



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Ukraine

Ukraine – UKR38461 – Ukrainian
Insurgent Army (UPA) – OUN-UPA –
Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA) –
Ukrainian National Self-Defence (UNSO)
(UNA-UNSO) – Lviv –
Ukrainian nationalists and nationalism –
Ruslan Zabily – SBU – Ukrainian Security
Service – National Memorial Museum of
Victims of the Occupation Regimes
(‘Tyurma na Lonskoho’)

29 April 2011

1. Please provide a brief history of the UPA, and the attitude of the current government of Ukraine to those with any association with that organisation.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) (Ukrainska povstanska armii¹; *Українська Повстанська Армія (УПА)*, Ukrayins’ka Povstans’ka Armiya²) was a paramilitary organisation established in October 1942.³

Prior to gaining independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in August 1991⁴, Ukraine had experienced centuries of conquest by neighbouring and regional powers - Polish, Romanian, Byelorussian and Russian.⁵ The political and cultural oppression associated with foreign rule, included “attacks on Ukrainian language, culture and religion”⁶ which have only

¹ Sodol, P. 1993, ‘Ukrainian Insurgent Army’, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianInsurgentArmy.htm>- Accessed 11 April, Attachment 1. “The *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* is updated/maintained by a team of scholars and editors from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) (University of Alberta/University of Toronto). Hundreds of specialists from around the world have contributed and continue to contribute to the *Encyclopedia*. This site is an expanded and updated version of the five-volume edition (1984-93) of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* that was prepared by the CIUS in cooperation with the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in Western Europe under the direction of Professor Volodymyr Kubijovyc (editor in-chief in 1978-1985) and Professor Danylo Husar Struk (editor in-chief in 1985-1999), and published by the University of Toronto Press.” <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/info.asp> - Accessed 28 April 2011

² ‘Ukrainian Insurgent Army’, *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army - Accessed 28 April 2011, Attachment 2.

³ Marples, D. 2006, ‘Stephan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero’, *Europe-Asia Studies Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 4, June, Taylor and Francis Publishing, pg 562, Attachment 3.

⁴ ‘Country profile: Ukraine’ 2011, *BBC News Online*, 29 March, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1102303.stm - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 4

⁵ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 43, Attachment 5. See <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/ukraine.pdf> - Accessed 29 April 2011 for a map of Ukraine and surrounding countries.

⁶ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 44, Attachment 5.

begun to be remedied post 1991. The history of the struggle for Ukrainian independence is complex and extensive; however, the origins of the UPA can be traced back to the early 1900s. As the academic Robert Perks explains, the division of Ukraine at the end of the First World War is “crucial to an understanding of Ukrainian nationalism”. Poland governed ‘Western Ukraine’; and the larger ‘Eastern Ukraine’ was “absorbed into the Soviet Union and renamed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.”⁷ In Polish Western Ukraine, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was formed in 1929 after the failure to achieve Ukrainian autonomy through the Polish parliament. The OUN was:

central to Ukraine’s campaign for independence, and in the 1930s fought a sabotage campaign during which several Polish officials were assassinated. Stefan Bandera, the youthful leader of the OUN(B) faction, later became the personification of nationalist struggle, and since his death (probably at the hands of the KGB) he is almost a deified figure.”⁸

Robert Perks explains the UPA “grew out of the Banderite Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN(B)) [and] fought an underground campaign against the German Army.”⁹ Perk’s view is reiterated by *The Encyclopedia of Ukraine*¹⁰ which describes the UPA as,

[a] Ukrainian military formation which fought from 1942 to 1949, mostly in Western Ukraine, against the German and Soviet occupational regimes. Its immediate purpose was to protect the Ukrainian population from German and Soviet repression and exploitation; its ultimate goal was an independent and unified Ukrainian state.¹¹

During the Second World War, Ukrainian independence fighters joined either the Galacian or ‘Halychna’ Division of the German Army to fight against the Soviet Red Army, or “escaped to the Carpathian Mountains in the west, where they joined the nationalist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).¹² The academic David Marples describes the UPA as a “large and well organised military and later guerrilla army under Roman Shukhevych”; and the formation of the UPA as “one of the critical events in the nationalist pantheon of the later war years.”¹³

The relationship between various organisations of the Ukrainian independence movement and the German army during the Second World War continues to be contested. As Marples explains, the Soviet view of the UPA “focused on the alleged collaboration between OUN-UPA and the German occupation forces”¹⁴. Although Marples also notes that this view of

⁷ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 44, Attachment 5.

