

# **OUN-UPA and the Holocaust: A Survey of the Historiography**

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This paper is the draft of a chapter for a book in progress, so I include some basic information on the book and this chapter's place in it.

## **Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: Pogroms, Police, and National Insurgency**

Introduction

1. Historiography
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## **The Theme and Plan of the Book**

This study concerns the participation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and its armed force, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrains'ka povstans'ka armiiia*, UPA), in the destruction of the Jewish population during German rule in Ukraine, 1941-44. There were three major phases in which the nationalists contributed to the mass murder.

First, militias of OUN were key actors in the anti-Jewish violence of the summer of 1941, in the immediate aftermath of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The militias arrested Jews for forced labor, humiliation, and murder; thousands of those arrested were executed by German units, mainly Einsatzgruppe C and Waffen-SS Wiking. The Ukrainian nationalist militias assembled the Jews for violence, since they could identify Jews more easily than the German

invaders and knew the localities, including Jewish neighborhoods in the cities. Sometimes the violence was accompanied by bloody public spectacles, such as in the pogroms unleashed in Lviv and Zolochiv in early 1941; sometimes the OUN militias more discreetly murdered selected Jews and their families.

Second, OUN recruited for and infiltrated the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police in Galicia and the stationary Schutzmannschaften in Volhynia. These police units provided the indispensable manpower for the Holocaust. They rounded up Jews for deportation to the death camp at Belzec or for execution by shooting; although most of the actual killing was done by the Germans, the Ukrainian policemen also killed in certain circumstances. These actions took place primarily from early 1942 through the middle of 1943.

Third, early in 1943 thousands of these Ukrainian policemen deserted from German service to join the nationalist insurgency led by OUN. Possessed of some military training and familiarity with both weapons and killing, they took leadership positions in UPA. As soon as the former policemen joined them, UPA launched a massive ethnic cleansing project, at first in Volhynia and then in Galicia. Although primarily directed against Poles, other victims included Armenians, Czechs, ethnic Germans, and Roma as well as Jews. In 1944, as the Red Army moved westward, UPA came to an understanding with the retreating Germans and liquidated surviving Jews that the latter could not reach. Also, Army North of UPA, based in Volhynia, lured surviving Jews out of their hiding places in the forests, temporarily placed them in labor camps, and then murdered them as the Soviets closed in.

In these three phases of anti-Jewish violence, the responsibility of OUN was different. In the first phase, the militias, and the OUN leadership which established them, were primarily responsible for rounding up Jews for the Germans, although the militias did some killing themselves. Altogether the militias were accomplices in the murder of thousands of Jews and shooters in the murder of hundreds. In the second phase, OUN cannot be held responsible for all that Ukrainian policemen did in Galicia and Volhynia, since police structures were primarily under German control and by no means were all the policemen nationalists, at least initially. OUN's responsibility here lay in its strategy of deliberate infiltration of the police, drawing its members into the eye of the genocidal storm. For the most part, Ukrainian policemen rounded Jews up for others to kill, but sometimes they killed themselves. Altogether the death toll from police round ups was in the hundreds of thousands. In the third phase, OUN's responsibilities were direct. It was killing Jews primarily on its own initiative, as part of a far-reaching ethnic cleansing project; it was not only finding the Jews for murder, but perpetrating the murder itself. The Jewish victims of OUN in this phase probably numbered in the thousands.

I have structured the book as follows. After this brief introduction, there are several chapters that provide context. The first is a rather extensive examination of the historiography. One factor contributing to the controversy surrounding the role of OUN and UPA in the murder of Ukrainian Jews stems from the peculiar way the historiography developed. For almost half a century after World War II, neither Holocaust scholars nor historians of the nationalists researched the topic. In this scholarly vacuum, accusations and denials were as if weightless, unanchored by evidence. Then, since about 1990, more and more information has come to light and many more scholars have examined the issues. But also since then, there has been a polarization of views over the issue of nationalist collaboration in the Holocaust, determined more by politics, in the form of memory politics, than by contradictory evidence. The second

chapter concerns sources. Here I outline the evidentiary record as we know it today and also discuss the particular problems the various kinds of source material present.

After these two chapters, which present the epistemological context, I turn to the historical context for our problem. In one chapter I look at OUN before Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, with special attention to three issues: why it emerged and proved attractive to Ukrainian youth in Galicia, its relationship to fascism, and the place and nature of antisemitism in its ideology. In another chapter I turn to the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Bukovina), in 1939-41. Some scholars argue that this historical interlude is crucial to understanding how the destruction of the Jews played out in these territories; I present my own understanding of how it affected perceptions and outcomes during the Holocaust. And in one more contextual chapter, I sketch aspects of the Holocaust in Ukraine that do not directly relate to the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists.

The final three chapters are devoted to the phases of OUN's participation in the Holocaust: the anti-Jewish violence of the summer of 1941; the police's role in the systematic destruction of Jews in Galicia, Volhynia, and -- to a lesser extent -- elsewhere on Ukrainian lands in 1942-43, with special reference, of course, to the connections between the police and OUN; and, finally, UPA's murder of Jews in 1943 and 1944. The book ends with the presentation of the conclusions I have come to.

This book is not a study of how "Ukrainians" behaved during the Holocaust. It does not generalize about an entire national community but concentrates on a particular political movement. Although at the time this study is being written, powerful forces in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian diaspora aim to identify the entire Ukrainian nation with the heritage of OUN and UPA, this is at the very least an intellectual error, especially in relation to the war period itself. Also, this is not a study of the whole range of collaboration of Ukrainians with the German wartime authorities. That is a much larger and much more complicated topic. Nor is this even a study of those Ukrainians who actively participated in the Holocaust. For example, the notorious "Ukrainian guards" of German camps, more properly known as Trawniki men after the camp at which they were trained, do not figure in this book. For the most part these were captured Red Army soldiers rather than ideological allies of the Nazis, and their work in German death and labor camps had no relation to OUN structures.

# Historiography

## Pioneer Historiography of the Holocaust in Western Ukraine

It so happens that a central figure in the early development of the historiography of the entire Jewish catastrophe survived the war in Western Ukraine, in Lviv. This was Philip Friedman, who had already made a name for himself in the interwar period as a historian of the Jewish population of Galicia. His doctoral dissertation from the University of Vienna, which was published in 1929, concerned the emancipation of Galicia's Jews in 1848-68.<sup>1</sup> He was an impeccably professional historian, and he began to gather information on the Holocaust during the Holocaust itself. He survived the mass murder by hiding on the Aryan side, but his wife and daughter both perished. After the war, Friedman played a major role in collecting survivor testimony for the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland and later was active in many of the early projects to gather sources for writing Holocaust history. He spent the last years of his life in the United States, mainly associated with Jewish scholarly institutions such as YIVO in New York and Yad Vashem in Israel, but he also lectured at Columbia University.<sup>2</sup>

Friedman wrote two short studies of particular relevance to this monograph. One was an account of the destruction of the Jews of his native Lviv; the first edition came out in 1945 and several expanded editions appeared later, the last in 1956.<sup>3</sup> He also wrote a survey, very careful and balanced, of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the period of German rule, focusing almost exclusively on Galicia and Volhynia. Friedman was attuned to the problem of OUN-UPA participation in the mass murder of the Jews in the latter regions, but he was unable to arrive at the clarity that later developments and later research made possible. He usually did not make a distinction, which we shall see is important, between the Ukrainian militia and the Ukrainian auxiliary police.<sup>4</sup> He never realized the connection between the militia and the OUN, writing that the Ukrainian militia was "organized by the Germans in a hurry"<sup>5</sup> and consisted "of local volunteers."<sup>6</sup> He wrote about the UPA murder of Jews, but felt uncertainty about what happened and wanted to learn more about it.<sup>7</sup> Like many historians of his era, he considered

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<sup>1</sup> Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden*.

<sup>2</sup> Aleksion, "Invisible Web." Aleksion, "Philip Friedman."

<sup>3</sup> I have used the second, expanded edition of 1947 (Friedman, *Zagłada*) as well as the English translation of the 1956 Hebrew version (Friedman, "Destruction").

<sup>4</sup> He noted correctly at one point that the Ukrainian militia was disbanded "and in its place was organized the Ukrainian auxiliary police under German direction," but otherwise used the terms militia and auxiliary police interchangeably. Quotation from Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," 181.

<sup>5</sup> Friedman, *Zagłada*, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," 181.

<sup>7</sup> "In letters exchanged with fellow Jewish historians, Friedman expressed particular interest in exploring the attitudes of the Ukrainian leadership and military organisations, especially The

"authentic, official documents" to be the gold standard for Holocaust research;<sup>8</sup> yet so few of them had been collected that he perforce relied heavily on testimonies and memoirs. Although Friedman was one of the first professional historians to engage with the Holocaust, his work was located in the field of Jewish studies rather than within the scholarly discourse of modern European history.

The scholar who found study of the Holocaust at the margins of the historical discipline and, through the publication of his book *The Destruction of the European Jews*, pushed it almost to the center was Raul Hilberg. When Hilberg began to work on the murder of the Jews, he received some encouragement from his doctoral supervisor Franz Neumann, but there were also many nay-sayers. "During those days," he wrote a few decades later, "the academic world was oblivious to the subject, and publishers found it unwelcome. In fact, I was advised much more often not to pursue this topic than to persist in it."<sup>9</sup> His work had a tremendous impact on the way that scholars who came after him researched and wrote about the Holocaust. He is one of those rare figures of whom it is no cliché to say that he shaped a field. Some of his ideas were resisted almost immediately. He, like Hannah Arendt, whose essays in the *New Yorker* on the Eichmann trial appeared at the same time as Hilberg's *Destruction* (1961),<sup>10</sup> emphasized the passivity of the Jews during their slaughter and indicted the Jewish councils (*Judenräte*) for collaborationism. Their views provoked new research and publication on Jewish resistance<sup>11</sup> as well as a more nuanced investigation of the difficult situation of Jewish leaders in the *Judenräte*.<sup>12</sup>

Hilberg's great achievement was a cog-by-cog analysis of the machinery of destruction. While Friedman had lamented a lack of the official documentary sources he so highly prized, Hilberg had plenty of them, all emanating from the Germans themselves. The influential 1961 edition of his book could not yet make use of German sources in Soviet archives, but the third edition of 2003 was able to incorporate some of that source material. Hilberg's reliance almost exclusively on sources generated by the German perpetrators themselves established the methodology that dominated American and European scholarship on the Holocaust for decades thereafter. German sources became the main informants about what happened. The testimonies and memoirs of victims and eyewitnesses were relegated to the background if consulted at all. This produced a somewhat distorted picture. A one-sided source base was

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Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiya, UPA) and their collaboration in the mass murder of the Jews." Aleksion, "Invisible Web," 158. Aleksion specifically cites a letter of Friedman to Szymon Datner, 30 April 1958.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>9</sup> Hilberg, *Destruction*, xiii (quotation from the preface to the revised edition, written in 1984). "Neumann said yes [to Hilberg's proposal to write a dissertation on "The Destruction of the European Jews"], but he knew that at this moment I was separating myself from the mainstream of academic research to tread in territory that had been avoided by the academic world and the public alike. What he said to me in three words was, 'It's your funeral.'" Hilberg, *Politics of Memory*, 66.

<sup>10</sup> They formed the basis for her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance*, and Krakowski, *War of the Doomed*.

