“Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes!”
The Portrayal of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Museums of Lviv

by

Matthew R. Ostapchuk

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Department of History and Classics
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the portrayal of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the museums of Lviv, Ukraine. Founded in 1929 by veterans of the Polish-West Ukrainian War and nationalistic student associations, the primary objective of the OUN was to attain a sovereign and united Ukrainian state. The OUN is an exceptionally controversial group. Though it is currently venerated within the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative – which predominates in Western Ukraine (more specifically, Galicia) and in the Ukrainian diaspora in North America – for allegedly paving the way for Ukrainian independence, the OUN has not always been afforded such adoration and its place in history remains contested. While many Galician Ukrainians lionize the OUN as heroic freedom fighters and martyrs, other ethnic groups and Eastern Ukrainians tend to remember the OUN for its collaboration with Nazi Germany and its atrocities committed against Poles and Jews. The OUN holds an exceedingly prominent place in the collective memory of the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv. The city's numerous museums devoted to Ukraine's so-called "Liberation Struggle" serve as mass disseminators of the valiant portrayal of the OUN to the general public. The problem is that the public has neither the comprehensive understanding of Ukraine's complicated wartime history, nor the historical training necessary to effectively analyze the museums' representation(s) of the OUN. This thesis attempts to answer two questions: First, how is the OUN portrayed in Lviv's museums? Second, does this portrayal accurately represent the OUN? In order to address these questions, this thesis examines the city's four most prominent museums related to Ukraine's Liberation Struggle: the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum, the Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army] Roman Shukhevych, the Lviv Historical Museum's Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation

and Independence exhibit, and the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. This thesis argues that the OUN is consistently portrayed as a heroic organization in the museums of Lviv. The museums glorify the OUN for leading Ukraine's Liberation Struggle against the oppressive occupation regimes and highlight the martyrdom of OUN members for an independent Ukraine. This valiant portrayal does not accurately represent the OUN. This thesis elucidates that Lviv's museums, rather than providing nuanced accounts of the OUN, misrepresent the organization's relationship with Nazi Germany and expunge acts of OUN perpetration.

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INTRODUCTION

The Ukrainian Military Organization (*Ukrayins'ka Viys'kova Orhanizatsiya*, UVO), headed by veterans of the Polish-West Ukrainian War, united with nationalistic student organizations in 1929 to found the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Orhanizatsiya Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv*, OUN).[1] Guided by the Decalogue of the Ukrainian nationalist, the OUN's primary objective was to attain a sovereign and united Ukrainian state. Yury Boshyk explains that, "The Decalogue was the OUN's statement of principles, which every OUN member was expected to memorize. It was written by a leading member, Stepan Lenkavsky (1904-77), and first published as an insert in the underground newspaper *Surma* in the summer of 1929."[2] The ten commandments of the Ukrainian nationalist are:

1. You will attain a Ukrainian State or die in battle for it.
2. You will not permit anyone to defame the glory or honour of your nation.
3. Remember the Great Days of our struggles.
4. Be proud that you are the inheritor of the struggle for Volodymyr's Trident.
5. Avenge the deaths of the Great Knights.
6. Do not speak about matters with anyone, only those with whom it is essential.
7. Do not hesitate to undertake the most dangerous deeds, should this be demanded by the good of the Cause.
8. Treat the enemies of your nation with hatred and ruthlessness.
9. Neither pleading, nor threats, nor torture, nor death shall compel you to betray a secret.

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[1] Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, *Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground 1943-1951*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), xiii.

[2] Yury Boshyk, ed., *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), 173.

10. Aspire to expand the strength, riches, and size of the Ukrainian state *even by means of enslaving foreigners*.[3]

Commanded underground by Yevhen Konovalets', founder and leader of the UVO, the OUN spent years duelling with Polish intelligence agencies. Per Anders Rudling suggests that political organizations of Western Ukraine, such as the OUN, "were formed under and often in response to Polish oppression during the inter-war period."[4] Initially, radical nationalist groups such as the OUN had limited support; however, as increasingly repressive Polish policies undermined the more liberal and mainstream Ukrainian nationalist organizations, support for the OUN continued to grow. The progressively more authoritarian Polish government influenced the OUN in two ways: first, it produced an influx of support for the OUN; second, it served to further radicalize the OUN. Alexander Motyl explains:

> Confronted with overt discrimination against Ukrainians and the progressive deterioration of the already unsatisfactory economic conditions of the Ukrainian population as well as frustrated by the Polonization of Ukrainian schools and the inability to advance in a society whose all but lowest tiers were largely closed to them, the embittered students immediately joined the ranks of Poland's implacable enemies and sought radical solutions to their problems, which they identified with the problems of the Ukrainian nation.[5]

On 23 May 1938, the NKVD assassinated the leader of the OUN, Yevhen Konovalets', in Rotterdam. A power struggle ensued between a younger generation of Ukrainian nationalists with good connections in Polish Ukraine and an older generation of

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[3] David Marples, "Stepan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 58, No. 4 (June 2006), 558-559. Emphasis added by cited author.

[4] Per Anders Rudling, "Theory and Practice: Historical representation of the wartime accounts of the activities of the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army)," *East European Jewish Affairs* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006), 165.

[5] Alexander Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929* (Boulder Colo.: East European Monographs; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1980), 139.

emigrants.[6] In February 1940, the OUN fractured into two intramural factions, the younger generation led by Stepan Bandera and the older generation led by Andrii Mel'nyk. The OUN formally divided in April 1941, after years of infighting. The younger more radical and impatient group came to be known as the OUN(b) after their leader, Stepan Bandera; the older more restrained group came to be known as the OUN(m), after Andrii Mel'nyk. Rudling remarks that, "There is considerably more literature on the Bandera faction, since their impact was larger, and they acted more independently from the Nazis than the mysterious and secretive OUN(m)."[7] While both factions of the OUN collaborated with the Germans to some extent, the OUN(m) was principally collaborationist, while OUN(b) had a tortuous relationship with Nazi Germany.

The OUN is currently venerated in Western Ukraine (more specifically, Galicia)[8] and in much of the Ukrainian diaspora in North American for allegedly paving the way for an independent Ukrainian state. At present, statues can be found throughout Galicia memorializing the OUN, particularly the OUN(b). A profusion of monuments revere Bandera, and multiple streets and museums are named in his honour (Figure 1). On 22 January 2010 (the anniversary of Ukraine's independence declaration in 1918), just before his 2010 election defeat, President Viktor Yushchenko posthumously awarded Bandera the title of Hero of Ukraine. Yushchenko's action sparked outrage and controversy both internationally and within Ukraine. Eleonora Narvselius suggests that, "The chief object of controversy within the political and public discourses is, however, not the symbolic

[6] Timothy Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," *Past & Present* 179 (2003), 206.
[7] Rudling, "Theory and Practice," 166.
[8] Galicia includes the three western oblasts of Ukraine: Ivano-Frankivs'k, Lviv, and Ternopil'. Lviv also includes the former Drohobych Oblast, which existed between 1939 and 1959. For further disambiguation, see John-Paul Himka, "The History behind the Regional Conflict in Ukraine," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 2015), 130.

proportions of the leader of the ideologically split OUN, but rather [the] evaluation of his legacy in present-day Ukraine (and, in projection, in Europe and Russia), in whose different parts his name is either synonymous with 'national hero' or with 'nationalist cut-throat'."[9] Those who adhere to the latter perspective condemn the OUN for its collaboration with Nazi Germany and its atrocities committed against Poles and Jews.

Equally controversial is the glorification of the OUN's military wing, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia*, UPA). In 2007, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Roman Shukhevych, the commander-in-chief of the UPA, the Ukrainian government minted postage stamps and coins in his honour. Yushchenko had also earlier posthumously awarded Shukhevych the title of Hero of Ukraine, "For outstanding contribution to the national struggle for the freedom and independence of Ukraine."[10] In accordance with the domestic and international indignation caused by the act, recently ousted Russophile President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, supported a court decision to annul the honour stating that, "People themselves become heroes. No one can give them these titles. But if we look at our past history and build our future based on this history, which had numerous contradictions, we will rob our future, which is wrong."[11] While many Galicians lionize the UPA as freedom fighters, others remember the group for its ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943.

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[9] Eleonora Narvselius, "The 'Bandera Debate': The Contentious Legacy of World War II and the Liberalization of Collective Memory in Western Ukraine," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes* Vol. 54, No. 3 (September 1, 2012), 472.

[10] "Ukaz prezydenta ukrayiny No. 965/2007: Pro prysvoyennya R. Shukhevychu zvannya Heroy Ukrayiny," Ofitsiyne Predstavnytstvo Prezydenta Ukrayiny, accessed March 24, 2015, http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/6808.html.

[11] "Yanukovych backs decisions stripping Shukhevych, Bandera of hero titles," Kyiv Post, accessed April 5, 2014, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/yanukovych-backs-decisions-stripping-shukhevych-ba-110072.html.

FIGURE 1 Monument to Stepan Bandera, Lviv, Ukraine. Author's photograph, taken July 27, 2014.

The OUN holds an exceedingly prominent place in the collective memory of the city of Lviv, Ukraine. In addition to operating out of – and acting within – the city, the OUN declared an independent Ukrainian state in Lviv on 30 June 1941. Members of the OUN are predominantly remembered as national heroes within the city. The city's numerous museums devoted to Ukraine's so-called "Liberation Struggle" serve as mass disseminators of the

heroic portrayal of the OUN to the general public. The problem is that the public has neither the comprehensive understanding of Ukraine's complicated wartime history, nor the historical training necessary to effectively analyze the museums' representation(s) of the OUN.

This thesis attempts to answer two questions. First, how is the OUN portrayed in Lviv's museums? Second, does this portrayal accurately represent the OUN? In order to address these questions, this thesis examines the city's four most prominent museums related to Ukraine's Liberation Struggle: the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum, the Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA Roman Shukhevych, the Lviv Historical Museum's Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence exhibit, and the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. In order to provide the context necessary to understand the intricacies of the controversy surrounding the OUN, a historiographical survey precedes the examination of Lviv's museums (which begins in Chapter One).

The first chapter of this thesis analyses the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum. The museum – which is housed in the historic building in which the Polish, Soviet, German, and "second" Soviet occupation regimes each detained political prisoners – centres on three themes: the occupation history of the building (and by extension, the occupation history of the city of Lviv), the repressive nature of life within the prison, and the NKVD mass shooting of prisoners in late June 1941. The first section of the chapter provides an overview of the history of the building, the second section details the content of the exhibition itself, and the third section analyzes the museum's narrative. The chapter concludes that the museum emphasizes Ukrainian suffering and presents the OUN as martyrs of the Ukrainian liberation movement while minimizing the suffering of other ethnic groups. It also demonizes the

occupation regimes while concealing the atrocities committed by the OUN against Lviv's Jewish population at Lonts'kyi Street Prison.

The second chapter examines the Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA Roman Shukhevych. Situated in the final safe house in which Shukhevych was killed, the museum is comprised of two floors. The ground floor showcases the family, life, and political and military activities of Shukhevych, while the second floor is a memorial dedicated to his furtive existence within the safe house. The first section of the chapter describes the museum and the second section critiques it. The chapter determines that the museum venerates Shukhevych and the UPA as freedom fighters while vilifying Poles and Soviets; it additionally underscores Ukrainian suffering while excluding Shukhevych's role and activities with Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 during the year of 1942, and the UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943.

The final chapter addresses the Lviv Historical Museum's two exhibitions devoted to Ukraine's Liberation Struggle – the Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence exhibit, and the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. Both exhibitions are chronological representations of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, highlighting the various actors and organizations involved. The first and second sections of the chapter provide summaries of the Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence exhibit and the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, respectively. The third section of the chapter is a combined analysis of the two exhibitions. The chapter concludes that the exhibitions spotlight the heroism of the OUN and the other members of the Ukrainian liberation movement while focusing, once again, on the brutality of the occupation regimes. Both exhibits emphasize Ukrainian victimization and conceal atrocities committed by Ukrainians.

This thesis argues that the OUN is consistently portrayed as a heroic organization in the museums of Lviv. The museums glorify the OUN for leading Ukraine's Liberation Struggle against the occupation regimes and highlight the martyrdom of OUN members for an independent Ukraine. This valiant portrayal does not accurately represent the OUN. Rather than providing a nuanced account, the museums expunge acts of OUN perpetration and misrepresent the organization's relationship with Nazi Germany. While members of the OUN gave their lives for an independent Ukraine, they, contrary to the museums' accounts, also inflicted heavy casualties.

Historiography

The OUN is an exceptionally controversial group. While the organization is regarded as heroic in the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative,[12] which is predominant in Galicia and in the Ukrainian diaspora in North America, a group of scholars (whom I refer to as the Revisionist group)[13] paint the OUN in a different light. These scholars challenge the collective memory of those who prefer to remember the OUN as a heroic group, and emphasise that the OUN increasingly turned to violence and terrorism as means to achieve their goal of ethnic homogeneity. This confrontation has created a dichotomous discourse concerning the place of the OUN in the complex national history of Ukraine.

Understanding the collective memory (more accurately, memories) of Ukrainians both in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian diaspora is of paramount importance to understanding the polemics of the Revisionist scholars. To start, Eastern and Western Ukraine developed along very different paths and as a result have divergent collective memories concerning the OUN, which was very much a Western Ukrainian creation (due to various reasons,[14] national consciousness was much stronger in Western Ukraine than in Eastern Ukraine). While in Galicia "a hagiographic paradigm"[15] of the OUN exists, "Eastern Ukrainians remain suspicious of Galician-based nationalism and condemn the OUN for its collaboration with

[12] When referring to the proponents and propagators of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative, or the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative itself, I use "Nationalist" with a capital "N." When using the term "nationalist" more generally, I use a lower case "n."
[13] Due to the limited scope of this section, the so-called Revisionist scholars that I will discuss are: Karel C. Berkhoff, Marco Carynnyk, John-Paul Himka, Wendy Lower, Eleonora Narvselius, Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe, Per Anders Rudling, and Timothy Snyder.
[14] For a detailed description of the environment from which radical nationalistic ideologies emerged in Western Ukraine, and notably not in Eastern Ukraine, see John-Paul Himka, "Western Ukraine in the Interwar Period," *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 22, No. 2 (September 1, 1994): 347-363.
[15] Narvselius, "The 'Bandera Debate'," 472.

the Nazis and perpetration of atrocities against Poles and Jews."[16] Central to the Ukrainian diaspora in North America's collective memory of the Second World War is what John-Paul Himka refers to as the "Ukrainian victimization narrative."[17] In short, he problematizes the tendency to focus solely on the hardships and brutalities suffered by Ukrainians, while refusing to acknowledge atrocities perpetrated by Ukrainians. After Ukraine gained independence in 1991, the Ukrainian victimization narrative was imported back to Ukraine. Himka argues that, "The Ukrainian victimization narrative is morally and intellectually flawed to the extent that it exaggerates its own historical victimization and obstructs a realistic examination of the past."[18] It is the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative's focus on OUN heroism and Ukrainian victimization that the Revisionist scholars attempt to counterbalance with what they perceive to be a more holistic and nuanced understanding of Ukraine's wartime history.

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[16] Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 207.
[17] John-Paul Himka, "War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora," *Spaces of Identity* Vol. 5, No. 1 (April 2005): 9-24.
[18] John-Paul Himka, "Victim Cinema: *Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in World War II – The Untold Story*," in *A Laboratory of Transnational History*, ed. Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther, 211-24 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2009), 220.

Soviet Narrative

In order to understand fully the discourse between the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative and the Revisionist narrative, a third perspective needs to be considered, namely the Soviet narrative. Soviet accounts of the OUN and UPA depicted them as bandits, terrorists, traitors, fascists, and henchmen of the Nazis. This viewpoint resonated throughout the Soviet publication, *News from Ukraine.*[19] Discussing the OUN's cooperation during the Nazi invasion in June 1941, Volodimir Zamlynsky reported that: "As soon as the fascists stepped on Soviet Ukraine's territory, these criminal nationalist formations zealously got down to their duties: organized reprisals against those who were dissatisfied with the occupational regime, murdered Soviet servicemen who were trying to break out of encirclement, plundered and exterminated Soviet intelligentsia and activists."[20] Analysing the UPA, Klym Dmytruk asserted that, "From the first days of their existence, the UIA [UPA] bands were a tool of the nazi special services, engaged in sabotage and spying, an instrument of the nazi-declared all-out war."[21] Additionally, while considering the leaders of the OUN, Les Kyryk claimed that, "it is clear that Melnyk with his henchmen, as well as his rival Bandera & Co., bent over backward in order to surpass each other in sickening outpourings of loyalty to their nazi bosses, in attempts to please them, to guess their thoughts and wishes."[22]

Soviet accusations against the OUN culminated in 1986 (marking the 40th anniversary of the Nuremburg Trials) during a renewed torrent of war crimes investigations. A series of formulaic appeals to leaders of Western governments, endorsed by Ukrainian public

[19] *News from Ukraine* was a weekly periodical published in Kiev by the Ukraina Society for the English-speaking Ukrainian diaspora in North America. In addition to informing the diaspora community about current events and issues in Ukraine, *News from Ukraine* also served to disseminate Soviet ideology abroad.
[20] Volodimir Zamlynsky, "OUN: History of Treason," *News from Ukraine,* No. 50 (Special Insert), 1978, 9.
[21] Klym Dmytruk, "Facts against UIA's "two fronts"," *News from Ukraine* (courtesy of *Pravda Ukrainy*), No. 49, 1984, 7.
[22] Les Kyryk, "Branded with swastika," *News from Ukraine,* No. 44, 1984, 7.

assemblies in various villages, townships, and districts in Soviet Ukraine, called for the extradition of alleged Ukrainian war criminals living abroad, a large proportion of whom were members of the OUN.[23] One appeal, addressed to the Canadian government, called for the return of a former…

> head of the so-called '*boyivka'* [gang of terrorists] of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which left behind blood-covered trails on the territory of numerous towns and villages of our [administrative] region… this Hitlerite hangman and OUN thug has not been made to face justice in retaliation for the atrocities he committed upon our soil… the [accused]-led OUN gang perpetrated acts of terrorism and other hair-raising atrocities.[24]

This account is suspiciously similar to other appeals, such as one that recounted that "OUN thugs left blood-covered tracks upon our soil, on a par with the Nazi expert killers."[25] Each appeal typically included: a generic greeting to the leader of the foreign country, a statement that the accused left a trail of blood on Ukrainian soil and that the accused's hands are washed in blood, a mention of the accused's victims, a statement that the crimes will not be forgotten, and a demand that on the goodwill of the country the alleged traitor be handed over to face Soviet justice. The similarities found in these appeals, which were endorsed by a variety of districts, raises the issue of the amount of involvement that the local population had in drafting the letters and the extent to which the letters reflected the sentiment of the "Ukrainian people," and not Soviet ulterior political motives. Consistent with the Soviet publication, *News from Ukraine,* these petitions portrayed the OUN as "cutthroats" who

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[23] *Ukrainian People Accuse…,* (Lviv: Kamenyar Publishers, 1987).
[24] *ibid.,* 31. (Brackets already in text)
[25] *ibid.,* 70.

"share their 'experience' in the extermination of defenseless humans – women, children, and elders."[26]

While some Soviet accusations against the OUN were against named people concerning specific events, other Soviet accusations appear to be attempts to discredit the nationalist group as a whole and border on the ludicrous. These accounts went as far as to describe the OUN as otherworldly monsters, as "vampires"[27] and "murderous werewolves."[28] The actions that the accusers described are equally monstrous:

> In the dead of night some months ago, a group of armed men burst into her home not far from the town of Sarny, and brutally murdered her parents. Struck with horror, the girl watched the death agony of her father and mother.
>
> One of the bandits put the sharp edge of his knife to the child's throat, but at the last moment he came up with another "idea."
>
> "Go on, live to the glory of Stepan Bandera!" he said. "And so that you won't die of hunger, we'll leave some food for you. Come on boys, chop up some pork for her!.."
>
> The "boys" liked the idea. They took the pots and pans down from the racks, and in a matter of minutes a heap of meat cut from the bleeding bodies of her father and mother was placed before the girl, who was on the verge of collapse from horror.
>
> This is the point to which these degenerates and bandits who call themselves the Ukrainian nationalists have come.[29]

The author, Yaroslav Halan, does not provide a citation to trace and evaluate the claim. Who was the family "not far from the town of Sarny"? Who were the individual perpetrators? The nameless family can be understood as a synecdoche for the Soviet population; the beastly

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[26] *ibid.,* 77.
[27] Yaroslav Halan, *Lest People Forget: Pamphlets, articles and reports* (Kiev: Dnipro Publishers, 1986), 74.
[28] Oles Honchar, as cited in Volodimir Zamlynsky, "OUN: History of Treason," *News from Ukraine,* No. 50 (Special Insert), 1978, 5.
[29] Halan, *Lest People Forget,* 32.

perpetrators are the nationalistic enemies of the Soviet state. The Soviet narrative is filled with politicized attacks against the so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."[30]

[30] Orest Mykhailyuk, "At liberty with facts," *News from Ukraine* (abridged from *Molod Ukrainy*, Jan. 25, 1984), No. 6, 1984, 7.

