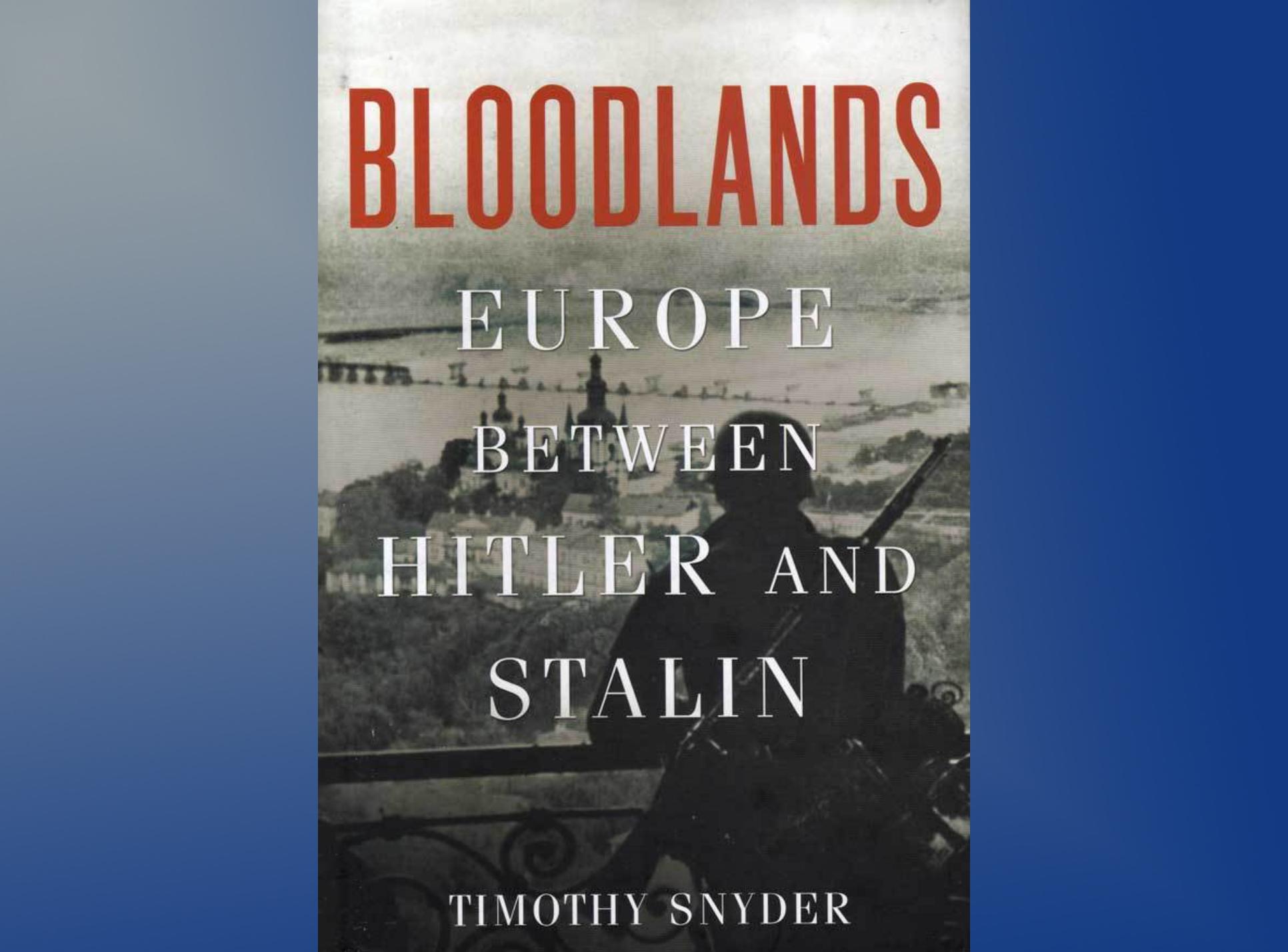


Nation and Memory in Russia, Poland, and Ukraine

Lecture 17

Bloodlands: Atrocities and Mass Murder in the Second World War

Week 9, Spring Term



BLOODLANDS

EUROPE BETWEEN HITLER AND STALIN

TIMOTHY SNYDER

Outline

- 
1. Psychological trauma and collective trauma
 2. The Second World War
 3. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the massacres in Volhynia
 4. Sovietisation and ethnic cleansing
 5. The Holocaust and Polish anti-Semitism

Psychological trauma

a type of damage to the psyche that occurs as a result of a traumatic event. A traumatic event involves a singular experience or enduring event or events that completely overwhelm the individual's ability to cope or integrate the emotion involved with that experience. Trauma can be caused by a wide variety of events, but there are a few common aspects. It usually involves a complete feeling of helplessness in the face of a real or subjective threat to life, bodily integrity, or sanity. There is frequently a violation of the person's familiar ideas about the world, putting the person in a state of extreme confusion and insecurity.

