

# Holocaust Studies: A Ukrainian Focus

Special Issue  

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# **HOLOCAUST STUDIES: A UKRAINIAN FOCUS**

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## EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Holocaust Studies: A Ukrainian Focus is an international peer-reviewed annual academic journal of the "Tkuma" Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies, founded in 2002.

The journal covers the phenomenon of the Holocaust as well as other genocides which took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It focuses primarily on Ukrainian issues and attempts to place them into the larger context of the world and European history.

This project seeks to promote the development of Ukrainian historiography of the Holocaust, to make it a part of the historical narrative and to encourage an academic dialogue between Ukrainian and foreign researchers, by publishing the following materials:

- original research papers;
- translations of foreign academic texts which are important for Ukrainian Holocaust studies;
- annotated sources;
- reviews of the latest publications;
- overviews of the most up-to-date academic events.

The journal publishes materials in Ukrainian, Russian, German and English. Since 2017, all articles have been accompanied by extended summaries in English.

The editors invite Ukrainian and foreign researchers to collaborate and to submit their papers focusing on:

- theoretical, methodological and synthetic studies on the Holocaust;
- comparative Holocaust studies in Ukraine and other countries of the Former Soviet Union, Eastern and Central Europe; comparative analysis of specific historical and civilizational aspects of the Holocaust and other genocides;
- case studies on various Holocaust episodes in Ukraine;
- regional and local Holocaust studies in Nazi-occupied Ukraine;
- research on the role of the Jewish factor in cultural and historical processes preceding and following the Holocaust;
- source studies and historiographical reviews;
- studies on the global memory and perception of the Holocaust in Ukraine and Eastern Europe.

The journal is distributed among the most significant academic, educational, and cultural institutions in Ukraine and worldwide. It is sent to more than 100 academic libraries and institutions in Europe, the US, Canada, and Israel. The PDF version is available at the Tkuma Institute website: <http://tkuma.dp.ua>

## PREFACE

The German-Ukrainian Historical Commission and the "Tkuma" Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies are proud to present the results of the Commission's Fifth Annual Conference on "Memories of the Second World War in Germany and Ukraine since 1945", held in Dnipro on September 5–6, 2019.

Since its founding in 2015, the Commission is the first, and so far the only, institution in which historians from Germany and Ukraine co-operate to bring about a better understanding of a shared past, and to disseminate the knowledge gained among a broader public. To accomplish these goals, the Commission has a range of instruments at its disposal. Thanks to financing by the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD), it is able to award short-time fellowships and organize workshops for young historians from both countries every year. At the Commission's annual conferences young and veteran scholars from all over the world meet to debate various aspects of German-Ukrainian history during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, lately with a focus on the Second World War, the German occupation of Ukraine, and the Holocaust.

This particular focus, first taken up in October 2018 with our Munich conference on "Germany and Ukraine in the Second World War" and an exploration of occupational realities, such as forms of violence, collaboration and resistance, clearly needed to be continued and brought to a conclusion. It thus seemed appropriate to follow up with a closer look at the ways this dramatic period of German-Ukrainian history between 1941 and 1944 is debated and remembered in both countries.

Thanks to the hospitality of the "Tkuma" Institute and the Museum "Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine", the Commission was able to greet, in September 2019, almost twenty scholars in Dnipro. They shared their insights into narratives of the Second World War in Ukraine, at the same time continuing the exploration of war-time realities in everyday life.

Our readers will find a good number of intriguing approaches, ranging from birds-eye view studies of the specific conditions which determine memories of the Second World and the Holocaust in Ukraine, to analyses of specific types of sources, local case studies and even some close examinations of individual behavior among occupiers and the occupied, perpetrators and victims. The Commission feels confident that the present volume broadens our understanding of German-Ukrainian approaches to the Second World War substantially and will encourage further studies in the field.

It is worth noting that this kaleidoscope of current research does not reflect the conference proceedings in their entirety. The editors were in the ever-difficult and unenviable position to have to select a limited number of papers, submit them to a reviewing process and make our authors stick to a rather tight schedule. For their willingness to contribute, and their readiness to suffer the rigors of the publication procedure, we would like to express our gratitude.

Our success in the speedy publication is largely due to the work of Igor Shchupak and Anna Medvedovska at the “Tkuma” Institute, our invited editors, Oleksandr Lysenko and Kai Struve, both members of the German-Ukrainian Historical Commission, and to the Commission’s current coordinator, Pascal Trees. Translations into English were edited by William Templer, who beat an impossible deadline doing it.

*Dnipro – Munich, December 2019*  
*Martin Schulze Wessel / Yaroslav Hrytsak*  
*Speakers of the German-Ukrainian Historical Commission*

Oleksandr Lysenko

## COMPETING NARRATIVES: MEMORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN UKRAINE: BETWEEN POLITICS AND REFLECTION

## SECTION 1. REMEMBERING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: UKRAINIAN PERSPECTIVES

*The article reviews several issues concerning the memory of the Second World War in the USSR and sovereign Ukraine. Historical memory in its every dimension – collective, corporate, individual – plays an key role in the processes of forming the nation and state. The official memory model is often based on the historical myth. Tracing the long evolution of commemorative practices during the Soviet era, one can record the change from the myth of the “Great October Socialist Revolution” which dominated the collective/official memory until the mid-1960–70s, yet exhausted its resource of mobilization, to the myth of the “Great Patriotic War”. The latter became particularly the central ideological pillar, an efficient tool of communist regime legitimization and the factor of consolidation in Soviet society. Exploiting the victim glorification components of this myth, the promoters of the mnemonic policy have made undeniable strides. Evidence of this is the great inertia of the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” in the post-Soviet territory, especially in the Russian Federation, where it remains the main “brace” undergirding authority and society. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a lengthy and controversial process to overcome the “Soviet heritage” began. Formation of the historical collective memory of the Ukrainian political nation, methods, and forms of “remembrance” of historical events in independent Ukraine have grown increasingly detached from the imperial model and approach Western models, although retaining certain rudiments. The fact that this path is strewn with multiple obstacles substantiates the competition between various memory models. Analysis of approaches by the Ukrainian leadership, political circles, and civil institutions in the state to forming modern historical policy and mnemonic procedures, with successes and failures along the way, provides grounds to suggest that the main destructive factors are: first, the interests of certain political groups; second, the distinctive character of the social consciousness of Ukrainian society; third, notable regional differences in the perceptions of the world; fourth, the lack of scientific modeling of political decisions in the sphere of commemoration. The process of de-communization was particularly complicated, which directly relates to the ground of memory. Some citizens remained ambivalent about some of the UINP’s steps in this direction. The article highlights the means and mechanisms of external forces, first of all of the Russian Federation, within practices of intervention into the spaces of Ukrainian memory through the instrumentalization of historical knowledge and relevant technologies of electoral*

*mobilization. In a broad context of hybrid war against Ukraine, they are aimed at destabilizing the political situation in the country, setting up different political and regional groups pitted against one another, so as to place in doubt the historical perspective of the Ukrainian political nation.*

**Keywords:** *Ukraine, Second World War, historical memory, myths, historical politics, commemorative practices, mnemonic procedures, manipulative technologies.*

Currently, the problems of historical memory are among the most relevant and intensely disputed in modern scholarly research. It is impossible to create such a situation artificially – there should be a wide and sustainable public demand for this and not just the state’s needs. In the introduction to his book *Present, Nation, Memory*, Pierre Nora pointed out that

our present is condemned to memory, that is, to a fetish of imprints, to historical obsession, to the accumulation of heritage, to an endless increase in the display of national life – not only its history but also its landscapes, traditions, customs, productions that have disappeared. Everything historical that is worth mentioning, it all belongs to our memory<sup>1</sup>.

To begin with, it is important to make one methodological note, as it allows us to mark the system of coordinates in which historical memory functions in all its aspects. Hence, the basic approach here should be the awareness of historical memory as it exists in three dimensions and levels: collective, corporate/group, and individual. Within the first case, it acts purely as a product of political technologies, while in the other two it appears as a spontaneous reflection mixed with different components of official memory, where individual experience, in our view, remains dominant.

### Formatting a historical myth

Bolshevik top authorities in the USSR felt a chronic need for impulses of legitimation. Some of them had a tactical purpose, while others were calculated to operate over the strategically long term. The glorified “Great October Socialist Revolution” served as a founding myth of statesmanship for several decades. However, after some time it faded away, since lacunae were revealed in it due to the mass repressions employed by Stalin to unify Soviet society politically and socially. The results of certain socio-economic experiments and socialist transformations in the agrarian sector and other spheres were not impressive at all, discredited by Holodomor, the fight against the “kulaks” and the private initiative overall. The civilized world was also shocked by the policy of “militant atheism” accompanied

<sup>1</sup> П’єр Нора, *Теперішнє, нація, пам’ять*, translation from French Андрій Репа (Київ: Кліо, 2014), 17–18.

by the destruction of places of worship that were a significant segment of the historical and architectural heritage of monuments and true masterpieces of sacred architecture.

And, as paradoxical for the civilized world as it is, history’s most epic civilizational disaster, the Second World War, turned out to be most appropriate for the USSR in its efforts to reformat historical myth. In the USSR, the use of pain, grief, hopelessness, lawlessness of citizens was harnessed to promote the state’s aims more than anywhere else. Initially, the new myth was formed as a battery of mythologies used for the ideological accompaniment of the military efforts of the state and society. Historical allusions in the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” were closely intertwined with contemporary messages: such as “unbreakable unity of the Communist Party and people”, “monolithic society” and “friendship of Soviet people”, designed to ensure national consolidation in the face of aggression by the Third Reich and its allies in the “Eastern campaign”. In the catalog of newly-discovered ideologies and mythologies, the prominent foundations were “the common struggle in the rear of the enemy”, “the benefits of the socialist economy over the capitalist one”, “the advantages of Soviet military practice”, “the leading role of the Communist Party and its brilliant leader Stalin in defeating the enemy”, and others.

In the end, the controversial logic of the war turned Stalin’s ruling elite into the winners, which soon was in sharp contradiction with its international and internal policy. The leader, who ignored the rules of international and internal law, redrew the borders of entire states according to his own wishes, determining the fate of nations. In the war’s aftermath, he managed to transform the Soviet empire into one of the world’s major countries eager to shape the future of the world order. This claim to authority was achieved by force and was used not only to polarize the world as a result of the creation of the so-called “socialist camp” with its bordering states, but also to affirm a totalitarian system in the USSR.

The catastrophic result of the war did not appear very suitable for foregrounding a shining performance. However, Moscow’s political technologists were capable of much more. Heroization, romanticism, the glorification of the military masterfully camouflaged its tragic course, and the victim-based plots served as accentuated markers of the regime’s ability to overcome any difficulties and always emerge from the most difficult situations on top as the winner.

There are various components of the “Great Myth” formed during the war. To name but a few: the defense of the Brest Fortress, the Siege of Leningrad, the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, the illustrious feats



of Alexander Matrosov and the partisan Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Olshantsiv, Panfilov's 28 heroes, the Soviet underground, and partisans. They vividly illustrated the power of the Soviet citizenry and the will of the Red Army to be victorious. After the war, mythologization as a format for the creation of tailor-made collective memory grounded upon ideological structures became systematic and purposeful. The general construct was also replete with crimes of the Nazi invaders and their collaborators among the local population. The gallery of "anti-heroes" was represented by the policemen, "vlasovtsy", soldiers of the SS "Galichyna", members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (OUN-UPA), "traitors of the Motherland", the Greek Catholic clergy, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, and others. A striking example of that era's political technology can be found in the formation of the heroic-sacrificial image of the youth underground organization "Moloda Hvardiia" ("Young Guard") in Krasnodon, a town in the Luhansk region. Thanks to O. Fadeiev, the literary version of this story appeared, followed by a feature film, both truthfully depicting only a tragic ending – the destruction of the members of "Moloda Hvardiia". Both the book and the film turned out to be so successful that they became a veritable cult in Soviet commemorative culture and influenced the worldview formation of several generations<sup>2</sup>. Leaders of the Ukrainian SSR as well began the creation of Soviet patriotic myth even during the midst of the war. M. Khrushchev received Stalin's personal consent for the burial of the "heroes of defense" in the center of Kyiv, the Republic's capital – the generals M. Kyrponos, M. Potapov, V. Tupykov. Incidentally, the remains of M. Kyrponos, who died surrounded by the enemy, the commander of the southwestern front, were transferred by the order of German military authorities from Poltava to Kyiv and he was buried in the Kyiv Botanical Garden. In 1943, Soviet leadership decided to rebury him in Askold's Grave, a historical park in Kyiv, while the remains of the German military burials were secretly removed to the cattle burial grounds around the town of Brovary and were carelessly buried there. In 1957, the bodies of Soviet commanders were once again reburied in the specially constructed Glory Park (*Park Slavy*), which was transformed into a ritual site with an eternal fire and the Grave of an Unknown Soldier. Sometime later, General

<sup>2</sup> Александр Фадеев, *Молодая гвардия* (Москва: Правда, 1946); See: Володимир Семистяга, "Документальні матеріали про деякі особливості роботи О. О. Фадеева над романом «Молодая Гвардия», у *X Міжнародні Фадеевські читання «Виховання молоді на історичних і культурних традиціях»* (Луганськ–Краснодон, 2006), 35–42.

M. Vatutin, one of the main figures in the liberation of the Ukrainian Republic's capital, was buried with honors in Kyiv.

In autumn 1944, in honor of the first anniversary of the Nazi expulsion from Kyiv, the Republican leadership introduced large-scale initiatives to perpetuate the memory of the war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party (*bilshovyktiv*) of Ukraine (CC CP (b)U) offered to construct the "Pantheon of the Patriotic War Heroes" in an aura of pure glorification, to erect the busts of marshals and generals who had commanded the Soviet troops in the largest military operations on the territory of Ukraine, the monuments "Glory" and "Victory" – and in some settlements of Voroshylovgrad (now Lugansk), Stalin (now Donetsk), the Sumy and Chernihiv regions, to erect monuments to heroes of the partisan resistance. Not all of these grand plans managed to be implemented since the Republic and its capital lay in ruins. At the same time, by October 1, 1947, the USSR government was able to arrange 31,688 fraternal and 64,670 personal graves of Soviet soldiers and civilians who had died during the war and occupation; they also erected 2,613 monuments, 9,861 gravestones, and installed 52,549 grave markers. Immediately after their appearance or slightly later, they became a locus of ritual mourning. Over time, new monuments and symbols were installed, and the older ones were well-cared for, maintained by the local authorities, civically active citizens and school pupils<sup>3</sup>.

While the cities of Leningrad, Sevastopol, Stalingrad, and Odessa had been accorded the honorary title of "Heroic City" in 1945, Kyiv was granted that title only thanks to the efforts of M. Khrushchev, after his resignation in 1965. It took the passing of two decades to forget the Kyiv disaster in 1941 and the huge unjustified losses of the Red Army during the Kyiv liberation operations in 1943. In this case, the abstraction of the status of "Heroic City" demonstrated all its conditionality.

In the myth of the "Great Patriotic War", the message "friendship between peoples of the USSR" sounded convincing as the key to the victory over the aggressors. Its general background consisted of the monolithic international Gallery of Heroes – Defenders of the Motherland, where there was a place for both Ukrainians and Russians, Jews, and Crimean Tatars. Yet, in Stalin's hierarchy of nations, a special role was assigned only to the Russians, and there were hidden "claims" regarding all the others<sup>4</sup>. To avoid tarnishing the polished surface of the myth, the collective

<sup>3</sup> Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (hereinafter – CSAPAU), coll. 1, inv. 23, file 784, sh. 10–11.

<sup>4</sup> Владислав Гриневич, *Суспільно-політичні настрої населення України в роки Другої світової війни (1939–1945 рр.)* (Київ: ІПЕНД, 2007), 305–323.

memory seized upon complex events and episodes. In particular, these included the liberation struggle of Ukrainians, Poles, the Baltic States against the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian regimes, the Holocaust and the Romani Porajmos, the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, and the anti-Jewish sentiments in the population; the latter continued on in the discourse around “cosmopolitanism” accentuated in Kremlin propaganda.

However, in some cases, an exception was made and through the historical narrative, the ideological authorities deprecated and dishonored in particular “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists” and Crimean Tatars, dubbing them “traitors of the Motherland”. In the latter case, the authorities implemented an unprecedented action – the total deportation of Crimean Tatars to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union in May 1944. Thus, the places and traces of memory were erased. Yet not the memory itself.

It took two more decades to ensure that the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” was to become the dominant core of the official commemorative policy. “Red Leader” used the memory of war mainly to strengthen its own positions in power, although there was no intention to construct the magisterial line of all mnemonic history policy of the state on this foundation. The evidence for this comprises certain individual steps taken by the ruling authorities. In particular, in 1949 a special commission of the Academy of Science of the USSR on the historiography of the “Great Patriotic War”, established in 1942, was dismissed. Another example is a shutdown of the museum exhibition “Partisans of Ukraine in the Great Patriotic War” (in this project, documents and memories of the war were gathered together)<sup>5</sup>.

On direct orders from Stalin, a decree was issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to establish an annual festive day to commemorate “Victory” in the war on May 9th. But already in 1948, this day lost the status of a national non-working holiday, pointing to the lower ranking it was allocated in the hierarchy of official ceremonies and remembrance.

Only during the reign of L. Brezhnev, when the myth of the “Great October Socialist Revolution” had almost reached a point of exhaustion, did the ideological machine direct all its capacities toward the shaping of a new state myth. Many members of the Politburo of the CPSU(b) had served at the war front, had assumed responsible positions during the war and were associated in popular mentality with the war. Although the leader’s rod was removed from the official myth, another key structure remained – “the decisive role of the Communist Party in the Victory over Nazism and fascism”.

<sup>5</sup> Валерій Смолій, editor-in-chief, *Інститут історії України Національної Академії наук України. 1936–2006* (Київ: Інститут історії України, 2006), 110–112.

Other components of the “Great Myth” crystallized and later became the basis for the formation of the corresponding paradigm of collective memory. Over the course of three decades, wounds were healed, the industrial, agrarian and social spheres were reinvigorated, which enabled the authorities to glorify the war even more. In the Soviet Union and USSR, hundreds of memorials were erected, as well as other memorable places and museums, including the memorial complex “Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945” in Kyiv. Large-scale epic movies, art exhibitions, theatrical performances, literary works, patriotic education components at school and university emerged as evidence of the highly successful exploitation of the mythologem of the “Great Patriotic War” in the commemorative practices of “developed Socialism”. Yet, as before, they had no place for those aspects of the war of a dichotomous nature and ambiguous interpretation, or that did harm to the image of the regime (such as the defeats of 1941–1942, the problems of “defeatism”, defectors, military captivity, the Holocaust, forced labor, justice at that time in the military, forms of collaboration and many other such elements).

Unconditional dominance of the collective memory in social and political life imposed top-down was unable to neutralize the specifics of the group and individual memory of the war. Partially intertwining with the collective, these models proved to be more autonomous, albeit latent. This was especially evident in the case of stigmatized categories of participants and contemporaries of events in that period – former prisoners of war, prisoners of concentration camps, forced workers, those deported and repressed, invalids, orphans, widows, and others. Thus, on the group level and more often on the individual level, the model of memory was quite different from collective memory, and in effect was often opposed to it. Personal experience of the war and its survival did not correlate with public bravado and romanticized ceremonies, in which the “victim” component remained solely as a kind added “acridity”. Meanwhile, for most of those who survived the war, the loss of relatives and friends remained their most painful memory.

The first fissures in the monumental and epic model of collective memory began to appear in the time of Gorbachev’s “Perestroika” and “Glasnost”. It all began with criticism of Stalinism, then came the abolition in 1987 of the infamous Article 58/10–11 of the Criminal Code “on anti-Soviet activity”, and Article 6 of the USSR Constitution on “the leading and directing role of the Communist Party” in the state. The first breakthrough was made by publicists, journalists and writers who published their works in so-called “thick” journals that did not undermine but significantly

changed the existing views of historical events. Another channel of the official paradigm of memory was the “archival revolution”, a gradual opening up of multiple layers of sources of data. An especially harsh blow was the fact of recognition of an extant secret protocol regarding the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty called the “Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact”. Its text was removed from secret diplomatic archives and published at the request of Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Ukrainian diaspora has also contributed to the transformations of views on the events of the past in Ukraine. It is through the works of O. Subtelny, F. Pigido-Pravoberezhny, V. Barka, D. Humenna, U. Samchuk, B. Kravchenko, R.-P. Magochi and others that the rethinking of the Soviet heritage began. The cornerstone of the philosophical-scientific discussions (highly politicized back then) was the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and in a narrower focus, the OUN and UPA.

### Commemorative space of a sovereign Ukraine

Ukraine acquired the status of an independent state in the form of a political decision, so the politicians, scholars and scientists as well as the conscious and active part of civil society were almost unprepared to face the challenges associated with these new realities. One of the most difficult aspects turned out to be the problem of self-identification and the choice of values, based upon which the process of creation of the state was implemented. The symptomatic issue for Ukraine is that even some 1,5 to 2 years after the proclamation of independence, the Communist Party sought to hold on to their central place in the political system of coordinates, and former party apparatchiks in the new government could scarcely imagine even the general outlines of the state and society that they had now to construct. This bizarre weave of Soviet rudiments and liberal-democratic actions determined for a long time the nature of the processes of amalgamation in the social and political crucible.

Meanwhile, the inertia of the past clearly prevailed in impulses aimed at a consistent and principled break with the imperial past. Extremely influential persons in the Communist Party and Council of Veterans of Ukraine, which were under the complete control of its Central Committee, tracked in a firm, careful and systematic manner any movement aimed at a review of Soviet historical myths and correction of the model of collective memory. Ideological confrontation raged around everything related to history: the concept of “Memory Book of Ukraine”, the name of the Department of History of Ukraine during the Second World War at the Institute

of History of Ukraine in NASU – with veterans defending the preservation of the previous name, “History of the Great Patriotic War” – terms in use in the writing of history and other aspects.

The topic of the Ukrainian independence movement remained the most vehement and contested front line of conflict over the old and the new. Just as in the Soviet era, left-wing political forces tried to terminate the dispute. On February 1, 1993, spurred by their initiative, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved the resolution titled “On the verification of the OUN-UPA activity”, according to which the government established a special commission under the auspices of the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine. And only four years later, on September 12, 1997, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine issued a decree on the formation of the regular government commission, with a permanent working group of historians led by Prof. S. Kulchitsky. Uncovering, processing and publishing sources on this subject, prominent specialists simultaneously developed interpretative approaches in the format of dissertations, monographic studies and reference works. In 2000, scholars in the group prepared a preliminary historical work *The Problem of OUN-UPA*<sup>6</sup> (p. 129) and on its basis, a *Conclusion by historians about the activities of the OUN-UPA (preliminary version)*. In 2005, a summary of historical notes entitled *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army* was published<sup>7</sup>.

Thanks to the campaigns for one-time compensation payments to forced laborers from Ukraine deployed in the Third Reich, organized by the government of Germany, the topic of the *Ostarbeiter* (Eastern forced laborers) gained attention. “Forgotten voices” filled the memory sphere with recollections, interviews, questionnaires, diaries, photographs, and drawings, contributing to the sense of moral satisfaction among this category of Nazi victims, as well as prisoners of concentration camps.

There was another extremely tragic and painful problem that for a long time did not find embodiment in the historical narrative or official commemorative discourse: the topic of the Nazi Holocaust. Due to being carefully concealed by anti-Semitism as the political worldview of the Kremlin rulers, exacerbated by social xenophobia in society, the vacuum around this topic has persisted even in the post-Soviet period. The absence of a more profound understanding of the humanitarian components of the problem

<sup>6</sup> Станіслав Кульчицький, editor-in-chief, *Проблема ОУН–УПА* (Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Станіслав Кульчицький, *Проміжний звіт робочої групи для підготовки історичного висновку про діяльність ОУН–УПА: Історичний висновок про діяльність ОУН–УПА: Попередній варіант* (Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 2000); Станіслав Кульчицький, editor-in-chief, *Організація українських націоналістів і Українська повстанська армія. Історичні нариси* (Київ: Наукова думка, 2005).

resulted in controversial actions by the government: on one hand, the Babyn Yar area interfered with new measures being taken by the municipality: on the other, there was construction of the memorial site there, and then semi-spontaneously monuments were erected to victims of Nazi terror. The memorial site “Babyn Yar” remains to this day a space of improvisation not only for state bodies but also for various public associations. Without going here any deeper into this topic – those interested can familiarize themselves with it in greater detail through a range of publications, in particular, through concepts of the commemoration of Babyn Yar victims, organization of the Babyn Yar Museum and the Holocaust Museum, prepared by two groups of historians<sup>8</sup> – it should be emphasized that currently only the first steps are being undertaken to form an inclusive Holocaust remembrance. Such remembrance should become an organic part of the collective historical memory of all people in Ukraine and an important segment of state historical remembrance policy.

One of the distinctive features of the modern stage of memory of the Second World War and its transformation is the return to its sources in regard to phenomena that are uncomfortable and controversial. It would simplify to assert that its main purpose is to satisfy some need, to tell the truth about what was hidden or falsified. There is much in the chronicles of war that would always serve to silence people because of fears of public condemnation and the inability to take advantage of clear criteria for their evaluation. Olena Styazhkina has noted in this connection:

The memories of the occupation problematize issues, the price of which is extremely high, and the answer is painful and bound up with shame as the trauma and unspoken discourse of one’s “own” guilt. Individual memory retained images of “our bad guys”, but it did not affect the collective memories, in which “our bad ones” was a category forever defined by the image of the “policeman–traitor”. As in the past, “our bad guys” comprises a wider community, one whose sins are situational, often determined by the habit of loyalty to one or another power, and at times by human vices: envy, hatred, greed. Sometimes such persons even justified their actions by focusing on their own survival and that of their children. But the presence of a wider community of “our bad ones” on a rampage looting, or betraying Jews, communists, and their neighbors, is a problem that is almost not

<sup>8</sup> Геннадій Боряк and others, *Концепція комплексного розвитку (меморіалізації) Бабиного Яру з розширенням меж Національного історико-меморіального заповідника “Бабин Яр”* (Київ, 2019), accessed December 17, 2019, <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014254>.

manifest and present in official discourse (yet it is more or less accentuated in artistic discourse)<sup>9</sup>.

Olena Styazhkina draws attention to another trend: legitimation in the memory landscape of “strangers not always bad”. While introducing “an enemy not always bad”, she indicates, “we face steady and often justified resistance not only to the official discourse but also to our own self-censorship”<sup>10</sup>. Many residents of Ukraine recalled the actions of German servicemen that were very unlike those established stereotypes of rapists, maniac killers, or looters.

In these contexts, the particular locations for the memories of those who in various ways had contacts or cooperated with the German, Romanian, Hungarian occupation authorities has not yet been clearly pinpointed. To differentiate the types of such behavior, mitigating criteria such as “horizontal collaboration” are employed. In this system of ethnic and moral-psychological coordinates, scholars are trying to comprehend the behavior of women who – in the context of strategies of survival – had intimate relations with the enemy, and the cooperation with the occupation administration of public institutions, religious denominations, and certain groups in the civil population.

O. Styazhkina assumes that the “meta-narrative of war was formed for and on behalf of the modern community, yet it was recorded in memory and articulated by the community of representatives of the archaic, value-oriented traditional society”. Taking this into account, for some segment of society under occupation, the times of occupation were associated with “social death”, and the problem for them was only to “correctly convert social death into one’s own physical death along with [that of] the enemies”<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, many chose other strategies aimed at saving the lives of relatives and surviving in the most difficult conditions.

When attempting to outline some of the new features of memory discourse in modern Ukraine, if not the destruction then it is the critical corrosion of strict Soviet constructs in the binary oppositions of “friend–foe”, “hero–traitor”, “winner–loser”, “the perpetrators–the victims” and others.

The modern collective model of memory was formed in Ukraine mainly in three thematic segments: the Second World War, the Ukrainian

<sup>9</sup> Олена Стяжкіна, “Окупація Донбасу: образи минулого поза контекстами метанаративів”, in *Національна та історична пам’ять. Зб. наук. праць*. Спецвипуск: Національна пам’ять: соціокультурний та духовний виміри (Київ: ДП “НВЦ «Пріоритети»”, 2012), 108.

<sup>10</sup> Стяжкіна, “Окупація Донбасу”, 108.

<sup>11</sup> Стяжкіна, “Окупація Донбасу”, 111.

Revolution, and Holodomor 1932–1933. Each of these had its distinctive special particularities. While the Second World War pulsed traditionally in the mainstream of memory, the Ukrainian Revolution was able to be actualized in historical memory in the main thanks to the systematic efforts of scholars, enthusiasts of historical reconstructions, museum workers, writers, and filmmakers. Notably, the most significant event annually celebrated at the state level is the quite symbolic Act of Unification of the UNR and ZUNR (“Ukrainian People’s Republic” and “West Ukrainian People’s Republic”).

The situation in connection with Holodomor deserves a separate discussion. The established image of the famine in 1932–1933 in Ukraine as a consequence of the climatic catastrophe, planted and cultivated by Soviet propaganda, was subjected to a radical rethink. The breakthrough in consciousness was made possible not only due to the developments and incisive discussion among historians but also can be attributed to the commemorative efforts of the state. The crisis of Holodomor was one of the demarcation lines with Putin’s historical policy. The state’s leadership manifest in efforts of the UINM has implemented a set of measures, including dozens of archeographic studies monographs, and other publications, official educational events, museum exhibitions, attractions, scientific forums, and presentations. In Kyiv, a memorial was erected in memory of the Holodomor victims.

Through a synthesis of efforts by R. Conquest, who authored *The Harvest of Sorrow*<sup>12</sup>, and J. Mace, who had spoken on this issue in the United States Congress<sup>13</sup>, historians and public figures in Ukraine and the diaspora created, through purposeful measures of the government, the conditions for heightened public awareness, speaking out about the traumatic experiences, and encouraging dignified commemoration of the victims of this tragedy.

Meanwhile, in the segments of collective memory connected with the Ukrainian Revolution and Holodomor, a negative backlash within evaluations and interpretations exists almost exclusively in the realm of experts. Yet in regard to the Second World War, things look quite different. Turning this thematic niche into a fruitful area for electoral technologies, some political forces in Ukraine are discreetly or openly positioning their stance of spiritual affinity with the former communist and now modern Putinian empires, where the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” is considered to be one of the main “braces” in the culture of memory undergirding public opinion and national sentiment.

<sup>12</sup> Роберт Конквест, *Жнива скорботи. Радянська колективізація і голодомор* (Київ: Либідь, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> Аркадій Сидорук, “Американець, який став українцем”, *Універсум*, issue no. 11–12 (2006): 9.

After the decision to abandon the pompous parades, copied from the Soviets, for some time there was a certain hiatus. Yet recent attempts to turn Remembrance Day and Victory Day, with weapons clanging, into humanistic ways of remembering the war and commemorating its victims, face more resistance from those forces oriented toward Moscow. Under the initiative of one Russian journalist in the Russian Federation, the campaign “*Bessmertniy Polk*” (“Immortal Regiment”) became widespread. Outwardly everything appears natural and organic: on Victory Day people bear portraits of their relatives and friends who fought, survived the war, or were killed in those years. However, Russian political technologists quickly sensed the potential of the resource that this campaign possessed and sought to turn it into a powerful mobilization tool.

Today, under the pretext of participation in such a ceremony in different countries of the world, more than 300 million people can demonstrate en masse simultaneously. This method of influencing mass consciousness contains unique opportunities for manipulative content. In recent years, this campaign took place in Kyiv on May 9, allegedly spontaneous, simultaneous with official celebrations and ceremonies. It is in fact a well-designed and planned activity. And its organizers are quite cognizant of the potential risks related to the possible resistance to Russian influences from other segments of society and the risk of provoking actions by right-wing radical forces. The ultimate goal of such memorial intrigues is a disruption of the Ukrainian state, creating social disturbances, the confrontation between various groups, so as to ensure and support the expansionist policy of the Russian Federation – and to facilitate the implementation of plans of its military-political leadership in regard to Ukraine.

One of the important directions in reformatting the memoryscape in modern Ukraine are the various measures of decommunization. This complex process takes place in the form of the implementation of four known laws aimed at a displacement of symbols of the Soviet era from public space. In our opinion, such decommunization actions would have received broader popular social support if they had been properly prepared. Neither within scholarly/academic nor public discourse were steps taken to critically rethink the Soviet era. However, non-systematic efforts (dozens of historical works, exhibitions, documentaries) were insufficient for different areas of society in their efforts to comprehend the criminal nature of totalitarianism “with a human face”. This circumstance, given the enduring mental tradition rooted in the “socialist” values of the Soviet model in the minds of many citizens, as well as negative socio-economic problems and issues in Ukraine, triggered a rejection of decommunization measures by certain

segments of society. This was expressed, for example, in court cases filed concerning alleged illegal actions by the Kyiv Municipality in renaming some streets of the capital city. In the lawsuits, some cases were resolved in favor of plaintiffs, as well as in support of the laws on decommunization.

The lack of a balance between the course politics actually takes and what society asks for generates dissonance, which is much greater than its visible components indicate.

In our opinion, one of the problems is that the UINM (UINP) has monopolized the right to generate solutions in this area, acting mainly by means of directives. Most of its decisions take effect bypassing the fundamental scientific-scholarly expertise, as well as prospective forecasting of the consequences of their implementation.

Several years ago, in the preparatory documents for the government related to commemoration of Victory Day, there was a provision stating that the Ukrainian people could not be considered the winner in the Second World War, because it did not have its state, and most of Ukraine's residents were forced to fight in the imperial Red Army.

In fact, the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the expulsion of Hitler's troops from the territory of Ukraine was eradicated from the official commemoration agenda, although previously on October 28 these events had been annually marked by commemoration. Such steps by the UINP confused not only opponents of decommunization but the moderate segment of academics, cultural workers, and educators.

In today's memorial space, museums take a leading role. Permanent and temporary exhibitions, educational and cultural events that are constantly held in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in the Second World War, the Museum of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the National Historical Museum, Museum of History of Kyiv, the Museum of Memory of the Jewish People and the Holocaust in Ukraine, the Museum of Holodomor and many others enjoy a consistently high interest on the part of society. The National Museum of History of Ukraine in the Second World War alone is visited annually by 700–800,000 Ukrainian citizens and foreign guests.

Unfortunately, after the termination of reparation payments to *Ostarbeiter*, followed by some interest displayed relating to the problem of forced labor, its public mention and articulation, no other international project was developed on the pan-Ukrainian level.

However, new fragments are being introduced within the spaces of commemorative memory and its culture from time to time. To name but a few, such projects as “My dear Ellie” with letters of a Wehrmacht officer to his

wife<sup>14</sup>, “Unread letters from 1941”, based on the collection of unsent correspondence taken by the German army in Kamianets-Podilskyi and preserved in the Vienna Postal Museum<sup>15</sup>, and the creation of the museum at the gunpowder production factory in Shostka by joint efforts of German and Ukrainian scientists.

To conclude, one should mention another problem area in the memory landscape of Ukraine. It is related to the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in the 1940s. Periodic attempts by right-wing radical and certain other political and public forces in Poland to sharpen the angles and to one-sidedly blame Ukrainians for the ethnocide and genocide of Poles remain without an adequate response from Ukrainian politicians. The leadership of the state lacks the awareness of the importance of this issue and the damage that its passive-defensive position causes to Ukraine's international image. The lack of state support for the efforts of individual scholars and broad public discussion localizes this problem, restricted to narrow academic circles, and strips the issue of its proper mnemonic attributes for civil society.

In sum, it should be noted that the evolution of collective historical memory in modern Ukraine is evident, and this process is being shaped by the gradual overcoming of the Soviet heritage, emergent democratic trends, the formation of civil society, and the political nation. Socio-political cataclysms (Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity), and the Russian aggression against Ukraine have stimulated the process of civic identification amongst the citizenry and a corresponding culture of memory, through the prism of which citizens seek to assess their past and future prospects.

The model of collective memory forming in Ukraine is similar to the Polish or Baltic paradigms. At the same time, not all the steps taken by the state leadership in the field of memory appear justified, successful and consistent. Dependence of the content and orientation of the commemoration policy on the political force in power impedes the development of stable, verified criteria for its formation and for proper tools for implementation. State memory policy lacks continuity and a sustainable course guided by scholarly/scientific research findings and perspectives.

The hope remains that the political elites of Ukraine will eventually realize the significance of this sphere in social, political and international life, and will generate and build such a vibrant model of historical memory that

<sup>14</sup> Гаральд Бьоше, Марина Дубик, and Тетяна Пастушенко, “Люба моя Елли!...” *Листи, світліни та документи німецького чиновника з окупованого Іванкова (1942–1943 рр.)* (Київ: Міжнародний фонд “Взаєморозуміння і толерантність”, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> Володимир Литвин, Валерій Смолій, Іван Ковальчук, Любов Легасова, Олександр Лисенко and others, editors, *Непрочитані листи 1941-го...: дослідження, документи, свідчення* (Київ: Аеростат, 2012).

will maximally reflect the indigenous interests of the Ukrainian political nation.

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Nadiia Honcharenko

## FROM THE “GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR” TO THE “UKRAINIAN DIMENSION OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR”: A CHANGE IN THE NARRATIVE IN SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

The article analyzes changes in the interpretations of events during the period 1939–1945 that have occurred in the writing of Ukrainian school history textbooks since 1991 (World history textbooks are not considered here). There was a gradual rejection of the concept of the “Great Patriotic War” inherited from Soviet historiography, superseded by the introduction of the concept of the “Ukrainian dimension of the Second World War”. The article examines approaches proposed by European scholars for evaluating history textbooks. These comprise multiple viewpoints based on the analysis of various sources of the formation of critical thinking, perspectives that enable the development of tolerance and avoidance of one-sidedness. It has been pointed out that while sharing guidelines for multiple views and critical judgment, Ukrainian scholars also emphasize the need to provide a complex of knowledge “on behalf of science” necessary for young people in order to promote their sense of identification with the country (N. Yakovenko); solidly grounded knowledge so as to provide them with conceptions about their connection to their society and their past (Y. Hrytsak), and to counter and critically reflect on the fundamental Soviet myth that remains the core component of ideological colonialism in Ukraine – namely the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” and the “Great Victory” (L. Zashkilnyak).

The article shows that the first Ukrainian textbooks corresponded chronologically and conceptually to the Soviet narrative about the “Great Patriotic War”. However, each new generation of textbooks – by authors who are experts on this subject, and written following updated and improved teaching programs – presented the events of the Second World War more adequately, gradually abandoning Soviet mythology, employing the newest teaching methodologies and various sources. The previously documented process of the formation of the “Ukrainian dimension of the Second World War” – designed to remove the Ukrainian educational space from the mythology of the “Great Patriotic War” and the cult of the “Great Victory” – had to compete with substantial Russian political, media and cultural influences present within the Ukrainian cultural and educational space. Moreover, Ukrainian textbook authors faced a powerful opposition by a segment of the Ukrainian political elite – communists, supporters of ideas from the “Russian world” (“Russkiy mir”). Among these were many MPs, scholars,

educators, and cultural activists. They criticized various textbooks, accusing the authors of distorting the truth and in denial of the “Great Victory”.

The article seeks to identify the key factors underlying the creating and continuous improvement and rewriting of history in Ukrainian textbooks: social transformation, political freedom, ideological and cultural diversity, intellectual courage, the possibility for free discussion, and the need to shape a new sense of Ukrainian identity to link citizens with the country.

**Keywords:** historical education, narrative, history textbooks, historiography, mythology of the “Great Patriotic War”, the Ukrainian dimension of the Second World War.

This article seeks to analyze how the interpretation of events from 1939 to 1945 was changed in the Ukrainian school history textbooks<sup>1</sup>: from the notion of the “Great Patriotic War” inherited from the USSR historiography to the gradual introduction of the “Ukrainian dimension of World War II”, as well as ideological guidelines for facilitators and key factors of these changes.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the study, rethinking and providing adequate coverage in the scientific/scholarly and training literature on the issues connected with the Second World War, because this event and its consequences have long left their powerful stamp on the development of Europe, while remaining the causes underlying modern interstate and interethnic misunderstandings and conflicts. As the experience of the whole period of independence of Ukraine shows, and especially the last six years, propaganda clichés and speculation around the history of the Second World War are a significant part of the new war – an information war. A joint study of the NGOs Internews-Ukraine and Likbez<sup>2</sup> has presented an analysis of the key narratives of Russian propaganda about Ukrainian history and demonstrated the timing and reticulation of the Russian-Soviet mythology pertaining to the Second World War.

The use of this propaganda and mythology caused not only the death of thousands of people, but it became a threat to the very functioning of the Ukrainian state. As Yurii Nikolaiets has pointed out:

In early 2014 under conditions of readiness for open aggression against Ukraine, the memory of the Second World War was used to create a positive attitude to the expected actions of Russian militants. Along with the criticism of “Banderivshyna” and “Ukrainian nationalism”, the pro-Russian media started spreading the images of “Donetsk Cossacks”, which acted as a symbol

<sup>1</sup> The analysis of a narrative change from the “Great Patriotic War” to the “Ukrainian dimension in the Second World War” in Ukrainian school textbooks on world history is the task of a separate study.

<sup>2</sup> Ре-візія історії. Російська історична пропаганда та Україна (Київ: К.І.С., 2019).



of “Donbas defense”, “Defenders of Fatherland and Orthodox faith”, among images of historical memory. [...] The Russian propagandists continued to use the theme of the “fascism” of Ukraine to its advantage. In the first half of 2014, the Ukrainian leadership was presented as a “junta” that illegally seized power, or as “fascists”, the struggle with whom seems to continue the tradition of Soviet soldiers during the Second World War. The same messages were in the media reports of terrorist formations of the DPR/LPR (Donetsk People’s Republic/Luhansk People’s Republic). During 2014, a significant portion of those reports contained topics on combating fascism, the unity of the population in countering the spread of the “brown plague” and “nationalism”<sup>3</sup>.

Among the defenders of Ukraine, there were many young people who studied Ukrainian history after 1991, using textbooks written in the period of independence. It is thanks to these textbooks that the boys and girls from different parts of the country – who listen to different kinds of music, have had a different education, a certain prosperity and their own preferences – were united. In October 2015, at the all-Ukrainian conference for history teachers in Kyiv, a teacher from Kamianske (then Dneprodzerzhinsk) said: “My students are protecting me and our native land”.

At the same time, when focusing on the school textbooks, on the one hand, experts note that textbooks lack dominance and influence in the teaching of history<sup>4</sup>, and on the other, there are permanent (mostly slanted) discussions on the content of textbooks in the academic and educational media and inflamed discussions in political circles and the press.

As follows from the analytical report, *Cultural practices and cultural policies*, the influence of textbooks on the formation of ideas about the past (in particular – the Second World War) is less significant than other sources, such as the cinema and the media<sup>5</sup>. According to the results of the sociological survey, during which the respondents were asked the question “From what sources do you get information about the Great Patriotic War (the Second World War)?”, it turned out: “Three-quarters (74,5%) of the respondents received some notion of the Great Patriotic War from feature films, about half (46,0%) – from TV and radio broadcasts. Literature plays

<sup>3</sup> Юрій Ніколаєць, “Історична пам’ять про Другу світову війну у контексті загроз державотворенню”, in *Політика суспільних реформ: стратегія, механізми, ресурси*. Зб. наук. пр., editors: Олег Рафальський and Олександр Майборода (Київ: ІПЕНД НАН України, 2018), 463–464.

<sup>4</sup> See section “Місце підручника з історії в учбовому процесі” in the book: *Зміст підручників з історії України та всесвітньої історії: ставлення та очікування учнів та батьків у процесі професійної оцінки вчителів* (Київ, 2010), 6–7.

<sup>5</sup> Андрій Єрмолаєв, Олександр Левцун, Оксана Мельничук and Віктор Щербина, *Культурні практики і культурна політика. Актуальні питання соціокультурної модернізації в Україні*. Аналітична доповідь (Київ, 2012), 43. The authors state that “Soviet films remain the major sources of forming the mass views on the events of 1941–1945” (see p. 44).

an important role in informing about the war, especially books of fiction (indicated by 35,5% of respondents), as well as publications in newspapers and magazines (27,5%)<sup>6</sup>. However, “the educational process (lectures, academic literature)” became a source of information for 24% of the respondents, and “scientific/scholarly literature” only for 17,2%<sup>7</sup>.

Discussions about the content of textbooks began in the late 1980–90s, during the period of “*Glasnost*” (transparency, openness) and *Perestroika*. It became the constant element of public life after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Clearly, the discontent with certain intellectual and educational products was the case also in the USSR, yet open and public discussion became possible only under the conditions of political liberalization.

The history of Ukraine as a separate subject was not taught at school until 1989. In the context of the policy of democratization and “*Glasnost*” in the academic year of 1989–1990, the History of the Ukrainian SSR was included in the list of obligatory subjects in the general education school syllabi. For this purpose, one hour per week was allocated for students in grades 8–11. Simultaneously, the history of the USSR remained in the curriculum.

The curriculum of 1989, according to which the History of the Ukrainian SSR was taught, kept the basic elements of the Soviet scheme of history: the concept of a single Ruthenian nationality (ancient Rus’ as the cradle of fraternal peoples, where the Russian people were the main descendant); the concept of reunification with Russia (triumphant unification into a single state under the Pereiaslav Agreement, joint struggle against invaders); the concept of the creation and protection of the common Fatherland (Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the USSR, Victory in the Great Patriotic War as the key events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>8</sup>.

On July 19, 1991, a month before the GKChP coup, the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR adopted a decision to leave the history of the USSR for the 1991/1992 academic year as a separate subject and to continue teaching in parallel the history of Ukraine in high school. Then – on the eve of independence – a trial textbook on the history of Ukraine for grades 10–11 of high school with a total press run of over

<sup>6</sup> Єрмолаєв, Левцун, Мельничук and Щербина, *Культурні практики і культурна політика*, 44.

<sup>7</sup> Єрмолаєв, Левцун, Мельничук and Щербина, *Культурні практики і культурна політика*, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Костянтин Баханов, *Сучасний шкільний підручник з історії* (Харків: Вид. група “Основа”, 2009), 20–27.

800,000 copies was published in Ukrainian and Russian, prepared by scholars of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine<sup>9</sup>.

The rapid social change prompted scientists and authors of textbooks to engage in further work. In May 1992, the “Concept of School Historical Education” was published, according to which the history of the USSR as a separate subject finally disappeared from the curricula. Starting from the academic year 1992–1993, two separate subjects were introduced in the Ukrainian schools: the History of Ukraine and World History. Also, in 1992, the project of the course of development of the history of Ukraine was introduced, where for the first time the history of Russia and other countries of the former USSR were considered as part of world history and not of national history. Among the skills to be mastered by the students was an acquaintance with various sources of information and the ability to substantiate and prove their point of view.

Political and intellectual freedom enabled the creation not only of new educational literature but its criticism as well: professional critique (also analyzing advantages and omissions in the new textbooks) and criticism framed within aspects of worldview (prompted by the contradictions in political changes and the independent Ukrainian state with its history). The detailed and all-around discussion of scientific criteria of evaluation of the textbooks for students took place in Kyiv at the conference “Personality and Society as a problem of Modern and Recent history”<sup>10</sup> and papers of conference participants were published in the collective volume *Didactics of Ukrainian History*<sup>11</sup>. In his article on this collective volume, Yaroslav Hrytsak pointed out that

...Ukrainian authors [of textbooks] should not be so driven to adhering to sterile objectivity... Central is that the historian is clearly aware of the purpose that they have in mind when writing or teaching history, and remains honest in its admission. I think that for the modern Ukrainian historian there is no more important purpose than redefinition or creation of a new Ukrainian identity. History should give the young person an idea of how one is associated with one's society and one's past, and what are the possible consequences of this<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Михайло Коваль, Станіслав Кульчицький, Юрій Курносів and Віталій Сарбей, *Історія України. Пробний навчальний посібник для 10–11 кл. середньої школи* (Київ: “Освіта”, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> The first Ukrainian-German conference on textbook studies within an international project implementation under the auspices of the Georg Eckert Institute took place in Kyiv in 1998.

<sup>11</sup> *Українська історична дидактика. Міжнародний діалог (фахівці різних країн про сучасні українські підручники з історії)*. Зб. наук. ст. (Київ: Генеза, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Ярослав Грицак, “Як викладати історію України після 1991 року?”, in *Українська історична дидактика. Міжнародний діалог (фахівці різних країн про сучасні українські підручники з історії)*. Зб. наук. ст. (Київ: Генеза, 2000), 71.

These thoughts remain relevant to this day.

Methods of writing textbooks and approaches to their evaluation were proposed by the participants in the international project “Innovations in Historical Education of Ukraine”<sup>13</sup>, and published in the collective volume *Modern Approaches to the Teaching of History*<sup>14</sup>. Analyzing European and Ukrainian textbooks, the authors apply the approaches developed in post-war Western Europe. First of all, this comprises a multi-perspective approach and critical thinking, based on the analysis of various sources, and thanks to that the promotion of tolerance and the avoidance of bias and one-sidedness<sup>15</sup>. One of the project participants and authors in the collective volume is Robert Stradling. In his book *Teaching 20th-century European History*, he proposed an ample classification of the criteria for evaluation of textbooks, describing “eight Deadly Sins” that authors of textbooks are often prey to (among them: biased treatment of events, nationalistic, racist and ideological interpretations, ethnocentrism, European centrism, “stereotypical attitudes and images (that is over-simplified generalisations, usually of a derogatory nature, about particular nations, groups, races or gender)” and “tokenism (the inclusion of arbitrary and standardised illustrative material that seems to bear little relation to the text)”<sup>16</sup>.

Similar approaches and examples of their applications are contained in the collective volume *History for Today and Tomorrow. What Does Europe Mean for School History?*<sup>17</sup>. A series of articles provides an overview of the textbooks of the “free world” countries and the former “socialist camp”, with appeals to demythologize the textbooks and set aside admiration of nationalistic heroization, which, according to the authors, captivated the textbooks of post-communist countries<sup>18</sup>. In my opinion, such

<sup>13</sup> The project was implemented in 2001–2004 by the All-Ukrainian Association of History and Social Studies Teachers “Nova Doba” (“NewAge”) in partnership with the European Association of History Teachers EUROCLIO, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, the Institute of History of Ukraine and Geneza Publishing.

<sup>14</sup> *Сучасні підходи до історичної освіти. Методичний додаток до навчального посібника “Історія епохи очима людини. Україна та Європа в 1900–1939 рр.”* (Львів: “Українські технології”, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> *Сучасні підходи до історичної освіти*, 11–17.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History* (Council of Europe Publishing, 2001), 261.

<sup>17</sup> Joke van der Leeuw-Rood, ed., *History for Today and Tomorrow. What Does Europe Mean for School History?* (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 2001).

<sup>18</sup> Such as Capita Carol, Small World, Big Country. A Reappraisal of Europe in Romanian History Teaching, in *History for Today and Tomorrow. What does Europe Mean for School History?* Ed. Joke van der Leeuw-Rood (Hamburg: Edition Körber Foundation, 2001); Valdis Klisans, National and European History in Schools in Latvia, in *History for Today and Tomorrow. What does Europe Mean for School History?* Ed. Joke van der Leeuw-Rood (Hamburg: Edition Körber Foundation, 2001).

guidelines, as to their usefulness and relevance, are somewhat narrow for the analysis of historical education in post-communist countries, especially if they have recently gained independence. That is because the dominant mythology in these countries has long been communist, closely associated with the official ideological interpretation of the past, which destroyed national traditions under the slogans of the “internationalism” and the “fraternity of peoples”.

By analyzing the prevalence of Soviet historical myths in the information and educational space of Ukraine, Leonid Zashkilnyak has emphasized the necessity of using “modern imperiology and a post-colonial approach for the comprehension of the Soviet past of Ukraine”<sup>19</sup>, pointing out that

...a fundamental Soviet myth, which remains a core component of ideological colonialism on Ukraine, is the myth of the “Great Patriotic War” and the “Great Victory”. The history of this myth and its instrumental character in the last decade of the USSR’s existence was well covered in modern historiography. This communist construct in conjunction with a set of its components about the “feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War”, “the decisive role of the Communist Party”, “the moral and political unity of the Soviet people”, “a powerful partisan movement in the rear of the enemy”, “traitors and collaborators”, and many others, even today serves as a justification for the existence of Imperial Russia and its colonies under the guise of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. This myth is obviously aimed at denying the Ukrainian dimension of the war, because it leaves no room for Ukrainian interest, despite the fanciful attempts by some historians to refer to the creation of Ukrainian ministries, to the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN founding, etc<sup>20</sup>.

In her article in the collection about the culture of historical memory<sup>21</sup>, Olena Radziwill also draws attention to the longevity and rooting of Soviet stereotypes inherited by Ukrainian textbooks, especially in matters of the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the history of the Second World War.

An extremely important criterion of school textbook assessment is the concordance between historical didactics and the development of historical science in general, the ability of textbook authors to track and follow

<sup>19</sup> Леонід Зашкілляк, “Радянські історичні міфи в сучасній українській історіографії: «старе вино в нових міхах», in *Світло й тіні українського радянського історіописання: Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції* (Київ, 22–23 травня 2013 р.), ed. Валерій Смолий (Київ: Інститут історії України НАНУ, 2015), 25.

<sup>20</sup> Зашкілляк, “Радянські історичні міфи в сучасній українській історіографії”, 27–28.

<sup>21</sup> Олена Радзивілл, “Трансформація образу радянського минулого в українських підручниках з історії”, in *Культура історичної пам’яті: європейський та український досвід*, editor Юрій Шаповал (Київ: ІПЕНД, 2013), 402–404.

the latest research studies, and to apply new knowledge for educational purposes. This has been emphasized by Robert Meyer, describing his expectations of the textbook and offering several criteria: political, historiographic, didactic, and pedagogical<sup>22</sup>. In particular, the historiographical criterion posits the need “to take into account the current state of scientific research”, “it is impossible to convince students that there is only one “historical truth”, “students should be able to criticize the sources”<sup>23</sup>.

Diversity of the sources presented is an essential element of the textbook and in the opinion of Galina Tomalska: “The author can complement the basic text with other source texts, contradictory or different from their views. The pedagogical value of this text is undoubted, as it teaches the reader to adopt a multilateral perspective in looking at the same facts, events, or deeds of historical persons”<sup>24</sup>. She also emphasizes that “the history textbook, while introducing the student to the world of the past, builds on the same contextual knowledge, embracing and understanding the future”<sup>25</sup>.

The combination of the past and the present in the textbook is a question for constantly continuing discussions. In the collective volume *School History through the Eyes of Historians-Scholars* published in 2008, Natalia Yakovenko notes in the introduction:

In contrast with research on history, we do not expect any discoveries or skeptical revisions from the textbook. Its function is to provide a specific compilation, a set of knowledge necessary for a young person to engage in personal reflexive identification with the country in which one lives, and with the community<sup>26</sup> an individual belongs to<sup>27</sup>.

Prepared by Ukrainian scholars is a “methodological guide” in which the textbooks of history are evaluated for their adherence to the principles of tolerance and multiculturalism. Writing there, Georgy Kasyanov, claimed on one hand that “most of the textbooks analyzed are balanced in respect to ethnic, cultural and gender tolerance and do not contain direct «hate

<sup>22</sup> Роберт Маєр, “Аналіз українських шкільних підручників із всесвітньої історії ХХ ст.”, in *Історична освіта: український та європейський досвід. Викладання національної історії в школах Центральної і Східної Європи* (Київ: К.І.С., 2010), 140–183.

<sup>23</sup> Маєр, “Аналіз українських шкільних підручників”, 141.

<sup>24</sup> Галіна Томальська, “Сучасне теоретичне підґрунтя оповіді у підручниках з історії”, in *Історична освіта і сучасність. Як викладати історію школярам і студентам*, translated from Polish (Київ: К.І.С., 2007), 419.

<sup>25</sup> Томальська, “Сучасне теоретичне підґрунтя оповіді у підручниках з історії”, 417.

<sup>26</sup> Наталя Яковенко, сопр., *Шкільна історія очима істориків-науковців*. Матеріали Робочої наради з моніторингу шкільних підручників історії України (Київ: Вид-во ім. Олени Теліги, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Яковенко, сопр., *Шкільна історія очима істориків-науковців*, 9.

speech»”, and on the other pointed out that “...a group of experts... relying on another method, confirmed the main conclusions... about *ethnocentrism, lack of attention to the cultural diversity of the history of Ukraine*”<sup>28</sup>. Kasyanov is somewhat disconsolable in his general conclusion: “during the first decade [of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – N. G.], a fairly structured understanding of the essence of the problems generated by the dominance of the national narrative in the school curriculum of the history of Ukraine has emerged among the academic scholarly and teaching community”<sup>29</sup>.

