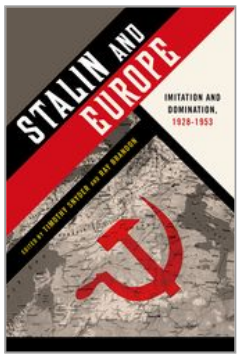

Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953
Timothy Snyder and Ray Brandon

Print publication date: 2014
Print ISBN-13: 9780199945566
Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: August 2014
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199945566.001.0001

Lviv under Soviet Rule, 1939–1941

Christoph Mick

DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199945566.003.0007

Abstract and Keywords

Soviet occupation policy in Lviv was based first and foremost on socio-political and power-political categories and only second on ethno-political ones. The local population, however, continued to view events in terms of a competition between ethnic groups and interpreted Soviet measures accordingly. Most Poles and Ukrainians saw Soviet policy as a direct assault on their nationhood. Despite the suffering of Jewish elites, a majority of Jews could only prefer Soviet rule to Nazi rule. The city's non-Jews forgot about the seizure of Jewish property, the arrests of Jewish political and religious leaders, and the deportation of tens of thousands of Jewish refugees to the Soviet interior. What they recalled instead were the actions of a part of Jewish youth, Soviet officials of Jewish origin, and those refugees who joined the Soviet administration.

Keywords: Soviet Union, Second World War, Soviet-occupied Poland, Lviv, Lwów, Lemberg, Sovietization, inter-ethnic relations, deportations

The November 1938 Munich Agreement signed by Germany, Italy, France, and Britain was the cause of much rejoicing among many Ukrainians in eastern Poland. They were not cheering Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia or the hope expressed by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain that the agreement meant "peace in our time." They were jubilant, because the Munich Agreement brought autonomy for Transcarpathia, a region within Czechoslovakia. In Transcarpathia, the majority of the population was made up Rusyns or Ukrainians.[1] In numerous meetings and special church services in Galicia in particular, Ukrainian leaders and Greek-Catholic (Uniate) clergy celebrated the tiny borderland's fortune.[2] On 15 March 1939, however, German troops marched into the remaining Czech lands, forcing Chamberlain to realize that the Munich Agreement would not keep the peace. That same day, Slovakia and Transcarpathia declared independence. Again, spirits soared among Ukrainians in eastern Poland—but this was not to last. Although Berlin supported Slovak independence, it did not protest when, less than twenty-four hours later, Hungary annexed Transcarpathia. Ukrainian elation in Poland gave way to depression.[3]

These revisions of the Treaty of Versailles were not to end with the destruction of Czechoslovakia. That same month, Lithuania bowed to German pressure and ceded the Memel territory to Germany. The next target was obvious: Poland. Adolf Hitler made clear his aim to link the German heartland with East Prussia, which were separated by a large strip of Polish territory. Hitler wanted Poland to agree to German annexation of the Free City of Danzig and to allow Germany (p.139) to build an extra-territorial railway through Poland to the annexed city. On March 26, the Polish government rejected any territorial changes and ordered the partial mobilization of the Polish Army and the full mobilization of the border guard.

The threat of war therefore loomed large in the final week of March, when the small syndicalist Union of Trade Unions (*Związek Związków Zawodowych*) called a public meeting in Lwów, the largest city in the eastern borderlands of the

Second Polish Republic.[4] About 450 workers flocked to the house of the Jewish craftsmen association *Jad Charuzim*. The majority of the participants were Jews, and most of the discussion revolved around two questions: In the event of war, what kind of stance should the workers take toward the Soviet Union? And what should their attitude be toward the Polish state? Was the Soviet Union the “fatherland of the proletariat” and thus deserving of their allegiance? The answer was far from clear.

The debate was intense. One speaker criticized the repression in the Soviet Union, while another speaker defended Stalin as a “liberator of the workers.” The audience was divided. While most people applauded Stalin’s champion, others protested. Although attitudes toward the Soviet Union were ambivalent, all agreed that the Polish state had to be defended against Nazi Germany. The police informant who noted all this must have been satisfied.[5] If Germany were to attack, Jewish and Polish workers would stand alongside the government. It was less clear what would happen in the event of a Soviet invasion, but in the spring of 1939, the idea of an alliance between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany and a renewed partition of Poland seemed far-fetched.

The situation was different in the case of the Ukrainians, a minority in Lwów, but a majority in Poland’s southeast voivodeships (regional-level administrative units). The failure to create a Ukrainian state in 1918–20, the collapse of the West Ukrainian People’s Republic in the Polish-Ukrainian War, and the manifold discrimination experienced by Ukrainians in Poland during the interwar period had left the Ukrainian population embittered. On 3 June 1939, the German Consulate in Lwów—which the Germans had taken over from Austria—reported that Ukrainians were counting on German help to establish an independent Ukrainian state, although the leaders of the legal Ukrainian parties opposed “spontaneous uprisings and outbursts,” as they did not want to endanger the “national substance.”[6]

The unimaginable happened on 23 August 1939, when the German-Soviet Treaty of Non-Aggression was signed. In response, a wave of patriotism swept through Poland. Tens of

thousands of young men immediately joined the Polish Army. The leaders of Jewish organizations urged their members and the Jewish population at large to support Poland. The legal Ukrainian parties appealed to (p.140) the Ukrainian population not to oppose the authorities, but the Polish police was taking no chances, and on the night of 31 August to 1 September, they arrested several thousand Ukrainian activists. Many were released a few days later, when the anticipated mass Ukrainian uprising failed to materialize. In a few areas, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists—an illegal party, authoritarian and militantly anti-Polish and anti-Soviet—did launch a number of "uprisings" against the Polish authorities, but these were small and easily suppressed by the police. Nonetheless, the Polish population was convinced that the Ukrainians could not be trusted. In Lwów, some Poles suspected all Ukrainians of helping the Germans, and the military authorities even had several Ukrainians shot without trial.[7] Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, the head of the Greek-Catholic Church, and Vasyl Mudry, the leader of the Ukrainian bloc in the Polish parliament, released a statement on 15 September denying that the Ukrainian population was trying to harm the Polish war effort.[8] In the first two weeks of September, more than 100,000 Ukrainian soldiers served in the Polish armed forces alongside their Polish comrades, and many of those who saw combat fought with distinction against the Germans. There is no evidence that Ukrainian soldiers refused to fight so long as the front held.[9]

Without effective British or French help, the Polish Army could not hope to stop the German attack and the Wehrmacht was soon approaching Warsaw and Lwów. The quick advance of the German forces surprised the population. The first air strike hit the city of Lwów only a few hours after the German invasion had begun. Over the next few days, endless air raid warnings—real and false alarms—wore down the nerves of the population.[10] On 12 September, German artillery began to fire into the city, which was already overcrowded with tens of thousands of refugees. Hundreds of people died daily. The hospitals quickly filled with wounded soldiers and civilians.[11] Two days after the shelling began, the city was without water and gas, and before the week was out, the city's power supply

broke down. By the time the Soviets invaded eastern Poland on 17 September 1939, German troops were already occupying the city's western suburbs.