Psychological trauma

- Abuse and violence (esp. in childhood)
- Natural disasters (earthquakes, etc.)
- War and mass violence
- Long-term exposure to extreme poverty, famine
- Victimization

Giving meaning to death

- Religion
- Nation
- Class



Culture

Shapes the experience of collective trauma and facilitates the recovery from this unexpected rupture in social life

Mary de Young, *Collective Trauma: Insights From a Research Errand*

Collective Trauma

Psychological effect on an entire society. Traumatic events that emotionally touch nearly every member of said society will often induce a collective trauma.

Frequent consequences:

- The search for scapegoats
 - Conspiracy theories
 - Can play a key role in group identity formation
 - Can also destroy group identity formation
- “a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of community” (Kai Erickson, *A New Species of Trouble* (1994), p. 233)

“One more aspect could be mentioned here, even though it is rather metaphysical and hardly verifiable. The more I think about the tragedy, the more I feel that it has some “hidden” meaning. To some extent it might be considered God’s trial of the Ukrainians... But to us mere mortals, it looks more like God’s revenge or, rather, a “payback” by history to Ukrainian peasants who lost their chance in 1917-1920, who, for the most part, betrayed the Ukrainian revolution and the Ukrainian government...

I certainly do not know what price we would pay if we lost our opportunity today for freedom, but undoubtedly we would pay a high price as all losers are condemned to do”

The Ukrainian author Mykola Riabchuk, on a conference in Pennsylvania 2003

Outline

1. Psychological trauma and collective trauma
-  2. The Second World War and Poland
3. The Second World War and Russia
4. The Second World War and Ukraine
5. Anti-Semitism
6. Conclusion

Polish war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939



**Nazi-Soviet pact, Josef W. Stalin und
Joachim von Ribbentrop**
Moscow, 23 August 1939
DHM, Berlin

Polish war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- Soviet occupation



Polish war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- Soviet occupation
- Deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union and the Katyn massacre



NEVER FORGOTTEN, NEVER FORGIVEN
KATYN 1940

Polish war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- Soviet occupation
- Deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union and the Katyn massacre
- German occupation
- Oppression, concentration camps and mass killing of Poles under German occupation
- Polish underground state and Home Army
- Collaboration and *Volkliste*
- Warsaw Uprising, August 1944