⁸ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 44, Attachment 5

⁹ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 48, Attachment 5. Perks also notes that the UPA continued to resist Soviet control after the defeat of the German Army.

¹⁰ Information on the Encyclopedia of Ukraine is provided at footnote 1.

¹¹ Sodal, P. 1993, ‘Ukrainian Insurgent Army’, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianInsurgentArmy.htm> - Accessed 11 April, Attachment 1.

¹² Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 48, Attachment 5.

¹³ Marples, D. 2006, ‘Stephan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero’, *Europe-Asia Studies Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 4, June, Taylor and Francis Publishing, pg 562, Attachment 3.

¹⁴ Marples, D. 2006, ‘Stephan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero’, *Europe-Asia Studies Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 4, June, Taylor and Francis Publishing, pg 562, Attachment 3.

Nazi collaboration “has been rejected by contemporary Ukrainian historians [and] is virtually absent from contemporary textbooks in Ukraine”, the popular view of the Ukrainians continues to be geographically contingent – in the former Western Ukraine, the UPA are considered heroes of Ukrainian independence, and in the pro-Soviet east, the UPA continue to be associated with ethnic cleansing and other war time atrocities.

As Marples explains, the relationship between the OUN-B and Germany is unresolved in Ukrainian historiography. Views range from active OUN collaboration with Nazi forces in Ukraine, to the view of Volodymyr Kosyk who maintains “that the war was a terrible period that unfortunately has brought various lies and falsifications about the alleged collaboration of Ukrainians with Nazis.”¹⁵ Indeed, the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* claims the UPA remedied the “severe shortage of medical officers” by “enlisting Jewish doctors, who willingly joined the anti-Nazi resistance.”¹⁶

Perks states that the UPA continued “a losing guerrilla battle against the re-occupying Red Army until the early 1950s.”¹⁷ No reports were located in the sources consulted which suggest that the UPA continues to be active.

Attitude of current government to the UPA:

The previous Ukrainian President, Viktor Yushchenko (2005 - 2010), came to office in 2005, continuing a political career characterised by a pro-European and anti-corruption platform. Yushenko initially lost the 2005 poll to his rival, and then Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. Claiming the election was rigged, Yushchenko launched the Orange Revolution protests, successfully challenged the result in the Supreme Court and won in the rerun.¹⁸

When Yushchenko came to power in January 2005, UPA veterans were “not recognised and [did] not receive any benefits from the federal government.” There were, however, eight oblasts (districts or regions)¹⁹ located in western Ukraine which provided benefits for UPA veterans, including Lviv.²⁰ At the first celebration of Victory Day under his presidency, “the issue of recognizing the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) had been brewing in the media and among Ukrainian citizens”. The Ukrainian news outlet *UKWeekly* reported that, unlike his predecessors”, President Yushchenko did not

shy away from addressing the UPA veterans. Nor did he refrain from addressing the rift in Ukrainian society that has been a painful and divisive matter for the

¹⁵ Marples, D. 2006, ‘Stephan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero’, *Europe-Asia Studies Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 4, June, Taylor and Francis Publishing, pg 560, Attachment 3.

¹⁶ Sodol, P. 1993, ‘Ukrainian Insurgent Army’, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianInsurgentArmy.htm>- Accessed 11 April, Attachment 1.

¹⁷ Perks, R. 1993, ‘Ukraine’s Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism’, *Oral History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1 *Ethnicity and National Identity*, Spring, Oral History Society, pg 48, Attachment 5.

¹⁸ ‘Profile: Viktor Yushchenko’, 2010, *BBC News Online*, 13 January, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4035789.stm> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 6.

¹⁹ ‘Administrative divisions of Ukraine’, undated, *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Ukraine - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 8.

²⁰ Zawada, Z. 2005, ‘UPA veterans fight for recognition in Ukraine’, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 8 May, No. 19, Vol. LXXIII, <http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/2005/190501.shtml> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 7.

millions still alive in Ukraine who lived through the horrendous second world war.²¹

Yushchenko attempted reconciliation between eastern and western regions throughout his term.²² Indeed, in October 2007, Yushchenko issued a decree celebrating the 65th anniversary of the creation of the UPA and awarded the title 'Hero of Ukraine' to the leader of the UPA, SS-Hauptsturmführer Roman Shukhevych.²³