The Soviet Invasion

The collapse of the Polish state resulted in chaos and anarchy. In towns or villages with a Polish majority, militias were formed to fill the power vacuum. In other localities, Poles were defenseless, and Ukrainian peasants took revenge on Polish estate owners and Polish settlers for past grievances. But Poles were not the only victims of atrocities. Polish troops moved through the country, (p.141) killing Ukrainian peasants in villages where triumphal arches had been erected to greet the Red Army, or where Poles had been attacked. The population, irrespective of nationality, eagerly awaited the restoration of order, even if it required the Red Army to do so. But there is evidence that in many villages and towns the Soviet troops quickly moved against Polish policemen, soldiers, and members of the economic and political elite. In the first days of Soviet occupation, an unknown number of Poles were killed. Political units of the Red Army exploited social and ethnic tensions and encouraged Ukrainian peasants and the lower stratum of the urban population to form committees and militias to destroy the old social and political structures "from below." The peasants began to plunder the large estates and to redistribute land.[12]

After a few days, the Red Army arrived on the outskirts of Lwów. Now both invading armies were besieging the city. According to Polish sources, on the evening of 21 September, General Władysław Langner, the commander of Polish forces in Lwów, decided to hand the city over to the Red Army.[13] At first, General Langner's decision seemed to be the right one. The Soviet high command granted the Polish officers the right to pass, but the promise was quickly broken, and 1500 were promptly arrested. Many of them would later be murdered by the Soviet secret police, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (*Narodnyi kommissariat vnutrennikh del*, NKVD), in Katyn or Tver.[14]

On 22 September, early in the afternoon, the Red Army marched into Lwów. All in all, the occupation went smoothly, save for a few instances of hostile fire from Polish stragglers. Soviet reports called them “bourgeois elements” resisting “the entry of our troops.”[15] There were other incidents. A number of unarmed Polish policemen on their way to a registration office on Zielona Street were killed when a Soviet unit attacked them.[16] One eyewitness remembered Red Army soldiers using their rifles to bludgeon wounded policemen. Some policemen were detained by Ukrainians, robbed, and then handed over to Soviet soldiers.[17] Similar stories were reported about Jews. According to a 1942 report by the Polish resistance, Soviet troops had barely reached the outskirts of the city when Jews began attacking Polish soldiers, disarming and binding them.[18]

The first Soviet units to enter Lwów treated the population reasonably well.[19] Even the Polish underground would later note “the initially quite favorable impression of the discipline of the entering Soviet troops and their tolerant attitude toward the population.”[20] Most Polish and Jewish inhabitants preferred Soviet to German occupation. Lala Fishman, the daughter of an assimilated Jewish family, remembered:

> Small wonder, then, that when the Red Army entered the city, it was a gala event and the cause of much rejoicing by the populace. (p.142) Thousands of Lvovians turned out to greet the Soviet troops.…The Soviets marched in columns down one of the city’s main thoroughfares, and the people who thronged the sidewalks clapped and shouted Polish hosannas while pretty girls skipped and capered alongside the soldiers, tossing flowers to them and strewing blossoms at their feet.[21]

When asked about the living conditions in the Soviet Union, the soldiers answered: “Everything is there” (*vsë est*), as they had been told to do by their political instructors. Their appearance, however, contradicted such statements. Their uniforms were of poor quality, often torn, and the soldiers looked malnourished.[22] This was “for all us Poles a terrible sight, they looked like the last beggars, horses without saddles, soldiers carrying heavy loads, old rifles slung over the

shoulder with rope, in a word, a scene of poverty and desperation."[23] Polish eyewitnesses report that the soldiers had received a considerable advance of rubles before they entered the city to prevent looting. The prewar ruble-złoty exchange rate of 1:1 was enforced, thus giving soldiers the opportunity to buy goods on favorable terms in the shops. As Soviet citizens, the Red Army soldiers had never seen such abundance; they bought up all the consumer goods they could find—watches, jewelry, clothes—and emptied the grocery shops. But the buying spree was soon over. Cut off from the rest of Poland and the outside world, Lviv—as the city was now known—began to experience supply bottlenecks. The "grey and difficult life under occupation" was beginning.[24]

"Liberation from the Polish yoke"

The Red Army had crossed the eastern Polish border as the "liberator of the Slavic brothers from the Polish yoke," but according to Soviet ideology, this "yoke" was in the first instance social and only in the second instance national. The proletariat and peasantry had to be liberated from the dominance of the Polish ruling elite, from factory and estate owners, from capitalists. Consequently, Soviet propaganda took aim at the "Poland of the masters" (*Pańska Polska*) and not the "Poland of the people" (*Polska Ludowa*). The Second Polish Republic was subsequently maligned in meetings, newspapers, posters, and radio broadcasts throughout eastern Poland.

Soviet politicians made it clear that the occupied territories would become part of the Ukrainian and the Belarusian socialist Soviet republics. Formally, the decision was left to the population and the outcome of a special election. A Soviet-style election campaign was launched. Propagandists went to (p.143) restaurants, coffeehouses, and public kitchens, where they delivered lengthy speeches in Ukrainian, Polish, and Yiddish on the wonderful quality of life in the Soviet Union.[25] Public loudspeakers were installed to broadcast propaganda all day. Public announcements, posters, red flags, and portraits of Lenin and Stalin were everywhere.[26]

On 22 October 1939, the population elected a West Ukrainian National Assembly, which, unsurprisingly, voted for union with the Ukrainian SSR. The assembly's request to join the Ukrainian SSR was promptly accepted and western Ukraine became part of Soviet Ukraine. Already before the election, Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish organizations had been dissolved and replaced by Soviet organizations through which all communal activities were channeled. Mayor Stanisław Ostrowski, his three deputy mayors, and several magistrates were arrested and later deported to Moscow.

All political parties except the Communist Party were illegal. Independent social activity was not tolerated. Soviet trade unions, youth organizations (Young Pioneers and Komsomol), and unions for artists, writers, architects, and teachers permeated society and helped control the population. Membership in such an organization meant access to certain privileges and was a precondition for continuing to work in one's profession.

Poles in key administrative and managerial positions were fired and replaced by newcomers from eastern Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership ordered the state and party in the eastern oblasts (regions) of the Ukrainian republic to identify cadres to be sent to the occupied territories. To avoid the impression that Soviet rule was synonymous with Russian rule, a premium was put on officials with native Ukrainian language skills. Oblast leaders, however, tried to avoid sending their best people. As a consequence, many Soviet administrators in western Ukraine were appointed to positions well above their training and experience. This contributed to the bad impression the new Soviet order made on the local population and gave rise to many complaints about the low qualifications of the Soviet personnel from the east.[27] Despite the sweeping dismissal of a large number of Poles from top positions, however, many experienced Polish administrators proved indispensable and remained in place, above all at the middle levels of bureaucracy.[28]

The integration of the eastern Polish territories into the Ukrainian SSR followed the blueprint provided by the Soviet

nationality policies of the 1920s. The Ukrainians were the titular nationality, which meant that they took precedence over Poles and Jews in the administration, culture, and education. During the “national operations” against “diaspora nations” in the latter half of the 1930s, Poles in Soviet Ukraine had been classified as belonging to a newly introduced category known as “enemy peoples.” Soviet Poles lost their limited cultural and (p.144) political rights of self-government, and tens of thousands were executed or deported from their ancestral homes.[29] By contrast, in the newly annexed territories, Poles were recognized as a national minority, whose claims to cultural and educational representation had to be accorded some degree of consideration.

Important buildings, such as the Opera House, were nationalized and turned over to the Ukrainian SSR, but the Polish dramatic theater remained a center of Polish culture. The Jewish theater in Lviv was sovietized, but Jewish theaters in other towns were closed. Primary and secondary schools in which Yiddish had been the main language of instruction before the war were reopened, but Hebrew schools remained closed. Many, but certainly not all Polish schools were Ukrainized.[30] In other fields, such as education and publishing, great progress was made in the Ukrainization of public life, something that even enemies of the Soviet Union had to admit.