Ukrainian Nationalist and Revisionist Discourse

Early works of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative can be understood as a response to, and a negation of, the Soviet narrative. Discussing post-war Ukraine and the Soviet narrative, Volodymyr Serhiychuk – a Ukrainian historian, writer, and politician – notes that, "when Ukraine lost its statehood, the world immediately forgot the name of its people, and those who enslaved our ancestors tried to insult their names, degrading our great European nation."[31] Considering the symbolic proportions of Stepan Bandera and the portrayal of Bandera within the Soviet narrative, Nationalist historian Volodymyr Kosyk asserts:

> For much of the population, he is the hero of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. But the great statesmen-imperialists saw him as a dangerous criminal. For them he was dangerous not because he fought with weapons, but because he was selected as the head of the revolutionary leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which from the beginning of the German occupation led the difficult armed struggle for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, and he became a symbol of the struggle against the invaders even after his arrest by the Germans at the beginning of July 1941.[32]

Today, the Revisionists have replaced the Soviets as the primary accusatory force, and contribute to ongoing heated exchanges with the Ukrainian Nationalist camp. Revisionist scholars question the integrity of the OUN and the OUN(b)'s wartime leader, Stepan Bandera, and the suitability of canonizing the OUN and Bandera in Ukraine's collective memory of wartime Ukraine. Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe charges that the OUN adopted a

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[31] Volodymyr Serhiychuk, ed., *Stepan Bandera: U Dokumentakh Radyans'kykh orhaniv derzhavnoyi bezpeky (1939-1959)*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: PP Serhiychuk M.I., 2009), 3.
[32] Volodymyr Kosyk, "Knyzhka pro lyudynu, yaka stala symvolom," in *Stepan Bandera: dokumenty i materialy (1920-1930 rr.)*, comp. Mykola Posivnych (Lviv: n.p., 2006), 3.

"radical national-fascist ideology,"[33] with Bandera as the "fascist-style symbol of the Ukrainian state."[34] Explicitly linking the Ukrainian declaration of statehood to the pogroms against Jews, Rossolinski-Liebe further suggests that, during the early stages of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, "the eagerness of the OUN-B to slaughter Jews… was similar to that of the Nazis."[35] On the other hand, Taras Hunczak – a Ukrainian diaspora scholar in America – not only rejects the notion that Ukrainians established fascist organizations that promoted collaboration with Germany,[36] but also argues that the OUN was pro-democratic and offered equal rights to all national minorities, including Jews, by highlighting the resolutions that were passed at the Third Congress of the OUN, held in August 1943:

> …which not only adopted the principle of democracy as the basic tenet of the future Ukrainian state but also modified its stand on the national minorities in Ukraine. The anti-Jewish resolution of the earlier congress was annulled and replaced by a provision calling for equal rights for all national minorities in Ukraine.[37]

Marco Carynnyk counters Hunczak's claim that the OUN adopted a pro-democratic and racial-liberalist attitude by arguing that the OUN(b) developed two parallel but mutually exclusive programs: one program for external consumption, and another unchanging program for members and supporters.[38] Therefore, the program that Hunczak reports is the former of the two. Carynnyk, discussing the OUN's postwar stance, bluntly concludes that, "Now, after

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[33] Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe, "The "Ukrainian National Revolution" of 1941: Discourse and Practice of a Fascist Movement," *Kritika: Explorations In Russian & Eurasian History* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 2011), 85.
[34] *ibid.,* 89.
[35] *ibid.,* 113.
[36] Taras Hunczak, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations," in *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath,* ed. Yury Boshyk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), 45
[37] *ibid.*, 41.
[38] Marco Carynnyk, "Foes of our rebirth: Ukrainian nationalist discussions about Jews, 1927-1947," *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 39, No. 3 (May 2011), 329.

stereotyping, reviling, and abusing Jews for almost two decades, the OUN had decided to ignore, deny, or falsify all that it had said about them."[39]

It must be noted, however, that all the policies, proclamations, and actions of the OUN(b) – even though Bandera is the namesake of the faction – cannot all be attributed to Bandera himself, and the OUN(b) and Bandera should not be evaluated interchangeably. As David Marples has underlined, from the time that Bandera was arrested after refusing to renounce the declaration of independent statehood, to his release in the autumn of 1944, "Bandera could be no more than a distant observer of these events, although his name was used in Soviet propaganda."[40] Therefore, for example, the OUN-UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in the spring and summer of 1943, which were carried out in Bandera's name, should not be attributed directly to Bandera himself. Yet Bandera's leadership prior to his arrest no doubt had a lasting influence on the actions and policies on the OUN(b) after his arrest.

The Revisionist scholars convincingly argue that the unchecked veneration of the OUN and of Bandera obscures the complexity of the Ukrainian experience during the Second World War and inhibits the possibility of an enriched understanding of the various roles that Ukrainians played. The Revisionist scholars consistently address three points of contention: first, the OUN's pro-German orientation and collaboration with Nazi Germany; second, the OUN's anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish actions; and third, the OUN's anti-Polish sentiment and the UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943. In doing so, the Revisionists create a counter narrative with Ukrainians acting as perpetrators during their collaborationist

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[39] *ibid.,* 345.
[40] David Marples, "Stepan Bandera: In Search of a Ukraine for Ukrainians," in *In the Shadow of Hitler: Personalities of the Right in Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. Rebecca Haynes and Martyn Rady (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 236-237.

activities with Nazi Germany, and also committing atrocities against Jews and Poles on their own accord. I will discuss each of the aforementioned points of contention in turn below.

There is harmony in the Revisionist camp concerning what Himka calls, "the pro-German orientation in the Ukrainian national movement,"[41] so much so that Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, and Per Anders Rudling each quote the same above passage.[42] On the other side of the discourse, in order to rationalize this pro-German orientation and the Ukrainian collaboration with Germany, Peter J. Potichnyj – a prominent Ukrainian diaspora scholar in Canada and former UPA member – has suggested that Ukrainians collaborated with all sides during the Second World War and offers two main reasons:

> First, as one of the world's largest national groups without a sovereign state, Ukrainians did not control their destiny at a crucial time in world history. Second, not unlike Jews, Ukrainians were – and still are – scattered throughout the world; thus in 1939-1945 they can be found in all kinds of places and situations.[43]

In another attempt to reduce the reputed pro-German orientation in the Ukrainian national movement, Mykola Lebed, who assumed command of the OUN(b) after Stepan Bandera's and Yaroslav Stets'ko's arrests, asserted after the war that following the declaration of statehood the organization was "completely independent of all foreign influences and

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[41] John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian Collaboration in the Extermination of the Jews During World War II: Sorting out the Long-Term and Conjunctural Factors," *Zwoje (The Scrolls)* Vol. 3, No.16 (1999): http://www.zwoje-scrolls.com/zwoje16/text11.htm.

[42] Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepys,*" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* Vol. 23, ¾ (1999), 152. Also, Per Anders Rudling, "Theory and Practice: Historical representation of the wartime accounts of the activities of the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army)," *East European Jewish Affairs* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006), 166.

[43] Peter J. Potichnyj, "Ukrainians in World War II Military Formations: An Overview," in *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, ed. Yury Boshyk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), 61.

political or ideological orientations."[44] The typical postwar narrative of former OUN members is that the OUN went into opposition to Germany the moment the Nazis refused to recognize the OUN's declaration of statehood.

Revisionist scholars Berkhoff and Carynnyk turn to Yaroslav Stets'ko's *zhyttiepys* to reaffirm the organization's pro-German leaning. They highlight Stets'ko's assurance that the Ukrainian state would render Berlin military and economic support. The question is, why would a Ukrainian nationalist group support a foreign power such as Nazi Germany? The common thread that ties all of the Revisionist scholars' arguments together concerning the pro-German orientation of the OUN is that the organization saw collaboration with Nazi-Germany as the means to achieving an independent Ukrainian state. Principle was put into practice when thousands of Ukrainians, many encouraged by the OUN, filled the ranks of the auxiliary police and became prominent players in the Nazi occupation.[45]

Revisionist scholars argue that the leaders of the OUN saw cooperation and collaboration with Germany as mutually beneficial, as they were both united in a common struggle against Moscow and Jewry. While the OUN's anti-Soviet wartime orientation is not disputed in Ukrainian collective memory, their anti-Semitic stance is. Hunczak firmly states that, "Neither the Ukrainian underground movement nor any other organizations thus cultivated anti-Semitic programs or policies."[46] Instead, Hunczak argues that Ukrainian-Jewish relations were always shaped by a "*third* factor, a dominant power," be it Polish and tsarist Russia in past centuries, or Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union during the Second

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[44] Mykola Lebed, "Orhanizatsiia protynimets'koho oporu OUN 1941-1943 rokiv," *Suchasnist'* 1-2 (January-February 1983), 154, as cited in, Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepys,*" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* Vol. 23, ¾ (1999), 151.
[45] Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," 210.
[46] Hunczak, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations," 42.

World War.[47] In this vein of thought, Ukrainians did not consciously encourage anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish actions during the Second World War; rather, they "were to act as pawns in the hands of their German masters."[48] Those Ukrainians who did participate in the persecution of Jews are depicted as scoundrels and the exception to the rule.[49]

Rudling also turns to Stets'ko's *zhyttiepys* to stress the OUN's, specifically the OUN(b)'s, deep-seated anti-Semitism. Utilizing the Ukrainian text version of Stets'ko's *zhyttiepys,* as published in Berkhoff and Carynnyk's "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepys,"* Rudling translates and reiterates the following passage: "I… support the destruction of the Jews and the expedience of bringing German methods of exterminating Jewry to Ukraine."[50] In addition to working as auxiliary police and providing Nazi Germany with the manpower necessary to carry out the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question,"[51] Ukrainian nationalists, specifically the OUN(b), used pogroms to advance their ideological and political agendas. Himka, discussing the Lviv pogrom of 1941, argues that, "The Germans created the conditions for the outbreak of the pogrom;" however, it was "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera [that] provided the engine of the pogrom."[52]

The final point of contention that is consistently addressed by the Revisionist scholars is the OUN's anti-Polish sentiment and the UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles. As relations

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[47] *ibid*., 39.
[48] *ibid*., 43.
[49] *ibid.,* 46.
[50] Rudling, "Theory and Practice," 167, citing Yaroslav Stets'ko's *Zhyttiepys,* in Berkhoff and Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews," 162.
[51] Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine,* 51.
[52] John-Paul Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes* Vol. 53, No. 2-4 (June-December 2011), 243.

between Germany and the OUN continued to deteriorate, exacerbated by the German defeat at Stalingrad in February 1943, the OUN(m) remained loyal to the Germans, endorsing the formation of a Galician Waffen-SS unit. On the other hand, the OUN(b) extracted its men from the German auxiliary police for their new army, the UPA. As Snyder remarks, "Ukrainians in the German auxiliary police in Volhynia collaborated in the Final Solution throughout November 1942. In March and April 1943, they provided the bulk of recruits for the OUN-B's new partisan army, the UPA."[53] The OUN(b) organized rebellions at police stations and called on all Ukrainians in the German auxiliary police to desert and join the UPA. By April 1943, the UPA had about 10,000 soldiers in its ranks; by July it increased in size to 20,000 soldiers capable of coordinated action.[54]

When Germany's armies on the Eastern Front retreated in the summer of 1943, and as the Red Army approached, the OUN(b) saw the field open to achieve their goal of ethnic homogeneity and initiated the ethnic cleansing of the remaining Poles in Volhynia. Rudling argues that Ukrainian Nationalist historians "either chose to neglect UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in the summer of 1943, or simply change the focus to Polish terror against Ukrainians."[55] While Nationalist scholars strongly and directly contest Revisionist claims that the OUN was collaborationist and anti-Semitic, they confront claims concerning Ukrainian atrocities committed against Poles in a digressive manner. When the ethnic cleansing of Poles is discussed, the Nationalist scholars turn to the standard Ukrainian victimization refrain. They emphasize that Ukrainians were merely reacting to the atrocities committed by Poles, and that Ukrainians were the real victims. Himka articulates his solution

[53] Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," 211.
[54] *ibid.,* 208.
[55] Rudling, "Theory and Practice," 178.

explicitly, "What I would say is that we need the construction of a more complex, more reflexive, more difficult collective memory."[56]

The Revisionist scholars convincingly argue that certain members of the OUN leadership, and some members more generally, have a history of pro-German, anti-Semitic, and anti-Polish ideologies. They also successfully highlight specific documents that support their claims. Perhaps most damaging to the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative is that the Revisionist scholars also demonstrate how these ideologies translated into OUN stimulated pro-German, anti-Semitic, and anti-Polish actions. The Revisionist scholars have, however, produced a standardized Revisionist narrative that is antithetical to the hagiographic portrayal of the OUN in the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative. They focus on OUN anti-Semitism, Nazi collaboration, and perpetration, while disregarding or minimizing the sacrifices of OUN members in pursuit of an independent Ukraine. The Revisionists have constructed such a forceful counterweight to the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative that neither account alone provides a balanced portrayal of the OUN. Rather than achieving a unified and holistic collective memory of Second World War Ukraine, the Revisionists have produced a dichotomous understanding of the OUN, an understanding that many Ukrainians find irreconcilable. Hero or villain, victim or perpetrator, much work still needs to be done to reconcile these disparate portrayals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

[56] Himka, "War Criminality," 17.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LONTS'KYI STREET PRISON MUSEUM

The Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum in Lviv, Ukraine, formally known as the National Museum-Memorial of Victims of the Occupation Regimes, operates out of the historic building located on the corner of Stepan Bandera Street and Bryullova Street. The Polish (1918-1939), Soviet (1939-1941), German (1941-1944), and "second" Soviet (1944-1991) "occupation regimes" each used the building as a prison.[57] The museum opened to the public on 28 June 2009 with its first and so far only complete exhibit, "Prison on Lonts'koho."[58] The museum gained its national status on 13 October 2009, with Viktor Yushchenko's Presidential Decree No. 828/2009,[59] an act that brought it international attention. In the three years following the exhibit's opening, over 40,000 people visited the museum.[60] The Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, toured the museum on 26 October 2010, and noted that, "The Prison at Lontskoho museum is a dark, but touching symbol of Ukrainian resistance."[61] Considering the museum's substantial attendance and international attention, it is surprising that virtually no in-depth, academic analysis of the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum currently exists.[62]

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[57] "Istoriya v'yaznytsi," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi.
[58] "Istoriya stvorennya memorialu," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-stvorennya-memorialu.
[59] "Ukaz prezydenta ukrayiny No. 828/2009: Pytannya Muzeyu-memorialu zhertv okupatsiynykh rezhymiv 'Tyurma na Lonts'koho," Ofitsiyne Predstavnytstvo Prezydenta Ukrayiny, accessed September 2, 2014, http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/9951.html.
[60] "Vidviduvanist," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/muzej/vidviduvanist. Attendance for 2013 has not yet been added to the website.
[61] "Canadian PM visits 'Prison at Lontskoho' museum," *Ukraine General Newswire*, October 26, 2010. *Business Insights: Essential* (GALE1A240615163).
[62] The only serious academic study of the museum is a forthcoming article by John-Paul Himka: "The Lontsky Street Prison Memorial Museum and the Misrepresentation of the Holocaust in Lviv."

Developed in partnership with Yushchenko's Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement, the guiding principle of the museum is: "The memorial was created for future generations – not as a reminder of the tragedy, but as a symbol of the indestructability of the Ukrainian liberation struggle."[63] The museum singles out and venerates members of the OUN as martyrs for Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. After overviews of the history of the building itself and the content of the "Prison on Lonts'koho" exhibit, this chapter discusses the validity of the museum's pro-OUN narrative. I argue that the museum provides a selective, manipulative, and ultimately misleading account of Lviv's wartime history. In keeping with the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative, the museum promulgates the Ukrainian victimization narrative by aggrandizing Ukrainian suffering, minimizing the victimhood of other ethnic groups, while at the same time obfuscating the role of the OUN in the Holocaust in Ukraine to the point of excision.

[63] "Misiya," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/muzej/misiya.

History of the Building

The building in which the museum is now housed has stood on its current site for more than a century. Initially constructed as a gendarmerie barracks for the Austro-Hungarian military, the building was erected for defensive purposes in 1889-1890 during the Austro-Hungarian rule of the city.[64] It was not until the Polish administration of the city – which began on 21 November 1918, when the last sections of the Ukrainian Galician Army withdrew from Lviv – that the building was first used as a prison.[65] The Polish government's Ministry of Justice was tasked with evaluating the state of Lviv's prisons and inspected, repaired, and refurbished the prisons from 1919 to 1922.[66] Concerning the barracks on Lonts'koho Street, the museum's website states that, "The building was not designed to provide any punitive or repressive functions for the existing [Austro-Hungarian] regime."[67] It was the Polish government that rebuilt a section of the gendarmerie barracks into the Lonts'kyi Street Prison.[68]

Once operational, the prison was used by the Polish regime to combat "anti-state" organizations such as the OUN and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, and to pacify the Ukrainian liberation movement.[69] A poster in the museum notes that, "in Polish times there were structures here that were being used to fight against the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. People who directly participated in actions against the representatives of the occupying authorities in cultural events, peaceful demonstrations, distributing leaflets, etc.,

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[64] "Peredistoriya v'yaznytsi "na Lonts'koho"," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/peredistoriya-vyaznytsi-na-lontskoho.
[65] "Period pol's'koyi okupatsiyi 1919-1939 rr," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/period-polskoji-okupatsiji-1919-1939-rr.
[66] *ibid.*
[67] "Radyans'ka okupatsiya 1944-1991 rr," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/radyanska-okupatsiya-1944-1991-rr.
[68] "Period pol's'koyi okupatsiyi 1919-1939 rr."
[69] "Istoriya v'yaznytsi."

were imprisoned."[70] According to the Prison on Lonts'koho (*Tyurma na Lonts'koho*) website, "Lonts'koho was officially the IV State Department of the Chief Commandant of State Security (Vydział IV Głównej Komendy Policji Państwowej), but informally it was a prison for political prisoners."[71] In 1935, the building was transferred to the investigating police and was overtly used as a prison.[72] The pace of political arrests intensified in the middle of the 1930s in response to the radicalization of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, which increasingly resorted to terrorism and violence in order to achieve its ideological objectives.[73] The subsequent trials handed out progressively more severe sentences.[74] Perhaps the most notable of the political prisoners were Stepan Bandera (tried twice during the Polish administration), Roman Shukhevych, and Yaroslav Stets'ko, all of whom were tried in May 1936, among other OUN leaders.[75] With an increase in arrests and prison sentences of OUN members and their accomplices, the criminal sector of Lviv's prisons became overcrowded, cresting at 138-150% capacity in 1937.[76] These numbers would, however, be dwarfed during the Soviet occupation of Lviv.

On 17 September 1939, while the German air force was bombing Lviv, half a million Red Army soldiers entered Western Ukraine (at the time Eastern Poland) under the pretext of a peacekeeping mission to rescue Poland's Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities from the "Polish yoke."[77] Christoph Mick notes that, "The Red Army had crossed the eastern Polish

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[70] Museum Poster, "Lontskoho Prison: an instrument of the repressive policies of the occupying regimes," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[71] "Period pol's'koyi okupatsiyi 1919-1939 rr."
[72] "Istoriya v'yaznytsi."
[73] Per Anders Rudling, "Theory and Practice: Historical representation of the wartime accounts of the activities of the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army)," *East European Jewish Affairs* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006), 166.
[74] "Istoriya v'yaznytsi."
[75] *ibid.*
[76] *ibid.*
[77] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 123-24.

border as the 'liberator of the Slavic brothers from the Polish yoke,' but according to Soviet ideology, this 'yoke' was in the first instance social and only in the second instance national."[78] The invasion was the result of a secret protocol of the 23 August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop nonaggression pact. Timothy Snyder remarks that, "Ribbentrop and Molotov also agreed to a secret protocol, designating areas of influence for Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union within eastern Europe: in what were still the independent states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania."[79] Lviv, located east of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Line, fell under the Soviet occupation in September 1939, as did Lonts'kyi Street Prison.