In November 2009, the Russian news source *rus.ruvr.ru* reported that Yushchenko presented a bill to the Ukrainian Rada (Parliament) which sought to recognise the UPA fighters during the Second World War. The tone of the article is also indicative of popular coverage of the issue:

[a] bill equating the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) (the militia of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) to veterans of the Great Patriotic War, was introduced in the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada, *Ukrainskaya Pravda* (Ukrainian Truth) wrote. The bill's sponsors are some members of the Yuliya Tymoshenko Bloc. The bill asks the state to recognise the UPA, which supposedly led a national liberation struggle, as a legitimate belligerent in World War II. Today, the view of the UPA's role in World War II is unclear in the Ukraine. A minority, mainly in the western regions, say that it was heroic and fought for independence, but, the majority of the population in the eastern and southern Ukraine, say they were nothing but collaborators of the Fascists.²⁴

The following year, nationalist marches were permitted on Victory Day, but reporting continued to allege strong ties between the Nationalists and the Nazis²⁵, describing the UPA as fighting "on the side of the Nazis in World War II ... [and] against the Soviet Army".²⁶ A Deputy prime minister Volodymyr Seminozhenko noted, however, that he thought:

'such parades will take place in western regions. We will not ban anything,' ... [Seminozhenko] said the government's policy was the start of creating an

²¹ Zawada, Z. 2005, 'Ukraine recalls 10 million war dead, honors veterans on Victory Day', *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 15, No. 20, Vol. LXXIII, <http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/2005/200501.shtml> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 9.

²² Shevel, O. 2009, 'The politics of memory in a divided society: A comparison of post-Franco Spain and post-Soviet Ukraine', *draft of a presentation for the 5th annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa, 29-31 October 2009*, <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/faculty/shevel/PoliticsofMemory.pdf> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 10.

²³ 'Bill Introduced in Ukrainian Rada Equating UPA Collaborators with the Veterans of the Great Patriotic War' 2009, *Voices from Russia*, 25 November, <http://02varvara.wordpress.com/2009/11/26/bill-introduced-in-ukrainian-rada-equating-upa-collaborators-with-the-veterans-of-the-great-patriotic-war/> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 11, reprinted and translated from the Russian <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2009/11/25/2402259.html> - Accessed 29 April 2011.

²⁴ 'Bill Introduced in Ukrainian Rada Equating UPA collaborators with veterans of the Great Patriotic War' 2009, *Voice of Russia world service*, 25 November, <http://02varvara.wordpress.com/2009/11/26/bill-introduced-in-ukrainian-rada-equating-upa-collaborators-with-the-veterans-of-the-great-patriotic-war/> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 11, reprinted and translated from the Russian <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2009/11/25/2402259.html> - Accessed 29 April 2011.

²⁵ 'Ukraine gives nod to nationalist marches on Victory Day' 2010, *RIAN*, 31 March <http://en.rian.ru/world/20100331/158381234.html> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 12.

²⁶ 'Ukraine gives nod to nationalist marches on Victory Day' 2010, *RIAN*, 31 March <http://en.rian.ru/world/20100331/158381234.html> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 12.

atmosphere of tolerance in the country. 'We will see to it that there are no excesses,' the deputy prime minister added.²⁷

Former President Viktor Yushchenko, known for his promotion of Ukrainian nationalism, often at the expense of relations with Russia, bestowed the honorary title of Hero of Ukraine on Bandera in late January. Given the tension the award created between Kiev and Moscow, the newly elected President Viktor Yanukovich was reportedly planning to withdraw the awards granted to Bandera and the leader of the UPA, but no reporting was located which provided resolution of this issue.²⁸

Although the context over the contribution and actions of the UPA remains a central concern of Ukrainian cultural and political life, it does not appear that the government routinely targets individuals expressing a particular view of this history. As the academic Oxana Shevel explains,

For Lviv and Western Ukraine, UPA fighters are heroes, perhaps the biggest heroes in the history of Ukrainians struggle for independence. But for Eastern Ukraine, the UPA is a band of bandits, traitors, and collaborationists. The UPA is the single most controversial phenomena in the history of Ukraine. Nothing divides our society more.²⁹

2. Please provide a brief history of the UNA-UNSO, and the attitude of the current government of Ukraine to those with any association with that organisation.