The university was renamed Ivan Franko University, after a leading Ukrainian politician and writer, and Ukrainian scholars were appointed to new, more senior positions, but the administration was kept under strict Soviet control.[31] Chairs for Ukrainian language, literature, and history were established. All official announcements were made in Ukrainian, and pressure was put on instructors to hold their lectures in Ukrainian, but Polish professors were allowed to speak Polish if they did not know Russian or Ukrainian.[32] By 1941, the composition of the academic staff had changed considerably. It now consisted of 40 percent Ukrainians and 40 percent Poles; however, among professors, there were 52 Poles, 22 Ukrainians, and 8 Jews. In other academic

institutions, such as the technical university, the proportion of Polish professors was even higher.[33]

The Soviets made a special effort to win the allegiance of the lower classes, the young, and parts of the intelligentsia, irrespective of nationality. Workers were promised an end to their suffering,[34] and the working intelligentsia was given assurances that they would receive “all opportunities for the free development of our creative powers for the best of the working people.”[35] As the Poles were turned out of administrative offices and law enforcement, Ukrainians and Jews were allowed to assume their positions, posts that had been closed to them under the Second Polish Republic. Jews from the lower classes and from the oft-destitute refugees in particular filled these posts.[36]

Among the youth, young Jewish teachers had good reason to perceive Soviet rule as a change for the better, because they could finally get a steady job.[37] Before the war, they had stood little chance of being employed in state schools. The Ukrainization of schools meant more jobs for Ukrainian teachers as well. In higher education, Jewish and Ukrainian students also benefited from changes in university admission policies.

(p.145) Before the war, both Ukrainians and Jews in Galicia had faced many obstacles to enrollment at a Polish university.[38] Under the Soviets, this changed. In December 1939, the composition of the student body at Ivan Franko University still reflected the discrimination of Jews in the prewar years.[39] Poles accounted for 77.9 percent, with Ukrainians and Jews making up 12.9 percent and 6.7 percent of the students, respectively.[40] By April 1941, Ukrainization and the end of anti-Jewish discrimination had dramatically altered the composition of the student body. Of the 1617 students at the university, 540 were Ukrainians (33.4 percent), 362 Poles (22.4 percent), and 715 Jews (44.2 percent).[41] Leon Weliczker Wells, who survived the Holocaust in Lviv, saw the positive side of Soviet education policy:

> We children continued our school. Some of us had ambitions—to become professionals or scientists.… Schooling was not only free, but at the university one's scholarship could be as high as an average worker's salary. Getting into university was a matter of merit, and there was no racial, religious or social discrimination.[42]

In their attempts to cultivate the support of at least part of the various national intelligentsias, the Soviets met with some success. Although most Jewish and Polish authors, such as Leon Pasternak, Ostap Ortwin, and Tadeusz Hollender, rarely if ever visited the club of the Soviet Writers Union, socialist authors, such as Wanda Wasilewska, Jerzy Borejsza, Jerzy Putrament, Stanisław Jerzy Lec, and Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, participated in union life and publicly sympathized with the Soviet Union. On the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion on 17 September 1940, fifty-eight Lviv authors joined the Writers Union.[43] On that same occasion, Wasilewska praised the "liberation of Western Ukraine" in the pages of *Czerwony Sztandar*, the Polish daily.[44] Such pro-Soviet declarations from these authors only discredited them in the eyes of most Poles. Even decades later, eyewitnesses would express their contempt for the "false artistic and scientific elite," referring to its members as "false moral authorities."[45]

Sovietization changed everyday life in other ways as well. The new rulers sought to leave their mark on Lviv's public spaces. Soviet monuments were erected throughout the city. These, however, were usually made of wood or plaster. Exposed to the elements, they quickly came to look worn and shabby, giving rise to many jokes about the permanence of Soviet rule.[46] A monument of Lenin was commissioned for the plaza in front of the Opera House, but only the pedestal had been completed when the Germans attacked in June 1941. The Nazis later used it for a bust of Hitler.

Religious and national holidays were replaced by the Soviet days of commemoration and celebration. All Saints Day (1 November) and Polish (p.146) Independence Day (22 November) were usurped by May Day (1 May) and the anniversary of the October Revolution (7 November). Workers

were expected to attend political rallies and to help with preparations.[47] As Weliczker Wells noted:

> Before Russia's national holidays such as May 1 or October 7 [*sic*], the people had to prepare slogans, posters, and large banners, after working hours, for the members of the parade, which was usually a whole-day affair. One also had to march in the parade.
>
> [48]

In December 1939, Moscow time and a six-day work week of forty-eight hours were introduced, the latter lasting until June 1940. People had to start work two hours earlier; Sundays became work days. Both changes upset traditional patterns of life.[49] People had to get up in the middle of the night to arrive at their workplaces in time:[50] "This completely unexpected change shattered the general rhythm of life, prevented the continuation of customs that had existed since generations, of ordinary, familiar, friendly, sociable contacts."[51] Violations of work discipline were punished severely. If a worker was more than fifteen minutes late to work on three different occasions, he could be sentenced to prison. For other infringements, the offender faced a high fine. The working class was disillusioned. They had expected something else from the "fatherland of the proletariat."[52]

On 11 December 1939, the ruble became the only official currency, leaving the złoty worthless and accelerating the impoverishment of the local population. People had to queue for hours for even the most basic goods.[53] For a loaf of bread, the normal time in line was two to three hours. For two pounds of sugar, it could be four to five hours. Because the price of sugar on the black market was twenty-five times the official price, there were "professional" linestanders, experts at pushing their way to the front of a line. The situation was worst for dry goods and shoes. Normally, people started to line up in the evening for the next day.[54] Countess Karolina Lanckorońska recalled the emergence of Soviet black marketers, describing them as "a part of Asia that had arrived in Lviv." She regarded it as a tragic indication that the east "is overwhelming us."[55] Weliczker Wells reflected more generally on life under Soviet rule, noting:

> All of us began to have new “values” in life. Being “happy” could now mean you had had a successful day in the sugar queue, or that you had not been interrupted by the police during the night. Above all, we were satisfied as long as the family was together.[56]

While living conditions had deteriorated, the plight of the many refugees who had come to Lviv was even worse. Even in “normal times,” the number of refugees would have had a dramatic impact on life in the city. They presented a (p.147) serious problem for the Soviet authorities. Housing was unavailable, and most refugees were unemployed. Only a few took up the offer to work in other parts of the Soviet Union.[57]

By the end of 1939, the population of Lviv had grown from 333,500 to almost half a million, due mostly to Jewish refugees who had fled the German zone of occupation for a city they hoped had food and shelter, but also to Poles who had fled the Ukrainian-dominated Galician countryside for a predominantly Polish city. As a consequence, by the autumn of 1939 almost as many Jews as Poles lived in Lviv, a development that contributed to the notion that Soviet occupation was a time of “Jewish rule.” Flats and houses were overcrowded. This situation was exacerbated by the thousands of Soviet soldiers and administrators who had also come to the city:[58]

> Lwów is filled with refugees. Tens of thousands of men whom the Polish military commands had sent to the east, encounter tens of thousands of men in long ragged coats who Comrade Stalin had sent to the west. Men in sports clothes and with backpacks fill the streets and cafés. There is probably not a single apartment that does not have refugees living in it.[59]

Lala Fishman’s family gave shelter to dozens of refugees:

> At night the front room of our apartment was often crowded with refugees sleeping on the wood floor. In the morning and evenings, we fed them as best we could, and my mother spent most of her waking hours cooking meals and baking bread for them.[60]

When a German commission arrived in Lviv in December 1939 to register the Galician Germans for resettlement, they were surprised by the number of people who wanted to leave the Soviet zone of occupation: “Poles, Ukrainians, the Dutch consul, even Jews and a Frenchman; all want to go away, just go away.”[61]