The thesis on the dominance of the national narrative in science and education has both supporters and opponents. For example, Anatoly Podolski believes that

...there is an absence of modern Ukrainian humanitarian science in the echelons of the government, and the ideological authorities dictate. At the same time, however, an open dialogue with the authorities is needed for finding a common consensus on the historical subjects of our difficult past. It is open to different views and directions, it is not under the dictatorship or domination of any one of the approaches or directions, such as nationalist, as Russian propaganda tries to present it... Today in Ukraine there is no homogeneous or unanimous cultural policy or memory policy about the history of the war with National Socialist Germany. That is as it should be in a democratic country<sup>30</sup>.

The results of several professional academic discussions between Ukrainian and foreign historians, pertaining to Ukrainian, Eastern European and post-Soviet history (with special emphasis on coverage and teaching of the Second World War), were published in the collective volume *Modern Discussions about the Second World War*<sup>31</sup>. The statement by Vladyslav Hrynevich, one of the authors there, has remained relevant ever since and adds more fuel to the current discussion:

For Ukraine, the creation of its model of memory is not only the establishment of national identity, democratization, and humanization of the society, it is also a way out from being under Russia’s influence, where the model

<sup>28</sup> Георгій Касьянов, “Національний нарратив, підручник і викладання історії в школі”, in *Підручник з історії: проблеми толерантності*. Методичний посібник для авторів та редакторів видавництва (Чернівці: Букрек, 2012), 20–21. (author’s italics).

<sup>29</sup> Касьянов, “Національний нарратив”, 21.

<sup>30</sup> Анатолій Подольський, “Пам’ять про Голокост в Україні”, in *Academia. Terra Historiae*. Студії на пошану Валерія Смоля: 2 books, executive editor Геннадій Борак (Київ: Інститут історії України НАНУ, ДУ “Інститут всесвітньої історії Національної академії наук України”, 2020), book 2, “Простори історика”, 261–262.

<sup>31</sup> *Сучасні дискусії про Другу світову війну*. Збірник наукових статей та виступів українських та зарубіжних істориків (Львів: ЗУКЦ, 2012).

of historical memory of the Great Patriotic War is a powerful tool of political pressure on Ukraine to remain in its geopolitical sphere<sup>32</sup>.

In our opinion, in looking at the problem of highlighting the history of the Second World War in textbooks, one should be mindful of the wider scientific and public context, as outlined by Yana Prymachenko:

...Lack of common experience of the Second World War among Ukrainians, inconsistent memory policy and complex processes of the common Soviet decolonization of history, which are made manifest by Russia’s constant intervention – as well in fact as the lack of preparedness on the part of Western historians when it comes to the global rethinking of the Communist experience of Central and Eastern European countries – form a modern socio-cultural context of Ukrainian historiography<sup>33</sup>.

It is well-known fact that the Soviet mythology of the Great Patriotic War was dominant in the first Ukrainian textbooks on history, since it was inherited from the USSR. The main elements of this comprised: the deceitful attack of Germany on the USSR in the summer of 1941 and the outbreak of war; the Soviet Army emerged victorious, and this Great Victory saved the whole world; all national resistance movements against the Nazis not connected with the Soviet Army were traitors, abettors (Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian); the greatest victims of war were the Soviet people (without specifications of national tragedies – Holocaust, deportation, etc.). No other historical theme could compete with the theme of the Great Patriotic War in terms of the number of publications – thousands of bibliographic notations for a total print run of over millions of copies.

The material of the first trial-run textbook on the history of Ukraine for high school grades 10–11 was prepared by historians at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine<sup>34</sup>. Chronologically and conceptually it corresponds to the Soviet narrative: the first two years of the war are referred to in Chap. 6 “Socio-economic and Political Transformation of the Late 1920s to 1940s”, where sub-section. 20 is headed “Reunification of Western Ukrainian Lands” and sub-section 21 “Before the Great Patriotic War”. Chap. 7 covers the period “The Great Patriotic War, 1941–1945”, and contains only three sub-sections (two times smaller than the previous chapter), thematically divided into the “first period”, the “period

<sup>32</sup> Владислав Гриневич, “Український вимір війни та пам’яті про неї”, in *Сучасні дискусії про Другу світову війну*. Збірник наукових статей та виступів українських та зарубіжних істориків (Львів: ЗУКЦ, 2012), 64.

<sup>33</sup> Яна Примаченко, “ОУН і УПА vs Голокост: «війни пам’яті» в сучасному соціокультурному контексті українського історіописання”, in *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність* 24 (Київ: Інститут історії України НАНУ, 2014), 83.

<sup>34</sup> Коваль, Кульчицький, Курносів and Сарбей, *Історія України*.

of fundamental breakthrough” and the “final period” of the “Great Patriotic War”.

Describing events on the eve of the reunion, the authors of the textbook noted that “liberation campaigns of the Red Army to the territory of Western Ukraine, Bessarabia and Bukovina, on the one hand, corresponded to the desire of a large part of the population of these lands to reunite with Soviet Ukraine. On the other, they were closely related to the content of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop”<sup>35</sup>. Thus, for the first time in the textbook, there was information about the Pact, as well as secret protocols defining the distribution of the spheres of influence. Interestingly, while reasoning the need for a reunion, the authors casually remember the agreement between the UPR and ZUNR (*Ukrayinska Narodna Respublika* / Ukrainian People’s Republic) and *Zakhidno-Ukrayinska Narodna Respublika* (Western Ukrainian People’s Republic) signed on January 22, 1919. However, there is no single word to designate the beginning of the Second World War, this term is generally not used in coverage of the events of 1939–1941.

The activity of Soviet partisans, called the “People’s Avengers”, is described in detail and is glorified, while the Ukrainian national resistance movement is mentioned in the chapter “Ukraine in the post-war period” in the sub-section “On the way to the peacebuilding”, which states: “The recovery processes in Western Ukraine were extremely difficult. Armed UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) formations attempted to resist the Red Army... At the same time, the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) launched a terror operation against local state and party authorities...”. The authors claimed that “Ukrainian nationalists performed a total of 14,5 thousand acts of sabotage and terrorist attacks. The local population did not support the nationalists. With the help of local residents, armed exterminatory battalions, self-defense groups were formed. In the early 1950s, the Bandera movement in Western Ukraine was defeated”<sup>36</sup>.

It is noteworthy that not a single name of the nationalist underground leadership appears in the text, yet several pages are dedicated to the activities of the compounds headed by Fedorov, Saburov, Kovpak, “*Moloda Hvardiia*” (“Young Guard”) and other “National Avengers”.

In general, the textbook predominantly contains the author’s text, and at the end of some sub-sections, it presents historical documents of an official nature: party, government regulations, commanders’ orders, operational

summaries, and also several questions that induce the memorizing and re-telling of what has been read.

The main achievement in 1992 was a textbook *History of Ukraine*<sup>37</sup> for grades 10–11, prepared by historians of the Institute of History of Ukraine, and covering the events from February 1917 to 1992. It contained a new periodization of the war where Section 8 “Ukraine during the Second World War (1939–1945)” starts with the following sub-section: “Stalin’s Criminal Confederacy with Hitler in 1939 and the fate of Western Ukrainian lands” It depicts the beginning of the Second World War, methods of establishing Soviet power and repression of the population in Western Ukraine. And Section 9, “Post-war period (1945–1955)”, provides significantly more detail in describing the events that took place on the territory of Ukraine, in particular the struggle between the UPA and Soviet troops:

State security bodies and domestic affairs acted grossly neglecting any norms of legality. They considered their task was not only the destruction of OUN-UPA armed resistance but also the intimidation of the population... The whole rich experience of the “secret war” was used, even the creation of pseudo-Banderivtsy detachments or “boyivky” (armed groups). Mass deportation of peasants was widely applied as a means to fight against Bandera. There were 65,906 families, or 203,662 individuals, forcibly deported to Siberia, the Far East, and other Eastern lands<sup>38</sup>.

In addition to the leaders of the Soviet partisan movement, it briefly mentions the leaders of the nationalist underground – S. Bandera, R. Shukhevych, A. Melnyk, V. Kuk. In two sentences, there is casual marginal mention of the Volyn and Visla campaigns, but without naming them directly:

Destabilization of the political situation in the land was strengthened by interethnic discord, which grew into a bloody massacre. Its victims were over 40 thousand Poles and almost as many Ukrainians. Attempting to solve this problem, there was the resettlement of 483,000 Ukrainians from Poland to Ukraine, and 810,000 Poles from Ukraine to Poland<sup>39</sup>.

Just like in the textbook from 1991, the author’s text dominates here and contains the fragments of official documents, and questions to students to induce the reproduction of the reading material.

However, even the cautious and slow introduction into the school textbooks of the information that had diluted the Soviet stereotypes about

<sup>37</sup> Михайло Коваль, Станіслав Кульчицький and Юрій Курносов, *Матеріали до підручника для 10–11 класів середньої школи* (Київ: Райдуга, 1992).

<sup>38</sup> Коваль, Кульчицький and Курносов, *Матеріали до підручника для 10–11 класів*, 370.

<sup>39</sup> Коваль, Кульчицький and Курносов, *Матеріали до підручника для 10–11 класів*, 371.

historical events and showed a more complex picture of the past sparked a powerful resistance from the former Communist Party members, some scholars and scientists, and education workers.

A striking example is a situation around one of the first textbooks on the history of Ukraine for 10<sup>th</sup>-grade students<sup>40</sup> prepared by the historian Fedor Turchenko in Zaporizhia, published in the fall of 1994 and recommended by the Ministry of Education for use in schools throughout Ukraine.

Already in the annotation, the author promises to pay special attention to the issues “which were falsified by the Soviet historiography: the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people, the tragic fate of Ukraine under the conditions of Soviet totalitarian regime, its struggle with foreign occupation during the Second World War”<sup>41</sup>.

In particular, in Section 6, “Ukraine during the Second World War”, it is noted in regard to the events of September 1939: “This meant the actual entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War and the rearrangement of the world it led to”<sup>42</sup>. The same section refers to the execution of Polish officers in Katyn, the repressions of the Soviet regime of the Western Ukrainian population at the beginning of the Second World War, and after its completion, the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people in 1944.

Citing the fact that “the founding of the Resistance groups in the anti-Nazi movement with different political orientations was a common phenomenon for European countries”, the author covers in detail “the Soviet underground and partisan movement in Ukraine” and “political evolution of the OUN”, “the creation and struggle of the UPA”, “relations with Soviet and Polish partisans”<sup>43</sup>.

There are no biographical references in the textbook, but it provides fragments of documents of different origins: the official Soviet authorities, the nationalist underground, letters, memoirs, etc. Questions and tasks encourage students not only to memorize the information but also to express their judgments (for example: “What do you see as a contradiction and tragedy of the OUN – UPA?”<sup>44</sup>).

The content of the textbook triggered a wave of outrage. Some MPs communists, members of the Committee on Science and Education, began to publish open letters and articles in the newspapers calling for banning

<sup>40</sup> Федір Турченко, *Новітня історія України. Підручник для 10 кл. середньої школи* (Київ: Генеза, 1994).

<sup>41</sup> Турченко, *Новітня історія України*, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Турченко, *Новітня історія України*, 266.

<sup>43</sup> Турченко, *Новітня історія України*, 296–323.

<sup>44</sup> Турченко, *Новітня історія України*, 316.

the textbook, since it “falsifies the heroic past of Ukraine, distorts historical facts, silences the role of the Communist Party in the Great Victory and salvation of mankind”. The well-known and popular newspaper *Krymska Pravda* (Crimean Pravda) published articles where the Katyn execution is called “fake news invented in the West”, the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people is termed “a comfortable relocation”, and the creation of new programs and textbooks on the history of Ukraine is described as “an attempt to disconnect fraternal Slavic peoples and abandon the recent happy past of the Ukrainian people”<sup>45</sup>.

A Deputy inquiry was sent to the Minister demanding withdrawal of the textbook. In response, the Ministry of Education and Science gathered a round table with the participation of scholars, teachers, Members of Parliament, and journalists. After the get-together, the textbook was not withdrawn, so the Communist deputies wrote requests again to the Ministry of Education and Science and the Academy of Sciences. The Institute of History created a special Commission, which stated that criticism of the textbook was politically driven, and that the textbook called attention to facts that disproved false statements.

In 1996, the Program of Teaching was approved. It consisted of the History of Ukraine curriculum (grades 5–11) and World History (grades 6–11). At the same time, the new approach to the creation of textbooks was introduced: authors submitted their texts for the competition; the Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science selected several textbooks for publication, and teachers could choose the textbook that they considered the most adequate to their needs. In these textbooks, the volume of text by the author decreased, while the number of sources increased representing different perspectives and questions that prompted students to form their assessments.

In textbooks created under the 1996 Program, some authors used the term “Great Patriotic War”, but mainly preferred to use designations “Second World War” and “German-Soviet War” as a part of that conflict. The Program establishes the new clear chronological limits “Ukraine during the Second World War (1939–1945)”. The outbreak of war was not June 22, 1941 (as it was in the Soviet and first post-Soviet textbooks), but September 1, 1939. Stalin and Hitler are depicted as totalitarian dictators, equally responsible for the incitement of war. The concept of the Holocaust is introduced, as well as a more detailed description of deportation, and of life in the areas of occupation. The textbook provides more information on Ukraine’s

<sup>45</sup> Cited from: Федір Турченко, “Як створювалися перші підручники з історії України”, in *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету* 45, vol. 1 (2016): 186.

contribution to the victory over Nazism, the fate of civilians, and prisoners of war. The Soviet partisan movement is presented in detail along with other Resistance movements.

In 2000, in evaluating the Ukrainian textbooks on history during the 1990s, Yurii Shapoval stressed that “there is a deconstruction of the key techniques built during the communist dictatorship and methods of the self-reliance regime and gradual institutionalization of a new, Ukrainian-centered view on the history of Ukraine in the totalitarian era”<sup>46</sup>.

From 1996 to 2005, when the new Program was adopted, more than 40 textbooks appeared in wide use, which covered the course of the history of Ukraine. The volume of author’s texts in them is significantly reduced (up to 60%), and a significant portion of texts comprises material from sources of differing origin (official documents, letters, memoirs, fragments of scholarly works), questions for discussion, and visual sources).

For example, the textbook by Stanislav Kulchytsky and Yurii Shapoval<sup>47</sup> contains various historical documents: resolutions, memoirs, letters, as well as visual sources, which are important documents of the epoch. The section “Developing historical and critical thinking” is introduced along with the column “Addendum to the political portrait”, where biographical references are presented. As for the Second World War, we can see a certain balance: it contains biographies of six figures, three of them “heroes” on the Soviet side (Kyryponos, Kovpak, Vatutin), three of them Ukrainian nationalists (Melnyk, Bandera, Shukhevych)<sup>48</sup>.

The textbook talks about a “New Order” in the Ukrainian lands and the Holocaust, the Volyn as “the place of a bloody clash..., victims among which thousands were Ukrainian and Poles”<sup>49</sup>, and the forced deportation of Crimean Tatars and other peoples from the Crimea<sup>50</sup>.

New textbooks have caused heated discussions in society: some critics have accused them of making a timid attempt to overcome Soviet stereotypes and falsification of the past, others of demolishing the beautiful and righteous Soviet order, the heroization of nationalists, etc. The most poignant discussions unfolded around the issues of illumination of the Second World

<sup>46</sup> Юрій Шаповал, “Комуністичний тоталітаризм та його образ у сучасних підручниках України”, in *Українська історична дидактика. Міжнародний діалог (фахівці різних країн про сучасні українські підручники з історії)*. Зб. наук. ст. (Київ: Генеза, 2000), 43.

<sup>47</sup> Станіслав Кульчицький and Юрій Шаповал, *Новітня історія України (1939–2001)*. Підручник для 11 кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закл. (Київ: Генеза, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> Кульчицький and Шаповал, *Новітня історія України*, 28–29.

<sup>49</sup> Кульчицький and Шаповал, *Новітня історія України*, 42.

<sup>50</sup> Кульчицький and Шаповал, *Новітня історія України*, 50–51.

War and attempts by authors of school textbooks to form their own, “Ukrainian” version of the war, differing from the Soviet one, taking into account new research by Ukrainian scholars and uncovering previously inaccessible or prohibited documents.

These discussions touched not only scholars and educators but the State policy itself: in 2000, the official veterans’ organizations lobbied for the adoption of “On the perpetuation of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, 1941–1945” in the Law of Ukraine, which meant “preventing the falsification of the history of the Great Patriotic War in scholarly research, educational and methodological literature, textbooks and the mass media”<sup>51</sup>. However, due to the highly competitive political environment and the free circulation of the scholarly/scientific and educational literature, the return to the Soviet discourses and focal points was no longer possible.

According to the new history syllabus program of 2005, the textbooks published during 2005–2010 in detail portray the strengthening of the totalitarian regime during the 1930s, deployment of repression, organization of Holodomor, industrialization, militarization, and preparation of the Soviet Union for war. The chronological boundaries of the Second World War are expanded to August 23, 1939, and signing of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. Besides, it contains a more ample description of the invasion of Poland, the shooting of Polish officers in Katyn, the establishment of the Soviet regime in the occupied territories, repressions, the Nazi invasion, the Holocaust, the Soviet and nationalist underground, *Gastarbeiter*, military operations for liberation and deportation of civilians.

The extended chronology of the war, detailed images of events in the territory of Ukraine, different groups of the Resistance movement, life of the population in the occupied territories, scholars and authors of textbooks have all sought to espouse the formation of a “Ukrainian dimension of the Second World War”. That approach called for freeing the educational space of Ukraine from its confines within the mythology of the Great Patriotic War and cult of Victory that had gained a wave of new popularity in Russia. However, it was quite difficult to achieve this, given Russia’s substantial political, media, and cultural influence on the Ukrainian population. Although President Viktor Yushchenko’s efforts to reconcile Ukrainians who had fought on different sides of the front, the Red Army soldiers and the OUN–UPA, did not succeed, school textbooks

<sup>51</sup> See: “Закон України «Про увічнення Перемоги у Великій Вітчизняній війні 1941–1945 років»”, no. 168414 (09 April 2000), *Верховна Рада України*, accessed January 19, 2020, <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/168414>.

on the history of Ukraine fully covered the participation of these military formations in the course of events.

There was also powerful resistance by the Ukrainian elites, the political opponents of Yushchenko: communists, adherents of the “*Russkiy Myr*” (“Russian World”), among whom there were many MPs, scholars, educators and cultural workers. They criticized the textbooks of this period, accusing the authors of “heroization of criminals”, denial of the “Great Victory” as a myth and so on. For example, in 2007 Vadym Kolesnichenko, a Verkhovna Rada deputy, addressed the then Vice-Premier for Humanitarian Affairs Dmytro Tabachnyk with an open letter. It contained a call to review and rewrite all programs and textbooks on the history of Ukraine, since they allegedly

are an example of political frauds and an insult to the actual historical settings of the Ukrainian past. The most horrible element in this obscurantism is that children are systematically taught about Russia’s aggressive attitude towards Ukraine... And it’s the direct way leading to the national intolerance, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and racism, that has already begun to be seen in our lives<sup>52</sup>.

Pressure on the authors of textbooks was put not only by MPs. In 2007, at the request of the Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine, Stanislav Nikolaenko, remarkable changes were made in the textbook by F. Turchenko, P. Panchenko, and M. Tymchenko *Contemporary History of Ukraine. Part Two. 1939 – the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century*: the heading of the chapter “Ukraine during the Second World War (1939–1945)” was supplemented by the “Great Patriotic War”, followed by this statement:

...The wording with the names in the first chapter and paragraphs, which covered the events in Ukraine during the Second World War, and photos and documents positively characterizing the OUN and UPA, were excluded and replaced by the photographs and documents related to the actions of the Soviet Army, partisans and underground fighters, and a special emphasis was made on the manifestations of the heroism of the Soviet people / Soviet soldiers at different stages of the war<sup>53</sup>.

In 2010, after President Viktor Yanukovich came to power, an aficionado of the “Great Victory” and “*Russkiy Myr*”, Dmytro Tabachnyk became the Minister of Education and announced the need to introduce an

<sup>52</sup> Ігор Лосев, “Деукраїнізація української історії за нардепом Вадимом Колесніченком”, День, 14 березня 2007, accessed January 19, 2020, <https://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/podrobici/deukrayinizaciya-ukrayinskoyi-istoriyi-za-nardepom-vadimom-kolesnichenkom>.

<sup>53</sup> Олена Радзивілл, “Війна за війну: Друга світова війна та Велика вітчизняна війна у шкільних підручниках з історії України (1996–2007)”, in *Сучасні дискусії про Другу світову війну*. Збірник наукових статей та виступів українських та зарубіжних істориків (Львів: ЗУКЦ, 2012), 209.

“anthropological approach” in the teaching of history at school<sup>54</sup>. At the insistence of the Ministry, many corrections of an ideological nature were introduced again in textbooks on history that were to appear in 2010. For example, in the book *Introduction to History* by Viktor Mysan, the amount of information on the Ukrainian People’s Republic and the events of 1917–1921 was significantly reduced, and mention of the artificial nature of the Holodomor was removed. In respect to the Second World War, there were some changes as well: reduction of the amount of information on the activities of the UPA, both during the war and in the post-war years. As for the Crimean Tatars, it stated that thousands were deported because they were accused of cooperating with the Nazis. At the same time, there is not a word noting that such accusations are false, and that deportation was a crime against the indigenous people of Crimea<sup>55</sup>.

And in the textbook by Olena Pometun and Nestor Gupan, which begins with a section with the enhanced title “Ukraine during the Second World War in 1939–1945. The Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945”, the following is stated in sub-section 3 subheaded “The beginning of the Second World War and the accession of the Red Army to the territory of Western Ukraine”: From their first days of stay in the Western Ukrainian territory, the Red Army tried not to harm the local population<sup>56</sup>. However, in describing rise of the Soviet regime and modernization of the region, the authors briefly mention the violent collectivization, repression against the clergy and intellectuals, and the deportation of more than 10% of the population. June 22, 1941, is called by the authors “The beginning of the Great Patriotic War”, describing in detail the defeat of the Red Army, life under the occupation, the Holocaust, *Ostarbeiter*, the groups of Resistance movement (Soviet and Ukrainian nationalist), and the deportation of Crimean Tatars and other people from Crimea, as well as the violent methods employed by the NKVD in the fight against UPA after the war. The authors provide a large number of different sources, including visual, along with questions and activities for discussion, but only two biographical references – those of S. Timoshenko and M. Kyrponos.

Attempts to return to the mythology of the Great Patriotic War that took place at the level of state policy – such as the Law of Ukraine of April 21, 2011 “«On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine», «On the Perpetuation

<sup>54</sup> Касьянов, “Національний нарратив”, 22.

<sup>55</sup> Катерина Каплюк, “Переписана історія України. Версія епохи Дмитра Табачника”, Українська правда, accessed January 19, 2020, <https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/08/26/5332444/>.

<sup>56</sup> Олена ПOMETUN and Nestor GUPAN, *Історія України. Підручник для 11 кл. заг. навч. закл.* (Харків: Сіцця, 2012), 10.



of Victory in the Great Patriotic War in 1941–1945»”, regarding the official use of the copies of the Victory flag<sup>57</sup>, and in the Russia-oriented mass media (“Inter” channel’s campaign “*Bessmertny Polk*” [Immortal Regiment]), as well as concerts and films dedicated to Victory Day – have not had a significant impact on the educational literature. In our opinion, this is due to a significant number of new research studies and newly presented historical documents, and consequently, now a crystallized, more solid and structured tradition of the “Ukrainian dimension” of the Second World War.

The new wave of change came after 2014. In winter and spring of that year, Ukraine experienced a wave of public de-communization – the spontaneous tearing down of monuments to Lenin and other activists of the Soviet authorities as symbols of Russian occupation of Crimea and armed aggression in the east of Ukraine.

Adopted by the Verkhovna Rada in April 2015, Law of Ukraine “On the condemnation of the Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and prohibition of propaganda of their symbols”<sup>58</sup> outlines the communist regime as an occupying and hostile to the Ukrainian state, and the Law “On Perpetuating the Victory over Nazism in the Second World War 1939–1945”<sup>59</sup> shows the refusal at the level of State policy to accept the mythology of the “Great Patriotic War”, having concurred with the thesis that has long been proposed by scholars and authors of textbooks: the unleashing of the Second World War is to the “merit” of both the Nazi and communist totalitarian regimes.

In 2015–2016, a working group consisting of scholars, history teachers, employees of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, and staff members of the Ministry of Education and Science developed a new Program on History for grades 10–11<sup>60</sup> (20<sup>th</sup> century) in keeping with the laws

on de-communization. In the summer of 2016, this Program was approved by the Ministry.

In the new Program, the theme “Ukraine during the Second World War” contains the following sections: “Sovietization of the newly connected territories; The legal status of citizens in the annexed territories; Mass political repression in 1939 and the 1940s; Tactics of “scorched earth”; The Nazi “New Order”; Collaboration; *Ostarbeiter*; Concentration camps. The mass destruction of civilians; Holocaust. Resistance to the occupiers; Ukrainian Liberation Movement; Creation of the UPA; Ukrainian-Polish confrontation; Soviet partisan movement; Deportation of Crimean Tatars and other nations from Crimea”<sup>61</sup>.

All these issues were more or less likely covered in the textbooks from the previous years, so there is not much to say about substantive changes, as it is more about the volume of material included, the sources cited, and the emphases placed by the authors.

In the spring of 2018, two new textbooks appeared<sup>62</sup>, recommended by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, presenting the integrated course “History: Ukraine and the world” for grade 10, covering the period from 1914 to 1945. Both contain two large sections titled “Ukraine and the world before the Second World War. Beginning of the war” and “The Second World War. Its course and consequences”. It is noteworthy that the entry of the USSR into the war in the autumn of 1939 in both textbooks is not called a “liberation” or “unification of Western Ukraine”. In the textbook by Oleksandr Gysem, there are sub-sections with the heading “Aggression of the USSR against the States of Central and Eastern Europe in 1939–1940” and “Sovietization of Western Ukraine in 1939–1940”, while in the textbook by Marian Mudriy and Olena Arkush, these events are highlighted in sub-sections titled “The beginning of the Second World War. Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine” and “Sovietization of the Western regions of Ukraine”.

Both textbooks explain the Holocaust in separate sub-sections. Resistance movements in Mudriy and Arkush’s texts are depicted in one sub-section with the heading “Ukrainian National liberation, communist partisan and other Resistance movements on the territory of Ukraine”, including a part dealing with “Ukrainian-Polish relations” and a brief story

<sup>57</sup> Law of Ukraine “Про внесення змін до Закону України «Про увічнення Перемоги у Великій Вітчизняній війні 1941–1945 років» щодо порядку офіційного використання копій Прапора Перемоги”, no. 3298-VI, *Відомості Верховної Ради*, no. 44, p. 470 (2011).

<sup>58</sup> Law of Ukraine “Про засудження комуністичного та націонал-соціалістичного (нацистського) тоталітарних режимів в Україні та заборону пропаганди їхньої символіки”, no. 317-VIII, *Відомості Верховної Ради*, no. 26, p. 219 (2015).

<sup>59</sup> Law of Ukraine “Про увічнення перемоги над нацизмом у Другій світовій війні 1939–1945 років”, no. 315-VIII, *Відомості Верховної Ради*, no. 25, art. 191 (2015).

<sup>60</sup> “З цього навчального року старшокласники навчатимуться за новими програмами з історії України”, *Український інститут національної пам’яті*, accessed January 19, 2020, <http://www.memory.gov.ua/news/z-tso-go-navchalnogo-roku-starshoklasniki-navchatimutsya-za-novimi-programami-z-istorii-ukraini>.

<sup>61</sup> “З цього навчального року старшокласники навчатимуться за новими програмами з історії України”.

<sup>62</sup> Олександр Гісем, *Історія: Україна і світ (Інтегрований курс. Рівень стандарту)*. Підр. для 10 кл. заг. серед. школи (Харків: Ранок, 2018); Мар’ян Мудрий and Олена Аркуша, *Історія: Україна і світ (Інтегрований курс. Рівень стандарту)*. Підр. для 10 кл. заг. серед. школи (Київ: Генеза, 2018).

(one sub-section) about the events in Volyn in 1943: “Ukrainian and Polish armed groups... began mutual extermination, pulling local populations into a bloody conflict”<sup>63</sup>. In his textbook, Gysem divided these issues into two sub-sections: “The Resistance movement and its variabilities in Ukraine” and the “Polish Resistance movement in the Western Ukrainian lands. Ukrainian-Polish confrontation”, and the problem of the Ukrainian-Polish struggle is highlighted in detail on three pages<sup>64</sup>. The author states: “«Mutual retribution» campaigns were carried out, dragging in police units consisting of Ukrainians and Poles who were in service to the Nazis... Armed troops began to destroy entire villages with their peaceful population”<sup>65</sup>. Both textbooks depict in detail the tragedy of the Crimean Tatar people – their deportation in 1944, along with others from the Crimea.

Describing the end of the war, the authors do not use the term “liberation” in reference to Ukraine. Instead they use “the Expulsion of Hitler’s coalition troops from Ukraine” (Mudriy, Arkusha) and “the Expulsion of Nazi invaders from Ukraine” (Gysem). Gysem, in particular, notes: “The expulsion of German troops and their allies from Ukraine did not become a liberation”<sup>66</sup>.

Thus, it is possible to state that during the period of independence, the Soviet mythology of the “Great Patriotic War” slowly vanished from the scholarly/scientific and educational space of Ukraine, while crystallizing (and still forming, gradually spreading in public awareness) into the “Ukrainian dimension” of the Second World War.

Social transformation, political freedom, worldview, and cultural diversity, intellectual courage, and the need to create a new Ukrainian identity, to identify one with the country, became the key factors for creating and continually improving/rewriting textbooks on the history of Ukraine. The most significant part of this “rewriting” refers to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular – the Second World War.

The authors of school textbooks use the latest scientific research (often they are the recognized scholars themselves), various sources that motivate students to develop a critical understanding of the material and formulate their own assessments. Authors’ texts are accompanied by various sources, both written and visual: official documents, memories, letters, artworks from the era in focus, samples of propaganda.

Modern textbooks offer a fuller and more adequate periodization of the war (from 1939 to 1945); they show the true price of the “Great Victory”; they emphasize equivalence between crimes “committed by both regimes on the territory of Ukraine”; they describe all the Resistance movements against Nazism and national tragedies – the Holocaust, deportation on a national basis, and war crimes. Scientifically grounded and correct chronology of the war, detailed images of events on the territory of Ukraine, including tragic events, related to retreats, defeats, leadership’s mistakes during the first year after the German invasion of the USSR, and the life of the population in the occupied territories – all are the constituent elements that form the “Ukrainian dimension of the Second World War”. One of the important conceptual elements of the new narrative, which is traced in the latest textbooks, is the rejection of the construction of the “liberation of Ukraine from German invaders” and the use of “Nazi expulsion from the Ukrainian territory” instead.

All these changes help to gradually separate the educational space of Ukraine from the mythology of the “Great Patriotic War” inherited from the USSR and the cult of “Great Victory” currently promoted by the Russian Federation. However, they do not exclude – and sometimes, on the contrary, serve to encourage – fervent discussions around new textbooks in the scholarly, political, and educational environment.

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<sup>63</sup> Мудрий and Аркуша, *Історія: Україна і світ*, 262.

<sup>64</sup> Гісем, *Історія: Україна і світ*, 225–227.

<sup>65</sup> Гісем, *Історія: Україна і світ*, 226.

<sup>66</sup> Гісем, *Історія: Україна і світ*, 238.

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## COMPETING NARRATIVES: MEMORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN RIVNE MEMORIAL SPACE

*The article examines the changes in Rivne memorial space that have taken place during the last five years. On the eve of the Second World War, the city was a typical Jewish shtetl. 80% of the population were Jews. In 1941–1942, one of the most massive mass slaughters of Jews in Ukraine took place in Rivne. However, the memory of Holocaust victims has long been on the margins, both in terms of the city commemorative practices and in the context of existing memorial markers in Rivne symbolic space. The Memorial in the Sosonky tract, located on the outskirts of the city (on the site of the mass murder of Jews in 1941) is the only symbol of the Holocaust. For a long time it was a symbol of the marginalization of the memory of Holocaust victims.*

*Between 2014 and 2019, Rivne has faced changes that allow for the reanimation of a long-forgotten memory. These include the installation of "stumbling blocks" set in the sidewalk commemorating victims of Nazism in the central part of the city, creating a sign in memory of the Rivne ghetto victims, marking objects representing the Jewish historical and cultural heritage with annotated signboards and QR-codes. Institutions in civil society initiated these changes. The NGO Center Mnemonics has installed "stumbling blocks" and a sign in memory of the Rivne ghetto victims. The marking of Jewish historical and cultural heritage sites was within the framework of the new practice of involving public organizations in the budgeting process – a participatory budget. All these initiatives are the result of strengthening the tools of civil society influence and local public policy in the process of reforms that have taken place since the events of the Revolution of Dignity (formation of the participatory budget and the increase in the effectiveness of advocacy campaigns).*

*Adjustment of the Rivne memorial landscape led to the coexistence of three visions of Second World War memory in its symbolic space – the Soviet mythologem of the "Great Patriotic War", the nationalist canon of heroism (some of the symbols are not very well chosen – some memorials glorify people and organizations directly responsible for the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing), and monuments dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust. This latest vision is entirely new to the city and to date remains uncertain. But the city has already taken the first steps towards reviving the memory of the Holocaust victims and the multicultural nature of Rivne in the pre-war period.*

*Is such coexistence of mutually exclusive symbols possible? It is not easy to give a straight answer to this question. A number of factors are operative here.*

*Among the most important conflict-generating factors are the following: (1) as long as the memory and “post-memory” of the Second World War remain alive, there is a risk that these mutually exclusive narratives will play a rather competitive role; (2) the political instrumentalization of these memorial markers during election campaigns also accumulates significant conflict potential. However, the ambivalence of the assessments of these symbols among a large segment of the public speaks in favor of the possibility of their conflict-free coexistence. In any case, the situation will depend on the further political contexts that will determine the municipal memorial policy in Rivne.*

**Keywords:** *memorial space, symbolic space, memory politics, commemoration, Holocaust, the Second World War in memorial space.*

The memory of the Second World War in Ukraine continues to spark controversies both within the academic community and the political establishment. Perhaps the latter’s interference in the interpretation of these historical events is one of the reasons for the impossibility of reaching a consensus and reconciliation.

Urban memorial landscapes are a vivid example of the political instrumentalization of the Second World War memory in Ukraine. Their design is the result of the political engineering of elites at the national and local levels. Since 1991, in Western Ukraine, representatives of the establishment have created a new narrative in the symbolic space, leaving untouched the Soviet monumental symbols dedicated to the Second World War. This narrative is nationalistic. In this context, Rivne is a particularly symbolic example.

Analyzing features of the formation of the Rivne symbolic space, we will use P. Nora’s methodological approaches. He is the author of categories such as “ideological decolonization of memory” (“its liberation from the amnesia of the totalitarian past in the process of the country’s democratization”) and “internal decolonization of memory” (setting off dominant representations of the memory against non-dominant groups – national, sexual, religious, and other minorities)<sup>1</sup>. We believe that they can be fully interpreted in the context of constructing the city’s symbolic space, thus modifying the ideological decolonization of the city’s symbolic space and internal decolonization, respectively.

As practice shows, the positioning of local elites is a decisive factor in the formation/adjustment of the city’s memorial landscape. The experience of Rivne proves this. Since the establishment of independent Ukraine, they have been actively creating new memorials in the central part of the city

<sup>1</sup> Вікторія Серета, “Місто як lieu de mémoire: спільна чи поділена пам’ять? Приклад Львова”, *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія “Соціологія”* 2 (2008): 74–75.

and adjusting the Soviet memorial landscape. However, these initiatives of the regional establishment fit into the general regional context of forming the nationalist canon of heroism, which is common to Western Ukraine.

Three periods can be distinguished in the formation in Rivne memorial landscape:

Partial decolonization of space and the formation of a nationalist canon of heroism (the 1990s – first half of the 2000s).

The second stage of decommunization (2015–2016).

Decolonization of memory (2015–2019).

The first stage of memorialization changes is associated with two controversial trends. On the one hand, the names of streets and some monuments in the city related to Soviet myths were renamed using more low-key national symbols (the use of names of poets, Ukrainian cultural and artistic figures, partial reanimation of local symbols instead of the dominant Soviet military discourse). On the other, during this period, local nationalist elites created a new myth of the nationalist canon of heroism. Its discursive and commemorative practices, as well as construction methodology, corresponded to the spirit of the previous totalitarian era. This trend was the opposite of the partial decolonization of the city’s memorial space.

Let us review the content analysis of the Rivne memorial landscape in this period.

Table 1

**Rivne Monuments and Memorial Complexes  
(as of 2010)**

Related to the history of the city				Not related to the history of the city		
Soviet in nature	National in nature	Symbolic of the polyethnic past of the city	Of dissimilar nature	National in nature	Soviet in nature	Social in nature
21	8	3	2	8	3	1
34				12		
46						

Table 2

### Monuments Providing Internalization of the National Vision of History Classification

Military in nature	Dedicated to representatives of culture, science, art, education, medicine	Dedicated to politicians and statesmen	Dedicated to victims of deportation and famine	In honor of Rivne's long and ancient history
7	5	1	2	1
16				

In the process of the thematic classification of Rivne memorials (see Table 1), a more significant number of monuments related to the city's history than those not associated with it immediately attract considerable attention. However, it is worth noting that the vast majority of them are Soviet and were built when the city was part of the USSR (21 out of 34, symbolizing the space and historical continuum of the city and 24 out of 46 in total). In the past, they did not compete with the national paradigm of constructing the city's memorial text. They only supplemented the symbols of national importance (Ukrainian SSR) with a regional array of objects (by the way, some of them were of paramount importance for the republican glorification of the past, such as the heroization of the intelligence operative M. Kuznietsov). At the same time, the processes of ideological decolonization of the Rivne symbolic space, accompanied by the dismantling of old monuments and the installation of new ones, in no way led to a change in the numerical superiority of the Soviet objects over national ones (we can observe the absolute numerical superiority of the Soviet symbols: 24 out of 46 of all monuments and memorial complexes). This was due to the predominance of the Second World War symbols in the system of the Soviet memorials in Rivne. Today, there is a general consensus regarding their canonicity among the nationally oriented establishment.

That is why only a few monuments were dismantled in Rivne. Lenin was one of the first. The memorial was located in the city's central square near the current *Ukraina* cinema. (in the past – *Zhovten* cinema). Inspired by the best traditions of national redefining of the past, it was replaced by a monument to the Ukrainian Kobzar. The memorial to the partisan hero of the “Great Patriotic War,” D. Medvediev, also did not survive political transformations. It was “exported” to the Russian city of Bezhytsia, Briansk

oblast (hometown of the Soviet hero)<sup>2</sup>. An equally exciting story happened in the case of M. Kuznietsov. His monument was first moved to Yasna Street (to the museum apartment of the Soviet intelligence operative)<sup>3</sup>. However, by the decision of the City Council in 2003, the bust was moved to the city's outskirts and symbolically “buried” at the Memorial of Glory near the cemetery on Dubenska Street<sup>4</sup>. During the political discussions on the “migration” of M. Kuznietsov, representatives of the “*Nasha Ukraina*” faction in the city council suggested the same fate as for D. Medvediev. But Kuznietsov's bust eventually stayed in Rivne and was not sent to his Russian hometown of Sverdlovsk. Thus, only those monuments of the Soviet era that proved to be the most controversial under the review of the new model of memory policy underwent radical changes in the form of dismantling (Medvediev and Kuznietsov fought not only against the Nazi regime but also against the nationalist underground). The construction of new monuments of national orientation could not overcome the numerical advantage of the Soviet ones due to the high cost and limited financial resources of Rivne, not the most economically developed city.

As a result of the local authorities' memorial policy during the independent 1990s and 2000s, many memorial markers honoring nationalist heroes and events were erected in Rivne. Among the most eloquent – the monument to Klym Savur (Dmytro Kliachkivskiy – one of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) leaders and the initiator of the ethnic cleansing of Poles in Volyn in 1943, Taras Bulba-Borovets (founder of the “*Polissia Sich*”), Nil Khasevych (artist, one of the UPA information promoters), a memorial sign in honor of Stepan Bandera and a memorial plaque to the *Volyn* newspaper (local mouthpiece of the Nazi occupation authorities. The newspaper's publications were marked by striking anti-Semitism and Nazi propaganda of the ideas of “Judeo-Bolshevism”).

This newly created canon of nationalist heroism emerged as a competitive vision of the past. It stands against the Soviet narrative of the “Great Patriotic War” memory in Rivne memorial space. Most of the memorials honoring it did not change their location in Rivne. No one modified or demolished them (with a few exceptions). Once forming a dominant vision

<sup>2</sup> Наталія Демедюк, “Рівненський пам'ятник Медведєву «прописаний» у Брянську”, *ERVEUA*, accessed August 15, 2019, [http://erve.ua/focus/interview/r\\_vnenskiy\\_memory\\_yatnik\\_medv\\_d\\_vu\\_propisaniy\\_in\\_bryansku/](http://erve.ua/focus/interview/r_vnenskiy_memory_yatnik_medv_d_vu_propisaniy_in_bryansku/).

<sup>3</sup> Світлана Федас, “Пристрасті навколо пам'ятників тривають”, *Рівне вечірне*, 2003, no. 31, accessed August 15, 2019, <http://www.rivnepost.rv.ua/showarticle.php?art=004204>.

<sup>4</sup> “Пам'ятники Рівного: від УПА до княгині”, *Все. Сайт чесних новин*, accessed August 15, 2019, <http://vse.rv.ua/istoriya/1389091124-pamyatniki-rivnogo-vid-upa-do-knyagini.html>.

of the Second World War events, they now represent a narrative of memory which is competing with the nationalistic one.

The process of national redefining of the space led to the installation of a monument at the corner of Chornovil and Drahomanov Streets to the victims of "...deportation of Ukrainians of Kholmshchyna, Pidliashshia, Nadsianina, Lemkivshchyna from their ethnic lands". Despite the significant Polish dominance in Rivne's past and the fact that the Poles suffered from the Stalinist deportations no less than the Ukrainians, "the selfishness of pain" did not provide an opportunity to reach the level of a supra-ethnic context by erecting a monument honoring the victims of deportations in general. Therefore, we have the same nationalizing background of the memorial. The memorial was erected in 2007 on the initiative of the Rivne City Public Veterans' Organization "*Tovarystvo Kholmshchyna*". Formed in 1994, it espoused the aim of "returning the truth" about the Second World War in Volyn.

However, the "truth" defended by the representatives of this organization is almost exclusively "their" subjectivized position, designed once again to victimize Ukrainians as victims of totalitarian regimes. The date of the monument's opening was also eloquent – dedicated to the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Operation Vistula. In this regard, the memorial, which is not formally related to the high-profile crime committed by the Polish authorities in 1947, allegedly hinted that Ukrainians were the main category of victims in all conflicts in Volyn in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. To some extent, it lowers UPA's responsibility for the ethnic cleansing of the Polish population in 1943. "In Rivne, the memory of the deportations (1944–1947) became a mirror through which the whole spectrum of past events in Volyn was assessed", notes Yu. Yurchuk regarding these memorial practices<sup>5</sup>.

The second stage of changes in the Rivne memorial landscape commenced in 2015. On April 9, 2015, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted four memorial laws. According to one of them, the Law of Ukraine "On Condemnation of Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition of Propaganda of Their Symbols", local authorities were committed to redefining the memorial landscape related to the Soviet heritage<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the second large-scale wave

<sup>5</sup> Yuliya Yurchuk, *Reordering of Meaningful Worlds: Memory of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2014), 136.

<sup>6</sup> Law of Ukraine "Про засудження комуністичного та націонал-соціалістичного (нацистського) тоталітарних режимів в Україні та заборону пропаганди їхньої символіки", no. 595-VIII, no. 37–38, art. 366 (July 14, 2015). See: Law of Ukraine "Про засудження комуністичного та націонал-соціалістичного (нацистського) тоталітарних режимів в Україні та заборону пропаганди їхньої

of the renaming of streets and even settlements in Ukraine began (the first took place in the 1990s after the collapse of the USSR). It was known as the process of decommunization. Although the responsibility for implementing most of the above law provisions was placed upon local authorities, it stood out from the first wave of renaming. This process was controlled by one of the central governmental bodies, the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, while the renaming in the first half of the 1990s was in the full jurisdiction of local councils and depended on their political will. Therefore, the ideological decolonization of memorial landscapes in the 1990s took place only in those cities whose local councils were sympathetic to the idea of "de-Sovietization" of the symbolic landscape.

The next wave of renamings in 2016 affected Rivne. Although the vast majority of symbols associated with the Soviet legacy were "illustrated" in the 1990s, local authorities of that time did not approach this task so responsibly as to get rid of all the memorial markers that had a Soviet semantic load<sup>7</sup>.

The implementation of decommunization was formally managed by the Rivne City Executive Committee (namely the Mayor), which by mid-2016 had successfully approved the renaming of more than 28 streets. Another 7 streets were renamed by the order of the head of the Rivne Regional State Administration<sup>8</sup>. However, the crucial role in the process of determining toponymic markers that were subject to "illustration" was assigned to the Rivne Commission on the Naming of City Objects, Installation of Monuments, Memorials, and Annotated Signboards. The Mayor always referred to its recommendations in his orders to rename certain streets<sup>9</sup>. According to a superficial analysis of the local media report covering the course of decommunization in Rivne, the local historian A. Zhuviuk influenced the work of the commission. He commented on almost all the Mayor's decommunization decisions<sup>10</sup>.

символіки", *Верховна Рада України*, accessed August 19, 2019, <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/317-19>.

<sup>7</sup> Петро Долганов, "Ідеологічна деколонізація топонімічної системи вербальних маркерів Рівного", *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія соціологічна* 8 (2014): 140–152.

<sup>8</sup> "Повний перелік перейменованих вулиць Рівного", *Радіо "Трек"*, accessed August 19, 2019, [http://radiotrek.rv.ua/news/povnyy\\_perelik\\_pereymenovanyh\\_vulyts\\_rivnogo\\_spysok\\_207291.html](http://radiotrek.rv.ua/news/povnyy_perelik_pereymenovanyh_vulyts_rivnogo_spysok_207291.html).

<sup>9</sup> "Міський голова Рівного підписав розпорядження про перейменування вулиць міста", *Газета "7 Днів"*, accessed August 19, 2019, <http://7d.rv.ua/news/2016-02-24/misky-golova-rivnogo-pidrysav-rozporядzhennya-pro-pereymenuvannya-vulyts-mista>.

<sup>10</sup> "Де у Рівному будуть вулиці Музичка, Чайки та Червонія?", *Радіо "Трек"*, accessed August 19, 2019, [http://radiotrek.rv.ua/news/de\\_u\\_rivnomu\\_budut\\_vulytsi\\_muzychka\\_chayky\\_ta\\_chervoniya\\_201830.html](http://radiotrek.rv.ua/news/de_u_rivnomu_budut_vulytsi_muzychka_chayky_ta_chervoniya_201830.html); "Вулиці у Рівному перейменують на честь героїв", *Вісник*, accessed August 19, 2019, <http://>

Most locals reacted calmly to the decommunization policy. Apart from a few cases, the process of toponymic changes did not cause any severe resistance within the urban community. Separate protests can hypothetically be interpreted as the discomfort they caused to the urban population, rather than a manifestation of their strong ideological beliefs<sup>11</sup>.

First of all, we present the results of the content analysis of renamed streets, classifying them according to ideological criteria using the following matrix classifiers (Table 3).

Table 3

### Typology of Renamed Address Urbanonyms according to Ideological Criteria

Streets that symbolize the space and historical continuum of the city			Streets that provide internalization of certain symbols of the past, not related to the space and historical continuum of the city		Names of streets that do not have any historical content	
Symbolize the polyethnic past of the city	Reflect the Ukrainian past of a city or region	Have a neutral context	National character	The polyethnic nature of the historical development of Ukraine	Streets that do not have an ideological context	Streets representing the new memorial canon (heroes of ATO zone/ Heavenly Hundred)
1	13	2	8	0	8	3
16 (46%)			8 (23%)		11 (31%)	
35						

visnyk.lutsk.ua/news/ukraine/regions/rivne/21008/; Тетяна Ільницька, "У Рівному створюють колекцію перейменованих вулиць", *Газета "День"*, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://day.kyiv.ua/uk/news/020216-u-rivnomu-stvoryuyut-kolekciyu-pereymenovanyh-vulyc>.

<sup>11</sup> "Рівняни збираються протестувати через перейменування вулиці Мірющенка", *ERVEUA*, accessed August 19, 2019, [http://erve.ua/news/society/rivnyany\\_zbyrayutsya\\_protstuvaty\\_cherez\\_pereymenuvannya\\_vulytsi\\_miryushchenka\\_1605.html](http://erve.ua/news/society/rivnyany_zbyrayutsya_protstuvaty_cherez_pereymenuvannya_vulytsi_miryushchenka_1605.html).

The results shown in the table indicate a significant regional dominance in determining new toponymic markers. However, one should not interpret these data as a triumph of regional counter-memory over the national one. Most of the new names represent the local memory. We are considering it as a construct / "reinvention of tradition" in the spirit of the national memory policy. These new names fit organically into the national, and sometimes nationalist metanarratives, which are part of the current government's official strategy in constructing a new memorial landscape of the state. In particular, Mykola Negrebytsky and Vrotnovsky Streets are part of the nationalist canon of OUN-UPA heroism (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army). Oleksa Novak was a well-known local activist of the Narodnyi Rukh of Ukraine. Andrii Laiko was a soldier of the Ukrainian People's Republic army, a native of Rivne.

Similar connections can be traced among most of the names that, at first glance, represent local memory. We assume that before they appeared in the city's symbolic space, most of them were hardly part of what E. Thompson defined as "community memory"<sup>12</sup> ("living" memory of the regional community). Therefore, we consider them in the context of inventing a new national tradition (we use this category in the sense that E. Hobsbawm proposed it)<sup>13</sup>. The regional origin of these symbols is interpreted by an attempt to construct the myth of the inseparable/continuous historical liaison of Rivne and the national political struggle for independence. This provides a public space an historicization strategy with a significant teleological flavor.

Among the notable examples of decommunization, we note that the renaming of Kirovohrad city affected the decommunization process in Rivne. Kirovohrad Street was renamed, but not as Kropyvnytskyi Street, but after the local athlete Anatolii Yandala. Three of the renamed streets already symbolize the new canon of Ukrainian heroism – Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred Street, Mykola Karnaukhov, and Ihor Voloshyn (fallen soldiers in the ATO zone/Anti-terrorists' Operation in the east of Ukraine).

As a result of space's new verbal marking, only a small number of streets lost their ideological timbre (Litnia and Pereskok Streets, for example). As proved by the analysis results in Table 3, the vast majority of new toponymic verbal markers have acquired a national color. Therefore, we can conclude with certainty that a pronounced constructivist dominant marked

<sup>12</sup> Алла Киридон, *Гетеротопії пам'яті: Теоретико-методологічні проблеми студій пам'яті* (Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2016), 91.

<sup>13</sup> Ерік Гобсбаум, "Вступ: винаходження традицій", in *Винайдення традиції*, edited by Ерік Гобсбаум and Теренс Рейнджер (Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2010), 12–28.



the decommunization process in Rivne in the memorial landscape's nationalization. Even the only new name, which in some way represents the Jewish vision of the city's past, was inscribed in the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. Moses Bazin was the only member of the Jewish community after whom one of the decommunized streets was named. He was the Minister of Jewish Affairs in the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, turning even this single multicultural symbol into a specific semi-integrated component of the 1917–1920 revolutionary national canon. Therefore, M. Bazin represents here part of the Ukrainian national narrative rather than the city's traditional Jewish face in the past.

In part, the policy of decommunization of the city's symbolic space implemented by the city authorities in 2016 was marked by a return to the practice of historicization of space, which was common to Rivne in the Soviet period. It is likely that external aggression and military actions, which led to a significant dominance of the heroic historical discourse in Ukraine, were echoed in the decommunization policy of regional elites. In this regard, the local projection of the national discourse of heroism looks quite natural. However, it cannot but cause concern: resuscitation of the Soviet practice, although partial, still does not contribute to the formation of democratic values and tolerance, does not bring Ukrainian memory discourse closer to the European tradition of focusing on victims and representatives of non-dominant groups.

However, alongside this, the city's political processes were affected by a completely different and utterly new decolonization trend. First of all, this was due to the reforms in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity. Decentralization, the introduction of new inclusive institutions that allow urban communities to influence political decision-making practices, strengthening of advocacy, and the role of civil society organizations in all spheres of life – moreover, this is not a complete list of those democratic changes that have taken place in Ukraine since 2015.

The introduction of a participatory budget in Rivne is one of the institutional innovations<sup>14</sup>. This tool allows any member of the city community to prepare and register for voting on a project to promote changes in the city's public space. The projects that receive the most significant number of votes at the end of the year will be implemented by the profile departments of the City Council Executive Committee the following year. Thus, representatives of the city community can influence the budgeting process in Rivne every year. Rivne became a pilot city where new practices

<sup>14</sup> Платформа реалізації ідей для покращення твого міста. Місто Рівне, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://rivne.pb.org.ua/>.

of local self-government, such as the instituting of the participatory budget, were set in operation in 2016. And one of the first projects that received the required number of votes for implementation was called “From Mammoths to Rivne. Historical Trails of the City”<sup>15</sup>. It aimed at marking most of Rivne's historical places with signboards containing brief information about one or another object of the city's historical and cultural heritage.

Submitted by Mykhailo Balyk, an activist of the OPORA Civic Network, this project was as inclusive as possible. The goal was to return the symbols of the municipal multicultural past, forgotten since the Second World War, to its memorial space. Objects related to the Polish, Jewish, Russian, and German history of the town were to “speak” through the creation of a system of textual markers. During 2017–2018, the Department of Culture and Tourism of the Executive Committee of the Rivne City Council implemented this winning project. As a result, 209 information signboards appeared all over the city, explaining the history of specific places, streets, or objects that have survived (and even those that have not) in Rivne from past epochs. We conducted a content analysis that helps to identify the main ethnic groups and historical periods to which these information markers are dedicated.

Table 4

**Thematic Classification of Information Boards for Objects of Rivne's Historical and Cultural Heritage (installed within the project “From Mammoths to Rivne. Historical Trails of the City”)<sup>16</sup>**

№	Ethnic group / historical period	Number of memorial markers
1	Ukrainians	49
2	Poles	41
3	History of several ethnic groups	31
4	Jews	29
5	Local history of the city	26
6	The Soviet past of the city	14
7	Russians	9
8	History of primitive society in the city's territory	4
9	Protestant churches	3

<sup>15</sup> “Від мамонтів до Рівного. Історичними стежками міста”, Платформа реалізації ідей для покращення твого міста. Місто Рівне, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://rivne.pb.org.ua/projects/archive/85/show/439>.

<sup>16</sup> The table is based on data from the official website of the project “Від мамонтів до Рівного”. See: Платформа реалізації ідей для покращення твого міста. Місто Рівне, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/crv7eh8>.

10	Czechs	1
11	Germans	1
12	Nazi occupation regime	1
<b>In total</b>		<b>209</b>

The results of the analysis show the absence of any dominant vision, represented by the memorial markers created within the project. The top five include signboards dedicated to Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, local stories about the history of the city, and the history of several ethnic groups at the same time.

We will briefly describe these groups of markers. Ukrainians were in first place in terms of the number of installed signboards due to their designation of already modern architectural objects and monuments. In particular, short information signboards with data on monuments to Taras Shevchenko, Klym Savur, Ulas Samchuk, Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred, etc. were installed within the project. These boards also mark the iconic cult buildings built in the city during the period of independent Ukraine. For example, the Holy Intercession Cathedral.

Poles are in second place in terms of frequency of mention in the information signboards. This was the second-largest ethnic group in the city before the Second World War. They are represented by some markers of both modern history (18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the interwar period when the Polish state was revived. Among the key objects, there are schools, churches, administrative buildings, public places, cemeteries, historic Polish streets, and districts of Rivne. Many signboards pointing to the Rivne Polish past are devoted to the emergence of numerous Rivne streets in the interwar period and the activities of the Polish aristocracy (in particular, scattered portions of the palace buildings of the Lubomyrski princes).

Many objects that have survived different epochs – and thus carry a multi-layered content of the past of several ethnic groups – were objectively identified by brief information about their functions in different periods. These are annotated signboards that tell us about the history of several ethnic groups. For example, note the description of the history of the “Building of the Rivne County Court”:

According to archival sources, Prince Lubomyrski lived with his family in a luxurious and tastefully furnished house. This house was located on a hill called “Hirka”, framed by a beautiful park, which Rivne residents called Lubomyrski’s park. The Lubomyrski princes’ park house is also memorable for Rivne people, since in 1923–1927 it housed a Russian private secondary school. This was set up after the Polish authorities closed the Rivne Specialized School in 1922. In the late 1920s, the Russian secondary school moved

to a spacious new building on 13<sup>th</sup> Division Street (currently Symon Petliura Street, the building has not survived). After that, the Rivne County Court was located in the house of the Lubomyrski princes. This court considered not only civil and criminal cases but also political cases concerning the entire Volyn Voivodeship<sup>17</sup>.