The Soviets emptied the prisons when they arrived in Lviv and a number of the political prisoners, typically those held for their communist affiliations, were assigned to local government positions under the new Soviet occupation regime.[80] Local Ukrainians were also initially placed in positions that were previously exclusive to Poles.[81] Conversely, once the NKVD entered Eastern Poland (today Western Ukraine), the political repression suffered under the Polish administration was quickly eclipsed by that experienced under the Soviet occupation. The repression took the following forms: deportation to the GULAG in remote areas of the USSR, the arrest and imprisonment of intellectuals and cultural leaders, and the executions of those deemed to be especially dangerous to the Soviet regime.[82] According to Snyder: "In the twenty-one months to come it made more arrests in occupied eastern Poland than in the entire Soviet Union, seizing some 109,400 Polish citizens. The typical sentence

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[78] Christoph Mick, "Lviv under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941," in *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953*, ed. Timothy Snyder and Ray Brandon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 143.
[79] Snyder, *Bloodlands,* 116.
[80] *ibid.,* 125.
[81] Christoph Mick, "Incompatible Experiences: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939-44," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 46, No. 2 (2011): 340-41.
[82] "Radyans'ka okupatsiya 1944-1991 rr." The acronym "GULAG" (*Glavnoe Upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh LAGerei*) refers to the Soviet forced labour penal system. The GULAG system reached its pinnacle during the Stalin era.

was eight years in the Gulag; about 8,513 people were sentenced to death."[83] The objectives of the repressive measures were to combat the enemies of Soviet power in Western Ukraine and to achieve the ultimate Sovietization of the population.[84] Soviet repression was not based on ethnicity; it targeted any opponents of Soviet power. The initial target of Soviet repression was Polish resistance to Soviet occupation; however, once Polish resistance was neutralized, the NKVD shifted its attention to the OUN.[85]

Within the Soviet occupation system, the Lonts'kyi Street Prison was once again used to interrogate and incarcerate political prisoners, though conditions at the prison were demonstrably worse under Soviet jurisdiction than under Polish. Once arrested, suspects were often tortured during interrogation (both physically and psychologically) in order to gain a confession to the alleged crime.[86] Those who were incarcerated in the prison during the Soviet occupation were placed in overcrowded cells without the beds, tables, and benches that were present during the Polish administration.[87] Compared to the overcrowding of prisons during the Polish rule of Lviv, which peaked (as noted above) at 138-150% capacity in 1937,[88] the Lonts'kyi Street Prison reached 243% capacity on 10 June 1941.[89] The rapid advance of the Wehrmacht overwhelmed the Red Army when Germany invaded the Soviet Union 12 days later on 22 June 1941. The NKVD – fearing that the inmates would end up in the hands of their enemy with the Germans advancing too fast to evacuate the prisons – hastily executed the 1,681 political prisoners from 22 to 28 June 1941, before abandoning

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[83] Snyder, *Bloodlands,* 126.
[84] "Radyans'kyy period 1939-1941 rr," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/radyanskyj-period-1939-1941-rr.
[85] *ibid.*
[86] Bogdan Kazaniwskyj, as cited in "Radyans'kyy period 1939-1941 rr," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/radyanskyj-period-1939-1941-rr.
[87] *ibid.*
[88] The 138-150% capacity refers to all of the prisons in Lviv combined.
[89] "Radyans'kyy period 1939-1941 rr."

Lonts'kyi Prison.[90] The NKVD murdered at least 3,000 prisoners across Lviv before retreating.[91]

The 30th of June 1941 holds a significant place in the history of Lviv. Four important and interrelated events occurred on that day: first, the Germans began their occupation of Lviv; second, on behalf of Stepan Bandera and the OUN(b), Yaroslav Stets'ko declared a Ukrainian state – though the declaration was not recognized by the Germans; third, the Germans discovered the burning and decomposing bodies of the political prisoners that were executed by the NKVD in three prisons (Zamarstyniv Street Prison, Brygidki Prison, and Lonts'kyi Street Prison); fourth, the pogrom against Lviv's Jews began.[92] John-Paul Himka notes that, perhaps encouraged – certainly not discouraged – by the German military, "the population of Lviv was taking out its anger at the NKVD murders 'on the Jews living in the city, who had always collaborated with the Bolsheviks.' Already on this day, Jewish men were pressed into labour in the so-called 'prison action,' i.e., exhuming and carrying out corpses from the prisons."[93] Less than one month later, Lviv's Jews were again targeted during the "Petliura days" of late July.[94] Mick details that:

> On 25 and 26 July the German authorities allowed three days during which it was permissible to torture, kill and rob Jews without fear of reprisal. The auxiliary policemen were joined by

[90] Museum Poster, "Mapa represiy," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[91] Mick, "Incompatible Experiences," 348. A poster in the Lonts'kyi museum, "Mass Execution at the Prison on Lontskoho street," suggests that the number may be as high as 4,000 murdered prisoners.
[92] John-Paul Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes* Vol. 53, No. 2-4 (June-December 2011): 210-11.
[93] *ibid.*, 211. For a detailed description of the course of the pogrom, see John-Paul Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes* Vol. 53, No. 2-4 (June-December 2011): 209-43; or Christoph Mick, "Incompatible Experiences: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939-44," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 46, No. 2 (2011): 336-63.
[94] The "Petliura days" were named after the Ukrainian national leader, Symon Petliura. Remembered by Ukrainian nationalists as a hero and martyr for Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, Petliura was assassinated in Paris on 25 May 1926 for his alleged role in the 1919 pogroms in Ukraine by the Russian anarchist of Jewish descent, Sholom Schwartzbard.

> Ukrainian peasants and by individual Poles greedy to rob and murder. These so-called Petliura days – the name given to them by the occupiers – were not spontaneous; the auxiliary police specifically targeted members of the Jewish intelligentsia. Policemen went from house to house, driving men, women and children like cattle to the Gestapo prisons. In the prisons the Jews were tortured and often subsequently murdered.[95]

The OUN played a prominent role in both actions, arresting the Jews who were to be brutalized at Lonts'kyi Street Prison.[96]

The Gestapo subsequently used the building on Lonts'koho as an investigative detention facility; the building also served as the headquarters of the Einsatzgruppen during the early days of the occupation.[97] Lonts'kyi Street Prison held inmates of all ethnic backgrounds for a variety of reasons. A few can be listed: political and communist activities, robbery, sabotage, falsification of documents, as well as to segregate "antisocial and unwanted elements."[98] In keeping with the Polish and Soviet use of the prison, the Germans also used the building on Lonts'koho as a tool to suppress anti-state organizations and to remand political prisoners. Unlike the repression during the Soviet occupation, which was to some extent based on social status, repression during the German occupation was based largely on ethnicity. While the Jewish population was the primary target of German repression and brutality, the Gestapo also targeted undesirable nationalist organizations such as the OUN – especially after the OUN(b)'s unrecognized declaration of statehood.

On 25 November 1941, the Einsatzgruppen released an order that stated: "It has been undeniably established that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the

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[95] Mick, "Incompatible Experiences:" 351-52.
[96] John-Paul Himka, "The Lontsky Street Prison Memorial Museum and the Misrepresentation of the Holocaust in Lviv," (forthcoming), 21.
[97] "Istoriya v'yaznytsi."
[98] "Nimets'ka okupatsiya (1941-1944)," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/nimetska-okupatsiya-1941-1944.

Reichskommissariat (Ukraine) to create an independent Ukraine. All functionaries (activists) of the Bandera Movement must be arrested immediately and after a thorough examination secretly executed as thieves."[99] As a result of the order, mass arrests of OUN members began in late 1941. Conditions in Lonts'kyi Street Prison during the German occupation were appalling. Prison cells did not have water and prisoners were taken to the bathroom once a week; they were allowed to bathe once every eight months.[100] In addition to the "controlled" executions,[101] inmates also died of starvation, abuse, and a typhus epidemic in the winter of 1942-43.[102] Prisoners waited, starving in their filthy cells, to be called for interrogation or execution – sometimes the two overlapped. Ivan Klymiv, Provincial OUN leader of the Western Ukrainian lands, died in prison during an interrogation on 4 December 1942.[103] When the German-Soviet front crossed Western Ukraine two years later in 1944, the region, and Lonts'kyi Prison, once again came under Soviet control.

During the "second" Soviet occupation (1944-1991), the prison served as the Investigative Department and Prison of the NKVD (later the MGB and KGB).[104] As they did three years earlier, the Soviets used the prison to abuse the inmates physically and psychologically in order to gain information about anti-Soviet actors and activities. While the specific target of "investigation" shifted during the second Soviet tenure of the prison, the general type of target remained consistent – namely, those who participated in anti-Soviet

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[99] "Nakaz nimets'koyi politsiyi bezpeky (SD) znyshchuvaty banderivtsiv bez sudu," in, Museum Poster, "1941-1944," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[100] "Lontskoho Prison: an instrument of the repressive policies of the occupying regimes."
[101] Compared to the sporadic execution of inmates at the prison, the majority of executions were planned and systematic. Prisoners were placed on lists, taken out of their prison cells, transported in five-ton trucks to the execution site, then shot. For a more detailed discussion, see: "Nimets'ka okupatsiya (1941-1944)," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/nimetska-okupatsiya-1941-1944.
[102] Museum Poster, "1941-1944," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[103] *ibid.*
[104] Museum Poster, "1944-1991," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.

activities. From 1944 to 1953, the Soviets targeted leaders of the OUN and the UPA.[105] In 1944, when the Soviets re-annexed Western Ukraine, the UPA had approximately 40,000 members.[106] It remained active until Soviet forces liquidated it in the 1950s. During the 1960s and early 1970s, the KGB arrested anti-Soviet dissidents and Ukrainian intellectuals and held them in Lonts'kyi Prison. According to the museum curators, the arrests were "a reaction against those who criticized the socialist system of the USSR and against the intellectuals' aspiration for a democratic society."[107] In the 1960s, the KGB conducted the first major renovation of the prison since the early 1920s, when the Poles renovated the prison. Among other installations, the KGB installed shower stalls in the basement, heating on the main floor, alarm buttons every five meters in the corridors, and automatic iron doors near the stairwells between floors.[108] While the number of prisoners decreased following the defeat of the UPA in the 1950s, the KGB continued to arrest dissidents until 1986.[109] It was not until 1987 that the Soviets began releasing the political prisoners from Lonts'kyi Street Prison, a process that lasted until 1989.[110]

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[105] *ibid.*
[106] Bohdan Krawchenko, "Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation, 1941-4," in *Ukraine During World War II: History and its Aftermath,* ed. Yury Boshyk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986)*,* 30.
[107] "Lontskoho Prison: an instrument of the repressive policies of the occupying regimes."
[108] Museum Poster, "A Former Prison – Lontskoho street prison in its current state," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[109] "Radyans'ka okupatsiya 1944-1991 rr."
[110] *ibid.*

The "Prison on Lonts'koho" Exhibit

The entrance to the museum – located just off Stepan Bandera Street on Bryullova Street (formerly Lonts'kyi Street) – is marked by a subtle placard with a brief description of the museum and the history of the building in both Ukrainian and English. Admission into the museum is free. The text inside the museum is primarily in Ukrainian with the occasional *post hoc* English explanation on standard letter paper. The first room of the exhibit, immediately past the entrance/security room, establishes the storylines and actors of the museum's narrative. To begin with the storylines, according to one of the explanations in English, the exhibit has three subjects: "the history of the building, daily life in the prison, and the mass shootings in late June 1941."[111]

The history of the building is presented in terms of the periods of foreign (non-Ukrainian) "occupation" of the building. The posters in the first room of the exhibit concerning the history of the building are labeled as follows: "1890-1918" (Austro-Hungarian occupation), "1918-1939" (Polish occupation), "1939-1941" (Soviet occupation), "1941-1944" (German occupation), "1944-1991" ("second" Soviet occupation). Thus, the history of the building is presented as a story of occupation and by extension the repressive policies and actions of the aforementioned occupation regimes.[112] The daily life of the prisoners is described in the text of the last four period posters. Life in the prison under the different occupation regimes is portrayed as having been oppressive and inhumane, the worst conditions being under Soviet and German control of the prison. In the first room of the exhibit, a poster titled, "Prison memorial," introduces the mass shootings of late June 1941.

[111] Museum Poster, "Exhibits of the Museum," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.

[112] The poster concerning Austro-Hungarian occupation, Museum Poster, "1890-1918," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, focuses on the layout and construction of the building during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Lviv and does not frame this period of occupation as repressive, unlike the representation found in the other four periods of occupation.

The poster also discusses the origins and the generally favourable reception of the prison memorial, which is located in the outer courtyard of the building.

Concerning the actors of the museum narrative, two types are established: victims and perpetrators. The former is a much more exclusive group than the latter. The perpetrators are the occupation regimes that used the prison, as one poster indicates, "as a tool to suppress the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to create their own independent state."[113] Thus, the perpetrators are the Poles, Soviets, and Germans. The victims, as can be deduced from the above statement, are the Ukrainian people. More specifically, the victims in the museum narrative are, "People who directly participated in actions against the representatives of the occupying authorities."[114] The posters overwhelmingly focus on the OUN during the Polish, first Soviet, and German occupations, and the OUN, the UPA, and Ukrainian anti-Soviet dissidents during the "second" Soviet occupation.

Of the 24 inmates featured on the posters, 19 of them were affiliated with the OUN or the UPA. The poster "1918-1939" highlights four political prisoners during the Polish period, all of whom were members of the OUN: Stepan Bandera, Kateryna Zaryts'ka, Yaroslav Stets'ko, and Mykola Lebid'. The poster "1939-1941," which focuses on the first Soviet occupation, features Kost' Arpad-Berezovs'ky, Halyna Stolyar, Yuriy Shukhevych, and Dmytro Klyachkivs'ky – all members of the OUN. The placard for "1941-1944" (the German occupation) once again focuses on four OUN members: Dmytro Hrytsay, Ivan Klymiv, Yaroslav Starukh, and Kost' Tsmots'. The "second" Soviet occupation poster, "1944-1991," is the only poster that features prisoners that were not directly affiliated with the OUN or the UPA. In addition to the seven OUN-UPA inmates – Volodymyr-Ihor

[113] "Lontskoho Prison: an instrument of the repressive policies of the occupying regimes."
[114] *ibid.*

Porendovs'ky, Mykola Duzhy, Petro Duzhy, Mykhaylo Soroka, Yuriy Shukhevych, Lyubomyr Polyuha, and Viktor Kharkiv – the poster also highlights five Ukrainian prisoners who were detained for non-OUN-UPA, anti-Soviet dissident activities: Iryna Kalynets', Ihor Kalynets', Ivan Hel', V'yacheslav Chornovil, and Bohdan Horyn.

In order to concretize the OUN as victims of the occupation regimes, and to absolve them of any crimes, the museum attempts to sever the OUN from allegations of collaboration with the occupation authorities, specifically with the German occupation regime. The museum's guides draw special attention to a display of the aforementioned 25 November 1941, Einsatzgruppen decree entitled, "Order of the German Security Police (SD): Kill Banderites without a trial (*Nakaz nimets'koyi politsiyi bezpeky (SD) znyshchuvaty banderivtsiv bez sudu*)." The document states that members of the OUN(b) are to be arrested, interrogated, and executed without trial.[115] The decree is not only used to counter claims that the OUN was collaborationist and acted as co-perpetrators with the Germans, it is also used to reaffirm that members of the OUN were victims and a principal target of German repression.

The next section of the exhibit is a long corridor with cells and rooms on either side. Many of the cells have been preserved in the condition in which they were left when the prison was decommissioned; other cells and rooms are Soviet period recreations of the rooms. Among other items, the cells and rooms include: a solitary confinement cell, the death row section, the prison's toilet room, an investigator's office, a photo laboratory, a room displaying Soviet propaganda, a room screening an archival video of the aftermath of the mass execution of prisoners in late June 1941, and a room filled with newspaper clippings describing Soviet executions across Ukraine. The cells and rooms are used to convey the

[115] "Nakaz nimets'koyi politsiyi bezpeky (SD) znyshchuvaty banderivtsiv bez sudu."

victimization of the Ukrainian prisoners by the occupation regimes. While the solitary confinement cell, death row, the toilet room, the investigator's office, and the photo laboratory are used to "reproduce the conditions of life in the prison,"[116] Soviet propaganda, the archival footage, and the newspaper clippings rooms are used to emphasize the brutality of the Soviet occupation.

According to the museum's website, the Soviet propaganda room was designed to "create the historical background of the most tragic period in the history of the 'prison on Lonts'koho' – the Soviet occupation."[117] Central to this tragic period, and to the museum's exhibit, is the mass execution of prisoners in June 1941. The rooms with the archival footage and the newspaper clippings serve to reinforce the brutality of the Soviets against Ukrainians. The black and white film, which is only a couple of minutes in duration, shows the aftermath of the Soviet mass murder of the Ukrainian prisoners. The film contains men in business suits carrying the corpses of the NKVD victims in the prison courtyard. In the clippings room, the walls are covered with posters that feature newspaper articles about Soviet crimes against Ukrainians. Some of the headlines read: "How the prisoners in the prison on Lonts'koho St. were massacred (*Yak masakruvaly v'yazniv u tyurmi pry vul. Lonts'koho*)," "Our bumpy ride (*Nash ternystyy shlyakh*)," and "Three nights in the prison of the NKVD (*Try nochi v tyurmi NKVD*)."

There is limited explanatory text concerning the archival footage and the newspaper clippings. The brief text that does exist regarding the mass execution of prisoners at Lonts'kyi Prison states that, "Alongside Ukrainians, many Poles and Jews were also

[116] "Pershyy etap ekspozytsiyi," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, 2014, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/ekspozytsiya/pershyj-etap-ekspozytsiji.
[117] *ibid.*

executed."[118] The text also circuitously explains the men in suits carrying the corpses by implying that the Germans forced the Jews of Lviv (the men in the suits) to exhume the bodies: "After German rule was established, an exhumation of the bodies was organized for those who were killed in the prison on Lonts'koho street… Jewish citizens of Lviv were forced to carry the bodies to the outer courtyard."[119] Thus, the exhibit uses the footage and clippings to portray Ukrainians – alongside other nationalities, but primarily Ukrainians – as the victims of Soviet atrocities, while placing the blame for forcing the Jews to exhume the bodies on the Germans. Once again, the curators portray Ukrainians as victims, while acquitting them of any accusations of collaboration or perpetration.

The corridor itself contains the so-called "Map of Repression (*Mapa represiy*)" and the "Stela of memory (*Stela pam'yati*)." The Map of Repression is an infographic detailing the number of prisoners killed by the NKVD in prisons across Ukraine. According to the infographic, in Lviv, 739 prisoners were killed at Bryhidky Prison, 971 at Zamarstynivs'ka, and 1,681 at Lonts'koho. The information is set in front of an archival image of a distressed woman who has just recognized one of the victims of the NKVD in the courtyard of Lonts'kyi Prison. The picture must have been taken on either 30 June or 1 July 1941, when the citizens of Lviv were allowed into the prison to identify their relatives.[120] The Stela of Memory is a glass structure that lists the names of all of the identified prisoners who died at the museum. All of the names are written in their Ukrainian (Cyrillic) form. For those who cannot read Ukrainian or the Cyrillic alphabet, the museum guide notes that Ukrainians were not the only victims who were killed at the prison and that Jews, Poles, Russians, and other ethnic groups are also listed alongside Ukrainians. After stating the variety of victims, the

[118] Museum Poster, "Mass Execution at the Prison on Lontskoho street," Tyurma na Lonts'koho.
[119] *ibid.*
[120] "Mass Execution at the Prison on Lontskoho street."

guide reaffirms that the majority of those killed were Ukrainians, once again elevating Ukrainian victimhood above all others.

The final section of the museum, the Memorial to the Victims of Occupation Regimes, commemorates the victims of the NKVD mass shootings of late June 1941. The memorial recapitulates the museum narrative's victims and primary perpetrators, the former being Ukrainians and the latter, Soviets.[121] The commemorative, Christian, cross precludes the inclusion of Jews as victims, while the wreaths of blue and yellow flowers further indicate that the victims are first and foremost Ukrainians (Figure 2). The primary perpetrators of the narrative, the Soviets, are outlined in the memorial's series of posters, which are titled, "Crimes of the communist regime in 1941 (*Zlochyny komunistychnoho rezhymu 1941*)." The posters contain archival images and text that underscore the Soviet atrocity committed against the Ukrainian prisoners.

FIGURE 2 Courtyard Memorial at the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum. Author's photograph, taken August 1, 2014.

[121] Though many of the "Soviets" were in fact Ukrainians, the implication is that they were distinct groups.

Analysis

The "Prison on Lonts'koho" exhibit addresses a complex and controversial period in the history and memory of Ukraine. Addressing such a controversial topic requires a sensitive and equitable approach, which, as will be elucidated, is not the case with the "Prison on Lonts'koho" exhibit. Regardless, the museum does have utility. Perhaps the greatest strength of the exhibit is the atmosphere that is created by the building itself. The dilapidated cells and themed rooms speak volumes to the conditions and life within the prison. While the "Prison on Lonts'koho" exhibit excels at illustrating daily life within the prison, the exhibit has a number of inherent problems. The exhibit lacks the sufficient amount of explanatory text necessary to provide adequate context and information about the displays. More troubling than the lack of explanation is the Nationalist bent of the museum's narrative. Constructed within the larger Ukrainian Nationalist narrative – in partnership with, as Rudling describes it, "the OUN(b) façade organization The Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement," – the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum provides a selective and manipulative account of the prison's, and by extension Lviv's, wartime history.[122] In characteristic Ukrainian Nationalist form, the museum perpetuates the Ukrainian victimization narrative by highlighting the suffering of OUN members and downplaying the victimhood of other nationalities, while at the same time concealing the role of the OUN in the Holocaust to the point of erasure.

The exhibit suffers (although, as will be expounded, the museum narrative benefits) from a general lack of explanation, information, and context. Andrew Sorokowski lists just a few of the problems with the exhibit concerning its lack of clarification:

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[122] Per Anders Rudling, "Dr. Per Anders Rudling's Email to Colleagues of 3 October 2012 Concerning the Zabily Speaking Tour In North America: 3 October 2012," Defending History, accessed September 9, 2014, http://defendinghistory.com/dr-per-anders-rudlings-email-to-colleagues-of-3-october-2012-concerning-the-zabily-speaking-tour-in-north-america/43772.

> The photographs in the permanent exhibit lack adequate identification by date, place, and source. The displayed newspaper articles should bear citations to the organs in which they were published and the dates of publication, preferably with sample mastheads. There is no information displayed about the documentary film on the June 1941 Soviet massacre of political prisoners.[123]

The museum's website does provide supplemental information, explanation, and general context, yet visitors are not likely to cross-reference the website while visiting the museum, if they access the website at all.[124] However, it must be noted that the website shares the exhibit's Nationalist proclivity.