History and Aims

The UNA-UNSO (Ukrainian National Assembly – Ukrainian National Self Defence)³⁰ is an extreme right-wing nationalist/fascist organisation based in Western Ukraine. The most recent *Political Handbook of the World* gives this history and assessment of the party:

Ukrainian National Assembly (*Ukrainska Natsionalna Asambleya*—UNA). The UNA, an essentially fascist grouping, was formed initially as a loose alliance of right-wing parties that from June 1990 to August 1991 styled itself the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly. The UNA compared the situation in Ukraine with that of Germany under the Weimar Republic and in the fall of 1991 organized a paramilitary affiliate, **Ukrainian National Self-Defense** (*Ukrainska Narodna Samooboruna*—UNSO), in emulation of the interwar Nazi brown shirts. At least three candidates identified with the UNA were elected in western Ukraine in the 1994 legislative balloting, and the party also polled strongly in Kiev. It came under legal challenge in 1995 because of its alleged involvement in paramilitary activities at home and abroad and was reportedly banned by order of the Justice Ministry on September 6. However, it was permitted to contest the 1998 legislative balloting, securing 0.4 percent of the national proportional vote. Its registration was

²⁷ 'Ukraine gives nod to nationalist marches on Victory Day' 2010, *RIAN*, 31 March <http://en.rian.ru/world/20100331/158381234.html> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 12.

²⁸ 'Ukraine's Yanukovich to repeal Bandera hero decree' 2010, *Reuters*, 19 March, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/03/19/us-ukraine-bandera-idUSTRE62I32J20100319> - Accessed 29 April 2011 Attachment 13; 'Ukrainians protest against Bandera for national hero' 2010, *RT news service*, 5 April, <http://rt.com/news/bandera-hero-ukraine-protest/> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 14

²⁹ Shevel, O. 2009, 'The politics of memory in a divided society: A comparison of post-Franco Spain and post-Soviet Ukraine', *draft of a presentation for the 5th annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa, 29-31 October 2009*, <http://ase.tufts.edu/polsci/faculty/shevel/PoliticsofMemory.pdf> - Accessed 29 April 2011, Attachment 10.

³⁰ In Ukrainian: УНА УНСО, Українська Національна Асамблея – Українська Народна Самооборона.

subsequently revoked again, but in early 2001 the UNA-UNSO was actively organizing the more militant “Ukraine Without Kuchma” demonstrators. The UNA won less than 0.1 percent of the proportional vote at the 2002 legislative election and 0.06 percent in 2006.³¹

The organisation’s fascist roots as well as its anti-Russian, pro-Ukrainian stance and street-fighting methods are noted by commentators:

- The UNA-UNSO has its origins in the turbulent days of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The UNSO was created as a paramilitary “patriotic” organization intended to defend the nationalist ideals of the UNA and oppose “anti-Ukrainian separatist movements,” especially in the Crimea and eastern Ukraine (both home to a large ethnic Russian population). UNSO street fighters quickly gained attention by military-style marches and attacks on pro-Russian political meetings throughout Ukraine.³²
- UNA-UNSO, a hardcore Ukrainian nationalist group supportive of the current regime and represented almost exclusively in Western Ukraine, held a rally in Kiev on Oct. 15 to mark the 63rd anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) created with Adolf Hitler’s blessing in 1942. The UPA at times helped Nazi Germany fight the Soviet Army and anti-Nazi Ukrainian partisans in World War II. Socialist and communist parties’ supporters clashed with the rally’s participants, with police unable to rein in the clashes, Ukrainian media reports.³³
- The power base of the UNA-UNSO is in western Ukraine, the traditional home of anti-Russian nationalism that took its most virulent form in the formation of a Ukrainian SS division that fought Soviet troops in World War II. In public rallies UNSO members don black uniforms under their banner of a black cross on a red field.³⁴

Domestically UNSO was prominent in opposition to [pro-Russian] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, who was the Ukrainian President between 1994 – 2004.³⁵ The group supported Viktor

³¹ ‘Ukraine’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library http://library.cqpress.com/phw/phw2010_Ukraine - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 15.