WARSAW UPRISING 1944



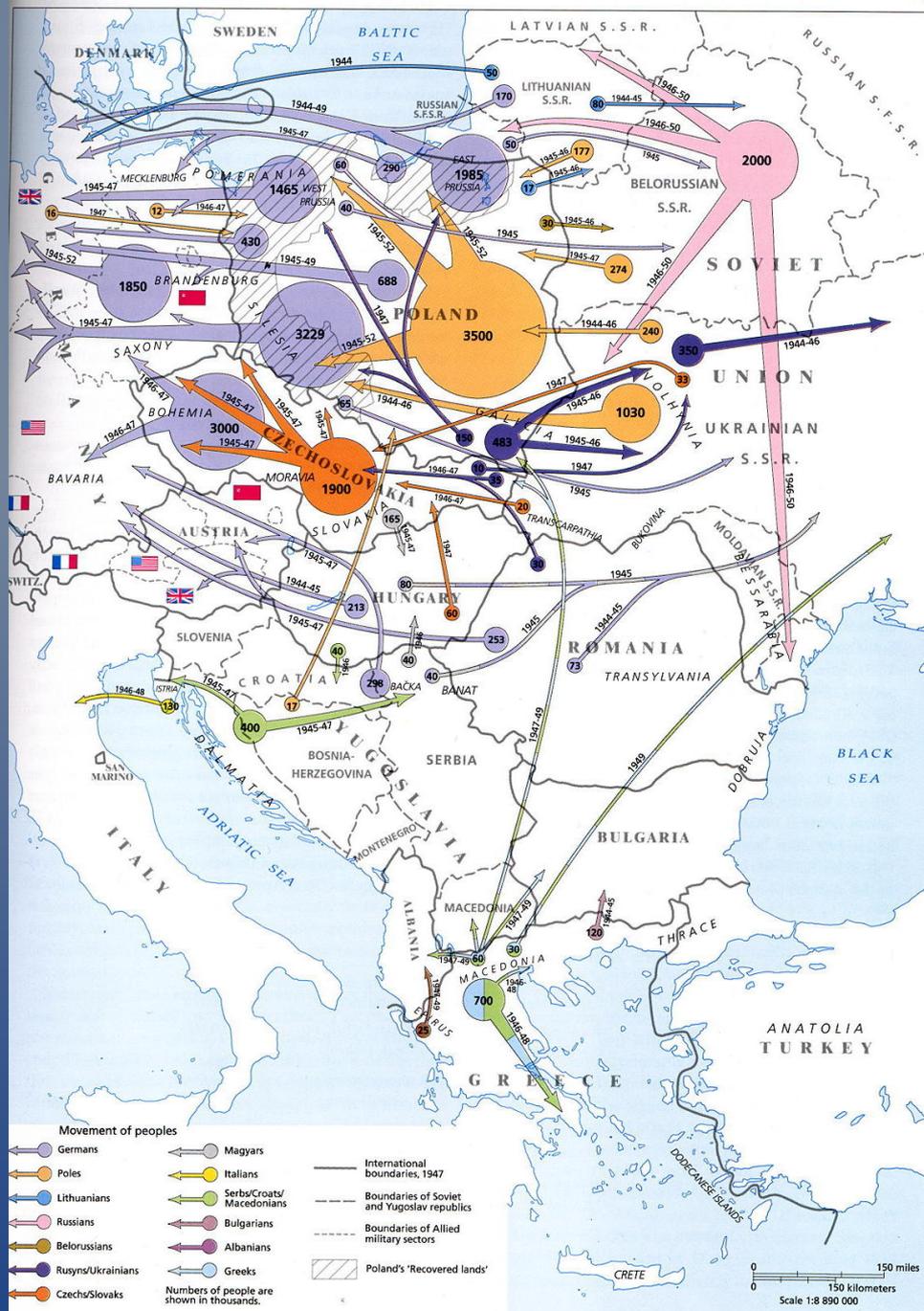
Go, passer-by, and tell the world
That we perished in the cause,
Faithful to our orders.

“The Warsaw Uprising of 1944 — a heroic and tragic 63-day struggle to liberate World War 2 Warsaw from Nazi/German occupation. Undertaken by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), the Polish resistance group, at the time Allied troops were breaking through the Normandy defenses and the Red Army was standing at the line of the Vistula River. Warsaw could have been one of the first European capitals liberated; however, various military and political miscalculations, as well as global politics — played among Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) — turned the dice against it. This site is dedicated to all those who fought for their freedom in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 as well as all those who, as civilians, perished in the effort.”

<http://www.warsawuprising.com/>

Polish war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- Soviet occupation
- Deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union and the Katyn massacre
- German occupation
- Oppression, concentration camps and mass killing of Poles under German occupation
- Polish underground state and Home Army
- Collaboration and *Volksliste*
- Warsaw Uprising, August 1944
- Massacres of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia
- Conference of Yalta – betrayed by the Western Allies: Loss of Eastern Poland and expulsion of Poles





Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the conference of Yalta, February 1945

Polish war experiences

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- Deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union and the Katyn massacre
- German occupation
- Oppression, concentration camps and mass killing of Poles under German occupation
- Polish underground state and Home Army
- Collaboration and *Volksliste*
- Warsaw Uprising, August 1944
- Massacres of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia
- Loss of Eastern Poland and expulsion of Poles
- Conference of Yalta – betrayed by the Western Allies
- Founding of the People's Republic of Poland – under Soviet domination



Suffering and heroic fight with tragic outcome

Outline

1. Psychological trauma and collective trauma
2. The Second World War and Poland
-  3. The Second World War and Russia
4. The Second World War and Ukraine
5. Anti-Semitism
6. Conclusion

Russian war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- German attack, 22 June 1941 (*Barbarossa*)



0 500 750 1000 km

Russian war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- German attack, 22 June 1941 (*Barbarossa*)
- German occupation and German cruelties



In den deutsch besetzten Gebieten der Sowjetunion kam es zu vielen Massenexekutionen von Partisanen, Kommunisten und Juden durch deutsche Sicherheitskräfte und reguläre Truppen. Hier eine «Vergeltungsaktion» in der Ukraine 1942.