When explanatory text is provided within the exhibit, it often distorts the information in order to conform to the exhibit's narrative rather than provide an accurate account of the events. One such example is the text explanation concerning the NKVD murders in June 1941:

> **Mass Execution at the Prison on Lontskoho street**
>
> Beginning on June 23, 1941 mass killings of prisoners occurred. At the beginning of the German-Soviet war in late June 1941, the Soviet NKVD was unable to evacuate prisoners from the prison and so began a mass execution of all prisoners. In the six days from June 23rd to the 28th 4,000 people were murdered, 1,681 of them in Prison # 1 (on Lontskoho street) – 41% of all the executed prisoners in the city. Alongside Ukrainians, many Poles and Jews were also executed – prisoners who had been sentenced to labour camps or even scheduled to be released.
>
> The bodies of some of the dead were buried in three graves in the outer prison yard, the rest were left in cells. After German rule was established, an exhumation of the bodies

[123] Andrew Sorokowski, "Museum and Exhibit Review: Lonts'koho Street Prison Museum, L'viv, Ukraine," *The Public Historian* Vol. 36, No. 2 (May 2014), 152.
[124] The museum's website is: http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua.

> was organized for those who were killed in the prison on Lontskoho street. On the final day of June and the first day of July, city residents were allowed access to the prison to identify relatives. Jewish citizens of Lviv were forced to carry the bodies to the outer courtyard.
>
> Most of the victims were buried in a common grave on plot number 83 at Lychakiv cemetery. 83 victims and 9 unknown individuals were buried on plot number 55 at Yaniv cemetery.[125]

The explanation not only obscures the course of events, but also omits significant details that run counter to the museum's narrative. Concerning the obscuration, the second paragraph notes that, "*After German rule was established,* an exhumation of the bodies was organized for those who were killed in the prison on Lontskoho street."[126] By stating that German rule had been established, the text implies that the Germans were responsible for forcing the "Jewish citizens of Lviv… to carry the bodies to the outer courtyard."[127] What is excised from the explanation is the fact that members of the OUN were involved in the anti-Jewish actions and that Ukrainians subsequently massacred many of the Jews in the prison courtyard. Christoph Mick notes that, "the emissaries of the OUN had formed a local militia which turned against the Jewish population. Ukrainian militiamen and civilians chased down Jews, took them to the prisons, forced them to exhume the bodies, mistreated and finally killed them."[128]

Per Anders Rudling – in a protest against the announcement of a Canada-wide lecture tour by the director of the museum and former director of the Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement, Ruslan Zabily – remarks that, "His museum, housed in the facilities of an infamous Soviet prison where nearly 1,700 inmates were murdered by the NKVD prior to the evacuation of Lviv in June 1941 passes over in silence the massacre of local Jews carried

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[125] "Mass Execution at the Prison on Lontskoho street."
[126] *ibid.* Emphasis added.
[127] *ibid.*
[128] Mick, "Incompatible Experiences," 348.

out by the OUN."[129] The museum is not merely silent about the massacre of local Jews, it actively erases it. As discussed above, the information on the museum's "Map of Repression (*Mapa represiy*)" is set in front of an archival image of a distressed woman who has just recognized one of the victims of the NKVD in the courtyard of Lonts'kyi Prison (Figures 3 and 4). Rudling notes:

> In the background of the original photo one also sees groups of Jewish victims of the massacre which followed within days of the NKVD murders (Jews were forced to carry and rebury these victims). Thousands of Jews were killed as Soviet crimes were blamed on them and used to incite antisemitic [sic] violence and murder. In this photoshopped version on display at the Lontsky Museum, the nationalists' Jewish civilian victims are literally covered by the circular insertions of Soviet crime statistics, implicitly ethniziced [sic] as Ukrainian suffering.[130]

FIGURE 3 Map of Repression (*Mapa represiy*) in the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum. http://defendinghistory.com/ukrainian-ultranationalists-sponsor-lecture-tour-across-north-american-universities-by-per-anders-rudling/43718 (Accessed September 9, 2014)

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[129] Rudling, "Dr. Per Anders Rudling's Email to Colleagues of 3 October 2012 Concerning the Zabily Speaking Tour In North America."

[130] Per Anders Rudling, "Ukrainian Ultranationalists Sponsor Lecture Tour Across North American Universities: 12 October 2012," Defending History, accessed September 9, 2014, http://defendinghistory.com/ukrainian-ultranationalists-sponsor-lecture-tour-across-north-american-universities-by-per-anders-rudling/43718.

FIGURE 4 Archival image of the prison courtyard, before "photoshopping." http://defendinghistory.com/ukrainian-ultranationalists-sponsor-lecture-tour-across-north-american-universities-by-per-anders-rudling/43718 (Accessed September 9, 2014)

The museum attempts to simplify Ukrainian memory by establishing two monolithic and mutually exclusive categories, victims and perpetrators. Accordingly, Jewish victimization and Ukrainian perpetration are erased and replaced by Ukrainian victimization and occupier perpetration.

Uilleam Blacker concisely articulates the most fundamental shortcoming of the exhibit: "L'viv's wartime history is complex, and demands sensitivity and an understanding that victimhood and guilt are not always exclusive categories."[131] From the first room of the exhibit, the museum attempts to sever the OUN from guilt by focusing on their victimhood. OUN members predominate on the posters in the first room of the exhibit and are singled out as the primary victims of the occupation regimes. In reality, during the Soviet occupation as a whole, which is evidently the focal point of exhibit, Poles were targeted more than Ukrainians. In Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, from September 1939 to May 1941, 22,045

[131] Uilleam Blacker, "The Prison on Lonts'kyi Street: Memory Dialogue or Memory Monologue?" *ukraineanalysis Blog* (January 4, 2013), accessed September 18, 2014, http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2013/01/04/the-prison-on-lontskyi-street-memory-dialogue-or-memory-monologue/.

Poles were arrested compared to 23,221 Ukrainians and 13,164 Jews.[132] When considering the ethnic composition of the population, a higher proportion of Poles and Jews were arrested than Ukrainians. Discussing the arrests in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, Mick details, "Two-thirds of the arrests took place in eastern Galicia. In September 1939, according to one estimate, the population of eastern Galicia was 5,105,000: 1,478,400 Poles (29 percent), 3,059,900 Ukrainians (60 percent), and 521,400 Jews (10 percent)… By these estimates, the ratio of arrest to ethnic group works out to roughly 1 of every 100 Poles, 1 of every 200 Ukrainians, and 1 of every 65 Jews."[133] Therefore, the museum promulgates the first component of the Ukrainian victimization narrative by highlighting the suffering of Ukrainians, specifically OUN members, while downplaying the victimhood of other nationalities.

While the museum's website offers a more balanced portrait of the victims and discusses Polish and Jewish suffering, it is careful not to overshadow Ukrainian victimhood. Discussing Jewish suffering during the German occupation, the website states that, "Ukrainians suffered no less."[134] The website then expands on this claim and asserts that the OUN(b) was in fact the primary enemy of the Germans: "From the very beginning of the occupation, the Bandera nationalists were the only political force that was able to act against the enemy not only politically, but also with armed resistance. Thus the Ukrainian nationalists were enemy number one for the occupiers."[135] This formula serves the museum's narrative twofold: first, it reinforces that Ukrainians, especially Ukrainian nationalists, were the primary victims; second, it establishes the OUN(b) as enemies of the German occupation

[132] Mick, "Lviv under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941," 149.
[133] *ibid.,* 149-150.
[134] "Nimets'ka okupatsiya (1941-1944)."
[135] *ibid.*

regime and, therefore, not collaborators. As was discussed in the previous section, the exhibit itself attempts to absolve the OUN(b) of allegations of perpetration and collaboration while establishing them as the principal target of German repression by highlighting the 25 November 1941 Einsatzgruppen decree, which called for the arrest and execution of OUN(b) members.

The museum's claim that the OUN(b) did not collaborate with the Germans abridges the tortuous relationship between the OUN(b) and Nazi Germany. While there was a substantial crackdown on OUN(b) members in the latter part of 1941, the OUN(b) not only collaborated with Germany before the decree, but also after the decree until the German-Soviet war tipped in favour of the Red Army in 1943. The OUN(b)'s pro-German sentiment is evident in Stets'ko's 30 June 1941 "Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood (*Akt vidnovlennia Ukrains'koi Derzhavy*)." Stets'ko declared that the newly established Ukrainian state would "cooperate closely with National Socialist Greater Germany… under the Fuehrer Adolf Hitler."[136] Further discrediting the notion that the OUN(b) was the archenemy of Germany is the treatment of Stepan Bandera while under German arrest. After being arrested on 5 July 1941 and sent to Berlin to be placed under house arrest, instead of being "executed without trial," Stepan Bandera was again arrested on 15 September and detained in a Berlin prison until October 1943. He was then transferred to a special barracks for high profile political prisoners at Sachsenhausen concentration camp.[137] Concerning collaboration after the German decree, at least half of all members of the OUN(b)'s military wing, the reorganized UPA (under the leadership of Dmytro Kliachkivs'kyi and Roman Shukhevych as

[136] Yaroslav Stets'ko, as cited in, Per Anders Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths* (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 9.
[137] Per Anders Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths* (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 9-10.

of spring 1943), were trained by the Germans and had served in the German occupation police.[138] Rudling notes that while serving the Germans "they were tasked with the dirty work, the *Schmutzarbeit*, of the Nazis, sealing off areas for the murder of Jews, communists, and pro-Soviet partisans," and that "OUN(b) leaders, among them Roman Shukhevych and many future UPA commanders, continued to serve in German uniform until 1943."[139] Thus, the museum predates the OUN(b)'s break with Nazi Germany in an attempt to refute claims of OUN collaboration and perpetration.

While OUN(b) atrocities and the role of the organization in the Holocaust may generally fall outside the scope of the museum, the 1941 pogrom in Lviv does not. Considering the fact that Lonts'kyi Prison was central to the course of the pogrom, and that the museum purports to tell the history of the prison, the omission of the pogrom from the museum's narrative is problematic. Himka recounts the pogrom activities that took place at Lonts'kyi Prison:

> First, the Lontsky St. Prison was a major site of the pogrom. The course of the pogrom in Lviv is now fairly well understood. From 30 June through the first few days of July, Jews were rounded up and made to exhume the corpses, wash them, and lay them out in rows for identification by the populace. The working conditions were horrible – the decomposing bodies had to be handled with bare hands and without the gas masks that some of the Germans wore to keep out the stench. Throughout the process, the Jews were beaten.[140]

The exhibit is also silent about the "Petliura days" of 25-26 July 1941. Himka describes the course of the Petliura days: "Jews were brought to Lontsky St. and beaten savagely for hours before being taken away in trucks for execution on the outskirts of the city. Altogether over a

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[138] *ibid.*, 10.
[139] *ibid.*, 10.
[140] Himka, "The Lontsky Street Prison Memorial Museum and the Misrepresentation of the Holocaust in Lviv," 19.

thousand Jews were murdered in this action."[141] On the occasions of both the Lviv pogrom and the Petliura days, members of the OUN violently rounded up the Jews of Lviv and brought them to the prison where further ill treatment awaited them. Thus, the museum fulfills the second component of the Ukrainian victimization narrative – it conceals the role of the OUN in the Holocaust in Ukraine – by expunging Ukrainian perpetration from its narrative.

The museum, Himka notes, "not only covers up the pogrom, but glorifies its perpetrators (the OUN). Its wall honors Ivan Klymiv (Legenda), who was indeed beaten to death at Lontsky Prison by the Gestapo. But Klymiv also issued proclamations, posted during the pogrom, calling for collective responsibility and the destruction of Poles, Russians, Hungarians, and Jews."[142] The guiding principle of the museum is telling: "The memorial was created for future generations – not as a reminder of the tragedy, but as a symbol of the indestructability of the Ukrainian liberation struggle."[143] Members of the OUN(b) are depicted as freedom fighters engaged in a struggle for liberation and independence, their aspirations undaunted in the face of adversity. Discussing Soviet investigative practices, one poster proclaims that, "Despite the proven methods of torture, the prisoners invented new methods to resist the prison regime and guards. But even these destructive tactics couldn't kill the desire for freedom, and therefore they couldn't destroy freedom itself."[144] The museum venerates the OUN as martyrs for Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, the same organization that perpetrated atrocities against Jews on the very site of the museum.

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[141] *ibid.*, 21.
[142] John-Paul Himka, January 5, 2013 (6:57 a.m.), comment on Uilleam Blacker, "The Prison on Lonts'kyi Street: Memory Dialogue or Memory Monologue?" *ukraineanalysis Blog* (January 4, 2013), accessed September 18, 2014, http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2013/01/04/the-prison-on-lontskyi-street-memory-dialogue-or-memory-monologue/.
[143] "Misiya."
[144] "Lontskoho Prison: an instrument of the repressive policies of the occupying regimes."

The building in which the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum is now housed has a complex and infamous history associated with multiple repressive occupation regimes. First used as a prison by the Poles in the early 1920s, the Soviet, German, and "second" Soviet occupation regimes subsequently used the building to detain political prisoners. The focal point of the museum is the first Soviet occupation, with particular attention afforded to the NKVD mass execution of prisoners in late June 1941. The Soviet occupiers are depicted as vicious perpetrators and members of the OUN are presented as their preeminent victims. Constructed within the Ukrainian Nationalist sphere, the museum's narrative has a manifest Nationalistic bent and embodies what Himka has termed the "Ukrainian victimization narrative."

The museum underscores Ukrainian suffering while minimizing, and at times blatantly concealing, the suffering of other ethnic groups. More problematic, members of the OUN are lionized as martyrs for the Ukrainian liberation movement. The museum narrative attempts to establish two mutually exclusive categories of actors: victims and perpetrators; the fact that the OUN acted as both victims and perpetrators confounds such a distinction. In concert with the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative, the museum offers a highly selective, manipulative, and ultimately insincere account of the history of Lonts'kyi Street Prison.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SHUKHEVYCH MUSEUM

The Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA Roman Shukhevych (Shukhevych Museum) serves two purposes. In addition to its primary function as a museum, attracting a range of visitors to its exhibitions – including school groups, tourists, and UPA veterans and their families from both Ukraine and North America[145] – the museum is also a site of outright Shukhevych and UPA veneration. In preparation for the 30 June 2007 centennial of the birth of Shukhevych, Viktor Yushchenko issued Presidential Decree No. 420/2007, which called for the "organizing and conducting in 2007, in settlements related to the life and activities of Roman Shukhevych, the celebration of the 100th anniversary of his birth."[146] The Lviv Historical Museum hosted a pictorial exhibit, titled, "Freedom and Ukraine: The Motto of Roman Shukhevych." Delphine Bechtel notes that the exhibit "presented mostly private family photos showing a good family man and a loyal Ukrainian."[147]

The two main sites of celebration were the Lviv Opera Theatre on 29 June, and the Shukhevych Museum on 30 June. Both events attracted international interest and guests. Illya M. Labunka, writing for the New Jersey-based newspaper, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, reported on the commemoration held at the Shukhevych Museum: "On the centennial anniversary of Shukhevych's birth on June 30, UPA veterans, clergy, Ukrainian citizens and guests from abroad gathered in Bilohorscha, a suburb in Lviv, to participate in a solemn service in

[145] Subject A (Shukhevych Museum Guide) in discussion with the author, July 29, 2014.
[146] "Ukaz prezydenta ukrayiny No. 420/2007: Pro vidznachennya 100-richchya vid dnya narodzhennya Romana Shukhevycha," Ofitsiyne Predstavnytstvo Prezydenta Ukrayiny, accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/6146.html.
[147] Delphine Bechtel, "The 1941 Pogroms as Represented in Western Ukrainian Historiography and Memorial Culture," in *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives, Conference Presentations* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, April 2013), 7.

memory of the army commander."[148] The museum is a perpetual site of commemoration during anniversaries associated with Shukhevych and the Ukrainian liberation movement.[149] While the cult of Shukhevych is strong in Lviv, adoration of the controversial figure is far from universal. On 7 March 2013, vandals broke into the museum, destroyed artefacts, and then attempted to demolish the monument to Shukhevych that stands across the street from the museum before fleeing.[150] Such acts of veneration and vandalism speak to the contested place of Shukhevych in the collective memory of Western Ukraine.

Founded with the assistance and financial support of the General-Lieutenant Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka Society of Former UPA Soldiers in the USA,[151] a Ukrainian diaspora society based in the United States, the Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA Roman Shukhevych opened on 23 October 2001.[152] The museum is located on the western periphery of the city of Lviv at 76a Bilohorshcha Street, and is situated in the safe house in which Roman Shukhevych was fatally shot in the head during a battle with MGB units on 5 March 1950.[153] The museum consists of two floors. The ground floor contains a thematic exhibition dedicated to the family, life, and activities of Shukhevych, while the second floor houses a memorial exhibition devoted to Shukhevych's clandestine existence at the safe house.

The Shukhevych Museum – under the tutelage of Volodymyr P. Boyko, Head of the Department of the History of the Liberation Struggle in Ukraine at The Lviv Historical

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[148] Illya M. Labunka, "Shukhevych centennial marked in Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 15, 2007, 15.
[149] Volodymyr Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk / L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey* (Lviv: Apriori, 2012), 23-24.
[150] "U L'vovi vandal namahalysya demontuvaty pam"yatnyk Shukhevychu," Tyzhden', March 7, 2013, accessed November 24, 2014, http://tyzhden.ua/News/74113.
[151] Museum Placard, "Fundatory muzeyu – Tovarystvo Voyakiv UPA im. henerala-khorunzhoho Romana Shukhevycha – Tarasa Chuprynky v SSHA," Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha.
[152] "Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha," L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey, accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/ekspozyciyi/muzey_shuhevycha.html.
[153] *ibid.*

Museum – claims to display a "history of the Shukhevych family that promotes fuller disclosure of the figure of the Commander in Chief – a person who inherited the best features of Galician intellectuals: patriotism, education, spirituality and high inner culture."[154] While the museum should be commended for attempting to humanize the mythical figure of Shukhevych by promoting "*fuller* disclosure of the figure of the Commander in Chief," it falls short of providing *full*, or at least satisfactory disclosure. The Shukhevych Museum – in concert with the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative – is silent about Shukhevych's collaborative activities with Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 in Belarus in 1942, and the UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943. Instead, the museum glorifies Shukhevych and the UPA, and emphasizes the suffering and martyrdom of the Shukhevych family.

[154] *ibid.*

The Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UPA Roman Shukhevych

Two monuments to Roman Shukhevych stand outside of the museum. Immediately in front of the building is a bust of Shukhevych with a placard reading: "In this building on March 5th 1950, the chief commander of the UPA, general-lieutenant Roman Shukhevych died a hero's death… -Taras Chuprynka-… GLORY TO THE HEROES" (Figure 5). Taras Chuprynka was a *nom de guerre* of Roman Shukhevych. The second monument stands across the street from the museum and was the site of the 30 June 2007 centennial commemoration (Figure 6). The monument, which stands at the centre of a small green, is comprised of a bust of Shukhevych on top of a pedestal with the text: "Roman Shukhevych/Taras Chuprynka 1907-1950." It was also this monument that the aforementioned vandals attempted to demolish on 7 March 2013.

FIGURE 5 Monument to Roman Shukhevych in front of the Shukhevych Museum, Bilohorshcha, Lviv, Ukraine. Author's photograph, taken July 29, 2014.

FIGURE 6 The celebration of the 100th anniversary of Roman Shukhevych's birth at the Shukhevych Museum, 30 June 2007. Yuriy Shukhevych, son of Roman Shukhevych, is in the foreground. http://www.unian.ua/common/197632-pamyatnik-romanu-shuhevichu-na-mistsi-zagibeli-fotoreportaj.html (Accessed November 28, 2014)

The entrances to the two exhibitions of the museum are in the courtyard at the rear of the building. Admission into the museum is five hryvnas (approximately twenty-five Canadian cents) with the option to purchase a guidebook published by the Lviv Historical Museum for an additional fee.[155] All of the descriptive text in the museum, which is limited to artefact identification labels, is in Ukrainian. The only sources of explanation are the Ukrainian speaking tour guide and the Ukrainian-language guidebook. The first room of the thematic exhibition establishes the cultural significance and mythical figure of Roman Shukhevych in order to prime visitors before revealing the "real-life" Shukhevych. The wall to the right of the entrance showcases commemorative postage stamps and Ukrainian

[155] See, Volodymyr Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk / L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey* (Lviv: Apriori, 2012).

diaspora anniversary programs for the UPA from the 1950s to 1980s, as well as academic and popular publications relating to Shukhevych and the UPA. The room also contains a sculptural portrait of Shukhevych that was created in the United States by Ukrainian-American sculptor Mykhailo Chereshniovsky, as well as a portrait of Shukhevych and an allegorical painting of the "Heroine of the UPA" by Ukrainian-American artist, Myroslava Lasovska-Kruk.[156] The first room speaks to both the heroic portrayal and importance of Roman Shukhevych in the collective memory of the Ukrainian Nationalist community, as well as the role of the Ukrainian diaspora in North America in propagating this heroic portrayal. The remainder of the museum is purportedly devoted to uncovering the life of Roman Shukhevych.