³² McGregor, A. 2006, ‘Radical Ukrainian Nationalism and the War in Chechnya’, 30 March, *North Caucasus Analysis*, Vol. 7, Issue 13, Jamestown Foundation, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bwords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=UNA-UNSO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31539&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=58b96f0727374aa9500842bfff b49da6 - Accessed 13 April 2011, Attachment 16

³³ ‘Ukraine: UNA-UNSO Rally For UPA’ 2005, *Stratfor*, 16 October, http://www.stratfor.com/ukraine_una_unso_rally_upa - Accessed 3 May 2011, Attachment 33

³⁴ McGregor, A. 2006, ‘Radical Ukrainian Nationalism and the War in Chechnya’, 30 March, *North Caucasus Analysis*, Vol. 7, Issue 13, Jamestown Foundation, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bwords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=UNA-UNSO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31539&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=58b96f0727374aa9500842bfff b49da6 - Accessed 13 April 2011, Attachment 16

³⁵ McGregor, A. 2006, ‘Radical Ukrainian Nationalism and the War in Chechnya’, 30 March, *North Caucasus Analysis*, Vol. 7, Issue 13, Jamestown Foundation, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bwords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=UNA-UNSO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31539&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=58b96f0727374aa9500842bfff b49da6 - Accessed 13 April 2011, Attachment 16

Yushchenko's 'Our Ukraine' coalition which won the 2004 presidential election³⁶, though Yushchenko did not welcome their support.³⁷

Regionally, UNSO were involved in military operations, assisting nationalist forces resisting Russian sovereignty. Units of UNSO have participated in the Georgian conflict in 1993 and in the war in Chechnya 1993 – 1995.³⁸ As Andrew McGregor notes, writing for the Jamestown publication *North Caucasus Analysis* in 2006:

The UNA's political program appears to an outsider to be full of contradictions. Despite close ties to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a general view that Muslims ("the Turks") are an anti-Slavic threat, the movement supports Chechnya's Islamic resistance. While supporting the separatist Chechens, the UNA strongly opposes any sign of separatist sentiment amongst Ukraine's Crimean Tatars. Despite the UNA's participation in Ukrainian elections, the party maintains an anti-democratic stance, agitating instead for direct presidential rule. Like many populist-based movements, UNA-UNSO aims are often dependent upon the political winds or even the composition of a speaker's audience.³⁹

Current situation of UNA-UNSO and attitude of the government to it:

Little has been written on the organisation in recent years. The current leader of the UNA-UNSO is Yuriy Shukhevych, who was last re-elected in June 2010.⁴⁰ The most recent reported actions of the organisation are: a rally in Kiev in October 2010 demanding recognition of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)⁴¹, protests against the visits of the Russian patriarch in July and February 2010⁴² and a protest against a new law on demonstrations in 2009.⁴³ Despite calls in 2008 by the Russian youth movement Nashi for the Prosecutor General's Office to declare the Ukrainian nationalist party UNA-UNSO a terrorist organization, the organisation continues to operate legally.⁴⁴

³⁶ Bukharbayeva, B. 2005, 'Ukrainians begin New Year with high hopes after revolutionary year', CBC/Radio Canada website, 3 January <http://www.cbc.ca/cp/world/050101/w010136.html> – Accessed 4 January 2005 , Attachment 17

³⁷ Our Ukraine Warns Against Provocation By Nationalist Group...As Group Leader Vows To Struggle For 'Honest And Pure' Government' 2004, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 16 July – Attachment 18

³⁸ McGregor, A. 2006, 'Radical Ukrainian Nationalism and the War in Chechnya', 30 March, *North Caucasus Analysis*, Vol. 7, Issue 13, Jamestown Foundation, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=UNA-UNSO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31539&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=58b96f0727374aa9500842bfff b49da6 - Accessed 13 April 2011, Attachment 16

³⁹ McGregor, A. 2006, 'Radical Ukrainian Nationalism and the War in Chechnya', 30 March, *North Caucasus Analysis*, Vol. 7, Issue 13, Jamestown Foundation, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=UNA-UNSO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31539&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=58b96f0727374aa9500842bfff b49da6 - Accessed 13 April 2011, Attachment 16

⁴⁰ 'Shukhevych re-elected as UNA-UNSO leader' 2010, *Interfax: Ukrainian General Newswire*, 30 June - Factiva, Attachment 19.

⁴¹ 'Ukrainian nationalists holding rally in central Kyiv' 2010, *Interfax: Ukrainian General Newswire*, 14 October – Factiva, Attachment 20.

⁴² 'Militia surrounded 45m State Flag of Ukraine' 2010, UNIAN, 27 July – Factiva, Attachment 21; 'Ukrainian nationalists against Russian patriarch's prayer ahead of Yanukovych inauguration' 2010, *Interfax: Russia & CIS General Newswire*, 24 February - Factiva, Attachment 22.

⁴³ 'Ukrainian activists say new bill on rallies limits society's freedoms' 2009, BBC Monitoring Ukraine & Baltics [Source: Ukrainian newspaper *Ukrayina Moloda*], 24 September – Factiva, Attachment 23.