<sup>12</sup> Trunk, *Judenrat*.

largely responsible for the exaggeration of Jewish passivity and for a one-sided emphasis on the complicity of the *Judenräte*. I believe it also resulted in an underestimation of help and rescue efforts on the part of non-Jews, to whom Hilberg also ascribed passivity.<sup>13</sup> The documents the Germans produced tended to emphasize the successes of their extermination program and public cooperation with it. Also, the German documents noted Jewish resistance and also non-Jewish aid to Jews only when it was or threatened to be effective. But in the concrete circumstances of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe, neither resistance nor aid could be very effective, even if impulses and actions in these directions were more widespread than the German documents fix. Both resistance and aid are much more evident in the documents and oral testimonies left by survivors.

Israeli scholars had objections to Hilberg's approach right from the start. Friedman, who had served on Hilberg's examining committee at Columbia, suggested to him that Yad Vashem in Jerusalem might co-publish his dissertation, but it refused: "Your book rests almost entirely on the authority of German sources and does not utilize primary sources in the languages of the occupied states, or in Yiddish and Hebrew....The Jewish historians here make reservations...in respect of your appraisal of the Jewish resistance (active and passive during the Nazi occupation)."<sup>14</sup> Hilberg's work would always have a larger impact on scholarship in North America and in Western Europe than in Israel, except for generating a number of books by Israeli scholars polemicizing with his views on the lack of Jewish resistance and the complicity of the *Judenräte*.

Concentrated too narrowly on the narrative of Germans and Jews, Hilberg paid little attention to the "microbiota" of the Holocaust, the other, smaller actors, neither Jews nor Germans, who played significant roles. Unlike Friedman, Hilberg was not curious about OUN or UPA and their role in the Holocaust. In fact, he only once mentioned OUN, which he defined simply as "a pro-German organization of Ukrainians."<sup>15</sup> Evidently, he did not even care to inquire what the letters OUN stood for, since it appears in the index only as OUN, not as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. So although Hilberg's *Destruction of the European Jews* remains an indispensable orientation text for studying the Holocaust, it had blind spots; and these blind spots long dogged Western historiography on the topic. Jewish historiography in Israel continued along a different path, more like Friedman's.

A major contribution to the study of a territory where OUN and UPA were especially powerful was Shmuel Spector's history of the Holocaust in Volhynia, published originally in Hebrew in 1986 and in English translation in 1990. Spector himself was born in Volhynia in 1922, in Kostopil (P *Kostopol*), Rivnens'ka oblast. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, he fled to the Soviet interior. After the war he lived in Israel and worked at Yad Vashem. His book

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<sup>13</sup> "In fact the behavior of the population during the killing operations was characterized by a tendency toward passivity. This inertness was the product of conflicting emotions and opposing restraints. The Slavs had no particular liking for their Jewish neighbors, and they felt no overpowering urge to help the Jews in their hour of need. In so far as there were such inclinations, they were effectively curbed by fear of reprisals from the Germans." Hilberg, *Destruction*, 316.

<sup>14</sup> Hilberg, *Politics of Memory*, 110.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 312 n. 79.

is interesting and very rich, with many details that make the wartime situation come alive. Spector possessed a deep knowledge of Volhynia's Jewish communities as well as its geography and terrain. Readers of his text can actually feel how highly motivated he was to figure out what transpired in his home region during his absence. He made use of some German documentation, particularly the Einsatzgruppen reports, but his main sources were Jewish survivor testimonies, primarily those collected by Yad Vashem and those published in memorial (yizkor) books. Since most of these testimonies were in Hebrew and Yiddish, his book is very useful to authors, such as me, who do not read Hebrew. Spector's foremost interest was in the Jewish communities themselves, and his perspective is naturally somewhat Judeocentric. He was not as interested in the Germans as Hilberg was. But he *was* interested in the Polish and, especially, Ukrainian populations and their relation to the Holocaust. He lamented that there were not enough studies of the Ukrainian nationalist movement,<sup>16</sup> although he seems to have been unaware of John A. Armstrong's influential monograph on the subject (to be discussed below). Nonetheless, Spector managed to piece together a decent sketch of the history of OUN and UPA.<sup>17</sup> His book also frequently mentions UPA's murder of Volhynian Jews.

A book that is somewhat transitional in the historiography is Eliahu Yones's study of "the Jews of Lviv in the years of the Second World War and the catastrophe of European Jewry, 1939-1944." It is transitional in the sense that it makes limited use of newly opened Soviet archival materials that were copied by Yad Vashem, but the text primarily relies on testimonies and memoirs, particularly Hebrew-language testimonies collected also by Yad Vashem. The text was originally presented as a doctoral dissertation at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1993, at which time Yones was already very advanced in years. He had been born in 1915 in Vilnius, but during the war he found himself in a labor camp in Lviv, hence his interest in the Holocaust in that city. His book was published in Hebrew as well as in German, English, Polish, and Russian translations. I primarily used the Russian-language version.<sup>18</sup> Although the primary focus of the book was Lviv, it also contained a great deal of material on the experience of Jews in other localities in Galicia. Yones devoted considerable attention to the persecution of Jews by the Bandera faction of OUN. His knowledge of OUN was incomplete; for example, he made the common error of conflating the militia and the police.<sup>19</sup> But the issue of Ukrainian nationalism and the Holocaust was very much on his mind, and his study provided much information on the topic.

Thus in this early stage of the historiography of Ukrainian nationalism and the Holocaust, the relevant studies were produced by Jewish scholars who were intimately familiar, from personal experience, with the terrain, languages, and societies of the regions where OUN and UPA were active. They also relied extensively on the accounts of Jews who survived the mass murder. Where they all came short, in terms of the project undertaken by this book, is

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<sup>16</sup> Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, 4-5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-38.

<sup>18</sup> Yones, *Evrei L'vova v gody Vtoroi Mirovoi Voyny i Katastrofy evropeiskogo evreistva, 1939-1944*. Other translations I consulted: Yones, *Smoke in the Sand*; Yones, *Die Strasse nach Lemberg*; Yones, *Die Juden in Lemberg*.

<sup>19</sup> He also mistakenly identified Taras Bulba-Borovets as an OUN leader. Yones, *Evrei L'vova*, 383 n. 6.

that, although keenly interested in OUN and UPA, they did not have access to the kind of sources that would have given them more insight into the workings of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. They needed more definite and more extensive information, which would only become accessible after the collapse of communism. As to studies of the Holocaust in North America and Europe, the historiographical protocols established by Hilberg effectively prevented concentration on the role of OUN and UPA. If Western studies strayed into occupied Eastern Europe, they relied on German sources, neglected eyewitness testimony, and concentrated exclusively on the actions of Germans.

## Histories of OUN and UPA Written prior to the Opening of Soviet Archives

The most detailed and solidly researched history of the pre-World-War-II OUN to appear in the period 1945-90 was written by Petro Mirchuk and published in 1968. Mirchuk had been a member of OUN since secondary school and was being entrusted with important assignments in the OUN propaganda apparatus by his early twenties (the mid-1930s). Like many in the nationalist underground, he was no stranger to Polish prisons. When war broke out in September 1939, he was in jail, but was released with all the other prisoners when the Polish forces in Lviv capitulated to the Germans. The insider knowledge he acquired in the movement contributed to a well informed book. In addition, Mirchuk was able to consult for his history a large number of original OUN documents as well as the interwar press, and his book reproduced many important texts of the era. His book was written from a thoroughly nationalist perspective. Although rich in information, it had its biases. One was that it sanitized OUN's record in regard to its statements and actions against Jews in the 1930s and in regard to its relations with Nazi Germany. Mirchuk did this by avoiding these themes. His omissions undoubtedly reflected OUN's postwar sensitivity about accusations of collaboration with the Nazis, especially in regard to participation in the Holocaust. But to be fair to Mirchuk, he had had a different experience with these issues than had most other OUN members. He only spent one month on Ukrainian ethnic territory during the entire war, namely mid-August to mid-September 1941. Then, at a low ebb of German-OUN relations, he was arrested by the Germans and spent the rest of the war in prisons and concentrations camps, mainly Auschwitz. He was only released when the Americans liberated the concentration camp at Ebensee on 6 May 1945.<sup>20</sup> Thus Mirchuk missed participation in the violence of July 1941 and the ethnic cleansing campaign of 1943-44, and he had no love for the Germans. Another notable bias was that Mirchuk was a Bandera loyalist. When OUN split in 1940, he sided with Stepan Bandera against Andrii Melnyk; and when the Bandera faction split again after World War II, he remained with Bandera. So his book presented the history of OUN from a partisan perspective. His depiction of the succession struggle after the assassination of OUN leader Yevhen Konovalets in 1938 was constructed so as to make the Bandera group's split from the emigre leadership seem reasonable and necessary. He also blamed Melnyk and his allies for turning OUN policy around and "betting on the German Hitlerite card." Until Melnyk assumed leadership, according to Mirchuk, there were "some contacts" with Wehrmacht circles, who like OUN wanted a revision

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<sup>20</sup> Mirchuk, *In the German Mills of Death*.



of the Versailles settlement, but OUN had had reservations about Hitlerite ideology and politics, which viewed Eastern Europe as a territory for colonization.<sup>21</sup>

Nowhere near as well researched, but even more partisan was Polikarp Herasymenko's short book on "the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists during the Second World War." Herasymenko was not a historian nor even active long in politics; instead he was a metallurgist who made a good career in the United Kingdom and the United States after 1948. Born in Odessa, he fled Soviet Ukraine to avoid arrest in 1921, living mainly in Prague until the end of World War II. He was a member of the Melnyk faction of OUN during the war years and for a short time thereafter.<sup>22</sup> Herasymenko's history was first published as a mimeographed text in 1947 and went through several editions over the following years. The work made use of the interwar and wartime periodical press as well as documents of both the united OUN and the Melnyk faction. But overall, it was marred by one-sidedness. A major target of its criticism was the Bandera faction. Herasymenko attributed their split from the rest of OUN to foreign intrigue. Fearful of the power of OUN, both the Germans and the Soviets had engineered the rift, preying on the Bandera group's "political blindness, ambition, primitiveness, moral indifference."<sup>23</sup> He condemned the rebellion they led: "provoked by the enemy, they pushed the masses on the path of a negative, in every respect unprepared, and therefore needlessly bloody 'insurgency.'"<sup>24</sup> Herasymenko quoted many OUN documents critical of Nazi Germany and made no mention of pro-German attitudes or cooperation with Nazi Germany on the part of OUN. He made an exception, of course, for the Banderites, who, he wrote, were both ignorant of Germany's plans for Ukraine and ready to help the Germans by supplying them with hundreds of interpreters. The many interpreters from the Melnyk faction working for the Germans was passed over in silence. There is also no mention at all of the Melnykites' support for the Waffen-SS Division Galicia. The Ukrainian police in German service, with whom both factions of OUN were deeply involved, were almost completely absent from Herasymenko's account; there was a single passing mention in a wartime document calling upon Ukrainians in all stations of life to remember that they were members of the "Ukrainian Nation, once free, glorious, and powerful, but today enslaved and marked by blood and ruin."<sup>25</sup> Jews and the Holocaust were completely missing from Herasymenko's book.

Another veteran of the movement who wrote about OUN during World War II was Lev Shankovsky. Shankovsky had, as an adolescent, served in the armed forces fighting for an independent Ukraine during the revolutionary period that followed World War I. His military experience proved useful later both for his activity in OUN and UPA during World War II and for his postwar work as a military historian of Ukraine. He was associated with the Bandera wing of OUN during the war, but after the war he joined a faction that broke with Bandera, the UHVR

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<sup>21</sup> Mirchuk, *Narys*, 582-83.