The second room focuses on the Shukhevych family, which, according to the guidebook, "played an important role in the national-cultural and political life of Galicia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[157] Roman's grandfather, Volodymyr Shukhevych, was a distinguished Ukrainian ethnographer and folklorist, as well as a Ukrainian cultural, educational, and social activist.[158] Roman's great-grandfather, Yosyp Shukhevych, was the pastor of the village of Tyshkivtsi in Horodenkivsky County, as well as a poet, writer, and translator.[159] Roman lived with his grandparents Volodymyr and Hermina Shukhevych from 1917 to 1925 while studying at the gymnasium in Lviv.[160] The second room contains various artefacts that denote the cultivated character of the family. Such items include: the Viennese piano that Roman played, a secretary's desk that is representative of the one that Volodymyr

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[156] "Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha."
[157] Volodymyr Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk / L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey* (Lviv: Apriori, 2012), 5-7.
[158] *ibid.,* 7.
[159] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 7; "Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha."
[160] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 10.

Shukhevych used, Volodymyr's correspondence with respected members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia – namely, writer Borys Hrinchenko, ethnographer Fedir Vovk, and composer Mykola Lysenko – and a number of Volodymyr's publications. One of the more notable publications is a collection of translations by Yosyp Shukhevych, published by Volodymyr in 1883, with a foreword by Ivan Franko. In addition to a collection of family photographs, the room also displays traditional Ukrainian garments and embroidery, and artefacts pertaining to Roman's activities with the Plast Scout Organization of Ukraine. Perhaps running out of space in the second room, the first display case in the third room contains a collection of materials related to his schooling. The guidebook notes that, "It is the glorious traditions of the famous Ukrainian family that influenced the formation of the main features of the UPA Commander in Chief 'Taras Chuprynky' – Shukhevych… Education and the high national consciousness of all the Shukhevych family members had a tremendous influence in shaping Shukhevych's young mind. In the house of his father, Roman Shukhevych often met the leaders of the UHA [Ukrainian Galician Army], and Roman was able to absorb the ideas of the national-liberation struggle."[161]

The third room of the exhibition focuses on the life of Shukhevych from 1925 to 1941 and centres on two interrelated topics: first, Polish oppression during the interwar period; second, the radicalization of Shukhevych – along with Ukrainian nationalist organizations – and his response to the increasingly authoritarian Polish government. During the interwar period, Shukhevych engaged in a campaign of terrorism replete with political assassinations and attacks on various government institutions. Shortly after joining the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) in 1925, Shukhevych was tasked with his first assassination.[162] On 19

[161] *ibid.,* 8-10.
[162] *ibid.,* 13.

October 1926, Shukhevych and Bohdan Pidhainy murdered Stanislaw Sobinski, the Lviv school superintendent.[163] After the UVO united with nationalist student organizations to found the OUN in 1929, Shukhevych was appointed, under the pseudonym "Bell (*Dzvin*)," to the position of Military Assistant of the Executive Board of the OUN in 1930.[164] The largest wall in the room, foregrounded by a sculpture of Stepan Bandera, contains news clippings and documents pertaining to the interwar activities and trials of the OUN, and portraits of OUN leaders. Centred on the wall above the sculpture of Bandera is a bell, symbolic of the call to battle and Shukhevych himself (Figure 7). The guidebook notes that Shukhevych was responsible for "managing and promoting mass disobedience against the criminal policies of the Polish 'pacification'… In the early 30s, Shukhevych organized several attacks on the Polish government, which held an inhuman anti-Ukrainian stance in various fields of the cultural and economic life of Galicia."[165]

FIGURE 7 Display containing information about the OUN, foregrounded by a sculpture of Stepan Bandera below a bell. Display in third room, ground floor, Shukhevych Museum. Volodymyr Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk / L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey* (Lviv: Apriori, 2012), 14.

[163] *ibid*., 13.
[164] "Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha."
[165] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 13-14.

Each of the five assassinations discussed in the guidebook is explained and legitimized by highlighting the targets' brutal, anti-Ukrainian policies: the aforementioned Stanislaw Sobinski was assassinated for "brutal anti-Ukrainian policies in the field of education;" politician Tadeusz Holowko for his "inhuman anti-Ukrainian policies"; Police Commissioner E. Czechowski for the "abuse and torture of Ukrainian political prisoners during interrogation"; Russian Consulate in Lviv O. Maylov in "protest against the criminal, man-made famine of 1932-1933"; and Bronislaw Pieracki, for "actively pursuing a policy of 'pacification' in Galicia and Volhynia."[166] Rather than portraying Shukhevych as a perpetrator, he is portrayed as a true "Ukrainian patriot" and a champion of Ukraine's struggle.[167] He is also linked collectively with the Ukrainian population and presented as a victim of Polish repression. A series of photographs in the room depict the Polish destruction of Ukrainian cooperatives, stores, and *Prosvita* reading rooms. The museum portrays the victims of assassination instead as perpetrators of cultural genocide.

The third room also contains materials about Shukhevych's political-military activities in Carpatho-Ukraine, his command of the Nachtigall Battalion, and the formation of the UPA. Following the Munich agreement of October 1938, which weakened the Czechoslovak republic, Ukrainian nationalists in Carpatho-Ukraine declared the province to be a "free, federated [in Czechoslovakia] state."[168] Though Prague ultimately recognized the declaration, the most valuable portion of the area was ceded to Hungary.[169] According to the guidebook, Shukhevych was responsible for organizing financial aid and communication for the newly established government, and for establishing the Carpathian Sich and supplying it

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[166] *ibid.,* 13, 14, 16.
[167] *ibid.,* 16.
[168] John Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 3rd revised ed. (Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990), 15. Bracketed remark by cited author.
[169] *ibid.,* 15.

with new recruits.[170] The Carpathian Sich was a military organization and was expected to form the core of an all-Ukrainian state army.[171] When Germany established the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, which permitted Hungary to occupy the remainder of Carpatho-Ukraine, Ukrainian nationalists proclaimed an independent government under priest, Monsignor Augustine Voloshyn. The government, however, collapsed within a few days as the stronger Hungarian forces defeated the Carpathian Sich.[172]

The museum's treatment of the Nachtigall Battalion is brief:

> An important aspect of the military combat activities of Shukhevych was the creation, with the Germany Army in the spring of 1941, of the Ukrainian Nationalist Brigade (DUN, *Druzhyny ukrayins'kykh natsionalistiv*). Photo materials represent the commander of the northern battalion, 'Nachtigall' ('Nightingale'), Shukhevych, and the southern commander, Major Yevhen Pobihushchy. It was undoubtedly because of the 'Nachtigall' battalion that an event of historic importance took place in Lviv – the solemn proclamation of June 30, 1941 Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood by Yaroslav Stets'ko.[173]

Discussing Germany's repudiation of the Act and the subsequent arrests of the leaders of the OUN(b)'s self-proclaimed government, the guidebook states that, "Shukhevych learned about the arrests by the German government and put forward an ultimatum demanding the release of Stepan Bandera and members of government."[174] The museum gives the impression that Shukhevych ceased to collaborate with Germany following the rejection of the Act, noting immediately after the preceding citation that, "From January 1943, Shukhevych entered a new and important stage of his life as the leader of the Ukrainian

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[170] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 17.
[171] Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism,* 16.
[172] *ibid.*, 16.
[173] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 18.
[174] *ibid.,* 18.

national liberation movement and from fall 1943, as the Commander in Chief of the UPA."[175] Additionally, the museum portrays the UPA's struggle as an inclusive, multi-ethnic crusade against oppression. Highlighting the major milestones in the formation of the UPA, the guidebook notes:

> It is clearly seen in the third resolutions of the Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN that the OUN is fighting for an Independent Ukrainian State and that each nation should live its life as free and independent states. At the initiative of Roman Shukhevych – 'Taras Chuprynka' prepared an appeal to people of other nationalities, including Azerbaijanis, Poles, Jews and other nations to merge in a common struggle… Such activities of the UPA significantly strengthened the position of the liberation movement.[176]

The fourth and final room of the thematic exhibition concentrates on three subjects, the UPA, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (*Ukrayins'ka holovna vyzvol'na rada*, UHVR), and the fate of the Shukhevych family. Concerning the UPA, the room features: a diagram of the organizational structure of the UPA, photographs of the commanders of the military districts of the UPA, photographs of UPA training camps, a typewriter and UPA publications and leaflets calling for resistance against the Soviet occupation regime, and weapon fragments unearthed from battlefields in addition to other weaponry used by UPA members. The focal point of the room is a recreation of an UPA *kryyivka* (underground hideout), furnished with contemporary items. According to the guidebook, the contents of the room "complete the picture of those tumultuous years. The reconstruction of the insurgent *Kryyivka*, with objects from the everyday life of the Ukrainian insurgents, leaves a great emotional impression."[177]

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[175] *ibid.,* 18-19.
[176] *ibid.,* 19.
[177] *ibid.,* 21.

With regard to the UHVR, the guidebook notes that, "The creation of a central management of all of the liberation struggle in Ukraine was an extremely important achievement of the political and military activity of Shukhevych."[178] The UHVR was formed during the last major conference of the OUN(b); it was held in Eastern Galicia in early July 1944, just weeks before the Red Army re-conquered the area.[179] The room contains key documents, photographs, a radio, and various other materials related to the UHVR. The museum provides scarce explanation about the materials concerning the UHVR; conversely, it affords the suffering of the Shukhevych family abundant explication. The wall opposite the entrance of the room displays photographs of the Shukhevych family. Both the museum guide and the guidebook emphasize the family's victimization.[180] The guidebook comments that, "An important focus of the first floor exhibition is a range of materials about the fate of the Roman Shukhevych family, whose members have suffered persecution by the brutal, repressive and punitive Soviet system."[181] The guidebook details the tribulation:

> Roman Shukhevych's father was sent into exile in the Kemerovo oblast, where he died in 1948. Roman Shukhevych's mother died in exile in Kazakhstan on 30 June 1956. The brother of Roman Shukhevych – Yuriy – was tortured to death in the Lviv prison 'Bryhidky' in June 1941, his sister Natalya, was arrested in 1940 and sentenced in the 'Trial of 59' OUN members and received a prison term of exile and died in the city of Nalchik in 2010. Roman Shukhevych's wife – Natalya – was arrested in 1945 and continuously suffered persecution by Soviet authorities. The children of Roman Shukhevych – Yuriy and Mariya – after the

[178] *ibid.*, 20.
[179] Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism,* 119.
[180] During the author's visit to the museum on 29 July 2014, the guide devoted a significant amount of time to discussing the persecution of the Shukhevych family and their heroic martyrdom.
[181] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 21.

> arrest of their mother, were sent to an orphanage in Donetsk. His son Yuriy went to prison for 30 years. Today, Yuriy Shukhevych is a known political figure, and Hero of Ukraine.[182]

The museum portrays Roman Shukhevych and the members of the Shukhevych family as victims of Soviet repression and heroic martyrs for Ukraine's Liberation Struggle.

The memorial exhibition on the second floor centres on Shukhevych's furtive life at the safe house, which spanned from spring 1948 to his death on 5 March 1950.[183] While the exhibit, once again, contains virtually no explanatory text, the guidebook provides limited explanation which is supplemented by the museum guide's interpretation of the exhibit. The exhibit features three components: the staircase, hideout, and living space. The staircase, which leads from the entrance at the rear of the museum to the memorial exhibit, is the original staircase in which Roman Shukhevych was fatally shot in the head in battle with MGB units on 5 March 1950.[184] Once the staircase is ascended, the museum guide brings attention to a reconstruction of Shukhevych's double-walled hideout (Figure 8). To access the hideout, Shukhevych would pull open one of the boards on the false wall; he would then hide between the proper and false wall.[185] The living space, in which Shukhevych lived and worked, consists of a partially restored kitchen and a living room furnished with pieces of the original furniture, made in the 1930s.[186]

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[182] *ibid.,* 21-22.
[183] "Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha."
[184] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 4.
[185] Subject A (Shukhevych Museum Guide) in discussion with the author, July 29, 2014.
[186] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 4.

FIGURE 8 Roman Shukhevych's double-walled hideout. Located on the second floor, Shukhevych Museum. Author's photograph, taken July 29, 2014.

Analysis

The Shukhevych Museum is a manifestation of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative. It venerates Roman Shukhevych and the UPA, focuses on Ukrainian suffering and martyrdom, demonizes Poles and Soviets, and excludes OUN-UPA atrocities and misdeeds. By focusing on Ukrainian victimization and minimizing or completely omitting acts of perpetration, the Shukhevych Museum – similar to the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum – propagates the Ukrainian victimization narrative. The most notable of the museum's omissions are Shukhevych's role and activities with Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 during 1942, and the UPA's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943. Such excisions reflect what John-Paul Himka refers to as the "Blank Spots in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora" – the diaspora community having funded and assisted in establishing the museum.[187] The Shukhevych Museum remembers the moral virtuosity of Shukhevych and the brutality of the occupying regimes with apparent clarity, but is amnesic with regard to Shukhevych's anti-Jewish actions with Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 and his anti-Polish actions with the UPA.

Though the museum adheres to the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative's one-dimensional portrayal of Shukhevych, the museum does have merit. The second floor memorial exhibit effectively conveys the furtive and perilous nature of the final stage of Shukhevych's life. Visitors are able to walk through the recreation of Shukhevych's safe house and ruminate on the environment in which he lived and worked, his secret hiding place between the walls, and the staircase in which he was fatally shot. The ground floor thematic exhibition also holds value. By elucidating the different stages and activities of Shukhevych's life, the museum has

[187] See, John-Paul Himka, "War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora," *Spaces of Identity* Vol. 5, No. 1 (April 2005): 9-24.

taken an important first step towards humanizing and demystifying one of the Ukrainian Nationalist community's primary heroes. In an attempt to demythologize the heroic figure of the commander-in-chief of the UPA, the museum highlights his family, youth, political and military activities, and his leadership of the armed struggle for an independent Ukraine. The museum has, however, stumbled in taking its first step towards unveiling the "real-life" commander-in-chief.

Rather than providing a nuanced biography, the museum provides a hagiographic account of Shukhevych's life. As detailed above, the museum highlights the virtuous character, intellectuality, patriotism, and activism of Shukhevych and his family. It also focuses on Polish and Soviet repression of the Ukrainian population, and the Shukhevych family's heroic martyrdom. Such an adulatory account excludes Shukhevych's acts of collaboration and perpetration from the museum's narrative.

Similar to the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum's attempt to predate the OUN(b)'s break with Nazi Germany to refute claims of collaboration and perpetration, the Shukhevych Museum also predates Shukhevych's schism with Germany to the summer of 1941. The museum's guidebook intimates that Shukhevych went into opposition to Germany immediately following the rejection of the Act. While Germany's refusal to accept the 30 June 1941 proclamation did result in a conflict with the leadership of the Nachtigall Battalion, and the battalion's forced disarmament in August 1941, the soldiers were ultimately reorganized as the Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 on 21 October 1941.[188] Rudling states that, "Roman Shukhevych's title was that of *Hauptsturmfuhrer* (captain) of

[188] Per Anders Rudling, "Schooling in Murder: *Schutzmannschaft* Battalion 201 and *Hauptmann* Roman Shukhevych in Belarus 1942," (paper presented at the international conference Prawda historyczna a prawda polityczna w badaniach naukowych. Przykład ludobójstwa na kresach południowej Polski w latach 1939-1946, University of Wrocław, June 21, 2010), 5.

the first company and deputy commander of the legion. Enrolment was voluntary, yet of the about 300 remaining members of the *Nachtigall* division, only about 15 declined to sign up for service in the *Schutzmannschaften.* Almost all of its members belonged to the OUN."[189] Collaboration did not cease in the summer of 1941, as the museum implies.

The museum is completely silent about Shukhevych's activities from the summer of 1941 to January 1943. The blank spot in the museum's account is particularly evident when considering, unabridged, the guidebook's chronicle of events:

> The German command reacted extremely negatively to the act of will of the Ukrainian people. Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian Head of State Yaroslav Stets'ko, and other representatives of the government of the restored Ukrainian state were arrested. Shukhevych learned about the arrests by the German government and put forward an ultimatum demanding the release of Stepan Bandera and members of government.
>
> From January 1943, Shukhevych entered a new and important stage of his life as the leader of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and from fall 1943, as the Commander in Chief of the UPA.[190]

Rudling sagaciously observes that, "Most of Shukhevych nationalist biographers downplay or omit this period of Shukhevych [sic] life. Shukhevych's elevation to a national hero has led to much speculation about the nature of his activities during the 'missing year' of 1942."[191] On 16 February 1942, following training in Germany, Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 – along with its leader, Roman Shukhevych – was assigned to Belarus; the battalion arrived in mid-March.[192] Rudling notes that the battalion was "spread out over 12 different

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[189] Per Anders Rudling, "The Shukhevych Cult in Ukraine: Myth Making with Complications," (paper presented at the international conference World War II and the (Re)Creation of Historical Memory in Contemporary Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine, September 25, 2009), 6.
[190] Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk*, 18-19.
[191] Rudling, "The Shukhevych Cult in Ukraine," 8.
[192] Rudling, "Schooling in Murder," 6.

points in the triangle of Mahiliou-Vitsebsk-Lepel', guarding a territory of 2,400 square kilometers, at the time of the implementation of the Holocaust of the Belarusian Jews."[193] Though there is no consensus among historians concerning the exact role of Battalion 201 in Belarus, and more research is needed to establish the battalion's precise activities and positions, it is possible to infer their general actions.

The Nazi occupation regime could not have functioned, nor could the mass extermination of the Jewish population have been carried out, without the support of the Schutzmannschaften (local auxiliary police). The German police structure relied heavily on the Gendarmerie (state rural police) and the Schutzmannschaften in the occupied rural areas. Due to the shortage of German personnel, the Schutzmannschaften did the majority of the groundwork. Martin Dean notes that, "The ratio of Gendarmes to local police (*Schutzmannschaft*), however, was initially at least one to five and worsened from the summer of 1942."[194] Lower states that, "The Germans needed indigenous helpers to administer and exploit the newly conquered territory. Their short-term and long-term colonial aims of racial Germanization and economic autarky could not be achieved without local accomplices, auxiliaries, and laborers."[195] According to Dean, "The *Gendarmerie* and *Schutzmannschaft* comprised the sharp end of German police administration, which enforced the harsh German occupation regime. The local policemen were perceived as instruments of local terror on behalf of the Germans, implementing German policies of genocide and

[193] *ibid.,* 6.
[194] Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-44* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 60.
[195] Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 51.

terroristic revenge."[196] Discussing specifically Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201, Frank Golczewski describes succinctly their activities as "fighting partisans and killing Jews."[197]

In contrast to the preceding assessment, Ukrainian Nationalist and veteran accounts – when they do seldom address the topic – present the Schutzmannschaften as regular troops engaged in conventional warfare against partisans. Rudling notes that, "Unsurprisingly, the veterans' own accounts of their whereabouts in Belarus make no mention of atrocities, but present the battalion's tasks as being of a military nature."[198] Discussing Nationalist assessments of Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201, Rudling observes that:

> Recent nationalist accounts even put a positive spin on the *Schutzmannschaften* in Belarus, depicting is [sic] as a benign tutorial in patriotism for the Belarusian population, an opportunity for them to advance the relatively underdeveloped Belarusian national consciousness. Some supporters of Shukhevych deny that there were any 'real' partisans in Belarus at this point and alternatively that no civilians were victims of the activities of the *Schutzmannschaft* battalion 201… By and large, the pro-Shukhevych narratives uncritically accept the *Schutzmanners* versions of history, neither of which mention any war crimes or abuses committed against the local population. By contrast, killings, attacks and abuses carried out by the pro-Soviet partisans are described in great detail.[199]

The notion that Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 was engaged in regular warfare is problematized by the disparity of Schutzmannschaft and partisan casualties. Rudling calculates that, "during its ten-month tenure in Belarus, *Schutzmannschaft* battalion 201 lost only 49 men, while 40 were wounded. This should be contrasted with to [sic] the over 2,000

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[196] Dean, *Collaboration in the* Holocaust, 77.
[197] Frank Golczewski, as cited in Per Anders Rudling, "The Shukhevych Cult in Ukraine: Myth Making with Complications," (paper presented at the international conference World War II and the (Re)Creation of Historical Memory in Contemporary Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine, September 25, 2009), 7.
[198] Rudling, "Schooling in Murder," 7.
[199] Rudling, "The Shukhevych Cult in Ukraine," 10-11.

'partisans' it killed. Even if all the losses of *Schutzmannschaft* battalion 201 were due to war deaths, this means a discrepancy in the casualty ratio between its member and enemy "bandits" of over 1:40."[200] Rudling concludes that, "Regular warfare or counterinsurgency campaigns do not generate such staggering imbalances. Rather, they show the genocidal consequences of the war of annihilation, in line with Keitel, Himmler, and Hitler's directives."[201] Deliberating over the extermination of the Jewish population, Peter Black harmonizes that, "The Nazis could not have implemented their 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' without assistance from ethnic German and non-German auxiliaries." [202] Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 was sent from Belarus to Lviv on 6 January 1943 and disbanded.[203] It was following the dissolution of Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 that Shukhevych absconded from German service, one and a half years after Germany's rejection of the Act in the summer of 1941.