⁴⁴ 'Nashi wants Ukraine's UNA-UNSO to be declared terror organization' 2008, *Ukrainian General Newswire*, 28 September – Factiva, Attachment 24.

No specific information was found on attitude of the current government of Ukraine to those with any association with the UNA-UNSO organisation, although the current (since February 2010) President of Ukraine is Viktor Yanukovich, who is considered more pro-Russian than his predecessor Viktor Yushchenko, and whose support is from Eastern Ukraine. Despite the opposition of UNA-UNSO (and other opposition parties) to the new law on demonstrations in 2009⁴⁵, no reports of arrests of UNA-UNSO members were found. The last reported arrests of UNA-UNSO members was in May 2008 when 11 were arrested in Sevastopol for an attempt to hold a protest rally against events marking the 225th anniversary of the Russian Black Sea Fleet.⁴⁶

3. What is known of the “Memorial complex in memory of the victims of the occupational regimes “Prison in Lontskogo” in Lviv and Mr Ruslan Zabily?”

In February 2011, the human rights non-government organisation, the *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union* reported that Ruslan Zabily is an historian and Director of the National Memorial Museum of Victims of the Occupation Regimes ‘Tyurma na Lonskoho’ in Lviv.⁴⁷

Radio Free Europe reported that the ‘Prison on Lontskoho’ (or the Lonsky St Prison museum⁴⁸) was established in 2009 under the “auspices of the [Ukrainian Security Service] SBU. The museum shows visitors the conditions in which detainees lived and places where mass executions took place.” The site has served as a Polish, Soviet and Nazi prison,⁴⁹ and has housed Ukrainian nationalists fighting waves of occupation.⁵⁰

Open Democracy provides an overview of the history of the site of the museum:

The prison on Lonsky Street ... dates from the inter-war period, when space was allocated for political prisoners in the Polish police station complex. It was primarily intended for Ukrainian nationalists, which made it infamous in the Ukrainian community of Galicia. During the so-called “first Soviets” of 1939-1941, former Polish officials, policemen and members of the underground were held in the prison as well as Ukrainian nationalists. In June 1941, during the retreat of the Red Army, all the prisoners were shot by the NKVD [predecessors of the KGB] in the prison yard (a scene repeated in many prisons in West Ukraine). During the German occupation, the Gestapo was in charge of the prison, and once more there were Poles, Jews, and people who tried to save Jews, as well as

⁴⁵ ‘Ukrainian activists say new bill on rallies limits society’s freedoms’ 2009, BBC Monitoring Ukraine & Baltics [Source: Ukrainian newspaper *Ukrayina Moloda*], 24 September – Factiva, Attachment 23.

⁴⁶ ‘Police Arrest 11 Supporters Of UNA-UNSO In Crimea For Attempt To Hold Protest Rally Against Events Marking 225th Anniversary Of Black Sea Fleet’ 2008, Ukrainian News, 12 May - Factiva, Attachment 25

⁴⁷ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zabily’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 26

⁴⁸ Kabachiy, R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁴⁹ ‘Ukrainian Security Service Launches Criminal Case Against Lviv Museum Head’ 2010, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, 10 September, http://www.rferl.org/content/Ukrainian_Security_Service_Launches_Criminal_Case_Against_Lviv_Museum_Head/2153814.html - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 28.

⁵⁰ Kabachiy, R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

Ukrainian nationalists (followers of Bandera)... When the Soviets returned, the prison population consisted once more of Ukrainians.⁵¹

The museum has been criticised for being too “Ukrainocentric”. For example, the advocacy and news website *Open Democracy* reported that the Holocaust historian Yurii Radchenko, was “unable to hide his disappointment” at the content of the Lonsky St Prison exhibition, stating, “the entire exhibition is dedicated to the tragedy and pain of the Ukrainians, without mentioning other peoples”.⁵² The site also discusses an open letter from over 100 international scholars supporting Zablyi in his “conflict with the Security Service”, but disagreeing with his historiography, particularly the privileging of UPA’s liberation aims, at the expense of acknowledging serious crimes perpetrated by Ukrainian forces during World War II :

Many of us are signing this petition although we cannot agree with the political line taken by Ruslan Zablyi, or with his views on Ukrainian history”. What they had in mind was chiefly the glorification of the Ukrainian liberation movement while ignoring other forms of the underground in Galicia, Ukrainian participation in Jewish pogroms in 1941, and the fact that there was no mention of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement’s anti-Polish campaign in Galicia and Volyn in 1943-1944.⁵³