<sup>22</sup> Kovaliv, "Herasymenko." I am grateful to Marco Carynnyk for first informing me that the pseudonymous H. Polikarpenko under whose name the history appeared was actually P. Herasymenko.

<sup>23</sup> Herasymenko, *Orhanizatsiia Ukrain's'kykh Natsionalistiv*, 43; see also 40-44, 50-51.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

group<sup>26</sup> or so-called *dviikari*. Led by Mykola Lebed and Lev Rebet, the *dviikari* adopted a more democratic program than either the Banderites or Melnykites and benefited from generous funding by the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA.<sup>27</sup> Shankovsky's book on the expeditionary groups (*pokhidni hrupy*) of OUN in southern Ukraine<sup>28</sup> and Romanian-occupied Transnistria created a picture of the past that fit well with the postwar ideology of the UHVR. Shankovsky had fine narrative skills and wrote with some verve, although his prose was not jargon-free. I will spend more time analyzing this work, since it presented a narrative that has been very influential in the postwar Ukrainian diaspora, especially among historians and other intellectuals. It was also a full enough account that it can stand in as a prominent example of a more general trend in the historiography of OUN and UPA.

The expeditionary groups were small OUN units that fanned out across Ukraine from Kraków and western Ukraine, following the German advance. They were instrumental in establishing local civil administrations and militias wherever they went. In his account of them, Shankovsky emphasized that they fought against two enemies, both the Soviets and the Germans. He also described fierce persecution of members of OUN, especially OUN-B (the Bandera faction), by the Germans. While writing at length about the conflict between OUN and the Germans, Shankovsky completely omitted mention of moments of cooperation.

The main point of Shankovsky's book was to show that the more tolerant and democratic position adopted by the UHVR had its basis in the encounter between the western Ukrainian nationalists and the population of Soviet Ukraine in its pre-1939 borders. His story is that the western Ukrainian activists came into the rest of the Ukraine and discovered that the ideological baggage they brought with them was unacceptable to the population there. The inhabitants of central, southern, and eastern Ukraine rejected the OUN's *Führerprinzip* and its intended single-party rule and wanted a democratic parliamentary system instead. They did not like OUN's voluntarism, amorality, exclusivity, and hunger for power, preferring ethical politics, toleration, and humaneness. They were not satisfied with the slogan of an independent Ukraine: they wanted to know the content of the envisaged state, its political structure and social policies. They were against imperialism and exploitation and wanted national minorities to have the rights of other citizens of the Ukrainian state. They did not accept the OUN's slogan of "Ukraine above all." The western Ukrainian activists, challenged by this encounter with the majority of Ukrainians, had to rethink their program, resulting in the more liberal OUN program of August 1943 and the establishment of the UHVR.<sup>29</sup> Here is how Shankovsky put it in his conclusions:

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<sup>26</sup> The UHVR or Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council is discussed below, xxx-xx. Shankovsky was a founding member.

<sup>27</sup> Yurkevich, "Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics." Rudling, "'Not Quite Klaus Barbie.'"

<sup>28</sup> By southern Ukraine Shankovsky meant the Dnipropetrovs'ka, Kirovohrads'ka, Mykolaiivs'ka, Odes'ka, Stalins'ka (now Donets'ka), Voroshylovhrads'ka (now Luhans'ka), and Zaporiz'ka oblasts in their wartime boundaries as well as Crimea. Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 27.

<sup>29</sup> This narrative permeates the book, but this particular summary is based on Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 21-22. On workers wanting free and fair elections and democracy and on their opposition to the leader principle, see 107.

...I set myself a clearly defined goal that my work was supposed to achieve. I wanted -- as extensively as possible -- to present the ideological and political *evolution* that the independentist OUN underwent as a result of the direct encounter of the mass of its membership with the Ukrainian mainland and Ukrainian population in the Central Eastern Ukrainian Lands and Eastern Ukrainian Lands. The epic tale of the expeditionary groups in central and eastern Ukraine, the *discussion of ideas* conducted by the members of the expeditionary groups with the Ukrainian people of the Central Ukrainian Lands and Eastern Ukrainian Lands, and the integration (*usobornennia*) of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists through the mass entrance into it of Ukrainians from the Central Ukrainian Lands and the Eastern Ukrainian Lands were the reasons that much was thrown out from the political-programmatic decisions and directives of OUN that had been considered taboo in the conditions of Polish occupation. In particular, very decisively thrown out were all sorts of "isms" introduced onto Ukrainian soil from a foreign field: authoritarianism, elitism, totalitarianism, dogmatism, exclusivism, voluntaristic nationalism, and so on. Socioeconomic and political issues decisively took precedence over issues of worldview and philosophy; mysticism had to make way for a realistic strategy and tactics of liberation, and the despised leader system capitulated before democracy and parliamentarism, with its accompanying human freedoms.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to arguing for a fundamental shift in perspective within the OUN expeditionary groups as a result of the encounter with the east and south, Shankovsky also contended that under the impact of the encounter OUN began to shed its ethnocentrism and to develop a new openness to the national minority populations in Ukraine. He stated that the national minorities of southern Ukraine -- "Russians, Greeks, Moldavians, and Tatars"<sup>31</sup> -- warmed to the idea of an independent Ukraine, with equal rights for the minorities.<sup>32</sup> "The broad masses of the Central and Eastern Ukrainian Lands most decisively rejected any possibility of an exterminatory or even discriminatory policy with regard to any national minority in Ukraine. Non-Ukrainians who live in Ukraine and are Ukrainian citizens should enjoy all the rights of Ukrainian citizens. It has to be recognized and emphasized that the leaders of the frontline expeditionary groups quickly oriented themselves in the situation and were able to conduct their propaganda in the direction of winning over non-Ukrainians for the Ukrainian liberation movement."<sup>33</sup> In Shankovsky's narrative, OUN in the Donbas reached out to Russians as full-fledged Ukrainian citizens.<sup>34</sup>

As to OUN's relations with the national minority with which this monograph is particularly concerned, i.e., the Jews, Shankovsky had this to say: "In this place we wish to underline that neither the Ukrainian population nor the members of the Ukrainian underground who came to the Central and Eastern Ukrainian Lands were in any way involved in

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<sup>30</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 317-18.

<sup>31</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 19.

<sup>32</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 20, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 110.

<sup>34</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 163-64, 175.

anti-Jewish actions."<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Shankovsky wrote that the White Russian emigres who also came to Transnistria were rabid antisemites who killed Jews on their own initiative, without prodding from the Romanian authorities.<sup>36</sup> Shankovsky also noted that the Jews in Transnistria were pro-Bolshevik.<sup>37</sup>

The heroic tale of OUN's transformation under the impact of this encounter could well contain some grains of truth, but to determine how many requires new and in-depth research. For the purposes of this monograph, though, it is necessary to point out some dubious claims, half-truths, and falsehoods in Shankovsky's narrative.

To begin with, I wonder how true is the claim that the young workers of the Donbas and indeed the general population of the south were insisting on parliamentary democracy. Where would their knowledge of this political system have originated? Surely not from any personal experience. And many years later, after parliamentary democracy was finally introduced in independent Ukraine, the Donbas stood out as the region of origin and the primary political base of the most authoritarian president and politicians in Ukraine's post-Soviet history (President Viktor Yanukovich and the Party of Regions). Thus I am sceptical of the assertion that a population molded by tsarism and Stalinism and then falling under Nazi occupation would have had a clear enough picture of representative democracy to summon it up as an ideal with which to challenge OUN. Much recent research in the history of Stalinism has shown that it was exceedingly difficult for Soviet citizens to think outside the communist box.<sup>38</sup> This is borne out by some of the original slogans the Donbas workers came up with during the German occupation: "Ukrainian Soviet power without the Bolsheviks" and "Soviet Ukraine without the Bolsheviks and without the dictatorship of the Communist party."<sup>39</sup>

And the picture of OUN being so open to non-Ukrainians, particularly Russians, is -- at the least -- overdrawn. This is clear from a volume of documents published much later, in 2013, on OUN in the Donbas. The collection is decidedly pro-OUN; in fact, its editor conceived it as literature first and foremost for "radical youth and participants of Ukrainian paramilitary organizations."<sup>40</sup> The documents do show that some ethnic Russians participated in the nationalist movement, particularly a woman from Kramatorsk, Donetsk oblast, by the name of Serafima Petrovna Kutieva, who also figured in Shankovsky's book.<sup>41</sup> By Kutieva's own account to her NKGB interrogator in 1944, at first her Russian nationality did cause her OUN recruiter a moment's hesitation, but then she was accepted into the movement. It turned out that her Russian nationality worked out well for the OUN underground; her home could more effectively serve as a safe house for the movement. "...My apartment for them was above all suspicions

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<sup>35</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 66 n. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 237, 249.

<sup>37</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 249.

<sup>38</sup> A well known example of this subjectivist scholarship is Hellbeck, "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul."

<sup>39</sup> Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas*, 281.

<sup>40</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 3-4.

<sup>41</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 169, 172.

since I am a Russian...."<sup>42</sup> In the course of her recruitment she discovered that not all OUN members were open to Russian ethnicity. One of her former husbands was her first recruiter, and he described the goal of the nationalist movement as the establishment of "an independent Ukrainian state which would be run exclusively by Ukrainians."<sup>43</sup> She described a fellow OUN activist from Vinnytsia as "stridently chauvinistically...inclined."<sup>44</sup> OUN members in the civil administration in Konstantynivka, Donetsk oblast, advocated for the replacement of ethnic Russians by ethnic Ukrainians.<sup>45</sup> OUN also promoted restrictions on the use of the Russian language in administration, the courts, signage, and education.<sup>46</sup>

The documentary collection also shows that OUN in the Donbas consistently propagated antisemitism while the Holocaust was proceeding. Several OUN proclamations are included as photo reproductions at the back of the book. The newspaper *Ukrains'kyi Donbas*, which was under OUN control, wrote in a front-page editorial on 18 December 1941:

Under the powerful blows of the victorious German and Allied armies the bonds with which for twenty-three years day and night the Jewish-Bolshevik henchmen bound the freedom-loving Ukrainian people have burst asunder....[As the German and Italian forces approached,] for fifteen whole days Jewish commissars, Asiatic barbarians...destroyed the national property built by the sweat and blood of the Ukrainian people....We must accept the slogan "Ukraine for Ukrainians" as the fundamental principle in the work of a newly constructed state apparatus and take it as the starting point for orientation in solving all problems which every day of work on the construction of a new life brings.<sup>47</sup>

On the next page of the same issue appeared a proclamation to Ukrainian youth issued by OUN:

The Jews forced us to call our dearest people enemies. They forced us to love alien Moscow and not our native Ukraine. In our country those who married Jewesses, and thereby contributed to the degeneration of the Ukrainian nation, were held in esteem. Jewboys were called Ukrainian musicians -- all those Buses, Goldsteins, Davids, Oistrakhs. They gave them prizes, titled them Stalin laureates, but the truly talented Ukrainian youth was trampled and then withered on the vine. The institutes and schools swarmed with Jews because they had money....In the Komsomol and Pioneers the Jewish-Muscovite politicians tried to raise janissaries, champions of Red Moscow, haters of the Ukrainian people....Ukraine for Ukrainians!<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 226. In addition, she continued, her husband enjoyed the trust of the German authorities.

<sup>43</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 218, 231.

<sup>44</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 221.

<sup>45</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 247.

<sup>46</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 265, 270-71, 273, 275-77, 291, 293.

<sup>47</sup> "Ukraintsi do pratsi!" Reproduced in Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 342. *Ukrains'kyi Donbas* came out in Horlivka, a raion capital in Donetsk oblast.