Thus, this background information mentions two ethnic groups: Poles and Russians. The description of Soborna Street history mentions two key ethnic groups (Poles and Ukrainians) for Rivne modern history and a brief history of this street in the Soviet era.

Jews also occupy one of the critical places among the information markers installed within the project. Private estates, libraries, theaters, educational institutions, business institutions, Jewish quarters, and cemeteries were the main types of buildings that today represent Rivne’s Jewish history. These included Halperin’s estate, the Zafran Theater, “Tarbut”, the Jewish Gymnasium (high school) building, historic Shkilna Street, the location of a Jewish confectionery factory, a brewery building, the Jewish cemetery, a Jewish synagogue, etc.

Many of these objects do not have any ideological or ethnic association. Among them are textual markers that tell about the city’s history, its historical areas. Rivne Hydropark, the residential districts “Pivnichnyi”, “Lionokombinat”, “Yuvileinyi” – these are modern parts of the city created during the Soviet period. However, the annotated signboards describing these neighborhoods do not indicate their Soviet origin. Rather, the information is focused on the spatial aspects of Rivne’s development. Information about the older historical parts of the city from the pre-Soviet period is presented in a similar style: e.g. the historic Dubenska Street, Boyarka, the historical district of the city “Volia”, the market Seredmistia. Therefore, we cannot postulate the “decommunization” effect of the project. It is rather a desire of its founders to reproduce the information in the least biased parameters. This approach to the description of a significant number of objects and historical areas of the city focuses the attention of passers-by rather on local historical plots, devoid of ideological coloring, which brings the representation of the historical past to a more objective level.

The city’s Soviet past is also presented in these information markers. Those Soviet objects that no longer contain sufficient and understandable information for passers-by were also marked within the project. They include the mass graves of Soviet soldiers, the Restaurant Gastronom, the

<sup>17</sup> Information from the official website of the project “Від мамонтів до Рівного”. See: *Платформа реалізації ідей для покращення твого міста. Місто Рівне*, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/crv7eh8>.

the children's railway, Peremoha square, and the "Vyzvoliteli" Monument, the memorial to the victims of fascism, as well as the site of the first strike of railroad workers, a Memorial of Glory. This once again testifies to the supra-ideological nature of the project, which is as close as possible to the objective coverage of historical events in the city's memorial text.

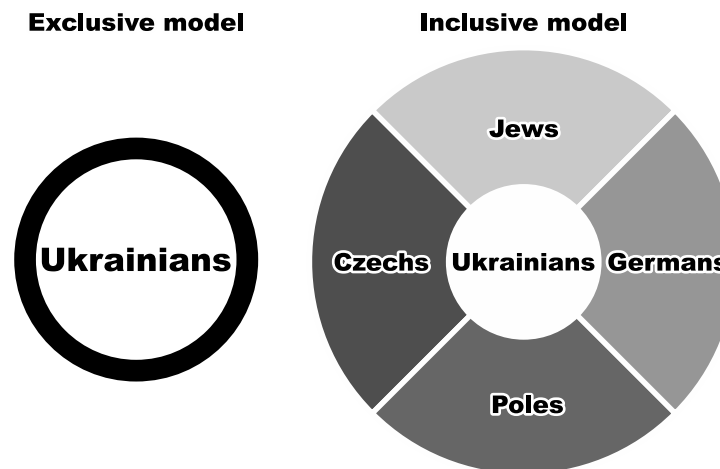
Nine markers installed in Rivne are dedicated to the history of ethnic Russians. In particular, they include the mass grave of soldiers of the First World War, residential buildings of the period of the Russian Empire, the location of the Russian private secondary school (gymnasium), the building of the Russian Charity Society, and the house of the Russian doctor Mykola Prokhorov. Despite the excessive ideologizing of discussions about the role of Russia and Russians in Ukrainian history in the context of the escalation of the conflict in Donbas, this segment of the city's past has not disappeared, but has been properly reflected, contrary to the prevailing memorial discourse in Ukraine.

At a time when the whole of Ukraine was "fighting" with Soviet symbols, using all the same Soviet approaches to centralized directive planning, one of the public initiatives in Rivne led to the implementation of a balanced and quite reflective decolonization memorial project. It partially restored the memory of the multicultural past in the Rivne memorial cityscape. It was implemented in the format of interaction between civil society institutions and local governments due to the emergence of new instruments of public influence on local public policy. This project was a direct result of institutional reforms in Ukraine after the events of the Revolution of Dignity.

Strengthening of the institution of advocacy was another result of reforms in Ukraine. NGOs have been given many opportunities to influence decision-making practices by both the central government and local governments. In 2016, under these favorable circumstances, the NGO Center Mnemonics initiated its activities in Rivne<sup>18</sup>. Created on the initiative of three professors from the Department of Political Science of Rivne State Humanitarian University – Maksym Hon, Natalia Ivchyk, and Petro Dolhanov – this organization has defined its mission as preserving and restoring the memory of non-dominant social groups. This should contribute to the formation of an inclusive model of memory policy in Ukraine.

It differs from the exclusive model of memory policy that was popular in local politics in the 1990s. The organization seeks to form a memory not only of ethnic Ukrainians but also implements its initiatives within the paradigm of constructing a civic nation. Although its mission is to return

<sup>18</sup> Центр студій політики пам'яті та публічної історії "Мнемоніка", accessed August 19, 2019, <https://mnemonika.org.ua/>.



the history of all ethnic communities that in different historical periods defined Rivne's multicultural face to the collective memory of the local community, a significant number of initiatives are dedicated to Jewish historical and cultural heritage and Holocaust victims. That is in the context of the fact that Jews in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> c. comprised 60–80% of Rivne's population, and the crime of the Holocaust became the greatest tragedy in the history of the city. During 1941–1942, the Nazi occupation regime killed about 50% of the city's population. After that, it lost its cultural face for decades (and still seems to be trying to find its identity).

The strategic plan of the Center developed in 2016 envisages activities in various areas:

1. Academic studies. As the founders of the organization are certified historians, academic studies in the field of rethinking Rivne's past and the memory policy pursued by local authorities are one of the priority areas of the Center's activity. The annual academic conference "Memory Policy in Theoretical and Practical Dimensions" has already become a hallmark of this direction of the organization's work in Ukraine among the specialists of memory studies. As of today, the Center has already organized six conferences. Every year the conference is attended by theorists and practitioners from more than 12 regions of Ukraine. In addition to a wide range of issues dedicated to the memory policy in Ukraine, studies in the field

of the commemoration of Holocaust victims is one of the thematic panels of the conference annually<sup>19</sup>.

In addition to organizing academic conferences, members of the *Center Mnemonics* have prepared and published two scholarly monographs on the history of the Jewish community of Rivne in the interwar period and the memory policy of the local government (including in the field of the commemoration of Holocaust victims): *City of Memory – City of Oblivion: Palimpsests of the Rivne Memorial Landscape*<sup>20</sup> and *Równne: The Outlines of the Missing City*<sup>21</sup>.

The organization's academic achievements include the translation and publication of the monograph by the American historian Jeffrey Burds, *Holocaust in Rivne: The Massacre at Sosonka Forest, November 1941* in Ukrainian<sup>22</sup>. This is the first book on the history of the Holocaust in Rivne that has long been inaccessible to Ukrainian-speaking readers. Its publication in Ukrainian immediately sparked an academic discussion about the author's interpretations, the correctness of the facts and figures presented<sup>23</sup>.

2. Creating new tools for educational practices is another priority of the *Center Mnemonics*. Members of the organization try to create both classical and modern multimedia tools to represent the memory of the Jewish face of Rivne. The initiatives implemented in this area include:

- A virtual map of objects of the historical and cultural heritage of Rivne “Multicultural Rivne” (access: <https://cutt.ly/zwXvsVm>);
- Short documentaries “Shot City” (dedicated to the history of the Holocaust in Rivne), “Man with a Face” (documentary animation about the activities of Yakov Sukhenko, honored as one of the Righteous Among the Nations, who saved Rivne Jews during the Holocaust), “Doomed: The History of the Rivne Ghetto”;

<sup>19</sup> For more information about the conference, see: Максим Гон, Наталія Івчик and Петро Долганов, “Політика пам'яті в Україні: у пошуках інклюзивних підходів до формування / коригування колективної пам'яті”, *Україна модерна*, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/lwXmb6S>.

<sup>20</sup> Максим Гон, Петро Долганов and Наталія Івчик, *Місто пам'яті – місто забуття: палімпсести меморіального ландшафту Рівного* (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2017).

<sup>21</sup> Максим Гон, *Рównne: Обриси зниклого міста* (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2018).

<sup>22</sup> Джеффри Бердз, *Голокост у Рівному: масове вбивство в Сосонках, листопад 1941 р.*, translated by Дмитро Аладько (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2017).

<sup>23</sup> For more information on the discussion, see: Роман Михальчук and Джеффри Бердз, “Голокост у Рівному: масове вбивство в Сосонках, листопад 1941 р.”, *Голокост і сучасність: студії в Україні і світі*, no. 15 (2017): 141–159; Максим Гон, Петро Долганов and Наталія Івчик, “Реанімована історія масового вбивства: рецензія на книгу Джеффри Бердза «Голокост у Рівному»”, *Проблеми історії Голокосту: український вимір. Науковий журнал* 9 (2017): 253–266.

• Mobile exhibitions “Multicultural Rivne” (dedicated to the history of the Jewish community of Rivne in the interwar period) and “Emancipation of Women in Interwar Poland” (history of Ukrainian, Jewish, and Polish women's organizations);

• A boardgame “Missing City” about the history of Jewish Rivne in the interwar period and the wall calendar “Multicultural Rivne”, which contains photos that reflect the multicultural face of the city in the same period;

• Translation into Ukrainian and publication of “My Shot City”, the memoirs of Haia Mussman from Rivne<sup>24</sup>, dedicated to the history of Jewish Rivne and the events of the Holocaust in the city.

3. Organization of seminars and schools in the field of non-formal education. Given that official school and university curricula do not pay great attention to the history of the Jewish community in Ukraine and the Holocaust events, non-formal education initiatives play a critical role. The activities of the *Center Mnemonics* in this area include the organization of a series of educational seminars for history teachers “Reading the Monument” and “Places of Memory” (using memorial markers in commemorative and educational practices, 2016–2018), three summer schools “How Cities (don't) Remember” (dedicated to the issues of memory policy in Ukraine, with a focus on reviving the memory of the history of ethnic minorities and the crime of the Holocaust)<sup>25</sup>.

4. Memorialization is the final component of the current strategy of the *Center Mnemonics*. Based on Pierre Nora's paradigm, we can state the existence of a “memory space” if it contains three components: space markers (actual memorial signs and monuments), their ability to “speak” (memorial markers must carry a specific informational and semantic load, and initiate “dialogue” with passers-by) and systematic commemorative practices around the memorial sign. Guided by this approach, the members of the *Center Mnemonics* try not only to implement academic and educational projects but also to help readjust the Rivne memorial landscape and return Holocaust remembrance to its proper symbolic space. In this context, in July 2018 the organization initiated advocacy and installation of five memorial signs to the victims of Nazism in the central part of Rivne, according

<sup>24</sup> Хая Мусман, *Місто моє розстріляне*, translated by Дмитро Аладько (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2019).

<sup>25</sup> For more information on summer schools, see: Алла Марченко, “Час збирати каміння: літня школа у Рівному”, *Україна модерна*, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/twXnS4D>; Максим Гон, “У Рівному відбулася 2-га літня школа «Як міста (не)пам'ятають»”, *Україна модерна*, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/EwXnX2s>; Олександр Воронюк, “У пошуках втрачених облич: літня школа з політики пам'яті у Рівному”, *Україна модерна*, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://cutt.ly/mwXn7Mt>.

to the concept of German artist Gunter Demnig “stumbling blocks” (*Stolpersteine*, literally “stumbling stones”). The Center’s experts were guided by the principle of inclusiveness when selecting the victims to whom these memorial markers will be dedicated. Trying to honor the memory not only of the victims of the Holocaust but also of Ukrainians and Poles who were the victim of the Nazi occupation regime in Rivne, members of the public organization installed “stumbling blocks” for such individuals in the pavement:

- Yakiv Sukhenko (Ukrainian, Righteous Among the Nations, who rescued Rivne Jews during the Holocaust);
- Volodymyr Mysechko (a Ukrainian priest who fell victim to Nazism for refusing to cooperate with the occupation regime);
- Zuzanna Ginczanka (Polish poet of Jewish origin);
- Jakub and Rakhel Krulyk (Jewish family, victims of the Holocaust in Rivne).

The first two victims symbolize the Ukrainian face of the city and honor the memory of the noble forms of behavior of Ukrainians under extreme conditions. Although Zuzanna Ginczanka was a Jew by ethnic origin, she chose the identity of a Polish poet, so she mainly symbolizes the Polish face of the city. Finally, the Krulyk family represents the victims of the Holocaust.

The erection of the monument to the victims of the Rivne ghetto became the second successful memorialization initiative of the Center Mnemonics in Rivne. The official dedication of this memorial marker took place on December 13, 2019. Built of bricks from one of the ghetto houses, this monument in the form of a wall fragment symbolizes the memory of destroyed Jewish life in Rivne. The wrought iron suitcase and menorah complete the artistic composition of the memorial. A wrought iron suitcase is a universal symbol of the forced relocation of victims to the ghetto. The menorah in the window of the wall takes us back to the Jewish religious tradition of Holocaust victims. Seventy-seven years after the liquidation of the Rivne ghetto, a monument dedicated to its victims was finally erected in the city. It is installed at the entrance to the ghetto (at the crossroads of Soborna and Doroshenko Streets).

Finally, it should be noted that various ethnic groups living in Rivne today also have the opportunity to use effective advocacy tools to establish their presence in the city’s memorial space. Among them the Armenian Diaspora, which in 2019 installed in the city of Khachkar the Armenian religious cross, recognized as an intangible heritage of UNESCO<sup>26</sup>. In modern commemorative practices, it is traditionally installed by Armenian diasporas

<sup>26</sup> “Рівне тепер має свій Хачкар”, UA: Рівне, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://rv.suspilne.media/news/45288>.

around the world in memory of the victims of the Armenian Genocide. The erection of this monument in Rivne is not so much historical and more a modern memorial practice. This fact proves that the city’s symbolic space is open to the perception not only of traditional ethnic groups that were part of the city’s history but also of other nationalities living in Rivne today.

Thus, throughout the modern history of Rivne, the memory of Holocaust victims, between the two dominant narratives (Soviet and nationalist), has long remained on the margins – both in space and discursive dimensions. The memorial to the victims of the Holocaust of Rivne is located almost on the city’s outskirts. Until recently, there was no signboard on Rivne’s roads that would cause residents to remember the existence of this memorial. There were no memorial markers in the central part of Rivne that would indicate the Jewish “face of the city” before the Second World War.

Everything has changed in the last few years. Within the framework of innovative practices for Ukraine, such as the participatory budget, the public organizations’ projects allowed for installation of several information tables in the center of Rivne that inform residents about the objects of historical and cultural heritage, reproducing Polish and Jewish history. Signs were also mounted, informing passers-by of the location of the Holocaust memorial.

The first memorial signs to the Holocaust victims in the center of Rivne appeared in July 2018. These so-called alternative monuments are known as “stumbling blocks”, as noted above. In 2019, a memorial sign to the victims of the Rivne ghetto was erected in the city. Thus, adjustment of the Rivne memorial landscape led to the coexistence of three visions of the Second World War memory in its symbolic space – the Soviet mythologeme of the “Great Patriotic War”, the nationalist canon of heroism (some of the symbols are not very well chosen – some memorials glorify people and organizations directly responsible for the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing), and monuments dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust. This latest vision is entirely new to the city and remains to date uncertain. But the city has already taken the first steps towards reviving the memory of the Holocaust victims and the multicultural nature of Rivne in the pre-war period.

Teatralna Square, one of Rivne central squares, is the quintessence of coexistence/competition of three visions about the Second World War in Rivne. In this part of the city, memorials representing Soviet, nationalist, and polyethnic memory (memory of interethnic violence and the Holocaust) of the Second World War coexist in one small space. Is such coexistence of mutually exclusive symbols possible? It isn’t easy to give a straight answer to this question. A number of factors affect this. Among the most important conflict-generating factors are: 1) as long as the memory

and “post-memory” of the Second World War remain alive, there is a risk that these mutually exclusive competing narratives will play a rather competitive role; 2) the political instrumentalization of these memorial markers during election campaigns also accumulates significant conflict potential. However, the ambivalence of the assessments of these symbols among a large segment of the public speaks in favor of the possibility of their conflict-free coexistence. In any case, the situation will depend on the further political contexts that will determine the city’s memorial policy.

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Anatolii Pogorielov

## THE FACE OF DEATH: TERROR BY THE SECURITY POLICE AND SD AGAINST THE POPULATION OF THE GENERAL DISTRICT MYKOLAIV<sup>1</sup>

*The article examines in detail for the first time the structure and personnel of the Department of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv and its role in large-scale terror against the civilian population of the region. The study enumerates the names of command level and rank-and-file personnel directly involved in arrests, tortures, and convoys during mass shootings and demonstrative executions. It also describes the basic recruitment methods as well as the mechanism for establishing a branched network of agents comprised of local collaborators. In the article, the locations and procedures of certain executions of the Jewish and Roma population are specified. Published here for the first time are the photograph of SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann, the Second Chief of the Security Police and SD of General District Mykolaiv, and photos of other personnel of the Security Police and SD. The article presents a schematic drawing of the location and layout of the main buildings of the Security Police headquarters in Mykolaiv and layout sketches of the locations of mass executions. Compiled here is also the list of Sonderkommando members engaged in liquidating the traces of the Security Police and SD crimes. The further routes taken by Security Police and SD employees after their evacuation from Mykolaiv in March of 1944 are described.*

**Keywords:** *Mykolaiv, Security Police and SD, terror, civilian population, Resistance movement, Jewish and Roma population, the Holocaust, collaboration.*

After the occupation of Ukraine, the city of Mykolaiv became the center of the General District Mykolaiv (*Generalbezirk Nikolajew*), administratively under the control of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. With the arrival of Nazi troops and the establishment of a “New Order” in the region, the representatives of the Security Police, SD, and other punitive structures immediately began a mass terror. For a long time, only certain names of the employees of regional occupation secret services were mentioned in the research literature in the context of their confrontation with local Resistance movements. In most cases, only the generalized image of “Nazi punishers” is used without any known important details about the specific

<sup>1</sup> Basic theses of this publication were first announced during the Fourth Annual Conference of German-Ukrainian Historical Commission «Germany and Ukraine in the Second World War», Munich, 22-24 October, 2018.

## SECTION 2. LIFE AND DEATH IN NAZI-OCCUPIED UKRAINE



participation and direct perpetrators of certain mass crimes that occurred on the territory of Mykolaiv in the period 1941–1944.

Analysis of the research literature revealed the absence of special scholarly studies on the formal institutional structure and personnel of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv in 1941–1944. Among the popular studies by regional history researchers, who have to some extent touched on the aspect here investigated in the context of describing the underground partisan movement or consequences of terror by the certain Nazi invaders, one can recall work by V. Chunikhin<sup>2</sup>, Ye. Gorburov and K. Gorburov<sup>3</sup>. More detailed research on the subject of the network of Nazi security bodies in the territory of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* and other occupied regions of the USSR was conducted by I. Dereyko<sup>4</sup> and S. Chuiev<sup>5</sup>.

The present paper seeks to shed new light on the structure of the organization and personnel makeup of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, and its role in the system of terror against the population of the region. It also aims to provide new knowledge on the ways of recruiting agents and informants from among the local collaborators in order to identify and eliminate representatives of the local Resistance movement, and representatives of ethnic groups who were not executed in the first months of occupation. The article publishes specific surnames of employees of the government and private members who initiated or were directly involved in mass arrests, torture, executions, as well as the layout scheme of the location of “workstation offices”, death row cells and other facilities of the Security Police and SD, and sites and procedures of mass executions of the population, including Jews and Romani.

This article is based on the declassified documents of the former KGB (“*Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti*”, the USSR Committee for State Security) stored in the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA of the SBU in Kyiv), as well as in the Division of Archival Provision of the Security Service of Ukraine in the Mykolaiv region (DAMO of the SBU in the Mykolaiv region). These are materials comprising

<sup>2</sup> Владимир Чунихин, *Лицом к лицу с СД* (Одесса: Маяк, 1987); Владимир Чунихин, *Невидимой армии добровольцы* (Николаев: КП “Миколаївська обласна друкарня”, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Евгений Горбуров and Кирилл Горбуров, *Николаевский “Нюрнберг”. Судебный процесс по делу о немецко-фашистских зверствах в г. Николаеве и Николаевской области 10–17 января 1946 года* (Николаев: Илион, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Иван Дерейко, “Місцеві допоміжні структури та військові формування поліції безпеки та СД на теренах Райсхкомісаріату «Україна»: 1941–1944”, *Сторінки воєнної історії України*: зб. наук. пр., vol. 12 (2009): 177–184.

<sup>5</sup> Сергей Чув, *Спецслужбы Третьего Рейха*, book II (Санкт-Петербург: Издательский дом “Нева”; Москва: “ОЛМА-ПРЕСС Образование”, 2003).

archived investigative cases, trials of Nazi criminals, etc. The most informative ones discovered by the author are fragments of the testimony translation of Hans Zandner, the First Chief of the Security Police Department and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, and extensive interrogations of staff translator/interpreters, certain guards and SD drivers.

### **The participation of H. Zandner<sup>6</sup> in mass shootings at Babyn Yar and his appointment as Chief of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv**

The first unit of the Security Police, which arrived in Mykolaiv during the war, was the combat unit of Einsatzgruppe D. “Efficiency”, of the mobile divisions of Einsatzgruppe D under the command of the SS-Standartenführer Otto Ohlendorf during August-early October 1941. This led to the almost complete eradication of the Jewish population. This data is disclosed in some detail in various scholarly studies<sup>7</sup>. However, the systematic destruction of the remnants of “politically dangerous elements” extended over the entire period of occupation, and was carried out by the staff of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv and other punitive bodies.

SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner<sup>8</sup> served as the interim Chief of the Operational Command of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv from November 2, 1941 to March 20, 1942. From March 20, 1942 to August 1943, the Security Police Control and SD were led by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann (originally from the city of Linz, Austria). After the transfer of Dr. Spann to Saarbrücken, the command was handed over to SS-Sturmbannführer Friedrich Hegenscheid, who remained in this position until the evacuation of all management staff in March 1944 from Mykolaiv to Odessa<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In some publications written as Sandner.

<sup>7</sup> Александр Круглов, *Без жалости и сомнения: документы о преступлениях оперативных групп и команд полиции безопасности и СД на временно оккупированной территории СССР в 1941–1944 гг.*, vol. IV (Днепропетровск: Центр “Ткума”; Лира ЛТД, 2010); Михаил Гольденберг, editor, *Судьбы евреев Николаевщины в период Великой Отечественной войны 1941–1945 гг.* (Николаев: Издатель П. Н. Шамрай, 2012); Микола Шитюк, “Знищення єврейського населення в Південній частині рейхскомісаріату «Україна»”, in *Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції “Історична пам’ять про війну та Голокост”*, Kyiv, September 28–30, 2012 (Дніпропетровськ: Центр “Ткума”, 2013), 195–215; Валерій Васильєв, Наталя Кашеварова, Олена Лисенко, Марія Панова and Роман Подкур, author-editor, *Насильство над цивільним населенням України. Документи спецслужб. 1941–1944* (Київ: Видавець В. Захаренко, 2018).

<sup>8</sup> Sector of Archival Provision of the Security Service of Ukraine in Mykolaiv region (hereinafter – SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region), coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 7, sh. 308.

<sup>9</sup> Чув, *Спецслужбы Третьего Рейха*, 71.

Hans Zandner did not immediately receive an appointment for the respective position in Mykolaiv<sup>10</sup>. On September 25, 1941, along with his 8–10 comrades in service, he first arrived in Kyiv<sup>11</sup>. Among this team, several had been trained along with him at the Security Police School of Command in Berlin-Charlottenburg from May 20, 1940 to February 21, 1941: SS-Untersturmführer Theodor SALMANZIG<sup>12</sup> (Hamburg Criminal Police officer), SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Joachim SOMMERFELD<sup>13</sup> (employee of the Main Criminal Police Department in Berlin), and SS-Untersturmführer Hans JUHNKE<sup>14</sup> (employee of Stettin Criminal Police). The leader of this group was SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann LING<sup>15</sup>, an officer of the Breslau SD Breslau, who until then had served in Norway in the administration of the Security Police and SD of Trondheim<sup>16</sup>. He was also sent with Einsatzgruppe C to Kyiv.

The next day upon arrival, a group of officers were presented to the Chief of Security Police and SD of Ukraine SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Otto Rasch. At that time, Dr. Rasch was also Chief of Einsatzgruppe C in Ukraine, but he was transferred to the post of Chief of Security Police and SD in Moscow after its seizure by German troops. During the meeting, Dr. Rasch informed those attending that approximately a few days<sup>17</sup> after their arrival they must be present at a large-scale operation, the mass executions of Jews (a killing operation at Babyn Yar). Besides, he said that the officers of the SS had to get used to such “spectacles”<sup>18</sup>, although such action is cruel and “not

<sup>10</sup> Information about the arrival Hans Zandner in Kyiv, his personal presence during the execution of the Jewish population at Babyn Yar, the reasons for transfer to Mykolaiv – is a fragment in the translated protocol of his personal testimonies. Apparently, some dates in his testimony were confused, since most mass executions took place on September 29–30, not in early October 1941.

<sup>11</sup> The author expresses his sincere gratitude to Oleksander Kruhlov for a number of corrections of spelling of some settlements, surnames and ranks of Nazi criminals. In the document, among the new arrivals in Kyiv mistakenly mentioned is Untersturmführer SS Conrad Fiebig (Criminal Police in Katowice). Hans Zandner indeed studied with him at the Führer Police Security School in Berlin-Charlottenburg; however, SS-Untersturmführer Fiebig was sent to Einsatzgruppe B, not Einsatzgruppe C.

<sup>12</sup> The document incorrectly lists Theo Schwanzig. Correct is SS-Untersturmführer Theodore SALMANZIG.

<sup>13</sup> The document mistakenly lists Carl Sommerfeld. Correct is HANS-JOACHIM Sommerfeld.

<sup>14</sup> The document mistakenly lists Hanz Julike. Correct is Hans JUHNKE.

<sup>15</sup> The document mistakenly lists Herman Birk. Correct is SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann LING.

<sup>16</sup> The document mistakenly indicates Oslo.

<sup>17</sup> “Eight days” was incorrectly noted in the document. As mentioned above, some dates in testimony by H. Zandner are confused since most mass executions took place on September 29–30, not early October 1941.

<sup>18</sup> Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter – SSA SSU), coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 10.

very aesthetically pleasing”, but such measures are quite necessary and are part of the policy of “operations”.

To announce in public the planned Nazi mass extermination of the Jewish population and the seizure of its property in Kyiv, placards were distributed ordering that all Jews should appear at a certain time in one of the lanes near the Kyiv cemetery. Gathering of the Jewish population was supposedly for the purpose of a planned “evacuation”. Individuals were instructed to bring along all their gold and other jewelry. In this way, Nazi criminals relieved themselves of the need to hunt through the Jewish residences in search of these valuables. For the above-mentioned “operation” the Jews were gathered in a specified place on several different occasions during the two days of September 29–30<sup>19</sup>. According to remarks by Hans Zandner, there were about 20,000 persons at the site of assembly. In command of the mass shootings was SS-Obersturmführer Hefner<sup>20</sup>. The number of Jews mentioned means that Hans Zandner was present during mass shootings particularly on September 29, 1941, and not on “October 2–5”, 1941, as he noted in his testimony.

Since there is no complete data about the specific places of execution, the fact is that executions during the “*Großaktion*” (large-scale operation) were carried out simultaneously in four places. The subsequent briefing on the operation, conducted by Hefner, was required for SS officers’ group in order to learn how to manage similar operations effectively independently in the “near future”<sup>21</sup>.

It is now known that from the beginning of October to mid-November 1941, the men of Einsatzgruppe 5 murdered 29,835 persons (96,5% of those executed were Jews)<sup>22</sup>. In the context of this, an important aspect is the testimony of SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner on his personal management of mass shootings of Jews on October 8–9, 1941<sup>23</sup>, during which 800 individuals were murdered.

During the stay of Hans Zandner in Kyiv, there were almost daily executions of 200–300 prisoners of war detained in the camp<sup>24</sup>. Presumably, we are talking about a camp for prisoners of war, which was located

<sup>19</sup> The document mistakenly states: “2–5 October”.

<sup>20</sup> The document mistakenly mentions August Hofer. Correct is SS-Obersturmführer August HÄFNER.

<sup>21</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Владислав Гриневич and Павло-Роберт Марочій, editor, *Бабин Яр: Історія та пам'ять* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2017), 99.

<sup>23</sup> Since the document analysis shows that Zandner’s coverage of Babyn Yar chronology of events was inaccurate by a difference of several days, presumably this date is somewhat inaccurate.

<sup>24</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 11.

on Kerosynna Str. (now Sholudenka Street), where there was a separate department for temporary detention of Jews and political workers<sup>25</sup>. Besides, additional searches were conducted in local hospitals, where Jews were identified and immediately killed<sup>26</sup> (such as mentally ill Jews in the I. Pavlov Hospital).

As the Einsatzgruppen were temporary formations, after completing the tasks to murder a defined circle of political enemies, the local headquarters of the Security Police and the SD was set up from the particular subdivisions. It is widely known that based on Einsatzgruppe 5, a Service unit was formed by the Head of Security Police and SD for the General District Kyiv<sup>27</sup>. Unlike his SS “colleagues”, Hans Zandner did not stay long in Kyiv. Around or on October 21, 1941, a request was received from Mykolaiv to dispatch a “team” there. Hans Zandner at that time was subordinate to the Einsatzgruppe of SS-Sturmbannführer Meyer (previously the SD Chief in Troppau<sup>28</sup>). Because positions of Chiefs of the Security Police and the SD were already distributed, it was thanks to his knowledge of the Romanian language that he was ordered to go with the team to Mykolaiv. To study the situation in the place, he first traveled to the city with four employees in two cars. Then in Mykolaiv, near to or on October 24, 1941, Hans Zandner met with some members of the team under the leadership of the SS-Untersturmführer Fischer<sup>29</sup> (part of the Einsatzgruppe D). Two days later, Hans Zandner returned to Kyiv to pick up the rest of the men from his team and update SS-Sturmbannführer Meyer on the situation. After spending two days in Kyiv, Hans Zandner left with ten of his staff members and arrived in Mykolaiv on November 2, 1941. Preacquainted with the current state of affairs, he took over command from SS-Untersturmführer Fischer<sup>30</sup>.

### Mass terror by the Security Police and SD against the local population led by Hans Zandner

The headquarters of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv was located in the city of Mykolaiv on Velyka Mors'ka Street,

<sup>25</sup> Гриневич and Магочій, editor, *Бабин Яр*, 93.

<sup>26</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Гриневич and Магочій, editor, *Бабин Яр*, 78.

<sup>28</sup> August Meyer was the Head of the SD in Troppau/Opava (Sudeten) from October 1938. From February 1941, he headed the SD in the city of Liegnitz, Silesia.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning SS-Untersturmführer Karl Fischer, who was sent to Einsatzgruppe D in late September 1941. Before the trip he had been a sports instructor at the Führer Security Police School in Berlin-Charlottenburg.

<sup>30</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 7, sh. 308.

Nos. 26, 28, and 30 (according to the old prewar numbering), as noted in Field Mail no. 47,890<sup>31</sup>. Today it is a row of houses on Velyka Mors'ka Street, no. 52–56/59, preserved in the city quarter between Navarins'ka and Pushkins'ka Streets.



*On the second floor of this building were living quarters of officers and investigators of the Security Police and SD, a dining room for Germans from the Reich was located on the first floor. In the plan by Ivan Bergardt (a Volksdeutsche author), he marked it as number IV. After the war this building served as the regional tuberculosis dispensary. From the 1960s to February 2010, the building was used as the Second Municipal Hospital. Currently the building is abandoned and in dilapidated state of disrepair (Mykolaiv, October 2018, photo courtesy of A. Pogorielov).*



*The quarter of the Security Police and SD was located on Velyka Mors'ka St. between Navarins'ka and Pushkins'ka Streets (Mykolaiv, October 2018, photo courtesy of A. Pogorielov).*

<sup>31</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 37.

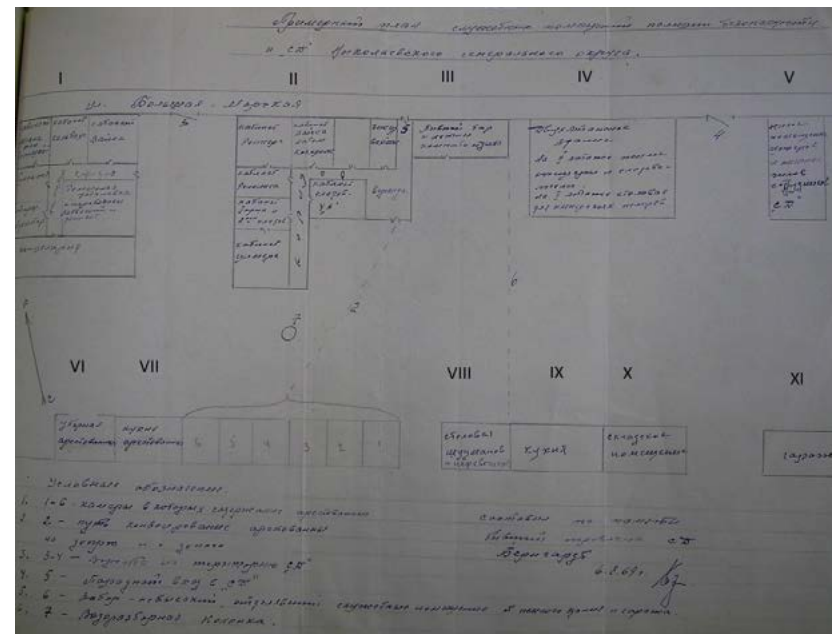


The workstation offices of the Security Police and SD detectives were housed in a small brown building (on the left). In the layout plan by I. Bergardt, the author marked it as no. II. In a building with a yellow façade (on the right), were the offices of the Chiefs of the Department of Security Police and the SD of the General District Mykolaiv – H. Zandner, L. Schpann, F. Hegenscheid, reception desk, general office, etc. In the plan by I. Bergardt, the author marked it as no. I (Mykolaiv, January 2020, photo courtesy of A. Pogorielov).



Fragment of the interior grounds of the former Department of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv. The neglected building visible above housed the workstation offices of the Security Police and SD detectives. In the plan by I. Bergardt, the author has marked it as no. II (Mykolaiv, January 2020, photo courtesy of A. Pogorielov).

A detailed layout sketch of the building for employees of the Security Police and SD can be seen below:



A detailed layout sketch of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv in the years 1942–1944, compiled by a former employee (translator/interpreter) of the Office of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, I. Bergardt. On August 6, 1969, Roman numerals were inserted by A. Pogorielov for a more detailed explanation of the layout plan<sup>32</sup>.

Legend, denoted by Ivan Bergardt in Arabic numerals:

1. 1–6 Cells in which the citizens arrested were detained;
2. 2 The convoy path to and from interrogation for detainees;
3. 3–4 Gates to SD territory;
4. 5 Front entrance to the SD;
5. 6 Low fence, separating the utility premises from the residential building and the garage;
6. 7 Water tower.

For a more detailed explanation of the inscriptions on the above-mentioned plan, the present author has marked the objects by the Roman numerals of the building, indicating the location of:

<sup>32</sup> SAP SSU in the Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 361.

**I** – The offices of the Chiefs of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv – H. Zandner, L. Schpamm, F. Hegensheid; reception and general office; the offices of the officer Kalbach (Deputy Chief of the SD), and Dr. Weiss (Head of Department 1);

**II** – The offices of the SD officers Riopper, Weiss, Kockerols, Relling, Horn, Zimmer and others;

**III** – The beer bar and summer lounge room;

**IV** – Two-storey building: On the 1st floor was the dining room for the Germans from the Reich, while the 2nd floor were the living quarters of the officers and investigators;

**V** – Residential facilities for drivers and lower rank employees of the SD;

**VI** – A bathroom for detainees;

**VII** – Kitchen for the detainees;

**VIII**–Canteen for guards and translator/interpreters;

**IX** – Kitchen;

**X** – Storage facilities;

**XI** – Garage.

While transferring the information about the current state of affairs and tasks to Hans Zandner, SS-Untersturmführer Fischer handed over to him 20 arrested operatives working with the Soviet intelligentsia (largely students, one professor) and seven “*Banderyvtsi*”. Every prisoner was supposed to be transferred for further detention to Lviv, but this did not come to pass, so eventually all of them were shot.

After the departure of SS-Untersturmführer Fischer, the newly appointed Chief of the Security Police and SD proceeded to rearrange the confiscated premises, from which he expelled the majority of local Germans and Ukrainians, who constituted a certain burden for him<sup>33</sup>. Initially, the staff consisted of 15 employees and the SS soldiers, plus one radio operator. Among his staff members, Hans Zandner had many former “long-standing old” associates who “knew the work perfectly”, especially Richard Behnke (Criminal Police officer in Berlin) and Siegfried Lamprecht (Gestapo officer in Hoensalza<sup>34</sup>, Poland)<sup>35</sup>. It was SS-Hauptscharführer Behnke<sup>36</sup> who became the deputy for Hans Zandner in the first months of his work<sup>37</sup>.

Among other employees were Hugo Seifert<sup>38</sup> (Gestapo officer, resident of Meissen), Ludwig Pawel (Criminal Police officer), and Kurt Meisner (Gestapo officer, resident of Bautzen)<sup>39</sup>.

In the role of liaison persons and trusted individuals associated with the Mykolaiv North Shipyard (a shipbuilding plant named after 61 Communards in the Soviet era), there was SS-Untersturmführer Neumeister, and in the South Shipyard (Chornomorskij Shipbuilding Plant), SS-Untersturmführer Shaffer<sup>40</sup>. In January 1942, SS-Sturmscharführer Runkel<sup>41</sup> arrived in Mykolaiv from the main department of the Criminal Police of Berlin. He was appointed as a new Deputy Chief of the Security Police and SD. On January 6, 1942, SS-Sturmführer Behnke was dismissed from his position and returned to the Criminal Police in Berlin<sup>42</sup>.

Approximately on November 20, 1941, the officers of the Security Police Major Vitzleb and Oberleutnant Weingarten arrived in Mykolaiv. They located in another building on Velyka Mors’ka Street that had been confiscated by the Security Police and SD<sup>43</sup>. There was a steady flow of arrested citizens gushing from various institutions: the City Commissariat, Regional Commissariat, factories, the local Kommandatura and elsewhere<sup>44</sup>.

The document analysis substantiates the main categories of terror implemented by the Security Police and SD against the population of the General District Mykolaiv in 1941–1944: search and complete extermination of the remnants of the Jewish population (including members of mixed marriages); the elimination of the Romani population; extermination of the mentally ill; liquidation of the organized Resistance of the Soviet and nationalist underground (members of the OUN in both directions of allegiance); the extermination of the military prisoners in a concentration camp Stalag 364 (commissars, members of the Communist Party, Jews and prisoners of war); punishment by beating or cash fines for any breach of the “new law”; there were demonstrative executions on a gallows in the center of Mykolaiv; detention sentences of different length in the Mykolaiv Central SD Prison, and in the SD concentration camp for civilians Vodokachka (located 35 km from Mykolaiv); deportation

<sup>38</sup> The document mistakenly indicates Hugo Seifrid. Correct is SS-Sturmmann Hugo SEIFERT.

<sup>39</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 91.

<sup>40</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 13.

<sup>41</sup> The document incorrectly indicates Runkeld. Correct is Runkel.

<sup>42</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 17.

<sup>43</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 15.

<sup>44</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 13.

<sup>33</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 12.

<sup>34</sup> The document mistakenly mentions Rosensaltz. Correct is Hohensalza. Today: Inowrocław, Poland.

<sup>35</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 13, 91.

<sup>36</sup> The document mistakenly indicates SS-Sturmführer as rank. Correct is SS-Hauptscharführer Richard BEHNKE.

<sup>37</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 15.

of prisoners to serve their penal sentences in the concentration camps Buchenwald, Ravensbrück and others.

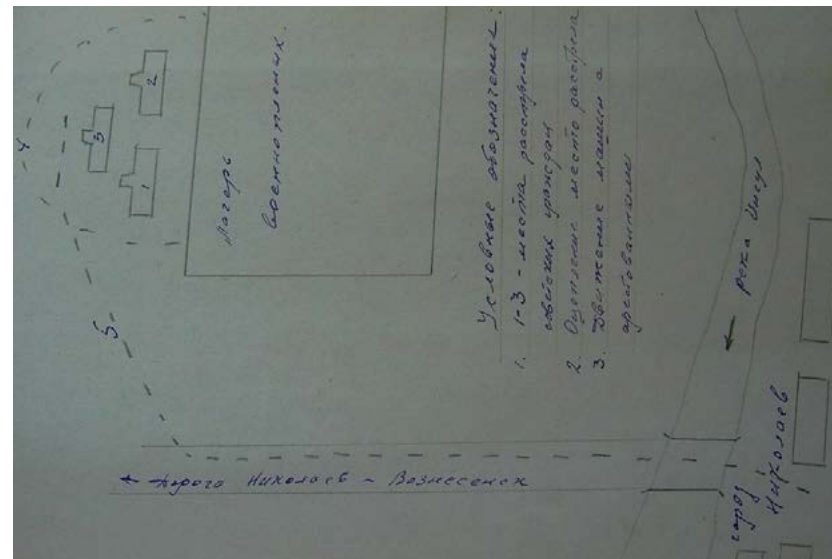
According to the former SD guard Oleksandr Groza, the largest mass executions of the population took place in 1941–early 1942. In 1943–1944, the Security Police and SD officers shot fewer of the detainees, because after questioning and torture most were sent on to slave labor in concentration camps in Germany<sup>45</sup>. The unannounced executions in Mykolaiv were carried out every week. Special military trucks were transporting an average of 15–20 people (in some cases, ca. 100), to places of execution in the specially prepared pits or anti-tank ditches not far from the old Jewish cemetery, and later near the concentration camp walls for Soviet prisoners of war, Stalag 364 as well as near the SD Prison (today the grounds of Mykolaiv Remand Prison).



The layout scheme of the execution site for Soviet citizens, mass executions implemented in December 1942 in the vicinity of the so-called Mines plant opposite the gunpowder warehouses near the stone wall. The layout sketch was made based on testimony of Adolf Leschinsky (Volksdeutscher, see photo below), the driver of the Department of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, September 3, 1961<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 24 reverse.

<sup>46</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 241.



Approximate layout sketch of mass shootings of Soviet citizens near the walls of the concentration camp Stalag 364. The sketch was put together by Ivan Berngardt (Volksdeutscher, see photo below), the former translator/interpreter of the Department of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv. August 6, 1969<sup>47</sup>.

A group of SD officers was ordered to execute Soviet citizens. There was no permanent team engaged solely in the killing of citizens in 1941–1943 in the Security Police and SD. There was a different group of shooters appointed for every execution. During the days when the executions of those arrested were carried out, the SD officers were freed from any other tasks and dealt only with organizing the massacre. At the shootings, the Chief of the SD or his deputy were always present, as well as two or three officers, two or three translator/interpreters, and a number of guards depending on how dangerous the persons to be executed were deemed to be (on average, the execution unit consisted of 30–50 men). The citizens detained were transported to the execution sites on trucks covered with tarpaulin. In the administration of the Security Police and SD, there were four such trucks. The groups left for the execution sites around 9 or 10 a.m. after breakfast. After the conclusion of the executions, all members of the shooting team received another good breakfast along with a standard serving of vodka, wine, and beer<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 360.

<sup>48</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 24 reverse, 25.

During the period of Hans Zandner's command of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, its staff murdered the following in the population<sup>49</sup>:

- In November 1941, 150 Jews were shot, 80 Soviet activists and members of the Communist Party, various so-called “pests”, 80 POWs from the camp<sup>50</sup>;
- In December 1941, a total of 140 Jews and 40 other prisoners were shot. In the village of Novoaleksandrivka, 54 Jews were shot. This operation was personally led by H. Zandner<sup>51</sup>;
- In January 1942, 80 Jews and 14 other prisoners were shot, about 40 people were arrested;
- In February 1942, ca. 230 Jews and 60 people connected with the Communist Party or with Soviet connections, a number of criminals and others were shot<sup>52</sup>. An important detail is that on February 16, special instructions were received from Kyiv via courier regarding the execution of the local Ukrainian intelligentsia as follows: arrests were to be made immediately before execution and it was necessary to conduct them inconspicuously (as far as possible). The deadline term of the order was no later than February 20, 1942, in the order's appendix received by Hans Zandner was an instruction to immediately destroy the order document by burning after reading its content. There was no need to report the implementation of the operation to Command headquarters, neither orally nor in writing. However, the operation was not carried out for technical reasons: the vehicles, apart from one, were defective, and some SD officers were on leave. Due to this circumstance, in order to carry out the corresponding order from Kyiv, a special team was assembled and involved in the executions along with the Security Police under the leadership of Lieutenant Schmidt, who shot the seven Ukrainian “Banderivtsy” (Bandera affiliates) and representatives of the intelligentsia<sup>53</sup>;
- In March – April 1942, approximately 120 POWs from the prisoners of war camp and 60 other prisoners<sup>54</sup> were shot dead along with about 80 Jews. Sometime around April 29–30, a special punitive operation was carried out in the Kherson Psychiatric Hospital, where 200 patients were shot, mainly

<sup>49</sup> Statistics and details of extermination of population – testimonies of H. Zandner.

<sup>50</sup> Reference is to the concentration camp for Soviet PoWs Stalag 364. It was located in the central part of Mykolaiv, behind the Inhulsky Bridge.

<sup>51</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 15.

<sup>52</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 17.

<sup>53</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 16.

<sup>54</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 18.

Jews, in particular those suffering from tuberculosis and gout. This operation was directly led by Sturmführer Riopper<sup>55</sup>.

For the period from November 1941 to April 1942, the staff of the Security Police and SD exterminated roughly 1,300 persons in total, including some 500 Jews of different gender and age. In addition, some 400 Soviet citizens were sent to jail<sup>56</sup>.



*The result of sabotage by Soviet saboteurs at the German airfield. March 10, 1942<sup>57</sup>.*

<sup>55</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 17.

<sup>56</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 91.

<sup>57</sup> State Archives of Mykolayiv Oblast (hereafter – SAMO), photo documents, inv. 1, od. jol. no. 6104.

In order to intimidate the local population, demonstrative executions on the gallows were carried out in the center of Mykolaiv. Such retaliation campaigns occurred as a result of successful sabotage by the Soviet underground, under the guidance of a key officer of the Soviet Foreign Intelligence Service, Victor Lyagin (code name “Kornev”), acts of sabotage implemented since the end of 1941. When those responsible were not found, Hans Zandner took hostages from the local population during mass manhunts in the city, as well as some of the prisoners arrested by the Security Police and being held in SD Prison (Velyka Mors’ka Street). For this purpose, a permanent gallows tree was installed in the city center in Bazarna Square<sup>58</sup>. The first execution of the ten hostages was carried out on January 3, 1942. The second execution of another ten hostages took place on March 10, 1942<sup>59</sup>, as an act of retaliation for the explosion on the territory of the German airfield (behind the Inhulsky Bridge), carried out by the Soviet saboteur O. Sydoruk. During that sabotage at the airfield, 27 different planes were set ablaze, along with many aircraft engines, two hangars, and 35 tons of fuel<sup>60</sup>.



The execution of hostages in Bazarna Square in the center of Mykolaiv (photos from different angles). March 10, 1942<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 10 reverse.

<sup>59</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 248.

<sup>60</sup> Євген Горбуров, “Підпільний та партизанських рух на території Миколаївщини в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни”, in *Миколаївщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни: 1941–1944 рр. (До 60-річчя визволення області від німецько-румунських окупантів)* (Миколаїв: Квіт, 2004), 71.

<sup>61</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262.

The execution took place in the following way. On the day of execution, all SD guards were declared free of duty, including Oleksandr Groza; they went to the marketplace and formed a circle with a perimeter at a distance of 20–25 meters from the gallows. Soon the SD Chief H. Zandner arrived at the execution site in his car, as well as another car with SD officers and one truck, which transported ten hostages guarded by the SD translator/interpreters. The hostages had been previously seized in the market. All the prisoners had their hands tied behind their back. The execution was directed by the SD investigator Schulz. The truck with hostages stopped under the gallows crossbar, to which the rope nooses were already attached. On the sides of the truck, there was a plank which all ten hostages had to step on to. The nooses were tied around prisoners’ necks, and then the truck drove off. After the execution, all the corpses remained hanging on the gallows for the span of about a day<sup>62</sup>.



Executions on the gallows of those arrested. Inscription on the back: “Vyselitsav Mykolaivi. Ploschad vokzalaokolo” skladov [indistinct]”. (“Gallows in Mykolaiv. The Railway Square near “storage area”). Obviously, it was the square near the old railway station. Date of photo unknown<sup>63</sup>.

Since Hans Zandner was a temporary Chief of the Security Police and SD, on March 20, 1942, a newly appointed Head of the Security Police and SD, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann, arrived in Mykolaiv.

<sup>62</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 11–12.

<sup>63</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262.



The institution was renamed to “EK C-5” (Einsatzkommando C5) of the Security Police and SD. Before this position, Leopold Spann had been the Chief of Gestapo in the cities of Linz and Stettin. After the new Chief of the Security Police and SD was appointed, Hans Zandner performed the duties of Chief’s Deputy<sup>64</sup> until June 6, 1942, or up until his return to Germany<sup>65</sup>.

At the same time, SS-Sturmbannführer Vilke also was in Mykolaiv for a short time as chief expert in SD affairs. However, he left after three or four weeks, since he was drafted into the SS troops.

During March–April 1942, the Security Police and the SD office staff increased by 20 employees and generally consisted of ca. 40 people. Since then, the arrested citizens were kept in the city prison; its head was SS-Oberscharführer Karl Nolte<sup>66</sup> (possibly: Nolde).

In the administration of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, in service were Germans from the Reich, *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans), Russians, and Ukrainians. All senior positions were allotted solely to Germans, from the Reich. *Volksdeutsche* were used as translators and interpreters (assistants of investigators), guard personnel, drivers, and kitchen workers. Ukrainians and Russians served as guards, local police constables and drivers<sup>67</sup>. In general, the overall size of the SD staff was about 40 individuals<sup>68</sup>.

It is worth noting that the materials of the SD former translator/interpreter Ivan Bergardt (*Volksdeutscher*, see photo below) contain information about the fact that all employees of the Security Police and SD were directly involved in combat, interrogations, shootings, looting, etc<sup>69</sup>. The SD translator/interpreters not only translated the allegations made by citizens, messages from agents, questions, and answers during interrogations, but also took an active part in the arrests, executions, tortures of local residents and went to the execution sites. At the same time, translator/-interpreters were empowered to arrest citizens deemed suspicious in the eyes of the occupying authorities<sup>70</sup>. Security guards and watchmen guarded the main buildings of the SD in shifts, accompanied prisoners in convoys to work, interrogations, transported them in convoys to the SD Central Prison,

participated in combat, and guarded places of demonstrative executions near the gallows or at spots of more inconspicuous executions<sup>71</sup>.

### The structure and staff of the District Security Police and SD Division

Based on the documents of the Soviet counterintelligence investigated by the present author, and the materials of the former SD officers’ interrogations, it is possible to piece together quite detailed materials about the structure and staff of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv in 1942–1944. The staff changed at different times for one reason or another, but in general, the picture is clear.



The Division of the Security Police and SD, as is known, was headed by the SS-Sturmbannführer Doctor Leopold Spann (March 20, 1942–August 1943) and SS-Sturmbannführer Friedrich Hegenscheid (August 1943–March 1944)<sup>72</sup>. Their deputies were SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner (for a short period), and Officer Kalbach<sup>73</sup>, head of Division IV SS-Untersturmführer Kockerols<sup>74</sup>.

SS-Sturmbannführer Doctor Leopold Spann. Photo from 1936<sup>75</sup>.

The Mykolaiv District Directorate of the Security Police and SD had subordinated branches, which were stationed in Kherson, Kirovograd, Pervomaisk, Voznesensk, and Tsyurupynsk (Oleshky). At the beginning of 1944, the Krivoy Rig Branch of the SD also was subordinated to the Mykolaiv Directorate<sup>76</sup>. In addition, in the localities in the area, more than 100 staff agents were operating in the network they had created. Their functions were to collect the information deemed necessary<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 17, 90 reverse.

<sup>65</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 20.

<sup>66</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 19.

<sup>67</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 217–218.

<sup>68</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 18.

<sup>69</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 225–226.

<sup>70</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 357.

<sup>71</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 43–44.

<sup>72</sup> Чув, *Спецслужбы Третьего Рейха*, 71.

<sup>73</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 40 reverse.

<sup>74</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 2.

<sup>75</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 11, sh. 1.

<sup>76</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 2.

<sup>77</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 136.

The County Department of the Security Police and SD consisted of five divisions:

#### Division I (“F” Division)

Head of the Division: SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Weiss; translator/interpreter: Amalia Gerter, German.

The Division provided the passes for the civilian population to cross the German-Romanian border along the Yuzhny Bug River (i.e. the border of Transnistria). In addition, in early 1944 the staff workers of the division were issuing passes for civilians evacuated from Mykolaiv.

#### Division II

The head was SS-Hauptsturmführer Risch, his deputy was SS-Obersturmführer Reschoft. In this Division, the registry was staffed by three SS workers. The Division had registered all the agent files coming to the SD, and had processed correspondence with other bodies. All archival and investigative case files were preserved.

The Business and Finance sub-division and library were included in the Division II. This unit kept the lists of the SD staff members and also issued salary payments. Among the employees were seven or eight Germans<sup>78</sup>: the office manager of the Department was SS-Sturmscharführer Beno Muskalle, the cashier SS-Unterscharführer Seifert, and typists were Zimmerman and Alma Lindeman. The registry division was headed by the SS-Oberscharführer Winkelman. Oleksander Frizon was a translator/interpreter<sup>79</sup>.

#### Division III (“N” division)

Head of the Division: SS-Sturmführer Silvers, his deputy: SS-Scharführer Zaitz (possibly Zeitz)<sup>80</sup>. Zaitz was a German from Romania who had previously served in the Security Police and SD in Kyiv<sup>81</sup>. The Division had two translator/interpreters, one of them was Oscar Bauder.

The Division III was oriented to agent operations. It was focused on all aspects of the management of agent work: recruiting agents and handling various communications. The agents were received by SS-Sturmführer Silvers, his assistant or translator/interpreter. All the incoming agents' communications after registration were transferred to Division IV – the main division the Security Police and SD.

Division III had a Subdivision of Information, which was engaged in the preparation of reports on the prevailing mood in the population in the city and region. This unit was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Merkle (originally from Württemberg). Translator/interpreters were Viktor Elfimov, and then Viktor Trammel. The reports were delivered based on agents' messages and personal observations of the SD staff members, in particular the translator/interpreters who investigated the mood of the population while visiting cinemas, restaurants, and other public places.

#### Division IV (political)

This division was the main unit of the Security Police and SD responsible for the management and implementation of all investigations and in part also the work of the agents. The unit was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Kockerols, and his deputy was the SS-Sturmscharführer Riopper<sup>82</sup>.

Division IV consisted of two subdivisions. The largest was Division VI C (headed by SS-Untersturmführer Kockerols), whose employees were engaged in the detection of communists, Soviet intelligence officers, members of underground organizations and groups, or persons conducting anti-German agitation<sup>83</sup>.

The senior investigators of this department were SS-Sturmscharführer Alfred Riopper and Willie Relling, who were in charge of the most important affairs<sup>84</sup>. Regular investigators were SS-Sturmscharführer Lunau, Tremmer, Schumann, Hamacher, SS-Oberscharführer Karl Knittel, Gross. Investigative translator/interpreters – Carl Lindeman, Ivan Bergardt, Marcus Immel, Fleck, Haituf, Ginzman, Wingerter. Typist was Koenig (originally from Germany)<sup>85</sup>. The following is also known: the investigator Intven was a resident of Stuttgart, Schumann was a resident of Hamburg, and Lunau a resident of Düsseldorf. Investigator Hamacher had arrived in Mykolaiv in early February 1944, from Nikopol SD, which he had been chief of for some time<sup>86</sup>.

Division IV-A was initially engaged in the search for Jews, and later for the members of the OUN. Until the fall of 1942, the head of the subdivision was SS-Oberscharführer Karl Lange, and his assistant SS-Scharführer Nolte. In 1943, an investigator for Jewish Affairs was SS-Sturmführer Steffen.

<sup>78</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 3.

<sup>79</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 220.

<sup>80</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 40 reverse.

<sup>81</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 3.