As detailed above, the museum depicts the UPA as an inclusive, multi-ethnic organization engaged in a universal struggle against oppression. Members of the Polish diaspora remember the UPA in a different light. Tadeusz Piotrowski, a Polish-American sociologist who fled Volhynia when he was a toddler in 1943, details the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic cleansing of 1943:

> On August 1, 1943, members of my extended family were brutally slaughtered in a Nationalist attack on the Polish village of Leonowka, located just three kilometers from Ryswianka... My uncle Hilary Bronowicki was killed by his Ukrainian neighbors... So was his son. His wife, Mania – who had a wooden leg – arrived just in time to see her husband

[200] Rudling, "Schooling in Murder," 11.
[201] *ibid.,* 13.
[202] Peter Black, "Foot Soldiers of the Final Solution: The Trawniki Training Camp and Operation Reinhard," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Spring 2011), 1.
[203] Rudling, "Schooling in Murder," 10.

> and son being lowered into a shallow grave by his murderers, their neighbors. My Uncle Pawel and his children met a similar fate. His wife, who was forced to watch all of this, died of a massive coronary. The Ukrainian wife of our nearest neighbor's son was ordered to kill him (her own husband) while he slept. She did not. My brother-in-law's family (wife and three children) [was] brutally tortured, then executed by the Nationalists in Torczyn, Volhynia. Their bodies were then thrown down a well.[204]

Roman Shukhevych, however, did not instigate the ethnic cleansing. Marples notes that, "the regional division [of OUN(b)] in Volhynia headed by Klym Savur (Dmytro Klyachkivs'kyi) took the lead in giving the go-ahead for what was a peasant vendetta against the Poles caused by immediate and much older grievances."[205] Regardless, the museum altogether expunges UPA's anti-Polish actions from its narrative. The omission of UPA perpetration is not surprising considering the museum's adulatory, Nationalist tone. Marples states that, "Above any other event in the history of the UPA (and of the OUN-B, which provided the instruction to carry out the ethnic cleansing), Volhynia in 1943-44 is the most damaging in its impact on the reputation of the insurgents."[206]

When Germany withdrew from Volhynia in the summer of 1943, and as the Red Army approached, the UPA initiated the ethnic cleansing of the remaining Poles. Snyder estimates that the UPA murdered about 7,000 unarmed men, women and children in the first days of the assault in late March and early April 1943.[207] He describes how, "Throughout April and throughout Volhynia, UPA soldiers surrounded colonies and villages, burned

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[204] Tadeusz Piotrowski, *Ukrainian Integral Nationalism: Chronological Assessment and Bibliography* (Toronto: Alliance of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1997), 55-56.
[205] David Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2007), 226.
[206] *ibid.,* 222.
[207] Timothy Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," *Past & Present* 179 (2003), 220.

houses, shot or forced back inside those who tried to escape,"[208] and that, "Co-ordinated attacks continued through the summer, as UPA commanders called for the destruction of Poles." [209] According to Snyder's estimation, the UPA killed approximately 50,000 Volhynian Poles and forced tens of thousands more to flee in 1943.[210] Himka asserts that, in addition to murdering tens of thousands of Polish civilians during the UPA's ethnic cleansing actions in Volhynia, "The UPA also killed tens of thousands of fellow Ukrainians, including political opponents, suspected traitors, and collaborators with the reinstalled Soviet regime."[211] The museum glorifies Roman Shukhevych, the leader of an organization that not only murdered tens of thousands of Poles, but also tens of thousands of Ukrainians.

Roman Shukhevych is one of the most divisive figures in Ukraine's wartime history. While members of the Ukrainian Nationalist community prefer to remember him as a heroic martyr with steadfast loyalty to Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, others recall him as a Nazi collaborator and ethnic-cleanser. The monumental heroization of Shukhevych outside of the Shukhevych Museum foreshadows his treatment within; the museum singularly portrays him as the former of the two assessments. However, neither of the two appraisals, alone, is satisfactory. Shukhevych was at the same time a fighter and martyr for Ukrainian independence, as well as a Nazi collaborator and perpetrator. The context in which Shukhevych lived and acted is complex and the two categories often overlapped. Such unequivocal veneration by the museum is not only disadvantageous to establishing a comprehensive understanding of Shukhevych and Ukraine's wartime history, but is also

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[208] *ibid.*, 221.
[209] *ibid.,* 228.
[210] *ibid.,* 202.
[211] John-Paul Himka, "Victim Cinema: *Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in World War II – The Untold Story*," in *A Laboratory of Transnational History,* ed. Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2009), 219-220.

offensive to the ethnic groups that suffered in the wake of the OUN(b)'s fight for a Ukraine for Ukrainians.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LVIV HISTORICAL MUSEUM'S PORTRAYAL OF UKRAINE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The Lviv Historical Museum's (LHM) Department of Liberation Struggle currently operates two separate exhibitions dedicated to Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. The first exhibit, formerly known as the history of Military and Historical Monuments, reopened in 2006 as the Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence (SULI).[212] The SULI, which was remodelled and developed by Volodymyr Boyko, is a stationary exhibit in the LHM's historic "Black House" building at 4, Rynok Square. The Black House traces its roots to the beginning of the sixteenth century and has since undergone numerous renovations and changes in ownership.[213] In 1926, when E. Royinsky sold the building to the city of Lviv, the Black House was renovated and adapted to serve as a museum.[214] On 22 September 1929, the LHM held a ceremony to consecrate the opening of the museum in the Black House.[215] Today, the building contains three exhibitions: the History of the Ukrainian Diaspora, the Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence, and the History of the Western Ukrainian Lands. This chapter will focus solely on the SULI exhibition.

The second exhibition devoted to Ukraine's War of Independence – the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle (MULS) – is located in the southern section of Znesinnia Park at 23-a Lysenka Street, and is housed in the former building of the Lviv City Police's Rifle

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[212] Delphine Bechtel, "The 1941 Pogroms as Represented in Western Ukrainian Historiography and Memorial Culture," *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives, Conference Presentations* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, April 2013), 6.
[213] "'The Black House', 4, Rynok Square," L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey, accessed January 24, 2015, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/eng/prymischennya_budynky/chorna_kamyanycya_pl_rynok_4.html.
[214] *ibid.*
[215] *ibid*.

Society.[216] According to the LHM's conceptual design for the MULS, "The purpose of the museum – using original historical materials – is to create a monument to the days of the liberation struggle of Ukraine that highlights the key milestones in the building of the Ukrainian state in the twentieth century, in order to reveal the ideological foundations of the liberation struggle, and to show the struggle for Ukrainian statehood as a continuous sequential chain of different forms and methods of ideological, political, and armed struggle."[217] Also under the management of Volodymyr Boyko, the museum opened on 13 October 2012 in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the UPA.[218] The event attracted over 2,000 visitors,[219] including: Lviv Mayor, Andriy Sadovy; head of the Lviv regional council, Oleh Pankevych; head of the Brotherhood of UPA soldiers, Oles Humenyuk; "Hero of Ukraine," Yuriy Shukhevych; and UPA veterans, former political prisoners, and the general public.[220] In an address at the museum's opening, Shukhevych declared that, "Our children and grandchildren should know who we are, from where, and for what we fought and won. I want to bow to those who gave their lives for Ukraine."[221]

The LHM's SULI exhibit and the MULS embody the main tenets of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative. They glorify the OUN and the other members of the Ukrainian liberation movement while vilifying the occupation regimes. In doing so, they emphasize

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[216] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny," L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey, accessed January 24, 2015, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/ekspozyciyi/muzey_vyzvolnoyi_borotby_ukrayiny.html.
[217] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny," L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey, accessed January 30, 2015, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/proekty/koncepciya_muzeu_vyzvolnoyi_borotby_ukrayiny.html.
[218] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."
[219] "Vidkryttya Muzeyu vyzvol′noyi borot′by u L′vovi – podiya 2012 roku," Vgolos, accessed January 29, 2015, http://vgolos.com.ua/articles/vidkryttya_muzeyu_vyzvolnoi_borotby_u_lvovi_ndash_podiya_2012_roku_107894.html.
[220] "U L'vovi do 70-richchya UPA vidkryly Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by," ZAXID.NET, accessed January 29, 2015, http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?u_lvovi_do_70richchya_upa_vidkrili_muzey_vizvolnoyi_borotbi&objectId=1267752.
[221] "U L′vovi vidkryly Muzey vyzvol′noyi borot′by Ukrayiny," L′viv ofitsiynyy portal meshkantsiv, accessed January 29, 2015, http://city-adm.lviv.ua/portal-news/culture/206972-u-lvovi-vidkryly-muzei-vyzvolnoi-borotby-ukrainy.

Ukrainian victimization and conceal atrocities committed by Ukrainians. The SULI exhibit focuses profoundly on the brutality of the Polish, Soviet, and German occupation regimes, and the Ukrainians who sacrificed themselves to resist them. The MULS spotlights the heroism of the members of the liberation movement at each stage of the struggle with the callousness of the occupation regimes serving as a backdrop.

The Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence Exhibit

The SULI exhibit is located on the third floor of the LHM's "Black House" building. The museum's entrance is on the ground floor of the building, which is in the northeast corner of Rynok Square. Admission into each of the Black House's three exhibits is ten hryvnas (approximately fifty Canadian cents); accordingly, visitors wishing to view only one exhibit do not have to pay to visit the entire museum. The museum does not offer regular guided tours of the exhibit and virtually all of the explanatory text within the exhibit, which is inconsistent in both design and distribution, is in Ukrainian. While some halls have overarching text explanations that discuss the period being displayed, others contain brief excerpts that accompany the artefacts. Concerning the period explanations, select halls have the text affixed to the wall and others simply contain paper folders with text.[222]

Organized chronologically, the SULI exhibit provides a broad account of Ukraine's twentieth-century Liberation Struggle. It features a range of artefacts related to the various actors and organizations involved, including: weapons, uniforms, personal insignia, equipment, portraits, artwork, news clippings, correspondence, archival images, propaganda, and other assorted items and documents. With regard to the actors and organizations, the exhibit features, among others: the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, a Ukrainian unit within the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War; the Ukrainian Galician Army, the army of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic; the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the predecessor of the OUN; the Carpathian Sich, the military organization of the short-lived Carpatho-Ukrainian state; the OUN's expeditionary forces (*pokhidni grupy*) and the Brotherhoods of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Druzhyny Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv*, DUN), both

[222] When referencing these folders, I cite them as: "Museum Text-Folder."

of which entered Galicia with the Wehrmacht in June 1941; and the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," which fought alongside Germany until the end of the war but was mostly destroyed at the Battle of Brody and later re-formed. The focus of the exhibit, however, is on the OUN and its military wing, the UPA.

In addition to highlighting the multiple Ukrainian contingents associated with the Liberation Struggle, the exhibit also accents the truculence of the occupiers. The three main recipients of attention are the Polish, Soviet, and German occupying regimes. While the Ukrainian combatants are depicted as heroic patriots and martyrs, the occupiers are presented as duplicitous brutes. The exhibit underlines the Polish "pacification" in Western Ukraine during the interwar period and the 1932 to 1933 famine in Soviet Ukraine, as well as the repression and deportation of Ukrainians by the Soviets and the forced recruitment and barbarity of the Germans during the Second World War. Thus, the SULI exhibit centres on two themes: the brutality of the foreign occupiers, and the valour of the Ukrainians who fought them.

Both themes are evident in the exhibit's treatment of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (*Zakhidnoukrayins'ka Narodna Respublyka*, ZUNR). The Polish government is depicted as perfidious and cruel, while the members of the ZUNR's Ukrainian Galician Army, and later the Ukrainian People's Army,[223] are presented as self-sacrificing warriors. Discussing the 21 April 1920 Treaty of Warsaw between the Ukrainian People's Republic (*Ukrayins'ka Narodnia Respublika*, UNR) and Poland – which called for the UNR's relinquishment of its claim on Galicia, Poland's recognition of the UNR's independence, abstinence from separate negotiations with the Bolsheviks, and joint military operations

[223] In 1919, the West-Ukrainian People's Republic's army, the Ukrainian Galician Army, united with the Ukrainian People's Republic's army, the Ukrainian People's Army, following the occupation of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic by Poland.

against the Bolsheviks – a poster in the museum notes that, once Warsaw was removed from danger:

> the Polish Army ceased military operation against the Bolsheviks and entered into negotiations with them, without the participation of the UPR's [UNR's] representatives. The Ukrainian Army continued combat operations until November 10, 1921 and afterwards was interned by its former ally in Polish concentration camps where the combatants were kept under unbearable conditions which caused death to them on a mass scale.[224]

The poster continues that, "Armed poorly, nearly barefooted, with no food and ammunition reserves, the brave fighters and patriots would rather die fighting for Ukraine than perish in a foreign land… Having refused to desert to the Reds, 359 insurgents, mown down by machine-gun fire at Bazar in Zhytomyr region, all went down into a common grave, with the national anthem on their lips."[225]

The next hall, which focuses on the political situation in Western Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, further demonizes the Polish government. Following the Polish-West Ukrainian War, Poland was granted conditional control over Galicia by the 18 March 1921 Peace Treaty of Riga.[226] According to the resolution, which was negotiated by the governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Polish government, Poland was required to recognize the independence of Ukraine in accordance with the principle of self-determination (Article 2), and guarantee the cultural, linguistic, and religious rights of Ukrainians (Article 7).[227] The exhibit contends that the Polish government failed to

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[224] Museum Poster, "Zakhidno-Ukrayins'ka Narodna Respublika. Doba Dyrektoriyi (lystopad 1918-lystopad 1921 rr.)," "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[225] *ibid.*
[226] "Riga, Peace Treaty of," Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine, accessed March 5, 2015, http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CR%5CI%5CRigaPeaceTreatyof.htm.
[227] *ibid.*

fulfill its obligation to grant autonomy to Eastern Galicia and, instead, ruthlessly persecuted Ukrainians. The text-folder states that,

> The Polish state took on a policy of unconditional polonization of the occupied lands. Under various pretexts, the occupation authorities dismissed employees and workers of Ukrainian nationality, especially in rail transport, post, and telegraph… The policy of granting land to Polish colonists amidst conditions of agrarian overpopulation and the landlessness of Ukrainian peasants exacerbated Ukrainian-Polish relations and expanded the struggle of the local population against the occupation regime.[228]

According to the exhibit, as relations continued to deteriorate, the Polish government, in response to a wave of attacks on Polish estates in the summer of 1930, "resorted to the massive and brutal repression of the Ukrainian population – the pacification policy (suppression)."[229] The text-folder details the pacification: "Special police and military departments conducted numerous inspections in private homes, and in Ukrainian cultural, educational, financial, and economic institutions. Physical violence and humiliation of the local Ukrainian peasants, teachers, and priests was commonplace."[230] The failure of the more liberal and moderate nationalist organizations to improve conditions for Ukrainians produced an influx of support for radical nationalist groups, such as the OUN. The text-folder notes that, "The uncompromising nature and sacrifice of the OUN gained them wide popularity among young people. The organization grew, continuing to fight under the banner-slogan 'you will attain a Ukrainian state or die in battle for it'."[231]

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[228] Museum Text-Folder, "Politychne stanovyshche v Zakhidniy Ukrayini v 20-30-x rr. XX st.," "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[229] *ibid.*
[230] *ibid.*
[231] *ibid.*

The next section of the exhibit highlights the suffering of Ukrainians under Soviet control in Eastern Ukraine during the interwar period. Though the text-folder is missing, a series of news clippings tell the story of the Soviet famine of 1932-33. Select headlines read: "Great famine! (*Velyke nehoduvannya*)," "The terrible hardship of the population in Ukraine (*Strashne lykholittya naselennya na Ukrayini*)," "There is a new wave of famine going around in Ukraine (*Nova povorotna khvylya holodu na Ukrayini*)," and "Stalin killed ten million people! (*Stalin ubyv desyat' milioniv lyudey!*)."[232] One of the more graphic news clippings is headlined, "For those who forget the 'Hungry Ukraine' (*Tym shcho zabuly 'Holodnu Ukrayinu'*)."[233] The clipping features a poem about famine and deprivation, titled "Listen (*Slukhayte*)," by Oleksandr Oles, as well as a set of photographs pertaining to the famine (Figure 9). The captions to the photographs read: "Children swollen with hunger in Berdyansk (*Dity opukhli z holodu v Berdyans'ku.*)," "The corpses of children who died of starvation in the street, laid in coffins in the city of Kherson (*Trupy ditey, shcho pomerly na vulytsyakh vid holodu, zlozheni v truparni m. Kherson*)," "Adults swollen from hunger in the city of Berdyansk (*Dorosle naselennya opukhle vid holodu v m. Berdyans'k*)," and "Dead bodies gathered in the streets of Kherson on the way to the cemetery (*Trupy zibrani na vulytsyakh Khersonu v dorozi na tsvyntar*)." The news clippings accentuate Ukrainian victimization and Soviet culpability for the famine.

[232] Museum Documents, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[233] Museum Documents, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."

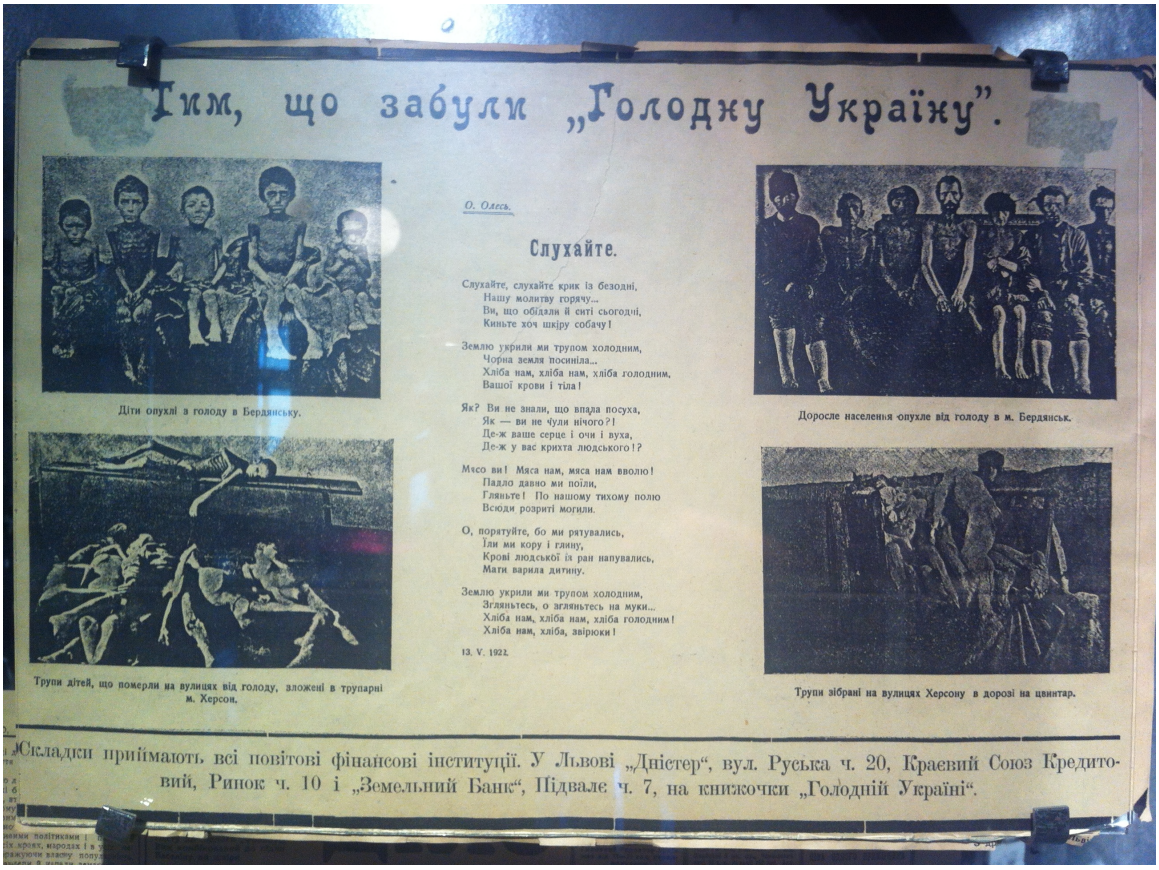

FIGURE 9 Newspaper clipping in the Struggle of the Ukrainians for Liberation and Independence exhibit, titled: "For those who forget the 'Hungry Ukraine' (*Tym shcho zabuly 'Holodnu Ukrayinu'*)." Author's photograph, taken July 25, 2014.

The next hall discusses the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine in September 1939, and the subsequent occupation from 1939 to 1941. Discussing the arrival of the Red Army in Western Ukraine, the hall's text-folder notes that, "The western population greeted the Red Army with enthusiasm and hope. This was aided by official Soviet propaganda that justified collaboration with the Nazis in the dismemberment of Poland, and explained that the transition of the Polish-Soviet border was undertaken out of desire to help their 'Ukrainian and Belarusian brothers' in order to prevent the German troops from occupying the land."[234] According to the exhibit, the initial hope was soon replaced by despair. The text-folder details the severity of the Soviet occupation:

[234] Museum Text-Folder, "Zakhidnoukrayins'ki zemli u skladi SRSR (1939-1941rr.)," "Chorna kam''yanytsya."