Ruslan Zablyi has been detained by the SBU twice: once on 8 September 2010, and again on 18 February 2011. On both occasions, he was detained in relation to his possession of archival documents which formed part of his research at the Lonsky St Prison Museum. The museum has reportedly not received government funding for 2011 which was previously promised. In the context of the recent detentions of Zablyi discussed below, the Liberation Movement Research Centre⁵⁴ alleges that the Minister for Education Dmytro Tabachnyk has attempted to “censor history”, although the article does not draw a direct link between the actions of the SBU and the Minister.⁵⁵

8 September 2010

Mr Zablyi was unlawfully detained by the SBU in September 2010 for 14 hours in Kiev.⁵⁶ At this time, the SBU also carried out “unauthorized searches in the National Memorial Museum

⁵¹ Kabachiy , R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁵² Kabachiy , R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁵³ Kabachiy , R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁵⁴ The news site ZIK provides some information on the Liberation Movement Studies Centre: “V. Vyatrovych is a historian. In 2002, he founded the Liberation Movement Studies Center, an NGO that makes research into the liberation movements of Ukrainians in the 20th century. In 2009-2010, he was head of the SBU archive, making public SBU documents on the Holodomor, political repression, and the struggle for Ukrainian independence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA. He was dismissed after [pro-Russian] Viktor Yanukovich was elected president.” ‘In Europe, monument to Hitler would be dealt with in the same way as monument to Stalin, historian Vyatrovych says’ 2011, *ZIK: Politics*, 6 January, <http://zik.com.ua/en/news/2011/01/06/265603> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 29.

⁵⁵ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zablyi’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 26.

⁵⁶ ‘Classifying Zablyi’s case as secret restricts his right to defence’ 2010, <http://ua.glavred.info/archive/2010/10/21/161057-14.html> - Accessed 11 April 2011, translated from Ukrainian and

“Tyurma na Lonskoho”, confiscated the researchers’ computers and initiated a criminal investigation’.”⁵⁷ The hardware contained declassified⁵⁸ copies of historical and archival documentation⁵⁹ concerning the activities of the UPA.

The case was classified as ‘top secret’ – a decision criticised by the Director of the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union who noted that the “classification has obviously been used to restrict public scrutiny over the case.”⁶⁰ In addition, on 9 September 2010, the Head of the Lviv Regional Department of the SBU issued instructions to deny researchers working at the museum access to their work places or work computers.⁶¹ The SBU claimed that Zabily “collected information which constitutes a State secret without authority in order to pass it to a third party.”⁶²

Zabily’s detention prompted a peaceful protest on 15 September 2010 outside the Security Service building in Kiev called ‘Come and Turn Yourself In’, attended by famous Ukrainian dissidents, and members of the intelligentsia.⁶³

16 February 2011

Zabily was questioned for five hours by the SBU on 16 February 2011, and his “computer and hard disks” removed “many months ago” during the September incident had not been returned at the time of reporting (18/02/2011). The official reason given to the Liberation Movement Research Centre (the Centre) for the arrest of Mr Zabily was that he had accessed “state secrets” concerning “KGB training material and information about the activities of the Soviet security services in the Baltic Republics.”⁶⁴ The Centre states that Zabily “had downloaded publically available KGB documents from the European website <http://www.kgbdocuments.eu/>”.⁶⁵

reprinted at *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, <http://helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1287735891> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 30.

⁵⁷ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zabily’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 26.

⁵⁸ ‘Ukrainian Security Service Launches Criminal Case Against Lviv Museum Head’ 2010, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, 10 September,

http://www.rferl.org/content/Ukrainian_Security_Service_Launches_Criminal_Case_Against_Lviv_Museum_Head/2153814.html - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 30.

⁵⁹ ‘Classifying Zabily’s case as secret restricts his right to defence’ 2010, <http://ua.glavred.info/archive/2010/10/21/161057-14.html> - Accessed 11 April 2011, translated from Ukrainian and reprinted at *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, <http://helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1287735891> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 30.

⁶⁰ ‘Classifying Zabily’s case as secret restricts his right to defence’ 2010, <http://ua.glavred.info/archive/2010/10/21/161057-14.html> - Accessed 11 April 2011, translated from Ukrainian and reprinted at *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, <http://helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1287735891> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 30.