<sup>82</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 136–137.

<sup>78</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 2–3.

<sup>79</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 37 reverse.

<sup>80</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 3.

<sup>81</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 139–140.

A Subdivision for the OUN was created separately after 1943<sup>87</sup>. This subdivision was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Ott<sup>88</sup>.

**CARD DIRECTORY** All those arrested by the SD were registered. Responsible for the card directory was SS-Sturmscharführer Moresse. The translator/interpreters were Brilz and Michel, and a clerk Lyudmila Fleck.

**RADIO SECTION** (independent) It maintained a connection with the SD branches in Kherson, Pervomaïsk, Kirovohrad, and other localities. Among the section employees were SS-Oberscharführer Shtak, and radio-men Martin and Bleform<sup>89</sup>.

#### Division V (Criminal Police)

The head was SS-Sturmscharführer Otto Runkel<sup>90</sup>, his deputies were SS-Sturmscharführer Ibeliakker and Adelman. Subordinate to them was the “Russian” head Anatolii Meshkov. The main task of the division was to deal with criminal cases, but at the end of 1943 a branch was created headed by Shevchenko, which was engaged with political matters. The personnel of this department consisted of residents, regardless of nationality.

Division V (Cripo) consisted of several branches:

1. The Agent Operative Division was headed by Konstantin Belukha, to whom regular agents were subordinate. They dressed in civilian clothing, carried out arrests, searches, took part in combat and in ambushes to capture citizens. In addition, each of them was a recruiter of local residents, who had networks of their own informants. All agent messages were delivered to K. Belukha, who planned further measures.

2. The Investigative Division was headed by the senior investigator Yevhen Oleksandrovych Meshalin. Staff members: M. M. Postpelov, M. M. Vartynev, Chmyr, Muzyka, Kazakov, Zorin (before his arrival in Mykolaiv he was the Chief of Cripo in Mariupol), Sokhin, Shanov-Popov, Stepanyuk, Ostalevych, Myloradov, Yenyukhin, Krant.

The investigative staff of the V division was divided into two sections: some of the personnel were engaged in criminal cases against civilians of non-German nationality, others of local Germans.

The Political Branch was led by the investigator Shevchenko, who had managed two regular agents Rusynov and Vasilyev. Via them, Shevchenko managed the network of agents, conducted a series of investigations of political affairs that appeared based on Division V operational materials.

<sup>87</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 139.

<sup>88</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 4.

<sup>89</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 4–5.

<sup>90</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 37.

Division V of the Security Police and SD Department was located in a separate building on Plekhanivska Street, no. 34, and had the designation Criminal Police<sup>91</sup>. Overall, there were up to ten investigators and thirty regular agents on staff<sup>92</sup>.

The Commandant of the Security Police Security and SD Department was the SS-Sturmmann Rommel<sup>93</sup>. The building’s security staff consisted of local ethnic Germans (*Volkskdeutsche*). Their main functions were protection of SD buildings and guarding of the prisoners detained in the SD Internal Prison (Velyka Mors’ka Street). The chief of the guard was Mikhail Yakovych Scherer, Oleksandr Groza, and others<sup>94</sup>.

The SD Central Prison was in direct subordination to the SD Chief. It was located in Mykolaiv at Lagerne Pole, no. 5 (today a prison facility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs). All detained persons were sent to prison after conclusion of the investigation, and then were transferred to Germany. Since March 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Carl Nolte was<sup>95</sup> the Commandant of the Central Prison of the Security Police and SD. From August 1942 until January 1943, this position was occupied by Evgeniy Martin (*Volksdeutscher*)<sup>96</sup>, and he was succeeded by Ivan Shekhterle (*Volksdeutscher*). During the management of the new prison under Commandant Ivan Shekhterle, Evgeniy Martin performed the duties of the head of the guard unit until June 1943, and later served as a regular prison guard until March 1944<sup>97</sup>.

The Mykolaiv County administration of the Security Police and SD had a separate concentration camp for civilians in its subordinate control. The camp was located 35 km away from Mykolaiv and 2,5 km from the railway station Hreigove<sup>98</sup> (in the village Vodokachka). The Camp Commandant was Nolde (the German spelling in the document), his deputy German Faut<sup>99</sup>. Presumably, it mentions the SS-Oberscharführer Karl Nolte, who was the first Chief of the Central Prison of the Security Police and SD in Mykolaiv<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 4–5.

<sup>92</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 38.

<sup>93</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 130.

<sup>94</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 39.

<sup>95</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 19.

<sup>96</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 7945, sh. 15 reverse.

<sup>97</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 7945, sh. 16.

<sup>98</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 5.

<sup>99</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 80.

<sup>100</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 19.

Staff translator/interpreters in the management of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv were local ethnic Germans (*Volk-skdeutsche*): Eduard Kari, Evgeniy Hopfauf, Viktor Tremmel<sup>101</sup>, Marcus Immel, Ivan Bergardt (see photo below)<sup>102</sup>, Rudolf Zimmerman, Martin Winkerter, Raphael Birk (former director of the school in the village Holbstadt in Varvarivsky District, he was killed on December 4, 1942 while trying to arrest the Soviet underground activist P. Komkov)<sup>103</sup>, Adolf Kari, Marcus Fleck<sup>104</sup>, Victor Ginzmann, Carl Lindeman<sup>105</sup> and others.



Eduard Kari



Evgeniy Hopfauf



Viktor Tremmel



Marcus Immel



Ivan Bergardt



Adolf Kari

<sup>101</sup> Viktor Tremmel participated in the interrogation (and apparently also in the torture) of Victor Lyagin (Korniyev), the chief operative and agent of Soviet intelligence in Mykolayiv.

<sup>102</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 445.

<sup>103</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 42.

<sup>104</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 321 reverse, 322.

<sup>105</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 477–478.

Watchmen, drivers and other staff of the Security Police and SD at different times included Yevheniy Lippert, Leo Tauberger, Mykola Syvolob, Adolf Leshchynskyy, Roman Miller, Victor Dick, Mikhel Anton, Yakov Vaynert, Anton Brylz, Anton Brylz, Adolf Kari, Martin Wingerter, Ivan Hopfauf, Fedir Benkendorf, Nikodym Shtekler, Victor Reinbold, Mykhailo Goriachev, Alphonse Martin, Eduard Immel, Joseph Weber, Nikodym Leshchinsky, Rohus Frizon, and August Mekler<sup>106</sup> (see photo below), among others.

Yevhenii Lippert  
(prison guard)

Leo Tauberger

Mykola Syvolob  
(SD driver)Adolf Leshchynskyy  
(SD driver)

Roman Miller



Victor Dick

<sup>106</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 5, 8, 30, 33.



*Mikhel Anton*



*Anton Brylz*



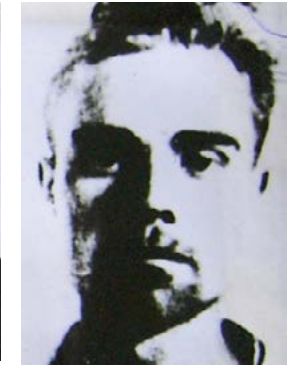
*Jacob Weinert*



*Victor Reinbold*



*Mikhaylo Goriachev*



*Alphonse Martin*



*Anton Brylz*



*Adolf Kari*



*Martin Wingerter*



*Eduard Immel*



*Joseph Weber*



*Nikodym Leshchinsky*



*Ivan Hopfauf*



*Fedir Benkendorf*



*Nikodym Shtekler*



*Rohus Frizon*



*Augustus Mekler*



*Evgeniy Martin  
(SD Prison Commandant)*

### Ways of obtaining operational information: Agents recruiting and cruel interrogation of those arrested

The main efforts of the Security Police and SD (in cooperation with the *Abwehrstelle* of the south Ukraine, a unit of the German military intelligence) were aimed at the detection and destruction of any centers of the organized resistance of the local population. It is known that during the occupation of Mykolaiv in 1941–1944, the local underground was represented by Soviet-oriented elements (party, Army, Cheka underground) which merged in 1942 into the Mykolaiv Center under the leadership of V. Lyagin) and a nationalist direction (OUN-B, OUN-m). Although the Soviet underground carried out many significant acts of sabotage in 1941–1942, its organizational core was quickly discovered and destroyed by the German counterintelligence authorities during the first 18 months of the occupation. In the view of the present author, the main causes of the failure were: an extensive network of German counterintelligence agents among the collaborators (in the region there were about 1,200 *Volksdeutsche*, 1,500 former individuals who had suffered repression in 1920–1930s and others); betrayal, confession of underground fighters as a result of torture; blackmail; violation of conspiracy secrecy; and in some cases – a lack of professionalism and general panic during the underground organization at the initial stage of its training in 1941.

The question of expanding the number of informants and agents was very pressing and acute. Hans Zandner gave personal orders to conduct the active recruitment of agents (up to 5–6 persons per week), in his desire to create a robust and powerful network of agents. Recruiting was carried out by various methods. The agents appeared at their discretion at the appropriate institution and reported the information. After repeated visits, an agent received monetary payment or comparable material remuneration (clothing, food). Then such a person was checked regarding their professional suitability, connections, place of work, and reasons that had prompted them to collaborate with the SD. By creating better living conditions for such a person or offering the possibility to work professionally, people were aware of the potential value of cooperating with SD bodies. Persons subjected to punishment were recruited via arranging their release from custody. For example, some prisoners were not shot but were used after screening as “*shpiks*” (informers)<sup>107</sup>.

The oversight of agent operations was carried out by the Security Police and SD divisions III, IV, V, which independently recruited informants. Due to the need to have agents at some enterprises, the SD investigator went

there directly, and together with his chief selected candidates. In such cases<sup>108</sup>, the best candidates for recruitment were chosen mainly from among those who had suffered from the activities of the communists: repression, dekulakization, and in general local residents who were opposed to Soviet ideas and influence.

The respective individuals selected were subsequently summoned by the Security Police and SD Division III, where their recruitment was carried out by the staff of this division, including translator/interpreters. Besides, citizens were widely recruited who on their own initiative had brought charges to the SD accusing people of certain anti-German activities.

Also, agents were recruited from among the participants of underground Soviet organizations environment and members of the OUN, i.e. persons arrested for belonging to these organizations. The value of the agent was determined by the importance of the information provided. The owners of restaurants, cafes, and other public institutions were also targeted for recruitment.

A separate important direction was the recruitment of former Soviet Army servicemen. Such an agent was considered the most valuable and was given more responsible tasks. Agents had no other salaried job, and were provided for at the expense of the Security Police and SD, which paid them a 75–80 marks per month and food. The SD furnished these agents with food cards and certificates noting that they were employees of the SD.

Agents within enterprises and production units received the task of studying the prevailing mood and attitudes of the population among workers, to identify Soviet-party activists sabotaging the measures of Germans, as well as those who were suspected of sabotage, etc.

The investigators sought to find agents among those arrested, and they were used to effectively influence and develop fellow prisoners. In some cases such agents were released from the SD and sent on for later use within the Division III (Agents' division)<sup>109</sup>.

As paradoxically as it may seem, the agents' network was established in a better form by the Security Police and the SD, and not by *Abwehrstelle* staff workers, since the SD investigators managed to incorporate their agents directly into the underground organizations<sup>110</sup>. One of the SD methods of helping to detect the Soviet underground was the integration into patriotic organizations of SD employees (*Volksdeutsche* translator/interpreters) disguised as participants in the underground. This was done with the help

<sup>108</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 38.

<sup>109</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 38 reverse.

<sup>110</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 181.

<sup>107</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, sh. 14.

of citizens who were arrested and had admitted to belonging to certain illegal organizations. Such arrested individuals acted in conjunction with the SD's translator/interpreters and visited apartments of people who had a connection with the local underground<sup>111</sup>.

It should also be noted that investigators of the Security Police and SD acquired a significant amount of information about the members of local resistance as a result of various modes of torture inflicted on individuals arrested. Many prisoners could not hold up under SD torture, so they were forced to inform on and turn in the familiar underground fighters. Former Soviet underground activist Anton Kryvoruchko (Novoodesky rayon) testified about certain forms of torture he was aware of. In particular, the detainee (regardless of gender) was undressed and put onto a round chair with belly down, beaten by a whip with a metal tip, a rubber hose, a person's fingers were put in the doorway and broken, tearing off the skin from the bones, needles were stuck under the nails<sup>112</sup>. The aforementioned former SD Wachmann Oleksandr Groza, a guard, testified that there was no special room for torture in the SD. All the interrogation was conducted in six offices of investigators (see the photos and layout of SD rooms above). Most of those taken into custody returned covered in blood and sometimes they were carried unconscious from these offices. Many prisoners returned not only after being beaten but also contaminated with their own excrement because they could not endure the torture. Then, after the interrogation, the so-called "workstation offices" were slated to be cleaned by women held under arrest. The cruelest interrogations were performed by the local *Volkskdeutsche* interpreters: Eduard Kari, Marcus Immel, Ivan Bergardt (see photo)<sup>113</sup>.

### Some details of the process of persecution, arrests and ethnic executions

A portion of the local Jews avoided being shot in the autumn of 1941 for a variety of reasons. For example, during mass shootings, 20 Jewish doctors and 22 members of their families<sup>114</sup> were left alive as useful medical specialists. They continued to work for the invaders, lived at home, but all were under the strict supervision of the Security Police and SD. In early April 1942, all these people were arrested on orders from the Chief of Security Police and SD. They were placed in cells of the SD Internal Prison (Velyka

Mors'ka Street), where they were detained for a short time<sup>115</sup>. Many arrested were seized taken right from their beds. Among the detainees was the Chairman of the Medical Union of Mykolaiv, lecturer at the Institute for Medical Development, the well-known therapist Z. R. Barg<sup>116</sup>, and physicians Samsov, A. L. Kogan, Skliar and others.

The execution of these well-known individuals took place on April 2, 1942<sup>117</sup>. All physicians and members of their families were put in a large tarpaulin-covered truck and transported to near the wall of the concentration camp for Soviet PoWs in Stalag 364. There they were shot in the pit specifically prepared beforehand by the Soviet prisoners. At the site of execution, there were many SD translator/interpreters, overseen by H. Zandner, who personally supervised the process of execution. According to Oleksander Groza (he had accompanied these persons in convoy and guarded the execution site), in the execution site area, guards formed a circle 10–15 meters from the execution pit. The car stopped near the pit, which was up to 3 meters deep and 5 meters wide. The entrance down into the pit was by a stairway. The Jews were forced to undress and leave their clothes in the truck. After that, the children, the elderly, mothers with small children descended one by one into the pit. Inside the pit, standing in the corner was a shooter armed with a machine gun, either an investigator or translator/interpreter, and he shot everyone coming down into the pit in the back of the head. Before execution the Jews were all forced to lie face down on the ground. Children were shot in the same way as adults – one by one. One young woman descended into the pit clutching a baby in her arms. After the gunman ordered her, she lied face down on top of the lifeless bodies of those who had been killed and covered the child with her body. The gunman first killed the woman with a bullet to the back of her head, then turned over her body, where the baby was still alive, and shot him. Before the execution, people pleaded for mercy, cried, shouted, but no one paid any attention to their pleas. After the shooting, all SD employees took the property of the slain. Clothes and other things were disinfected. The best items were taken by the SD men and then exchanged for food. Things in poorer condition were taken by the guards<sup>118</sup>.

Members of the Security Police and SD had been active seeking to identify the remaining mixed Ukrainian-Jewish and Russian-Jewish families hiding in the territory of the city and region. A Jewish mother and her

<sup>111</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 327.

<sup>112</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 4 reverse.

<sup>113</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 51–52.

<sup>114</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262, vol. 2, sh. 182.

<sup>115</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 17–18.

<sup>116</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262, vol. 2, sh. 22.

<sup>117</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262, vol. 2, sh. 32–33.

<sup>118</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 18–21.

children were arrested and then shot. A Jewish father of the family and his children were also shot. Other Ukrainian or Russian family members (spouses of the Jews shot) were detained for some time for hiding Jews, and later released or sent from the SD Prison to the Nazi camps in Germany for further sentencing. For example, the non-Jew Valentina Kasurova was married to Aron Ganapolsky, who had been shot in the first days of the occupation of the Mykolaiv region in 1941. After his execution, she could no longer stay with her mother, who lived on Velyka Mors'ka Street no. 9, since the whole area was aware that she had two children from her Jewish husband Aron. Valentina moved to Glazenapivskaya Street no. 28 (today Dekabrysty Street), and went into hiding there with her children. From January 1942, she lived together with Mykola Avramenko. Up until May 1942, he was employed in the Criminal Police and was subsequently arrested for accepting a bribe. On November 19, 1943, Valentina Kasurova was arrested; her children were seized and shot. She was then imprisoned in the SD Central Prison until March 1944. Subsequently she was sent on to a concentration camp in New Brandenburg in the Reich. There she worked on the construction site of an air plant until 1945<sup>119</sup>. The present author learned that in March–April 1943, there were over 30 men imprisoned in the same hall of this SD Central Prison. Most of them were detained because their wives were Jewish. Among them was Vasyl Navalenko. While he and others were in prison, their wives and children were shot. After their families had been exterminated, the men were sent home<sup>120</sup>.

Another case may be indicative of the atmosphere of terror and allegations against the Jewish population. At the end of 1942–early 1943, a Jewish girl ca. 22–23 years old came to the Mykolaiv SD Directorate. The veins in her arms had been slashed. She reported that she had been in hiding from the shootings for a long time, but had no more strength, no possibility to continue hiding, so she had slashed her arms and decided to present herself to the SD. The girl was imprisoned for a few days. When the next execution day arrived, she was shot along with the other prisoners beneath the Inhulsky Bridge<sup>121</sup>.

In addition, the Romani population was slated for total extermination. While examining the interrogation protocol of the SD translator/interpreter Ivan Bergardt (he was present on the site of the executions), the present author succeeded in finding out at least some details of one mass shooting of the Romani. In the autumn of 1942, almost 100 Roma (children,

<sup>119</sup> SAMO, F. R. 5859, inv. 1, file 9319, sh. 2–3.

<sup>120</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 6, sh. 287.

<sup>121</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 22–23.

women, the elderly) were held in detention in the SD Central Prison (Lagerne Pole Street no. 5) in the building on the left of the central prison gate. In the prison yard, the Romani prisoners were then placed on three trucks and transported to near the wall of the concentration camp “Stalag 364”. The execution of these people was led by the head of Division IV-A SS-Oberscharführer Karl Lange. During the shooting, present at the site were SS-Sturmscharführer Alfred Ropper and no less than 50 German police officers. All the Romani were executed down in the pit, which had been prepared in advance for this purpose one by one, with single shots to the back of the head. Children were killed together with their mothers. Among the victims was a middle-aged pregnant woman. She was placed with her head face down, shot in the back of her head, and then turned over and shot in the abdomen. Among the Romani women was a girl about the age of 18, who didn't look like a Romani. SD translator/interpreter Ivan Bergardt asked Karl Lange: “Why should we shoot this girl? She doesn't look like a Gypsy?” Lange replied: “She's a Gypsy! Even if she's not, she'll still be shot, since she was living together with the Gypsies”. These people were shot by the SD drivers Willie Wilhelm and Scharführer Nolte<sup>122</sup> (presumably Karl Nolte).

#### Hiding traces of the Security Police and SD crimes

In December 1943, a *Sonderkommando* special operations squad was established in the Security Police and SD. It operated until March 1944 and consisted of an officer, two or three SS soldiers, and about fifteen SD guards. It dealt with concealing traces of previously committed crimes of the Security Police and SD in the territory of the General District Mykolaiv, as well as with mass executions of arrested citizens, who at that time were detained in the SD Prison<sup>123</sup>. In addition, individual members of the team transported some prisoners from the SD Central Prison in a convoy to concentration camps in Germany<sup>124</sup>.

All arrested suffering from typhoid fever and venereal diseases were shot behind the SD Prison in anti-tank ditch without any consideration for medical treatment. Traces of the crime were obliterated: on the mass shootings sites, five prisoners from SD Prison were ordered to exhume the corpses. When extracted, body remains were drenched with waste diesel and ignited. Schutzman stood surrounding the site where the bodies were burning at a distance of 200 meters so as to prevent any casual witnesses to the operation.

<sup>122</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 230–233.

<sup>123</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 172–175.

<sup>124</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, h. IV, sh. 49.



Such removal of tell-tale traces of crimes was conducted in the old Jewish cemetery in Mykolaiv in December 1943. In January 1944, the same was done in Pervomaisk, Voznesensk, and other districts<sup>125</sup>. For example, one of the participants in this special squad, Ivan Staudinger, testified that on December 26–27, 1943, the whole staff of the *Sonderkommando* was involved in the obliteration of traces of mass shootings at the Jewish cemetery. Ten Soviet citizens (SD prisoners), who dug up corpses and burned them with the flammable mixture, were brought in to carry out the dirty work. The excavated pit was about 10 meters long and contained no less than 400 corpses. After this operation was completed, the head of the *Sonderkommando* ordered Miller and Meyer to shoot these prisoners<sup>126</sup>.

The *Sonderkommando* was led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Leser (from Germany). The personnel of this squad was constituted as follows:

1. SS-Rottenführer Miller – Deputy Head of the Sondertkommando (from Germany);
2. SS-Sturmbannführer<sup>127</sup> Meyer – the second Deputy Head of the Sonderkommando (from Germany);
3. Michel Seifert – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, a native of Landau village, Mykolaiv region);
4. Petro Britner – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, a native of the Varvarivsky district of Mykolaiv region);
5. Anton Fleck – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, a resident of Mykolaiv);
6. Joseph Dinus – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, a native of Sulz village of Varvarivsky district, Mykolaiv region);
7. Joseph Mecler – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in the Shenfeld village of Varvarivsky district, Mykolaiv region);
8. Oleksander Gintsman – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in Mykolaiv);
9. Nikodym Schwab – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in Mykolaiv);
10. Kari – enlisted soldier (full name unknown, Volksdeutscher, resident in Petrivka village of Varvarivsky District, Mykolaiv region);
11. Kari – enlisted soldier (full name unknown, Volksdeutscher, resident in Karifuter village of Varvarivsky District, Mykolaiv region);
12. Bashtyan (Pachan) Weber – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in Mykolaiv);

<sup>125</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 172–175.

<sup>126</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, h. IV, sh. 49–50.

<sup>127</sup> Written this way in the document. Perhaps correct: SS-Sturmführer.

13. Leopold Weber – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in Mykolaiv);

14. Opfau (Hopfau) – enlisted soldier (full name unknown, Volksdeutscher, resident in Mykolaiv);

15. Anton – enlisted soldier (full name unknown, Volksdeutscher, resident in Petrivka village of Varvarivsky District, Mykolaiv region);

16. Ivan Staudinger – enlisted soldier (Volksdeutscher, resident in Sulz village of Varvarivsky District, Mykolaiv region)<sup>128</sup>.

### **Security Police and SD Staff evacuation and the postwar fate of some criminals**

All employees of the Security Police and SD were evacuated from Mykolaiv to Odessa on March 22, 1944<sup>129</sup>. They remained there for about a week, located in one of the dachas in the Arcadia area<sup>130</sup>. For their participation in combat against the Soviet Army, 15–20 employees were awarded the Iron Cross 2nd class before their evacuation from Odessa.

From Odessa, Mykolaiv SD personnel were transported by car to Galați (Romania), where no operations were carried out, and later the staff was almost completely dismissed from service<sup>131</sup>. In Galați, a part of the personnel was located in a two-story building formerly belonging to a Romanian landlord. There were trucks parked with belongings, drivers of these trucks, officers, and chiefs of the Security Police and SD. Interpreters and other staff were located in another building across the street. They stayed no more than two months in the city.

From there, all staff went to Budapest (Hungary). The SD chiefs had arrived on ahead. When the column approached the place selected for an overnight stay, the SD officers were already there. Other SD staff arrived as well. Thus, they did not come in a single column but rather in groups, and each group moved independently to the previously stipulated place to spend the night. Passenger vehicles transporting the SD chiefs were driven by Mykola Syvolob, Mykola Baranovsky, Myaskov, Shapovalov, and others. It is known that during their stay in Hungary, former members of the Mykolaiv Security Police and SD took part in defending pro-German interests during the military coup of Miklós Horthy in July–August 1944, and also contributed to the coming to power in Hungary of a new supporter of Hitler<sup>132</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 11, inv. 1, file 1043, vol. 1, h. IV, sh. 47–49.

<sup>129</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 135.

<sup>130</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 77 reverse.

<sup>131</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 196.

<sup>132</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 77–79.

Departing Budapest, the officers of the Mykolaiv Security Police Department and SD moved to Brno (Czechoslovakia)<sup>133</sup>. The fate of the other SD members took a different turn. The present author established that some of the staff workers, including the former interpreter/translator Ivan Berngardt, were formed into a unit and transferred in December 1944 to the intelligence section of the Division Totenkopf. In early 1945, the reformed unit was immediately sent to the front lines – the left bank of the Danube River, next to Tulln in Austria. On May 10, 1945, this unit was captured by the Americans and was later transferred to the Soviet Zone of Occupation<sup>134</sup>.

The Security Police and SD interpreter/translator Evgeny Hopfauf served in Odessa, Lviv, and Krakow after the evacuation from Mykolaiv. Subsequently, he was sent to Verona in Italy and was at the disposal of the SS Chief and police of the city, where his comrades in the office of Seifert and Meyer were together with him. Evgeny Hopfauf was appointed to work in the camp of Italian prisoners. It was located on the outskirts of Bolzano (northern Italy). In this camp, E. Hopfauf served as a guard until April 1945. The head of the camp in Bolzano was the German SS-Untersturmführer Tito<sup>135</sup>.

The Mykolaiv SD driver Mykola Baranovsky served in Budapest under the Wehrmacht Oberleutnant Walter Schmidt, and under his leadership transported by truck a variety of food and other supplies to the echelons moving from Hungary to Germany. Together with Schmidt, he arrived in Austria. In March 1945, many Wehrmacht servicemen in civilian clothing deserted. Mykola Baranovsky did the same. He disguised himself dressed as a farmer and went on to Salzburg, the Zone of American Occupation. There he was in a camp for displaced persons, together with Russians, Ukrainians, ethnic Germans, i.e. individuals who for some reason did not want to return to the USSR. Perhaps Mykola Baranovsky would have escaped punishment, but around 1948 he fell into the hands of the Soviet military command. That occurred while he and his friend Eric Sadler were traveling from Salzburg to Linz. They had assisted in transporting some goods to Salzburg for two speculators, in order to make some cash. In a bar where they celebrated the deal, Mykola Baranovsky drank so much that he did not even remember how he had gotten to the Soviet Zone of Occupation. He was awoken by a captain of the Soviet Army<sup>136</sup>.

The First Chief of Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner, was executed on the gallows on January 17, 1946, in the same Bazarna Square (at the corner of Soborna Street and Central Ave.) in Mykolaiv where in January and March 1942 he had supervised the execution of civilians and local underground fighters. Along with him also sentenced to death by hanging were other criminals: the military commandant of Mykolaiv, Lt.-General G. Winkler (executed), head of the Gendarmerie of the General District Mykolaiv, Major M. Büttner (executed), head of the Gendarmerie of Kherson, Cpt. F. Kantsler (20 years imprisonment), chief of the Gendarmerie of Berezhneuvatsky district, Mykolaiv region, Major R. Michel (executed), head of the Security Police of Mykolaiv, Major F. Vitzleb (executed), Captain G. Smalje (deputy of F. Vitzleb, executed), Sergeant of the Field Gendarmerie R. Berg (executed), Lance Corporal of the 783 Guard Battalion, I. Khapp (executed)<sup>137</sup>.

Thus, with the help of recently discovered materials from the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine's office, it became possible for the first time to study the staff and structure of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, and its active role in mass terror against the local population in the period from November 2, 1941 to March 22, 1944.

The present author was able to discover several new surnames of the employees of the *Einsatzkommando 5*, who, before their arrival to Mykolaiv, were present together with SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner at the site of the mass destruction of the Jewish population at Babyn Yar on 29–30 September 1941. Later on in early October 1941, some representatives of this unit under the leadership of H. Zandner were directly involved in mass executions of Jews and prisoners of war there.

The analysis of the ethnic composition of the Administration of Security Police and SD shows that the majority of its staff members were Germans from the Reich, as well as *Volksdeutsche* (local ethnic Germans). All leadership positions were occupied solely by Germans stemming from the Reich, and *Volksdeutsche* were used as translator/interpreters (investigator's assistants), SD guards, drivers, SD prison guards, etc. Only Division V of the Security Police and SD (Cripo) had a staff of investigators, consisting of Ukrainians and Russians. Persons from the local Ukrainian and Russian populations were also used as regular rank constable officers, drivers, prison guards, and in the SD concentration camp for civilians, drivers, non-staff secret agents, etc.

<sup>137</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13262, sh. 1–2, 267–268.

<sup>133</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 80.

<sup>134</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 3, sh. 196–197.

<sup>135</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 412–413.

<sup>136</sup> SAP SSU in Mykolaiv region, coll. 5, inv. 1, file 13204, vol. 2, sh. 79–80.



Questioning the witness E. Barg (initials in Russian), a wife of the well-known doctor Z. Barg, who was shot among the group of 20 doctors and 22 members of their families in early April 1942 by order and in the presence of H. Zandner. A trial concerning war crimes of the Nazi invaders on the territory of Mykolaiv region was conducted in Mykolaiv, January 1946<sup>138</sup>.

Large-scale terror would have been impossible without the creation of an extensive agent network, into which members of the civilian population (*Volksdeutsche*, Ukrainians, Russians), former Soviet POWs, and traitors from the ranks of the local underground were recruited. The motivations underlying the cooperation of the local population with the Security Police and SD varied. Some actively cooperated willingly due to their political views (for example, those who had suffered repression during the Soviet period, and local ethnic Germans, who automatically received a special status). Others served to avoid deportation to Germany, due to their desire to survive or to further their career during the conflict. A portion of the population was forced into cooperating by means of threats, blackmail, etc.

The main victims of terror in the region researched were the Jewish and Romani population, members of the Soviet and nationalist underground, Communist Party members, the mentally ill, and some Soviet prisoners of war, as well as ordinary residents who had violated the “New Order” for one reason or another.



Questioning of the former Chief of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv, SS-Obersturmführer Hans Zandner. A criminal trial of Nazi invaders in the Mykolaiv region, Mykolaiv, January 1946<sup>139</sup>.

The main aspects of terror were arrests, torture, mass shootings, demonstrative executions on the gallows, detaining prisoners with different periods of incarceration in the SD Central Prison, in the concentration camp “*Vodokachka*” of the Security Police and SD for the civilian population, as well as deportations of prisoners to concentration camps in Germany for further sentencing, in particular Buchenwald and Ravensbrück. The author managed to establish the place and procedure of execution of some ethnic groups, and to determine the names of the direct participants in the crimes mentioned.

Photographs and archival materials now accessible to researchers provide a broader picture of the magnitude of the crimes perpetrated by specific Nazi units in Ukraine, and can help to promote and galvanize further research on topics of the Holocaust, the local underground and partisan movement, and the deportation of the population into slave labor in Germany’s concentration camps.

<sup>138</sup> SAMO, photo documents, inv. 1, od. jol. no. 20346.

<sup>139</sup> SAMO, photo documents, inv. 1, od. jol. no. 20348.



Executed Nazi war criminals, Mykolaiv, January 17, 1946<sup>140</sup>.



Executed Nazi war criminals, Mykolaiv, January 17, 1946<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> SAMO, photo documents, inv. 1, od. jol. no. 6509.

<sup>141</sup> SAMO, photo documents, inv. 1, od. jol. no. 6512.

It is notable that the buildings of the former headquarters of the Security Police and SD of the General District Mykolaiv are still not part of the urban memorial space in the city, even though this area was a place of trauma, death or the last point before execution for most participants of local Resistance movements, of indigenous people and persons from ethnic minorities. The walls of these buildings, photos of which have been included in this article, do not display any commemorative signboard or marker to remind citizens and visitors of the tragic events of suffering and tribulation during w'ar, the terrible past of our land.

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**Olena Korzun**

## GERMAN AND UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR BASED ON THE MEMOIRS OF PROFESSOR HEINRICH WALTER, GERMAN BOTANIST (1898–1989)

*The article – based on the “Confessions of an Environmentalist”, a memoir by Heinrich Walter (1898–1989), a world-famous biologist, specialist in the field of phytogeography – analyzes the perception by the German scholar of Ukrainian scientific life in the areas occupied during the Second World War by German forces and his relations with Ukrainian colleagues.*

*The life journey of Heinrich Walter is closely related to Ukrainian lands – he was born there, spent the first 20 years of his life in Ukraine, and later returned during the Second World War. The memoir mentioned is widely used by the international community of scientists as a source for studying the history of science. However, his views on evaluating the events of social and scientific life during the Second World War, and relationships with Ukrainian scientists living in the occupied lands have to date received little scientific/scholarly attention.*

*After the onset of the German military expansion, changes occurred in the agenda of German agrarian science and agricultural research. The war enabled the usurpation, i.e. takeover of all agrarian scientific institutions and seed stations as well as the results of their research work in the Eastern occupied territories. Consequentially, the studies and the incorporation of genetic resources along with the scientific potential of the occupied territories into German research work were enlisted to serve the “agricultural autarchy” (“Nahrungsfreiheit”) of the German people and were deemed vital for the war effort.*

*In 1942–1943, the Ukrainian lands became a sort of a scientific experimental laboratory or platform for many German researchers. According to Walter, the military period was perceived as a complex of opportunities for the professional development of German scientists – including the advancements in utilization of the new territories, acquaintance with other research schools and scholars, and the scientific contributions to the efficiency of agricultural utilization of the occupied lands. On the other hand, it was an opportunity to demonstrate to the German state the value of their professional service through practical use of scientific knowledge gained in their professional fields, as experts on the local natural conditions encountered in the occupied lands, their knowledge of Russian, etc. Despite a gap of more than 40 years between the publishing of the Walter memoir in 1980 and the times depicted in them, the author continued to show his sympathy for Nazi policies on a range of multiple matters.*

The life of the Ukrainian scientific community as depicted by the author illustrates that under the occupation, Ukrainian scholars employed various different survival strategies. Work at research institutions established by the occupation authorities allowed them to improve living conditions and continue research activities, and permitted them to preserve the scientific collections on hand in the midst of military conflict. The war conditions constantly served to stimulate changes based on the principle of the binary criterion “friend/foe” in the perception of Others, despite the extensive propaganda and stereotypes imposed. However, the colonial nature of the occupation policy succeeded in creating an illusion of the purported “freedom of scientific thought”, and integration of the Ukrainian scientific community into the architecture of the German scientific field. The scientific potential of Ukrainian lands was used by German occupation authorities only to maximize the utilization of the occupied territory in all its dimensions.

**Keywords:** the Second World War, Ukraine, agricultural science, agricultural research, occupation, cartographic expedition, Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany, H. Walter, H. Makhov, Yu. Kleopov.

*Das Laboratorium des Ökologen ist Gottes Natur und sein  
Arbeitsfeld—die ganze Welt (The ecologist’s laboratory is  
God’s nature and the whole earth is his field) — Heinrich Walter<sup>1</sup>*

The Second World War, as an international conflict on an epic scale, left wounds (often today still not yet healed) in the fates of the entire nations and countries, and was a ground-breaking stage in the life of those who survived it. As the points of view on the same facts in the eyes of the winner and the one who lost differ in such a confrontation, for each of the participants of these events there were certain reference points and lenses through which particular events were perceived. While working on the reconstruction of the history of scientific provisioning of the agrarian sector in the territory of Ukrainian lands in the Second World War, the memoirs by the world-renowned biologist Heinrich Walter, leading expert in the field of phytogeography were examined<sup>2</sup>. They were written by the author and published in the 1980s (6<sup>th</sup> ed. 1989), titled *Confession of an Environmentalist*:

<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Vegetation of the Earth and Ecological Systems of the Geo-Biosphere*, translated by Joy Wieser. 2nd ed. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1979), Introduction, XIV, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://tinyurl.com/quohw79>.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Walter (1898–1989) – botanist, ecologist. His scientific works are dedicated principally to geo-ecological description and zoning of main plant biomes globally (“ecological systems of the geobiosphere”). Head of the Department of Botany at the Institute of Technology Stuttgart (1932–1941), he worked in the Occupied Territories (1941–1943), was a department head at the Agricultural University of Stuttgart-Hohenheim (1947–1966), and Professor of Botany at the University of Ankara (1951–1955). Creator of the internationally recognized method of the “climate diagram”, he is the author of more than 30 monographs and 160 scientific articles; a number also appeared in English.

*The Experiences of Eight Decades and Research Trips to All Continents, with Conclusions*<sup>3</sup>. In this memoir, the famous scientist narrates his life story replete with impressions and life experiences since his youth: his narrative deals with his education, research and teaching in Germany before and after the Second World War, his meetings with many prominent scientists, as well as his participation in numerous expeditions across all continents. An extraordinary role in the formation of Professor Walter as a scientist was his experience in the Ukrainian lands – where he was born (Odessa), spent the first 20 years of his life, and subsequently returned during the Second World War. The scientist devoted two chapters (5 and 6) of his memoirs to the description of personal tragedies against the backdrop of global transformational processes during the military confrontation on a planetary scale. These materials are of great scientific value for the reconstruction of events of the Second World War, reproducing in detail the social situation in Germany through the prism of the scientist’s perception of military events and the realities within the German armed forces.

The present article analyzes Walter’s perception of scientific life in the occupied Ukrainian lands and relations with Soviet colleagues. This will aid in achieving a better understanding of the motives for the cooperation of scholars from both opposing countries, the impact of the political situation and events within the scientific environment, the tasks that scientists grappled with under the conditions of the Second World War, and their methods of implementation.

The first mention in national scientific discourse of Heinrich Walter as a participant in scientific life in the Ukrainian lands during the Second World War is by Dr. D. M. Dobrochaieva<sup>4</sup>. Tracing the life and career of the professor and botanist, academician Yu. D. Kleopov<sup>5</sup> notes, in “rehabilitating” his name, that during the German occupation of the Second World War, Dr. Walter was for a certain time a curator (as a German scientist) of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany, which was

<sup>3</sup> See: Heinrich Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen: Erlebtes in acht Jahrzehnten und auf Forschungsreisen in allen Erdteilen mit Schlussfolgerungen*, in Г. Вальтер, Ю. Клеопов і Г. Махов – забуті сторінки вітчизняної науки, comp. Віктор Вергунов and Віктор Мельник (Сімферополь: Таврида, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> Dobrochaieva Daria Mykytivna (1916–1995) – Doctor of Biological Sciences, Professor, specialty: systematics of flora, founder of the Botanic Museum of the Institute of Botany named after M. G. Kholodny NAS of Ukraine, holder of the State Prize of the USSR, honored figure of science in the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>5</sup> Kleopov Yurii Dmytrovych (1902–1943) – Candidate in Biological Sciences, Professor, specialty: geobotany, floral specialist, florogenetics, the founder of Geo-Botany Department of the USSR Institute of Botany, Director of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany Reichscommissariat “Ukraine” (1942–1943).

headed by Yu. D. Kleopov<sup>6</sup>. In addition, Heinrich Walter published effusive positive reviews of the unpublished work of Ukrainian scientists, materials which he utilized and widely quoted from in writing up his research studies focused on the botanical world of Eastern Europe and Asia<sup>7</sup>. The data about the post-war contacts of Heinrich Walter with Ukrainian scientists who left the country along with the retreating German troops was unique as well<sup>8</sup>.

Special attention has been paid to Prof. Walter's relations with Ukraine by I. Melnyk<sup>9</sup>, who emphasized the significant contribution of the German scientist in the study of botanical coverage of the Ukrainian lands. Apart from noting the German scientist's location during the Second World War, Melnyk comments that Dr. Walter introduces the Western scientific community to the achievements of Ukrainian scientists in the post-war era in his publications, scientific colleagues with whom he collaborated during the Second World War. Concurrently, he quotes Dr. Walter, mentioning that he was among those German scientists who for a long time were "blacklisted" by Soviet science<sup>10</sup>. The controversial figure of Heinrich Walter in the history of Ukrainian national science and the uniqueness of the information submitted on Ukrainian scientific life during the 1941–1944 German occupation stimulated V. I. Melnyk to translate Walter's "war" memoir chapters into Ukrainian, published in the collective volume dedicated to H. Walter, Yu. D. Kleopov and H. H. Makhov, whose fates were closely intertwined during the Second World War<sup>11</sup>. This same volume contains an article by V. Vergunov<sup>12</sup>, who mentions Heinrich Walter in the context of H. H. Makhov's<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Дарія Доброчаєва, "У пошуках карти Ю. Д. Клеопова «Флористическое районирование Евросибири»", *Український ботанічний журнал*, issue no. 6 (48) (1991): 124–128.

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Die Vegetation Osteuropas, Nord- und Zentralasiens* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1974).

<sup>8</sup> Дарія Доброчаєва, "Нове у науковій спадщині Юрія Дмитровича Клеопова (1902–1943)", *Український ботанічний журнал*, issue no. 2 (52) (1995): 288–305.

<sup>9</sup> Melnyk Viktor Ivanovych (born in 1956) – Doctor of Biological Sciences, Professor, Head of the Department of Natural Flora in the National Botanical Garden named after Mykola Gryshko of NAS of Ukraine.

<sup>10</sup> Віктор Мельник, "Генріх Вальтер і Україна", *Інтродукція рослин*, issue nos. 3–4 (2002): 161–167.

<sup>11</sup> Walter, "Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen", 20–90. His memoir has not appeared in English translation.

<sup>12</sup> Vergunov Viktor Anatoliyovych (born in 1960) – Doctor of Agricultural Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, academician of NAAN in Ukraine, Professor, Director of the National Scientific Agricultural Library of Ukraine.

<sup>13</sup> Makhov Hryhoriy Hryhorovych (1886–1952) – Doctor of Agricultural Sciences, Professor, soil expert. He was a leading scientist in research work in the field of soil science in Ukraine in the 1920s–1930s. In 1923 he headed the Institute of Experimental Soil Science at the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine; in 1924 served as an Acting Head of the Department of Soil Science of the Kharkiv Institute of Agriculture and Forestry named after H. Rakovsky; From 1922 on he was a member of the geological section of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; in 1924–1927 he was a member of the Presidium

life and creative path, their joint participation in the soil study expedition conducted to confirm H. H. Makhov's mapping of the soils of Ukraine developed during Soviet times. This publication provides data on H. Walter's 1943 edition of the monograph on the flora of Crimea and its agricultural development, researched and written by the scientist on orders from the German occupation government in Ukraine. The monograph is currently stored in the library of Nikitsky Botanical Garden<sup>14</sup>. However, researchers in their publications only cite factual material as included by Prof. Walter in his memoirs, not commenting on his assessment of the events in social and scientific life in Ukrainian society during the Second World War. The grant provided by the German-Ukrainian Commission of Historians has allowed the present author the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the original publication of H. Walter's memoirs and publications of German historians of science. In particular, S. Heim<sup>15</sup> and W. Oberkrom<sup>16</sup> refer only to Walter's memoirs as a statement on the active work of German scientists in the Occupied Eastern lands. All this points up and encourages the need for a detailed analysis of this historical source to understand the situation in scientific society in the territory of Ukrainian lands, relations with Ukrainian experts through the lens of the German scientists' perception of realities on the ground during the Second World War.

To better grasp the underlying motives of Heinrich Walter's active work during the Second World War in the Occupied Eastern Territories, it is important to mention that he was born in Odessa during the period of the Russian Empire, into the family of a doctor of German descent.

of the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine; in 1927 he created the first detailed map of Ukrainian soils on a new genetic basis. In 1930 he was subjected to persecution by the Soviet regime: in 1929 he had been placed under a ban and prohibited to teach in higher educational institutions; from 1932 there was a prohibition on using his scientific works. In 1941–1943, Dr. Makhov headed the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Soil Studies, Plant Nutrition and Ariculture of the Reichcommissariat "Ukraine". In 1943–1945 he departed together with German troops to Poznan (Posen in that time), where he worked at Posen University. From 1945 on he relocated to Germany, and became a Professor, head of the Department of Soil Science at the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (Regensburg, West Germany). In 1949 he moved to the United States. In 1950 he initiated the creation of an institute for the study of geographical problems in Ukraine and the U.S. and in 1951 at the institute the first full classification of the U.S. soils was proposed.

<sup>14</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Die Krim: Klima, Vegetation und landwirtschaftliche Erschließung* (Berlin: C. V. Engelhard, 1943).

<sup>15</sup> Susanne Heim, *Kalorien, Kautschuk, Karrieren: Pflanzenzüchtung und landwirtschaftliche Forschung in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten 1933–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Willi Oberkrome, *Ordnung und Autarkie: die Geschichte der deutschen Landbauforschung, Agrarökonomie und ländlichen Sozialwissenschaft im Spiegel von Forschungsdienst und DFG (1920–1970)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009).

The family's favorable economic situation allowed for extensive travel both around the country and across the world. In Odessa, Heinrich Walter had his first experiences with studies related to flora when he graduated from the local secondary school and then enrolled in Odessa University. The First World War interrupted his studies. He was mobilized and sent to the Junkers School, where he became an officer in the Artillery Corps. However, his military service was never meant to continue. During the German occupation of the Ukrainian lands in 1918, his knowledge of German and his family background made it possible for him to work as a translator/interpreter, and subsequently as an arbitration judge in the Volyn region, which required frequent travel around these territories. As a future scientist, he used these opportunities to accumulate knowledge about Ukrainian fauna and to extend his herbarium. The subsequent events that erupted in Ukrainian history forced him to leave these lands and move to the city of Dorpat<sup>17</sup>. There he received a degree at Dorpat University (from 1919 University of Tartu), an institution where instruction was long in German. Subsequently, he majored in botany at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, Germany, earning a doctoral degree in the Biological Sciences. At this point, his scientific research preference was oriented to the flora of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. In particular, his first public lecture as an Associate Professor of the Department of Botany at the University of Heidelberg centered on this region. The result of his teaching and research at Heidelberg University was the writing of a textbook on the botanical geography of Germany<sup>18</sup>. Positive reviews by Soviet scholars opened the door to use of basic sections of this work for the development of a joint Soviet-German textbook, released<sup>19</sup> in Russian and co-authored by V. V. Alyokhin<sup>20</sup>. Along with that, the scientist achieved recognition at that juncture by American colleagues and was granted a Rockefeller Fellowship and two-year internship in ecology at laboratories in Tucson, Arizona and Lincoln, Nebraska in the U. S. Based on the results of this visit, he formed his theory about "plant hydration"<sup>21</sup>. Acknowledged among his German colleagues, in 1934

<sup>17</sup> Dorpat, Dörpt, nowadays the city of Tartu, Estonia.

<sup>18</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Einführung in die allgemeine Pflanzengeographie Deutschlands* (Jena: Verlag Gustav Fischer, 1927).

<sup>19</sup> Генрих Вальтер and Василий Алехин, *Основы ботанической географии* (Москва–Ленинград: Биомедгиз, 1936).

<sup>20</sup> Alyokhin Vasyly Vasylovych (1882–1946) – Doctor of Biological Sciences, Professor of Geobotany, floral specialist on vegetation of steppe. He was the founder of Moscow Geobotany School, the organizer and chair of the Geobotany Department of the Moscow State University (1932–1946).

<sup>21</sup> In 1931, H. Walter suggested an objective indicator of saturation of plants with water hydration (similar to "temperature" – the water balance of plants). It involved the ratio of water vapor elasticity

and 1937 he carried out two scientific expeditions to the African continent to study the vegetation of Southwest Africa for the needs of rural agriculture in Germany.

It should be noted that in National Socialist Germany, agricultural research was one of the top priorities. One can confidently say that this direction was deemed to be of strategic importance. Indeed, when the National Socialists came to power in Germany in 1933, the society in general remained under the shadow of food crises and failures during the First World War, when there was a sharp decline in food production and widespread hunger. This was considered one of the main reasons for Germany's defeat in the war. National Socialists were much focused on the analysis of this collapse in food supply during the war so that German agriculture would be better prepared for any future military confrontation. The idea was not only to increase productivity in agriculture but to develop ways for maximum self-sufficiency in agricultural products so as to minimize the dependence on imports, a so-called policy of agricultural autarky, termed "*Nahrungsfreiheit*". Biological and botanical research was also assigned more pragmatic tasks, especially against the background of breeding and genetics research, which had virtually exploded with new discoveries in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the presentation by M. Vavilov dealing with his theories on "genetic centers" or "centers of origin of cultivated plants" at the International Congress of Genetics in 1927 in Berlin, which defined the regions where the wild forms of plants had considerable diversity, it became a matter of national scientific prestige to arrange expeditions to collect wild species of grain, beans, etc. After all, using genetic profiles of these plants with better characteristics of pest resistance can be applied in hybridization to achieve significant gains in the breeding of agricultural plants.

From that juncture the scientific competition began between the Soviet Union and Germany. Botanical expeditions by German scientists were launched by Professor Erwin Baur<sup>22</sup>, the Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Breeding Research Institute in Müncheberg, who organized expeditions to Turkey (1926), Spain (1928), South America (1931) and even a short-term visit to the Soviet Union (1929)<sup>23</sup>. In 1934, a series of extended expeditions

above the surface of a particular body to water vapor elasticity over clean water. This ratio is expressed by the percentage of the last value and represents the relative air humidity, in which the plant does not release water to the surrounding area and does not absorb water from it.

<sup>22</sup> Erwin Baur (1875–1933) – doctor, botanist, geneticist. 1917 – Chairman of the Berlin Racial Hygiene Society. The initiator and first director (1928–1933) of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Breeding Research, Müncheberg (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Züchtungsforschung, Müncheberg).

<sup>23</sup> Susanne Heim, *Research for Autarky: The Contribution of Scientists to Nazi Rule in Germany* (Berlin: Präsidentenkomm, 2001), 13.



was initiated to the mountain ranges of India, Turkey, Tibet. Major expeditions to Tibet were funded by the SS “Ancestral Heritage” Foundation (*SS-Stiftung “Ahnenerbe”*), with the personal support of H. Himmler under the guidance of Ernst Schaeffer in 1938–1939. These expeditions allowed them to collect more than 5,000 specimens of plants. In addition, participants gathered information about the population, traditions, customs, and even conducted physical body measurements on people<sup>24</sup> during these botanical expeditions. With the outbreak of war in September 1939, and especially after the invasion of the Soviet Union, new opportunities opened up for scientists to go on botanical expeditions and study tours to previously inaccessible regions<sup>25</sup>.

At the beginning of the Second World War, Heinrich Walter was head of the Department of Botany at the Institute of Technology in Stuttgart. He was not mobilized for Wehrmacht service because he did not have a German military education. During the first two years of the war, he continued his teaching, along with developing a study based on the material collected in Africa. This work was about to be published in the series “German Research Activities in Colonies and Abroad”<sup>26</sup>. African territories were included in Germany’s strategic plans; consequently, the development of its field for agricultural purposes was extremely relevant for the National Socialists. Konrad Meyer<sup>27</sup>, the Editor-in-Chief of the series, coordinated all agricultural research in the Third Reich. In his memoirs, Walter recalls how he was offered the position of Director of the Institute of Agricultural Botany in Berlin. Dr. Walter indicates that “by chance”, through a recommendation submitted by K. Meyer, he received a General Franz Ritter von Epp Medal for his merits in the colonies and was enlisted in the Nazi Party’s candidates. In his marginal notes, Dr. Walter even allowed himself to express his warm feeling for Konrad Meyer, noting that after Meyer’s release in 1948 from the RuSHA trial in Nuremberg against the SS racial policies, Walter often visited him, because he admired Meyer’s projects in the development

<sup>24</sup> Heim, *Research for Autarky*, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Heim, *Research for Autarky*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Die Farmwirtschaft in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Verlag Paul Parey, 1940–1941).

<sup>27</sup> Konrad Meyer-Hetling was Professor of Agronomy at Berlin University, and an SS-Oberführer. In 1935, he initiated the establishment of a “Research Service” that was designed to coordinate all agricultural research. He became a key figure in the organizing of scientific projects and head of the Project Bureau in the development of the “Generalplan Ost” (Master Plan East), and is regarded as its author. The Master Plan East projected the resettlement of some five million Germans to the territory of annexed Poland and into the lands of the Soviet Union, where millions of Slavic and Jewish inhabitants were to be enslaved, evicted or destroyed.

of agronomy reform. According to the context of the memoir, it becomes clear that without his membership in the NSDAP party and the support of certain officials, H. Walter’s scientific career would not have been possible<sup>28</sup>.

With the beginning of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, H. Walter offered to be an interpreter; after all, according to his beliefs, he had to make every effort to defeat communism, and the Wehrmacht needed personnel with a knowledge of the Russian language and local conditions<sup>29</sup>. In his memoir, Heinrich Walter recalled his army routine as a constant harsh drill, filled with violence by the leadership echelon towards their subordinates. He concluded that in the army, obedience, an ability to be subdued, and silence were the only way for a person to survive there. The desire to escape from this psychological and physical pressure stimulated him to try various options to demonstrate his knowledge and skills. In particular, he initiated work on a series of short reviews of the vegetation of the occupied lands: the European part of Russia, Crimea, and North Caucasus. In any case, as he noted, the German soldier had to orient in the locale to which he was dispatched by his Führer<sup>30</sup>.

At the same time, he received a proposal to head the Department of the General Botany of Posen University, which was supposed to become a “window to the East”. The scientist was absorbed and excited by the scientific perspectives for his research and development that had opened up in the Botanical Garden of Posen University. However, he notes annoyed that the general conditions in Posen were upsetting for him, “there was especially a brutal, humiliating attitude toward colleagues. This is not the way to treat the defeated enemy, even if Posen was once a German city”. “I thought,” he continued, “that after the war, all this would change”<sup>31</sup>. However, it was a major chance for advancing his career because according to the information he acquired, the Institute in Stuttgart had to be closed, and the University of Posen was going to become a center for scientific research dealing with the Eastern European territories.

Overall, after the beginning of German military expansion, there were changes in the agenda of agricultural research within German agrarian science. The main research directions were in the areas of plant and animal breeding optimization so as to be suitable for the prevailing agrarian conditions in the occupied territories. An example drawn from Heinrich Walter’s

<sup>28</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 22–23.

<sup>29</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 23.

<sup>30</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 24–25.

<sup>31</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 26.

professional activity demonstrates the systematic interest of German scientists in new “unexplored” regions and relevant institutions in the occupied territories. The war enabled the takeover of all agrarian scientific institutions and seed stations in the occupied eastern territories as well as the results of their research work. Consequentially, the studies and the incorporation of genetic resources into German research work, along with the scientific potential of the occupied territories, was geared to augmenting “agricultural autarky” for the German people. The proof of this can be found in Walter’s own words: “Ukraine must provide the German population with food; thus, its agriculture must function extremely efficiently”<sup>32</sup>.

The scientist took the proposal to direct and oversee agricultural science in Ukrainian and later North Caucasian lands as a sort of return “back home”. After all, he this allowed him to make his early childhood dreams of the “Russian-German” doing research on Eastern European territory come true. Moreover, there was an opportunity to become acquainted and work with Soviet scientists, with whom all scientific relations had only recently been terminated. Therefore, he gladly accepted the proposal from Fritz von Wettstein, the Director of the Institute of Biology<sup>33</sup>, to head the body that was to control and service scientific equipment for agricultural research in the occupied Ukrainian lands. It is striking that he perceived the confiscation of Soviet seed collections, documentation, equipment as “activities that would at least facilitate the restoration of something in the face of the destruction caused by the war”<sup>34</sup>. Similar views were expressed by Professor von Wettstein, noting that the valuable genetic material would be destroyed either by war or by Soviet “*Lysenkivshchyna*” (“Lysenkoism”) policy, so that genetic material had to be “rescued”<sup>35</sup>. At that time the city of Rivne, the center of the *Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”*, was gathering “buds” for the German Natural Science<sup>36</sup>. H. Walter described joyful meetings with scientists Dr. Klaus von Rosenstiel<sup>37</sup>, Dr. Wilhelm

<sup>32</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Fritz von Wettstein (1895–1945) – Professor of Botany, from 1934 he was director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biology, Berlin-Dahlem.

<sup>34</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 26.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Flitner, *Sammler, Räuber und Gelehrte: die politischen Interessen an pflanzen genetischen Ressourcen 1895–1995* (Frankfurt/Main; New York: Campus-Verl., 1993), 115. “Lysenkivshchyna” (Lysenkoism) was a political campaign to persecute and slander geneticists, and oppose science-based agriculture, popularly named after T. D. Lysenko.

<sup>36</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> Klaus von Rosenstiel (1905–1973) was a breeder and geneticist. He worked in 1930–1931 with Erwin Baur during a botanical expedition to South America, served as Head of the Department of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Plant Breeding Research, Müncheberg; he was participant in a botanical expedition

Rudolf<sup>38</sup>, and a well-known specialist in the livestock industry, Professor Otto Sommer<sup>39</sup>.