> The entry of the USSR into Western Ukraine meant the complete suppression of democracy and the multiparty system, forced collectivization, mass arrests and harassment of the local population. In the spring of 1940, the regime rejected the mask of democracy, starting large-scale repression against Ukrainians and against Poles. Thousands of alleged 'enemies of the people' without any warning, court or even formal charges were arrested, herded into cattle wagons and taken into exile in Siberia, Kazakhstan and the northern regions of the USSR. Many entire families of deportees perished.
>
> From September 1939 to November 1940 alone, 312,000 families or 1,173,000 people were deported from the territories of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus to the northeastern regions of the USSR, the Komi Republic, and Kazakhstan.[235]

As previously discussed, the objectives of the repressive measures were to combat the enemies of Soviet power – regardless of ethnicity – and to Sovietize the population.[236] Once Polish resistance to the Soviet occupation was neutralized, the NKVD targeted the OUN. The exhibit addresses the Soviet persecution of the OUN and the scale of political oppression in Galicia during the Soviet occupation. The text-folder explains that, "The mass arrests of OUN members began at the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940. In 1941 a trial of young OUN members was held in Lviv, known as the 'Trial of 59'. Forty-two of the defendants received the death sentence, including eleven women. From 1939 to 1941 alone, 10,000 political prisoners were tortured in prisons in 'liberated' Galicia."[237] The hall presents the Ukrainian population and the OUN as victims of the Soviet regime. According to the exhibit, "The bayonets brought on by the Red Army totalitarian regime finally persuaded the Western

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[235] *ibid.*
[236] "Radyans'kyy period 1939-1941 rr," Tyurma na Lonts'koho, accessed September 25, http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/istoriya/istoriya-vyaznytsi/radyanskyj-period-1939-1941-rr.
[237] "Zakhidnoukrayins'ki zemli u skladi SRSR (1939-1941rr.)."

population that in the future they would create their own independent united Ukrainian state."[238]

The next hall, and final section devoted to the wartime Liberation Struggle, discusses Western Ukraine during the German-Soviet War of 1941-45. It focuses on the heroism of the OUN and the UPA and the ruthlessness of the German occupation regime. A placard notes that, "On June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany started the war against the Soviet Union. During the summer-autumn 1941, the entire territory of Ukraine was occupied by German troops."[239] Discussing Germany's repudiation of the 30 June 1941 Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood, the text-folder states that, "The reaction by Berlin to the restoration of Ukrainian statehood was quick and sharp. In early July, the German authorities arrested and subsequently imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp S. Bandera, Y. Stets'ko, and a number of ministers of the Ukrainian government."[240] Like the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum, the exhibit displays the 25 November 1941 Einsatzgruppen order, which declared (as also noted above): "It has been undeniably established that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichskommissariat to create an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement must be arrested immediately and after a thorough examination secretly executed as thieves."[241] The exhibit frames the OUN(b) and Nazi Germany as opponents as early as the summer of 1941, and enemies by the fall of the same year.

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[238] *ibid.*
[239] Museum Placard, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[240] Museum Text-Folder, "Zakhidna Ukrayina v roky nimets'ko-radyans'koyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)," "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[241] Museum Document (Order of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD)), "Betr.: OUN (Bandera-Bewegung)," "Chorna kam''yanytsya."

The exhibit also presents Ukrainians, collectively, as enemies of Germany and the target for abuse and eventual annihilation. The text-folder states that, "In the occupied territories of Ukraine, the German invaders implemented the so-called 'New Order,' which was based on total terror. From 1941, the recruitment and subsequent forced removal of people to work in Germany took place in Ukraine. The planned extermination of the population of Ukraine was part of the state policy of the Reich."[242] The exhibit details the extermination: "In Lviv, the Nazis created a POW camp 'Stalag – 328,' at which were killed more than 140,000 people. For two and a half years in another camp – Yaniv – about 200,000 people were killed. During the years of occupation in the Lviv ghetto, the Nazis destroyed more than 150,000 Jews."[243] According to the exhibit, the OUN-UPA, and Ukrainians more generally, valiantly resisted the German occupation regime. The text-folder remarks that, "The brutality of the German occupation regime caused considerable resistance from the population of Western Ukraine. The OUN and UPA were constitutive parts of the national liberation movement of resistance."[244] A placard explains that, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was the military political formation that led a heroic struggle on Ukrainian lands in the years 1942-1950 against German and Soviet forces for an Independent Ukrainian State."[245] Concerning the destruction of the Jewish population, the text-folder asserts that, "The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians sympathized with the Jews and under the threat of death helped them."[246] The hall presents the OUN-UPA as champions of the Ukrainian resistance movement and, with the Ukrainian population more generally, as rescuers of Jews and casualties of the German occupation regime.

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[242] "Zakhidna Ukrayina v roky nimets'ko-radyans'koyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)."
[243] *ibid.*
[244] *ibid.*
[245] Museum Placard, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[246] "Zakhidna Ukrayina v roky nimets'ko-radyans'koyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)."

The hall also features material about the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna." Formed primarily of Ukrainian volunteers, the division fought under Nazi command from April 1943 to spring 1945, which, according to the exhibit, was approximately the same time that the UPA was leading Ukraine's "heroic struggle" against Germany.[247] Himka notes that, "The nationalists led by Andrii Melnyk were more adept at working with the Germans, and in the spring of 1943, when the Bandera wing launched an independent Ukrainian Insurgent Army, they instead won a concession from the Germans to establish a Ukrainian volunteer unit as part of the Waffen-SS."[248] Rather than focusing on the unit's collaboration with Germany, which would run contrary to the hall's narrative of resistance, the exhibit highlights the patriotic nature of the division and the self-sacrifice of its members in combating the Red Army's advance into Ukraine and, therefore, the impending "second" Soviet occupation. The museum's website boasts that, "For the first time the exhibition displays materials on the history of Ukrainian Division 'Galicia' [Halychyna]: stages of volunteers' recruitment, participation in the Battle of Brody, internment of members of the Division in the prison camp in Rimini (Italy). Here are presented [the] belongings of the members of the Division, who died near the Brody River, [their] memorable military honors, [and their] camp publication."[249] The text-folder describes the Soviet advance and the division's defeat:

> In the summer of 1944, the Division 'Galicia' [Halychyna] was incorporated into the XIII Corps of the IV German Panzer Army, which held a 160-kilometer line of defence near the city of Brody. As a result of the Soviet offensive on July 22, 1944, the XIII Corps ceased to

[247] Museum Placard, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."
[248] John-Paul Himka, "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: The Galician Ukrainians in North America," *Austrian History Yearbook* Vol. 37 (2006), 19.
[249] "Department of Liberation Struggle," L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey, accessed January 31, 2015, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/eng/ekspozyciyi/muzey_vyzvolnoyi_borotby_ukrayiny.html.

> exist and nearly a thousand members of the Division were forced to break out of the encirclement and push through to Transcarpathia.[250]

Despite their resistance, "On July 27, 1944, Soviet troops entered Lviv."[251] Following assignments in Slovakia in March 1945, the remaining members of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," reorganized as the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (1-UD-UNA), surrendered to British forces and were subsequently interned in Rimini, Italy.[252] A hall placard concludes by stating that, "Ukraine lost almost 8 million people in World War II."[253]

[250] "Zakhidna Ukrayina v roky nimets'ko-radyans'koyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)."
[251] *ibid.*
[252] David Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2007), 184.
[253] Museum Placard, "Chorna kam''yanytsya."

The Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle

The Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle (MULS) is situated at the end of the driveway that leads northwards from Lysenka Street to the museum. The entrance to the museum is located on the southwest corner of the building and admission into the museum is four hryvnas (approximately twenty Canadian cents). Like the SULI exhibit, the MULS is organized chronologically, beginning with Ukraine's struggle for sovereignty in the late nineteenth century and concluding with its independence in 1991. The museum does not offer regular guided tours and all the descriptive text in the museum, which is restricted to brief artefact identification labels, is in Ukrainian. While the museum does not provide explanatory text, the front-end staff, who do not speak English, serve as a source of interpretation and information for Ukrainian-speaking visitors.

There are a number of similarities between the recently opened MULS and the SULI exhibit, and the former has in effect eclipsed the latter. While the SULI exhibit is still open to the public, it has been removed from the LHM's website and appears to operate at a level of subsistence. The only webpage about the SULI exhibit is an erroneous link that is intended to lead to the English version of the MULS webpage. Similar to the SULI exhibit, the MULS centres on the valour of the participants in Ukraine's struggle for independence. The conceptual design for the museum states that, "Since the declaration of independence of Ukraine it has become extremely important to highlight the sacrificial and heroic path of the Ukrainian nation to obtain its statehood. At this time there is a need for historical material to present convincingly the main stages that took place in guiding the state building of the nation, showing unprecedented examples of heroism and patriotism."[254] The museum's

[254] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

overarching narrative details the triumph of the Liberation Struggle, with each stage contributing to the attainment of an independent Ukraine.

The museum is divided into nine stages: first, "The paramilitary youth organizations in Galicia"; second, "The rebirth of Ukraine: Ukrainian statehood 1917-1920"; third, "The creation and fighting actions of the USS [Ukrainian Sich Riflemen]"; fourth, "The rising current of nationalism: the UVO-OUN between the two world wars. [The struggle for] Carpatho-Ukraine"; fifth, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the armed OUN underground"; sixth, "The First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, and the Battle of Brody"; seventh, "The repression against the carriers of the national ideas under the totalitarian regime"; eighth, "Support to Ukrainian state forces from the Ukrainian political and military emigration"; and ninth, "The movement of the sixties. The Declaration of Independence of Ukraine."[255] The first room of the museum focuses on the first two stages of the struggle. It contains material about the Sich, Sokil, and Plast Ukrainian youth organizations, as well as the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR), the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), and their respective armies, the Ukrainian Galician Army (*Ukrayins'ka Halyts'ka Armiya*, UHA) and the Ukrainian People's Army (*Armiya Ukrayins'koyi Narodnoyi Respubliky*, UNA). A series of photographs depict members of the youth organizations engaged in various drills and activities. According to the website, the main objective of the youth organizations "was the upbringing of a physically healthy and nationally conscious Ukrainian youth in Galicia and Bukovina."[256] Concerning the ZUNR and the UNR, the museum, like the SULI exhibit, portrays the members as self-sacrificing warriors. The museum's website states that, "A significant place in the exhibition is devoted

[255] *ibid.*
[256] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

to museum monuments related to the events in Ukraine in 1917-1921 – namely, the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West-Ukrainian People's Republic, and their selfless struggle against invaders."[257] The display contains, among other items, a replica of a UNA military uniform, an original soldier's tunic from the UHA, examples of contemporary weapons, and Central Council documents and banknotes from the UNR.

The second room contains material related to the third stage of the struggle, "The creation and fighting actions of the USS." The Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (*Ukrayins'ki sichovi stril'tsi*, USS) was a Ukrainian unit that fought in the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War.[258] The museum depicts the members of the USS as intrepid defenders of Ukrainian land from the Russian invaders. As specified in the museum's conceptual design, the display is intended to disclose "the training, major battles, and Press Bureau of the USS, and the heroic pathos of the struggle of the Sich Riflemen in the defence of the Carpathians in April and May 1915."[259] A range of artefacts brings attention to the unit's first major battle against Russian forces in the area of Mount Makivka, which is located in the Carpathian Mountains at the southern extremity of the Lviv Oblast, in late April and early May 1915.

The third room focuses on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth stages of the struggle. The section devoted to the fourth stage, the "rising current of nationalism," highlights the ideological foundation, development, and anti-Polish activities of the nascent Ukrainian nationalist movement during the interwar period. Concerning the ideological foundation, the room contains a bronze sculpture and a portrait of the nationalist movement's theoretician, Dmytro Dontsov, as well as the Decalogue of the Ukrainian nationalist. As

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[257] *ibid.*
[258] "Ukrainian Sich Riflemen," Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianSichRiflemen.htm.
[259] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

explained above, the Decalogue was the set of guiding principles for all members of the OUN. The placard beneath the portrait notes that Dontsov was: "[A] Ukrainian literary critic, writer, political activist, and editor of '*Literaturno-naukovyy vistnyk*,' '*Zahrava*,' and '*Vistnyk*.' The founder of the theory of integral nationalism."[260]

John Armstrong assigned the term "integral nationalism" to the nationalist movement in Ukraine. He asserts that integral nationalism has the following characteristics: "(1) a belief in the nation as the supreme value to which all others must be subordinated, essentially a totalitarian concept; (2) an appeal to mystically conceived ideas of the solidarity of all individuals making up the nation, usually on the assumption that biological characteristics or the irreversible effects of common historical development had welded them into one organic whole; (3) a subordination of rational, analytic thought to the 'intuitively correct' emotions; (4) expression of the 'national will' through a charismatic leader and an elite of nationalist enthusiasts organized in a single party; (5) glorification of action, war, and violence as an expression of the superior biological vitality of the nation."[261] The validity of assigning the term "integral nationalism" to the nationalist movement, rather than the term "fascism," will be discussed in the following section.

With regard to the development of the movement, the room features a series of documents from the following landmark assemblies: the First Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists in Berlin, 1927; the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists in Prague, 1928; and the conference at which the OUN was founded in Vienna in 1929, the First Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The room also contains the letter awarded to donors

[260] Museum Placard, Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny.
[261] John Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 3rd revised ed. (Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990), 13.

and sponsors of the OUN, and the organizational structure of the OUN created by Mykola Stsibors'ky. Like the SULI exhibit, an important theme in the section is the brutality of the Polish government and the gallantry of the members of the nationalist movement. The conceptual design explicitly states that the museum will highlight the "anti-Polish activities and demonstrations against the pacification of the West Ukrainian lands." One such example is the placard beneath a photograph of Roman Shukhevych, which details that he was a "member of the UVO, and the executor of the assassination of the superintendent of the Lviv School District, Stanislaw Sobinski, on 19 October 1926."[262] As previously cited while discussing the LHM's Shukhevych Museum, Sobinski was targeted for his "brutal anti-Ukrainian policies in the field of education."[263] Considering the aftermath of the Polish-West Ukrainian War, Himka notes that, "Veterans and students continued the struggle with Poland through acts of terror and sabotage, including spectacular murders of senior Polish government officials."[264]

The fourth stage also encompasses the fighting of the Carpathian Sich (the military organization of the short-lived independent state in Carpatho-Ukraine), and the OUN's expeditionary battalions, Nachtigall and Roland (the two groups were divided from the so-called Brotherhoods of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN) in Spring 1941). The museum depicts the Carpathian Sich as protectors of Carpatho-Ukraine from the invading Hungarian forces. The display includes various militaria from battles with Hungarian troops, including: photographs, weapons and weapon fragments, equipment, articles of uniforms, and assorted documents. The Carpathian Sich was ultimately defeated and all of Carpatho-Ukraine

[262] Museum Placard, Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny.
[263] Volodymyr Karanda, *Muzey heneral-khorunzhoho UPA Romana Shukhevycha: putivnyk / L'vivs'kyy istorychnyy muzey* (Lviv: Apriori, 2012), 13.
[264] John-Paul Himka, "The History behind the Regional Conflict in Ukraine," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 2015), 132.

conquered within a few days of the government's 15 March 1939 proclamation of independence.[265] The museum portrays the OUN's expeditionary battalions as regular units engaged in conventional warfare against the Soviets. The display highlights Nachtigall's civil war against the Red Army in the area of Kiev, and Roland's campaign in the Odesa area.

The fifth stage, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the armed OUN underground," begins with a set of newspaper articles announcing the 30 June 1941 Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood by Yaroslav Stets'ko. The museum intimates that the formation of the UPA was tied to Germany's rejection of the Act, once again implying that the OUN(b) was in opposition to Germany as early as the summer of 1941. The conceptual design stipulates that, "The fifth section covers the prerequisites for the formation of UPA – the declaration in Lviv of the Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood on 30 June 1941 – and emphasizes the German position in relation to the Ukrainian state."[266] In addition to charting the organizational structure and leadership of the UPA, the section also presents material concerning the officer and non-commissioned officer training, the underground movement's publications and propaganda, and the UPA's medical service and wartime and postwar military activities.

Like the Shukhevych Museum, the MULS depicts the UPA as a courageous organization leading a multi-ethnic struggle against repression. The museum's incorporation of the UPA document, "WHAT IS THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY FIGHTING FOR?" speaks to this depiction. The document states that, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is fighting for an independent, united Ukrainian state and for the principle that every

[265] John Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 3rd revised ed. (Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990), 16.
[266] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

nation should be able to lead a free life in its own independent state."[267] The section also contains a series of appeals by the UPA to various ethnic groups to join in the struggle against the Soviet oppressors. One letter, headlined "Don Cossacks!" announces that, "the Ukrainian people appeal to you to join the fight against the second Bolshevik invasion!"[268] Similar appeals are addressed to "Belarusians!... Peasants, workers, intelligentsia, soldiers, Belarusian youth!"; "Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Tajiks, Bashkirs, Tatars, People of the Urals, Volga and Siberia, People of Asia!"; and "Armenians and other peoples of the Caucasus!".[269] There is, however, no mention of Jews. In addition to presenting the UPA as leading the defence against the impending "second" Soviet occupation, the museum also portrays it as the postwar defender of Ukrainians from the Soviet government. The conceptual design states that, "The second section should show the activities of UPA in the postwar era, the tactics of UPA in terms of guerrilla warfare, attacking NKVD connections in Kolomyya, Solotvyno, Dolyna, Zhuravno, the defence of the Ukrainian population from deportation, the anti-collective farm activities, and the formation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council."[270]

The next section of the room focuses on the sixth stage of the struggle, "The First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, and the Battle of Brody." The Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" was reorganized as the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (1-UD-UNA) following the Battle of Brody. The new title and structure were formally announced in a proclamation in Weimar on 17 March 1945.[271] Similar to the SULI

[267] Museum Document, "ZA SHCHO BORET'SYA UKRAYINS'KA POVSTANCHA ARMIYA?" Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny.
[268] Museum Document, Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny.
[269] Museum Documents, Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny.
[270] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."
[271] Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 143.

exhibit, the section highlights the formation of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," its involvement in the Battle of Brody and escape from encirclement, and the division's internment in Rimini, Italy. Among other items, the display contains a series of documents, photographs, weapons and weapon fragments, medallions, and personal belongings related to the division, as well as a reproduction of the division's military tunic. However, distinct from the SULI exhibit, the MULS also emphasizes the unit's reorganization as the 1-UD-UNA. The museum depicts the latter as a purely Ukrainian unit, disassociated from Nazi Germany. The conceptual design specifies: "It should be emphasized that the UD "Halychyna" transformed itself into its own Ukrainian armed structure, the 1-UD-UNA."[272]

The seventh stage of the struggle, "The repression against the carriers of the national ideas under the totalitarian regime," demonizes the Soviet regime and presents Ukrainians as brave martyrs. The section focuses on the repressive nature of the Soviet policies in postwar Western Ukraine to the 1950s. It highlights the investigation, imprisonment, and interrogation of OUN-UPA members; the deportation of Galician Ukrainians to Siberia and their lives within the GULAG camps; and the mass executions in Ukraine by the NKVD. The OUN-UPA is presented as the torchbearer of the nationalist movement and, as a result, the target of the authorities' repression. The museum's handling of the GULAG system further vilifies the Soviets. The website states: "The documents and materials about the resistance in the camps and the slogans of the Norilsk uprising in 1953 presented here are evidence of the unscrupulous brutality of the repressive authorities. Exhibited are the personal camp belongings of Ol'ha Duchimins'kyy, Natalie Popovych, Myroslava Hrebenyuk, and Volodymyr Hrynyk, as well as camp embroideries and drawings."[273] The Norilsk uprising

[272] "Kontseptsiya muzeyu Vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."
[273] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

was a major rebellion by the inmates, who were primarily Ukrainian political prisoners of the Siberian mining GULAG camp of Norilsk.[274] The museum maps both the locations of the GULAG camps and the NKVD mass execution sites. The museum's website asserts that, "The unique monuments reveal the greatness of spirit and the unbreakable nature of the fighters for the freedom and independence of the Ukrainian people."[275]

The eighth stage of the struggle, "Support to Ukrainian state forces from the Ukrainian political and military emigration," commemorates the postwar émigré organizations that contributed to the attainment of an independent Ukrainian state. The section addresses the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile and a number of associations of former soldiers.[276] The latter include: the UPA World Brotherhood, the Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the 1-UD-UNA, the Association of Former Soldiers in Great Britain, the Association of Former Ukrainian Soldiers in America, and the Inter-combat Committee. The museum praises the fundraising activities, production and dissemination of literature, and political lobbying of the aforementioned organizations.

The final room of the museum is devoted to the ninth stage of the struggle, "The movement of the sixties. The Declaration of Independence of Ukraine." The section underlines the anti-Russification movement of the 1960s, including the 1965 arrests of members of the opposition movement in Lviv, and the practice of *samizdat* (the clandestine writing, copying, and dissemination of literature banned by the state). The display contains Ivan Dziuba's critique of Soviet political repression, *Internationalism or Russification?*

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[274] See, Yevhen Hrycyak, "Short Memoirs – The Norilsk Uprising," *Ukrainian Review* Vol. 29, No. 3 (1981): 25-62.
[275] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."
[276] Following the Second World War, various Ukrainian political organizations established the State Center of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile. The government served from 1948 to 1992, when it transferred power to the first President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, after Ukraine gained independence.

