averyt, K., Carroll, C., Harrell, K., Fitzgerald, K., Maher, A., Mints, E., Welsh, W., Wegener, C., and Daniels, B. I. (2023) 'Potential Damage to Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Sites, 24 February 2022 to 30 April 2023', Virginia Museum of Natural History, Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab; University of Maryland, Center for International Development and Conflict Management; and Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative. Available at: <https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/sharing/rest/content/items/2f61abda792f4d29bed8eef26106dfb9/data>.

²This report uses the up-to-date version of the NASA Fire Information for Resource Management System (FIRMS) data going back to 24 February 2022. Any revisions to the near real-time satellite data by NASA may result in retroactive changes to the total number of sites with potential damage that we identify.

Background: Cultural heritage in conflict is primarily protected by international law under the 1954 Hague Convention, which was adopted in response to the cultural destruction that occurred during World War II. The Convention, to which Russia and Ukraine are member states, obligates State Parties to “respect” and “safeguard” cultural property in the event of armed conflict. Following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the international community rapidly responded to the urgent threat to Ukraine’s cultural landscape. Since the invasion, the Virginia Museum of Natural History’s Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab (CHML) and the Smithsonian Institution’s Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative (SCRI) have been monitoring 28,710 cultural heritage sites in Ukraine.³ Damage and looting to Ukrainian cultural heritage sites may represent criminal acts, violate the 1954 Hague Convention, and be potential war crimes or crimes against humanity.

Findings: A total of 2,122 potentially damaged cultural heritage sites were identified across Ukraine between 24 February 2022 and 30 April 2024, which represents approximately 7.4% of the sites monitored by CHML, SCRI, and the University of Maryland’s Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM). Based on analysis, the highest number of sites with potential damage (22.1% total) were in the raions of Mariupol’skyi, Kharkiv’skyi, and Sievierodonets’kyi (see map).

Heritage Type	Count	Portion
Memorial/Monument	950	44.8%
Place of Worship & Burial	633	29.8%
Museum	188	8.9%
Library/Archive	143	6.7%
Heritage Building	102	4.8%
Undetermined	54	2.5%
Archaeological Site	39	1.8%
Performance Center	13	0.6%

Memorial/Monument (44.8%) and Place of Worship & Burial (29.8%) were the most common types of sites sustaining potential damage across the country (see table).

Methodology: This analysis identifies potential damage to cultural heritage sites in Ukraine based on their proximity to non-agricultural fires visible on satellite data and social media posts. To identify the cultural heritage sites that are potentially damaged, we use remote sensing technologies and a list of 28,710 cultural heritage sites in Ukraine.⁴ For this report, the term “cultural heritage site” includes archaeological sites, archives, libraries, memorials, monuments, museums, performance centers, and places of worship and burial. Conflict-related damage to cultural heritage sites ranges from complete destruction to partial damage from events such as fire, looting, and observable or unobservable structural degradation. This monitoring effort uses cultural heritage inventory data developed by CHML, SCRI, and CIDCM under the Cultural Heritage Site List data standards established by the Penn Cultural Heritage Center (PennCHC) at the University of Pennsylvania Museum.⁵

³Bassett, H. F., Koropeckyj, D. V., Averyt, K., Hanson, K., Wegener, C., and Daniels, B. I. (2022) ‘Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Potential Impact Summary (6 April 2022)’, Virginia Museum of Natural History, Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab; and Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative. Available at: https://www.vmnh.net/content/vmnh/uploads/PDFs/research_and_collections/chml/22-0407_ukrainian_cultural_heritage_potential_impact_summary_final2.pdf (Accessed: 30 April 2023).

⁴This number includes the ruins feature type from the OpenStreetMap data. Potential damage to ruins is being monitored but excluded from the total number of potentially damaged sites because this category includes both historic and contemporary ruins.

⁵Daniels, B. I., and Golden, G. (2018) ‘Conflict Culture Research Network: Cultural Heritage Site List Dataset, Codebook 3.0’, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Penn Cultural Heritage Center.

Potential damage to cultural heritage sites is identified using multi-spectral satellite data and credible social media sources. A “potentially damaged” site is one that has a moderate to high probability of having sustained conflict-related damage based on social media reporting or proximity to non-agricultural fires. A site is categorized as potentially damaged when it is proximate to an infrared signature identified through NASA’s Fire Information for Resource Management System (FIRMS) data that does not overlap with burned agricultural land.⁶ Infrared signatures detected by satellite that do not overlap with locations where agricultural burning may be present are likely indicative of conflict activity (e.g., artillery barrages, airstrikes, or sustained direct fire). Proximity between cultural heritage sites and infrared signatures recorded in FIRMS data is based on the resolution of the sensor: 1,000 m for MODIS⁷ and 375 m for VIIRS.⁸ Agricultural lands are identified based on MODIS Terra and Aqua Land Cover Type data.⁹ Heat signatures detected in agricultural areas are excluded from the analysis of conflict-related potential damage to cultural heritage sites. Sites are considered potentially damaged until damage is confirmed or a ground assessment indicates that a property has not sustained damage. CHML, SCRI, and CIDCM teams continue to use high-resolution satellite imagery and open-source research to monitor and confirm ongoing damage to Ukrainian cultural heritage sites. As of 30 April 2024, analysis of high-resolution satellite imagery and open-source research has confirmed damage to 454 of the 2,122 cultural heritage sites with potential damage.¹⁰

This report was produced by the Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab (CHML) at the Virginia Museum of Natural History (VMNH), the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative (SCRI) at the Smithsonian Institution, and the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) at the University of Maryland.

Visit <https://www.vmnh.net/research-collections/chml> for information on CHML, <https://culturalrescue.si.edu/> for information on SCRI, <https://cidcm.umd.edu> for information on CIDCM, and <https://www.penn.museum/sites/chc/> for information on PennCHC.

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⁶Koropecykj, D., Bassett, H., Harrell, K., Welsh, W., and Gunter-Bassett, M. (2022) ‘Impacts to Cultural Heritage in Ukraine’, Tearline. Available at: https://www.tearline.mil/public_page/impacts-to-cultural-heritage-in-ukraine (Accessed: 30 April 2023).

⁷NASA FIRMS (no date) MODIS Collection 61 NRT Hotspot / Active Fire Detections MCD14DL. Available at: <https://earthdata.nasa.gov/firms> (Accessed: 30 April 2023).

⁸NASA FIRMS (no date) NRT VIIRS 375 m Active Fire product VJ114IMGTDL_NRT. Available at: <https://earthdata.nasa.gov/firms> (Accessed: 30 April 2023); NASA FIRMS (no date) NRT VIIRS 375 m Active Fire product VNP14IMGT. Available at: <https://earthdata.nasa.gov/firms> (Accessed: 30 April 2023).

⁹Friedl, M., and Sulla-Menashe, D. (2019) MCD12Q1 MODIS/Terra+Aqua Land Cover Type Yearly L3 Global 500m SIN Grid V006, distributed by NASA EOSDIS Land Processes DAAC. Available at: <https://earthdata.nasa.gov/firms> (Accessed: 26 August 2022).

¹⁰Gunter-Bassett, M., Fitzgerald, K., Maher, A., Welsh, W., Bassett, H. (2023) ‘Impacts to Cultural Heritage in Ukraine, 01 February through 30 April 2023’, Tearline. Available at: https://www.tearline.mil/public_page/impacts-to-cultural-heritage-in-ukraine-01-september-2022-through-31-january-2023.





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