Russian war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- German attack, 22 June 1941 (*Barbarossa*)
- German occupation and German cruelties
- Hunger and suffering
- Collaboration of different groups
- Vlasov-Army
- Great Patriotic War

**РОДИНА-МАТЬ
ЗОВЕТ!**



Russian war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- German attack, 22 June 1941 (*Barbarossa*)
- German occupation and German cruelties
- Hunger and suffering
- Collaboration of different groups
- Vlasov-Army
- Great Patriotic War
- Red partisans and resistance
- Victorious battles: Defence of Moscow, Siege of Leningrad, Battle of Stalingrad, Battle of Kursk, Battle of Berlin



Stalingrad wurde im Herbst 1942 zum Symbol des sowjetischen Widerstandes. Hier knien Soldaten der Roten Armee am Ufer der Wolga nieder zum Schwur, dass sie die Stadt niemals preisgeben werden.

Overy, Russia's War

Im Februar 1943 ziehen deutsche Soldaten nach der Kapitulation der Überreste der 6. Armee unter General Paulus in die Gefangenschaft. Hungrig und erschöpft starben viele auf dem Weg von Stalingrad in die Lager.



German prisoners of war after the Battle of Stalingrad

Russian war experiences

- Nazi-Soviet pact, August 1939
- German attack, 22 June 1941 (*Barbarossa*)
- German occupation and German cruelties
- Hunger and suffering
- Collaboration of different groups
- Vlasov-Army
- Great Patriotic War
- Red partisans and resistance
- Victorious battles: Defence of Moscow, Siege of Leningrad, Battle of Stalingrad, Battle of Kursk, Battle of Berlin
- Defeat of Germany
- Victory of the Soviet system
- Victory of the Russian nation



Suffering and heroic fight with triumphal victory



Outline

1. Psychological trauma and collective trauma
2. The Second World War and Poland
3. The Second World War and Russia
-  4. The Second World War and Ukraine
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Ukrainian war experiences

Western Ukraine

- OUN divided in OUN-B and OUN-M



Stepan Bandera
Leader of the Organisation of
Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN-B



Andrii Melnik,
Leader of the OUN-M

Ukrainian war experiences

Western Ukraine

- OUN divided in OUN-B and OUN-M
- Proclamation of a Ukrainian State in Lviv, June 30, 1941
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)



Fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)



Ukrainian war experiences

Western Ukraine

- OUN divided in OUN-B and OUN-M
- Proclamation of a Ukrainian State in Lviv, June 30, 1941
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)
- Collaboration and anti-Semitism
- SS Division Galicia



Don't wait for the fate, but take arms in your hands.



Stand up to fight Bolshevism in the ranks of the Galicia Div.

Ukrainian war experiences

Western Ukraine

- OUN divided in OUN-B and OUN-M
- Proclamation of a Ukrainian State in Lviv, June 30, 1941
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)
- Collaboration and anti-Semitism
- SS Division Galicia
- War of nationalist partisans against the German Wehrmacht and the Red Army
- Massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia
- Fight against Sovietization in Western Ukraine, mass arrests and deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia
- Expulsion of Ukrainians from Poland
- Akcja Wisla