<sup>48</sup> "Ukrains'ka molod'!" Reproduced in Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 343.

And on the next page was yet another OUN proclamation, this one addressed to teachers:

They forced us to poison the minds of children with Jewish internationalism....Jews wrote the grammar of the Ukrainian language....In the theatres and cinema they showed us performances and films directed by Jews, in which the best sons of the Ukrainian land were reviled and ridiculed....Schools for Ukrainians! Down with lying Jewish-communist education. In a Ukrainian school -- Ukrainian children....Let us welcome the German army, the most cultured army in the world, which is driving from our lands the Jewish-communist scum. Let us help the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera build a great Independent Ukrainian State. Ukraine for Ukrainians!<sup>49</sup>

OUN members in the civil administration also promoted antisemitism. OUN member Anton Yastremsky was raion head in Olhynka, Donetsk oblast. On 17 September 1942 he issued an order to introduce the OUN greeting "Glory to Ukraine" in his raion. This was intended to restore polite and respectful behavior after years of "hostile Jewish-Bolshevik" interpersonal relations, of "Bolshevik-Jewish barbarity."<sup>50</sup> The OUN-controlled city administration of Mariupol, a raion capital in Donetsk oblast, ordered that civil servants take Ukrainian language courses since "as a consequence of Muscovite-Jewish rule in Ukraine our people lost their language, customs, and so on."<sup>51</sup>

The works on the history of OUN and UPA produced by veterans of the movement, such as those by Mirchuk, Herasymenko, and Shankovsky, but also by others (e.g., Mykola Lebed, Borys Lewytzkij<sup>52</sup>), were marked by partisan perspectives. Their writings not only defended the positions of OUN but of their particular faction of OUN. They emphasized OUN's persecution at the hands of the German occupiers but downplayed the extent to which OUN collaborated with Germany. All of them avoided disclosure about the extent to which OUN and UPA were involved in ethnic cleansing, including participation in the Holocaust. Already in 1946, a prominent Ukrainian emigre from eastern Ukraine, Ivan Bahriany, accurately diagnosed the problem with the self-presentation of the emigres associated with OUN: the nationalist camp, he wrote, was trying to repudiate its heritage of xenophobia, antisemitism, voluntarism,

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<sup>49</sup> "Uchyteli ukrainci!" Reproduced in Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 344. A similar proclamation appeared in *Ukrains'kyi Donbas* on 18 January 1942: "Do napolehlyvoi pratsi!" Reproduced in Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 346.

<sup>50</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 273-74; photoreproduction of first page of the order, 339. Olhynka is no longer a raion capital but part of Volnovakha raion.

<sup>51</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 268. For other indications of anti-Jewish sentiment among OUN members in the Donbas see 135, 215. On truth and legend about OUN in the Donbas, see also Radchenko, "'Two Policemen Came.'"

<sup>52</sup> Lewytzkij, "Natsional'nyi rukh pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny," is an interview, but to my knowledge it is the only attempt to sketch the history of the Mitrynga faction of OUN during World War II.

leaderism [*vozhdyzm*], and antidemocratism, but "not by overcoming these things, but by assuring us that they had not existed."<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the veterans' writings, a scholarly study of OUN and UPA appeared already in 1955 and went through three editions, the last appearing in 1990. John Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism* relied primarily on three kinds of sources: German documentation, the wartime Ukrainian press, and interviews. The interviews were conducted almost exclusively with prominent Ukrainian activists and politicians, and not just from the OUN camp. He had great sympathy for these men, although he was not uncritical in his admiration.<sup>54</sup> He did not interview Polish or Jewish survivors of OUN-UPA violence nor consult their testimonies and memoirs. The only book on the Holocaust listed in the bibliography of the 1990 edition is Hilberg's classic, in which, as we have seen, there was no room for a discussion of OUN. No works in Polish were cited. The result was a study that had very little to say about OUN operations against Poles and Jews.<sup>55</sup> The ethnic cleansing of the Poles was given cursory treatment, based entirely on German sources, on a few pages.<sup>56</sup> The question of OUN involvement in the pogroms of 1941 was discussed in one paragraph.<sup>57</sup> Like most scholars at that time, Armstrong did not understand the distinction between the militias organized by OUN and the later Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. He did, however, make mention of some anti-Jewish rhetoric employed by OUN.<sup>58</sup>

Armstrong wrote a rather sympathetic narrative of the nationalists, emphasizing their valor in fighting against two such powerful enemies as the Germans and the Soviets. He did not go far enough to please all the nationalist veterans, who felt, particularly, that he underestimated their success outside western Ukrainian lands. Yevhen Stakhiv, a leading figure in the OUN-B expeditionary movement in the south and one of the major proponents of the UHVR, made this objection,<sup>59</sup> as did Shankovsky in his history of the expeditionary groups. In fact, Shankovsky decided to write his history in the first place as a corrective to Armstrong's narrative.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Bahrianyi, "Natsional'na ideia i 'natsionalizm,'" in Bahrianyi, *Publitsystyka*, 63.

<sup>54</sup> Armstrong, "Heroes and Human."

<sup>55</sup> As I wrote in 2010: "In the mid-1980s the Solidarity underground in Poland wanted to publish texts about Ukrainian nationalism and requested through an intermediary, the late Janusz Radziejowski, that I convey to them copies of Armstrong's book as well as Alex Motyl's *Turn to the Right*. After reading them in Polish translation, Janusz wrote to me in 1988 that for all the scholarly value of these books, he was very disappointed that they took no cognizance of the tremendous tragedy of the Jews." Himka, "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Unwelcome Elements," 87. This criticism was unfair in relation to Motyl's book, which only encompassed the period through 1929. For more on Armstrong's position, see Berkhoff and Carynyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists," 175 n. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 110-12.

<sup>57</sup> Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 54, 56 (a map appears on p. 55). See below, xxx.

<sup>58</sup> Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 79 n. 28, 118.

<sup>59</sup> Dobrovol's'kyi, *OUN na Donechchyni*, 294 (reprint of excerpts from Stakhiv's memoir of 1956).

<sup>60</sup> Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 85-86, 94, 101-02, 147.

Another noteworthy study of Ukrainian nationalism from this period was Alexander J. Motyl's *The Turn to the Right*. It only covered the story up through the founding of OUN in 1929, so it was more of a prehistory than a history in relation to the theme of my own book. But it was important for its exploration of the ideological sources of Ukrainian nationalism and its interpretation of where Ukrainian nationalism stood in relation to the fascist movements emerging in Europe at that time. *Turn to the Right* was based on wide-ranging consultation of contemporary Ukrainian-language press and brochures as well as scholarly works on Ukrainian history and on right-wing and fascist ideology outside Ukraine. Its appearance in 1980, at a time when academic Ukrainian studies were just taking off in North America, meant that it gained considerable attention. Although later in life Motyl became an apologist for OUN, this first work was quite balanced.

An exceptionally well informed book from this period came out in Poland in 1973 and covered OUN and UPA from the 1920s into the postwar period. Antoni Szcześniak and Wiesław Szota's *Droga do nikąd* (The Road to Nowhere) had an interesting, and rather sad, history. It was primarily based on Szcześniak's doctoral dissertation, but Szota wrote the introductory section on the interwar period. The text tried to work within the constraints of what could be said and what could not be said when Poland was a communist country within the Soviet orbit.<sup>61</sup> The reason this was tricky is that parts of what used to be Poland were now in the Ukrainian SSR, and the text had to avoid any suggestion that these territories were in some sense Polish. Thus, the events of 1939 were presented from a Soviet perspective: the alliance between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union was glossed over and the population of western Ukraine was depicted as fervently desiring to be joined with Soviet Ukraine. But try as they did, the authors were unable to construct a narrative of OUN and UPA that the Soviets found acceptable. After the direct intervention of the Soviet embassy, the book was withdrawn from circulation as "harmful for current party propaganda"; the Soviets feared that "the book can be used propagandistically by the Ukrainian emigration in its fight against the Soviet system." The authors suffered for their mistakes, being pushed to the margins of the Polish scholarly establishment.<sup>62</sup> (Not many years later I heard that Szota committed suicide, but I cannot confirm this.) Aside from its ideological contortions, which of course included a less than even-handed and objective treatment of OUN and UPA, the work had things to offer. It made use of abundant materials in Polish archives, materials that at that time Western scholars did not have access to. The Ukrainian journalist and memoirist Ivan Kedryn Rudnytsky characterized the volume thus: "Although the tendency of this book is bad because -- as the authors themselves declare in the introduction -- they examined the problem 'through the prism of Marxism-Leninism,' nonetheless in it was gathered a mass of factual documentary-informational material -- more than can be found in all the nationalist literature."<sup>63</sup> Kedryn did not explicitly mention it, but Szcześniak and Szota were very well aware of how Poles and Jews suffered at the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists and wrote about these matters in some detail.

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<sup>61</sup> "...The authors have been guided, and this needs to be strongly emphasized, by Marxist-Leninist criteria in the national question and in the evaluation of social problems." Szcześniak and Szota. *Droga do nikąd*, 6.

<sup>62</sup> Nowak, "'Droga do nikąd.'" This is a review of a reprint of *Droga do nikąd* in 2013.

<sup>63</sup> Kedryn Rudnyts'kyi, *Zhyt'ia -- podii -- liudy*, 356.



As is clear from the case of *Droga do nikqd*, the Soviets had many sensitivities around the history of OUN and UPA, and it is not surprising that no real scholarship on the nationalists appeared in the Soviet Union. Aside from other considerations, the Soviets did not want to disturb the myth of a united Soviet people in struggle against the fascist occupiers by writing about collaboration with the Germans and about a powerful anti-Soviet movement. The Soviets cloaked OUN and UPA under the term "Ukrainian-German fascists" and were silent about their influence on the Ukrainian population during the war. And in addition, the Soviet authorities did not permit scholarship on the Holocaust. In fact, the subject of the Holocaust made them uncomfortable.<sup>64</sup> It singled out the suffering of the Jews instead of the whole Soviet people, and this particular narrative of suffering could feed into Jewish nationalism, i.e., Zionism. In the postwar period Soviet anti-Zionism could be quite shrill and antisemitic.

But there was an exception to the Soviet reticence on our topic. Beginning in the 1970s, the Soviets published tracts on Ukrainian nationalist participation in the Holocaust and other war crimes. Several were published under the name Valerii Styrkul in the 1980s, after the airing of the influential television miniseries, *Holocaust* (NBC, 1978), which heightened American interest in Nazi atrocities.<sup>65</sup> Styrkul concentrated on the Waffen-SS Division Galizien rather than on OUN itself. But the earliest and most influential of these tracts was *Lest We Forget*, signed by the Ukrainian-American communist Michael Hanusiak (first edition 1973).<sup>66</sup> *Lest We Forget* did publish documentary evidence of OUN antisemitism, notably extracts from the autobiography of OUN leader Yaroslav Stetsko from July 1941, in which Stetsko endorsed German methods of annihilating Jews.<sup>67</sup> The book also contained documents and testimony on crimes committed by both OUN and by Ukrainian police units in German service with OUN connections. However, these documents were unverifiable by scholars, since the archives they were housed in were closed to researchers. And the presentation was so heavy-handed and one-sided that scholars treated his revelations with scepticism or outright rejection.<sup>68</sup>

In fact, the brochure *Lest We Forget* was the product of a KGB operation. The head of the Ukrainian KGB, Vitalii Fedorchuk, wrote about it to the first secretary of the Ukrainian party, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, in a memorandum dated 27 December 1973. It is worth quoting *in extenso*:

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<sup>64</sup> Gitelman, "Politics and the Historiography of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union." Amar, "Disturbed Silence."