On 29 November 1939, Soviet citizenship law was applied to the occupied Polish territories. Polish citizens living in western Ukraine as of 1 November and western Belarus as of 2 November 1939 were granted Soviet citizenship.[62] This also applied to the Jewish citizens of western Poland who had fled to these territories. When the authorities began issuing Soviet passports, many (mostly Jewish) refugees from the German zone of occupation refused to register. They feared that accepting Soviet citizenship would eventually make it impossible for them to return to their villages and towns. Registering also carried with it another risk. Many residents received passports with the ominous paragraph 11, which forced them to leave Lviv and move to a place at least 100 km from the border and 30 km from an oblast administrative center. Ilana Maschler’s parents-in-law waited a long time before applying for a passport. In the end, (p.148) they were forced to register so as to legalize their stay in Lviv, but received passports under paragraph 11 and were ordered to leave the city within ten days.[63] Most people did not know where to go. They had neither family nor friends outside the immediate Lviv vicinity. It was difficult to find accommodation or jobs. Unsurprisingly, many people tried to remain in the city illegally. If the NKVD caught them, they were deported.[64]

Repression and Resistance

Sovietization did not end with the shaping of society and public life according to the Soviet model. It went further. Terror was an integral part of Stalinism, and the destruction of the “class enemy” and the neutralization of all real or potential opponents of Soviet power was a central part of Soviet occupation policy. In the first months, a large part of the social prewar elite was arrested or deported. The first wave of arrests, which took place in the last quarter of 1939, hit Polish officers, civil servants, and estate owners hardest, followed by

members of the social and political elite irrespective of nationality or religion. In January 1940, the NKVD purged the intellectual and leftist scene in Lviv. Dozens of authors, journalists, and former members of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine were arrested. They and scores of Polish authors were accused of Polish chauvinism and anti-Soviet attitudes.[65] Another terror wave, which started in early 1940, primarily affected the economic elite, in particular Jews and Poles, but some Ukrainian entrepreneurs were also imprisoned or deported. Poles were again affected in numbers out of proportion to their presence in the overall population, followed by Jews.

Table 6.1 Arrests in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, September 1939 to May 1941

	Total	Poles	Ukrainians	Jews
Sept. to Dec. 1939	10,566	5,406	2,779	1,439
Jan. to Dec. 1940	47,403	15,518	15,024	10,924
Jan. to May 1941	8,594	1,121	5,418	801
Totals	66,563	22,045	23,221	13,164

Grzegorz Hryciuk and Jaroslaw Stoćkyj, *Studia nad demografią historyczną i sytuacją religijną Ukrainy* (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2001), 23.

Two-thirds of the arrests took place in eastern Galicia. In September 1939, according to one estimate, the population of eastern Galicia was 5,105,000: 1,478,400 Poles (29 percent), 3,059,900 Ukrainians (60 percent), and 521,400 Jews (10 percent). Using Soviet sources, Grzegorz Hryciuk and Jaroslav Stoćkyj suggested that about 45,000 people were arrested in eastern Galicia (Table 6.1): 15,000 (39.5 percent) Poles, 15,000 (39.5 percent) (p.149) Ukrainians and 8,000 (21

percent) Jews, many of them while they tried to cross the German-Soviet demarcation line.[66] By these estimates, the ratio of arrest to ethnic group works out to roughly 1 of every 100 Poles, 1 of every 200 Ukrainians, and 1 of every 65 Jews. Prisoners were tortured, beaten, forced to live in overcrowded prison cells, and subjected to long bouts of hunger.[67] Many were shot, others kept in prison or deported to labor camps in Russia.

Only a small number of those arrested had been members of resistance organizations, even a Polish resistance movement formed prior to the occupation of Lviv. A local group of the Polish Organization for the Struggle for Freedom (*Polska Organizacja Walki o Wolność*), founded by General Marian Januszajtis-Żegota, operated in Lviv between September and December 1939. The Paris-based exile government sent a delegate to Lviv in mid-December to create a local branch of the Union for Armed Struggle (*Związek Walki Zbrojnej*, ZWZ). A few days later, a representative of General Michał Karaszewicz-Torkarzewski arrived from Warsaw and appointed Lieutenant Colonel Jan Sokołowski head of the Service for Poland's Victory (*Służba Zwycięstwu Polski*). Sokołowski, however, refused to subordinate himself to the Paris ZWZ leadership, and subsequently, two rival ZWZ organizations operated in Lviv until Sokołowski founded his own group in the spring of 1940.[68]

It proved impossible to consolidate the Polish resistance movement. Its members had little experience in conspiratorial activities, while the Soviet side was very practiced in discovering and destroying conspiracies and counterrevolutionary organizations, whether real or imagined. The NKVD relied on the willingness of opportunists and ideological fellow-travelers to divulge information, as well as torture and the duress of family members of prisoners, to create a vast network of informants. After a failed attempt to assassinate Wanda Wasilewska on 26 April 1940 and the wave of arrests that followed, the Polish underground was rendered largely inoperative until the Germans invaded.[69]

The NKVD also struck hard against local cells of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).[70] In December

1939, the OUN had some 8000–9000 members in western Ukraine, according to present-day, pro-OUN estimates. Around 5500 of them were subordinate to the OUN leadership in Lviv.[71] Hundreds of OUN activists were arrested in the spring of 1940, with another series of arrests taking place in September. On 22–23 December 1940, 520 people were arrested in Lviv Oblast alone for suspected connections to the OUN. This was a major blow to the organization. Several trials were held, many of which ended with the death sentence. The most important trial was of fifty-nine mostly young members or supporters of the OUN in January 1941. When the verdict was handed down, forty-one defendants were sentenced to (p.150) death, and seventeen were given ten years in prison. Of those receiving death sentences, sixteen were executed shortly thereafter.[72] The last wave of arrests in May 1941 also targeted Ukrainian nationalists: more than 2000 family members of arrested Ukrainians were forced to leave the Lviv area.[73] When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, many of these Ukrainians were still in local prisons.[74] They were among the thousands of prisoners murdered by the NKVD before the Red Army left the city.[75]

Underground Zionist organizations did not fare much better when they attempted to organize the illegal emigration of Jews across the Romanian border and beyond to Palestine. At a trial held in Lviv in March 1941, seven members of the Socialist-Zionist youth organization Hashomer Hatzair received prison sentences of seven to ten years.[76] The Zionist youth organization Bnei Akiva was also persecuted and went underground.[77]

The Soviet occupiers terrorized the population not only by arrests and executions but also by mass deportations to Kazakhstan, the Russian north, or Siberia. In January 1940, the Soviet authorities deported from eastern Galicia at least 64,000 prewar Polish settlers and about 23,700 family members of those who had been arrested. Four months later, on the night of 12 April 1940, 7000–8500 Poles, mostly family members of detained officers and policemen, were deported from Lviv alone.[78] The following night, Jewish politicians and prominent Zionists were arrested and deported.[79] Then, in

June, those refugees who had fled the German zone of occupation but refused to accept Soviet passports were deported. At least 38,800 refugees were deported from the Lviv area (22,000 from the city itself).[80]

On its own, the number of persons affected says little about the impact this had on life in Lviv and on the families and friends of those executed, arrested, or deported. The arrests and the deportations demoralized the population in general, and the rapid French defeat in June 1940 depressed Poles and Jews in particular; suicides were a daily occurrence. Night after night, the NKVD visited homes to arrest people. Every knock on the door could mean arrest or deportation. And night after night, Weliczker Wells and his father hid in their basement:

> for we did not know whether we belonged to the "capitalist" group or not.…During this period all of us would sit up all night, dressed and packed, so that if they came to take us away, at least we'd have with us all the essentials for the "trip." This went on for a few weeks [in spring 1940]. Then the arrests quieted down.[81]

For days and weeks after an arrest, family members went to the prisons or the NKVD offices to find out about the fate of their loved ones. Often, they (p.151) returned without news. Ilana Maschler's Uncle Samek, the former owner of a candy factory, was among those arrested:

> Aunt Bela spends many hours every day in front of the prison gate and tries without success to find out something about Uncle Samek's fate and to drop off a packet of food for him. She shares these experiences with a group of women, Poles and Jews, whose husbands or sons have been arrested because they too had held higher positions or were officers in the Polish army.[82]

During her visits, Bela came into contact with the wives of several leading Zionists, who had been arrested earlier. A few months later, Aunt Bela shared the fate of these women and was deported from Lviv.[83]

The NKVD was able to suppress active resistance fairly easily, but passive resistance to Soviet rule was widespread. Writing in January 1940, an officer of the regional command of the Polish underground noted a sustained Polish patriotism among the working class and a "determined will to perform an act of liberation" among Polish youth.[84] Jokes about the discrepancies between propaganda and reality, the idiocies of Soviet bureaucracy, and the low intelligence of Soviet bureaucrats were shared by many. The low quality of the Soviet cadres may have been an important reason for the widespread feeling of cultural superiority over the new masters. Many people in Lviv continued to sneer at the Russian lack of "culture." One popular, oft-repeated story described the wives of Russian officers attending the opera in their newly acquired nightgowns.[85]

The passive resistance was also reflected in the determination of the Lviv population to maintain some form of religious life. Under Soviet rule, religious communities were subjected to administrative repressions such as high taxes. Monasteries were dissolved, and the theological faculty of the Jan Kazimierz University was closed. Many rabbis and priests were arrested. But despite all this, the churches were filled to capacity on Sundays, as people looked for comfort and at the same time demonstrated against the atheist system.[86] As often occurs in troubled times, hundreds of people visited miracle rabbis, believed rumors of apparitions of saints or the Virgin Mary, and made pilgrimages to holy sites. Sovietization did not reach the hearts of the people. Going to church services and synagogues and believing in miracles and apparitions went completely against the atheist ideology of the regime and can thus be seen as a form of passive resistance, but Soviet dominance of public space was also challenged in other ways.

Many among the population listened to foreign radio broadcasts and read underground newspapers, while some hid refugees. The Polish underground attacked those it considered political collaborators. Sometimes, during public (p.152) gatherings, Polish patriotism was voiced despite the potential consequences.[87] At one youth meeting, amid the usual speeches attacking the Second Polish Republic, a young man

seized the microphone and began reciting the names of great events in Polish history, from the Battle of Grunwald, where the Kingdom of Poland defeated the Teutonic Order in 1410, to the “Miracle at the Vistula,” where the Poles turned back the Red Army in 1920. The Communists in the audience began singing “The International,” but the sound of their singing was drowned out by Polish youths singing “Rota” (The Oath) and “My chcemy Boga” (We Want God).[88]

In the almost hopeless situation created by Soviet rule, Poles drew inspiration and confidence from their history, in particular from the memory of the 1918 “Defense of Lwów” (*Obrona Lwowa*). The Soviet curriculum in the schools was counterbalanced by lessons in Polish history at home. These in turn were linked to sites of memory. In 1940, Wanda Jóźwiak began attending the Sienkiewicz school: “My father told us the story of the battle for Lviv in 1918, during which this school had been a military outpost. We were very proud to be educated there.”[89]

On 1 and 22 November—All Saints Day and Polish Independence Day, respectively—Roman Catholic churches were filled to overflowing, and a number of impromptu rallies were held.[90] The Cemetery of the Defenders of Lwów was an important site of patriotic demonstrations. In November 1939, Poles laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in memory of those who had fought for Polish independence. The crowd spontaneously cheered an independent Poland, France, and England, as well as Władysław Racziewicz (the president in exile), General Władysław Sikorski (the premier in exile), and General Józef Haller (whose troops defeated the Galician Ukrainians in 1919). Those in attendance sang “Dąbrowski’s Mazurka” (the Polish national anthem) twice, “Rota,” and “Boże coś Polskę” (God Save Poland). The NKVD arrested some of the participants. Similar events occurred on 1 November 1940. Throughout the Soviet occupation, an unknown person regularly laid wreaths on the graves of Polish soldiers who had died fighting the Soviets or Germans in 1939.[91]

Change of Policy

Once it became apparent that the aggressive strategy to win the sympathies of Ukrainians was faltering, Soviet policy changed. Lviv's Ukrainians tended to be nationalist in the broad sense of the word, and many of them sympathized with the OUN, the only national-minded Ukrainian movement active after (p.153) September 1939. At the end of summer 1940, the Soviet Union began to grant concessions to the Poles in the area of cultural policy.[92]

This kind of change in direction was typical of the Stalin era. All of the ethnic groups were able, at one point or another, to find some degree of space for cultural activity within the Soviet Union. The Ukrainians had benefited more from Soviet cultural policy in the first year of the Soviet interlude. As the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion approached, Stalin sought to relax the grip on Polish life in the newly annexed territories.

Writer Wanda Wasilewska believed that she was personally responsible for convincing Stalin during a private conversation that the oblast authorities were making a mistake in their treatment of the Polish population. Whether Wasilewska was correct in her assessment is unknown, but not long after this conversation, Soviet policy toward the Poles began to change. Stalin on 3 July 1940 wrote to the Lviv Oblast party committee that reports of "unlawful" and rough behavior toward the Poles on the part of the authorities had come to his ears; the Polish language was being suppressed, and Poles were being forced to declare themselves Ukrainians. Stalin called for a policy of "Polish-Ukrainian brotherhood." The oblast party leadership in Lviv promptly sent out the appropriate instructions to the lower levels of the party and state.[93]

Propaganda against the "Poland of the masters" was toned down. Poles now had better chances of getting jobs in the administration, teachers were rehired, and Polish artists in particular were courted. In the autumn, some of the families that had been deported to Kazakhstan were even allowed to return. In higher education, Polish professors no longer faced reprisals for using Polish as their language of instruction.

Polish professors were invited to Moscow to learn about the Soviet university system. Much speculation was generated by the fact that former Prime Minister Kazimierz Bartel, a mathematician, also took part in the trip. Rumors circulated that he had been offered the opportunity to form a Soviet-Polish government.

A further indication of the improved status of Poles was the expansion of Polish publications. While *Czerwony Sztandar* remained the only daily Polish-language newspaper, the important literary journal *Nowe Widnokręgi* (New Horizons) appeared in print for the first time in 1941, together with the quarterly *Almanach Literacki* (Literary Almanac), the Communist Union of Youth newspaper *Młodzież Stalinowska* (Stalinist Youth), which came out three times a week, and *Pionerzy* (Pioneers), a monthly for children.[94]

The most significant event in this change of policy was the celebrations commemorating the eighty-fifth anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, Poland's national poet. At the end of August 1940, an organizational committee under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński was set up, and a series of (p.154) commemorative events were held on 25 and 26 November 1940. An exhibition was opened in the former Ossolineum research institute, a three-day conference was hosted at the university, and a special gala event, attended by the top Soviet oblast officials, was staged in the Opera House. There well-known actors read passages from Mickiewicz's works in Polish, Ukrainian, Yiddish, and Russian. The celebrations were broadcast live on Lviv radio. Polish schools and cultural centers also held programs celebrating Mickiewicz.