It is important to note that for greater control and organizational adjustment of scientific trips to the Eastern occupied territories, the East Research Center for the Imperial Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories was created<sup>40</sup>. The Agricultural Department of the Center for East Research was headed by K. von Rosenstiel. He supervised the Center of Research of Agriculture and Forestry of *Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”* in Western Ukraine<sup>41</sup>, whose head was O. Sommer. Heinrich Walter was appointed as Senior Advisor to the Center, and at the same time, he was supervisor of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany (Kyiv), created by the occupying authorities and based on scientific resources of the Institute of Biology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR left behind by the Soviets<sup>42</sup>. Thus, Ukrainian lands became a kind of experimental platform for many German scientists, who tried to recreate their ordinary life under the new conditions. “We read a lot, enjoyed our communication during meetings at evening tea. [...] Was this a form of participation in the war?”. Walter asked himself this, realizing that his everyday life could hardly fit in with the usual format of perception of these events, especially if comparing it to the conditions of life of Ukrainian scientists – they were starving, working very hard physically and suffering from the bitter winter cold<sup>43</sup>. Describing the winter of 1941–1942, he noted: “Many of the scientists looked dreadful and were on the verge of the limits of their capacities”<sup>44</sup>. In his memoir, Walter constantly draws attention to the material conditions in which the scientific community under occupation existed, and the attempts by German colleagues to improve it as much as possible, using their administrative abilities.

to India. From 1941 he served as head of the Breeding Department at the Central Service of East Research of the Imperial Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories. From the summer of 1943 he served as the Director of Agricultural Research Institute in Horlivka (Agricultural Academy, Gorky, Molyovsk Region, Belarus).

<sup>38</sup> Wilhelm Rudolf (1891–1969) was a geneticist and expert on breeding. From 1936 he served as a Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Plant Breeding.

<sup>39</sup> Otto Sommer, Professor, expert on the animal breeding, Rector of the University of Göttingen, Director of the Institute of Livestock and the Dairy Industry at the university.

<sup>40</sup> Zentrale für Ostforschung des Reichsministeriums für die besetzten Ostgebiete.

<sup>41</sup> Forschungszentrale für Land- und Forstwirtschaft in West-Ukraine, sometimes mentioned as the Center for Agricultural Research.

<sup>42</sup> In greater detail, see: Олена Корзун, “Крайовий інститут сільськогосподарської ботаніки (1941–1943 рр.): становлення, діяльність, вчені”, *Часопис української історії* 41 (2020): 82–91.

<sup>43</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 31.

<sup>44</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 32.

Repeatedly he helped scholars throughout the entire Institute and Botanical Garden with procurement of food, and also provided special targeted aid, wishing to eliminate the terrible consequences of starvation of scientists and their family members. The author captures the concrete realities of Ukrainian residents, including scientists, in the context of Dr. O. Sommer's initial attempts to establish decent living conditions for his Ukrainian colleagues. This information is confirmed by the archival documentation. In particular, staff employees of research institutions under the supervision of the Center managed by O. Sommer had additional food and industrial supply packages, and were allowed to use some areas in research lands for private farming<sup>45</sup>. They were also provided with documents for public transport use<sup>46</sup>, as well as an opportunity to access medical services<sup>47</sup>.

Dr. Walter describes in detail his work with the scientists of the Institute of Agricultural Botany, which he identifies as an interesting, noble project, at the same time broadening his scientific research outlook. His book *The Vegetation of the European Part of Russia*<sup>48</sup>, required in his view a substantial theoretical and practical complement. Therefore, his work among local scholars and local libraries contributed to this. Relations among the scientific community were defined by him as friendly regardless of the status involved – the occupier or those occupied. He firmly believed it was an exchange of opinions in the dominant atmosphere of pure scientific research. In particular, the Ukrainian director of the Institute, Professor Yu. Kleopov, is described by him as a young and highly talented scholar, who impressed him with his scientific conclusions in the publications that H. Walter had not been able to examine earlier. The German scholar recalled with great gratitude the scientific advice of Ukrainian colleagues on studying the vegetation of the Ukrainian steppe<sup>49</sup>. In the Institute, he cooperated with N. O. Desiatova-Shostenko<sup>50</sup> and often communicated with O. G. Radde-

<sup>45</sup> "Act of the Institute from 20.05.1943", *State Archives of Kyiv Oblast* (hereinafter – SAKO), coll. R-2387, inv. 1, file 21, sh. 2; "The Institute needs seed materials", SAKO, coll. R-2734, inv. 1, file 4, sh. 2.

<sup>46</sup> "Letter to the tram department", SAKO, coll. R-2734, inv. 1, file 1, sh. 25.

<sup>47</sup> "A letter from the Center for Agricultural Research to the Institute", SAKO, coll. R-2734, inv. 1, file 1, sh. 28; inv. 2, sh. 12–14.

<sup>48</sup> Heinrich Walter, *Die Vegetation des europäischen Rußlands unter Berücksichtigung von Klima, Boden und wirtschaftlicher Nutzung* (Berlin: Parey, 1942).

<sup>49</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 38.

<sup>50</sup> Desiatova-Shostenko Natalia Oleksiivna (1887–1969) – a botanist, ecologist, Doctor of Biological Sciences, Professor. From 1936–1941 she served as a senior research associate of the Institute of Botany, USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1942–1943 she served on the staff of the Department

Fomina<sup>51</sup>. He noted: "Many botanists met me with a great sense of joy. They were familiar with my book, translated into Russian in 1936, and especially rejoiced that I speak Russian. Instantaneously, personal contacts were established, and we had extensive discussions about scientific problems"<sup>52</sup>. The same scientific cooperation was developed with specialists of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Soil Studies, Plant Nutrition and Ariculture (shorter name: Institute of Agriculture), where H. H. Makhov was appointed as director. In June 1943, Heinrich Walter managed to take part in the territory mapping expedition, led by Otto Schultz-Kampfenhel<sup>53</sup>. Dr. Walter served as interpreter/translator in this expedition for H. G. Makhov, who did not speak German. However, his personal task was to improve his practical knowledge of the soil. As a result, Walter notes: "I've learned a lot from Makhov. [...] Makhov explained everything to me in detail and it was a good lesson on soil science, which I had rarely been engaged with before"<sup>54</sup>.

On the other hand, cooperation with German researchers allowed Soviet scientists to join the Western scientific community, since relationships with them had been lost in previous years. Evidence of such expectations was the active participation of Ukrainian scientists in the Scientific Session of the Institute of Agricultural Botany (in some documents this event is called "Botanical Congress"), held on June 4–6, 1942. In fact, it was

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of Plant Taxonomy of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany Ukraine. In 1944–1945 she worked at the University of Posen. In 1945 she left, relocating to France.

<sup>51</sup> Radde-Fomina Olga Gustavivna (1876–1963) – a botanist, a scientific employee of the Botanical Museum of the Institute of Botany in the Academy of Science of the USSR, and a scientific staff member of the Ukrainian Regional Institute of Agricultural Botany of the Ukraine district. She departed to Posen in 1943, where she worked at Posen University, and from 1945 lived in Fussen (Germany) with her sister's family. She was the wife of Alexander Vasilyovych Fomin (1867–1935), a biologist and botanist, floral specialist and academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, first Director of the Institute of Botany Academy of Sciences of the USSR. And was the daughter of Gustav Radde, a naturalist, traveler, researcher on the vegetation of the Crimea and the Caucasus (Gustav Ferdinand Richard Johannes von Radde [1831–1903]).

<sup>52</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 34.

<sup>53</sup> Otto Schulz-Kampfenhel (1910–1989) – a geographer, researcher, writer. He was initiator and the head of expeditions to Liberia (1931), Amazonia (1935–1937). Making use of his substantial influence among the military commanders, he organized a special unit Research Squadron for Special Employment by the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht (Forschungsstaffel zur besonderen Verwendung des OKW), which dealt with aspects of military service by natural scientists. At the initial stage in the Second World War, the unit worked on problems in Africa, but after the defeat of the German-Italian troops in this region, it sought to find solutions for new problems in occupied Eastern Europe. Unlike the military geographical divisions of the Wehrmacht, the unit had to develop specific detailed terrain maps for the military with the help of aerial photography.

<sup>54</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 66, 68.

the first scientific conference in Kyiv since the beginning of the occupation, with more than 120 participants. Walter, as the curator of the Institute, opened the event with an address in which he reported on the task of the Institute during the war as set by the occupying authorities. He underlined that the Institute was a key institution in scientific support of agriculture in the Ukrainian lands. He also introduced all the participants to the Institute structure and their scientific research program for 1942–1943. In particular, his main focus was on continuing scientific research related to investigation of the natural zoning of Ukraine. The first conference reports were also centered on this, whereas the botany-geographical aspect was highlighted by Yu. D. Kleopov, the director of the respective institute. The soil science aspect was treated by H. G. Makhov, Director of the Institute of Agriculture, climate aspects by M. Guk, Director of the Institute of Climatology, and zoogeography aspects by M. V. Sharleman', Director of the Plant Protection Institute. Throughout the three-day conference, more than 20 scientific papers were presented<sup>55</sup>.

Thus, under the conditions of occupation, the exchange of scientific information and reflections continued, yet under strict control by the occupation authorities, who intended to use the scientific potential of local scientists for maximum exploitation of the Ukrainian lands. Idealizing the event, H. Walter in his memoirs notes: "Russians were greatly impressed. After so many years they could speak freely again without fear of the denunciation"<sup>56</sup>. When reading the memoirs, one gains a strong impression that the author is proud of German culture, the organization of work, and generally contrasts the German way of life with Ukrainian realities. He does not hide the fact that his knowledge of Russian permitted him to overhear the conversations of ordinary people, who were not aware that "someone in a German military uniform understands Russian"<sup>57</sup>. It was important for him to note that at first the attitude of locals towards the occupying authorities was positive. However, after a significant amount of time had passed, he provides conclusions on the reasons for the failure of the occupation policy in the Ukrainian lands, highlighting solely the failures of incompetent German officials and insufficient attention accorded to the educational needs of Ukrainian society.

A record of his trip to Crimea is meticulously recorded in his memoirs. The purpose of the trip was to study the scientific activities of Nikitsky

<sup>55</sup> "Наукова сесія Інституту сільськогосподарської ботаніки", *Нове українське слово*, 25 Червня 1942.

<sup>56</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 34.

<sup>57</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 35.

Botanical Garden. On his way there, he managed to examine the parks "Alexandria" in Bila Tserkva, and "Sofiyivka" in Uman, and the Botanical Garden of Dnepropetrovsk (today the city of Dnipro). Examining the territory of this young garden, which was traversed by many gorges and ravines, Heinrich Walter asked the director of the institution why some of them are covered over, since the elevation differences are extremely valuable conditions in the experimental botanical work. In response, he heard a story about the Jews murdered there. "I said nothing, I was ashamed. I have already seen enough of everything and I just wanted to continue the inspection". The author does not comment on the tragedy of the Holocaust in any way, although given this narrative, he knew about the scale and methods of resolving the "Jewish Question". It is striking that even after some 40 years separating the events mentioned and the publication of the memoirs, he was not encouraged to reflect on the tragedy. That is very much at odds with the detailed descriptions of Ukrainian parks, gardens, and nature reserves, and addenda in brief of their genesis and history in the memoirs.

A separate trip is dedicated fully to the nature reserve "Ascania-Nova" ("Neu-Anhalt"), where he focuses on the contributions of previous generations of Germans to the environmental endeavors in the Ukrainian lands. The same emphasis is put on the German settlers in their efforts to develop the lands of the northern Black Sea area. Nikitsky Botanical Garden proved particularly interesting for H. Walter. "For me, it was a noble task to take care of this institution and keep it safe from the influence of war"<sup>58</sup>. Botanists I. M. Ryabov<sup>59</sup>, and L. A. Simanska<sup>60</sup> became scientific mentors for Heinrich Walter in his studies of the Crimean flora world. They openly spoke about the scientific censorship that existed in Soviet science, especially concerning theses and conclusions associated with "Lysenko" and "Michurin"<sup>61</sup>. However, even in this scientific "idyll", Walter experienced feelings of fear for his life. While in Nikitsky Botanic Garden, he noted: "In fact, I am so vulnerable here, and while being alone among 500 Russians,

<sup>58</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 44.

<sup>59</sup> Ryabov Ivan Mykolayovych (1897–1984) – was a breeding specialist, Doctor of Agricultural Sciences, laureate of the Stalin Prize for the creation of new fruit culture crops (1952), Honored Scientist of USSR (1962), from 1923 he served on staff in Nikitsky Botanical Garden.

<sup>60</sup> Symanska (Yolkina) Lyubov Anatoliivna (1912–1997) – was a botanist, an employee of Nikitsky Botanical Garden, a keeper of the herbarium. In 1943, she left for Poznan, where she worked at Poznan University. In 1945 she returned to the Soviet Union, and located the herbarium of the Nikitsky Botanical Garden, which had gone missing. In 1945 she was sentenced to 10 years in a reeducation camp for having cooperated with the enemy. In 1956 she was rehabilitated, and later worked at the Gorkiv Polytechnic Institute.

<sup>61</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 46–47.

how easy it must be to just kill me”<sup>62</sup>. On the one hand, he assures himself that he is fine and “belongs here” because he speaks Russian, and is in no way involved in crimes. Moreover, on the contrary, he seeks to help with improving everyday conditions in the best way that he can: “I have comforted myself with the fact that there was no reason to kill me because I was helping here. [...] In respect to Russians, my conscience was clean”. But realizing that he represents the enemy kept him in a state of constant anxiety and never allowed him a chance to relax, forcing him to remain watchful and ready to fight: “I always kept a pistol on my nightstand and barricaded the door with buckets and a kettle – they would crash making a hell of a sound if someone attempted to open this door”<sup>63</sup>.

Nikitsky Botanical Garden was in the sphere of interests of the Special Headquarters “Nauka” of the Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, and according to the archives, nowadays it is known that several employees were sent by his staff for detailed study of the Garden library and the extraction of the most valuable literature<sup>64</sup>. However, in his memoirs Walter skips over these events, stating: “It was a meeting on the side, which I almost don’t recall”<sup>65</sup>. In this way he avoided comments about his participation in the transfer of this institution’s scientific publications to Germany. Instead, he focuses on when he managed to intervene in the process of robbing the Soviet scientific institutions, utilizing his authority. While inspecting the Agricultural Institute in Krasnodar, he learned from professors that books of the library were being stored out in the open air and being prepared for shipment to Germany. Walter urged the head of SS Group responsible for this action to leave these books where they were in Ukraine, since he stated that literature about the Caucasus in Russian is needed by German scientists here. It was the summer of 1942, when plans for the conquest of the region were becoming ever more real. This is illustrated by the case of the valuable seed collection at the Institute of Tobacco Cultivation<sup>66</sup>.

Analyzing the memoirs of H. Walter, one can conclude that during this period he was more interested in his own scientific achievements and findings rather than ensuring new scientific material for German institutions. As noted by contemporary historians of science, German scientists were

<sup>62</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 45.

<sup>63</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 46.

<sup>64</sup> “Circular no. 8/43”, *Central State Archive of the Supreme Executive Bodies and Administration of Ukraine*, coll. 3676, inv. 1, file 63, sh. 95–109.

<sup>65</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 48.

<sup>66</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 57–58.

in desperate competition seeking to gain possession of new data, documentation, and collections found in the occupied territories. Thus, the local scientists tried to conceal them from both the coordinating bodies and the German scientific institutions and scientists<sup>67</sup>. At the same time, H. Walter had meticulously inspected the “Soviet” research institutions and been searching for hidden research materials. He flaunted the fact that he had discovered the valuable cocoons of silkworm stored away by the director of the Silk Institute under the bed in his apartment. And at another research station of the Voroshilov Institute of Agriculture and Livestock (today Stavropol), he identified the valuable breeds of pigs, evacuated from Ascania-Nova, which local specialists had tried to present as ordinary meat pigs<sup>68</sup>.

He notes to himself that he was warmly welcomed everywhere he went, and that everyone he had met was impressed by his curiosity and meticulous care in the “gathering” of scientific data. In the chapters dedicated to war and removal of scientific materials, Walter always uses the term “transfer” – which, however, could not be considered voluntary, because it was accompanied by the German military. Also, his discourse employed expressions like “provision of German institutions” or “rescue of valuable scientific material” in the context of the removal of Soviet scientific property in a time of wartime mega-disaster. By using such selective discourse, the scientist in some way attempted to justify his activities, explaining that he “defended” Soviet research resources, although he had acknowledged that it was intended for the needs of the German economy and science.

The final episode of Walter’s stay in Ukraine was connected with the events when all scientific institutions were being “evacuated” from Kyiv by the Germans. Dr. Walter describes this period emotionally, mentioning that together with his Ukrainian colleagues they were mainly concerned about the preservation of the botanical collections. He notes that the Ukrainian scientists were so terrified of possible revenge at the hands of the Soviet authorities that most of them tried to depart with the Germans<sup>69</sup>.

However, the removal of scientific documentation for himself is explained in this way: “Since Kyiv people worked on the flora of Ukraine, it was necessary to take all the herbaria to Poznań with me, as well as the library and all the documents”<sup>70</sup>. Oppressive fear of the approaching Soviet troops, a sense of doomsday on the horizon – Heinrich Walter depicted all of this in his memoirs. Yet, he found motives for continuing further work.

<sup>67</sup> Heim, *Kalorien, Kautschuk, Karrieren*, 232.

<sup>68</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 53.

<sup>69</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 72.

<sup>70</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 72.

“Thank God, I personally was not required to do anything that contradicts my conscience. I had the opportunity to help others. This time it was necessary to help evacuated Russian scientists”<sup>71</sup>. Overall, the scientist makes it clear that he was happy about the fact that domestic and scientific life in Posen was established for these scientists with his assistance. Although he notes that Soviet scholars dreamed of returning to their home territory and most of them had left to ensure that the collections would be kept safe<sup>72</sup>. His depiction of the war’s last months is filled with extreme tragedy, because for the first time during the military confrontation the scientist directly encountered its horrors reflected in the faces of his family. The hopelessness of the situation is traced in his commentary on the ongoing mapping expedition around the Rhine plains. “All this work was such an illusion because this region will already be occupied by the enemy before the maps are ready and needed by our tank troops. [...] But whoever expressed their opinion on this subject was shot immediately. Many have lost their lives. [] There was a total disaster right before us”<sup>73</sup>. The author mentions that everybody working under the supervision of the Center for East Studies had to flee to the Alps and hide the documentation there. However, the mortal fear for their own lives forced them to destroy all documentation so that it could not get into the hands of the Americans, and then subsequently to surrender. This explains the lack of systematic archival data covering the activities of this structure of scientific management in the occupied Ukrainian lands. At the time, this provided historians with grounds to conclude that agricultural research work during the German occupation of Ukrainian lands had been terminated.

Thus, Heinrich Walter’s memoirs are distinguished by exceptional frankness in portraying domestic conditions and myriad twists and turns in human relations, while the dramatic events of the “external” political life furnish only a background for this. However, the claim of “confession” in the book’s title never found its embodiment in the text. Despite the gap of some 40 years between the memoir publication date and the events described in it, we believe that the author continued to show sympathy for Nazi politics on many matters. He clearly outlines his position as a “soldier of science”, who wants to serve the needs of the state and the nation that he identifies with. The example of Prof. Heinrich Walter demonstrates that in the context of the military expansion into the Ukrainian territories, German scientists were implementing the Third Reich’s colonial policy towards

<sup>71</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 73.

<sup>72</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 74–75.

<sup>73</sup> Walter, *Bekenntnisse eines Ökologen*, 79–80.

these lands. In the sense of the memoir, providing service to the nation during the war in the role of the scientist not only ensured greater chances for survival – it also offered better career perspectives after the war. On one hand, the war became a major challenge for the scholar in professional terms, with multiple opportunities to implement audacious projects impossible during previous times. On the other, this was a test ethical and moral in nature – since they had violated the norms of scientific probity plundering scientific resources and using military means of power, while at the same time neglecting the norms of international law related to the protection of private property, cultural and scientific institutions in the occupied countries, stolen scientific research findings and other valuable materials developed by the local scientific community in Ukraine so as to amplify and glorify their own research.

The scenes of the Ukrainian scientific community life depicted in his narrative illustrate that Ukrainian scholars made use of a range of different strategies of survival under the occupation. The work at the research institutions created by the occupation government permitted them to better the living conditions as well as to continue research activities, and allowed for preserving the scientific collections safely in times of military conflict and destruction. The conditions of the war constantly prompted them to change their criteria of perceiving others based on the binary “ally/enemy”, despite the extensive propaganda and imposed stereotypes. However, the colonial character of the occupation policy succeeded in creating an illusion of the ostensible freedom of scientific thought, and integration of Ukrainian scientific society into the German scientific field. The scientific potential of Ukrainian land was employed by the German occupation authorities only to maximize the utilization of the occupied territory in all its key dimensions.

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**Anton Shchelkunov**

## RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN 1941–1943 IN THE FAMILY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF THE EVANGELICAL FAITH

*This article analyzes the distinctive particularities of the Pentecostal family and collective memory about the revival of their religious organization during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine.*

*In the years 1941–1943, the Ukrainian Pentecostal Church was formally revived under the leadership of Havrylo Ponurko, who was elected Bishop. In the collective memory of the Ukrainian and Russian Pentecostals, the memory of the religious revival in 1941–1943 was later completely marginalized.*

*The family memory of the religious revival in the period 1941–1943 was also almost lost. Among the numerous family legends about H. Ponurko's dramatic life, there are no recollections of his religious and missionary activities during the period 1941–1943, when he was elected Church Bishop. With great respect, H. Ponurko's descendants maintain the cherished memory that their ancestor was one of the first Pentecostal missionaries in Ukraine, and that for many years he had served as Bishop of the Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith. However, the specific year of his election to this responsible position was not retained in his family's memory. Not only was the process of religious and church revival completely erased from both the collective and family memories, but the memories of the oppression of the Pentecostals by the German occupying power as well.*

*That can be explained by the desire of religious Soviet citizens to avoid persecution by the authorities and to be full-fledged members of Soviet society. Consequently, they placed their personal and group memory within the framework of official discourse of the "Great Patriotic War". As a result, even the memory of persecution by the German occupation authorities has disappeared, because according to official Soviet mythology, the Nazis did not persecute Soviet citizens for their religious beliefs. Additionally, such memories inevitably led to the perception of parallels between the repressive policies of Nazism and Stalinism.*

*After brutal repression by Stalin's regime, the religious citizens in the USSR developed modes of strict self-censorship. This led to a conscious reformatting of collective and family memory. As a result, memories differing from the official narrative of the Second World War were deliberately forgotten. Therefore, H. Ponurko and other activists within the religious and church revival decided to "forget" the events of 1941–1943 so as not to place their families and associates at risk of repression.*

*On the other hand, the official myth of the "Great Patriotic War" formed a conformist-positive memory aimed at uniting Soviet society and enabling it to grapple and come to terms with the traumatic experience of the 1930s and '40s. People had to find a certain meaning for the pain they had endured and to explain to themselves why they had suffered. That could be accomplished by recognizing that all these sacrifices, both personal and collective, were crucial for the "Great Victory" over the world of Evil, i.e. over Nazism. Perhaps the narrative of the "Great Patriotic War" provided Pentecostals, like other religious groups in the USSR, with the opportunity to place their personal experience, mostly tragic, within the armature of the all-Soviet cultural memory, and thus to feel themselves an integral part of Soviet society.*

**Keywords:** *Pentecostals, religious revival, occupation, family memory, collective memory, agonistic form of memory, antagonistic form of memory.*

In the post-Soviet space, the antagonistic form of "memory of the Second World War" remains quite common. In the former Soviet republics, the memory of the Second World War is often used to justify the existence of various nationalist movements and incitement to hatred. Nationalistic memory strengthens the identity of "us" by excluding "them", the "Others"; it forms a canonical, only correct version of history, grounded on a strict binary division into heroes and anti-heroes, those on their side and the enemies. Antagonistic memory does not include dialogue and perception of differing perspectives. The antagonistic form of memory is characterized by monologue and xenophobia, which form a collective identity through the incitement of hostility to strangers<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, modern Ukrainian society is not immune to the widespread antagonistic memory of the Second World War. At the same time, the cosmopolitan form of memory, which was actively popularized as an antidote against all the types of intolerance, proved to be incapable of preventing the old antagonistic mode's growth and the formation of new antagonistic collective memories fueled by modern populist neo-nationalist movements<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Штефан Бергер, "Агонистическая память открыта для бесконечного диалога в бахтинском смысле", *Историческая экспертиза*, no. 1 (22), 9–23, accessed November 12, 2019, [https://istorex.ru/Novaya\\_stranitsa\\_57](https://istorex.ru/Novaya_stranitsa_57); see also: Stefan Berger, "Agonistic memory is openly dialogic in a Bakhtinian sense", *Historical Expertise*, October 18, 2019, accessed November 20, 2019, [https://istorex.ru/Novaya\\_stranitsa\\_56](https://istorex.ru/Novaya_stranitsa_56).

<sup>2</sup> Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen, "On agonistic memory", *Memory Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 390–404, accessed December 16, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015615935>; see also: Anna Cento Bull, "Agonistic memory and post-conflict societies", "Borderland Memories in Comparative Perspective Workshop," University of Warsaw, October 15, 2019, accessed July 27, 2020, <https://youtu.be/EFXdsG-iiho>; Anna Cento Bull, "What is agonistic memory?," video talk, University of Bath, February 19, 2019, *Future Learn*, accessed July 27, 2020, <https://youtu.be/BvK7upTZiW4>.



Expansion of memory studies research by exploring religious memory is essential in overcoming the dangerous nationalist trend in post-Soviet territory. In Ukraine, one of the most religious countries among the former Soviet republics, a considerable percentage of the population identifies itself with some religious community. Therefore, religious organizations in Ukraine and other republics of the former USSR are (or should become) mnemonic actors. They can form an agonistic memory and go beyond the dynamic of total hostility, which is typical of antagonistic memory. Additionally, they can overcome the limitations of cosmopolitan memory<sup>3</sup>.

The period of German occupation was a time of religious and church revival in Ukraine. The Stalinist regime aimed to destroy religion and the church in the USSR. Therefore, as of June 1941, without regard to the Western regions, only ten legally operating Orthodox churches remained active in the Ukrainian SSR. For other Christian denominations, the situation was even more dramatic; there were no functioning legal Protestant or Catholic communities left<sup>4</sup>.

The Nazis did not have a clear position regarding religious processes in the occupied Soviet territories. On the one hand, military chaplains were forbidden to spiritually “guide” Soviet citizens. Missionaries were forbidden to visit the occupied Soviet territories; it was also forbidden to send religious literature and religious objects to religious communities that had been experiencing a revival during the occupation. On the other, the occupying power did not significantly seek to block the church-religious revival. At the end of the war, the situation changed dramatically: there were about 2,000 Protestant religious communities just in Ukraine alone<sup>5</sup>.

In 1930–1932, the religious organization of the Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith was shut down by the Soviet state security services. Almost all spiritual leaders were sent to internment camps. After this, the Pentecostal movement in the USSR virtually ceased to exist as an organizational body. Some clergy of the Christian Church of Evangelical Faith were released from prison in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Havrylo

<sup>3</sup> Hans Lauge Hansen, “Agonistic memory discourse and the negotiation of identity positions”, Panel presentation abstract, “The Promise of agonism? Identity change in conflicted societies”, ECPR Wrocław, September 4–7, 2019, accessed July 27, 2020, <https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/cb75fa35-2458-4421-8d29-e5010dffc473.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> “Report on the state of operational-intelligence work in the organs of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on the church-sectarian line and further measures to curb subversive activities among the clergy, churchmen and sectarians”, *Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine* (hereinafter – SSA SSU), coll. 1, inv. 1, file 1104, sh. 134.

<sup>5</sup> SSA SSU, coll. 1, inv. 1, file 1104, sh. 135.

Ponurko was among them. He returned from the Gulag camps just before the war, in May 1941, after serving 9 years in prison.

In 1941–1943, the Pentecostal Church in Ukraine was restored under the leadership of Havrylo Ponurko, elected as a Bishop. When Soviet troops liberated Ukraine, it included several hundred religious communities with the appropriate number of Elders and Deacons. In 1945, Havrylo Ponurko was sentenced to 10 years for active religious activities during the war. After he was released from the internment camp in 1955 and until his death in 1978, he remained a prominent figure in the Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith.

The collective memory of the Ukrainian and Russian Pentecostals preserves the memory of the missionary activity of I. Vronaiev, who founded the Pentecostal Church in Ukraine. It also retains the memory of the spread of the Pentecostal church in the 1920s in Ukraine and the USSR, and religious life after 1945. At the same time, the memory of the religious revival in 1941–1943 was completely marginalized. The collective memory of the Pentecostals only preserves memories of the revival of the Christian Episcopal Church of the Evangelical Faith in 1942, led by H. Ponurko, and of a number of restored or newly formed churches, some 350 in total<sup>6</sup>.

The family memory of the religious revival of 1941–1943 has also been nearly completely lost. H. Ponurko’s son, the Elder of the Pentecostal Church, Ponurko Pavlo (born in 1928), his grandson, Ponurko Oleksandr (born in 1957) and great-grandson, Pastor Ponurko Serhii (born in 1986) all know and recall nothing about the religious and missionary activities of their ancestors during the war and the church revival. Among the numerous family legends about H. Ponurko’s dramatic life, there are no recollections of his religious and missionary activities in the period 1941–1943, when he was elected as a Bishop. With great respect, H. Ponurko’s descendants, who themselves are deeply faithful Pentecostals, retain the memory that their ancestors supported I. Vronaiev, who was one of the first Pentecostal missionaries in Ukraine, and that for many years he had been the Bishop of the Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith. However, the year of his

<sup>6</sup> Владимир Мурашкин, “История и опыт церкви. Из доклада зам.нач. епископа ОЦХВЕ России В.Г. Мурашкина”, *Домостроитель*, accessed April 12, 2019, <http://domostroitel.org.ru/page/istoriya-i-opyt-tserkvi>; “Объединённая церковь христиан веры евангельской”, *Wikipedia*, accessed April 12, 2019, [ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Объединённая\\_церковь\\_христиан\\_веры\\_евангельской#Служение\\_Воронаева](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Объединённая_церковь_христиан_веры_евангельской#Служение_Воронаева); “Пятидесятничество в 30–40 годах”, *Очерки по истории пятидесятничества*, accessed April 16, 2019, <http://www.rusbaptist.stunda.org/dop/50/05.htm>; “Евангельское движение на Днепропетровщине”, *Українська церква Християн Віри Євангельської*, accessed April 21, 2019, <http://chve.org.ua/evanhelskoe-dvyzhenye-na-dnepropetr/>; “Краткая история ОЦХВЕ”, “ОЦХВЕ России”. “Объединённая Церковь Христиан Веры Евангельской России”, accessed April 21, 2019, <https://ochve.net/istorija/kratkaja.html>.

election for this responsible position was absent from his family's memory<sup>7</sup>. This could be explained by the fact that Ponurko himself and his family did not want to preserve the memory of collaborating with the Nazis. However, H. Ponurko's cooperation with the occupiers was limited to sporadic contacts with the area commissars and other representatives of the occupation administration regarding Pentecostal religious community activities. There were no prayers recited for Germany's victory in the war, and Bishop Ponurko delivered his sermons centered mainly on Evangelical themes. At their congresses, the members of the Christian Episcopal Church of the Evangelical Faith did not touch on political issues. Thus, during the congress on November 1, 1942, held in Piatykhvatky, a separate paragraph stated that "Political issues are not subject to discussion"<sup>8</sup>. According to the minutes of the congress, no political issues were publicly discussed. During the congress on June 20, 1943, convened in Oleksandriia, convention delegates only thanked the Area Commissar of Oleksandriia for permission to hold this congress<sup>9</sup>, and then the congress decided that "Political issues are not subject to discussion"<sup>10</sup>. The same point was made during the congress held on September 1, 1943 in Kamianske<sup>11</sup>. Bishop Ponurko stated only once publicly that the Pentecostals were praying for the well-being of the German authority. However, he was afraid of being imprisoned since the Gestapo had accused him of belonging to the Bolsheviks<sup>12</sup>. Thus, it can be stated that H. Ponurko did not provide any support or assistance to the occupiers. The investigators of the Ministry of State Security, no matter how hard they tried, could not find any factual evidence to prove his guilt. Moreover, the archival-criminal case mentions that "there were written testimonies by believers indicating that Ponurko helped the Jews during the German occupation and hid some of them at home"<sup>13</sup>. However, the investigating authorities did not verify this information, and these testimonies are missing from documentation. The Ponurko's family memory cherished

<sup>7</sup> "Interview with Pavlo Ponurko on April 15, 2019 – audio recording", *Personal archive of A. Shchelkunov*; "Interview with Oleskands Ponukro, April 15, 2019 – audio recording", *Personal archive of A. Shchelkunov*; "Interview with Serhii Ponurko on April 15, 2019 – audio recording", *Personal archive of A. Shchelkunov*.

<sup>8</sup> "Archival and criminal case of H. Ponurko", *Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast* (hereinafter – ASSUDO), file П-21827, sh. 132.

<sup>9</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 140.

<sup>10</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 142.

<sup>11</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 151.

<sup>12</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 22 reverse.

<sup>13</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 123.

the memories of helping the Jews as an act of sacrificial Christian love. According to his descendants, H. Ponurko saved at least one Jew from death during the occupation.

Not only the process of religious and church revival, but the memories of the oppression of the Pentecostals by the occupying authorities were also erased from both collective and family memories. Despite several appeals, the Nazis did not allow the All-Ukrainian Congress of Pentecostals to be held. On the contrary, in the summer of 1943, activities of the Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith in Mykolaiv oblast were banned. At the same time, Elders F. Cherstiuk and I. Luchynets were arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned until April 1944, when they were liberated by Red Army units in Odessa<sup>14</sup>. H. Ponurko was arrested for a short period<sup>15</sup>.

Thus, H. Ponurko, after his release from the Gulag camps, had nothing to be ashamed of. As seen from the archives of the criminal case, the accusations of collaboration with the occupiers were fabricated and were not supported by facts. It should be noted that even though the Ministry of State Security investigative bodies were very biased, they could not find any facts regarding H. Ponurko publicly supporting the occupiers.

He could have easily recalled the difficult war years of the religious revival in private conversations with relatives and like-minded people with whom he had been working on the revival of the Pentecostal religious organization, or at least have commemorated the date when he received episcopal rank. However, the fact is that the memory of the church revival has not survived.

It turns out that neither Ponurko himself nor the people he worked with during the war ever publicly mentioned their missionary work. There is no doubt that H. Ponurko was a passionate believer, but he never celebrated or even mentioned such an important date as his election as Bishop. The question is: why? There could be two aspects to this problem.

Religious Soviet citizens wanted to avoid persecution by the authorities and also wished to be legitimate members of Soviet society. So, they put their personal and group memory within the frame of the official discourse of the Great Patriotic War. Therefore, even the memory of persecutions by the German occupation authorities has disappeared, because in the official Soviet mythology of the war, the Nazis did not persecute Soviet citizens for their religious beliefs. Additionally, such memories inevitably led to perceiving parallels between the repressive policies of Nazism and Stalinism.

According to the Soviet myth of the Great Patriotic War, people in the occupation played the roles of heroic partisans, underground fighters,

<sup>14</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 62–63.

<sup>15</sup> ASSUDO, sh. 20–20 reverse.

or those who helped them in every way. Its vision did not include a model of a *pure basic* desire to survive during the occupation or to pursue one's own or group interests in ways other than official discourse. Any pattern of behavior other than consistent and uncompromising resistance to the occupiers was perceived as a betrayal.

After brutal repressions by the Stalinist regime, religious citizens of the USSR developed severe self-censorship. This led to a conscious reformatting of collective and family memories. As a result, memories other than the official story of the Second World War were deliberately forgotten. Therefore, H. Ponurko and other participants in the religious and church revival decided to willfully "forget" the events of 1941–1943 so as to avoid putting at risk of repression their families, as well as those of their spiritual brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, the official myth of the Great Patriotic War formed a conformist-positive memory aimed at uniting Soviet society and enabling it to come to terms with the traumatic experience of the 1930–1940s. The Soviet people had suffered the terrible events of the Civil War, the famines of 1921–1923 and 1932–1933, collectivization, dekulakization, political repressions, daily humiliation related to the lack of opportunities to fulfill their primary domestic and cultural everyday needs. People had to fill their pain with some meaning and explain to themselves why they suffered. This could be done by the realization that all these sacrifices, both personal and collective, were crucial for the "Great Victory" over the "world Evil", i.e., Nazism.

The daily sufferings of the Soviet people were imbued with a metaphysical meaning by perceiving their involvement in the Victory over the world's absolute Evil. Therefore, the preservation of alternative memories of life in the occupied territories led to a situation of putting themselves not only against state power but also against society as a whole, which wished to reconcile with the horrors of the past. Perhaps the narrative of the Great Patriotic War gave Pentecostals, like other religious groups in the USSR, the opportunity to place their personal, mostly tragic experience, in the armature of all-Soviet cultural memory, so as to feel themselves a part of Soviet society.

The declassified archives of the Soviet secret services stored in Ukraine are a site where the memory of the Second World War is preserved, a memory complex which in the Soviet era was deliberately abandoned by both individuals and society as a whole. After the present author handed over a photocopy of H. Ponurko's archival-criminal case to his descendants, a transformation of the Ponurko family memory took place. Since H. Ponurko's son and great-grandson are clergymen of the Pentecostal church,

and the grandson is an active member of this religious community, a collective "recollection" of dramatic events of the religious-church revival, at least among Dnipropetrovsk communities of Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith, may soon occur.

Reconstruction of the historical memory of religious organizations is a fundamental phenomenon for modern Ukrainian society. Due to the rapid and dramatic socio-cultural changes that have occurred over the last hundred years, there are virtually no political parties, trade unions, and public organizations in Ukraine that could act as mnemonic actors; the institute of the family is in deep crisis. Therefore, the state and religious organizations are the only mnemonic actors in Ukraine. In our opinion, the Ukrainian state cannot effectively prevent the spread of an antagonistic form of memory because of two reasons. First, the inertia of Soviet authoritarianism remains strong among the Ukrainian political elite, and second, Ukraine is in a state of fierce confrontation with Russia. All these factors act to fuel an antagonistic form of memory. Although the dominance of the antagonistic form of memory is objectively determined in modern Ukraine, it can lead to the self-destruction of Ukrainian society.

The Pentecostals, like other religious organizations, were victims of both Stalinism and Nazism. At the same time, Pentecostals, like other religious communities, were forced to cooperate with their executioners to preserve their religious organization. This cooperation became especially widespread after 1945. Therefore, the historical memory of religious organizations can avoid putting the abstract "Good" over against the abstract moral "Evil". It can do so by recognizing the ability of any person to act wrongly or rightly, depending on specific historical circumstances, and in the context of a particular socio-political struggle. The collective memory of religious organizations can level antagonistic models of the past, such as "national liberation," or "social class" or any other struggle that in advance determines who embodies the Evil and who the Good.

Therefore, at the present stage of development of Ukrainian society, only historical memory in an agonistic form in religious organizations can and must exist (we do not take into account destructive and totalitarian religious movements), affirming the principle of dialogue with others, regardless of who they are<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> See: Bull, "What is agonistic memory?"; Hansen, "Agonistic memory discourse."; Berger, "Agonistic memory."

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## SECTION 3. SAVING JEWS FROM THE HOLOCAUST

Igor Shchupak

### MEMORY AND DOCUMENTS ON THE RESCUE OF JEWS IN UKRAINE DURING THE HOLOCAUST: BETWEEN MYTHS AND FACTS

*The article focuses on one of the unexplored and mythologized aspects of Holocaust history – the problem of the rescue of Jews during the Second World War. Despite the wide array of sources, which in fact generates numerous false generalizations about the stories of the rescue of Jews from extermination by the Nazis, as based on the memoirs of those who survived the Holocaust – historians face the complexity of the interpretation and validity of these materials. The specifics of using narratives necessitate especially thorough scientific analysis and the comparison of data acquired with other sources of information.*

*In fact, researchers did not begin to explore the issue of the rescue of Jews in Ukraine during the Holocaust until the post-Soviet period. A lack of vital human memory in this connection has caused significant discrepancies and disagreements between information that could be obtained immediately after the Second World War and data acquired 20, 50, and more than 70 years later. However, the memoirs of eyewitnesses, rescuers and those rescued, and interviews in the form of video or audio recordings are supplemented in this article by many documentary sources housed in various archival institutions in Ukraine.*

*The present article analyzes some of the existing myths about the rescue of Jews by the non-Jewish population during the Holocaust, in particular myths about the anti-Semitic sentiments of Ukrainians, the unselfishness of rescuers, etc. In examining and refuting the myth of anti-Semitic sentiments of Ukrainians, first of all in Western Ukraine, the regional aspect of rescue is considered, defined by the distribution of the Ukrainian Righteous among the Nations by regions of the country. Based on quantitative data, the special status of the Vinnytsia region is substantiated and identified as a distinct region. It should be noted that for purposes of comparison, this article only utilizes data on rescuers officially recognized by Yad Vashem, meaning they were given the designation “The Righteous Among the Nations”. However, the article also contains stories of other rescue attempts, usually unsuccessful, based on the materials of the court cases of the German invaders against various locals alleged of hiding Jews, cases most commonly preserved in the archives.*

*Exploring examples of the rescue of Jews in the occupied territory of Ukraine, conclusions are drawn regarding the main motives of individuals who risked not only their own lives but the lives of their relatives (the latter more often). The article presents examples of the rescue of Jews by members of ethnically-mixed*

married couples, their relatives, as well as persons who had romantic attachments to or friendships with Jews. Stories of rescue of the Jewish population by religious communities are also highlighted.

**Keywords:** Holocaust, Righteous Among the Nations, rescue, Jews rescued, rescuers of Jews, witnesses of events, myth, verbal history.

### Specific features of the source base for studying the cases of rescuing

Given the multitude of existing and published historical documents, memoirs, and available historical literature, the Holocaust is one of the best-studied historical phenomena. But, the problem of the rescue of the Jews from extermination by the Nazis is the least studied and most mythologized among the various aspects of Holocaust history.

Dealing with the issue of a mythologization of this problem, we will use the concept “Jews Rescued During the Holocaust”. This definition includes both “Righteous Among the Nations” and those whose actions of rescue have solid evidence to be recognized by historiography.

Myths about the rescue of the Jews during the Holocaust are, first of all, tied to the complexity of the source base for studying this problem. Yevhen Rozenblat, the Belarusian researcher of Holocaust history, aptly notes that

Unlike many other aspects of the Holocaust reflected in documentary sources, the study of the problem of helping Jews during the German occupation is almost wholly based on the use of narrative sources (memories of Holocaust survivors and oral history materials). The situation is clear: German documents recorded only unsuccessful attempts to rescue Jews that ended in the executions of rescuers, their families, and Jews, while the Soviet authorities and units did not systematically gather information about the facts of the rescue of Jews. Some cases of helping Jews are mentioned in testimonies recorded by the Extraordinary State Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating Crimes Perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices (ESC)<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, memories of eyewitnesses, rescuers, and those rescued, are the most informative sources to study the problem. But the very nature of so-called oral history determines it necessary to conduct an in-depth scholarly analysis of the information, as well as to be critical toward it and compare the information with other sources of data. Besides, very few Holocaust witnesses are still alive today, seven and a half decades after the end of the Second World War. At the very best, we can talk about a few more elderly who

<sup>1</sup> See: Евгений Розенблат, “Спасение евреев Беларуси в годы Холокоста: некоторые теоретические аспекты темы”, in *Праведники народов мира Беларуси: живые свидетельства Беларуси*, comp. Кузьма Козак etc. (Минск: И. П. Ловинов, 2009), 55.

were children during the war and could only help their relatives in this risky task of rescuing Jews. Most often, researchers are now dealing with family stories of those past events that survived in the memory of children and grandchildren.

In this context, evidence recorded on paper, audio, or video by various organizations within certain projects, as well as those collected by individual researchers, is a valuable source. Collections of interviews recorded on the initiative of Steven Spielberg are one of the largest among them. The Shoah Foundation, founded by a prominent film director, stores 53,000 video testimonies about the Holocaust. Ukraine has access to this huge resource due to the activity of the Institute of Visual History and Education of the Shoah Foundation in Ukraine (The University of Southern California, U.S.)<sup>2</sup>.

Father Patrick Desbois, a French researcher and priest, works on the research of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe in general and in Ukraine in particular. Since 2004, he has organized collecting video interviews of Holocaust witnesses from the non-Jewish population. As a result of numerous expeditions to all regions of Ukraine, P. Desbois and his organization “*Yahad-In Unum*” (France) have collected about 1,500 interviews with Holocaust witnesses, including information on the rescue of Jews<sup>3</sup>.

*Documentaries* based on video interviews with survivors provide important material for studying the history of the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust<sup>4</sup>. Israeli film director Boris Maftsir used video interviews on the Holocaust in Ukraine (as well as in Belarus, the Baltic States, and Russia) to create the anthology of documentaries “Holocaust in the USSR”. “Beyond the Nistru”, in particular, includes video materials about the Holocaust in the Romanian zone of occupation on the territory of Ukraine<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> “Заснований Стівеном Спілбергом Фонд Шоа збирає 53 тисячі відеосвідчень про Голокост”, accessed December 22, 2019, <https://hromadskeradio.org/programs/zustrichi/zasnovanyy-stivenom-spielbergom-fond-shoa-zberigaye-53-tysyachi-videosvidchen-pro-golokost>.

<sup>3</sup> See О. Патрик Дебуа, “Холокост при помощи пуль”, accessed December 22, 2019, <http://www.un.org/ru/holocaustremembrance/paper16.shtml>; Андрій Уманський, comp., *Розслідування Голокосту від куль: навчальний посібник*, trans. from English by Денис Шаталов (Дніпро: Інститут “Ткума”, 2019).

<sup>4</sup> “Те, кто остался в живых. История Сергея Сушона”, YouTube video, 45:54 min., posted “yadvashemrussian,” March 28, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDBnT5yU\\_M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDBnT5yU_M).

<sup>5</sup> “По следам неизвестного Холокоста. Документальный проект Бориса Мафцира”, accessed December 22, 2019, <http://www.holocaustinussr.com/about-films-ru/>.

In 2019, in Dnipro, within “Tkuma”, Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies special project, the film “Righteous” was created. It was dedicated to the rescuers of the Jews of Dnipropetrovsk oblast<sup>6</sup>.

To date social networks remain an underestimated resource on the history of the Holocaust and the rescue of Jews. Sometimes interviews and memoirs of eyewitnesses, for the most part recorded by their younger relatives and friends, are posted there. Any information from social networks requires careful scholarly verification.

One can find important information about the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust in the state archives of Ukraine, as well as in the centers for Holocaust studies: the archives of “Tkuma” Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies, the Museum “Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine” (Dnipro), the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies (Kyiv), in regional museums and Holocaust research centers in Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Chernivtsi, etc.

The format of this article does not allow space for a broad review of the sources of the history of Jews rescued during the Holocaust. However, it should be noted that given a weak documentary base of the rescue phenomenon in most of the territory of Ukraine, an extremely interesting collection of archival documents can be extracted from the materials of the lawsuits by the German occupiers against local residents in Lviv – Ukrainians and Poles, accused of hiding Jews by the occupation authorities. Among them, for example, there were cases of Stefan Tsykhor and Olha Kovalychyn accused of hiding Jews<sup>7</sup>; there are similar cases against the Pole Petr Kulik, Roman Dąbrowski, Josef Yasynskyi<sup>8</sup>, Hnat Barabach and Mykola Lutii<sup>9</sup> and others.

But we emphasize that these unique documents reflect the events in the Galicia District, and it is not correct to automatically extrapolate similar stories to other occupation zones of Ukraine.

### Facts looking like myths, and myths that are not based on facts

First of all, it should be noted that there is currently no “common”, widely accepted definition of “myth”<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> “Праведники. 2019. Документальный фильм”, documentary film, July 2019, YouTube video, 25:58 min., posted “YevhenTitarenko,” July 29, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oWPDahXJX10>.

<sup>7</sup> State Archives of Lviv Oblast (hereinafter – SALO), coll. P. 7, inv. 1, file D1230.

<sup>8</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 847.

<sup>9</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 791.

<sup>10</sup> Данило Судин, “Національні міфи в сучасній Україні”, *Україна модерна: міжнародний інтелектуальний часопис*, 12 грудня, 2014, accessed December 22, 2019, <http://uamoderna.com/md/sudyn-national-myths>.

Using the term “myth”, we do not apply it as a synonym for untruth or fiction. We rather understand the myth as a formed idea of a certain social or national group, a certain community, regarding the phenomena and events that took place in history and are perceived differently by different groups of people today (certainly under the influence of national mythology). To some extent, they are sacralized. At the same time, myth is a far cry from historical memory<sup>11</sup>.

There are many myths about the history of the Second World War that we will not touch on in the present article. If we review modern myths about the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust, we will see that they exist in different communities – among modern Ukrainians, Poles, and among Israelis. Some of these myths are similar, some of them are opposed; many of them can be confirmed or refuted by the facts. Some other myths will no longer correlate with documented materials because they are simply lost.

Here are examples of some of these myths:

1. Myths about the number of rescuers and rescued Jews. For example, in modern Polish society, the stories about the active participation of Poles in rescuing Jews are becoming more and more “popular”; relevant museums and exhibitions are created, films are made, books are written. But the society perceives memories of the complicity of some Poles in the Holocaust quite painfully.

2. The myth of anti-Semitic sentiments of Ukrainians. First of all and principally, in Western Ukraine, most of whom, they say, were anti-Semitic and killed Jews even more actively than German units (unlike Eastern Ukraine, where, according to some myths, the Soviet underground fought against the Nazis and, in particular, helped the Jews).

3. The myth of the unselfishness of Ukrainian Jews rescuers. It should be recalled that the title of “Righteous Among the Nations” is awarded only if there was no material reward.

4. The myth of the special role of the Christian clergy in rescuing Jews. And the myth of the role of anti-Semitic priests in instigating and setting Ukrainians against Jews.

5. The myth of the leading role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the Ukrainian elite in rescuing Jews.

The myth of the total hatred of German soldiers, Germans in general, towards Jews, and, “opposite” in content, the myth of German rescuers of Jews from the hands of Ukrainian murderers.

It is a fact that the conditions for rescuing Jews in Ukraine were significantly different from those in Western Europe. Ukrainian territory was

<sup>11</sup> Судин, “Національні міфи в сучасній Україні”.

under the rule of totalitarian regimes, even during the war. Silent consent to violence could be based on the Soviet legacy of “unanimous” condemnation of “enemies of the people”, as well as “insignificance” of the value of human life. The Stalinist regime left a deep traumatic scar on the public consciousness of its citizens. Total demoralization by the Red Army defeat in the first stage of the war and Hitler’s troop invasion of vast territories intensified this.

Timothy Snyder qualifies the territory of Ukraine as “bloodlands”<sup>12</sup>. Here, the killing of a huge number of people was not viewed as so drastic, given the routine of the “banality of evil”. The latter term became known through Hannah Arendt’s book<sup>13</sup>. Under such conditions, human feelings often yield to pragmatic considerations. The atmosphere of violence and encouragement to kill, multiplied by anti-Semitism within a segment of the population and other factors, created the relevant public mood to perceive the mass extermination of Jews as a “norm” under the Nazi “New Order”. According to some evidence, “aside from a small group of noble people, Christian residents took part in shameful German hunting operations on Jews, with zest”<sup>14</sup>.

On the other hand, according to the Nazi racial policy, the Ukrainian rescuers of Jews had to be punished most severely: the extermination of rescuers themselves and their families. Even sheltering Jews was punished by death.

At the same time, there were fundamental differences in the conditions for rescuing Jews in different regions of Ukraine.

### Reflections about some myths: the myth of anti-Semitic sentiments of Ukrainians

We have decided to consider the regional aspect of rescue, specifying numbers of Ukrainian “Righteous Among the Nations” by regions of Ukraine (i.e. by *oblast* [district], according to the modern administrative and territorial division of the country). We have singled out the Vinnytsia oblast, which has a special place in the regional picture of rescue. This is directly related to the myth of anti-Semitic sentiments of Ukrainians, first of all and primarily in Western Ukraine, as mentioned above. The following table has been compiled according to our calculations.

<sup>12</sup> Тімоті Снайдер, *Криваві землі: Європа між Гітлером та Сталінім* (Київ: Грані-Т, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> Ханна Арендт, *Банальність зла. Суд над Айхманом в Єрусалимі* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Жанна Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник Львівського гетто. Спогади рабина Давида Кахане* (Київ: Дух і літера, 2009), 200.

Table 1

### Ukrainian Righteous Among the Nations by regions of Ukraine (oblast, according to the modern administrative and territorial division of the country) (analysis based on the official data of Yad Vashem Memorial as of January 1, 2018)

Zakarpatska oblast: 24	Volynska: 116	Dnipropetrovska: 69	AR Crimea: 27	Donetska: 55	Belarus: 2
Chernivtsy oblast: 9	Ivano-Frankivska: 75	Zhytomyrska: 221	Zaporizhska: 21	Luhanska: 9	Moldova: 2
	Lvivska: 117	Kirovogradska: 49	Mykolaivska: 81	Kharkivska: 87	Germany: 2
	Rivnenska: 216	Kyivska and Kyiv: 221	Odeska: 163		Poland: 24
	Ternopilska: 170	Poltavska: 36	Khersonska: 28		Russia: 5
	Khmelnytska: 178	Sumska: 19			Ukraine: 1 (region unknown)
		Cherkaska: 60			
		Chernivivska: 16			
<b>Total</b>					
<b>33</b>	<b>872</b>	<b>691</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>36</b>

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Reviewing this table, we can see that a significant number of cases of the rescue of Jews were registered in the territories with a rather large number of Polish residents – both on the territory of modern Poland and in Volyn, Lutsk, Khmelnytskyi, and Zhytomyr oblasts.

We also see that, regardless of the region, the greatest number of the “Righteous” is registered in places where the proportion of Jews in the population was relatively large (Vinnytsia and other Western Ukrainian cities, towns and villages, as well as Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Odessa, etc.). Thus, the help of neighbors who had an experience of pre-war coexistence played a significant role in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust.

The contemporary Vinnytsia region is an absolute champion in the number of the Righteous Among the Nations of Ukraine. Here, their number is almost one-fifth of all Ukrainian “Righteous” (19,6%). This is 10% more



than the number of Ukrainian “Righteous” in the eight contemporary oblasts of Southern and Eastern Ukraine (including Odessa oblast) and Crimea together. This fact needs to be explained. In addition to the above factors, in the Vinnytsia region, an organization of transferring Jews from the German to the Romanian zone of occupation became the common way of assistance. In the Romanian zone, they had a better chance of survival.

The picture of rescuing Jews by the residents of Ukraine who were not accorded the honorary title “Righteous Among the Nations” is even broader. Even the official Yad Vashem website states: “The numbers of Righteous are not necessarily an indication of the actual number of rescuers in each country but reflect the cases that were made available to Yad Vashem”<sup>15</sup>.

A significant number of such little-known cases occurred in Western Ukraine, which had its special aspects in the “mechanism” of the extermination of Jews, as well as the conditions and opportunities for their rescue.

The State Archives of Lviv Oblast has unique opportunities to research this issue, since it stores materials that are especially important for our topic, such as documents of the Special Court of the Galicia District German court in Lviv<sup>16</sup>.

If on the territory of *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, Ukrainian rescuers of Jews were often shot on the spot, in Galicia District, the cases of rescue were reviewed by the above-mentioned Nazi court.

Among the documents for 1941–1944, we found more than 40 cases involving charges against residents of the region of “hiding Jews”<sup>17</sup> or of “sheltering them”<sup>18</sup> and “helping Jews to escape from the ghetto in Lviv”<sup>19</sup>. Such a large amount of materials on people who rescued Jews (or tried to do so) – but were not awarded the title “Righteous Among the Nations” and their cases were not even reviewed by the Yad Vashem Commission – is another argument for the need for better research on the phenomenon of rescuers of Jews, since this concept is broader than the “Righteous Among the Nations”.

We wish to note that these archival materials help to recreate certain characteristics of the attitude by the occupying German authorities not only towards Jews, who were subject to registration, complete isolation,

<sup>15</sup> “Праведники народов мира. Статистика”, accessed December 23, 2019, <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/ru/righteous/statistics.asp>.

<sup>16</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1. Documents are written in Polish and German, some pages are written in Ukrainian.

<sup>17</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, files 309, 366, 504, 592, 654, 661, 735, 758, 759, 791, 800, etc.

<sup>18</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 1111.

<sup>19</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 1358.

and later extermination, but also towards Ukrainians, Poles and other representatives of the local non-Jewish population. The story of the Pole Jan Petryszyn illustrates a richer picture of the attitude of the Nazis towards Poles and Ukrainians, as well as towards supporters of Hitler’s regime<sup>20</sup>.

### The myth of the unselfishness of rescuers of Jews

The motives for providing very risky help to Jews are discussed below. But it should be noted here that a material factor was part of almost every case of rescue of Jews in one form or another.