 Suffering and heroic fight with tragic outcome

Ukrainian war experiences

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Central and Eastern Ukraine

Occupation of Soviet Ukraine by the Germans

Mass killing

Collaboration and anti-Semitism

Fight of Soviet Ukrainian partisans against the Wehrmacht

Fight of Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army

Liberation of Ukraine

Victorious battles against the Germans

Unification of Ukraine



Suffering and heroic fight with tragic outcome



Suffering and heroic fight with victory

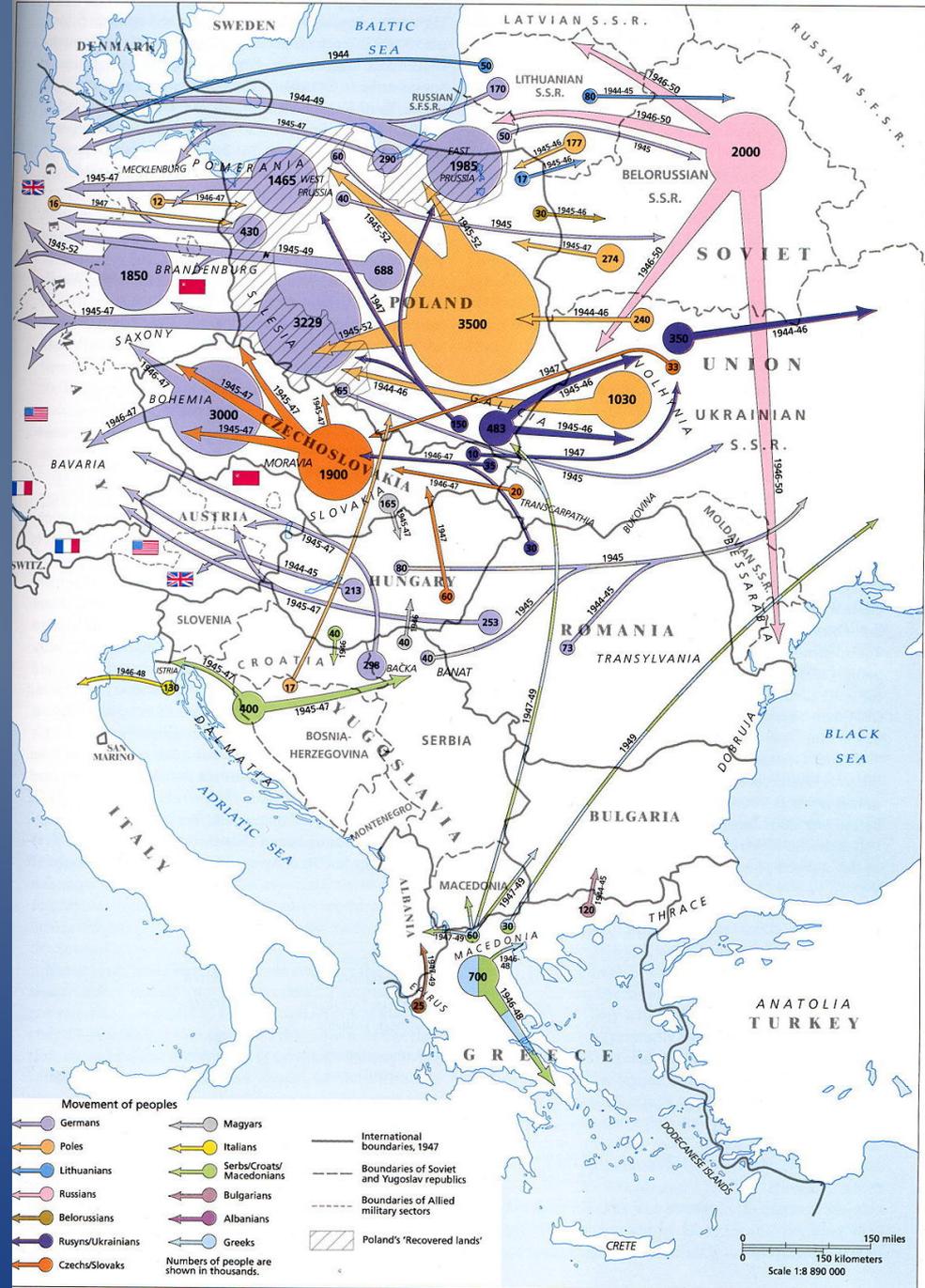
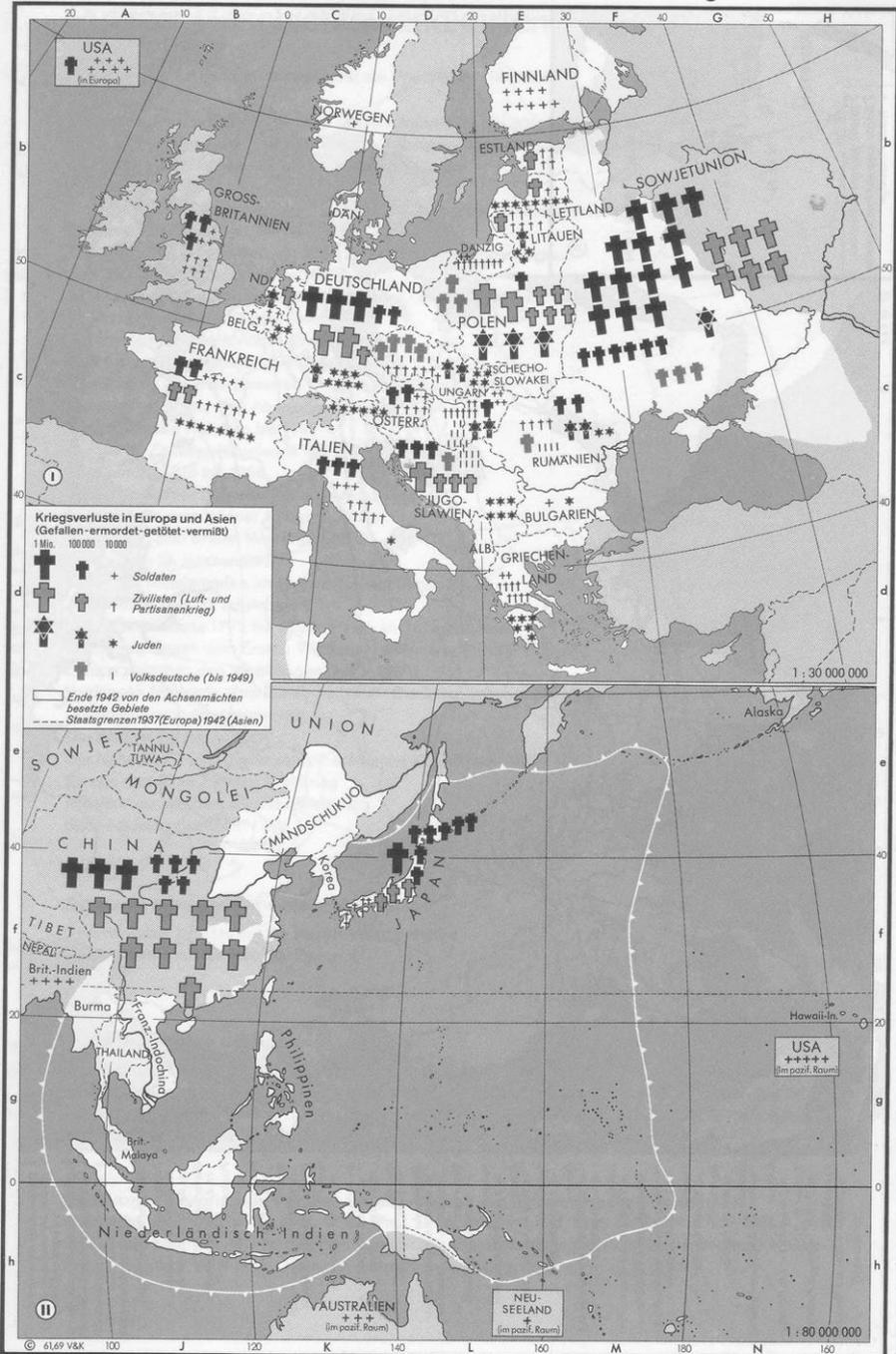