This turnabout showed that the Soviet Union was prepared to accept the Poles as a nationality and to grant them a degree of cultural freedom. These new policies in the summer of 1940 also indicate that at this point the Soviet government was still acting on the assumption that the Polish minority would remain in the occupied territories for a long time to come.[95]

Sovietization and Interethnic Relations

Sovietization strongly affected relations between Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. There was little solidarity based on shared suffering; instead, tensions between ethnic groups increased. The Polish underground organization accused Ukrainians of disloyalty to the Polish state and collaboration with the Soviets. Reports repeatedly mentioned that in September 1939 Ukrainians had attacked Polish soldiers and civilians.[96] The theater critic Jan Kott wrote in his memoirs that he felt watched by Ukrainians who had "turned overnight from nationalists into the most rabid Communists."[97] The Ukrainian intelligentsia was accused of using its position as titular nation of the Ukrainian republic to drive out Poles from the administration, industry, trade, university life, and the school system.[98]

The antagonism between Poles and Ukrainians decreased slightly during the final phase of Soviet occupation, when the Soviet occupying power became a common object of hatred.[99] Ukrainian philologist Myroslav Semchyshyn noted a certain cohesion among Galicians when it came to the cadres from eastern Ukraine: "In short—it was US, and the newcomers were THEM."[100] This is confirmed by Stanisław Różycki, a Jewish refugee from Warsaw, who wrote that in the spring of 1941 hatred of the NKVD, the commissars, and the party bigwigs was widespread among all ethnic groups. This general hatred of the Bolsheviks, however, also led to a sharp increase in anti-Semitism among the peasantry and the lower middle classes.[101] The authors of underground reports repeatedly accused Jews of profiting from the misery of the Poles under Soviet rule, replacing Poles in the economy, and taking over positions in the municipal administration previously held by Poles.[102]

(p.155) For the first time, Ukrainians and Poles were confronted with a sizeable number of civil servants and policemen of Jewish origin. Figures are not known to exist for Soviet hiring. Such encounters in municipal offices did not convey a full picture of course. Where "elected" bodies were concerned, for example, the Jewish population was underrepresented. According to one source, only 4 percent of

the 519 members of the Lviv municipal Soviet were Jewish, while 52.8 percent were Ukrainian, 27.7 percent Polish, and 14.1 percent Russian.[103] Nonetheless, the sudden installation of Jews in administrative and law-enforcement positions appeared to confirm the Ukrainian and Polish stereotype of "Jewish Bolshevism" and reinforced their dislike of Jews.[104] Różycki observed that the Poles hated the Bolsheviks deeply and were suspicious of all overtures from the Soviet side, while the Ukrainians were waiting for the Germans:

> Only the Jews do not waver, regardless of their feelings or their rational and moderate attitude toward the Soviet Union. Although they suffered, their possessions were seized, and their families were deported, nonetheless they counted solely on Russia, because everything had to be better for them under the Soviets than under the Germans.[105]

Conclusion

Soviet occupation policy was based first and foremost on socio-political and power-political categories and only secondarily on ethno-political ones. The Soviets believed that they had liberated the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalist exploiters, but they also believed that they had liberated Ukrainians from Polish oppression. They tried to win over the Ukrainian population, granting certain advantages to the Ukrainian masses, while persecuting the Ukrainian economic and political elite.

Sovietization meant imposing the Soviet order on each newly acquired territory. It was intended that the occupied lands would become indistinguishable in every respect from the Soviet Union, starting with the introduction of Moscow time and the ruble and ending with the establishment of the first collective farms. Sovietization also meant destroying the backbone of the old political and social order and eliminating all potential enemies. Poles were hit hardest by virtue of their previously dominant position in the Second Poland Republic, followed by Jews with their strong middle class and then Ukrainians. Local Ukrainians were seen as part of the titular

nation of the Ukrainian SSR. Lviv (p.156) was not only sovietized but also, to a certain extent, Ukrainized. Theoretically, nationality was not the reason for targeting and repressing specific groups, but in practice, Soviet authorities often merged political, national, and social categories.

As a consequence, many Poles, and even many Ukrainians, could interpret Soviet occupation policy as a direct attack on their respective nations. Poles could perceive themselves as the main target of the Soviet terror, while Ukrainians interpreted the persecution of their national leaders as an attempt to behead the Ukrainian nation. For Jews, the situation was different.[106] Soviet rule protected them from racial persecution and violence from their neighbors (anti-Semitic remarks were punishable by law under the Soviets), but it did not protect them from state violence. The equal treatment of Jews and the fight against anti-Semitism played a key role in convincing most Jews in eastern Galicia to favor Soviet to German rule, despite the misery suffered by the Jewish political, social, and economic elites.[107]

Notes

(p.157)

(p.160)

Notes:

(1) Rusyns are an Eastern Slavic ethnic group, descending—like the Western Ukrainians—from the Ruthenians. Rusyns do not see themselves as part of the Ukrainian nation, but as a distinct nation.

(2) Tsentral’nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukraïny, misto L’viv (TsDIAL), fond (f.) 205, opys (op.) 1, sprava (spr.) 499, arkush (ark.) 39–46, Daily police report on the political situation in L’viv, 13 October 1938.

(3) TsDIAL, f. 250, op. 1, spr. 500, ark. 22–34, Daily police report, 7 May 1939.

(4) In August 1939, L’viv had 333,500 inhabitants: Poles, 169,900 (51 percent); Jews, 104,700 (31 percent); and Ukrainians, 53,200 (16 percent).

(5) TsDIAL, f. 205, op. 1, spr. 499, ark. 125–27, Daily police report, 27 March 1939.

(6) Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Konsulat Lemberg/54, März 1939–Juli 1939, German Consulate in Lwów to Foreign Office in Berlin, 3 June 1939.

(7) Dokumenty Obrony Lwowa, ed. Artur Leinwand (Warsaw: Instytut Lwowski, 1997), 53.

(8) M. Szwahulak, “Stanowisko i udział Ukraińców w niemiecko-polskiej kampanii 1939 roku,” in Polska-Ukraina: Trudne pytania, t. 4 (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 1998), 53.

(9) These soldiers had been in the Polish Army before 1939 or had been mobilized after March 1939. Ryszard Torzecki, Polacy i Ukraińcy. Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej (Warsaw: PWN, 1993), 23–29; Oleksandr Luts’kyi and Kim Naumenko, “U roky Druhoï svitovoï viiny,” in L’viv: Istorychni narysy, ed. Iaroslav Isaievych, Feodosii Steblii, Mykola Lytvyn (L’viv: Ivan Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1996), 435–505, here 436.

(10) Ośrodek “Karta,” Archiwum Wschodni (AW), II/1773, Alma Heczko, Dziennik-pamiętnik, cz. 3, 1 October 1939–10 October 1939.

(11) Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, *Lwów 1939* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2003), 91.

(12) Numerous Polish eyewitness accounts are quoted in Jan T. Gross, Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, expanded ed. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 17–38; Adam Sudoł, Początki sowietyzacji kresów wschodnich (jesień 1939 roku) (Bydgoszcz and Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSP, 1997), 34–38, 54–55; Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy*, 28–29, 38.

(13) Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*, 22–23. German sources say the Wehrmacht captured Lwów, see, for example, the daily public communiqués in Das Oberkommando Wehrmacht gibt bekannt, Bd. 1 (Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1982), and the then classified daily Wehrmacht reports in Die geheimen Tagesberichte der deutschen Wehrmachtführung im Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1939–1945, Bd. 1 (Osnabrück: Biblio-Verl, 1995). H. F. Meyer's Blutiges Edelweiss: die 1. Gebirgs-Division im Zweiten Weltkrieg (Berlin: Links, 2008), a critical study of one of the German divisions outside Lwów, suggests Polish forces sought to surrender to the Wehrmacht, but orders to withdraw prevented the Germans from accepting.