It is a well-known fact that getting financial benefits for rescuing Jews during the Holocaust does not conform to Yad Vashem principles to accord the title “Righteous Among the Nations”. Of course, there were many cases when rescuers helped persecuted Jews and received no monetary or other material compensation. On the other hand, it is important to note that concealing people for a long period, many months and sometimes years, always has an “economic component”, connected primarily with the need to buy food. Yaroslav Hrytsak has noted, “As follows from the memories, only those Jews who had money could survive because you needed to have resources for yourself and to pay those who hid you”<sup>21</sup>.

Existing documents (here we will review the materials of the State Archives of Lviv Region) provide information about different circumstances of material and financial “deals” between Jews and their Polish and Ukrainian rescuers.

“Tomruk Khved confessed that he had been hiding a Jew for almost a whole week..., he gave her something to eat and she gave him 2 meters of [*unreadable*] in exchange and sewed two shirts for the family of Tomruk Khved”<sup>22</sup>. According to the court case, “Tomruk Khved together with these 2 meters of [*unreadable*] which were taken to German Gendarmerie in Radekhiv”<sup>23</sup>.

Ukrainians Ihnat Barabach and Mykola Lutii were hiding Solomon Helfer in Zolochiv. During the investigation, M. Lutii said, “Helfer gave me four meters of fabric for sewing clothes, one large women’s headpiece, as well as 90 zlotys. In April 1944, this Jew gave me 500 zlotys. Given the fact that, as I’ve already confessed, I was very poor and had a family of my wife and three children, in April 1944 I had nothing to feed my family or this Jew

<sup>20</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, files 502, 574.

<sup>21</sup> Ярослав Грицак, “Як українці переховували євреїв”, accessed December 23, 2019, <https://www.obozrevatel.com/society/15436-yak-ukraintsi-perehovovali-evreiv.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 759, sh. 6 reverse.

<sup>23</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 759, sh. 6 reverse.

with. I told him that he had to do something. This Jew went to my neighbor Ihnat Barabash from Krasnoselets and brought 25 kilos of barley and five kilos of buckwheat from him. Later, in June 1944, this Jew went to Barabash again and brought 25 kilos of barley and 25 kilos of potatoes. Because at that time some houses were searched for partisans, and I was afraid that the Jew might be found in my house. So, I went to the Gmina [municipality] myself and confessed that I had a Jew concealed. The army came for the Jew, and thus, Solomon Helfer was taken from the cellar in my barn. I was left at home. I found out later that the Jew had fled. The next day the army arrested me and took me to Zolochiv. In a few days the Jew was recaptured and he admitted the fact that I had been was hiding him”<sup>24</sup>.

It should be added to this rich testimony data that the date was June 20–22, 1944 – only a month before German troops left Lviv (Wehrmacht departure on July 27, 1944).

Michalina Merska, a Polish woman, “was hiding 2 Jewish women and 3 Jewish men in an apartment in Lviv at no. 12, Paderevskoho Street, from 2 June 1943 till 3 Feb. 1944, taking their money for hiding them, in the amount of 3,000 zlotys per month. Here I want to explain that I kept those Jews not in the apartment, but in my basement. I did this because I had nothing to live on”<sup>25</sup>.

Rosalia Surma (from Verkhody village, near Hrabiv, Kamianka Strumilova), illiterate, confessed to “keeping four Jews in the backyard till 23 Oct. 1943... These Jews promised to give me 50 zlotys if I provided them a hiding place for two weeks. I agreed to do so, but I had the intention to report to the Ukrainian police in Hrabiv if more of them were to come to my place”<sup>26</sup>. The German court found this intention “doubtful”, and the woman was convicted<sup>27</sup>.

The Polish women Stefania Ciepik, Stanisława Biłyk and Zofia Pakiet were hiding a Jew Zygmund Edel in Lviv “for 400 zlotys per month”<sup>28</sup>. It is clear that this money had to cover the cost of food.

It often happened that rescuers did not demand a specific amount of money, but asked Jews how much they had. With this money, people bought food for themselves and those they were hiding<sup>29</sup>.

Finally, the archival materials contain information about cases when Jews were rescued for nothing in material return. In the summer of 1944, during the Nazi investigation of the rescue of a Jew, Alter Safro testified that

the Jew escaped from the Jewish ghetto in May 1943 and has been hiding with Catholics until now... And I... went to Roman Dąbrowski, in Lviv at no. 19, Lychakivska Street. I knew him because we had been working together in the oil mill. I was helping him during the famine because I was better off than he was. I gave him food and money. I asked Dąbrowski to hide me and he graciously agreed, since I no longer had any means of subsistence. He gave me food and shelter”<sup>30</sup>. The daughter of Alter Safro, Mania Hodzhin, who also had found shelter with R. Dąbrowski, states: “Leaving the bunker, we had no money. Me and my husband, we did not pay Dąbrowski for shelter, because he had already been hiding my father, so he hid us as well”<sup>31</sup>.

German court documents show some examples when Poles and Ukrainians, accused of hiding Jews, were acquitted with the help of lawyers.

The “lack of information” about the Jewish origin of those who were hidden was an argument. During the hearing of a case on a Jew M. Ringer, who was found in the apartment of Pole I. Baryliak, the court proved that “Irena Baryliak did not know that she had met a Jew and had no idea that Ringer was a Jew. Ringer deliberately deceived Baryliak, introducing himself as Piotr Rohush, seeking to have his personal Jewish benefit”<sup>32</sup>.

In other cases, yard-keeper Piotr Fink was detained on January 28, 1944, for hiding a child, Maksymillian Turteltaub, grandson of a Jewish woman from Vienna. He testified that he “was convinced that in German law no provision exists for the persecution of Jews of German origin. If I had known this, I would have never taken a Jewish child into my apartment”<sup>33</sup>. A German court had convicted Piotr but found that “investigation failed to prove the guilt of wife Katarzyna Fink and daughter Helena Fink and their accomplices in hiding a Jew”<sup>34</sup>.

Some of the lawyers’ requests to plead for a pardon look a bit odd at first glance, but in fact they contained rather derogatory characteristics of those accused. Thus, on July 15, 1944, lawyer Adolf Fida writes to the Governor-General in Krakow,

On behalf of Ganczar Maria and Nahatsch Wasyl, sentenced to death. Without taking into account the sinless life and the confession of guilt with

<sup>24</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 791, sh. 20 reverse.

<sup>25</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 851, sh. 26.

<sup>26</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 735, sh. 5 reverse.

<sup>27</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 735, sh. 6.

<sup>28</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 1227, sh. 13.

<sup>29</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 504, sh. 25–26.

<sup>30</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 847, sh. 14.

<sup>31</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 847, sh. 21 reverse.

<sup>32</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 1258, sh. 15.

<sup>33</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 904, sh. 8.

<sup>34</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 904, sh. 18.

deep regret, which is expressed by all possible means, I ask to consider the very low level of education of convicts. They were born and raised in a remote khutir [small village], unable to get any school education. They both are illiterate, Nahatsch learned to sign with his name during military service in the World War. They have a very primitive worldview and type of thinking, typical examples of Galician rural illiterates, who have a limited life of the mind<sup>35</sup>. Your Highness, they had no idea that it was prohibited to hide Jews<sup>36</sup>.

Of course, Ukrainians and Poles accused of hiding Jews were not often acquitted. Both do-gooders, seeking no profit, and those who tried to make money on it, paid with their lives for rescuing Jews. In one “Order by the court of the Security Police and the SD of the Galicia oblast to combat the attacks on German reconstruction in the Governorate-General dated 2.10.1943 (Visnyk rozporiadzhen dlia heneral hubernatorstva, p. 82, p. 589)”, ten people were sentenced to death “for hiding Jews”:

...Maria Krushkovska née Bobekova from Lemberg, Mikhal Piastun from Lemberg, Kazimezh Skompkyi from Lemberg, Zdislav Kovalchuk from Lemberg, Nastia Sush née Diachenko from Rudanetsk, Yuliia Izhek from Lemberg, Halyna Sliadovska née Klymenievska from Lemberg, Viktoria Maliavska née Vilchynska from Lemberg, Bronislav Yozefek from Lemberg, Maria Yozefek Sliovich from Lemberg...<sup>37</sup>.

Some stories even in German court documents look particularly tragic. This includes the case of Wladimir Korbecki. From November 1942 to May 1943, he was hiding the “Jewish women Rosa and Kraus as well as the three-year-old child of the latter in his house. The women gave him 1700 zlotys during the first few days...”<sup>38</sup>. The court decision contains a terrible sentence: “Alleged offender who has no previous convictions, according to § 4b of the specified resolution, had to be punished by the only prescribed punishment – execution”<sup>39</sup>. The verdict was carried out: “Wladimir Korbecki was shot on March 7, 1944...”<sup>40</sup>.

Thus, the rescue of Jews for a fee (reimbursement, or “for profit”) had several consequences.

1. Sometimes, when the Jews ran out of money, “selfish rescuers” handed them over to the Nazis or the police for execution and certain death.

<sup>35</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 366, sh. 68.

<sup>36</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 366, sh. 68–69.

<sup>37</sup> Жанна Ковба, *Людяність у безодні пекла. Поведінка місцевого населення Східної Галичини в роки “остаточного розв’язання єврейського питання”* (Київ: Дух і літера, 2009), 200–201.

<sup>38</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 504, sh. 16 reverse.

<sup>39</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 504, sh. 40.

<sup>40</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 504, sh. 20.

2. Sometimes, when selfish motives had prompted “rescue operations” and later on Jews ran out of material resources, rescuers displayed loftier human qualities and continued to help without receiving any recompense.

Even if a Jew (or a group of Jews) was rescued for money, it did not mean less risk for the rescuers, who were punished by the Nazis in the same way as the selfless “Righteous Among the Nations”. For some, hiding Jews became a kind of “business”, and they tried to make money in difficult times of war. However, Germans rewarded people for reports on Jews and their rescuers, so this “way of earning money” was a safer mode of business. Y. Hrytsak noted that given the existence of these two opposite “ways of earning money on Jews, human fear and envy played a role: «she» hides the Jews and earns on it, but «we», we may suffer if, God forbid, the Germans find out that we knew and did not report it”<sup>41</sup>.

It is worth noting another point: the reports on the Jews became not only a “manifestation of loyalty” to the Hitler’s regime, but they were also defined by Nazi laws and decrees, as well as presented by Goebbels’ propaganda, as a “virtue” for society and a “moral duty” of its members. Under conditions of distorted public consciousness and shattered morality, this factor made the rescue of Jews even more dangerous.

There are more examples of various myths that are reflected in the memories and family stories; in appeals of the visitors to the Museum “Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine”, on Facebook, etc.

“Tkuma” Institute staff faced some such myths, stereotypes, and at the same time – the desire to know the historical truth about a certain city or village and its history, during the implementation of the project “Righteous”. This large project was aimed at renaming streets of the cities, towns, villages and other settlements of Dnipropetrovsk *oblast* after the “Righteous Among the Nations”, who lived there during the Second World War and the Holocaust. Together with the regional and local authorities, we have managed to promote renaming streets in 13 settlements in the region in honor of rescuers of Ukrainian Jews. No region in the world can point to such an achievement.

We can talk about the facts of the rescue of Jews in greater detail after a critical analysis of archival materials, and an even more critical attitude in looking at testimonies and memoirs.

### Revisiting the motivation to rescue Jews

Examples of rescuing Jews in the occupied territory of Ukraine and its western area need clarification regarding the motives of people who risked

<sup>41</sup> Грицак, “Як українці переховували євреїв”.

not only their own lives but also the lives of their relatives, their children, by helping persecuted Jews.

There were many cases when people tried to rescue Jews – members of their own families or loved ones. Take the example of the Ukrainian wife of Jew Isaak Shymovych (the woman's name is missing from the document), who was living in Mykhailivka village, Zaporizhzhia oblast when the German occupation started in October 1941: “she did not hand over the child to policemen... to be murdered”. She finally saved the child of a mixed marriage<sup>42</sup>. The Pole Antonia Chomczinska from Lviv “had been hiding four Jews for several months” in the apartment where she lived<sup>43</sup>. When police caught three Jews in June 1943, “one of these Jews managed to escape from the apartment with the help of Chomczinska. She probably had had an affair with one of them. This can be seen in one letter by Chomczinska, found earlier”<sup>44</sup>. By the way, the investigation failed to “prove the guilt of the Polish woman Antonia Chomczinska in sheltering Jews”<sup>45</sup>.

There are many examples of participation of not only single Ukrainians but also groups of people, sometimes quite large, in rescue. I. Altman writes how in several Ukrainian villages, locals managed to shelter all the Jews: in Yaruga village, in Podillia, people managed to hide not only local Jews but also refugees; in Rakovets village, Lviv region, peasants were hiding 33 Jewish families; in Blagodatne village, Dnipropetrovsk oblast, 30 Jews were rescued. The researcher emphasizes that their rescue became possible only due to the collective support of the rest of the villagers<sup>46</sup>.

It should be noted that these are not just solitary examples. In his memoirs, Aharon Weiss narrates that a resident of the Western Ukrainian city of Boryslav, a Ukrainian woman Yulia Matchyshyn, asked for support from another neighbor, a Polish woman Ms. Potenzhna, to organize the rescue of the Weiss family<sup>47</sup>.

In occupied Zaporizhzhia, Ukrainian Yevdokiia Kupa was sheltering a girl, Maria Chapata, whose mother had been shot dead by the Nazis. To protect the child from arrest and extermination, neighbors petitioned the German authorities to issue her a passport proving Ukrainian nationality; four people testified as official witnesses (two of them were interrogated),

<sup>42</sup> State Archives of Zaporizhia Oblast (hereinafter – SAZO), coll. P. 1849, inv. 1, file 1.

<sup>43</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 661, sh. 3.

<sup>44</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 661, sh. 3.

<sup>45</sup> SALO, coll. P. 77, inv. 1, file 661, sh. 37.

<sup>46</sup> See: Илья Альтман, *Холокост и еврейское Сопротивление на оккупированной территории СССР* (Москва: Фонд “Холокост”, 2002).

<sup>47</sup> See the author's personal archive.

realizing what would happen to them if the Nazis found everything out. In general, almost all the residents of the street, several dozen persons, knew about the Jewish girl who was hiding from the Nazis. None of them betrayed Maria, and many helped<sup>48</sup>.

In general, the question of the “social composition” of the rescuers of Jews needs to be further clarified. Most of them were people who did not belong to the top stratum of Ukrainian society, its intellectual elite.

We know about cases when city officials – as well as German officers, Hungarian soldiers, and even German soldiers and local police officers who took part in the executions of Jews – helped them under critical conditions<sup>49</sup>. But, of course, such cases were unusual. Clearly, the implementation of any orders of the authorities or certain actions is carried out by specific people with their past and personal sympathies, whether they are employees of administrations, soldiers, Ukrainian policemen, or others. Of course, there were cases when the rescue of Jews was motivated by an emotional, human impulse, the desire to help the victims of the inhuman cruelty of the Nazis. Spurred by that “first impulse”, later people were often forced to continue the dangerous business.

Alongside this, cases of rescuing Jews by Ukrainians because of their religious beliefs, Christian attitudes toward those persecuted, were quite common. Karel Berkhoff states that among Ukrainians, Baptists and Evangelical Christians helped Jews the most. He writes: “In Volyn, they apparently rescued hundreds of people. Those Protestants thought that their Christian faith could not allow them to do otherwise”. Besides, using the bonds between Protestant communities, they “could quickly transfer Jews from one area to another”<sup>50</sup>.

Representatives of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church made up a significant number of rescuers in the clergy. The “ordinary” priests of the UGCC should also be mentioned here: among them Saint Omelyan Kovch, who paid with his life for rescuing Jews; and, of course, the majestic figure of the Metropolitan Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky. He personally saved many Jews, including Lviv Rabbi David Kahane, sons of the deceased rabbi Levin Kurt (Isaac), and Natan. “The Metropolitan attracted some Ukrainian priests, including his brother Clement Sheptytsky, an archimandrite of the Order of Studite monks, as well as the abbot of the St. Joseph

<sup>48</sup> Игорь Щупак, “Отношение украинского населения Запорожья к евреям во время войны 1941–1945 гг.”, *Запорожские еврейские чтения* 1 (1997): 120–121.

<sup>49</sup> Щупак, “Отношение украинского населения Запорожья к евреям во время войны 1941–1945 гг.”

<sup>50</sup> Карел Беркофф, *Жива розпачу. Життя і смерть в Україні під нацистською владою*, trans. Тарас Цимбал (Київ: Критика, 2011), 95.

Studite monastery, the Rev. Marco Steck and others, into rescuing Jews”. Andrey Sheptytsky rescued everyone he could help, first of all, children. They were given false certificates of baptism, Ukrainian names, and then sent to convents, monasteries, and orphanages. Studite monks helped some children cross the Romanian and Hungarian borders. In all, about 200 Jews were rescued with the help of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky<sup>51</sup>.

It should be noted that A. Sheptytsky was not awarded the honorary title “Righteous Among the Nations”, since he had welcomed Hitler’s army in the first days after the German attack on the USSR, and also because of his contacts with Nazi high-ranking officials, etc. (rather detailed historical studies examine this topic<sup>52</sup>). We believe that the greatness of the feat of people like Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky does not need any confirmation or approval even by the highest and most respected institution. The organization of a whole system to help the victims of the Nazi genocide through the churches, as well as pastoral instructions to church hierarchs regarding the rescue of hundreds of Jews doomed to death, turns Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky into a personification of humanism in the fight against the cannibalistic Nazi policy. Shevah Weiss, rescued with his family during the Shoah by Ukrainians and Poles, former Speaker of the Knesset (Parliament) of Israel and Ambassador of Israel to Poland, figuratively called A. Sheptytsky the “Ukrainian Schindler”<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Ігор Шупак, “Трагедія євреїв України,” in *Національне питання в Україні ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.: історичні нариси*, ed. Валерій Смолій (Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2012), 419.

<sup>52</sup> Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under the Soviet Occupation of 1939–1941”, in *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts’kyi*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi with the assistance of Andrii Krawchuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989), 101–123; Жанна Ковба, сопр., *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Документи і матеріали: 1941–1944* (Київ: Дух і літера, 2003); Шимон Редлих, “Митрополит Андрей Шептицький и евреи в период Холокоста и Второй мировой войны”, accessed December 27, 2019, [http://www.cerkva.od.ua/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=594&Itemid=87](http://www.cerkva.od.ua/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=594&Itemid=87); Шимон Редлих, “Моральные принципы в повседневной действительности: митрополит Андрей Шептицкий и евреи в период Холокоста и Второй мировой войны”, accessed December 27, 2019, <http://www.jrelations.net/%D0%A1%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0.3180.0.html?L=7>; Мирослав Маринович, “Постать Митрополита Шептицького у нелінійному просторі історичного часу”, *Проблеми історії Голокосту*: науковий журнал 4 (2007): 81–87; Ігор Шупак, “Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: особистість та символ в історії”, *Проблеми історії Голокосту*: науковий журнал 4 (2007): 88–99; Тетяна Чайка, “Колаборація у «просторі смерті»: до осмислення моральної колізії Митрополита Андрея Шептицького”, *Проблеми історії Голокосту*: науковий журнал 4 (2007): 100–113; Жанна Ковба, “Вплив митрополита Шептицького на вірних у часи Голокосту”, *Проблеми історії Голокосту*: науковий журнал 4 (2007): 127–151; Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник Львівського гетто*; Жанна Ковба, *Останній рабин Львова Єзекіль Левін* (Львів; Київ: Дух і Літера, 2009), etc.

<sup>53</sup> Shimon Redlich, “Sheptytsky Denied Racist Thinking (interview of professor Shimon Redlich to the *Tygodnik Powszechny* journal)”, accessed December 27, 2019, <http://www.newswe.com/index.php?go=Pages&in=view&id=3690>.

So, among those who helped the Jews there were representatives of different segments of the population and different communities, who were guided by a range of different motives.

1. There have been many cases when members of nationally-mixed families rescued Jews as their relatives. This group includes Ukrainians, Poles, and others who felt romantic feelings and love toward their chosen companions – representatives of the Jewish people. Although there were such terrible cases when mothers handed over their “half-blood” children, or where spouses reported their Jewish husband of Jewish wife. So here we have to talk about the moral qualities of rescuers.

2. Former fellow students in education and colleagues at work, as well as neighbors who were connected with Jews in prewar life, helped because of their friendly feelings and relations. There were cases when Ukrainians rescued those Jews who had once helped them in difficult times.

3. Representatives of the Ukrainian underground movement and partisans sometimes perceived helping Jews as one of the forms of resistance to the Nazi regime.

4. Some people, who can be called non-conformists and could not adapt to society under the Nazi regime, tried to help the victims of this regime to resist violence and thus psychologically assert themselves.

5. Some Christians rescued Jews because of their religious beliefs.

6. “Random rescuers” – people who tried to rescue Jews due to a sudden emotional impulse to help those persecuted.

7. There also were selfish motives to help Jews – attempts to get some money, to obtain material benefits from those who were rescued, as mentioned above.

In general, it should be emphasized that not a single Ukrainian political force or military organization made a stand to defend Jews during the Holocaust in the occupied territory of Ukraine. The Soviet government, having information about the extermination of Jews by the Nazis, did not bring it to the notice of the Jewish population<sup>54</sup>. Neither the Ukrainian and Polish underground, nor the Soviet government and its subordinate Soviet partisan units and underground detachments, issued any declarations, statements, and calls to the Ukrainian people to help Jews. This played a tragic role in the huge death toll of Ukrainian Jews, which is one and a half million out of six million of all Jews as Holocaust victims.

<sup>54</sup> This was due to the “internationalistic” component of communist ideology. According to it, there were no separate national groups that had a special fate under certain historical conditions in Soviet society. Along with this, this “internationalistic” approach was neglected, when the Soviet authorities organized the mass deportation of Crimean Tatars or Germans from the Volga region, as it followed from the decisions of the Stalinist leadership of the USSR.

At the same time, the history of the Second World War represents not only terrible pages of mass killings but also examples of resistance to genocide and rescue. None of the Jews rescued during the Holocaust could have hoped for salvation without the help of Ukrainians and other peoples of our country who also suffered from Hitler's occupation.

Research on the phenomenon of rescuing Ukrainian Jews during the Holocaust is an important scholarly and moral task since it provides positive examples of human behavior under the inhumane conditions of war. This is especially relevant for Ukraine today when our country has become the object of military and informational aggression.

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Kateryna Budz

**SURVIVING THE HOLOCAUST IN EASTERN GALICIA:  
THE RESCUE INITIATIVES OF THE GREEK CATHOLIC  
CHURCH IN THE TESTIMONIES OF RABBI DAVID  
KAHANE AND KURT LEWIN**

*A part of the Second Polish Republic during the interwar period, Eastern Galicia was annexed by the Soviet Union in September 1939. The collapse of the Polish state and the subsequent German occupation of Galicia (1941–1944) strained the relations between the region’s main ethnic groups, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews.*

*Most Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia belonged to the Greek Catholic Church (GCC), headed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Attempting to prevent the anti-Jewish violence, the head of the UGCC addressed the government of a short-lived Ukrainian state, Nazi authorities, Greek Catholic clergy and their congregants. Sheptytsky’s pastoral letters “On Mercy” (June 1942) and “Thou Shalt Not Kill” (November 1942) contain anti-Holocaust undertones. Moreover, at least 200 Jewish men, women and children survived the Second World War due to the rescue initiatives of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, his brother Clement Sheptytsky, the superior of Univ lavra, and their entourage. Among the rescued were the representatives of two rabbinical families in Lviv, those of Dr. Ezekiel Lewin, the Progressive Chief Rabbi of Lviv, and Rabbi David Kahane. Whereas Rabbi Lewin, his wife and youngest son perished during the Holocaust, his two older sons, Kurt and Nathan, as well as Rabbi Kahane together with his wife and daughter, were rescued by Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the Greek Catholic monks of the Studite order.*

*This paper looks at the rescue initiatives of the Greek Catholic hierarchy and Studite monks as narrated by the rescued. The study is based primarily on David Kahane’s Lvov Ghetto Diary as well as Kurt Lewin’s memoirs, documents from the collection of the “Righteous Among the Nations” Department at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and Lewin’s interview from the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation.*

*This paper aims to explore the rescue initiatives of Sheptytsky brothers and the Studite monks during the German occupation of Galicia (1941–1944) as remembered and narrated in the ego-documents by the Holocaust survivors.*

**Keywords:** Greek Catholic Church, Holocaust, rescue of Jews, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Studites, Eastern Galicia.

**Introduction**

In September 1939, according to the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the Soviet Union annexed Eastern Galicia, a part of the Second Polish Republic in the interwar period<sup>1</sup>. This Western Ukrainian region, populated mostly by Ukrainians, but also Poles and Jews, underwent a triple (Soviet-Nazi-Soviet) occupation during the Second World War. Both the Soviet and the Nazi regimes turned this territory into what Timothy Snyder has defined as “bloodlands.”<sup>2</sup> As a result of the Second World War, Galicia lost its Jewish and Polish character and became almost entirely a Ukrainian region.

The Nazi occupation of Galicia started in late June 1941. As the Germans approached and the Soviets were unable to evacuate prisons, the NKVD (the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs) executed 10,000 political prisoners, mostly Ukrainians, all over Galicia<sup>3</sup>. The Nazis took advantage of the NKVD executions to foster anti-Soviet as well as anti-Jewish sentiments of Galician Ukrainians. The German authorities organized the so called “Leichenschau,” a showing of corpses, allowing local residents to look for their relatives in the prison yards. They also exploited the idea of “Judeo-Bolshevism”: by ordering Jews to excavate the decomposed bodies of prison inmates, Nazis symbolically put the blame for Soviet atrocities on Jews as the alleged Soviet collaborators. As a result of shootings and pogroms, which were either secretly organized by Germans or spontaneous ones, up to 12,000 Jews perished in Galicia in summer 1941<sup>4</sup>.

As estimated by Aharon Weiss, out of 600,000 to 650,000 Jews who inhabited the territory which formed an administrative unit of District of Galicia under Nazi occupation, only 10,000 to 15,000 survived<sup>5</sup>. Overall, some

<sup>1</sup> Eastern Galicia mostly coincides with the contemporary territories of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil oblasti of Ukraine.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Frank Golczewski, “Shades of Grey: Reflections on Jewish-Ukrainian and German-Ukrainian Relations in Galicia,” in *The Shoah in Ukraine: history, testimony, memorialization*, ed. Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 130.

<sup>4</sup> Golczewski, “Shades of Grey,” 131; Kruglov, Alexander. “Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944.” In *The Shoah in Ukraine*, 274. According to the latest estimate provided by Kai Struve, from 7,295 to 11,300 Jews were killed in Galicia in summer 1941 as a result of anti-Jewish violence (Struve, Kai. *Deutsche Herrschaft, ukrainischer Nationalismus, antijüdische Gewalt. Der Sommer 1941 in der Westukraine*. Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg 2015, 668–671).

<sup>5</sup> Mick, Christoph. *Lemberg, Lwów, Lviv, 1914–1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press 2016, 309.



1.6 million Jews perished in Ukraine during the period of Nazi occupation (1941–1944)<sup>6</sup>.

Western Ukrainians' attitudes to the Holocaust were diverse, ranging from overt participation in the acts of anti-Jewish violence to the rescue of Jews. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who headed the Greek Catholic Church (GCC), the Church of most Ukrainians in Galicia, opposed the Holocaust with his words and deeds<sup>7</sup>. The attitudes of the Greek Catholic clergy to the Jews were diverse, however. As suggested by Kai Struve's study, in summer 1941, some Greek Catholic priests allegedly incited to anti-Jewish violence, whereas others attempted to prevent the pogroms<sup>8</sup>. During 1901–1944, the GCC was led by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. Due to the rescue initiatives of the head of the Church and his entourage, at least 200 Jewish men, women and children survived the Second World War<sup>9</sup>.

This article examines the rescue initiatives of the Greek Catholic Church through the lens of the Holocaust survivors' testimonies. The paper is based primarily on the memoirs of the representatives of two rabbinical families in Lviv, namely Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt Lewin, a son of Rabbi Dr. Ezekiel Lewin. Whereas Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin, his wife, and youngest son perished during the Holocaust, his older sons, Kurt and Nathan, survived. Similar to Rabbi David Kahane and his family, the Lewin brothers were rescued by Metropolitan Archbishop Sheptytsky and Greek Catholic monks of the Studite order<sup>10</sup>.

The rescue stories of Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt Lewin are by no means representative of the survival experience of Galician Jews in general. This article, however, is based primarily on their accounts, and namely for the following reasons. First, given a high level of conspiracy required for the rescue initiatives during the Holocaust, there are hardly any sources of the Greek Catholic provenance on the rescued Jews. Second, the memoirs of Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt Lewin provide a very comprehensive account of the rescue initiatives of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Third,

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in *The Shoah in Ukraine: history, testimony, memorialization*, ed. Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 130.

<sup>7</sup> The GCC, the Church of the Byzantine rite with ties to the Vatican, united 3.6 million faithful in Galicia as of 1943 (Botsiurkiv, Bohdan. *Ukrainska Hreko-Katolytska Tserkva i Radianska derzhava (1939–1950)*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo UKU, 2005, 25).

<sup>8</sup> For mentions of Greek Catholic clergy's involvement in pogroms, please see: Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft*, 484, 513, 583, fn. 94. For examples of Greek Catholic priests who averted pogroms, please see: Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft*, 555, 661.

<sup>9</sup> Lapomarda, Vincent A. *The Catholic Bishops of Europe and the Nazi Persecutions of Catholic and Jews*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press 2012, 132.

<sup>10</sup> Studites are a monastic order based on the Eastern Christian tradition.

Kahane's and Lewin's life stories are comparable. Both of them directly or indirectly belonged to the Jewish religious-spiritual elite, lived in Lviv on the eve of the Holocaust, and turned to the head of the GCC with a request for help, which ultimately ensured their survival. At some point during the war, they were both hiding in the Studion Library of the St. Josaphat monastery in Lviv. They both left Galicia after the Second World War and wrote memoirs about their wartime experiences.

In their memoirs, Kahane and Lewin often provide divergent evaluations of the same individuals or events. The purpose of this article is not to identify whose narrative is more historically accurate. After all, as Aleida Assmann has rightly remarked, even distorted memoirs can be true on a different level<sup>11</sup>. Thus, the process of remembering itself becomes an object of research. As Lynn Abrams noted: "By and large people do not *make up* stories for the researcher; they tell the past as it appears to them"<sup>12</sup>.

Both Kahane and Lewin attempted to find answers to important questions as to why the Holocaust happened or why they survived, and others did not. Writing thus served for these Holocaust survivors as an important tool for dealing with their traumatic memories. Both authors allude to the difficulty, if not an impossibility, of narration about the Holocaust. For Rabbi Kahane, the Holocaust goes beyond human understanding. In the foreword to the *Lviv Ghetto Diary* the author remarks: "The Holocaust cannot be grasped with mind. Nobody can understand it and make others understand"<sup>13</sup>. In turn, Kurt Lewin implicitly refers to the idea of aphasia, the inability to speak the unspeakable. Thus, in the interview for the Shoah Foundation (1997), when asked if his grandchildren were aware of his experience, Kurt Lewin replied: "How can one be aware of these experiences? To me, we deal with the surrealistic world. It's like Hieronymus Bosch's picture. Normal human being and mind cannot imagine that and should not because it does not fall into the category of normal human behavior. End of story"<sup>14</sup>.

Life in abnormal times thus challenges people's usual perceptions and poses moral dilemmas. The responses of non-Jewish populations to the Holocaust depended on a variety of social, national, and religious considerations and ranged from complicity in the anti-Jewish violence to the involvement

<sup>11</sup> Аляйда Ассман, *Простори спогаду. Форми та трансформації культурної пам'яті* (Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2012), 294.

<sup>12</sup> Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), 90.

<sup>13</sup> Жанна Ковба, сопр. *Щоденник львівського гетто. Спогади рабина Давида Кахане* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2003), 21.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Kurt Lewin. Jan. 30, 1997, New York, U. S. Interviewer: Naomi Rappaport, Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation, 25423.

in rescue initiatives. By studying the rescue actions of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky through the narratives of Jewish survivors, this article aims to explore the response of the head of the GCC and the monastic order of the Studites to the Holocaust.

### Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's Attitude to the Holocaust

Metropolitan Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky headed the GCC for more than four decades (1901–1944). During this period, Galicia was a part of the Habsburg monarchy, Second Polish Republic, Soviet, German, and again Soviet occupation zones during the Second World War. To ensure the survival of the Greek Catholic Church in the absence of the Ukrainian state, Sheptytsky attempted to establish a dialogue with different state powers. Like most Galician Ukrainians, however, Metropolitan Archbishop Sheptytsky felt relieved when the Soviets left the region. In his pastoral letter of July 1, 1941, the day after the Germans arrived, the hierarch greeted the German army as “a liberator from the enemy”<sup>15</sup>.

Despite this initially positive attitude to the German authorities, Sheptytsky later became critical of the occupation policy of the Nazi regime, especially of the Holocaust. The Metropolitan's disillusionment with the new power is reflected in his letter to Pope Pius XII about the state of the Lviv Archeparchy under the German occupation (August 1942). It follows from the letter that, after one year of occupation, the head of the church considered the German regime to be “probably more evil than the Bolshevik one, almost diabolic”<sup>16</sup>.

In February 1942, the head of the Church wrote a letter to Heinrich Himmler. The document itself was never found, but the letter was read by at least two people, Kost Pankivsky and Rabbi David Kahane<sup>17</sup>. Sheptytsky also mentioned this appeal in the above-quoted letter to the Pope Pius XII<sup>18</sup>. As follows from Kahane's memoir, Metropolitan Sheptytsky requested Himmler not to involve Ukrainian policemen in operations aiming at murder of Jews<sup>19</sup>.

Moreover, Metropolitan Sheptytsky attempted to prevent his flock from involvement in the wartime violence through many pastoral letters. The hierarch

<sup>15</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: *Життя та діяльність: Документи та матеріали 1899–1944 рр.*, vol. II, “Церква та суспільне питання”, ed. Андрій Кравчук (Львів: Місіонер, 1998), book 1, “Пастирське вчення та діяльність”, 517.

<sup>16</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: *Життя та діяльність: Документи та матеріали 1899–1944 рр.*, vol. II, “Церква та суспільне питання”, ed. Андрій Кравчук (Львів: Місіонер, 1999), book 2, “Листування”, 982.

<sup>17</sup> John-Paul Himka, “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust,” *Polin* 26 (2013), 347.

<sup>18</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, vol. II, book 2, 984.

<sup>19</sup> Жанна Ковба, сопр. *Щоденник львівського гетто. Спогади рабина Давида Кахане* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2003), 179.

consistently emphasized the sanctity of human life, regardless of political, national, or religious divides.

For example, in his letter, dedicated to the proclamation of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, the head of the GCC expressed the hope that a Ukrainian state administration would take care of all its citizens, “irrespective of what denomination, nationality or social stratum they belong to”<sup>20</sup>. According to Rabbi David Kahane, Sheptytsky specifically had Jews in mind when he wrote pastoral letters “On Mercy” (June 1942) and “Thou Shalt Not Kill” (November 1942)<sup>21</sup>.

Similar to the interwar period, the head of the church condemned the acts of terror. Thus, in his pastoral letter to the clergy and laity with an appeal to defy the provocations and restrain from resorting to the acts of terror (August 10, 1943), Metropolitan Sheptytsky warned against “committing actions that contradict the law of God”<sup>22</sup>. In the same letter, Sheptytsky reminded the youth that they “can always do something to revoke or mitigate an order”<sup>23</sup>. Judging from the context, Sheptytsky may have appealed to young Ukrainians serving in the auxiliary police units (*Hilfspolizei*), notorious for their involvement in the Holocaust<sup>24</sup>.

### Rescue Stories of Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt Lewin

Before the war, Metropolitan Sheptytsky maintained good relations with the members of the Jewish community, addressing them in Hebrew on various festive occasions and supporting them with charity<sup>25</sup>. The head of the GCC maintained friendly relations with the Jewish spiritual leaders in Lviv, for example, with Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin, the Progressive Chief Rabbi of Lviv. Their friendship can be traced back to 1935 when the Jewish delegation congratulated

<sup>20</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, vol. II, book 1, 517. The proclamation of the Act of Independence was an initiative of the Bandera wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The initiators were soon arrested by the Nazi administration.

<sup>21</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 179, 182.

<sup>22</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, vol. II, book 1, 539.

<sup>23</sup> Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, vol. II, book 1, 539.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, these units were involved in pogroms of July 1941 and further anti-Jewish actions of August 1942 and May 1943; see: Shimon Redlich, “Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews During World War II”, in *Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrey Sheptyts'kyi*, ed. P.-R. Magocsi (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 153.

<sup>25</sup> Жанна Ковба, *Людяність у безодні пекла. Поведінка місцевого населення Східної Галичини в роки “остаточного розв'язання єврейського питання”* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2009), 130.

Metropolitan Andrey on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday. Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin also organized Hebrew classes for the Greek Catholic hierarch<sup>26</sup>.

Dr. Ezekiel Lewin and his brother, Rabbi Aaron Lewin, a refugee from Riashiv, perished in the first days after the arrival of the Germans<sup>27</sup>. Thus, after visiting Metropolitan Sheptytsky on July 1, 1941, Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin was taken to Brygidky prison in Lviv and shot in the prison yard. At that very moment, his sixteen-year-old son, Kurt Lewin, together with other Jews, was exhuming corpses of the NKVD victims there. One of the fellow Jews closed Kurt's eyes so that he could not witness the murder of his father<sup>28</sup>. After a day of exhumation of dead bodies, Kurt Lewin's neighbor expressed a wish to commit suicide<sup>29</sup>. Whereas there is no mention in the memoir about Lewin's considering suicide, he notes in the interview for the Shoah Foundation (1997) that his mother convinced him not to do so<sup>30</sup>.

The rescue story of Kurt Lewin (1925–2014) is unique: between autumn 1942 and the summer of 1944, he lived in different Studite monasteries in Galicia under the false identity of Roman Pavlo Mytka, a Studite novice<sup>31</sup>. In order not to raise any suspicions, he led a monastic life but did not participate in the Christian sacraments<sup>32</sup>. In the interrogation materials of Fr. Clement Sheptytsky, Kurt Lewin appears as Roman Lewin. During the interrogations in 1947, Fr. Clement Sheptytsky (1869–1951) testified to the Soviet security agents that Roman Lewin converted to Greek Catholicism<sup>33</sup>. It should be noted, however, that Fr. Sheptytsky presented an “official” version: in his memoir, Lewin mentioned that there were no attempts to convert him to Christianity<sup>34</sup>. Generally, during the Second World

<sup>26</sup> Statement made to correct errors and misinformation in Dr. Mordecai Paldiel's chapter on Metropolitan Szeptycki in the book *Saving the Jews*, Schreiber Publishing in 2000 (February 25, 2008), *Yad Vashem Archives*, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 232.

<sup>28</sup> Курт Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії* (Львів: Свічадо, 2007), 45.

<sup>29</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 46.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Kurt Lewin from Jan. 30, 1997. Although throughout the testimonies Kurt Lewin refers to Rachel Lewin as his mother, in fact she was his stepmother. According to Lewin, his biological mother could not handle the responsibilities of a rabbi's wife and decided to leave her husband and sons (See: Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 23–24).

<sup>31</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 71.

<sup>33</sup> The Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (GDA SBU, Kyiv), f. 6, spr. 74948-FP, t. 1, ark. 117–118. The archival sources are quoted as *fond, opys, sprava, tom, arkush(i)* (Ukr.), which corresponds to *collection, inventory, file, volume, leaf(leaves)* (Engl.).

<sup>34</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 111.

War, the Greek Catholic Church did not encourage conversions of Jews due to the impossibility of free choice<sup>35</sup>.

For the sake of security, Jewish children in the orphanage at the Univ monastery knew nothing about the Jewish identity of the Studite monk Roman Pavlo Mytka<sup>36</sup>. Lewin's appearance and knowledge of Ukrainian language in combination with wearing monk's garments allowed him to move relatively freely in Nazi-occupied Lviv<sup>37</sup>.

Accompanied by a Studite monk, he once visited his mother and youngest brother in Lviv ghetto and offered her to seek Sheptytsky's protection, which she refused<sup>38</sup>. Although Lewin does not provide a specific date, the visit must have been organized soon after he joined the Studite monastery in autumn 1942<sup>39</sup>. Soon afterward Rachel Lewin witnessed the murder of her six-year-old child by the SS officer Grzymek and she perished during the fire in Yanowska camp six months later<sup>40</sup>.

In turn, Kurt Lewin's brother Nathan (born in 1932) was taken by a Studite priest to a Basilian convent in Pidmykhailivtsi, whereas after several months he was relocated to Bachiv, where the parish was headed by another Studite priest<sup>41</sup>.

When the Soviets returned to Galicia, Fr. Clement Sheptytsky advised Kurt to go to Lublin in Poland<sup>42</sup>. After service in the Polish army, Kurt Lewin emigrated through Italy to Palestine (1946), where he participated in the 1948 Israeli war of independence and held a high post in the General Staff. Disappointed with the state of affairs in the Israeli army, he left the army in 1954<sup>43</sup>. Later he went to the U.S. and worked as a finance expert in Wall Street, consulting American, European, and then also Japanese companies.

When interviewed for the Shoah Foundation in 1997, Kurt Lewin suggested that he had survived the German occupation due, among other things, to accident, his personality traits, the personal ties of his father with the Metropolitan

<sup>35</sup> Юрій Скіра, *Покликані: монахи Студійського Уставу та Голокост* (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2019), 34.

<sup>36</sup> Оксана Сікорська, “Порятунок євреїв у колективній пам'яті галичан на прикладі Унева та Унівської Лаври”, *Україна Модерна. Єврейські історії українських теренів* 24 (2017): 143.

<sup>37</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 16.

<sup>38</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 63.

<sup>40</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 77.

<sup>41</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка кризь ілюзії*, 215, 255.

Sheptytsky and resilience, namely his ability to survive in the harsh conditions of Eastern Christian monasticism<sup>44</sup>.

Rabbi Kahane (1903–1997) seems to be the only Rabbi in Lviv who survived the Holocaust. Many rabbis were arrested and deported already during the Soviet occupation of Galicia (September 1939–June 1941)<sup>45</sup>. Rabbi David Kahane spent some time in hiding until in January 1942, when he returned to the religious department of the Jewish Council (*Judenrat*), where eight other rabbis were involved<sup>46</sup>. Kahane mentions the death of a martyr of Rabbi Anshel Schreiber in March 1942 as well as the deportation of Rabbi Hirsch Rosenfeld and his family to the Belzec death camp<sup>47</sup>. As of February 1943, Kahane noted, there was no Lviv rabbi alive: they were either killed in the *Aktionen* (mass killing operations) or died from typhus<sup>48</sup>. He never met any rabbi at Yanowska camp: rabbis were the first targets of Germans, often killed by the SS in front of their religious communities<sup>49</sup>.

Kahane approached Metropolitan Sheptytsky with the request for help in August 1942<sup>50</sup>. Soon afterward his 3-year-old daughter was sheltered in the Studite convent, headed by Mother Yosyfa Viter, on Ubocha Street in Lviv. Kahane's wife first stayed at the Studite convent in Briukhovychi, where she learned Ukrainian and was provided with the “Aryan” documents, and then in Lviv<sup>51</sup>.

Upon receiving the note from his wife in March 1943 that the Mother Superior could provide shelter for him as well, Rabbi Kahane decided anyway to stay in the Yanowska camp<sup>52</sup>. He was well aware that the escape of one camp inmate could result in the death of several more people in retaliation; moreover, such behavior contradicted Jewish moral laws<sup>53</sup>. However, since eventually he fled the camp in May 1943 and was sheltered by Sheptytsky, the fragment about his difficult choice “between life and death” and initial

decision to stay may also be interpreted as justification of his further actions<sup>54</sup>. Kahane also emphasizes that he left the Yanowska camp only after hearing rumors that Germans intended to kill some 6–7,000 camp inmates<sup>55</sup>. Rabbi Kahane found shelter in Sheptytsky's residence and then in the Studite monastery on Petro Skarhy Street in Lviv<sup>56</sup>.

The issue of security was strictly followed by the Greek Catholic rescuers. For example, Fr. Clement Sheptytsky never disclosed to Kahane the information about the place where his wife and daughter were sheltered, since either one of them could have been tortured by the Gestapo<sup>57</sup>.

In 1945, Kahane emigrated to Poland and in 1951 to Israel, serving as a chief rabbi first in the Polish army and then in the Israeli Air Force. In 1969–1975 he worked in Argentina, and from 1975 up to his death in 1997 he lived in Tel Aviv<sup>58</sup>.

### Brief Description of the Analyzed Ego-Documents

Rabbi Kahane's and Kurt Lewin's memoirs differ both in structure and the content. The specific character of each ego-document is defined by the author's personality, age, educational background, and wartime experience. Kahane's and Lewin's memoirs will thus be compared with each other, primarily regarding their evaluation of the Greek Catholics' rescue initiatives, a narration of traumatic events, and the issue of self-censorship.

Both authors felt a need to narrate their stories quite early. Rabbi Kahane, for example, started working on his memoir already during the war, in September 1943<sup>59</sup>. *Lviv Ghetto Diary* covers the period from 1 July 1941 to 27 July 1944, when Kahane lived in the Jewish ghetto, then worked in Yanowska forced labor camp and finally found shelter in Sheptytsky's residence and the Greek Catholic monasteries. The original Hebrew version of the memoir was published in Tel Aviv in 1978, and the English-language edition appeared in the U.S. in 1990<sup>60</sup>. In turn, the Ukrainian translation, *Shchodennyk Lvivskoho getto. Spohady rabyna Davyda Kahane*, together with some research articles by Ukrainian scholars, was published in 2003 by the Dukh i Litera publishing house in Kyiv. The Ukrainian title of *Lviv Ghetto Diary* has a subtitle “Memoirs of Rabbi David Kahane”.

<sup>54</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 156, 158, 166–167.

<sup>55</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 156.

<sup>56</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 21.

<sup>57</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 164.

<sup>58</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 15–17.

<sup>59</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 21.

<sup>60</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Kurt Lewin, January 30, 1997.

<sup>45</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 231.

<sup>46</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 66, 233. Rabbi Kahane became involved in the activities of the religious department of the Judenrat in November 1941 (See: Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 14).

<sup>47</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 75, 136.

<sup>48</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 145.

<sup>49</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 146.

<sup>50</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 90–95.

<sup>51</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 190, 192.

<sup>52</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 153.

<sup>53</sup> Ковба, сопр., *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 167.

Since the book is based on fresh memories, it contains detailed descriptions of *Aktionen* in Lviv and other localities in Galicia as well as of the everyday hardships in the ghetto and Yanowska camp. Due to his theological background, Kahane also discusses the moral challenges posed by the German occupation and looks for theological explanations of the Holocaust. The author's literary style helps to convey his emotional experience.

In turn, Kurt Lewin prepared the manuscript of his memoir during his stay in Italy in 1945–1946. Once he arrived in Israel, the original Polish version of the memoir was translated into Hebrew by Prof. Dov Sadan and published by Am Over in Tel-Aviv in 1947<sup>61</sup>. In the preface to the Polish edition of the memoir, entitled “Przeżyłem. Saga Świętego Jura spisana w roku 1946 przez syna rabina Lwowa” (“I survived. The saga of Saint Jura written in 1946 by the son of the Rabbi of Lviv”) (2006), Lewin mentioned his initial motivation for putting down his memories. His aunt, wife of Rabbi Aaron Lewin, told him once that, in case he survives, it would be his duty to describe what happened to them<sup>62</sup>.

Lewin's longer biographical memoir in English, entitled *A Journey Through Illusions*, was published by Fithian Press in 1994. Its Ukrainian translation, *Mandrivka kriz iluzii*, appeared in 2007 in Lviv in Svichado, the publishing house of the Studite order. *A Journey Through Illusions* consists of 12 chapters, which correspond to different periods of Lewin's life, including his wartime experience in Eastern Galicia, service in the Polish army, participation in the Arab-Israeli War of 1947–1949, life and work in the U.S. and Asia. Out of 12 chapters in Lewin's memoir, four – namely chapters 1 (“The Start of the Journey”), 2 (“The Order of St. Theodore the Studite”), 7 (“The Story of a Saint”) and 8 (“The Story of Three Lives”) – deal with the Holocaust and the rescue efforts of the Greek Catholic Church in a direct or, more often, an indirect way.

Both in the interview from the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive (1997) and the foreword to the Ukrainian edition of *A Journey Through Illusions* (2007), Lewin argues that due to his efforts, Yad Vashem recognized Clement Sheptytsky and Marko Stek as Righteous Among the Nations. Thus, his main motivation in writing *A Journey Through Illusions* was to commemorate Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Other chapters, where the author provides detailed descriptions of his work as a finance expert in Wall Street or his business trips to Japan, were thus included to create additional credibility of his testimonies<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, f. 6304, 6304a, 70; Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 13, 253.

<sup>62</sup> Lewin, *Przeżyłem*, 5.

<sup>63</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 14.

*A Journey Through Illusions* is permeated with pessimism, with the title of the book itself alluding to the author's frustration. First, Lewin was disappointed with the indifference of Jewish communities both in Israel and the U.S. to the Holocaust<sup>64</sup>. Second, Kurt Lewin, who attempted to facilitate the process of the beatification of his rescuer, encountered the lack of understanding in circles both of the Catholic and Greek Catholic church regarding the personality of Metropolitan Sheptytsky (Chapter 7 “The Story of a Saint”). In turn, Chapter 8 “The Story of Three Lives”, is devoted to Fr. Stek, Fr. Peters and Fr. de Lattre, three priests of Ukrainian, German and French origin respectively, who greatly contributed to the preservation of Sheptytsky's heritage and were marginalized as a result<sup>65</sup>.

While admiring Greek Catholic rescuers for their courage and kindness, both Lewin and Kahane note, however, that similar behavior was rather exceptional among Ukrainians. Kurt Lewin, for example, provides the following account of the Lviv pogrom: “On the sidewalks our Christian neighbors, Poles, and Ukrainians, were yelling insults and goading the mob to beat “Christ-killers and Jew communists”<sup>66</sup>. He also notes, however, that at a final stage of the pogrom in Lviv, the clergy and monks sent by the Metropolitan Sheptytsky “quieted the crowds”<sup>67</sup>. In his „Lvov Ghetto Diary”, Kahane also emphasized “two incompatible aspects of one people's behavior,” hatred towards Jews of many Ukrainians, including atrocities on part of Ukrainian policemen, on the one hand, and attitudes towards Jews of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and his entourage. Kahane admits in his memoir that he had nobody to discuss this incomprehensible contradiction with, so the Rabbi had to deal it with on his own<sup>68</sup>.

### Role of the Studites in the Rescue Initiatives

On the eve of the Second World War, there were three monastic orders within the Greek Catholic Church, namely the Order of Saint Basil the Great (Basilians), the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) and Studite brethren (Studites), as well as several female congregations, including Basilian and Studite nuns.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky introduced the Studite order to the Greek Catholic Church in 1908. In turn, his brother, Clement Sheptytsky, was as

<sup>64</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 254.

<sup>65</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 280–315.

<sup>66</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 45. Quoted after: Kurt I. Lewin, *A Journey Through Illusions* (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1994), 36.

<sup>67</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 46.

<sup>68</sup> *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 180.

a superior (hegumen) of the Studite monastery in Univ, 50 km away from Lviv. In his recent monograph on the rescue initiatives of the Studites during the Holocaust, a Ukrainian historian Yurii Skira argues that Metropolitan Sheptytsky decided to rely on the Studites in his rescue initiatives<sup>69</sup>. The choice of the head of the GCC was not coincidental: Basilians did not support the Metropolitan's Byzantine-rite orientation, which led to a certain conflict in the interwar period, whereas Redemptorists were a small order with almost no premises which they could use for sheltering Jews<sup>70</sup>. Therefore, the rescue initiatives of the Sheptytsky brothers were implemented mainly through Studites.

The monks of the St. Josaphat monastery in Lviv, where Lewin found shelter in 1942 and Rabbi Kahane in 1943, had trade contacts with Jews during the interwar years<sup>71</sup>. During the period of German occupation, the Studite community of St. Josaphat was subject to frequent searches. If the presence of Jews at the monastery was discovered, the whole community would be at risk. However, when the monastery Superior, Fr. Nykanor Deineha, raised this question in 1943, each monk expressed his readiness to assume individual responsibility before the authorities for hiding the Jews<sup>72</sup>.

In the words of Kurt Lewin, each Studite monastery or convent sheltered at least several Jews<sup>73</sup>. Almost 500 Studite monks and nuns were aware of the Jews being sheltered in their communities and kept this secret<sup>74</sup>. Yurii Skira identified 29 Studites, including 15 priests and 14 monks, who were directly involved in the rescue of Jews during the Second World War<sup>75</sup>.

Overall, Kurt Lewin's memories about Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the community of the Studite monks are positive. For example, in his interview for the Shoah Foundation, Lewin emphasized that, when living with the Studite monks, he felt "as one of them, as a friend, as a part of the community": "These were the happiest days of my life. I lived with people who were decent, who tried to live by the Gospels (I didn't say that they were perfect), who sheltered me and never made me feel that I'm an outsider, who accepted the same risk of being caught and shot which faced me. The simple

<sup>69</sup> Skira, *Покликані*, 92.

<sup>70</sup> Skira, *Покликані*, 91–92.

<sup>71</sup> Skira, *Покликані*, 112–113.

<sup>72</sup> Skira, *Покликані*, 113.

<sup>73</sup> Lewin, *Przeżyte*, 157.

<sup>74</sup> Lewin, *Przeżyte*, 157.

<sup>75</sup> Skira, *Poklykani*, 253–254.

fact that I am there. And while there was a storm all around me, I was in a way like in a Noah's Ark"<sup>76</sup>.

He mentions, however, at least two incidents which reveal that not all representatives of the Studite community supported the rescue initiatives of their superiors. In September 1942, when Clement Sheptytsky offered shelter to Kurt Lewin, the latter went first to an orphanage in Lychakiv<sup>77</sup>. When Deacon Teofan, who was in charge of the orphanage, discovered that Lewin had no documents, he offered him to obtain documents at the Ukrainian committee, which was organized by the Germans. Being afraid of the Ukrainian police, Lewin escaped the orphanage and went back to the St. George Cathedral, where a surprised Clement Sheptytsky organized a safer place for Lewin to stay, namely in St. John the Baptist monastery<sup>78</sup>.

Another case in point is a young Studite priest, Fr. Rafail, whom Lewin describes as "a man of Western culture and high intelligence" who nonetheless demonstrated "hyper-chauvinism and outrageous anti-Semitism"<sup>79</sup>. In his earlier memoir, Lewin describes the following incident: upon his return from the journey, Fr. Rafail immediately identified Kurt Lewin as a Jew and demanded that he leave the monastery. The priest allegedly noted that the destruction of Jews was God's will; therefore, to rescue Jews was to oppose God. Although Fr. Mark and Fr. Tyt did not share this view, they were forced to fulfill Fr. Rafail's demand. As a result, Lewin was relocated to the monastery in Petro Skarhy Street in Lviv and started to work in "Studion," the Metropolitan Sheptytsky's library<sup>80</sup>.

Interestingly, Rabbi Kahane also describes the above incident in his *Lviv Ghetto Diary*, using almost identical wording<sup>81</sup>. The only possible source of information about this incident for Kahane must have been Kurt Lewin himself, who joined the Rabbi in Sheptytsky's library in November 1943<sup>82</sup>. Kahane infers from this story that, despite all the good intentions of Sheptytsky brothers, not every representative of the ecclesiastic community shared their worldview<sup>83</sup>.

In *A Journey Through Illusions* (1994), Lewin describes this episode in a much milder tone, providing a rationale for such behavior: "A discovery

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Kurt Lewin, January 30, 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 63–64.

<sup>78</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 65.

<sup>79</sup> Lewin, *Przeżyte*, 139.

<sup>80</sup> Lewin, *Przeżyte*, 139–140.

<sup>81</sup> Ковба, *сomp.*, *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 187.

<sup>82</sup> Ковба, *сomp.*, *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 187.

<sup>83</sup> Ковба, *сomp.*, *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 187.

of a Jew in the monastery during the frequent searches could bring death to all at St. Josaphat. Although the monks were aware of who I was, they accepted my presence among them. Some objected to exposing a whole community to the risk of being wiped out by sheltering one individual. This position was taken by Father Rafail and was supported by other monks. They expressed this view to Ihumen Clement and their superiors, Hieromonks Marko and Nikanor. Notwithstanding, nothing was ever done either to exert pressure to remove me, or to betray my identity<sup>84</sup>. Thus, in the memoir, which was written several decades after the war, Lewin downplayed or even silenced the circumstances of the incident, intending to leave only good memories about the Studite community.

In fact, the alleged anti-Semitism of Fr. Rafail also begs further analysis. According to Yuri Skira, Fr. Rafail (Roman Khomyn, 1907–1944) was indeed a controversial person within the Studite community<sup>85</sup>. However, the priest is known for rescuing two Jewish children from the Lviv ghetto by placing them in an orphanage and providing them with baptismal certificates<sup>86</sup>.