<sup>65</sup> On developments in America, see the classic study by Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*.

<sup>66</sup> There is an obituary of Hanusiak in the communist newspaper *People's World*: "Michael Hanusiak."

<sup>67</sup> To be discussed below, xx-xx.

<sup>68</sup> "Hanusiak's publication is utterly tendentious, and I refer to it with great caution." Weiss, "Jewish-Ukrainian Relations," 420 n. 36. Weiss's article cited here was originally delivered as a paper at a conference on Ukrainian-Jewish relations in 1983. At the same conference, during the roundtable discussion, I am recorded as having said: "...no matter how one claims that one is careful about this source, Hanushchak [sic] being a Ukrainian communist front, cannot be believed and one shouldn't even mention it in a text." "Round-Table Discussion," 494.

Earlier the KGB of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR reported that in order to incite enmity between Ukrainian nationalists and Zionists in the USA the brochure *Lest We Forget* was published in English; the publication exposes, on the basis of documents, the participation of OUNites during the Second World War in the mass destruction of the peaceful population, including in so-called "Jewish actions"....

As "author" and publisher of the brochure figured one of the leaders of the progressive Ukrainian organizations, the League of American Ukrainians.<sup>69</sup> In recent years he has visited Ukraine and can thus explain how he obtained the materials utilized in the brochure.

In order to popularize the brochure, the "author," at our recommendation, engaged one of the progressive Jewish activists of New York in the capacity of "copublisher."<sup>70</sup> The joint action of progressive Ukrainian and Jewish organizations in the USA against the OUNites as war criminals has had a certain political effect....

Since the demand for the brochure has exceeded the number printed, the Ukrainian and Jewish progressive organizations are preparing a second edition....

Given the interest in the brochure shown in the USA and Canada, measures are being taken by us to collect additional materials on the participation of nationalists in the eradication of the Jewish population for publication abroad.<sup>71</sup>

As the letter indicates, propaganda publications of this sort were intended for export and were published in the English language.

After surveying the state of the historiography before the 1990s, it should become apparent that it was very difficult at that time to arrive at a clear understanding of the behavior of OUN and UPA during the Holocaust. The Jewish scholars who came from the western Ukrainian territories were aware of the nationalists' violence against the Jewish population, but they had too little knowledge of the nationalist movement to flesh out what happened. They could not rely on the histories written by nationalist veterans, since the latter completely denied any responsibility for the persecution and murder of the Jewish population. Nor was Armstrong's scholarly study any help in this regard. Mainstream Holocaust history, as exemplified by Hilberg, did not have the conceptual framework and an inclusive enough source base to even consider investigating the role of OUN and UPA. Publications emanating from or inspired by the communist bloc were discounted by Western scholars; and in addition, the best informed of them, Szcześniak and Szota's *Droga do nigdy*, was very difficult to obtain.

## The Collapse of Communism in Europe

A decisive turn in the historiography resulted from the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1989-91. The opening of the Polish,

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<sup>69</sup> The organization was originally founded as the United Ukrainian Toilers Organization in 1924 and renamed the Union of Ukrainian Toilers in 1938 and the League of American Ukrainians in 1940. Kuropas, Myron B. *The Ukrainian Americans*, 184, 196.

<sup>70</sup> This was Sam Pevzner, a writer who contributed to such communist publications as *The Daily Worker* and *Jewish Life*. He had been subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist propagandist in 1958.

<sup>71</sup> HDA SBU, fond 16, op. 4, spr. 2, tom 2, ff. 275-76.

Romanian, Slovak, and Soviet archives made available to scholars a vast amount of fresh material to understand the Holocaust in the east of Europe and the activities of Ukrainian nationalists.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the political restraints on research were removed. Scholars in the postcommunist sphere could now write whatever they wished, free from censorship and communist party control. Polish scholars no longer had to refrain from writing about the fate of Poles in territories that were once in the Soviet Union but now formed parts of independent Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine.<sup>73</sup> Even Ukrainian nationalists had been worried about writing their own history as long as Ukraine was communist, since revealing too much could lead to reprisals against nationalists and their families still residing in Soviet Ukraine.<sup>74</sup> Now those fears were gone. The result of the new sources and new freedoms was the blossoming of a diverse historiography that related to the question of the Ukrainian nationalists and the Jews during the Holocaust.

The first to professionally mine the new sources were two German scholars, Thomas Sandkühler and Dieter Pohl, who each produced a German-sized monograph on the Holocaust in Galicia, in 1996 and 1997 respectively. Both followed the practice of what was then mainstream Holocaust historiography: they downplayed victims and their testimony and relied heavily on documents emanating from German structures. Pohl argued that the attitudes of the autochthonous, non-Jewish population were relatively unimportant in determining the general course and final outcome of the mass murder in Galicia: essentially the German occupation authorities made the decisions and executed them themselves. Whether resisting or aiding the Germans in the murder, the actions of what Pohl called "the Christian population" were of secondary importance in influencing events.<sup>75</sup> Pohl characterized the Bandera faction of OUN as antisemitic for much of the war, particularly in the spring and summer of 1941 and again, as the Soviets closed in, in 1944; in 1942-43 OUN distanced itself from the Germans' murder of the Jews.<sup>76</sup> (At this time Ukrainian opinion in general cooled towards the Germans and their "final solution.")<sup>77</sup> Pohl was not able to link the OUN directly to any concrete war crimes. His treatment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in relation to the Holocaust reached no clear conclusion.<sup>78</sup> In my own review of Pohl's book, I characterized it as follows: " This is an ambitious and pioneering work. It is not a synthesis based on a corpus of pre-existing monographs; instead, it attempts a comprehensive portrayal of the Holocaust in Galicia largely on the basis of primary sources. It opens the field for further, in-depth monographic research of specific problems and incidents."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> The kinds of sources made available by the momentous changes of 1989-91 will be described later in this Introduction; see xx-xx.

<sup>73</sup> The fact that "today" (the mid-1980s) Volhynia "lies outside the Polish territory poses delicate political problems for Polish authors." Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Mirchuk, *Narys*, 9. Herasymenko, *Orhanizatsiia Ukrain's'kykh Natsionalistiv*, 4. Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni hrupy*, 184, 198, 266, 291, 302 nn. 100-01, 329.

<sup>75</sup> Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 316.

<sup>76</sup> Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 40, 48-49, 375, 382.

<sup>77</sup> Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 316-17.

<sup>78</sup> Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 374-75.

<sup>79</sup> Himka, Review of Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, 99.

It was in this period too that Jeffrey Burds began to lecture and write about OUN and UPA in an entirely new vein. Although the texts he published then did not directly concern the Holocaust but rather focused on the immediate postwar period,<sup>80</sup> they demonstrated that sources in the newly opened post-Soviet archives could provide a much deeper knowledge of the nationalists' actions than other historians had ever imagined. Also, his revelations about the ruthlessness of OUN and UPA helped break the spell of the nationalists' own historiography.

Directly related to wartime OUN's Jewish politics was a documentary publication by Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk: the full text, or rather texts, of the July 1941 autobiography of nationalist leader Yaroslav Stetsko, mentioned above in connection with Michael Hanusiak and to be discussed in some detail below.<sup>81</sup> In their introduction to the autobiography Berkhoff and Carynnyk surveyed some of OUN's anti-Jewish pronouncements, which they found to be written in "vicious language" and to be encouraging "a deadly antisemitism."<sup>82</sup>

Martin Dean's *Collaboration in the Holocaust* investigated the actions of local police in certain regions of Belarus and Ukraine during the Nazi occupation. Although a very valuable study, it exemplified a trend that was still strong in the 1990s: Dean studied the Holocaust in Eastern Europe without knowledge of the relevant East European languages. Dean was trained in history (his first book was on Austrian policy during the late-eighteenth century wars with revolutionary France) and was then employed in the war crimes unit in Scotland Yard. He moved from there to the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC, where he has continued to write and compile impressive works on Holocaust history. *Collaboration in the Holocaust* was based on archival sources and eyewitness testimonies. It outlined the influence of OUN on the local Ukrainian police in German service and the role of those policemen later in UPA. But his work focused on areas outside the center of OUN and UPA activity, which was Galicia and Volhynia.

With the weakening and then total collapse of the Soviet system, OUN and UPA came under reexamination in Ukraine. After decades of condemnation of the nationalist organizations, calls for rehabilitation emerged in the public discourse, particularly in the Lviv newspaper *Za vil'nu Ukrainu*.<sup>83</sup> Already in March 1990, the foremost proponent of reform in Soviet Ukraine, Rukh (*Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy* -- People's Movement of Ukraine), raised the issue of the nationalists' political rehabilitation.<sup>84</sup> Before long, the government began to turn to Ukraine's scholarly establishment to advise on the issue. On 12 June 1991 the head of the commission on defence and state security of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, Vasyl Durdynets, wrote to the Ukrainian academy of sciences with the request to find someone to prepare a background paper on OUN, UPA, and the Waffen-SS Galicia Division. The task was entrusted to Viktor Koval, a historian in his mid-seventies with a specialty in the history of the Second World War. Koval had studied in his native Kyiv and worked there in the academy's

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<sup>80</sup> Burds, "AGENTURA." Burds, *Early Cold War*. Burds, "Gender and Policing."

<sup>81</sup> See xx, xx-xxx.

<sup>82</sup> Berkhoff and Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists," 152-56; quotations 156.

<sup>83</sup> Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, 79-165.

<sup>84</sup> Kul'chyts'kyi, *Orhanizatsiia ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv i Ukrain'ska povstans'ka armiia. Fakhovyj vysnovok*, 40.

Institute of the History of Ukraine. The text he produced, already by 1 July, argued that "OUN and UPA conducted a national-liberation struggle for the construction of a sovereign and democratic Ukraine, in which people of all nationalities would enjoy the same political and social rights." Durdynets repudiated the report and demanded that the academy withdraw it and replace it with another. The academy complied immediately, formally withdrawing Koval's report on 3 July.<sup>85</sup> But the OUN-UPA issue would not go away for the Ukrainian public, government, or academia. In particular, veterans' groups -- Red Army veterans and UPA veterans -- were confronting one another, especially on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of UPA in 1992. In 1993 the Verkhovna Rada again decided that there was a need to investigate the legacy of OUN-UPA, but the efforts of a parliamentary committee proved insufficient to the task. Finally, in 1997 a working group of historians, under the leadership of Stanislav Kulchytsky, was tasked with unearthing the true history of OUN-UPA and evaluating its heritage. The task proved more complicated than anyone expected, and the commission made no concrete progress until the early 2000s.

A few studies related to our topic did appear in Ukraine in the 1990s. Yakov Khonigsman's short book on the Catastrophe of Lviv Jewry, which came out in 1993, built on earlier studies, especially on the works of Philip Friedman and Tatiana Berenstein (unavailable to me), as well as on a modest selection of documentation from Lviv archives. It made little use of memoirs and testimonies. In fact, in the foreword to the book, Bogdan Semenov stated that the volume "is not written from the words of eyewitnesses, where in the main the element of subjectivity or emotionality figures," but "according to the materials of archival documents."<sup>86</sup> Khonigsman avoided the topic of any OUN involvement in the events he described. Khonigsman later, in 1998, published a book that looked at the Holocaust across Western Ukraine, encompassing the Ukrainian historical regions of Galicia, Volhynia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, but primarily concentrating on Galicia. This book made more use of survivor testimonies and was more deeply researched in archives, principally in the Lviv archives, but also in those of Kyiv and elsewhere. In this book Khonigsman pointed out how antisemitic OUN was.<sup>87</sup> Like many other historians before him, he did not differentiate the militia established by OUN from the Ukrainian auxiliary police established later by the Germans; hence he ascribed crimes of the militia to the auxiliary police.<sup>88</sup> Khonigsman had nothing to say about UPA and the Jews.