(14) Grzegorz Hryciuk, Polacy we Lwowie, 1939–1944. Życie codzienne (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2000), 15–16; Luts'kyi and Naumenko, "U roky," 435–39; Czesław K. Grzelak, Kresy w czerwieni. Agresja Związku Sowieckiego na Polskę w 1939 roku (Warsaw: Neriton, 1998), 399–407.

(15) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 16.

(16) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 163, account (*relacje*) by Stefan Kuszpa (police officer); k. 166–167, account by Antoni Pater (police officer); k. 180–83, account by Eugeniusz Lipka; k. 184–6, account by Franciszek Buciow; k. 187–90, account by Franciszek Andrzej Naja-Ostromirsk; k. 424, account by Dr. Adam Papée.

(17) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 180–83, account by Lipka.

(18) Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw (AAN), AK-KOL, 203, 3–4 (MF 2400/5), report by Armia Krajowa-Komenda Obszara Lwowa (AK-KOL) on Jews, summer 1942. Attacks by "Ukrainian gangs and Jews" are also mentioned in a report by General Tokarzewski for General Sosnkowski, 9 January 1940, in Armia Krajowa w dokumentach, 1939–1945, t. 1 (London: Studium Polskiej Podziemnej, 1970), 64.

(19) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 439–40, account by Jan Palewicz (major); k. 464–65, account by Józef Weissenfeld; ibid., k. 468, account by Tadeusz Borkowsky.

(20) Colonel Rowecki to General Sosnkowski, 8 February 1940 (Attachment: Report on the Soviet occupation), in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939–1945*, t. 1, 106.

(21) Lala Fishman and Steven Weingartner, Lala's Story: A Memoir of the Holocaust (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press: 1997), 98.

(22) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 158–160, account by Mieczysław Jasinski; AW, sygn. II/171, memoirs of Janina Kandeler; Karolina Lanckorońska, Wspomnienia wojenne (Cracow: ZNAK, 2003), 17 (English edition: Karolina Lanckorońska, Those Who Trespass against Us: One Woman's War against the Nazis [London: Pimlico, 2006]); Adam Dotzauer, Lwowskie wczesne dojrzewanie (Wrocław: Oficyna Sudety-PTTK, 2000), 25; Ostap Tarnavs'kyi, Literaturnyi L'viv, 1939–1944: Spomyny (L'viv: Prosvita, 1995), 19; Zakhidnia Ukraïna pid Bol'shevykamy, ed. Milena Rudnyts'ka (New York: Naukove Tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka v Amerytsi, 1958), 28; Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala's Story*, 99–100.

(23) AW, sygn. II/2696, account by Juliusz Jaszczuk (1992); Jadwiga Dabulewicz-Rutkowska, Poezja, proza i dramat. Pamiętnik nastolatki. Lwów, 1939–1941 (Wrocław: Atla 2,1998), 31.

(24) AW, sygn. II/1314, memoirs of Wanda Jóźwiak (1993).

(25) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 193–94, account by Marian Pryk; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 116–18.

(26) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 180–83, account by Eugeniusz Lipka; Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala's Story*, 100–01.

(27) O. S. Rubl'ov and Iu.A. Cherchenko, Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukraïns'koï inteligentsiï (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1994), 192–93.

(28) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, pp. 41–45.

(29) Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 311–43.

(30) Report of the People's Commissariat for the Education of the Ukrainian SSR, 30 September 1939, in *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraïny,* t. 1: *1939–1953* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1995), 52–57; order of the Ukrainian government from 19 December 1939 on cultural life in western Ukraine, 19 December 1939, ibid., 68–71.

(31) Oleksandr Luts'kyi, "Intelihentsiia L'vova (veresen' 1939–cherven' 1941 rr.)," in *L'viv. Misto-suspil'stvo-kul'tura*, t. 3, ed. Mar'ian Mudryi (L'viv: L'vivs'kyj Derzhavnyj Universytet imeni Ivana Franka, 1999), 574–91; Luts'kyi and Naumenko, "U roky," 454–456; Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, 24–26; Żygulski, *Jestem z lwowskiego etapu*, 130–32.

(32) Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 107, 187; Rubl'ov and Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna*, 194–95.

(33) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 130–32.

(34) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 480–82, account by Bronisława Stachowicz; Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia*, 18; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 42–43.

(35) From the resolution of a meeting of the intelligentsia of L'viv, 1 October 1939, in *Kul'turne zhyttia*, 57.

(36) Jan Gross, "The Jewish Community in the Soviet-annexed Territories on the Eve of the Holocaust," in The Holocaust in the Soviet Union. Studies and Sources on the Destruction of Jews in the Nazi-occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945, ed. Lucjan Dobroszycki, Jeffrey S. Gurock (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), 155–71.

(37) *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy,* t. 3: *Relacje z kresów*, ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczne, 2000), account 42, p. 808.

(38) Ibid., 792–95.

(39) After a *numerus clausus* had been introduced in prewar Poland the number of Jewish students finishing their studies at Polish universities fell from 8400 (24.6 percent) 1924–25 to

4100 (8.2 percent) in 1938–39. In 1924–25, 40.4 percent of all students at the Jan Kazimierz University were Jews, at the Polytechnic 14 percent of the students were Jews. In 1935–36 at the JKU only 20.5 percent were of Jewish faith, see Dietrich Beyrau, “Antisemitismus und Judentum in Polen, 1918–1939,” Geschichte und Gesellschaft 8 (1982), 227. Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Polish Embassy, London, 17 December 1924, AAN, Ambasada RP w Londynie, 1441, k. 68–70. *Skład Uniwersytetu* 1935/36.

(40) Isaievych, Steblii, and Lytvyn, *L’viv*, 457.

(41) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 130–32.

(42) Leon Weliczker Wells, The Janowska Road (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), 30.

(43) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 100–01.

(44) *Czerwony Sztandar*, 17 September 1940.

(45) Kazimierz Żygulski, Jestem z lwowskiego etapu (Warsaw: PAX, 1994), 139; Mieczysław Inglot, “Obraz ojczyzny w liryce polskiej okupowanego Lwowa lat 1939–1945,” in Europa nie prowincjonalna. Przemiany na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Białoruś, Litwa, Łotwa, Ukraina, wschodnie pogranicze III Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) w latach 1772–1999, ed. Krzysztow Jasiewicz (Warsaw and London: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 1999), 168–80.

(46) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 33

(47) Ibid., 34–35, 60.

(48) Weliczker Wells, *Janowska Road*, 28.

(49) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 513–14, account by Jan Mazur; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 65–66, 144.

(50) Ilana Maschler, Moskauer Zeit. Erinnerungen (Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 1991), 74.

(51) Żygulski, *Jestem z lwowskiego etapu*, 117.

(52) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 513–14, account by Jan Mazur; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 65–66, 144.

(53) AW, sygn. MINF 135, k. 470–71, account by Leon Bylicki; k. 489–91, account by Robert Pawelczyk; AW, sygn. II/1314, memoirs of Wanda Jóźwiak (1993) and memoirs of Juliusz Jaszczuk (1992); AW, sygn. II/1167, memoirs of Halina Konopińska; Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 30–31; Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala's Story*, 102–03; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 70–72.

(54) Weliczker Wells, *Janowska Road*, 27.

(55) Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, 33–34.

(56) Weliczker Wells, *Janowska Road*, 30.

(57) Ben-Cion Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland, 1939–1941," Jewish Social Studies 40, no. 2 (1978), 141–58.