Rabbi Kahane is more critical in his evaluation of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. In his memoir, the topic of Christian anti-Semitism reemerges quite often, also regarding the Ukrainian Greek Catholics<sup>87</sup>. A case in point is the conversation of Rabbi Kahane and Metropolitan Sheptytsky on the causes of the Holocaust, an episode which was elaborated by several scholars. During this conversation, Metropolitan Sheptytsky allegedly hinted of a possible connection between the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the Holocaust, referring to a biblical phrase “His blood will be on us and our children” (Matthew 27:25)<sup>88</sup>. Although the head of the church allegedly apologized later for expressing such an idea, this incident prompted John-Paul Himka to conclude that Sheptytsky “was still to some extent the prisoner of Christian anti-Judaism and anti-semitism”<sup>89</sup>.

The description of this incident in Dr. Mordecai Paldiel’s chapter on Metropolitan Sheptytsky in the book *Saving the Jews* (2000) prompted Kurt Lewin to prepare a sworn testimony as a protest against the distortions of facts. For example, Lewin claims that the “long nightly theological discussion” of Rabbi David Kahane with the Metropolitan Sheptytsky was a “bizarre figment

<sup>84</sup> Левін, *Мандрівка крізь ілюзії*, 80. Quoted after: Lewin, *A Journey Through Illusions*, 67.

<sup>85</sup> Скіра, *Покликані*, 111.

<sup>86</sup> Скіра, *Покликані*, 112.

<sup>87</sup> Ковба, *сопр.*, *Щоденник львівського гетто*, 180–183.

<sup>88</sup> Redlich, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Jews During World War II”, 157; Himka, “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust”, 354.

<sup>89</sup> Himka, “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust”, 353–354.

of his [Kahane’s – K. B.] imagination”<sup>90</sup>. He provides two arguments for why this conversation may have been a false memory: first, in 1943, Sheptytsky rarely received visitors due to his poor health condition; second, Rabbi Kahane never left his shelter in the attic of the monastery and subsequently in the adjacent to the monastery library<sup>91</sup>. Whereas Lewin’s arguments are not fully convincing, his personal opinion is clear. According to Lewin, the idea about Sheptytsky’s adherence to Christian anti-Semitism was “inaccurate, controversial and hostile to Christianity at large”<sup>92</sup>.

### Conclusion

Unlike most Jewish spiritual leaders and their families in Lviv, Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt Lewin survived the war. Throughout their lives, Rabbi Kahane and Kurt Lewin attempted to commemorate their rescuers, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, and his entourage. Although most rescue operations were initiated and coordinated by the Sheptytsky brothers, the Studite clergy and monks generally demonstrated their eagerness to save the Jews, despite the dangers involved.

As illustrated by the examples of Kahane’s and Lewin’s memoirs, studying ego-documents poses certain methodological challenges, namely concerning the selectivity of memory, self-censorship, the specificity of memoir as a genre and significant influence of the personality of the author and his life experience on the art of narration.

Written during the Second World War or in the immediate post-war years, the memoirs by Kahane and Lewin contain detailed descriptions of their rescue stories. While maintaining a positive image of their Greek Catholic Church, they note that the position of their Greek Catholic rescuers differed substantially from the general attitude of Ukrainians to Jews. At the same time, they tend to explain some actions and expressions on the part of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics with reference to Christian anti-Semitism.

However, with the lapse of time, as the prevailing scholarly discourse tends to focus on the Ukrainians’ complicity in the Holocaust, Kurt Lewin assumes a defensive position about Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Thus, in *A Journey Through Illusions* (1994), while mentioning protests of some Studites against his presence in the monastery, Lewin explains them referring to some Studites’ fears of retaliation by Nazi authorities rather than their anti-Semitism. In turn, in his sworn testimony from 2008, Kurt Lewin points to the factual inaccuracies in Dr. Mordecai Paldiel’s chapter on Metropolitan Sheptytsky

<sup>90</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 18.

<sup>92</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, coll. 6304, 6304a, sh. 18.

in the book *Saving the Jews* (2000). In other words, since some scholars of the Holocaust, in Lewin's opinion, based their conclusions on distorted information, Lewin considered it his moral duty to intervene and defend his rescuers from slander. So, it was both Lewin's attempt to create a positive image of his rescuers and his wish to rebut the unsubstantiated allegations against the Greek Catholic Church that prompted him to present his memories differently.

In conclusion, Rabbi Kahane and Kurt Lewin commemorate their Greek Catholic rescuers, especially Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, in their memoirs. Despite some negative aspects of their memories, these Holocaust survivors tend to provide a generally positive evaluation of the GCC's role in the rescue of Jews during the Second World War.

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## SECTION 4. REMEMBERING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: GERMAN PERSPECTIVES

**Hans-Christian Petersen**

### SELECTIVE MEMORY. THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN UKRAINE IN THE HISTORICAL MEMORY OF RUSSIAN GERMANS

*The Second World War is still the central point of reference for the group generally subsumed in research under the term “Russian Germans”. In particular, the collectively forced relocations that began with the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 28, 1941 – and in the course of which around 900,000 individuals were relocated to Siberia and Kazakhstan by the end of 1941, and around 150,000 persons died through resettlement, hunger or forced labor – form the core of a victim narrative that is represented by Russian-German associations and historians close to them with a highly emotionally charged claim to absoluteness. This is understandable in view of the painful experiences endured, but on the other hand, it also means that all facets of the history that do not correspond to this interpretation are hidden. It becomes clear in the Ukrainian areas: while the German-speaking population in eastern Ukraine was affected by the Stalinist forced resettlement policy, it participated in the German occupation and extermination policy in the western and central parts of the country. It is therefore a question of the dimensions of a perpetrator’s story and not a victim’s story. Its research reveals numerous desiderata and has to date hardly been deliberated on in the group’s “official” cultural memory.*

*In the article, the development of the Russian-German politics of memory and history of the Second World War in Ukraine are traced and subjected to critical reflection. There are three focal areas for developing selective memory: the history of the community of Germans from Russia, the practice of the legal recognition of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Soviet experience of the population. At the same time, the events of the Second World War in Ukraine are still very present in the memories of Black Sea German families. This raises the question of what a more complete memory, including a contradictory remembrance of the Second World War, might look like. Finally, perspectives of an opening up of Russian-German cultural memory are broached for discussion.*

**Keywords:** *Russian Germans, Black Sea Germans, migration, Second World War, Ethnic Germans, cultural memory, selective memory, heterogeneity.*

At the center of this text is a group whose history forms a bridge between Ukraine and Germany. It begins at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the emigration from the German-speaking areas of Western Europe to the Black Sea and ends temporarily with the fact that the majority of the descendants of the emigrants today live in the Federal Republic

of Germany, while in Ukraine there are currently still around 33,000 people who are referred to as “Russian German”, “Ukrainian Germans” or “Black Sea Germans”<sup>1</sup>. In the following, I will usually speak of “Russian Germans”. The “Ukrainian Germans” and “Black Sea Germans” are part of this group and therefore are always included. “Russian-German” is the generic term used in German-speaking research, although its etymology is anything but unproblematic.

This is not intended to make any political statement about a supposedly clearly defined “national affiliation” of the group (which would also make little sense given its transnational history) but is only intended to serve a uniform terminology.

The Second World War is still the central point of reference for the group, which is mostly subsumed in research under the term “Russian Germans”. In particular, the collectively forced relocations that began with the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 28, 1941 – and in the course of which around 900,000 people were relocated to Siberia and Kazakhstan by the end of 1941, and around 150,000 people died through resettlement, hunger or forced labor – form the core of a victim narrative that is represented by Russian-German associations and historians close to them, with a highly emotionally charged claim to absoluteness<sup>2</sup>. This is understandable in view of the painful experience, especially since the knowledge about this group is still at a low level in the German majority society and there is a corresponding lack of recognition for their traumatic history. Instead, it is not uncommon to find stereotypical representations in which the (late) emigrants (*Spätaussiedler*)<sup>3</sup> from the former Soviet Union act either as the “fifth column of Putin” or as partisans of the AfD – reconfiguring minority

<sup>1</sup> The question of self and external designation and their translations (“*Russkie nemcy*”, “*Ukrainski nimtsi*”; “Russian Germans”, “Ukrainian Germans”) is closely related to the interpretation of one’s “own” story in the communicative and cultural memory of the group(s). See exemplary: Eric Schmaltz, “What’s in a Name? Russian Germans, German Russians, or Germans from Russia, and the Challenge of Hybrid Identities”, in *Jenseits der “Volksgruppe”: Neue Perspektiven auf die Russlanddeutschen zwischen Russland, Deutschland und Amerika*, eds. Victor Dönninghaus, Jannis Panagiotidis and Hans-Christian Petersen (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), 41–73.

<sup>2</sup> On the concept and function of victim narratives, see: Erik Franzen and Martin Schulze-Wessel, eds., *Opfernarrative. Konkurrenzen und Deutungskämpfe in Deutschland und im östlichen Europa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Until 1992, the legal name for this migration group in the Federal Republic was “*Aussiedler*” (emigrant), and since the War Consequences Adjustment Act came into force in early 1993, it was “late repatriate”. On the history of this legal category and the federal German admission policy up to 1989, see: Jannis Panagiotidis, “Staat, Zivilgesellschaft und Aussiedlermigration 1950–1989”, in *Handbuch “Staat und Migration in Deutschland seit dem 17. Jahrhundert”*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Munich: De Gruyter Verlag, 2015), 895–929.

positions into the supposed characteristic of an entire group and opening again deep-seated wounds of collective stigmatization<sup>4</sup>.

At the same time, however, the fixation on one’s victim role means that all facets of Russian-German history that do not correspond to this interpretation are hidden. This becomes clear not least in the Ukrainian territories: While the German-speaking population in Eastern Ukraine was affected by the Stalinist forced resettlement policy, it participated in the German occupation and extermination policy in the western and the central parts of the country. It is therefore a question of the dimensions of a perpetrator’s story and not a victim’s story. Its research reveals numerous desiderata and has to date hardly appeared in the group’s “official” cultural memory. Based on this finding, the following statements are divided into three steps: after a summary overview of the eventful Russian-German history, I take a closer look at the *construction* of the memory, i.e. the question of how the time of the Second World War after 1945 is remembered and what are the reasons for this – a memory that I conceptualize as *selective remembrance*. Finally, perspectives for the development of a more complete memory of the Second World War are outlined, including its contradictory aspect.

### Historical overview

The history of the Germans in Russia is diverse. It begins with the Hansekontor, which Lübeck merchants built in Novgorod around 1200, and continued to recruit miners, artisans, and military experts from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards who gave the “German suburb” (*Nemeckaja Sloboda*) of Moscow its name. After the foundation of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1725, they were followed by numerous German-speaking scholars who developed multi-layered, transnational identities and facilitated a cultural and scientific transfer between East and West, which meanwhile has been intensively worked on in the sphere of the German-Russian research

<sup>4</sup> See also: Hans-Christian Petersen, “Zwischen «Klein-Moskau» und der «Alternative für Russlanddeutschland»”, *Stereotyp und Geschichte*, accessed February 11, 2018, [www.stereotyp-und-geschichte.de/zwischen-klein-moskau-und-der-alternative-fuer-russlanddeutschland](http://www.stereotyp-und-geschichte.de/zwischen-klein-moskau-und-der-alternative-fuer-russlanddeutschland). Comment on the image of the AfD as the “Party of Russian Germans” from the perspective of historical stereotype research; Medina Schaubert, “«Der Fall Lisa» – Entwicklungen in Berlin Hellersdorf-Marzahn”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed October 9, 2018, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/271945/der-fall-lisa-entwicklungen-in-berlin-hellersdorf-marzahn>; Nikolai Klimeniouk, “Fließige deutsche Opfer, frustrierte russische Täter. Russlanddeutsche in den bundesdeutschen Medien”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed October 11, 2018, [www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/276854/flieissigedeutsche-opfer-frustrierte-russische-taeter](http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/276854/flieissigedeutsche-opfer-frustrierte-russische-taeter).

sector<sup>5</sup>. Germans, like other Western foreigners, were therefore present as specialists in Russia, and at the same time, they had little in common apart from the German language. The social spectrum ranged from artisans to university professors, some of whom remained as Russian subjects of German ancestry in the metropolises of the Tsarist Empire, while others left the country after finishing their jobs.

The Russian Germans are part of this story, but the description of their history follows a specific narrative. They are usually presented as a comparatively clearly defined group of peasant “pioneers” who responded to Catherine II’s manifesto of July 22, 1763, which offered them numerous privileges. These included the free allocation of land, interest-free loans, thirty years of tax exemption, self-government in the municipalities, exemption from military service, and freedom of profession and religion. The recruitment of foreign settlers due to Catherine was part of the early modern population policy and was also pursued by other great empires, such as the Habsburg Empire. Their goal was to develop previously sparsely populated border areas in the course of the territorial expansion of the Russian Empire. In addition to the lower Volga, the Black Sea region, the so-called “New Russia” (*Novorossiya*), was the second geographical focus of the German-speaking settlers. As a result of the further expansion of the empire’s borders to the south and east, further migrations to Bessarabia, Siberia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus followed in the 19th century<sup>6</sup>.

The emigrants were as heterogeneous as the population of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation from which they came: their areas of origin ranged from the originally Frisian Mennonites to northern Bavaria

<sup>5</sup> Fundamental here above all are studies by Andrey Andreev, Dittmar Dahlmann, Andrej Doronin, Galina Smagina, Jan Kusber, Trude Maurer, Elena Višlenkova and others. Insightful regarding the state of research are: Alexander Kaplunovsky, *“Auch in Moskwa habe ich Ursache zufrieden zu sein”. Christian von Schölzers Privatkorrespondenz mit der Familie. Akademische Lebenswelten, Wissens- und Kulturtransfer in Russland am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin/Münster: LIT Verlag, 2014); Дитмар Дальманн и Галина Смагина, eds., *Немцы в России: немецкий мир Санкт-Петербурга* (Санкт-Петербург: Росток, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> For a basic study, see also: Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen im Zarenreich. Zwei Jahrhunderte deutsch-russische Kulturgemeinschaft* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1986); Detlef Brandes, *Von den Zaren adoptiert. Die deutschen Kolonisten und die Balkansiedler in Neurussland und Bessarabien 1751–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993); Николай Бугай, Виктор Дизендорф, Татьяна Иларионова, Юрий Петров and Валентина Чеботарева, *Немцы: 250 лет в России*, vols. 1–2 (Москва: Гриф, 2012); György Dalos, *Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen. Von Katharina der Großen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2014); Viktor Krieger, *Kolonisten, Sowjetdeutsche, Aussiedler. Eine Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2015); as well as for the literature published up to 1993: Detlef Brandes, Margarete Busch and Kristina Pavlović, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte und Kultur der Russlanddeutschen*, vol. 1, *Von der Einwanderung bis 1917* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994).

and Baden; they brought along numerous dialects and diverse denominations, among them Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonite, Pietist and Catholic. They lived and worked in their communities; their settlements bore the names of their former German places of residence (Darmstadt, Johannesdorf, Mannheim, etc.). And in the course of the “long” 19th century, a population group developed which was loyal to the Russian state and its ruling house: from the Crimean War in mid-19th century to the First World War, in which they were fighting against the German Reich. The German-speaking population supported the Russian army with donations, civil and military service – between 1914 and 1917, around 300,000 subjects of German origin served in the Russian army<sup>7</sup>.

At the same time, another migration had arisen in the 1870s, this time to North and South America. The occasion was the “Great Reforms” of Alexander II, in the course of which the previous privileges of the colonists were abolished. Among other things, this meant that they also were now subject to compulsory military service. Mennonites in particular, who could not reconcile armed military service with their faith, subsequently left the Tsarist Empire and emigrated to the west.

At the beginning of the 20th century, in response to the upheavals in the Russian Empire after the 1905 Revolution and to the anti-German statements by Russian nationalists, the national-cultural movements developed among the German-speaking population – but their frame of reference, as in the case of the Volga-German population, for example, intelligentsia<sup>8</sup>, remained regionally limited. What therefore did not exist was an overarching consciousness directed towards the German state or the “*Volksgemeinschaft*” (national community). And in the first works about the history of Germans in Russia, which predominantly were written by pastors, the term “Russian Germans” (like “Ukrainian Germans”) cannot be found. It represents a neologism of the interwar period and it was shaped by ethnic emigrants from the German Reich, in the sense of framing described by Roger Brubaker, who sought to conceive the German-speaking

<sup>7</sup> On the Black Sea Germans, see also: Dmytro Myeshkov, *Die Schwarzmeerdeutsche und ihre Welten 1781–1871* (Düsseldorf: Klartext Verlag, 2008); Dietmar Neutatz, *Die deutsche Frage im Schwarzmeergebiet und in Wolhynien: Politik, Wirtschaft, Mentalitäten und Alltag im Spannungsfeld von Nationalismus und Modernisierung (1856–1914)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993).

<sup>8</sup> See also inter alia: James W. Long, *From Privileged to Dispossessed. The Volga Germans, 1860–1917* (Lincoln: London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); Dittmar Dahlmann and Ralph Tuchtenhagen, eds., *Zwischen Reform und Revolution. Die Deutschen an der Wolga 1860–1917* (Essen: Klartext, 1994); Victor Dönninghaus, *Revolution, Reform und Krieg. Die Deutschen an der Wolga im ausgehenden Zarenreich* (Essen: Klartext, 2002); Krieger, *Kolonisten*, 69–77.

population of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as part of “Germans abroad”<sup>9</sup>.

The development after the October Revolution in 1917 was initially characterized by opposing lines of development. On the one hand, the civil war and the violent policy of requisitioning and seizure of food provisions on the Volga, as well as in the Ukrainian areas in 1921/22, resulted in a devastating famine that also claimed tens of thousands of victims among the German-speaking population. On the other hand, there was the proclamation of a national German territory – first in the form of the Volga-German Workers’ Commune in 1918, and then from 1924 as the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Volga-Germans (ASSRdWD). Its establishment was part of the *korenizacija* (“sinking roots”) policy with which the Bolsheviks sought to bind the numerous non-Russian population groups to the young Soviet state, according to the guiding principle: national in form, socialist in content.

Specifically, this meant that school lessons as well as the press and cultural life could be developed in the German language in the Volga Republic<sup>10</sup>.

This policy of limited concessions ended in the 1930s. After the great famine in 1932/33, the “national operations” in 1937/38, which were aimed at allegedly disloyal minorities in their own country, affected the German-speaking population alongside with the other nationalities such as Poles, Latvians, and Finns. Just in the Ukrainian areas, over 21,000 people were convicted in the course of the “German operation” of the NKVD, among whom around 18,000 were shot and killed<sup>11</sup>. This development reached its

<sup>9</sup> See the contemporary research report, which is not limited only to the Volga colonies: Adolf Lane, “Die deutsche Literatur zur allgemeinen Geschichte der Wolgakolonien.” *Deutsche Erde. Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* 9 (1910): 18–21, 53–55; see also: Brandes, Busch and Pavlovič, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte*. For basic criticism of grouping and framing, see: Rogers Brubaker, “Ethnicity without Groups”, in *Archives européennes de sociologie XLIII*, 2 (November 2002), 163–189, as well as the self-descriptions of “German groups” in Eastern Europe: Hans-Christian Petersen and Tobias Weger, “Neue Begriffe, alte Eindeutigkeiten? Zur Konstruktion von «deutschen Volksgruppen» im östlichen Europa”, in *Nach dem Großen Krieg 1918–1923*, in *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 25 (2017): 177–199; Victor Dönninghaus, Jannis Panagiotidis and Hans-Christian Petersen, eds., *Jenseits der “Volksgruppe”: Neue Perspektiven auf die Russlanddeutschen zwischen Russland und Amerika* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), 7–27.

<sup>10</sup> See inter alia: Аркадий Герман, *Немецкая автономия на Волге. 1918–1941*, vols. 1, 2 (Саратов: Издательство Саратовского университета, 1992, 1994); Viktor Krieger, *Rotes Deutsches Wolgaland. Zum 100. Jubiläum der Gründung der Wolgadeutschen Republik. Eine populärwissenschaftliche Darstellung* (Düsseldorf: Vereinigung zur Integration der Russlanddeutschen Aussiedler e.V., 2018).

<sup>11</sup> See also inter alia: Богдан Чирко, Лариса Яковлева and Сергій Пишко, eds., *Німці в Україні 20–30-ті рр. ХХ ст. Збірка документів державних архівів України* (Київ, 1994); in a comparative perspective: Victor Dönninghaus, *Minderheiten in Bedrängnis. Die sowjetische Politik gegenüber Deutschen, Polen und anderen Diaspora-Nationalitäten 1917–1938* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009);

negative climax with the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 28, 1941. As a reaction to the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the German-speaking population was accused of collaborating with the Nazi state and forcibly resettled. Around 900,000 people were forcibly relocated to Siberia and Kazakhstan. They were from the most Eastern regions of Ukraine such as Zaporіžzja, Stalino (today Donec’k), Vorosіlovgrad (today Luhans’k), Dnipropetrovs’k (today Dnipro) and also from Crimea, the Volga region, the Caucasus and other areas and cities, including Leningrad, which was besieged by the German Wehrmacht (German Armed Forces). Around 350,000 were placed in forced labor in the “labor army”, with death rates of up to 20 percent in some of the labor camps. As far as can be established today, ca. 150,000 persons lost their lives by resettlement, hunger, and forced labor by the end of the Second World War<sup>12</sup>.

The German-speaking population in Western and central Ukraine, ca. 340,000 persons, fell under German and Romanian occupation after June 22, 1941. I will go into more detail on the state of research on this part of Russian-German history in the following. It is important to note that the Black Sea Germans were relocated by the Nazi authorities to the occupied parts of Western Poland in 1943/44, especially in the so-called “Warthegau” (*Reichsgau Wartheland*). They fled west from there at the end of the war. After 1945, around 280,000 people were “repatriated” by the Soviet authorities, often under duress. They were banished to the same areas in which those who had been forcibly relocated within the Soviet Union were already “special settlers”.

Until 1955, the Germans of Russia lived under the regime of the so-called “Kommandantur” (mandatory surveillance by the military authorities), which forced them to remain in their places of exile. After the *Kommandantur* was abolished in December 1955, they were not allowed to return to their areas of origin but were otherwise free to move again. This led to internal migration within the Soviet Union from north to south, especially to Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. We have but scant knowledge about their life there until the beginning of perestroika and glasnost under Mikhail Gorbachev from 1985 onwards.

and the recent publication: Альфред Айсфельд and Андрій Когут, eds., *Великий терор в Україні: німецька операція 1937–1938 рр.* (Київ: К.І.С., 2018).

<sup>12</sup> See also inter alia: Alfred Eisfeld and Victor Herdt, eds., *Deportation, Sondersiedlung, Arbeitsarmee: Deutsche in der Sowjetunion 1941 bis 1956* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1996); Detlef Brandes and Victor Dönninghaus, eds., *Bibliographie zur Geschichte und Kultur der Russlanddeutschen*, vol. 2, *Von 1917 bis 1998* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999); “Deportationen in Stalins Sowjetunion. Das Schicksal der Russlanddeutschen und anderer Nationalitäten. Nordost-Archiv”, *Zeitschrift für Regionalgeschichte. Neue Folge* 21 (2012).

The state of research is largely limited, just as with the Jewish Soviet population, on phenomena of dissidence, such as those manifest in the Jewish “Refusenik” movement, but also in the Russian-German autonomy movement<sup>13</sup>. In contrast, individual normalizations and Sovietization were largely ignored in everyday life. People were faced with the challenge of asserting themselves in Soviet society despite ongoing discrimination in everyday life, and the task of becoming “completely normal Soviet people”. They had to assume that the world around them was “forever” – that in the 1960s no one could have guessed that it would “no longer be”<sup>14</sup> decades later. These “forgotten decades”<sup>15</sup> of Russian-German history still offer a wide field for future research<sup>16</sup>. Only when the Soviet Union collapsed in the late 1980s did the great emigration to the West begin. Today, around 2,3 million people live as (late) emigrants (*Spätaussiedler*) from the former Soviet Union in Germany, while ca. 630,000 have remained in the post-Soviet states<sup>17</sup>.

### Narrative and selective memory

The central motif in the dominant narrative of Russian-German history is still the self-description as a “people on the way” (*Volk auf dem Weg*). It is a narrative of top achievers who allegedly transformed “empty”

<sup>13</sup> See inter alia: Владимир Бауэр and Татьяна Иларионова, *Российские немцы: право на надежду. К истории национального движения народа (1955–1993)* (Москва: Республика, 1995), 15–65; Eric Schmaltz, “Reform, «rebirth» and regret: The rise and decline of the ethnic-German nationalist Wiedergeburt movement in the USSR and CIS, 1987–1993”, *Nationalities Papers* 26, no. 2 (1998): 215–247; in a comparative perspective, see also: Kerstin Armborst, *Ablösung von der Sowjetunion. Die Emigrationsbewegung der Juden und Deutschen vor 1987* (Münster et al.: LIT Verlag, 2001); Nikita Pivovarov, “The Policy of the CPSU Central Committee towards the Soviet Germans and Crimean Tatars in the Time of Perestroika”, in *Jenseits der “Volksgruppe”*, eds. Dönninghaus, Panagiotidis and Petersen, 117–137.

<sup>14</sup> Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Robert Kindler, “Sowjetische Menschen. Russlanddeutsche zwischen Integration und Emigration”, *Osteuropa* 67, no. 9–10 (2017): 140; see also: Hans-Christian Petersen, “«Als ob sie kein Leben gehabt hätten». Russlanddeutsche Alltagsgeschichte zwischen Stalinismus und Perestroika”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed October 9, 2018, <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/274757/als-ob-sie-kein-leben-gehabt-haetten>.

<sup>16</sup> Greater in-depth research into this Soviet experience and how it is processed in the present will be the thematic focus of the research network “Ambivalences of the Soviet”, which will start its work in August 2020. The present author has successfully submitted its project proposal, in cooperation with the Junior Professorship for Migration and Integration of Russian Germans at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at the University of Osnabrück, the Northeast Institute (Lüneburg) and the Professorship for Modern History of Eastern Europe at the University of Göttingen.

<sup>17</sup> On the current situation of the Germans from Russia in the Federal Republic of Germany, see: Jannis Panagiotidis, “Russlanddeutsche Spätaussiedler. Soziale Charakteristika, Netzwerke und Selbstverständnis”, *Osteuropa* 69, nos. 9–11 (2019): 43–62.

and “desert” steppes into “blossoming landscapes” and then became victims from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and especially from 1917 on<sup>18</sup>. The image of a “people on the way” goes back to the eponymous, popular series of novels by the ethnic writer Josef Ponten, which appeared between 1933 and 1942<sup>19</sup>. It is based on the assumption that they are a unified Russian-German “people”, a “*Volk*” which, like in a digital identity container, have retained an unchanged “German identity” for more than two centuries and on several continents. And whose “way” on the migrant road has now found with the arrival in the German “*Urheimat*” (original homeland) a successful ending. At the same time, after the drastic break of the Stalinist forced relocations and the “labor army”, it is largely a victim narrative.

György Dalos, for example, locates the beginnings of a collective Russian-German identity in this shared, catastrophic experience: Stalinist violence had turned socially, culturally, and geographically differentiated Germans into a “homogeneous grey mass” “whose cement was their ethnicity. [...] A strange German culture emerged, a people, but not a nationality in the sense of the Soviet laws – a people whose homeland was given the imaginary name “*spetsposelenie*”, [“special settlement”], instead of the geographical one”<sup>20</sup>. This explanation is undoubtedly plausible in itself: the extent and duration of the discrimination against the German-speaking population of the Soviet Union have had a lasting impact on the identities of those affected and helped to create a common sense of persecution, a victim narrative, in a previously heterogeneous group.

On the other hand, there are now enough studies to show that the victim narrative of a “people on the way” does not do justice to the past or present realities of Russian-German living environments. The narrow focus on an essentialistically understood “German identity” does not adequately depict the transnational dimension of Russian-German history and the associated,

<sup>18</sup> On the topos of the development of an allegedly “empty country”: Matthias Asche and Ulrich Niggemann, eds., *Das leere Land. Historische Narrative von Einwanderergesellschaften* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015). The example of the Russian Germans is missing in the volume, but would fit very well.

<sup>19</sup> See also: Hans-Werner Retterath, “People on the way”. To develop an ethnic self-image. In idem, ed., *Russlanddeutsche Kultur: eine Fiktion?* (Freiburg, 2006), 67–109. Ponten’s cycle of novels (1933–1942) focusing on Germans in Russia is entitled *Volk auf dem Weg, Roman der deutschen Unruhe* (People on the Way: A Novel of German Restlessness). On Ponten, see: J. Wilhelm Dyck, “The Problems of the Russo-Germans in the Later Works of Josef Ponten”, unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956; see also: “Josef Ponten (1883–1940)”, accessed July 25, 2020, <https://gameo.org/index.php>.

<sup>20</sup> Dalos, *Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen*, 203.

plural biographies and hybrid affiliations of the so-called people<sup>21</sup>. And it culminates in a picture of history that I would like to term a *selective memory* – which turns out to be problematic, not least because of the history of the native Germans during the Second World War in German-occupied Ukraine.

The Stalinist forced relocations are omnipresent in the group's cultural memory – there is practically no mention of developments in central and Western Ukraine, in the so-called *Reichskommissariat "Ukraine"*, or in Transnistria under Romanian rule. An example of this is the current traveling exhibition of the compatriots of Germans from Russia: "The fate of the Russian-Germans reflects, like no other people, the first civilizational rupture in European history, which was initiated with the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks and with which the word «GULag» is inseparably linked"<sup>22</sup>. This quotation, which goes back to a similar but not entirely identical formulation by the Russian-German historian Viktor Krieger<sup>23</sup>, is an example of the victimization that shapes the narrative of "one's own" history.

But there is also a need for a critical discussion since it deliberately takes up the term "rupture of civilization", which was coined by historian Dan Diner to describe the Shoah<sup>24</sup>. With all understanding of the need for recog-

<sup>21</sup> European ethnology in particular, but also the social sciences, have looked at the complex of identity processes of Russian-German immigrants through numerous field studies with the beginning of the (late) resettlers' (*Spätaussiedler*) immigration to the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1980s. See also inter alia: Klaus Brake, *Lebenserinnerungen russlanddeutscher Einwanderer. Zeitgeschichte und Narrativik* (Berlin; Hamburg: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998); Heike Pfister-Heckmann, *Sehnsucht Heimat? Die Russlanddeutschen im niedersächsischen Landkreis Cloppenburg* (Münster et al.: Waxmann, 1998); Dorothee Wierling, ed., *Heimat finden. Lebenswege von Deutschen, die aus Russland kamen* (Hamburg: Edition Körber-Stiftung, 2004); Sabine Ipsen Peitzmeier and Markus Kaiser, eds., *Zuhause fremd. Russlanddeutsche zwischen Russland und Deutschland* (Bielefeld: Transkript, 2006); Gabriele Rosenthal, Viola Stephan and Niklas Radenbach, *Brüchige Zugehörigkeiten. Wie sich Familien von "Russlanddeutschen" ihre Geschichte erzählen* (Frankfurt; New York: Campus Verlag, 2011); Olga Kurilo, *Die Lebenswelten der Deutschen in Zeiten des Umbruchs (1917–1991). Ein Beitrag zur kulturellen Mobilität und zum Identitätswandel* (Essen: Klartext, 2010); Markus Kaiser and Michael Schönhuth, eds., *Zuhause? Fremd? Migrations- und Beheimatungsstrategien zwischen Deutschland und Eurasien* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015); Dönninghaus, Panagiotidis and Petersen, eds., *Jenseits der "Volksgruppe"*.

<sup>22</sup> "Eine Bilanz des Schreckens", *Geschichte der Deutschen aus Russland*, accessed October 9, 2018, <https://deutschausrussland.de/2017/03/27/eine-bilanz-des-schreckens/>.

<sup>23</sup> "Their fate, like no other people of the USSR, reflects the break in civilization for which the word «GULAG» stands for the epitome of the repressive Bolshevik-Stalinist system of rule". Viktor Krieger, *Bundesbürger russlanddeutscher Herkunft. Historische Schlüsselerfahrungen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Klappentext, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Dan Diner, ed., *Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Verlag, 1988); see also: idem, ed., *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism, and the Holocaust* (Berkeley: U of California Press, 2000).

nition of one's own history of suffering, this equating lacks any basis and can only be described as inappropriate.

Questions of collaboration or perpetration do not fit in with this picture. And so it is no coincidence that the few investigations that deal with the native Germans in the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine", and in Transnistria came largely from the "outside" – from researchers who mostly have no biographical or family references to the topic, while the field of research is otherwise very much dominated by people from the group<sup>25</sup>. Examples include Ingeborg Fleischhauer<sup>26</sup>, Benjamin Pinkus<sup>27</sup>, and Meir Buchsweiler<sup>28</sup> in the 1980s and 1990s, the Ukrainian historians M. V. Koval, P. W. Medvedok, O. F. Ivanov and I. O. Ivan'kov<sup>29</sup> as well as the US researchers Wendy Lower, Kate Brown, Martin Dean, and Eric Schmaltz and Samuel Sinner (both of whom are exceptions to the rule, because they belong

<sup>25</sup> This fact was already criticized by Regina Römhild around 20 years ago as the expression of an "ethno-history", which is characterized by an "approach by researchers and those researched in the area of ethnomangement utilizing the past to justify goals oriented to the present"; see: Regina Römhild, *Die Macht des Ethnischen. Grenzfall Russlanddeutsche. Perspektiven einer politischen Anthropologie* (Frankfurt/Main u.a.: Peter Lang Verlag, 1998), 28f.

<sup>26</sup> Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983).

<sup>27</sup> Benjamin Pinkus and Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion. Geschichte einer nationalen Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert*; Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987), 207–303.

<sup>28</sup> Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs – ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1984).

<sup>29</sup> Михайло Коваль and Петро Медведок, "Фольксдойче в Україні (1941–1944 рр.)", *Український історичний журнал*, no. 5 (1992): 15–22; Олександр Іванов and Ігор Іваньков, "Політика нацистського режиму стосовно етнічних німців України", *Український історичний журнал*, no. 3 (2005): 83–95.

to the in-group)<sup>30</sup> in the 2000s, and Eric Steinhart<sup>31</sup> and Dmytro Myeshkov<sup>32</sup> in recent years. Martin Dean, Kate Brown, and Eric Steinhart in particular have shown in the first case studies that the “*Volksdeutsche*” (ethnic Germans) were involved to a considerable extent in the crimes of the German occupation. The range extends from prominent Russian-German emigrants such as Georg Leibbrandt, a participant in the Wannsee conference in January 1942 and Karl Stumpp, head of a “*Sonderkommando Dr. Stumpp*” named after him, located in occupied Ukraine with its headquarters in Dnipropetrovsk, to the “*Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz*” (Ethnic German Self-defense) and “completely normal” villagers who took part in shootings. Based on their local knowledge, they assisted in the murderous operations of the SS or benefited from the robbery of Jewish property.

Eric Steinhart’s 2015 study *The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine* was pioneering in this regard, as he was the first to comprehensively evaluate the investigative documents of West German and Soviet authorities on the crimes of members of the SS Commando R (Russia) in Transnistria and provide answers to the question regarding the motives for participating in the crimes. The area between the Dniester and the southern Bug Rivers was under Romanian civil administration from 1941 to 1944, but the SS *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* (VoMi, Coordination Center for Ethnic Germans) was responsible for around 130,000 “*Volksdeutsche*” (ethnic Germans).

<sup>30</sup> Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place. From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 192–226; Wendy Lower, “Hitler’s «Garden of Eden» in Ukraine. Nazi Colonialism, Volksdeutsche and the Holocaust, 1941–1944”, in *Gray Zones, Ambiguity and Compromise in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath*, eds. Jonathan Petropoulos and John K. Roth (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 185–205; Martin Dean, “Soviet Ethnic Germans in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine, 1941–1994”, in *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, eds. Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 248–272; Eric Schmaltz and Samuel Sinner, “Karl Stumpp”, in *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften. Akteure, Netzwerke, Forschungsprogramme*, eds. Michael Fahlbusch, Ingo Haar and Alexander Pinwinkler, vol. 2 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 816–821; Samuel Sinner, “Sonderkommando Dr. Stumpp”, in *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften*, 1990–1995. On the consequences of German occupation policy in Ukraine for the population as a whole, see: Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair. Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge; MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2004). On the question of collaboration and the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship during the German occupation, inter alia, see: Anatoly Podolsky, “Collaboration in Ukraine during the Holocaust. Aspects of Historiography and Research”, in *The Holocaust in Ukraine. New Sources and Perspectives. Conference Presentations*; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (Washington, DC, 2013), 187–199.

<sup>31</sup> Eric Steinhart, *The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 126ff.

<sup>32</sup> Dmytro Myeshkov, “Die Deutschen in der Ukraine während der Besatzung 1941–1944”, in *Nationalsozialismus und Regionalbewusstsein im östlichen Europa. Ideologie, Machtausbau, Beharrung*, eds. Burkhard Olschowsk and Ingo Loose (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), 401–423.

Steinhart discusses the participation of “*Volksdeutsche*” in murder operations by the SS. It also included the mass execution near Bohdanivka, ca. 50 km northwest of Mykolaiv: Between December 21, 1941, and January 15, 1942, 52,000 Jews were shot there. In addition to Ukrainian auxiliary police officers, around 60 persons/members of the “*Volksdeutscher Selbstschutz*” participated. The men came from German towns near Odessa<sup>33</sup>.

We have knowledge now of the emerging first outlines of a research field that still displays considerable desiderata for further inquiry<sup>34</sup>. The fact is, however, that all the studies mentioned are available and can be consulted – to date, however, their findings have not been included in the group’s official narrative.

What are the reasons for this selective memory? I consider three points to be relevant:

1) *The Association of German Compatriots from Russia*: The establishment of the oldest federal interest group in Germany, the “*Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland*” (Association of German Compatriots from Russia) (1950–1955: “*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ostumsiedler*” [Association of East German Resettlers]) goes back largely to a group of Black Sea German emigrants. Already in the interwar period, the central protagonists among them had been endeavoring in a national-*völkisch* élan to gather together the German-speaking population in the Soviet Union as “foreign Germans” (*Auslandsdeutsche*) or from 1933 on, as “*Volksdeutsche*”<sup>35</sup>. Men like Johannes Schlenning (1879–1962), Benjamin Unruh (1881–1959), Georg Leibbrandt (1899–1982), and Karl Stumpp (1896–1982) were former NSDAP members and, at least in the case of Leibbrandt and Stumpp, were actively involved in National Socialist politics in occupied Ukraine. After 1945, conceptually they continued on with their previous endeavors. The title of the *Landsmannschaft* newspaper published to this day is symbolic: *Volk auf dem Weg*<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> See: Steinhart, *The Holocaust*, 126–132; on the VoMi, see also: “Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle”, *Online Lexikon zur Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, accessed July 25, 2020, <https://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/begriffe/volksdeutsche-mittelstelle-vomi/>.

<sup>34</sup> See the current project of Dmytro Myeshkov (Lüneburg): “Die Ukrainedeutschen am Vorabend, während und in den ersten Jahren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg”, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.ikgn.de/cms/index.php/wissenschaftliche-mitarbeiterinnen/dr-dmytro-myeshkov>.

<sup>35</sup> On this, see: James Casteel, *Russia in the German Global Imaginary. Imperial Visions and Utopian Desires, 1905–1941* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 143–171.

<sup>36</sup> The history of the compatriots of Germans from Russia, aside from the association’s own publications, still awaits a revision: “«Volk auf dem Weg» – die Mitgliederzeitschrift der LmDR”, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://lmdr.de/vadw/>. See on this to date: Ute Richter-Eberl, *Ethnisch oder National? Aspekte der russlanddeutschen Emigration in Deutschland 1919–1969* (Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang

These continuities can be exemplified using the example of Karl Stumpp: born in Alexanderhilf (today Dobrooleksandrivka) near Odessa in 1896. In the interwar period, he was influenced by the milieu of *völkisch*-ethnic student fraternities in Tübingen before he went to Tarutino (Bessarabia) as a teacher. There he started the empirical statistical survey of “German-ness” in culture and society in the region<sup>37</sup>. After returning to the German Reich in 1933, he worked for the “*Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland*” (VDA, The Commission for German Culture Abroad) and the German Foreign Institute (DAI) in Stuttgart. In 1939/40 he took part in connection with the SS in the “*Heim ins Reich*” (Back to the Reich) resettlement of the “*Volksdeutsche*” from Bessarabia and Bukovina. After the German Reich invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, he became part of the “*Sonderkommando Dr. Stumpp*”, a special unit which was subordinate to the Political Department of the Reich Ministry (headed by Georg Leibbrandt) for the Occupied Eastern Territories under the direction of Alfred Rosenberg.

The *Sonderkommando*, consisting of around 80 people, conducted ethnographic and “racial” surveys of the population in German-occupied Ukraine and was a part of the German occupation and extermination policy<sup>38</sup>.

After 1945, Stumpp was one of the co-founders of the *Landsmannschaft* and served as its long-time chairman and editor of the local history books as well as of the paper *Volk auf dem Weg*. He also played an influential role in the establishment of the two existing Russian-German organizations in the United States (the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, founded in 1968, and the Germans from Russia Heritage Society, founded in 1971)<sup>39</sup>.

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Verlag, 2001), 104–129; Krieger, *Kolonisten*, 207f. On the broader context of Russian-German organizations as a whole, see: Gesine Wallem, “Russlanddeutsches Verbandswesen. Kurzdossiers «Russlanddeutsche und andere postsozialistischen Migranten» der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung”, accessed July 13, 2017, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/252538/russlanddeutsches-verbandswesen>.

<sup>37</sup> See: Hans-Christian Petersen, “The Making of Russlanddeutschtum. Karl Stumpp oder die Mobilisierung einer «Volksgruppe» in der Zwischenkriegszeit”, in *Minderheiten im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit. Wissenschaftliche Konzeptionen, mediale Vermittlung, politische Funktion*, eds. Cornelia Eisler and Silke Göttisch-Elten (Münster; New York: Waxmann Verlag, 2017), 163–191.

<sup>38</sup> Recently see: Schmaltz and Sinner, “Karl Stumpp”; Sinner, “Sonderkommando Dr. Stumpp”; Brown, *A Biography of No Place*, 192–226. The present author is preparing a critical biography of Karl Stumpp.

<sup>39</sup> See the context of the establishment of these two North American organizations: Schmaltz, “What’s in a Name?”.

Transnationally acting players like Karl Stumpp have had a lasting impact on the Russian-German narratives and history politics on both sides of the Atlantic. Their work is still constitutive of the group’s self-image, in the case of Stumpp above all through the “data collection” of Russian-German history in the form of statistics and maps, which are still used in many ways as reference works. There is usually no reflection on the origin of the supposedly “objective” data, which is mostly due to the work of the *Sonderkommando* in occupied Ukraine<sup>40</sup>. It continues, consciously or unconsciously, the strategy of the players themselves – because what history’s gatekeepers such as Leibbrandt and Stumpp were not interested in after the Second World War was the subject of their own role up until 1945. One consequence of this decade-long sovereignty of interpretation is the selective memory of what happened in Ukraine during the Second World War: while the *Landsmannschaft* community appeared as the representative of all Russian Germans in the West German public as well as vis-à-vis the Federal Government, especially the over 1,5 million people who were located in the Soviet Union, there was no longer any talk about the *völkisch*-ethnic and Nazi dimensions of their own recent past.

2) *The legal practice of recognition by the Federal Republic of Germany*: To date, the immigration of (late) emigrants to the Federal Republic of Germany is based on a proof of belonging to the “German culture and its heritage” (*Deutschtum*). The basis is Article 116, Paragraph 1, of the Basic Law, in which “being German” is not only defined by citizenship but alternatively also by “German ethnicity”: “a German within the meaning of this Basic Law is a person who possesses German citizenship or who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of 31 December 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such a person”<sup>41</sup>.

This article created a direct connection between “German culture and values” and “persecution”: in addition to the proof of “German ethnicity”, an individual also had to be a refugee or expellee. The Parliamentary Council, involved in the adoption of the Basic Law, also explicitly stated in its deliberations that the phrase “has been admitted” is also directed

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<sup>40</sup> As an example, reference is made to the Germans from Russia Settlement Locations: “Germans from Russia Settlement Locations. Google Maps of Ancestral German Colonies (1700–1939)”, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.germansfromrussiasettlementlocations.org/>. A look at the underlying sources shows that it is largely the digital transmission of Karl Stumpp’s data and maps displayed in Google maps. Lacking is a historical-critical contextualization.

<sup>41</sup> “Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (GG), Art. 116”, *Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz*, accessed October 11, 2018, [https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/art\\_116.html](https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/gg/art_116.html).



towards the future. Thus, expellees and refugees were not only those Germans from Eastern Europe who were already in Germany but also those who would arrive in the future. At the time very few were thinking of the Russian Germans in the Soviet Union – but then they, like the (late) emigrants from Poland and Romania, benefited from this legal basis in the following decades<sup>42</sup>.

In 1953, the provisions of the Basic Law were specified in the Federal Expellees Act. In Paragraph 6 (ethnicity) it is stated: “A person belonging to the German people within the meaning of this law is anyone who professes adherence to German culture in their home country, provided that this profession of adherence is confirmed by certain characteristics such as parentage, language, upbringing, culture”<sup>43</sup>.

Thus, what was and remains central here is professed adherence (*Bekennnis*) to “German culture”, Germanness (*Deutschtum*), hence self-identification as being “German”. This subjective professed adherence must (had to) in turn be confirmed by supposedly objective characteristics, for instance possibly by one’s descent – as a rule identified by a German family name – but this is not absolutely mandatory.

At the same time, central here was and remains a causal connection between resettlement and war. This was done with the help of the concept of “pressure for expulsion”, since 1993 “fate due to consequences of war”: the possible recognition is based on the assumption that after 1945, Germans in the Soviet Union were particularly affected by the consequences of the Second World War. The emigrants did not have to prove this “pressure for expulsion” individually. However, it could be checked if there was a reason to believe that so-called “reasons not related to expulsion” – such as economic or of a generally political nature – were the cause for emigration. The irony of the story is that the *Landsmannschaft* has been involved in this review for decades in the form of “homeland information offices”. Originally created to establish damage assessments for compensation under the Burden Sharing Act, they were also increasingly used to check the “ethnicity” of applicants for an expellee ID card. For this purpose, the “homeland information offices” consulted networks of experts with knowledge

<sup>42</sup> See: Panagiotidis, “Staat, Zivilgesellschaft und Aussiedlermigration”; Jannis Panagiotidis, “Spätaussiedler, Heimkehrer, Vertriebene – Russlanddeutsche im Spiegel bundesdeutscher Gesetze”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/274597/spaetaussiedler-heimkehrer-vertriebene-russlanddeutsche-im-spiegel-bundesdeutscher-gesetze>.

<sup>43</sup> “Gesetz über die Angelegenheiten der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge (Bundesvertriebenengesetz – BVFG), Art. 6 Volkszugehörigkeit”, *Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz*, accessed October 11, 2018, [https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bvfg/\\_6.html](https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bvfg/_6.html).

of the respective regions. The *Landsmannschaft* associations mediated in this, and often provided the information themselves<sup>44</sup>. In this way, after 1945 former Nazi activists such as Stumpp and Leibbrandt obtained the sovereignty of interpretation as to who had a “correct” Russian-German resume – and who did not.

When the Soviet Union eased its restrictive exit regime in the course of perestroika and glasnost in 1987 and emigration to the West became a mass movement in the 1990s, precisely this “ethnic ticket” made the Federal Republic an obvious destination for the Russian Germans. With the recognition of their status as (late) emigrants, they received German citizenship and other integration assistance. The basis of this ethnically privileged migration<sup>45</sup> compared to other immigration groups was the proof of “being German” and “fate due to the consequences of war”. In doing so the West German state appropriated National Socialist categories. The best-known example is the “German People’s List” (“*Deutsche Volksliste*”): first applied to the occupied Polish territories, after June 22, 1941, it was extended to the parts of the Soviet Union that were put under the administration of the “Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories” headed by Rosenberg. The “German People’s List” was a central selection tool used to distinguish between “Germans” and persons of “a foreign ethnus/race” (“*fremdvölkisch*”) as part of the occupation policy. In 1943, ca. 200,000 “*Volksdeutsche*” were granted citizenship in the German Reich within the “Reich Commissariat Ukraine”<sup>46</sup>. When the retreat westward began soon after the Red Army advanced, the Ukrainian “*Volksdeutsche*” in Litzmannstadt/Lodz were recorded once again in the registry by the Central Immigration Service (EWZ) of the Reich Security Main

<sup>44</sup> See: Jannis Panagiotidis, “The Oberkreisdirektor Decides Who Is a German”: Jewish Immigration, German Bureaucracy, and the Negotiation of National Belonging, 1953–1990”, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38 (2012): 503–533.

<sup>45</sup> See also et al.: Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger, eds., *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel, and the post-Soviet Successor States in Comparative Perspective* (London, 2003); Jannis Panagiotidis, *The Unchosen Ones. Diaspora, Nation, and Migration in Israel and Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).

<sup>46</sup> The “German People’s List of Ukraine” was divided into four categories. Persons who came from two “pure German parents”, or with one parent of a “foreign ethnus” and yet had retained their “Germanness” (Groups 1 and 2) were given citizenship in the German Reich. Those registered in Group 3 (“pure-blooded” Germans who had adapted to the “foreign ethnic environment” [“*fremdvölkische Umgebung*”]) were granted conditional citizenship subject to possible revocation. Group 4 was not further specified, but these persons were not granted Reich citizenship. See: Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich*, 185–193; see also: “Deutsche Volksliste”, *Carl von Ossietzky. Universität Oldenburg*, accessed October 11, 2018, [ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/p32838](https://www.uni-oldenburg.de/p32838) (state as of November 19, 2014).

Office (RSHA) of the SS<sup>47</sup>. The Federal Republic of Germany adopted these categories and data for the recognition procedures of the displaced and emigrants – in the case of the “German People’s List of Ukraine”, specifically in the form of the law regulating questions of nationality of February 1955: those who were Reich Germans according to the “People’s List” also were granted Federal German citizenship. Likewise, evidence of membership in National Socialist organizations was recognized as proof of “German descent” (“*Deutschstammigkeit*”)<sup>48</sup>. In this sense, a National Socialist past could prove to be very advantageous for applicants after 1945, which casts a telling light on the continuities in the understanding of German law and administrative action. At the same time, however, the legislators’ focus on “German ethnic-national values” and “fate due to the consequences of war” was anything but conducive to promoting a critical discussion of the role of native Germans during the German occupation of Ukraine. Neither in private, family circles and nor most certainly in public should any shadows fall on your own “German ticket”.

3) *The Soviet experience*: The people who emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany from the end of the 1980s brought with them a wide range of Soviet experiences. As sketched, these Soviet experiences comprised not only persecution and oppression but also their desire for normalization and social advancement. But they also involved avoidance of publicly referring to the fact they were Germans and most were speaking German only at home. And embedded in their Soviet experiences was also the accusation often raised from the Stalin era: *Nemcy – Fašisty*<sup>49</sup>. This stigma was officially withdrawn by partial rehabilitation in 1964. But even after that, there were constant everyday cultural and systematic forms of discrimination by the state, such as where the legally granted German classes de facto did not take place in many places due to the lack of books and teaching staff, or in restricted access to higher educational institutions for Soviet citizens of German nationality<sup>50</sup>. Anyone who brought memories of these experiences with them avoided after arrival in the Federal Republic of Germany to raise critical questions about the time of the Second World War.

<sup>47</sup> For a basic study on this, see: Andreas Strippel, *NS-Volkstumspolitik und die Neuordnung Europas. Rassenpolitische Selektion der Einwandererzentralstelle der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011).

<sup>48</sup> See: Panagiotidis, *The Unchosen Ones*, 52f., 98.

<sup>49</sup> Germans – Fascists.

<sup>50</sup> On this in detail, see: Pinkus and Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion*, 400–471; Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007); see also: Krieger, *Kolonisten*, 140–156.

Especially since the legal basis for immigration to the Federal Republic was based on after all specifically on an emphasis on “Germanness” and one’s biography of persecution.

### Perspectives

The events of the Second World War are very present in the memories of Russians, and therefore also within Black Sea German families. The victim narrative sketched here is dominant. At the same time, there are numerous other memories and self-descriptions beneath the “master narrative”. Pioneering studies of oral history like those conducted by Gabriele Rosenthal’s team<sup>51</sup> have shown the great heterogeneity, but also the intergenerational tensions and fractures that shape the relationship between individual positioning and collective narratives. A possible nexus between one’s family history and National Socialism is certainly the most sensitive point, about which one can hardly speak devoid of emotion and only under the risk of greater friction. Life under National Socialist occupation and migration to the German Empire are still chapters of the Russian-German past, which in most families were hardly mentioned let alone passed on in a comprehensible way to the next generations. However, they retain their latency, in part intertwined with the formation of myths, whose function is to maintain a certain self-image, for which within the family there are often more or less open doubts<sup>52</sup>. That renews the question all the more urgent as to how the path to a more complete, remembrance of the Second World War, also including/comprising contradictions.

One complaint repeatedly raised by the interest groups is that the German majority society knows nothing about Russian-German history and accordingly there is no recognition of the experience of suffering. Although the Museum for Russian-German Cultural History<sup>53</sup> exists in Detmold, and in Nuremberg, in close cooperation with the *Landsmannschaft*, a “Bavarian Cultural Center of the Germans from Russia” is being developed<sup>54</sup> – knowledge about Russian-German history is indeed still sparse

<sup>51</sup> Rosenthal, Stephan and Radenbach, *Brüchige Zugehörigkeiten*.

<sup>52</sup> See the example of the different generations of the Gertzler family (name anonymized): Rosenthal, Stephan and Radenbach, *Brüchige Zugehörigkeiten*, 141–168. On the topic of speaking or remaining silent about the Nazi era in family contexts, see: Harald Welzer, Sabine Moller and Karoline Tschuggnall, *“Opa war kein Nazi”. Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2002).

<sup>53</sup> *Museum für russlanddeutsche Kulturgeschichte*, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.russlanddeutsche.de/de/>.

<sup>54</sup> *Bayerisches Kulturzentrum der Deutschen aus Russland (BKDR)*, accessed October 11, 2018, <http://bkdr.de/>.

beyond the perimeter of the in-group. In recent years, several new formats for imparting knowledge have emerged, including a digital textbook<sup>55</sup> with the “*mBook Russian-German cultural history*” and various publications of the Federal Center for Public Education (online and print) that have an impact in the public sphere<sup>56</sup>. This has clearly broadened the basis of well-grounded and easily accessible information. However, it remains to be seen whether it will improve the perception of Russian-German history and the present over the medium term. It would be extremely important both for the condition of interrelations between Russian-Germans and the German Federal Republic on the whole and for the context that is of interest here. Because without a sense of recognition there still will probably continue to be only a very limited openness in respect to content and issues on the part of the Russian Germans<sup>57</sup>.

On the other hand, it is up to the group’s self-organizations to seek to refrain from monopolizing the interpretation of their “own” history. What is possible in an individual conversation, the mentioning of hybridity, blind spots, and asking critical questions should also become visible in cultural memory. It has already been noted that this is not easy and, in case of doubt, is also a painful pathway to tread. Nonetheless, in the aim of promoting diversity and changes in Russian-German history – as well as the prospect of as many as possible being able to come together once more and find common ground in the general narrative (or better: in the general *narratives*) – it should be pursued.

In conclusion, as an example of what that might look like, I would like to describe an exhibition that has been on view at the Museum of Russian-German Cultural History in Detmold since 2018, a special exhibition

<sup>55</sup> *Mbook Russlanddeutsche Kulturgeschichte – ein digitales Schulbuch*, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://rd.institut-fuer-digitales-lernen.de/mbook/>.

<sup>56</sup> *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/russlanddeutsche/>; “Kurzdossiers. Russlanddeutsche und andere postsozialistische Migranten”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/252533/russlanddeutsche-und-andere-postsozialistische-migranten;Krieger,Kolonisten;> “Informationen zur politischen Bildung, no. 340/2019. (Spät-)Aussiedler in der Migrationsgesellschaft”, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.bpb.de/izpb/298551/spaet-aussiedler-in-der-migrationsgesellschaft>.