More interesting was a book on "the behavior of the local population of Eastern Galicia in the years of the 'final solution of the Jewish question'" -- Zhanna Kovba's *Liudianist' u bezodni pekla* (Humaneness in the Abyss of Hell) published in 1998 by the Judaica Institute in Kyiv. Kovba conducted extensive archival research, consulting in particular the records of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police in the State Archive of Lviv Oblast and OUN documents in the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (TsDAVO). She

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<sup>85</sup> Koval', "Za shcho i z kym borolysia OUN-UPA." Quotation, 92. Koval's original report is reprinted in this article, 95-116. An entire section of Koval's report, "What Did UPA Fight for?" (112-14), is simply a long extract from the OUN program of August 1943.

<sup>86</sup> Khonigsman, *Katastrofa I'vovskogo evreistva*, 2.

<sup>87</sup> Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy*, 76, 122.

<sup>88</sup> Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy*, 113, 125.

consulted Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian memoirs and also interviewed many people from throughout Galicia who lived through the events of World War II. It was a book with an openly declared agenda: to destroy "the two fundamental deceitful myths which impede objective perception of the relations among peoples in these difficult times: that Ukrainians were almost the instigators of German crimes against the Jews...; that Jews were guilty of annihilating Ukrainians under Soviet rule."<sup>89</sup> And although Kovba had a tendency to make generalizations and prefer evidence that showed both Ukrainians and Jews in a favorable light,<sup>90</sup> she also included information that went against the grain of her overall interpretation. She was unwilling to hazard an evaluation of OUN's stance and actions during the Jewish tragedy because she found the evidence too contradictory; more research was required in order to make sense of things.<sup>91</sup> What comes through most clearly in Kovba's book is the mixed feelings of the 1990s: with the collapse of communism, both Jewish suffering and Ukrainian suffering were being articulated, and it was difficult to afford recognition to and reconcile them both.

The emergence of a cult of OUN and UPA in Ukraine provoked a reaction from a maverick within the Ukrainian diaspora in North America, Viktor Polishchuk. Polishchuk had been born into an Orthodox family in Volhynia, but in 1940, during the first period of Soviet rule in the region, he and his mother and siblings were deported to Kazakhstan. (His father had been arrested by the Soviets in 1939 and was never seen again.) They were allowed to return to Ukraine after the Soviet reconquest in 1944, but to Dnipro oblast rather than Volhynia. In 1946 the family moved to Poland (Polishchuk's mother was Polish). Polishchuk studied law there and worked as a lawyer and a prosecutor; but after he openly declared his Ukrainian nationality in 1956 he was fired from the prosecutor's office and endured other instances of discrimination. In 1981 he emigrated to Canada, where, being very particular about proper Ukrainian usage, he worked as an editor in Ukrainian-language media. Based in Toronto and well informed through his work about Ukrainian diaspora life, he came into contact with nationalist circles; he had not been acquainted with nationalists in Ukraine or Poland. Although he had no personal experience of what OUN-UPA had done in Volhynia during the war, he knew from friends and relatives that the nationalists had slaughtered many of the former Polish inhabitants of Galicia, including members of his own extended family.<sup>92</sup>

A follower of the debates in Ukraine after the fall of communism, he was very upset by prominent political and cultural figures calling for the rehabilitation of OUN and UPA and blamed the Ukrainian diaspora for reintroducing nationalism to Ukraine.<sup>93</sup> This is what

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<sup>89</sup> Kovba, *Liudianist' u bezodni pekla*, 203.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Kovba sometimes suggested that the Poles, not the Ukrainians, were the real antisemites (e.g., 116). In her opinion, while the Polish and Jewish press printed tendentious accounts of the pogroms of 1917-20, Ukrainian publications offered "objective information" (29-30). She stated (29) that the "educated, tolerant Greek Catholic clergy was in its large majority free of antisemitic superstitions," but see the attempt in 1930 to prove the reality of the blood libel by the young Basilian monk Irynei Nazarko, "Piznaimo zhydiv!" (After World War II Nazarko became an influential church historian in the Ukrainian diaspora.)

<sup>91</sup> Kovba, *Liudianist' u bezodni pekla*, 224, 228-29.

<sup>92</sup> Polishchuk, *Hirka pravda*, 30-39, 215-16.

<sup>93</sup> Polishchuk, *Hirka pravda*, 20-22, 25-26, 57, 245, 437-38.

provoked him to write *Hirka pravda* (Bitter Truth), published at his own cost in 1995. (The book appeared in Polish in the same year and later in an English translation.) The text was an indictment of OUN and UPA for the mass murder of the Polish inhabitants of Volhynia. At this time, by his own admission, Polishchuk did not have enough material to write about UPA's murder of Jews and others,<sup>94</sup> but later on he found plenty of relevant documentation.<sup>95</sup> His 1995 text did not yet use archival material, although he hoped that soon such material would become available.<sup>96</sup> Later Polishchuk did gain access to the relevant archival documents and cited and reproduced them in his publications. But the 1995 text was based entirely on published sources as well as some personal communications.

Polishchuk's book was not well received by Western, Ukrainian, or Polish historians, even though Polishchuk wrote from an anti-Soviet perspective and was careful to make a distinction between Ukrainians as such and OUN.<sup>97</sup> The prolific Canadian historian of modern Ukraine David Marples categorized the book as differing little from the Soviet perspective "in terms of the one-sidedness of the outline."<sup>98</sup> Volodymyr Serhiichuk, a pro-nationalist Ukrainian scholar best known for numerous documentary compilations on modern Ukrainian history, devoted a short book to a refutation of Polishchuk's *Hirka pravda*.<sup>99</sup> Polishchuk himself he called a "supposed Ukrainian" (*nibyto ukrainets*). Iurii Shapoval, one of the first Ukrainian historians to work with NKVD documents, rejected Polishchuk's work as anti-Ukrainian.<sup>100</sup> The dean of Lviv's Ukrainian historians, the late Iaroslav Isaievych, labeled Polishchuk "a 'professional' of anti-Ukrainian hysteria."<sup>101</sup> Polish specialists in modern Ukrainian history were of a similar opinion. Ryszard Torzecki called him a former prosecutor for the NKVD (which he was not) and felt that he "was not worth talking about."<sup>102</sup> His views were also criticized by Rafał Wnuk, although not as vehemently: "W.Poliszczyk holds a special place among the non-scientists. As a Ukrainian politologist who deals, so to speak, 'scientifically' with the problem of Ukrainian nationalism, he is sometimes seen as a credible person."<sup>103</sup> Both Shapoval and Torzecki equated Polishchuk with a much less credible writer, the propagandist Edward Prus.

In my opinion, this was not a fair equation. There are one-sided authors, and there are unbalanced authors. Prus, unfortunately, belonged to the latter category. In communist Poland he specialized in propaganda against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church and Ukrainian

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<sup>94</sup> Polishchuk, *Hirka pravda*, 10.

<sup>95</sup> Kulińska, "Dowody zbrodni."

<sup>96</sup> Polishchuk, *Hirka pravda*, 12, 26.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. Polishchuk, *Hirka pravda*, 22. His insistence on the innocence of the local Volhynian population and the guilt of the Galician nationalists led him to state categorically, and unfortunately incorrectly, that the local population of Volhynia took no part in the mass murder of the Jews, only the auxiliary police set up by OUN. *Ibid.*, 342.

<sup>98</sup> Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, 208. I also had been dismissive of Polishchuk's publications until I began my own research on the role of OUN and UPA in the Holocaust.

<sup>99</sup> Serhiichuk, *Nasha krov -- na svoii zemli*, 4.

<sup>100</sup> Shapoval, "Chy podolano 'volyns'kyi syndrom'?"

<sup>101</sup> Isaievych, "1943 rik."

<sup>102</sup> Torzecki, "Mav ia do dila z endets'kym murom."

<sup>103</sup> Wnuk, "Recent Polish Historiography," 10.

nationalists and continued in the same vein after communism's collapse; in both eras he was closely associated with the Polish nationalist right. Prus had been born in and survived the war in Galicia. As a teenager he joined in the defence of Poles threatened by UPA and later fought UPA in the "destruction battalions" (*istrebitel'nye batal'ony*).<sup>104</sup> He later emigrated to Poland, earned a doctorate at the University of Warsaw, held various academic posts -- none of any prominence, and wrote prolifically.

The book most relevant to the concerns of this monograph is Prus's *Holocaust po banderowsku* (Holocaust Banderite-Style), published in 1995. Among much else, the book included an account of a meeting Prus claimed he had in London with Karl Popper, whom he described as "undoubtedly one of the most outstanding Jewish thinkers of the twentieth century." According to Prus, Popper called him, i.e., Prus, "the most outstanding expert in this area [the history of UPA] in Poland, and not only in Poland." Also, Popper supposedly expressed amazement that the president of Ukraine at that time, Leonid Kravchuk, had not condemned the murders perpetrated by Ukrainian nationalists against Jews and Poles. "And he warned the Jews that they should stop playing together with Ukrainian nationalists at the expense of the Poles, because this fraternization with criminals under the flag of totalitarianism is a blind alley, a road to nowhere."<sup>105</sup> To me, this account sounds like a fantasy or at least a hearty embellishment. (Popper passed away shortly before *Holocaust po banderowsku* was published.)

I think there was also a strong dose of fantasy in the "evidence" he brought to bear. Much of what he had to say was based on personal communications in his possession and was therefore uncheckable. Sometimes he gave proper citations for material he quoted, but in other cases he offered no citations whatsoever. For example, *Holocaust po banderowsku* contained a long quotation very relevant to the theme of this study attributed to Mykhailo Stepaniak, a member of the central OUN leadership captured by the Soviets; the quotation concerned the Third Extraordinary Congress of OUN (August 1943).<sup>106</sup> Prus gave no citation, although presumably the text would have been taken from the record of one of Stepaniak's interrogations. I have not, however, been able to find the passage Prus quoted in the archival record of Stepaniak's interrogation of 25 August 1944<sup>107</sup> nor in published versions of his interrogations.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the quoted passage refers to the presence of Ivan Mitrynga at the congress, which seems highly unlikely, given that Mitrynga had broken with the Banderites in September 1941 and had joined forces with Taras Bulba-Borovets, a rival of the Banderites. It seems to me that the passage was the product of a vivid imagination rather than an excerpt from a genuinely existing document.

Moreover, he wrote in a style that had more in common with biblical prophecy than with historical scholarship. Referring to Stella Krenzbach, an alleged Jewish veteran of UPA to

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<sup>104</sup> The destruction battalions were militias that the Soviets organized to fight the nationalist insurgency after the reconquest of Western Ukraine. Many of the fighters were recruited from the Polish minority. On the battalions, see Statiev, *Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 209-29.

<sup>105</sup> Prus, *Holocaust po banderowsku*, 186-87.

<sup>106</sup> Prus, *Holocaust po banderowsku*, 156.

<sup>107</sup> HDA SBU, fond 13, spr. 372, vol. 1, ff. 21-59.