(*Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiya?*), as well as the dissident poetry of Vasyl Symonenko, Lina Kostenko, and Vasyl Stus. The room also contains displays about the underground resistance groups the Ukrainian National Front (UNF) and the Ukrainian chapter of the Helsinki Committee. The former was a continuation of the wartime OUN and operated from 1964 to 1967, publishing the *samizdat* magazine, *Volya i batkivshchina* (Liberty and Fatherland).[277] The latter, the Ukrainian Helsinki Committee – formed on 9 November 1976, after the Helsinki Conference of 1975 – was committed to the monitoring of civil and human rights.[278]

The museum's narrative culminates with the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. The room contains the 24 August 1991 Declaration, photographs of the resultant celebrations and governmental ceremonies, a triumphant poem on a stained-glass window, and a range of other items related to Ukrainian independence. Though there in no explanatory text within the museum, the layout of the exhibit speaks to its narrative. The museum is a linear story of heroism and sacrifice in the face of suppression and brutality. Arranged chronologically, each of the stages of the struggle, and the actors within each stage, contribute to the ultimate realization of an independent Ukraine. The museum's website proclaims that, "The artefacts in the exposition help visitors to better understand the complicated and tragic pages of our history, and the sacrifice of the best sons and daughters of our nation, who, despite all obstacles, fought and died, but did not kneel before the enemy and won the Ukrainian state."[279]

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[277] Ariel Cohen, *Russian Imperialism: Development and Crisis* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1996), 107.
[278] *ibid.*
[279] "Muzey vyzvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny."

Analysis

Both the SULI exhibit and the MULS are symptomatic of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative. They glorify the actors of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and revile the occupation regimes. The SULI exhibit focuses on the callousness of the Polish, Soviet, and German occupation regimes, and the valiant Ukrainian martyrs who resisted them. The MULS spotlights the gallantry of the Ukrainian actors from each stage of struggle and the cruelty of the Polish and Soviet occupation regimes. By focusing on the valour of the members of the nationalist movement, both exhibits misrepresent the movement's ideological foundation as well as the movement's relationship with non-Ukrainian ethnic groups. Members of the OUN-UPA are presented as freedom fighters leading a multi-ethnic struggle against Soviet oppression, and Ukrainians, generally, are portrayed as protectors of the Jewish population. The exhibits neglect to mention that the OUN adopted a fascist ideology that called for ruthlessness against enemies and the enslavement of foreigners in the battle for a Ukrainian state.

The exhibits also obscure the nationalist movement's affiliation with Nazi Germany. The OUN is portrayed as an enemy of Nazi Germany as early as the summer of 1941, and Ukrainians, broadly, are represented as targets for annihilation by the Germans. Both exhibits disguise Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany, which began with German intelligence services as early as the 1930s, and omit Ukrainian atrocities committed during the collaboration. Perhaps the most telling is their treatment of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna." With the division's German designation dropped, the exhibits minimize its association with Hitler, emphasize its Ukrainian character, and omit its involvement in the

Huta Pieniacka Massacre of 1944.[280] In keeping with the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative, both exhibits excise Ukrainian perpetration and emphasize Ukrainian victimization.

The portrayal of the OUN as a democratic and inclusive group is not only at odds with the organization's wartime activities, as illustrated in the previous chapters, but also its ideological foundation. The OUN openly adopted fascism, a doctrine that inherently condemns democracy. In the display concerning the ideology of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, the MULS states that Dmytro Dontsov was, "The founder of the theory of integral nationalism."[281] Discussing Dontsov and the ideology of the OUN, Rudling notes that:

> The ideology of the organization was heavily influenced by the philosophy of Dmytro Dontsov, Italian Fascism, Nietzsche, and German National Socialism, combining nationalism with terrorism, corporatism, and the *Fuhrerprinzip.* Dontsov translated the works of Mussolini, Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, and Franco and published Ukrainian translations of their works in *Visnyk* and other OUN-affiliated intellectual journals.[282]

With regard to the term "integral nationalism," Rudling explains:

> The term has stuck, and many pronationalist historians find it preferable to the term *fascism*, which today carries strong negative connotations and is used colloquially as a term of abuse. There is no contradiction between fascism and integralism, which is a variety within the fascist tradition. As for the OUN, integral nationalism is a problematic term. The Ukrainian nationalists themselves did not use it, whereas references to fascism and national socialism abound in nationalist texts from the 1930s and 1940s.[283]

The totalitarian right-wing commandments of the Decalogue of the Ukrainian nationalist, which are prominently displayed in the same section of the MULS, speak to the

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[280] See below.
[281] Museum Placard.
[282] Per A. Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths* (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 3.
[283] *ibid.*, 2-3.

inherent fascism of the nationalist movement. Perhaps in an attempt to soften the radicalism of the Decalogue, the version in the museum omits the italicized portion of commandment ten: "Aspire to expand the strength, riches, and size of the Ukrainian state *even my means of enslaving foreigners*" (Figure 10). Himka asserts that, "The radical nationalism of the OUN during wartime led its members to participation in the Holocaust and to ethnic cleansing of the Polish population."[284]

FIGURE 10 The Decalogue of the Ukrainian nationalist, foregrounded by a sculpture of Yevhen Konovalets', in the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. Author's photograph, taken July 28, 2014.

[284] Himka, "The History behind the Regional Conflict in Ukraine," 132.

Both exhibits, however, are silent about the atrocities committed by the OUN and attempt to expunge or at least minimize the organization's collaboration with Nazi Germany. Each exhibit attempts to predate the OUN(b)'s schism with Nazi Germany. As previously mentioned, the SULI exhibit, like the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum, displays the 25 November 1941 Einsatzgruppen order, which declared that the OUN(b) was an enemy organization and that its members were to be arrested and secretly executed.[285] The MULS, like the Shukhevych Museum, implies that the OUN(b) formed the UPA and went into opposition to Nazi Germany when the latter rejected the 30 June 1941 Act. Associating the formation of the UPA with the rejection of the Act is problematic, considering that Nationalist historians – and former UPA members – state that the UPA was formed in October 1942, more than one year after the rejection of the Act.[286]

In addition to predating the schism to disassociate the OUN from Nazi Germany, the exhibits employ another artifice, the replacement of the proper German titles for the collaborationist Ukrainian military units with neutral or nationalistic Ukrainian names. Discussing the reconstruction and reopening of the SULI exhibit, Delphine Bechtel observes:

> During the remaking of these rooms, a number of gradual shifts took place: the Bataillon [*sic*] Nachtigall was renamed under its Ukrainian appellation, 'Division of Ukrainian Nationalists' (DUN), and the Division SS-Galizien appears now as 'Ukrainian Division Halychyna' (Halychyna being the Ukrainian equivalent of Galicia) or simply 'First Ukrainian Division.' Strangely, the initials *SS* have disappeared, and on the uniforms exhibited, the particular

[285] "Betr.: OUN (Bandera-Bewegung)."
[286] Peter J. Potichnyj, "Ukrainians in World War II Military Formations: An Overview," in *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, ed. Yury Boshyk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), 64-65.

> insignia and stripes of the SS have been removed, making the costume appear 'neutral' instead of recognizable as belonging to German units.[287]

The MULS has followed suit with regard to the SULI's naming conventions and the *SS* stripes and runes are similarly absent from the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" tunic on display in the MULS (Figures 11 and 12). It must be noted that, though many members of the division wore the *SS* runes, official instructions stipulated that the insignia be absent from the Galician Division's uniforms. Michael Melnyk explains:

> There has been, and remains, a great deal of confusion over the insignia worn on the uniforms of members of the Galician Division throughout its existence. This has come about as a direct consequence of German inconsistency, caused in part by shortages, local variations and simple ignorance of official instructions… Officially, uniforms for this division were to be those of the Waffen-SS, initially to be worn without the SS runes on the right collar patch and with SS rank insignia on the left collar patch. Notwithstanding this unequivocal instruction, photographic evidence shows that these criteria were not always stringently applied… some groups of Ukrainians – such as the first contingent who were inducted at Brno – were issued uniforms with the SS lightning runes which they did not remove, and in some cases wore for many months… After a few months, as supplies became available, the blank patches were issued… Finally, the blank patches, or those bearing the SS runes, were replaced with collar patches depicting the Galician lion.[288]

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[287] Bechtel, "The 1941 Pogroms as Represented in Western Ukrainian Historiography and Memorial Culture," 6.

[288] Michael J. Melnyk, *To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14th Galician Waffen-SS Division* (Solihull: Helion and Company, 2002), 298.

FIGURE 11 The Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" display in the Museum of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle, featuring a reproduction of the division's tunic without the *SS* runes.
http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/gallery/muzey_vyzvolnoyi_borotby_ukrayiny.html?gallery#137167300355 (Accessed March 12, 2015)

FIGURE 12 The Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" (the Waffen-SS Galizien) wearing the *SS* runes. Michael J. Melnyk, *To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14th Galician Waffen-SS Division* (Solihull: Helion and Company, 2002), 298.

The exhibits' inclusion and adoration of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," also known by its German title, the Waffen-SS Galizien, is surprising considering the fact that the Nuremberg Trial designated the Waffen-SS as a criminal organization.[289] However, rather than focusing on the criminal activities of the division, the exhibits centre on the regular military duties of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," such as the division's involvement in the Battle of Brody. Rudling observes that, "A sanitized, ideological narrative of the unit's history has become an integral part of the Ukrainian diaspora's culture of memory. Two generations of diaspora Ukrainians have been raised in ritualistic celebration of the 'Heroes of Brody,' as the Galician *Waffen-SS* veterans were called… After 1990 the heroic myths of the *Waffen-SS Galizien* were re-exported to Ukraine proper."[290] In addition to highlighting the division's involvement in conventional warfare, the MULS stresses the Ukrainian character of the division and the unit's eventual autonomy from Nazi command, highlighting

[289] Per A. Rudling, "'They Defended Ukraine': The 14. Waffen-Grenadier-Division der SS (Galizische Nr. 1) Revisited," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* Vol. 25, No. 3 (July-September 2012), 365.
[290] Per A. Rudling, "'The Honor They So Clearly Deserve:' Legitimizing the *Waffen-SS Galizien*," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* Vol. 26, No. 1 (January-March 2013), 116-117.

its reorganization into the 1-UD-UNA. Discussing the portrayal of the division in Ukrainian Nationalist literature, Rudling remarks:

> One gets the impression that the Ukrainian *Waffen-SS* volunteers really were closet resistance fighters for 'freedom' and 'independence,' disassociated from German war aims and Nazi ideology. The unit's aims are presented solely as the emancipation and liberation of captive Ukraine, and contextualized as part of the tradition of state building of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Sich Riflemen, and the Ukrainian Galician Army.[291]

The above description also aptly describes the MULS's portrayal of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna;" the reality, however, was quite different.

Contrary to the MULS's depiction of the division as Ukrainian nationalists fighting exclusively for Ukrainian interests – detached from Nazi ideology with no allegiance to Germany or Hitler, – the members of the division pledged obedience to Hitler and disseminated anti-Semitic literature. Rudling states that, "The division faithfully served Adolf Hitler, the unit's journal dispersed anti-Semitic propaganda until the very last days of the war."[292] Concerning the reorganization of the division into the 1-UD-UNA, Rudling continues that, "Whereas the *Waffen-SS Galizien* was reorganized as the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army on 25 April, the soldiers and even NCOs only learned about this from the division's newspaper *Do Boiu!/Zum Kampf!*, during the very last days of the war… Whereas the re-naming and re-organization of the division was a cosmetic change in the last days of the war, it is heavily emphasized in the memory and myth-making of the veterans and their admirers."[293]

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[291] *ibid.*, 124.
[292] See, Rudling, "'They Defended Ukraine'," 360; see also, Rudling, "'The Honor They So Clearly Deserve'," 125.
[293] Rudling, "'They Defended Ukraine'," 359, 361. For an alternative view, see Olesya Khromeychuk, *'Undetermined' Ukrainians: Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia' Division* (Oxford: Peter Lang,

That some members of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" embraced Nazi doctrine and served in the uniform of the Waffen-SS until the final weeks of the war did not prevent them from simultaneously pursuing Ukrainian interests. Both museums are entirely silent about the Huta Pieniacka Massacre of 1944, one horrific example of when the Ukrainian nationalist movement's objective of removing all foreign occupiers from Ukrainian soil aligned with Nazi Germany's Generalplan Ost. An investigation by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance succinctly describes the massacre:

> … the crime was committed by the 4th battalion of the 14th division on February 28. On that day, early in the morning, soldiers of this division, dressed in white, masking outfits, surrounded the village. The village was cross-fired by artillery. SS-men of the 14th Division of the SS 'Galizien' entered the village, shooting the civilians rounded up at a church. The civilians, mostly women and children, were divided and locked in barns that were set on fire. Those who tried to run away were killed.[294]

With the help of UPA members stationed in the area, the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" killed between 500 and 1,500 Poles and Jews in and around the village of Huta Pieniacka for their alleged cooperation with pro-Soviet partisans.[295]

While the exhibits are silent about the atrocities committed by the members of the nationalist movement, they fervently highlight crimes of the enemy forces. The SULI exhibit's inflated treatment of the Soviet famine of 1932 to 1933 is an interesting example. Yaroslav Hrytsak astutely observes that, "Western Ukrainians remember that which never

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2013). Khromeychuk calls for the evaluation of the individual members of the division rather than the division as a whole and concludes that: "This formation was not solely a product of the growing anti-Semitism in western Ukraine, nor of the popularization of Nazi ideology, nor of the desire of the nationalist leaders to form an independent Ukrainian army. The 'Galicia' was formed as a result of a complex combination of factors, rooted in the specificity of Ukrainian nationalism and the changing situation throughout Europe." Khromeychuk, *'Undetermined' Ukrainians,* 170.

[294] Rudling, "'They Defended Ukraine'," 347.

[295] *ibid.,* 346, 351 for UPA's involvement; 348 for casualties.

happened to them (the famine) and forget that in which they participated directly (the Holocaust)."[296] The narrative's memory is not only selective, but also inaccurate. Though the Soviet famine was widespread and devastating, the exhibit's claim that "Stalin Killed ten million people!" exaggerates the number of victims by roughly three hundred percent. Snyder, surveying a range of demographic calculations, estimates that the figure is considerably lower:

> It seems reasonable to propose a figure of approximately 3.3 million deaths by starvation and hunger-related disease in Soviet Ukraine in 1932-1933. Of these people, some three million would have been Ukrainians, and the rest Russians, Poles, Germans, Jews, and others… All in all, no fewer than 3.3 million Soviet citizens died in Soviet Ukraine of starvation and hunger-related diseases; and about the same number of Ukrainians (by nationality) died in the Soviet Union as a whole.[297]

David Marples, Eduard Baidaus, and Mariya Melentyeva explain that the former Yushchenko administration is responsible for the current prominence of the famine in the historical memory of Ukrainians, as well as the inflation of its victims:

> Under Iushchenko, the authorities commissioned a Book of Memory about the Holodomor gathered from all affected oblasts, built a new memorial in Kyiv, passed a resolution in parliament declaring the famine an act of genocide implemented by the Stalin leadership in Moscow, and – according to most scholars – sharply inflated the death toll from 3-4 to 7-10 million victims.[298]

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[296] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "The Holocaust and the Holodomor: The Challenge of a Collective Memory," *Krytyka*, December 2010, accessed November 7, 2014, http://krytyka.com/en/articles/holocaust-and-holodomor-challenge-collective-memory.
[297] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 53.
[298] David Marples, Eduard Baidaus, and Mariya Melentyeva, "Causes of the 1932 Famine in Soviet Ukraine: Debates at the Third All-Ukrainian Party Conference," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes* Vol. 56, No. 3/4 (September-December 2014), 295.

Though the famine occurred in Eastern Ukraine, and the SULI exhibit's narrative is about the nationalist movement in Western Ukraine, the famine's inclusion is not surprising. The famine is the event on which modern Ukrainian identity has been founded and is a severe case, whether or not it was an act of genocide, of Ukrainians suffering under Soviet occupation.

The SULI exhibit and the MULS are extreme examples of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative's unchecked veneration of members of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, as well as the Narrative's emphasis on – and exaggeration of – Ukrainian victimization. The exhibits conform with, and surpass, the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative's standard representation of the OUN-UPA as a democratic, inclusive, and heroic group of martyrs. Both exhibits attempt to rehabilitate the OUN(m) approved Ukrainian Division "Halychyna" – a unit of Ukrainian volunteers that collaborated in the Nazi German criminal organization the Waffen-SS until the end of the war – and portray it as a group of patriotic heroes forming a national army for a future independent Ukraine. With regard to the focus on Ukrainian suffering, the SULI exhibit not only includes the Soviet famine into its narrative about the nationalist movement in Western Ukraine, but it also grossly exaggerates the number of Ukrainian victims of the famine. Worse, while the famine may have served to fan the flames of the nationalist movement, the exhibit inappropriately subsumes its casualties in the narrative as victims of the Liberation Struggle. The LHM's misrepresentation of the nationalist movement, coupled with the excision of atrocities committed by OUN affiliated organizations, prevents a holistic and truthful understanding of the very subject of the exhibits – Ukraine's Liberation Struggle.

CONCLUSION

The museums of Lviv demonstrate a high degree of Ukrainian Nationalist formalism. They prescriptively venerate the OUN as champions of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle while maligning its enemies. The museums' dogmatic portrayal of the OUN is both selective and disingenuous. In addition to excluding acts of OUN perpetration, the museums also distort details about the organization's history, and go as far as to employ overt deception.

By adhering unconditionally to the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative, which is hinged on the heroism of the OUN, the museums predictably excise the episodes of the group's history that run contrary to the narrative. While the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum underscores the brutality of the occupation regimes, affording particular attention to the NKVD mass execution of Lonts'kyi prisoners in late June 1941, it is completely silent about the OUN instigated pogrom that occurred on the same site days later. The Shukhevych Museum, which presents Shukhevych and the OUN-UPA as leading a multi-ethnic struggle against oppression, omits the former's anti-Jewish actions with Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 in Belarus in 1942, and the latter's ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volhynia in 1943. In addition to neglecting the aforementioned atrocities, the SULI exhibit and the MULS focus on the patriotic nature of the OUN(m) approved Waffen-SS Galizien (Ukrainian Division "Halychyna") while expunging the unit's involvement of the Huta Pieniacka Massacre of 1944. The exclusions serve to maintain the illusion of the OUN's intrepid mettle and integrity, demarcating victim from perpetrator.

With regard to the distortion of details, the most notable and consistent examples include the misrepresentation of the OUN(b)'s relationship with Nazi Germany, as well as the OUN's ideological foundation. Each of the museums attempts to predate the OUN(b)'s

break with Germany. Both the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum and the SULI exhibit highlight the 25 November 1941 Einsatzgruppen decree, which frames the "Bandera Movement" as opponents of the Third Reich as early as the summer of 1941. The Shukhevych Museum and the MULS insinuate that the OUN(b) went into opposition to Nazi Germany following the latter's rejection of the 30 June 1941 Act of Renewal of Ukrainian Statehood. The museums, in concert, predate the schism to the summer or fall of 1941, despite the fact that the OUN(b) collaborated with Nazi Germany at least until the latter's defeat at Stalingrad in February 1943. The museums also portray the OUN as a democratic organization of freedom fighters. While the Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum presents the OUN as combatants engaged in a struggle against repression for liberty and independence, the Shukhevych Museum depicts the OUN-UPA as an inclusive, multi-ethnic organization leading a universal crusade against oppression. The SULI exhibit and the MULS harmonize with the aforementioned representations and focus on the egalitarian nature of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle. The OUN, however, adopted a fascist doctrine and committed atrocities against Poles and Jews.

Though the omission and distortion of details is highly problematic, the museums' use of outright deception is most disconcerting. The Lonts'kyi Street Prison Museum is not only silent about the OUN massacre of Lviv's Jews, it actively conceals it. The original archival image that backgrounds the "Map of Repression" contains, in addition to the victims of the NKVD mass execution, the Jewish victims of the pogrom. The museum's display covers the Jewish victims with Soviet crime statistics, which are implicitly connected with Ukrainian suffering. The SULI exhibit and the MULS also engage in overt trickery. In addition to displaying re-creations of the uniforms of the Waffen-SS Galizien with the

Ukrainian lion insignia rather than the *SS* runes (the former being worn near the end of the war by select individuals), they also replace the proper German titles of collaborationist military units with neutral, non-German, and even patriotic Ukrainian titles. The Waffen-SS Galizien is evasively identified in the exhibits as the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna." Of the four museums discussed, the Shukhevych museum, though its narrative is also selective and manipulative, is the only to refrain from categorical deceit.

The standardized, unequivocal glorification of the OUN in the museums of Lviv is a poignant example of the strength of the Ukrainian Nationalist narrative in the epicentre of Western Ukraine. In addition to prohibiting a holistic understanding of Ukraine's complex path to independence, such mendacious accounts have troubling repercussions both internationally and within Ukraine. The lionization of the OUN impairs relationships with the ethnic groups that suffered at the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists, namely, Poles and Jews. The mere recognition of OUN perpetrated atrocities is an important step towards gaining international credibility and furthering reconciliation. With regard to the consequences within Ukraine, constructing a nation-building narrative based on the OUN's struggle against its archenemy, the Soviets, many of whom were Eastern Ukrainians, is counterproductive to uniting Ukraine under a mutually agreeable collective memory. The demonization of Soviets and the glorification of OUN-UPA – a group that many Eastern Ukrainians fought against and perceive to be anti-Semitic Nazi collaborators and ethnic cleansers – serves to divide the country rather than unify it. The current conflict in Ukraine is a manifestation of the disunity between Western and Eastern Ukraine. A more nuanced narrative of Ukraine's nationalist movement needs to be constructed, an account that not only discusses Ukrainian victimization, but also acknowledges perpetration.

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