Прекрасна Україна—
возз'єднана, єдина!
Над нею сонце волі,
в землі ж добра доволі.
А люд весь героїчний,
мов із заліза — вічний.

Залізо в нас кується,
врагу не піддається —
й ніколи не піддається:
в возз'єднанні нам щастя!
В Радянській Україні
ми — дужі і єдині.

Павло Тичина.

Figure 6.8. *Beautiful Ukraine—United and Indivisible!* L'viv, 1945.





Akcja Wisła, 1947

Outline

1. Psychological trauma and collective trauma
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Poland

- Anti-semitism in Poland (pre-war)
- Pogroms and mass murder (Jedwabne)
- Blame Jews for Bolshevism
- Szmalcowcy and 'blue police'

- Part of nationalists welcome removal of Jews from Poland

- But also help for Jews
- Kielce pogrom and anti-semitism after the war
- "Double Memory" of the Second World War of Jews and Poles

- Threatens idea of Poland as the suffering nation which did not collaborate with the Nazis

Ukraine

- Anti-semitism in Ukraine
- Pogroms and mass murder (WU)
- Blame Jews for Bolshevism (WU)
- Ukrainian auxiliary Police (WU)
- Guards of Death camps
- Integral nationalists welcome removal of Jews from Ukraine
- But also help for Jews
- Attack on Jews in Kiev after victory
- "Double Memory of the Second World War of Jews and Ukrainians
- Threatens idea of Ukraine as the suffering nation, question of collaboration with Nazis difficult

Poland: September 1939 - June 1941

German and Soviet occupation zones



Conclusion

- Second World War: traumatic event for all three nations: suffering and millions of dead soldiers and civilians
- Poland: Polish state survived in different borders but under Soviet domination
- Ukraine: Unification of all Ukrainian lands but as part of the Soviet Union
- Russia: victorious but Stalin dictatorship, WWII stabilised Soviet system