<sup>108</sup> "Vytiah z protokolu dopytu chlena tsentral'noho provodu OUN M. Stepaniaka." *Pol'shcha ta Ukraina u trydsiatykh-sorokovykh rokakh XX stolittia*, 220-72, 442-44.



whom is attributed a memoir praising the Ukrainian nationalists,<sup>109</sup> Prus stated that she acted "undoubtedly from a whisper from Satan, because Satan directed the hand of the genocidaire of Polish and Jewish children," that she was guilty of "blaspheming against Yahweh."<sup>110</sup> He also speculated that the apocalypse predicted by St. John was not a once and final confrontation between good and evil but came in installments, one of which was the era of UPA. It was a time "of three clearly apocalyptic figures, as Hitler, Stalin, and [UPA commander Roman] Shukhevych-'Chupryna,' and of three hells let loose in the cause of and with the active permission of those who supported them: Nazis, Bolsheviks, and Ukrainian chauvinists."<sup>111</sup> In sum, Prus's texts are untrustworthy and will not be cited in the narrative that follows.

## A Conceptual Turn: Jan Gross's *Neighbors*

The publication of Jan Gross's short but explosive book *Neighbors* in 2000-01<sup>112</sup> transformed the historiography of the Holocaust as it transpired in Eastern Europe, including in Ukraine. The book described vividly, graphically how Poles in Jedwabne murdered the town's Jewish inhabitants in July 1941. It generated immense commentary and controversy, but the primary matters of contention (the number of victims and the presence or absence of Germans) have little bearing on how it affected historiography. There were three aspects of *Neighbors* that were revolutionary, even if they were not without some antecedents. The first was the focus on non-German participation in the extermination of the Jewish population. One might say that this turned the spotlight on the "microbiota" of the world war and the Holocaust, that is, on non-state actors following their own agendas, which sometimes involved the murder of Jews. In particular, Gross directed attention to the anti-Jewish violence of the summer of 1941, shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union but before the German leadership took the decision to kill all of European Jewry. Thus in the early twenty-first century a large literature on the pogroms and related anti-Jewish violence in Western Ukraine appeared.<sup>113</sup> Particularly noteworthy was Kai Struve's detailed historical account of the violence across Galicia, which brought many new sources to bear and revealed the important role of German actors in the pogroms, especially the soldiers of Waffen-SS Wiking.<sup>114</sup> The interest in the pogroms also led to renewed research on one of their contextual factors, the mass murder of thousands of political prisoners by the NKVD, which occurred at different sites in western

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<sup>109</sup> As we will see below, xxx-xx, Stella Krenzbach and her memoir were Ukrainian nationalist fabrications.

<sup>110</sup> Prus, *Holocaust po banderowsku*, 164.

<sup>111</sup> Prus, *Holocaust po banderowsku*, 189.

<sup>112</sup> The Polish version appeared first, in 2000, the English version a year later.

<sup>113</sup> Boll, "Złoczów" (2002); Bechtel, "De Jedwabne à Zolotchiv" (2005); Carynnyk, "Zolochiv movchyt'" (2005); Struve, "Ritual und Gewalt" (2005); Pohl, "Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Western Ukraine" (2007); Himka, "Dostovirnist' svidchennia" (2008); Kopstein and Wittenberg, "Deadly Communities" (2010); Kruglov "Pogromy v Vostochnoi Galitsii" (2010); Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941" (2011); Lower, "Pogroms" (2011); Struve, "Rites of Violence?" (2012); Rossoliński-Liebe, "Der Verlauf und die Täter" (2013); Struve, "Tremors in the Shatter-Zone of Empires" (2013); Kopstein and Wittenberg, *Intimate Violence* (2018).

<sup>114</sup> Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft, ukrainischer Nationalismus, antijüdische Gewalt* (2015).

areas of Ukraine between the launch of the German invasion and the evacuation of Soviet forces.<sup>115</sup>

The second way in which Gross's little volume was revolutionary was that it placed the history of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe firmly within East European studies. Gross was an East Europeanist. Until *Neighbors* he was best known for two studies of Polish territories under German and Soviet occupation. He knew the languages, historical context, social relations, and culture of Poland before he embarked on his studies of the Holocaust and postwar antisemitism. He had earned his doctorate at Yale in 1975, and his book on Polish society under German occupation appeared four years later. He had behind him a quarter century of publications on Polish sociology and modern history before he published *Neighbors*. He had not dealt with the Holocaust in his earlier work, and when he finally came to that theme he brought a wealth of training and scholarly experience to it. Until *Neighbors*, East European studies and Holocaust studies had been on separate tracks. Friedman and Spector were Holocaust specialists; they came from Eastern Europe and so knew the languages and cultures, but their scholarly interests did not extend beyond Jewish history. Armstrong was an East Europeanist, but he avoided dealing with the Holocaust. Hilberg wrote his great work without much knowledge of Eastern Europe and sometimes operated with stereotypes.<sup>116</sup> After *Neighbors* a number of persons trained in East European studies undertook work on the Holocaust. Aside from myself, examples include Kai Struve, who wrote an excellent study of peasant and nation in late nineteenth-century Galicia before he turned to an examination of the pogroms of 1941, and Per Anders Rudling, whose doctoral dissertation concerned the development of Belarusian nationalism but who also worked on OUN-UPA and the Holocaust. What had occurred as a result of Gross's intervention was that the Holocaust in Eastern Europe had begun to be treated as a part of East European history. One could no longer just parachute intellectually into an East European locality and follow what the Germans did there -- one had to have deeper contextual knowledge. In 1992 Christopher Browning published his pathbreaking study of Holocaust perpetrators, *Ordinary Men*. It followed a German reserve police battalion as it murdered its way through Poland but did not cite any sources in Polish. No one in the 1990s thought this unusual. But when, at the end of the 1990s, Omer Bartov decided to write a history of interethnic relations and the Holocaust in the small Galician town of Buchach, the demands of scholarship were different. The immersion in the languages and cultures and physical space of

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<sup>115</sup> Himka, "Ethnicity and the Reporting of Mass Murder" (2013); Kiebusinski and Motyl, *The Great West Ukrainian Prison Massacre* (2017); Struve, "Masovi vbyvstva v"iazniv." Among earlier works on the same subject are Gross, *Revolution from Abroad* (1988), 144-86, and Romaniv and Fedushchak, *Zakhidnoukrains'ka trahediia* (2002).

<sup>116</sup> "The Ukrainians had never been considered pro-Jewish. Ukraine had been the scene of intermittent pogroms and oppression for 300 years. On the other hand, these people had no stamina for the long-range systematic German destruction process. Short violence followed by confession and absolution was one thing, organized killing was quite another." Hilberg, *Destruction*, 545. Aside from the essentialism here, Hilberg seemed unaware that some Ukrainians had proven quite capable of long-range systematic and organized killing -- of the Polish population of Volhynia and Galicia.

Galicia required a large investment of time. In the end, it took this prolific author two decades to write his microhistory, *Anatomy of a Genocide*.

The third revolutionary feature of Gross's book was that it reintegrated victims' testimony into mainstream Holocaust scholarship, after decades of marginalization. His particular views on survivors' testimony will be discussed in the next chapter, on sources, but the overall point is that he demonstrated the crucial importance of moving beyond what perpetrators had to say and listening also to the victims. Christopher Browning exemplifies the change of attitude. When he wrote *Ordinary Men* back in the early 1990s, he did not use any testimonies or other first-person documents other than those of the perpetrators. But in the twenty-first century he has become a major advocate of reintegrating victim narratives into Holocaust studies. In a lecture he delivered at the USC Shoah Foundation in March 2018, he said:

Using survivor testimony has difficulties....It is problematic evidence. But all historical evidence is problematic in one way or another. Anybody who relies on uncomplicated evidence isn't going to be able to write history. But the issue is not do we use it, but how do we use it. To not use survivor memories is to lose whole areas of the Holocaust that we have no other set of evidence for.<sup>117</sup>

The present monograph comes out of the post-*Neighbors* consensus: it examines non-German perpetrators, it proceeds from immersion in regional history and culture, and it makes copious use of testimonies and related ego documents. This is now becoming, at least in the West, the main stream of scholarship on the Holocaust in Ukraine and is represented by many, and diverse, practitioners, including Omer Bartov, Delphine Bechtel, Jeffrey Burds, Marco Carynnyk, Jared McBride, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, Per Anders Rudling, and Kai Struve. Scholars sharing the same consensus have also been studying the Holocaust on territories adjacent to Ukraine, notably Diana Dumitru, Jan Grabowski, and Vladimir Solonari. A few other traits of this scholarly trend need to be mentioned. One is that it is in constant dialogue with Western scholarship on the Holocaust as well as with the historiography on twentieth-century Ukraine -- in Western academia, the Ukrainian diaspora, and in Ukraine itself. The main languages of its publications are English and German, but many of its texts have been translated into Ukrainian as well as Polish and Russian. The representatives of this historiographical tendency are critical of both the nationalists and their interpretation of the past.

Close to the group described above are other Western historians who have made important contributions to the history of the Holocaust in Ukraine. Wendy Lower has written on German perpetrators, co-edited a collective monograph on the Shoah in Ukraine as well as edited an English translation of one of the few diaries of a Jewish victim of the Holocaust in Galicia; she has also written on the bloody summer of 1941 in Ukraine. Vladimir Melemed, originally from Lviv and the author of a Russian-language history of Lviv's Jewish community, has written an original study of Ukrainian collaboration in the Holocaust based on the oral histories collected by the USC Shoah Foundation.

In the past few decades Polish historiography on OUN and UPA has been extensive and has been mainly concerned, of course, with the nationalists' slaughter of the Polish population

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<sup>117</sup> "Christopher Browning Talks."

in Volhynia and Galicia in 1943-44. One of the most important Polish historians working in this area is Grzegorz Motyka. His major study *Ukraińska partyzantka* (The Ukrainian Partisan Movement) contains a chapter on UPA and the Holocaust, but like Dieter Pohl a decade earlier he was unable to arrive at clear conclusions.

Contemporary Polish historiography remains divided over the scholarly contributions of Jan Gross. *Neighbors* has had, and continues to have, a controversial reception in Poland. Some prominent Polish historians and intellectuals reject Gross's work,<sup>118</sup> but mostly in consideration of what it says or implies about Polish society. Worth singling out is Bogdan Musial's "*Konterrevolutionäre Elemente sind zu erschießen*", an informative study of the violence -- Soviet, Nazi, and Ukrainian nationalist -- in the summer of 1941. It originally appeared in August 2000 and was less antagonistic to Gross's scholarship than Musial's later texts and those of other Polish historians in his camp (such as Marek Jan Chodakiewicz). But "*Konterrevolutionäre Elemente sind zu erschießen*" has been criticized by Western scholars for exaggerating the role of Jews in the Soviet apparatus in Eastern Poland/Western Ukraine in 1939-41 and thus implying a certain justification for the pogroms that broke out in the wake of the German invasion.<sup>119</sup>

## The Rehabilitation of OUN and UPA in Ukraine

An even more important division has been created by the recrudescence of a pro-OUN historiography, this time in Ukraine rather than in the diaspora. It is a historiography that takes little notice of Western scholarship, except occasionally as an irritant. It also neglects or rejects the use of contemporary testimony by persons of non-Ukrainian ethnicity, such as Poles and Jews. It does not conceal its political purpose, the exposition of a heroic national myth. Although it is not without genuine achievements, from the point of view of historical scholarship it is a historiographical silo.