(58) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 88–89; Żygulski, *Jestem z lwowskiego etapu*, 118.

(59) Maschler, *Moskauer Zeit*, 67.

(60) Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala's Story*, 104.

(61) Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde, R 59/305, Bl. 8–9.

(62) These were the respective days when the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union accepted the petitions requesting the annexation of each half of eastern Poland to the Soviet Union.

(63) Pinchuk, *Jewish Refugees*, 151.

(64) Maschler, *Moskauer Zeit*, 133–34.

(65) Agnieszka Cieślikowa, Prasa okupowanego Lwowa (Warsaw: Neriton, 1997), 78–79.

(66) Ibid., 17.

(67) AW, MINF 135, k. 171–72, account by Józef Mroczkowski; k. 161, account by Krzysztof Izdebski; k. 172–74, account by Bronisław Pawlus; k. 175–76, account by Bolesław Kusiak; k.

507–08, account by Antoni Twardochleb; k. 158, account by Władysław Barski; k. 177–88, account by Wojciech Olecki; 502–04, account by Władysław Zubrzycki; k. 158–160, account by Mieczysław Jasiński. On the prisons, see Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*, 144–86; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 36.

(68) Grzegorz Mazur and Jerzy Węgierski, Konspiracja Lwowska, 1939–1944. Słownik Biograficzny (Katowice: Unia, 1997), 10.

(69) Sudoł, *Początki sowietyzacji*, 46–47, 117–18; Rafał Wnuk, "Polska konspiracja antysowiecka na Kresach Wschodnich II RP w latach 1939–1941 i 1944–1952," in *Tygiel narodów. Stosunki społeczne i etniczne na dawnych ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej 1939–1953*, ed. Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Warsaw, London: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2002), 157–249.

(70) The OUN, based in German-occupied central Poland, split in early 1940, but both OUN factions, the OUN-B (made up largely of the movement's younger members and centered on Stepan Bandera) and the OUN-M (mostly made up of the movement's older members and loyal to Andrii Melnyk) continued to strive for a united, independent Ukrainian state by joining forces with the German Reich.

(71) In the chaos that followed the German attack on the Soviet Union, several more were executed in June, but others escaped and went on to join the OUN-B and later the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Volhynia and Galicia, see Orhanizatsiia Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv i Ukraïns'ka Povstans'ka Armiia. Istorychni Narysy (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 2005), 15; V. Kuk, Stepan Bandera (1909–1999) (Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 1999), 30–32.

(72) Luba Komar, Protses 59-ty (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka, 1997), 265–70.

(73) Grzegorz Hryciuk and Jaroslaw Stoćkyj, Studia nad demografią historyczną i sytuacją religijną Ukrainy (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2001), 23.

(74) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 40–41.

(75) Semchyshyn, *Z knyhy Leva*, 85–87.

(76) Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa*, 40–42.

(77) *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, t. 3, account 42, pp. 816, 821–22, and account 30, pp. 517–18; Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa*, 40.

(78) Report of a refugee from Warsaw on the situation in L'viv between 1939 and summer 1941, written in Warsaw after 7 December 1941, in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, t. 3, account 36, p. 691; Hryciuk and Stoćkyj, *Studia*, 27–30. The AK reported that during the Soviet occupation, around 150,000 capitalists and estate owners, including their family members, had been deported. Report of the Home Army, summer 1943; AAN, AK-KOL, 203–04; 150–51 (MF 2400/8). In Soviet documents, the number of deportees from L'viv is given as 7200. Eyewitnesses speak of 16,000–30,000 deportees, Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 40.

(79) Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa*, 28.

(80) *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, t. 3, account 33, pp. 631–34. Eyewitness accounts speak of 60,000–70,000 deported refugees, the majority from L'viv (40,000). According to Soviet documents about 22,000 refugees had been deported from that city, Hryciuk and Stoćkyj, *Studia*, 30; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 40; Luts'kyi and Naumenko, "U roky," 457–58.

(81) Weliczker Wells, *Janowska Road*, 29.

(82) Maschler, *Moskauer Zeit*, 93.

(83) Ibid., 130.

(84) Report from January 1940, in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*, t. 1, 67.

(85) Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, 20; memoirs of Janina Kandeler, AW, sygn II/171; Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala's Story*, 103; Weliczker Wells, *Janowska Road*, 27.

(86) *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* t. 3, account 43, pp. 893–94; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 170–71.

(87) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 158–60, 172–74.

(88) Diary entry from 15 October 1939, in Jadwiga Dabulewicz-Rutkowska, *Poezja, proza i dramat* (Wrocław: Oficyna Artystyczno-Wydawnictwo W Kolorach Tęczy, 1998), 37–38.

(89) AW, sygn. II/1314, Memoirs of Wanda Jóźwiak (1993).

(90) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 171.

(91) Ibid., 153–54.

(92) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 44–9; Grzegorz Hryciuk, "'Nowy Kurs'? Ewolucja Polityki Radzieckiej wobec Polaków we Lwowie (czerwiec 1940–czerwiec 1941)," in *Wrocławskie Studia z Historii Najnowszej*, r. 6 (1998), 47–66.

(93) Quoted in Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 44–45.

(94) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 44–46; Cieślikowa, *Prasa*, 91–93.

(95) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwow*ie, 47–48; Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy*, 88.

(96) AAN, AK-KOL, 203, 20 (MF 2400/7), Report of the AK-KOL on the political situation, July 1942; AAN, zesp. 2271/4, 202/III/203, k. 1–17, Memorandum on the "Ukrainian problem," December 1943, printed in Mikołaj Siwicki, Dzieje konfliktów polsko-ukraińskich, t. 2 (Warsaw: Zaklad Wydawniczy Tyrsa, 1992), 74; Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 18.

(97) Jan Kott, Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 35.

(98) AAN, AK-KOL, 203, 20 (MF 2400/7), Report of the AK-KOL on the political situation, July 1942; AAN, zesp. 2271/4, 202/III/203, k. 1–17, memorandum on "The Ukrainian problem," December 1943, printed in Siwicki, *Dzieje konfliktów polsko-ukraińskich*, t. 2, 75.

(99) AAN, AK-KOL, 203, 59–60 (MF 2400/7), Report of the AK-KOL (excerpt), about December 1941.

(100) Ibid., 70.

(101) Intelligence report sent by Rowecki to Sosnkowski, 8 February 1940, in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach,* t. 1, 107.

(102) AAN, AK-KOL, 203, 3–4 (on microfilm: MF 2400/5), Report of the Armia Krajowa-Komenda Obszara Lwowa (AK-KOL) on Jews, Summer 1942.

(103) Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, 25. Eliyahu Jones gives other numbers. According to his information, out of 476 deputies, 252 were Ukrainians, 121 Poles, 76 Jews (16 percent), and 27 belonged to other nationalities. But even here Jews were underrepresented. Eliyahu Jones, Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939–1945 (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1999), 28.

(104) Dotzauer, *Lwowskie wczesne dojrzewanie*, 23–24.

(105) *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, t. 3, account 31, 542. More on interethnic perceptions in L’viv during the first Soviet occupation in Christoph Mick, “‘Only the Jews do not waver…’: L’viv under Soviet Occupation,” in Shared History—Divided Memory. Jews and Others in Soviet Occupied Poland, 1939–1941, ed. Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, Kai Struve (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), 245–62.

(106) See also Dov Levin, The Lesser of Two Evils. Eastern European Jewry under Soviet Rule, 1939–1941 (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1995).

(107) *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, t. 3, account 36, p. 694, account 30, p. 517–18, account 42, p. 816, account 31, p. 538, 543–44; Fishman and Weingartner, *Lala’s Story*, 97–98.