<sup>57</sup> In this sense, note also Alexander Frohn (Freiburg/Breisgau), “Experiences of dictatorship and migration from a psychotherapeutic perspective”, presentation, conference “Dictatorship and Exile. Dictatorship Experiences of Russian Germans in a Comparative Perspective”, organized by the Museum of Russian-German Cultural History (Detmold), the Federal Institute for Culture and History of Germans in Eastern Europe (BKGE) (Oldenburg) and the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), held in Detmold at the University of Osnabrück, November 30–December 1, 2017. A publication of the conference presentations is in preparation.

created in close cooperation with the Regional History Museum of Odessa. It is titled “*Volksgenosse or Enemy of the People? The Double Totalitarian Experience of the Black Sea Germans*”<sup>58</sup>. Here for the first time, a museum exhibition focuses on the theme of Black Sea German history under Soviet and National Socialist occupation using exemplary biographies, one of which is that of Karl Stumpp. The concept of the “double totalitarian experience” functions as a conceptual bracket: it does not imply equating the two dictatorships or the experiences they have had, but endeavors to consider the previously separate or only one-sided issues together, to ask about their interconnections and thus to interrelate them in this way. The biographical approach also renders it additionally possible to broaden the aperture, providing a view of the protagonists’ further life story, thus extending beyond the year 1945. In this way, visitors to the exhibition are confronted with the question: how to deal with the history of events of the Second World War on up into our present.

At the opening ceremony of the exhibition, the question of Black Sea German participation in the Nazi policy of occupation policy was addressed in a panel discussion<sup>59</sup>. The discussion was quite controversial, but also sparked several personal stories coming from members of the audience, which apparently were not easy to narrate, but at the same time made clear that there is need for exchange about pages of the past that have to date hardly been made the focal topic of serious probing discussion.

The exhibition has met with lively interest and has been positively discussed. It runs until the end of July 2020. After that, plans are to integrate parts of it into the permanent exhibition. This would be welcomed in concrete terms both for the museum as well as on principle. In my opinion, addressing ambivalences and also the “dark” side of one’s own story is not a stigma or blemish, not a weakness, but a sign of inner strength.

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<sup>58</sup> “Sonderausstellung «Volksgenosse oder Feind des Volkes», *Museum für russlanddeutsche Kulturgeschichte*, accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.russlanddeutsche.de/de/museum/ausstellungen/sonderausstellung-volksgenosse-oder-feind-des-volkes.html>. “*Volksgenosse*” (“comrade of the people”) was a National Socialist lexeme much employed in Nazi discourse for a “true German”.

<sup>59</sup> On the exhibition opening and panel discussion, see the video recording: “Volksgenosse oder Feind des Volkes?”, June 10, 2018, *Museum für russlanddeutsche Kulturgeschichte*, accessed July 26, 2020, <https://youtu.be/GHAavoGoWNU>.

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**Verena Meier**

## THE MEMORIAL OF SOVIET PRISONERS OF WAR IN GUDENDORF – MEMORIES DURING THE COLD WAR

*The fate of the Soviet prisoners of war, who represent the second largest victim group of Nazi violent crimes, plays only a marginal role in the memory of Germany. In 2015, the Federal President Joachim Gauck pointed out that this portion of the history of National Socialism lay shrouded in a “memory shadow” (Erinnerungsschatten). A look at the regional example of Gudendorf, on the other hand, shows that the memory of Soviet prisoners of war was not hidden in “shadow”, but was actively utilized by various representatives for their “politics of history”.*

*Based on the analysis grid of the “politics of history”, the article investigates the “historical images” as conveyed through the commemorative practices of different participants, who from 1945 on used an interpretation of history in three different phases to pursue political purposes. In the first phase from 1945 to 1949, the British military government and the Soviet military commission erected a first memorial to commemorate the deceased Soviet prisoners of war. The second phase to 1983, in which Gudendorf played a central role, was primarily shaped by the commemorative commitment of the young federal government and the Schleswig-Holstein state government as well as German War Graves Commission. In a third phase from 1983, the grassroots initiative “Flowers for Gudendorf” utilized the memorial as a platform to commemorate the fate of Soviet prisoners of war in German custody and simultaneously to warn of a renewed war. Since the majority of the members of this initiative were also active in the peace movement, efforts to come to grips with the past and practices in the culture of memory within the context of the Cold War combined with political agitation. The disputes around the first two monuments, their design and the “images of history” they conveyed, conducted against the backdrop of the Berlin Blockade and the construction of the Berlin Wall, make this just as clear as the peace movement and the initiative “Flowers for Gudendorf”, which should be seen in the context of the NATO Twin-Track Decision of 1979.*

*The article also investigates to what extent images of history were transferred across various different groups of actors and phases, what motivations lay behind the various practices of memory, and in what context they should be understood. In the first two phases, the struggle was principally about the employment of national symbolisms, the designation of the victims and the circumstances of their death in German wartime captivity. While the Soviet Graves Commission wished to stress that the Soviet citizens had died in “fascist captivity”, various circles in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony demanded that it had to state “in*

*German captivity”. Ultimately the inscription spoke in a disguised manner about “Soviet citizens”, but was in keeping with the national narrative in which the Partisans and Red Army soldiers were honored as liberators of Europe from “fascism”, while prisoners of war were deemed as potential “traitors of the motherland”. The second monument provided no indication of the circumstances of the prisoners’ death and corresponded to the desire of the early Federal Republic to remain silent about German guilt or to make a clean break with the past.*

*With the expansion of the graves into a central memorial for Soviet prisoners of war in Schleswig-Holstein and the reburial of 248 Soviet prisoners of war from across the Federal German state in 1958, the State Interior Ministry recognized that in Gudendorf during the war some 3,000 Soviet prisoners of war had died, a far higher number than the 40 to 350 dead initially posited in the early post-war years. The higher figure was propagated in particular by actors engaged in the third phase, who espoused the need for confronting and coming to terms with the National Socialist crimes against the Soviet prisoners of war. The image of the “death camp” in Gudendorf which they shaped still remains strong today, although new research has in the meantime been able to differentiate and refute this.*

**Keywords:** *Soviet prisoners of war, monuments, Soviet graves commission, Cold War, politics of history.*

The Gudendorf memorial in Süderdithmarschen District in Schleswig-Holstein is the largest memorial which commemorates the Soviet prisoners of war who died in German captivity during the Second World War. They were the second largest group of victims of National Socialist crimes. Among the 5,7 million soldiers of the Red Army who survived in German captivity, there were up to 3,3 million who did not<sup>1</sup>. An extensive network of the main camps (Stalag), labor camps, and local labor battalions sprang up throughout the German Reich from the beginning of the war. There were also numerous camps and labor battalions in Schleswig-Holstein and Gudendorf. But for a long time in pan-German memory, the suffering of the Soviet prisoners of war lay in the “shadows of memory”, a “hidden memory”. As was emphasized in 2015 by the Federal President Joachim

<sup>1</sup> See: Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Deutschen Reich 1941/42. Behandlung und Arbeitseinsatz zwischen Vernichtungspolitik und kriegswirtschaftlichen Zwängen* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011), 20f. To date, there is still no clear and accurate total number of captured Red Army soldiers and their deaths in captivity. Differing in his figures, Streim mentions 5,3 million Soviet prisoners, at least 2,53 million of whom died; see: Alfred Streim, *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im “Fall Barbarossa”* (Heidelberg/Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1981), 224–226. New research based on improved source data utilizing prisoner records, which have been accessible for almost twenty years, provides reliable figures about various partial areas of the territory under German rule, see: Reinhard Otto, Rolf Keller, and Jens Nagel, “Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945. Zahlen und Dimensionen”, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 4 (2008): 557–602.



Gauck on the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war in Stukenbrock, speaking at the cemetery of the former Stalag 326 (VI K) Senne:

And for us it is necessary to state that the millions who died under the responsibility of the German Wehrmacht were “one of the greatest German crimes of the Second World War”. [...]

For multiple reasons, there has never been adequate awareness of the horrific fate of the Soviet prisoners of war in Germany – up to the present it continues to lie shrouded in the shadows of memory<sup>2</sup>.

In contrast to the general memory discourse nationwide, the suffering of the Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf was not in the “shadows of memory”. Early on there were various initiatives to commemorate the Soviet POWs appropriately.

### Topic of investigation and method

Shortly after the end of the Second World War, a first memorial was erected in Gudendorf in memory of the deceased Soviet prisoners of war by the Soviet Military Commission in Lübeck in consultation with the British military government. With the “Occupation Statute for the Definition of Powers and Responsibilities between the Future German Government and the Allied Control Authority” of 1949, the German government was also assigned certain tasks inter alia related to the care of war graves.

In the 1950s, the state of Schleswig-Holstein selected Gudendorf as the central burial ground for the reburial of deceased Soviet prisoners of war and decided to expand the burial ground into a central memorial with a new monument, which was completed in 1961. In addition to these top-down initiatives to erect monuments, grassroots movements, such as “The Flowers for Gudendorf”, from 1983 on used the memorial not only to commemorate the fate of Soviet prisoners of war but also to warn about the danger of a new war and work for peace and disarmament.

As a rule, social or political conflicts are reasons for the creation of monuments<sup>3</sup>. Regarding the content of monuments, Dietrich Erben emphasizes that they primarily convey historical images of the time in which they were

<sup>2</sup> Gauck, “Rede zum 70. Jahrestag des Endes des Zweiten Weltkrieges am 6. Mai 2015 in Schloss Holte-Stukenbrock”, accessed January 19, 2019, <http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2015/05/150506-Holte-Stukenbrock.html>. For a study on the place of this group in the German culture of memory, see: Peter Jahn, “Das Schicksal sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in der deutschen Erinnerung”, in *Ich werde es nie vergessen. Briefe sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener 2004–2006* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2007), 30–35.

<sup>3</sup> Dietrich Erben, “Denkmäler”, in *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, eds. by Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke and Hendrik Ziegler, Volume I (Munich: Beck, 2011), 235.

erected and that these images vary depending on the given temporal context<sup>4</sup>. In this article, the appropriation of history and the conveyed “historical images” are analyzed in the respective context of genesis in the two monuments in Gudendorf and how they were dealt with after their completion.

Since both monuments erected in Gudendorf were created by a top-down initiative, i.e. government institutions and not efforts in civil society (bottom-up), and the “Flowers for Gudendorf” initiative linked its practices in the culture of memory with certain political objectives. The concept “politics of history” is used here as an analytical tool. Edgar Wolfrum defines politics of history as “a field of action and politics in which different participants utilize history geared to their specific interests and seek to use it for political purposes”<sup>5</sup>. Harald Schmid then provided the following definition: “Politics of history comprises those discourses and actions with which the interpretation of history as a current public representation of a collectively relevant past is carried out for political purposes”<sup>6</sup>. In order to shape memories of past events in public space and to construct collective identities, the participants use different strategies, including the erection of monuments and related practices in the culture of memory.

In the following, Wolfrum’s distinction between participants, contexts, phases, and media serves as an analytical grid<sup>7</sup>. Since the monuments investigated here were erected in a place that the German Wehrmacht had already been using as a burial site during the war for the Soviet prisoners of war who died in Gudendorf, an outline of the camp’s history is presented first<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Erben, “Denkmäler”, 235.

<sup>5</sup> Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung 1948–1990* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 25; see also: Stefan Troebst, “Geschichtspolitik”, *Docupedia*, accessed August 23, 2018, <http://docupedia.de/images/1/13/Geschichtspolitik.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Harald Schmid, “Konstruktion, Bedeutung, Macht. Zum kulturwissenschaftlichen Profil einer Analyse von Geschichtspolitik”, in *Geschichtspolitik und sozialwissenschaftliche Theorie*, eds. Horst-Alfred Heinrich and Michael Kohlstruck (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 78; see also: Troebst, “Geschichtspolitik”.

<sup>7</sup> Edgar Wolfrum, “Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik als Forschungsfelder”, in *Reformation und Bauernkrieg. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik im geteilten Deutschland*, ed. Jan Scheunemann (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 21–24.

<sup>8</sup> The descriptions, statements and analyses in this article are based on the results of my research on the history and history of memory of the camp and memorial to Soviet prisoners of war, to be published in 2020: Verena Meier, “Das Lager und die Gedenkstätte für sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in Gudendorf – Geschichte und Erinnerungskultur”, in *Schriftenreihe der Bürgerstiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Gedenkstätten*, vol. I (currently in preparation).

### The Soviet prisoners of war camp and expanded sick bay in Gudendorf

The origin of the camp complex in Gudendorf goes back to the Luftwaffe in the Third Reich, which expanded its network of airports and operational ports along the North Sea coast before the start of the Second World War. With the expansion of the labor deployment of Soviet prisoners of war to “large-scale deployment” in October 1941, air force labor battalions were set up in Gudendorf and the prisoners were deployed in forestry work and logging. Contemporary witnesses recall that the prisoners were mustered to engage in logging labor for the civil timber trading company Gehlsen from Heide in order to lay out the airfield<sup>9</sup>. They replaced French prisoners of war previously deployed there<sup>10</sup>. In March 1944, the German Armed Forces moved the Soviet POW camp in Heidkaten to Gudendorf with an expanded sick bay, which had previously been considered as a branch camp of the main camp X A. The prison camp with an extended hospital in Gudendorf was thus now responsible for the medical care of Soviet prisoners of war from the entire area of the main camp X A, i.e. for the regions of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein<sup>11</sup>.

For the period from June 1941 to May 1945, it has proved possible to identify by name 36 prisoners of war who died in Gudendorf<sup>12</sup>. All of them passed away between May 1944 and the beginning of May 1945 in the expanded sick bay or the prison camp. The winter of 1941/42 was particularly marked by the mass death of Soviet prisoners of war throughout the German Reich. The Wehrmacht largely ignored their basic needs. Efforts to find concrete biographical documentation data on Soviet prisoners of war who died and were buried at the time of the Luftwaffe POW camp in Gudendorf between November 1941 and spring 1944 were unsuccessful. Administrative sources of the British military government, the Soviet Burial Commission, and local administration from the immediate post-war

period listed between 44<sup>13</sup> and 350 Soviet prisoners of war who died in Gudendorf during the war and were buried there<sup>14</sup>. The most Soviet prisoners of war anywhere in Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg died in the Segeberg and Süderdithmarschen districts between the summer of 1942 and the end of the war. That can be explained by the location of the expanded sick bay facility in Heidkaten and Gudendorf<sup>15</sup>.

### Politics of history and culture of memory: commemorative practices and monuments of Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf

In Gudendorf, three phases of efforts in the area of the culture of memory can be distinguished. In the first phase in the early post-war period from 1945 to 1949, the occupying forces in particular exercised significant influence along side the local representatives from Süderdithmarschen and Schleswig-Holstein. In the second phase from the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, it was above all the Federal Government, the State of Schleswig-Holstein and the German War Graves Commission that shaped the culture of memory by reburial and redesigning of the Gudendorf's gravesite into the central gravesite and memorial complex for Soviet prisoners of war in Schleswig-Holstein. From the 1980s onwards, the grassroots movement “Initiative Flowers of Gudendorf”, which

<sup>13</sup> “Letter from the Zonal Executive Offices to the headquarters of the countries in the British Zone, dated August 31, 1949, on the maintenance of Soviet graves in the British Zone”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224, folio 72 A; Site plan sketch of the memorial in Gudendorf of the district building authority Meldorf, August 19, 1958, copy in the private collection of Helmut Hahn; appendices to the letter from the district building authority Meldorf to the interior minister of the state of Schleswig-Holstein, August 25, 1958, documents of the Interior Ministry Schleswig-Holstein, copies in the private collection of Helmut Hahn and Martin Gietzelt.

<sup>14</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation (hereinafter – SARF), coll. 7317, inv. 21, file 4, sh. 171–193, 192–193; “District of Südermeldorfgeest, district of Süderdithmarschen, copy of the grave layout of Russian military personnel buried in the cemetery in Gudendorf, ca. 1949”, *Arolsen Archives*, ITS2.2.0.1/82429200; “Letter concerning «Registration of all Russian graves» from the head of District Südermeldorfgeest to the senior district director, of district administration, district of Süderdithmarschen, dated May 6, 1946”, *National Archive of Schleswig-Holstein*, dept. 320 Süderdithmarschen, no. 5854. I wish to thank Natalja Jeske for assistance with my research in the SARF.

<sup>15</sup> Reimer Möller, “Gerhard Hoch und die Erforschung des Schicksals sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener. Eine Auswertung der Gresko-Liste der Roten Armee vom 9. November 1945”, in *Vom HJ-Führer zum NS-Forscher: Gerhard Hoch: Leben und Werk, Rezeption und Wirkung* (Kaltenkirchen: Akens, 2018), 9; Letter from the head of the Department of Initial Admission and Registration in the Administration of the USSR Representative regarding the repatriation of the citizens of the USSR, Colonel Gresko, to Major General Šavelskoj, head of the department for the registration of deceased or missing squad service grades or sergeants and pension claims for their families, with a list of Soviet prisoners of war who died in the area of Stalag X A, dated November 9, 1945, *ОбД Мемориал*, accessed April 28, 2020, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=73574577&p=1>.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with the contemporary witness Hans Jakob Beeck (b. May 6th, 1930), September 11, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Orders for easing of the guarding arrangement for French prisoners of war in camps solely for French POWs issued by the chief security guard and company commander Sebastiani, 6th Company of the State Rifle Battalion 682 Meldorf Sebastiani, dated October 22, 1941, annexed to a letter of the 6th Company of the State Rifle Battalion 682 from Meldorf to the district leader of Süderdithmarschen, dated October 23, 1941 on the easing of the guarding of the French POWs; file, District Agricultural Community Süderdithmarschen 1937–1943 [1944], papers of Hans Beeck, stored in the private collection of Hans Jakob Beeck.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Gustav Toosbuy to Gerhard Hoch, February 26, 1978, collection of the Kaltenkirchen concentration camp memorial, papers of Gerhard Hoch, to date without shelf mark.

<sup>12</sup> Martin Gietzelt was only able to identify 20 POWs who had died in the expanded sick bay/hospital in Gudendorf, see: Martin Gietzelt, “Die Gedenkstätte Gudendorf. Neue Forschungsergebnisse”, in *Dithmarschen. Landeskunde, Kultur, Natur*, no. 3 (September 2004) (Heide: Boyens Medien, 2004), 76.

was largely made up of supporters of the peace movement, campaigned for a commemorative event at the site on May 8.

### The first monument: from 1945 on

The political context was decisive for the efforts of the various participants. The following picture arose during the first phase: Until 1949, Schleswig-Holstein belonged to the British Zone of Occupation and Soviet commissions traveled throughout the country, inspecting the gravesites of Soviet citizens. Based on international regulations such as the 1929 Geneva Convention, which established an honorable burial of deceased prisoners of war, they initiated the first monuments on larger gravesites in the post-war period. These were primarily characterized by the historical-political narrative of the Soviet Union, whereby “Soviet citizens who died in fascist captivity” were mentioned, but not prisoners of war. Individuals were not named.

Mediated “historical images” and “historical-political” narratives can be found, for example, in the tangible concrete design and inscriptions of the early monuments. From explanatory notes in the report by the head of the Soviet repatriation mission in Schleswig-Holstein, Lieutenant Colonel Šapovalov, to Colonel Brjuchanov, head of the Soviet repatriation mission in the British Zone of Occupation, it follows that the monument in Gudendorf had to be erected between August 1945 and June 1946; however, as of October 1946 it still was not finally completed<sup>16</sup>. It was 2,5 meters high, made of brick and the size of the base was 2,5 by 2,5 meters. Some 40 burial mounds were grouped around it. The entire area of about 50 square meters was surrounded by a wall on which a hedge of Nordic rowan berries had been planted<sup>17</sup>. The photograph also shows a five-pointed Soviet star above the inscription<sup>18</sup>.

According to a letter by the Soviet liaison officer Kornjuchin dated April 21, 1949, the inscriptions had to be read as follows, in keeping with the general template: “Здесь захоронено... советских граждан погибших в фашисткой неволе 1941–1945 гг.» (“Here lie ... Soviet

citizens who died in fascist captivity in 1941–1945.”)<sup>19</sup>. A similar inscription was found on the large tombstone of the grave complex in Büdelsdorf: “Здесь захоронено 29 советских граждан погибших в фашисткой неволе 1941–1945 гг.”<sup>20</sup> (“Here lie 29 Soviet citizens who died in fascist captivity in 1941–1945”). An extant photograph shows that the inscription on the monument in Gudendorf was formulated accordingly<sup>21</sup>.



Fig. 1: Photo of the monument at the burial site for Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf between 1945 and 1958, private collection of Benno Stahn

According to the inscription, the memorial was not intended to commemorate individuals, but rather all the victims who died there, generally being referred to as “Soviet citizens who died in fascist captivity” and not specifically as prisoners of war. This design was fully in keeping with the approach of the Soviet authorities to the construction of monuments throughout the British and Soviet occupation zones. Jens Nagel emphasized that

<sup>19</sup> “Letter from Major Kornjuchin, April 21, 1949”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224, sh. 2. The first page of the letter is not extant.

<sup>20</sup> “Photograph of the grave complex in Büdelsdorf, 1945–1950”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224.

<sup>21</sup> Photograph of the memorial at the burial site of Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf between 1945 and 1960, private collection of Benno Stahn.

<sup>16</sup> SARF, coll. 9526, inv. 6, file 255, sh. 81–82.

<sup>17</sup> Klaus Alberts, *Gedenkstätte Gudendorf*, by the Chamber of Architects and Engineers of Schleswig-Holstein (brochure, n.p., 1995), 12; “Letter from the Zonal Executive Offices to the Headquarters of the districts in the British zone, dated August 31, 1949, about the maintenance of the Soviet graves in the British zone”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224, folio 72 A. See also the site plan of the memorial in Gudendorf of the District Building Authority Meldorf, August 19, 1958, copy in the private archive of Helmut Hahn.

<sup>18</sup> Photograph of the memorial at the burial site of Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf between 1945 and 1958, private archive of Benno Stahn.

“the post-war design of the cemeteries can only be interpreted as a conscious decision against individuals as well as the collective commemoration of the victim group of Soviet prisoners of war”<sup>22</sup>.

By contrast, in correspondence with the British military government, this group was specifically named and some 40 deceased were listed for Gudendorf. A letter of the British military administration in the State of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel to the regional military government authority dated January 13, 1947, noted: “The burial ground is one for all Russian nationals who died as prisoners of war or concentration camp victims in that area; the number interred is approximately 40”<sup>23</sup>.

However, there was a discussion among the Soviet Commission, the British occupation force, and the local administration about the design of the inscriptions. The main focus was on the formulation concerning the Wehrmacht, which was responsible for the treatment of Soviet prisoners of war during captivity. On June 14, 1949, the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein State expressed the following criticism of the Soviet Repatriation Commission’s proposals for the inscriptions, writing to the Control Commission of the British military government in Kiel:

Objections [...] have been made by the Kreise and Kreis-free towns pointing out that such wording is irreconcilable with the object proclaimed by all nations participating in the late war, to attain reconciliation among the peoples, and that it is a “conditio sine qua non” in pursuance of such efforts to avoid any conduct detrimental to the feelings inherent in a nation’s honor. They proposed that the stone slabs, to be placed in greater cemeteries and charged to the Land Government, should bear the following inscription: “Herunder [sic!] rest... Soviet citizens who died in German captivity during the period from 1941 to 1945”<sup>24</sup>.

Emerging from this criticism is above all the desire to replace the phrase “in fascist captivity” by “in German captivity”. The change of concept was justified on the part of the State Interior Ministry with the comment inter alia that the goal of reconciliation among nations could only be achieved if no country’s sense of honor was violated.

<sup>22</sup> Jens Nagel, “Gefallen – Gefangen – Begraben. Kriegsgräberstätten sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener seit 1945”, *International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art: RIHA Journal*, accessed August 9, 2018, <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2017/0150-0176-special-issue-war-graves/0175-nagel>.

<sup>23</sup> “Letter from the headquarters of the British military administration of Schleswig-Holstein State in Kiel to the Regional Government Office dated January 13, 1947”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/223, folio 10 A.

<sup>24</sup> “Letter from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein State to the Control Commission of the British Military Government in Kiel on June 14, 1949”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224.

This controversy about the design of the inscriptions on the monuments clearly shows that two different cultures of commemoration guided the wording of the inscriptions – first, the Soviet Union, which saw itself as an antipode of fascism, and second, the federal states of Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony, which were marked by the spirit of a new beginning after the war and did not want to see the German sense of honor insulted by inscriptions. At the same time, the criticism of the Interior Ministry can also be interpreted as meaning that it wanted to prevent a communist interpretation of the recent past. There was also disagreement about the language in which the inscription should be written, which the British military government ruled on as follows: “Given the objections taken to the wording to be inscribed on the stone slabs erected in the larger cemeteries, it was agreed that the best solution would be for the inscription to be in Russian”<sup>25</sup>.

As the political context changed and the conflict between East and West intensified, the changed relationship between the British and Soviet occupation forces also affected commemorative culture. In the spring of 1947, the Soviet authorities accused the British occupation forces of tolerating the desecration of Soviet graves and accepting the generally poor condition of the Soviet graves<sup>26</sup>. Suspected acts of vandalism by the German population in four locations, such as removal of the Soviet star and the inscription plates in the spring of 1946, were able to be confirmed by the British military government. In other places, however, the bad condition of the graves was due to weather damage<sup>27</sup>. In the first half of 1948, after increasing pressure from the Soviet authorities, the British military government then took measures to ensure the dignified maintenance of the graves by the local municipalities.

While this conflict was initially waged through the channel of diplomatic letters, the Soviet authorities brought it to the attention of a larger public in May 1948 with an article in the Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (“Red Star”). According to a translation prepared by the British occupation authorities, the article stated:

<sup>25</sup> “Letter from the Regional Commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein State Chetwynd in the headquarters of the British Military Administration of Schleswig-Holstein State in Kiel to the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein State from June 20, 1949”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224.

<sup>26</sup> “Translation of the letter from General Konovalov, Head of the Mission of the Soviet Commander in Chief to the British Forces of Occupation in Germany, to Chief Liaison Officer, Brigadier general Carthew, dated March 21, 1947”, *National Archives UK*, FO 371/5427, folio 8; “Translation of the letter from the Soviet Foreign Ministry dated April 29, 1947”, *National Archives UK*, FO 371/5427, folio 4; FO 1049/978.

<sup>27</sup> “Letter from the British Embassy in Moscow, no. 584, undated”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1081/1030/30.

The memory of those who lost their lives in the struggle against fascism is dear to the peoples of the whole world. The people has [sic] displayed special concern for the graves of Soviet citizens, who fell in battle against the German occupying forces or were tortured to death in Nazi concentration camps. Thousands of patriots in France, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, and other European states were full of admiration for the heroism of the Soviet people who fought for the liberation of their countries. [...]

It is for this reason that all who honor the memory of those who fell in the struggle [sic] against German fascism are deeply indignant at the desecration of the graves of Soviet citizens, which is at present taking place in the British zone of Germany.

In the territory of this zone, there are over 500 places in which tens of thousands of Soviet citizens are buried, who were the victims of Nazi concentration camps and forced labor in German factories. In the years 1945–46 111 monuments were erected on their graves and further monuments were planned.

But the fascist monsters [sic] began, with the connivance of British military authorities, to desecrate the graves of Soviet troops<sup>28</sup>.

With this text, which was addressed to a broader public, Lieutenant Colonel Belyaev accused the British military government, in contrast with other countries, of not honoring the merits of the fallen Red Army soldiers, because it had taken no measures to prevent the graves from being desecrated by the German population. The article further accused the British military government that this action was politically motivated in order to erase the memory of the achievements of the Red Army:

This treatment of the graves of Soviet people, who gave their lives for democracy and freedom of the peoples is far from accidental. The fascist pogromists and those who tolerate them are pursuing definite political aims, that of forcing mankind to forget the great achievement of the Soviet people, which freed Europe from the yoke of fascism.

The people of the whole world revere the memory of Soviet people who lost their lives for the great cause. They remember that the Soviet people made great sacrifices for the attainment of victory and showed an example of self-sacrifice and heroism.

There is not nor can be any justification for those who permit and encourage the shameful desecration of the graves of Soviet citizens, who fought against fascism<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> "Translation of the article «Desecration of Soviet Memorials» from the «Red Star» May 29, 1948", *National Archives UK*, FO 1049/1288.

<sup>29</sup> "Translation of the article «Desecration of Soviet Memorials»."

According to this accusation, it becomes clear that the gravesites and monuments were meant to accentuate the size and strength of the multinational state of the Soviet Union and the great sacrifices of the Soviet Union for the liberation of Europe from fascism.

This narrative stands in strong contrast to the Soviet attitude towards repatriated former prisoners of war and how they were seen in their own country. After their return, the repatriates were stigmatized as "homeland traitors" and examined in so-called filtration camps of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs ("Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del", NKVD) for possible collaboration with the German Reich. If the suspicion was further substantiated, then they were imprisoned again. That is why Pavel Polian speaks about "victims of two dictatorships"<sup>30</sup>. This attitude also explains why the prisoners of war were collectively designated in the inscriptions as "Soviet citizens who died in fascist captivity" and why persons were not named nor was mention made more generally of their status as prisoners of war. The opposite historical picture in the article of the "Red Star" paper is closely related to the diplomatic debate about the desecration of the gravesites and illustrates how the representatives of public and political life made use of an interpretation of history for political purposes.

The interest displayed by the German government and Schleswig-Holstein local authorities in the Soviet gravesites and monuments in the early post-war years was justified by the hope that the graves of German soldiers and prisoners of war would be maintained in the Soviet Union. That becomes clear, for example, from the letter of the District Resident Officer in the administrative district of Norderdithmarschen, Ronald N. Sinclair, to the state government in Kiel at the end of June 1949: "Since the visit, there have been requests from the public to know about German graves in Russia and Poland, and also several rumors that people have heard that mass graves had been flattened out and that dances and circuses were performed upon them"<sup>31</sup>. In a similar vein, the daily newspaper *Hamburger Echo* reported on June 21, 1949 about the graves of Soviet prisoners of war in the Steinburg district and Itzehoe: The flowers were not enough.

We reported that Russian officers have visited the Russian war graves in the Steinburg district. Although these graves are in order from the German point of view, a Russian major had a lot to complain about. In Itzehoe

<sup>30</sup> Pavel Polian, *Deportiert nach Hause. Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im "Dritten Reich" und ihre Repatriierung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001); Ulrike Goeken-Haidl, *Der Weg zurück. Die Repatriierung sowjetischer Zwangsarbeiter und Kriegsgefangener während und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Essen: Klartext, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> "Letter from the Resident Officer from the district of Norderdithmarschen, Ronald N. Sinclair, to the state government in Kiel, June 27th, 1949", *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224, sh. 2.

some of the graves lacked crucifixes, while in others the flowers were not good enough. He said that he would return in August, and that then these shortcomings should be corrected. The mayor should cover the costs. It would be nice if the graves of German soldiers were subjected to the same kind of survey inspection in Russia. However, it was not possible to remedy the shortcomings there by August<sup>32</sup>.

### The development into the central memorial in Schleswig-Holstein in 1952

A new phase in the “politics of history” and efforts in the culture of memory can be identified for the period from 1949 on when the work of remembrance was shaped primarily by the Federal Government and the Schleswig-Holstein state government as well as the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*) and Gudendorf became the central memorial in Schleswig-Holstein. In autumn 1952, considerations regarding the reburial of isolated war graves with the aim of centralization to a few sites were discussed at the state level in Schleswig-Holstein. At the initiative of Department II Regional Planning in the State Chancellery, representatives of this department, the managing director of the State Association of Schleswig-Holstein of the German War Grave Commission and a government construction officer “as a consultant for the design of memorials”, visited the district of Süderdithmarschen to check whether war grave sites could be combined there. Gudendorf was considered to be such a central location for the amalgamation of gravesites of deceased Soviet citizens, despite the poor condition of the gravesite area hitherto. In September 1956 the Ministry of the Interior stated that the construction in Gudendorf was only a temporary solution that had been created with the limited funds available in the early postwar years. This construction was to be expanded by reburials<sup>33</sup>.

In November 1960 the exhumations and reburials of prisoners of war were completed. In total 248 Soviet prisoners of war had been brought to Gudendorf from all over Schleswig-Holstein<sup>34</sup>. According to the war

<sup>32</sup> “Copy of an extract from the «Hamburger Echo» dated June 21, 1949”, *National Archives UK*, FO 1006/224.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior, September 11, 1956 to the district administrator of Süderdithmarschen District, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein. Copies of the documents from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein can be found in Martin Gietzelt’s private collection.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from the Interior Ministry of Schleswig-Holstein to the district councils of the districts of Flensburg, Niebüll, Heide and Ratzeburg dated October 5, 1960, files of the Interior Ministry of Schleswig-Holstein; Letter from the Interior Ministry of Schleswig-Holstein to garden and landscape architect Hans-Erik Brodersen from November 23, 1960, files of the Interior Ministry of Schleswig-Holstein.

grave list of November 10, 1960, 94 deceased Soviet prisoners of war were reburied from Eggebeck (Flensburg district), 115 from Broweg in Lindholm (North Frisia district), 22 from Dellstedt (Dithmarschen district) and 17 from Aumühle (Duchy of Lauenburg district) to Dithmarschen<sup>35</sup>. Initially, the reburials had to be made primarily from Dithmarschen and the nearest surrounding vicinity. Over time, the geographical area for reburials to Gudendorf was extended to further districts<sup>36</sup>.

In the summer of 1961, the new grave complex was largely completed by the garden and landscape architect Hanns-Erik Brodersen, the artist Siegfried Assmann and their teams. The burial and memorial site consisted of three circular applied tombs and a monument that was erected further to the south of the original burial site. Two circular tombs were created for those who were reburied, while a third circle remained empty to symbolize those who had been buried there before. The purpose of the central memorial for the war dead in Schleswig-Holstein was, according to the State Ministry of the Interior, a reminder and warning: “There the dead – the members of the different nations, soldiers and civilians who have been victims of the war – should find lasting peace in the worthy setting they deserve. Glory to the dead, constant warning to the living!”<sup>37</sup>. At the same time, another memorial for German war dead and war dead from different nations was erected at the Karberg at Haddebyer Noor, thus expanding the target group in comparison to the first monument in Gudendorf: The Karberg memorial also included the German postwar society, and memory was additionally linked with goals central to the pedagogy of peace.

National symbols were avoided and symbols from Greek mythology were used in the redesigned memorial in Gudendorf. The stone monument is 10,7 meters high and widens extending towards the top, at the apex the width is 3,5 meters. The bronze figure group has been designed to be larger than life-size with a height of 2,4 meters<sup>38</sup>. In front of the hill with the monument on it and framing the stairway, a 5,3-meter-long wall was installed. On the left of the observer who moves towards the monument, there

<sup>35</sup> War graves list from the Gudendorf Russian Cemetery, November 10, 1960, issued by the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of the Interior, files of the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>36</sup> Letter from the District Building Authority in Meldorf to the Minister of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein State dated August 25, 1958, files from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein, copies from Martin Gietzelt’s private collection.

<sup>37</sup> Report, “Russian prisoner of war cemetery in Gudendorf”, attachment to the letter of the Oberregierungsrat Niewerth to the German War Graves Commission, July 27, 1961, files of the Interior Ministry Schleswig-Holstein, files.

<sup>38</sup> Sculptor’s drawing for the design of the monument, file of Siegfried Assmann on the “Russian Cemetery in Gudendorf”, private collection of Siegfried Assmann.

is a stone wall with lettering: “Здесь покоятся Советские военнопленные 1941–1945”. The German translation can be read on the right: “*Hier ruhen sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1945*” (Soviet prisoners of war 1941–1945 are buried here). About a hundred meters in front of the monument, at the entrance to the complex is a wall with the words “*Ehrenfriedhof Gudendorf*” (Gudendorf Cemetery of Honor).

The artist Siegfried Assmann deliberately chose neither Christian nor national symbolism, but instead referred to Greek mythology with the bronze sculptural group in the monument:

The boat glides through an opening, like a needle’s eye. It is the silent, hovering transition of one finally secure in death, and does justice to the soundless dying of the countless many, ill with typhus and typhoid fever, far from their homeland in 1943/44<sup>39</sup>.

In an interview with a contemporary witness in September 2017, Siegfried Assmann still recalled the difficulties in choosing a topic for the design of the monument:

It was difficult to grasp the topic, because the Russian Army or Soviet [...] is not only made up of Christians, they’re all a conglomerate of religious associations [...] and [...] so I went back to antiquity, and this coming from me is binding for one and all [...] because I don’t think there’s a separation between Russians [and others] and that’s how I portrayed Charon in his boat, rowing over the Styx [...]. The dead lies in his mother’s lap<sup>40</sup>.

The diversity of the Red Army is indeed evident in the sources on the Soviet prisoners of war buried in Gudendorf. The Soviet prisoner of war Awelbek Ismailow, 207471 IV B, who was treated in the expanded sick bay in Gudendorf and died there on June 16, 1944, was a Muslim<sup>41</sup>. In addition, there were others, for example, Saki Suleimanow<sup>42</sup> and Mingas Gilfanow<sup>43</sup>, two Muslim Tatars among those who were reburied from Aumühle

<sup>39</sup> Siegfried Assmann, *Kiel, 12. Juli – 30. Sept. 1972. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Bildhauers und Malers Siegfried Assmann. Ein Querschnitt aus seinem Schaffen von 1952–1972* (Kiel: Carius Druck, 1972), no page details, accompanying text for object no. 8. Charon is the ferryman of the dead to the underworld.

<sup>40</sup> Contemporary witness conversation with Siegfried Assmann (b. February 1, 1925), 15 September 2017.

<sup>41</sup> See: Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Soviet Union (hereinafter – CAMD), dep. 9, coll. 58, inv. 977521, file 1348, identification number 209760, Stalag IV B, *ОБД Мемориал*, accessed January 5, 2019, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=300614135>.

<sup>42</sup> CAMD, dep. 9, coll. 58, inv. 977528, file 55, identification number 118242, Stalag X B, *ОБД Мемориал*, accessed February 10, 2020, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=301120681>.

<sup>43</sup> CAMD, dep. 9, coll. 58, inv. 977520, file 2438, identification number 124847, Stalag X B, *ОБД Мемориал*, accessed February 10, 2020, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=300343499>.

in Gudendorf, as well as another named Gilean Mуганow<sup>44</sup>, who was originally buried in Broweg and reburied in Gudendorf in 1961.

The group of people buried here are named more specifically than before in the inscriptions on the newly designed monument. However, the inscriptions do not provide any information about the circumstances of the death of the prisoners. This finding makes it clear that monuments do not make statements about the content of history, but about their appropriation. The collective memory of the early German Federal Republic was still strongly influenced in 1961 by the denial of guilt or rather the responsibility of the majority in West Germany. The consequent silence was expressed in the Gudendorf monument in that neither the concrete circumstances of death nor the responsibility of the German Armed Forces for the death of the Soviet prisoners of war in German captivity were mentioned.

Later with the expansion into the central memorial, there was a readjustment of the historical picture concerning the number of victims, which the State Ministry greatly increased, namely to 3,000 Soviet prisoners of war who had died in Gudendorf during the war. However, this initially came about only as a result of proving the need for funding for the maintenance of war graves from 1956 to 1958<sup>45</sup>. This increase was designed not only to justify the great expenses for the memorial but also to refer to the special relevance of this memorial site. The Ministry of the Interior, which was responsible for the memorial’s expansion, was aware that the numbers stated of the Soviet prisoners of war already buried in Gudendorf and who died during the war could cause problems, and therefore chose to avoid giving concrete numbers at the memorial site<sup>46</sup>. The official in charge of war graves in the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of the Interior, Senior Government Council Niewerth, emphasized this in a letter to the German War Graves Commission:

Since we are deliberately avoiding accurate data on the number of Russians killed in the war and lying in the place of honor in Gudendorf (we are talking about several hundred dead who were buried there during the war and about 248 war dead who were reburied there), on the other hand in the aforementioned article on the prisoner of war cemetery near Gudendorf we openly pointed out that one burial place covers only the western part of the old burial ground, where Russian prisoners of war were buried during the war. At the entrance

<sup>44</sup> CAMD, dep. 9, coll. 58, inv. 977521, file 1943, identification number 34609, Stalag X D, *ОБД Мемориал*, accessed February 10, 2020, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=300781059>.

<sup>45</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein to the Federal Office of Administration, November 15, 1960, files of the Interior Ministry of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>46</sup> Memorandum of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein dated November 29, 1960, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

to the front yard of the cemetery, there will be a general inscription, it is also planned that in the opening speech, one general passage will refer to the dedication of a place of honor for all Russian prisoners of war buried in an unknown place of honor. Then the possible questions by the Russians should not upset us<sup>47</sup>.



Fig. 2: Photo of the memorial from the 1970s. Photo credits: Siegfried Assmann, Siegfried: Kiel, July 12 – September 30, 1972. Catalog for the exhibition of the sculptor and painter Siegfried Assmann. A cross-section of his work from 1952–1972, Kiel 1972, no page details, accompanying text for object number 8

Nevertheless, numbers of 2,500 to 3,000 Soviet POWs who had died in Gudendorf were widespread via other institutions such as the local print media. The *Husumer Tageszeitung* of August 8, 1961 carried a report on the completion of the gravesite and memorial, noting: “From 2,500 to 3,000 Russian prisoners of war who died during the Second World War found their final resting place in the Cemetery of Honor in Gudendorf. 248 of them were relocated here from graves from all over Schleswig-Holstein

<sup>47</sup> Letter from the Oberregierungsrat Niewerth to the German War Graves Commission from July 27, 1961, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

last year”<sup>48</sup>. On July 27, 1962, the *Norddeutsche Rundschau* reported: “Most of them are buried in mass graves that have not yet been opened. To ensure that all the dead have a worthy burial site, the new cemetery site is very large”<sup>49</sup>.

On December 7, 1962, the final building inspection was carried out by representatives of the building authorities, the garden and landscape architects, and the Interior Ministry<sup>50</sup>. The opening ceremony was, however, “temporarily” postponed on instructions of the Prime Minister and postponed to the spring 1963. The Ministry of the Interior emphasized that the opening ceremony of the “memorial in Gudendorf [...]” was a strong political issue”. The exact process and to what extent the representatives of federal and state authorities, the churches, the Bundeswehr and the Soviet ambassador should participate first had to be determined<sup>51</sup>.

While the Memorial to War Victims of Different Nations was dedicated in a large festive ceremony at Haddebyer Noor in the summer of 1962, print media and representatives of various government institutions at the same time expressed increasing concerns about the dedication of the Cemetery of Honor for Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf. Their reservations mainly involved the participation of representatives of the Soviet embassy. These concerns, which ultimately resulted not only in a postponement but in a complete cancellation of a large-scale festive dedication ceremony, were closely related to the East-West conflict and in particular to the so-called “Berlin crisis”, which was intensifying at that juncture.

Almost two years later, in 1964, representatives of the Schleswig-Holstein State Association of the German War Graves Commission appealed to the Ministry of the Interior to open the memorial with a festive celebration after all, because they hoped that as a result, German soldiers’ graves might find augmented attention in the Soviet Union<sup>52</sup>. However, the Ministry of the Interior emphasized that there was no interest on the part of the country in a large dedication ceremony, “but

<sup>48</sup> Report in the *Husumer Tageszeitung*, no. 183, August 8, 1962, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>49</sup> “Will the USSR Embassy Participate?”, *Norddeutsche Rundschau*, July 27, 1963, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>50</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein to the Federal Minister of the Interior, May 8th, 1964, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein to the Federal Minister of the Interior, May 8th, 1964, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein to the Federal Minister of the Interior, May 8th, 1964, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.



priority would be accorded to needs in foreign policy”<sup>53</sup>. The Federal Ministry of the Interior then suggested that “a formal dedication ceremony with the participation of the Soviet embassy should best be avoided”. It proposed that the upcoming Remembrance Day on November 15, 1964 should be the occasion for a ceremonial wreath-laying by the Federal Government and the State Government by a representative of the Federal Foreign Office and a member of the Schleswig-Holstein State Government. Speeches were thus to be avoided, but a band of the West German Bundeswehr should intone the German and Soviet national anthems<sup>54</sup>.

#### **Practices in the culture of memory and the “politics of history” in Gudendorf in the Second Cold War<sup>55</sup>**

The impact of historical images can reverberate extended over several decades and be transferred to other participants and phases. This is reflected in the remembrance work of the initiative “Flowers for Gudendorf” from the 1980s. Between the 1960s and 1980s, school children and regional groups of the “Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime – Federation of Anti-Fascists”, for example, were involved in laying wreaths during the local commemorative service.

On December 12, 1979, the Foreign and Defense Ministers of the NATO member states decided to deploy 108 Pershing-II missiles and 464 ground-based nuclear missiles in Western Europe in response to the Soviet Union’s deployment of SS-20 missiles. The superpowers also had to negotiate to limit the number of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The German Bundestag approved this NATO decision in November 1983, so that new nuclear missiles were installed in the Federal Republic the following month. This scaling-up of armaments caused anxieties about an approaching war<sup>56</sup>. In this tense foreign policy situation, a broad peace movement

<sup>53</sup> Letter from the Oberregierungsrat Niewerth to Head of Department I 20, April 8, 1964, files of the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>54</sup> Note from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein, September 21, 1964, files from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein; Letter from the Federal Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein, June 24, 1964, files from the Ministry of the Interior of Schleswig-Holstein, copy in the private collection of Martin Gietzelt.

<sup>55</sup> On the broader political context of the Second Cold War from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, see: Philipp Gassert, Tim Geiger, and Hermann Wentker, ed., “Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung: Einleitende Überlegungen zum historischen Ort des NATO-Doppelbeschlusses von 1979”, in *Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung. Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive* (Munich: Springer, 2011), 7–30.

<sup>56</sup> Gassert, Geiger, and Wentker, ed., “Zweiter Kalter Krieg”, 7.

emerged in the early 1980s, which organized the then largest mass demonstrations in the history of the Federal Republic<sup>57</sup>.

The political debates of that time played a central role in initiating commemorative events at the memorial to the Soviet prisoners of war in Gudendorf. The “Flowers for Gudendorf” initiative arose in close connection with the peace movement, even if different participants with different motives were involved. However, the predominant desire was to stand up for the easing of tensions and disarmament<sup>58</sup>. The memorial in Gudendorf was used as a projection surface to combine memory with a warning and to promote these political goals. Today’s spokesman of the initiative Benno Stahn remembers political activism in the 1980s:

They tried every opportunity to go public and say: Russia, we’ve tried twice, a third time [people] will not survive. And [...] we actually wanted to prevent the war. That was the common denominator that had united us, ranging from communists to Christians<sup>59</sup>.

Precisely such local actions were the hallmark of the peace movement alongside the large, central demonstrations in Bonn, Hamburg, Berlin, and other cities<sup>60</sup>.

The first commemoration ceremony in Gudendorf was held on May 8, 1984. Hans Motzner gave a brief speech. As a German prisoner of war, he had been in a prisoner of war camp in the Soviet Union, but according to his statements had been treated humanely there. That is why, he stressed, it was important to be engaged to commemorate the suffering of the Soviet prisoners of war in German captivity<sup>61</sup>. As a result of the experience of this first memorial event, it was decided to hold annual memorial events on May 8<sup>th</sup> in Gudendorf. To this end, further supporters had to be gained.

During that time the decision was also made that the “Flowers for Gudendorf” initiative would be named taking the cue from the “Flowers

<sup>57</sup> Gassert, Geiger, and Wentker, ed., “Zweiter Kalter Krieg”, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Andreas Buro, “Friedensbewegung”, in *Die Sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Roland Roth and Dieter Rucht (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2008), 268.

<sup>59</sup> Contemporary witness conversation with Benno Stahn and other members of the Flowers for Gudendorf Initiative on October 26, 2018.

<sup>60</sup> Christoph Becker-Schaum, “Einleitung. Die Nuklearkrise der 1980er Jahre. NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung”, in *“Entrüstet euch!” Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012), 18f.

<sup>61</sup> Becker-Schaum, “Einleitung”, 18f.

for Stukenbrock” working group<sup>62</sup>. This working group had already been founded in 1967 to commemorate the former POW camp 326 (VI K)<sup>63</sup>.

Together these civil society associations not only espoused political goals such as disarmament and the end of the Cold War, but they also made an important contribution to coming to grips with the National Socialist past. A similar picture emerged in Kaltenkirchen and Heidkaten, where activists campaigned to commemorate the suffering of the prisoners at the Neuen-gamme satellite camp in Kaltenkirchen and the Soviet prisoners of war who had died in the expanded sick bay facility in Heidkaten. As in Gudendorf and Stukenbrock, this commitment was also in sync with the peace movement. The historian Gerhard Hoch, who was also engaged in Heidkaten and Gudendorf, provided the first study on the National Socialist tyranny in Schleswig-Holstein in the 1980s<sup>64</sup>. He called Gudendorf as well as Heidkaten “death camps”, and meant that he could prove the existence of an “orderly mass dying” there<sup>65</sup>. He argued that the Gudendorf camp had taken over the function of a “death camp” from Heidkaten in 1944<sup>66</sup>. Hoch had arrived at this conclusion mainly due to eyewitness testimony but he did not have corresponding sources from the camp administration<sup>67</sup>.

This argumentation is problematic in two respects. Hoch not only equates the camps in Gudendorf and Heidkaten but also accepts as a given the figure of 3,000 prisoners of war who died there. Since there was no access to the loss lists in Soviet documents at the time, he was unable to obtain any secure knowledge from further source materials about the extent of mortality. He tried to justify the number of 3,000 deaths especially utilizing eyewitness testimonies about Heidkaten, and to boot, without questioning the context of transmission of this figure. It had been first broached

<sup>62</sup> Günther Wilke, “Zur Geschichte der Initiative «Blumen für Gudendorf»”, in *Newsletter Gedenkstätten und Erinnerungsorte in Schleswig-Holstein*, no. 9 (April 2016), 12, accessed January 11, 2019, [http://www.gedenkstaetten-sh.de/tl\\_files/gedenkstaetten/daten/stiftung/Nr\\_9\\_April\\_2016.pdf](http://www.gedenkstaetten-sh.de/tl_files/gedenkstaetten/daten/stiftung/Nr_9_April_2016.pdf).

<sup>63</sup> See: “Geschichtskultur in der Region. Arbeitskreis Blumen für Stukenbrock”, *Homepage der Universität Bielefeld*, accessed January 11, 2019, [http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/geschichte/regionalgeschichte/Kooperationspartner/selbstdarstellung\\_blumen\\_fuer\\_stukenbrock/](http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/geschichte/regionalgeschichte/Kooperationspartner/selbstdarstellung_blumen_fuer_stukenbrock/).

<sup>64</sup> Gerhard Hoch, *Zwölf wiedergefundene Jahre. Kaltenkirchen unter dem Hakenkreuz* (Bad Bramstedt: Roland Werbung, 1981); Gerhard Hoch, “Erweitertes Krankenrevier in Heidkaten”, in *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit. Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig-Holstein*, ed. Rolf Schwarz (Aveslohe: W. Geffken, 1986), 77–100.

<sup>65</sup> Gerhard Hoch, “Geordnetes Massensterben”, in *Dithmarschen 1/1996. Gudendorf: Gefangenenlager und Gedenkstätte* (Heide: Boyens, 1996), 3–7.

<sup>66</sup> Hoch, “Geordnetes Massensterben”, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Hoch, “Geordnetes Massensterben”, 5. See: Hoch, “Erweitertes Krankenrevier in Heidkaten”, 82–86.

in the course of the redesign of the memorial complex at the beginning of the 1960s.

The transposing of observations that were correct in the case of Heidkaten to Gudendorf is problematic, since differing temporal contexts and thus concomitant different modes of treatment of the Soviet prisoners of war were involved. Following Gerhard Hoch’s early investigations, the “Flowers for Gudendorf” initiative adopted this image of the camp and projected it initially at its annual commemorative events. For example, the call for a “Commemoration” on May 6, 1989, noted:

On May 6, 1989, we plan to gather again at the mass graves of the more than 3000 Soviet prisoners of war and forced laborers in Gudendorf near St. Michaelisdonn for a mass event of commemoration and warning. The day of Liberation from War and Fascism takes place this year a few weeks before Mikhail Gorbachev’s visit to the Federal Republic. We welcome this visit and see it as an opportunity to place understanding with the Soviet Union on stable, solid foundations.

History imposes an obligation upon us to stand up emphatically in support of peace and cooperation. Soviet disarmament initiatives reflect a willingness to overcome the spirit of confrontation. We expect the Federal Government to respond to these measures with its own steps for disarmament and to refrain from “modernizing” nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic<sup>68</sup>.

Meanwhile recent research such as work by Martin Gietzelt builds on sources from the archives of the former Soviet Union and can thus revise the “historical image” of the death camp in Gudendorf and its 3,000 deaths. Gietzelt emphasizes that the term “death camp” and the figure of deaths are not tenable, but Gudendorf was “part of a system that openly factored in the deaths of the Soviet prisoners of war, and the measures employed for their living conditions were not humane but economic”<sup>69</sup>.

### Conclusion

The regional example of Gudendorf shows that the memory of Soviet prisoners of war was not shrouded as “hidden memory” in the “shadows of memory” but was actively utilized by various participant actors for promoting a “politics of history”. Remembrance is a dynamic process that is impacted by the overarching socio-political context and by the commemorative practices of the actors involved. The erection of the first two monuments and the discussion of the various representatives about its design and mediated “historical images” correlated with overarching political

<sup>68</sup> “Flowers for Gudendorf Initiative”. Call for the “Commemoration” event on May 6, 1989, private collection of Dietrich Stein.

<sup>69</sup> Gietzelt, “Die Gedenkstätte Gudendorf”, 76.

conflicts such as the Berlin blockade from June 1948 to May 1949, the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the NATO Twin-Track Decision in 1979, which were the high points in the disputes and confrontations between East and West. The description and analysis of the practices of memory and commemoration in Gudendorf in these three phases have shown that the participants in each phase used a “public representation of a collectively relevant past for political purposes” and interpreted the past in this way<sup>70</sup>.

The state of Schleswig-Holstein made an outstanding memorial contribution to the remembrance by the restructuring of the graves in Gudendorf into a central memorial of the Soviet prisoners of war that did not correspond to the general and nationwide collective memory of the time. The annual remembrance work of the “Flowers for Gudendorf” initiative as part of yearly memorial events on May 8 contributed to the fact that the “*Erinnerungsschatten*” or “hidden memory” of the suffering of Soviet prisoners of war in German captivity was perhaps less developed at a local level than in many other places in the Federal Republic. However, the regional example also showed that monuments and commemorative practices do not make “statements about the content of history, but about its appropriation”<sup>71</sup>. The mediated “images of history” are thus powerfully related to the respective present.

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<sup>70</sup> Schmid, “Konstruktion”, 78.

<sup>71</sup> Erben, “Denkmäler”, 235.

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The author's eyewitness conversation with Benno Stahn and other members of the "Flowers for Gudendorf" initiative, October 26, 2018.

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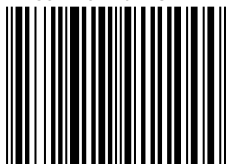
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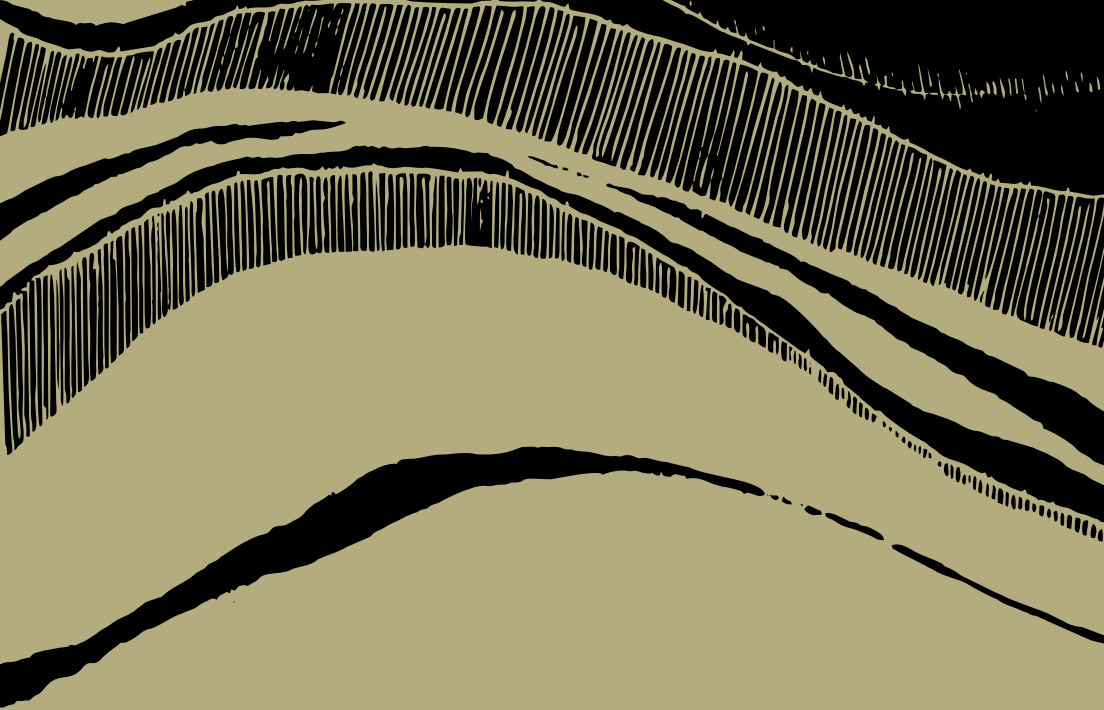
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