As mentioned earlier, in the 1990s Ukraine's parliament, as a response to calls to rehabilitate OUN-UPA as well as to protests of Red Army veterans and others against such rehabilitation, looked to Ukraine's historians to investigate the historical role of the nationalists and to provide information on which a decision could be based. In 1997 a working group was set up, headed by Stanislav Kulchytsky. Kulchytsky has been something of a "court historian" for several decades. In the mid-1980s he had been part of a Soviet Ukrainian commission to refute allegations that there had been a manmade famine in Ukraine in 1932-33. Later, when Ukraine became independent, and especially when President Viktor Yushchenko (2005-10) made the famine, the "Holodomor," a central component of his historical and identity politics, Kulchytsky

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<sup>118</sup> See Polonsky and Michlic, *The Neighbors Respond*; Forum on Jan Gross's *Neighbors*; Michlic, "Coming to Terms with the 'Dark Past'"; Törnquist-Plewa, "The Jedwabne Killings." The government of the rightist, nationalist Law and Justice Party in Poland initiated libel proceedings against Gross in 2015 and attempted to strip him of his Order of Merit in 2016, but backed down in the face of protests. At issue was not *Neighbors* alone, but two other books by Gross, *Fear* and *Golden Harvest*.

<sup>119</sup> Pohl, review of "*Konterrevolutionäre Elemente sind zu erschießen*" and Rudling, "Bogdan Musial and the Question of Jewish Responsibility."

changed his views and became the chief historian of the famine and a strong proponent of the idea that the Holodomor was a genocide.

The working group produced two key texts in 2000-05 that were meant to clarify the history of OUN and UPA and provide expert guidance on the evaluation of the nationalists. The first of these texts, *Problema OUN-UPA*, was produced in 2000 and intended as a preliminary outline of the issues.<sup>120</sup> A not unsimilar document was produced in 2005, which bore the subtitle "expert conclusion" (*fakhovyi vysnovok*) but actually made no overt recommendations.<sup>121</sup> In addition to these more programmatic documents, the working group published a collective monograph on the history of OUN and UPA.<sup>122</sup> Much of the text of the two shorter, programmatic publications was drawn word for word from the collective monograph. The collective monograph in turn was drawn from more extensive studies by working-group members that preceeded the collective monograph. Particularly useful for this book were the substantive treatments of OUN and UPA by Anatolii Kentii and Ivan Patryliak. Although the oeuvre of members of the working group tended to have a generally positive attitude toward the nationalists and played down their dark sides, it harvested much rich material from post-Soviet Ukrainian archives.

The working group did not explicitly call for the rehabilitation of OUN and UPA, but that was clearly the direction in which their endeavors pointed. They were academics drafted to provide historical answers to a political question that has divided Ukrainian public discourse ever since it became possible to freely discuss the nationalist heritage. Their work had nothing at all to say about antisemitism as a component of OUN ideology or about OUN-UPA participation in the Holocaust. In fact, the Holocaust itself is scarcely mentioned in their texts, although these texts all focus on World War II and on Ukraine, where a million and a half Jewish people were murdered. This omission can partly be explained by the working group's overall tendency to whitewash the nationalists' record. For example, it treated UPA's mass murder of the Polish population as a tragedy rather than a crime. It saw both Poles and Ukrainian nationalists as culpable in the violence, and it denied that the mass murder had anything to do with a nationalist ethnic cleansing project.<sup>123</sup> But perhaps at least equally important was another factor, namely the terms of the political debate into which the historians were asked to intervene. The "expert conclusion" defined the parties to the dispute as "adherents and opponents of the nationalists, veterans of OUN and the CPSU, of UPA and the Soviet army."<sup>124</sup> European norms, including European concerns about the Holocaust, were absent from the

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<sup>120</sup> Kul'chyts'kyi, *Problem OUN-UPA*.

<sup>121</sup> Kul'chyts'kyi, *Orhanizatsiia ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv i Ukrains'ka povstans'ka armiia. Fakhovyi vysnovok*.

<sup>122</sup> Kul'chyts'kyi, *Orhanizatsiia ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv i Ukrains'ka povstans'ka armiia. Istorychni narysy*.

<sup>123</sup> "Thus, the struggle of OUN-UPA was not about the destruction of the Poles as an ethnic minority on the territory of Ukraine, but about the removal of the 'Polish factor' as a weapon in the hands of the enemies of the Ukrainian liberation movement," i.e. the Germans and the Soviet partisans. Kentii in Kul'chyts'kyi, *Problem OUN-UPA*, 89-90.

<sup>124</sup> Kul'chyts'kyi, *Orhanizatsiia ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv i Ukrains'ka povstans'ka armiia. Fakhovyi vysnovok*, 3.

context. The working group was responding to the critique of the nationalists developed by the Soviets, who were not concerned with the Holocaust at all, nor with antisemitism, nor even -- considering Stalinism's own record -- with mass murder and ethnic cleansing. The working group was simply not thinking in a wider context. Most of the members of the working group were themselves products of the Soviet educational system and socialization. Kulchytsky and Kentii, perhaps the most influential individuals within the group, were both born in 1937. Four other historians who contributed to the collective monograph were born between 1955 and 1967, and thus were products of the Soviet higher educational system (Volodymyr Dziobak, Ihor Iliushyn, Heorhii Kasianov, Oleksandr Lysenko). The only member whose formative period was post-Soviet was Patryliak, born in 1976. Thus, the questions with which the working group wrestled were mainly those posed by the previous Soviet discourse. Hence for them, issues of treason to the motherland were much more important than whether OUN and UPA participated in the destruction of the Jewish population of Ukraine.

Political developments in Ukraine affirmed the working group's attitude to OUN and UPA. The Orange Revolution of November 2004 brought Viktor Yushchenko to the presidency of Ukraine. He made Heroes of Ukraine of both Roman Shukhevych, the commander of UPA, and of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the most important faction of OUN. As he was leaving office in 2010 he urged Ukrainians to name streets and public places after the heroes of OUN-UPA.<sup>125</sup> His successor as president, Viktor Yanukovich, rolled back the cult of OUN, but it returned with new energy after the victory of the Euromaidan in 2014.<sup>126</sup>

The working group was based in the Institute of the History of Ukraine in the academy of sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv. Another, younger group of historians, based in the academy's Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Lviv, embraced OUN and UPA even more forthrightly. The leader of the Lviv group was Volodymyr Viatrovych, who was just twenty-five when he founded the Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement in 2002. Viatrovych remained director of the Center until 2008 when he was appointed head of the archive section of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, established by President Yushchenko. Shortly thereafter Viatrovych was also appointed head of the SBU archives. He became even more influential after the Euromaidan and at this writing heads the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory. He has consistently promoted the cult of OUN and UPA, downplaying their wartime crimes.<sup>127</sup> He and his associate Ruslan Zabily, who directs the pro-OUN Lontsky prison museum in Lviv,<sup>128</sup> have excellent connections with the Ukrainian diaspora in North America. They have spoken a number of times at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; both of these institutes have partnerships with the Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Amar et al., *Strasti za Banderoiu*. Arel, *Ukraine List*, nos. 441 and 442.

<sup>126</sup> On historical politics in independent Ukraine, see Kasianov, "History, Politics and Memory."

<sup>127</sup> See McBride, "How Ukraine's New Memory Commissar Is Controlling the Nation's Past"; McBride, "Who's Afraid of Ukrainian Nationalism?" 657-62; Himka, "Legislating Historical Truth."

<sup>128</sup> Himka, "The Lontsky Street Prison Memorial Museum."

<sup>129</sup> The partnerships are featured on the Center's website, [www.cdvr.org.ua](http://www.cdvr.org.ua) (accessed 12 October 2018).

Of the publications of the Lviv group, the most relevant to our topic is Viatrovych's book on OUN's attitude toward Jews, which came out in 2006.<sup>130</sup> It sought to exonerate OUN and UPA from accusations of antisemitism and participation in the Holocaust, but it had serious flaws as a scholarly monograph. It handled sources in a one-sided manner, rejecting the authenticity or relevance of sources that confirmed OUN's hostility to Jews while accepting as valid a fabricated memoir by an alleged Jewish member of UPA.<sup>131</sup> The latter was the only alleged Jewish survivor testimony that the book cited. It cited no sources or secondary literature in German or English, nor did it take into account contextual or comparative factors that would have helped illuminate the issues. Also, it was apparent that Viatrovych could not recognize antisemitism when it appeared in OUN texts.<sup>132</sup> Viatrovych's book did, however, contribute to initiating a larger discussion about OUN and the Jews, and it published as an appendix two OUN texts on the subject.

Other historians working within a generally nationalist paradigm were more careful scholars than Viatrovych. In particular, Andrii Bolianovsky, also based in Lviv, published a number of useful, well researched articles on Galicia under German occupation and -- most important -- two detailed monographs on Ukrainian military and police units in German service.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, other Lviv historians have written quite critically of OUN, including Marta Havryshko, who has published on the situation of women in UPA, and the prominent essayists and bloggers Yaroslav Hrytsak<sup>134</sup> and Vasyl Rasevych.<sup>135</sup> Oleksandr Zaitsev, at this writing head of the history department at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, has done particularly valuable work on OUN prior to 1941, including a detailed survey of integral nationalist ideology<sup>136</sup> and the publication of a text by a leading member of OUN advocating the ethnic cleansing of Ukraine.<sup>137</sup>

At present, some of the best researched and frankest discussion of OUN and Holocaust perpetration is being conducted in Ukraine by scholars younger than all the other Ukrainian scholars mentioned so far. An outstanding figure is Yuri Radchenko of Kharkiv, who knows *all* the languages necessary for Holocaust research, not only Slavic and Western languages but Hebrew and Yiddish as well. He has researched the Holocaust in Kharkiv and the Donbas and the memory politics surrounding the nationalists and their collaboration in the Holocaust, and he has broken new ground by working on the Melnyk wing of OUN in relation to the Holocaust.<sup>138</sup> Other younger, up-and-coming scholars are doing exciting work as well, although much of what they have discovered has so far only been presented in unpublished papers. Andrii Usach started his scholarly career in the pro-OUN Center for the Study of the Liberation

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<sup>130</sup> V'iatrovych, *Stavlennia OUN do ievreiv*.

<sup>131</sup> These are discussed in the next chapter, xx-xxx.

<sup>132</sup> Himka and Kurylo, "Iak OUN stavylasia do ievreiv?"

<sup>133</sup> Bolianovs'kyi, *Dyviziiia "Halychyna"*; Bolianovs'kyi, *Ukrains'ki viis'kovi formuvannia*.

<sup>134</sup> Hrytsak, *Strasti za natsionalizmom*.

<sup>135</sup> E.g. Rasevych, "L'vivs'kyi pohrom"; Rasevych, "Vyverty propahandy."

<sup>136</sup> Zaitsev, *Ukrains'kyi integral'nyi natsionalizm*.

<sup>137</sup> Zaitsev, "Defiliada v Moskvi ta Varshavi"; Zaitsev, "Voienna doktryna."

<sup>138</sup> He has also written his own account of the historiography. Radchenko, "Ukrainian Historiography."

Movement in Lviv, but left that organization and now is assembling the most intimate portraits yet of Ukrainian Holocaust perpetrators.<sup>139</sup> Roman Shliakhtych of Kryvyi Rih has also been working on local perpetrators, particularly Ukrainian policemen in German service.<sup>140</sup> These excellent young historians -- and I am sure there are more of whom I am unaware -- are certain to redefine the contours of Ukrainian historiography on OUN and UPA and their relation to the Holocaust.

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<sup>139</sup> Usach, "Chy mozhemo pochuty holos."

<sup>140</sup> Shliakhtych, "Arkhivno-slidchi spravy politsaiv"; Shliakhtych, "Stvorennia ta funkcionuvannia"; Shliakhtych, "Uchast' mistsevoi dopomizhnoi politsii."



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