⁶¹ <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1284112664> - Accessed 28 April 2011

⁶² ‘SBU claims that historian wanted to pass on State secrets’ 2010, *Human Rights in Ukraine* published by *Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group*, 9 August, <http://www.khpg.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1284028946> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 31.

⁶³ Kabachiy, R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁶⁴ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zabily’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011.

⁶⁵ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zabily’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 26.

The *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union* (UHHR) report that the SBU is continuing to take “an active interest” in Zablyi’s research and the museum. In an interview, Zablyi said the investigators “asked about [his] contacts with other historians, wanting even to be given dates of when he first met them and places of meeting.”⁶⁶

It is of note that Roman Kabachiy, in his article ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, published on the NGO social commentary website *Open Democracy*, suggests a link between the detention of Zablyi and his possible “leaking of lists of agents and people recruited by KGB of the Ukrainian SSR.” Kabachiy reports:

One unexpected turn of events was an “information leak” from the Security Service to the Russian-language newspaper *Segodnya*, traditionally close to the Party of Regions (currently the party in power). Ukrainians are already used to the fact that if *Segodnya*, “using its own sources”, publishes certain information, it’s because someone in power wants this information to be made public in the media before an official announcement. The article published on 16 September states that the **Security Service is in fact not interested in Zablyi’s research activities, but in his possible involvement in leaking lists of agents and people recruited by the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR.** Many documents of this kind were found in materials confiscated from Zablyi. It is clear that a considerable number of KGB agents are alive today and still working for the special services, sometimes in high-ranking positions. True or bluff? **If it is true, then it shows that Ukraine, and its Security Service in particular, are scared of Soviet skeletons in the closet, and of exposure.**⁶⁷

The relationship Kabachiy implies between the Zablyi’s treatment by the SBU and the regional priorities of the new Ukrainian Government should be seriously considered. Although much official reporting has centred around Zablyi’s interest in Ukrainian Nationalist historiography, some research suggests that Zablyi’s interest in the history of the KGB in western Ukraine was the real reason for the interest of Ukrainian government. The newly elected President, Viktor Yanukovich, is pro-Russian, and it is possible that he wishes to avoid public debate around the activities of the KGB in Ukraine prior to, during and immediately after the Second World War. These debates would not promote a strong relationship with Russia, which the ruling party is keen to foster. This analysis is also supported by the sacking of the head of the SBU Archive and Ukrainian liberation historian, V. Vyatrovych in 2010 by President Yanukovich.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ ‘SBU: 5 Hour interrogation of historian Ruslan Zablyi’ 2011, *Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union*, 18 February, <http://www.helsinki.org.ua/en/index.php?id=1298033554> - Accessed 11 April 2011, Attachment 26.

⁶⁷ Kabachiy, R. 2010, ‘Latest on Ukraine’s history wars: Orange fighter down’, 23 September, *openDemocracy online*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/roman-kabachiy/latest-on-ukraine%E2%80%99s-history-wars-orange-fighter-down> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 27.

⁶⁸ ‘In Europe, monument to Hitler would be dealt with in the same way as monument to Stalin, historian Vyatrovych says’ 2011, *ZIK: Politics*, 6 January, <http://zik.com.ua/en/news/2011/01/06/265603> - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 29.

4. Is UNA-UNSO known to issue Membership cards. If so, what do they look like?

No information was found in the sources consulted regarding whether the UNA-UNSO issues membership cards, or their format, in the event cards are issued.

5. Do you have a description of UNA-UNSO flags, badges or other symbols?



The main symbol of UNA-UNSO, which is used on flags, banners, armbands, websites etc is a black Teutonic cross on a red background. The cross has the letters UNSO (in Ukrainian YHCO) on each of its four arms and a white version of the yellow trident which appears on the Ukrainian coat of arms⁶⁹ in the centre. UNA-UNSO members are often pictured wearing military camouflage uniforms and wearing red armbands with the cross symbol.



This symbol is used on the UNA-UNSO websites at <http://una-unso.in.ua/> - Accessed 2 May 2011 and <http://www.una-unso.org/> - Accessed 2 May 2011, and on flags and armbands as seen below⁷⁰.



⁶⁹ 'State Symbols of Ukraine', undated, *Government Portal*, http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article%3Fart_id=235970&cat_id=32672 - Accessed 2 May 2011, Attachment 32

⁷⁰ Flag photos taken from the following Ukrainian language sites <http://sd.org.ua/rnews.php?id=633> (2005), - Accessed 2 May 2011; <http://focus.ua/society/53664> (2009) - Accessed 2 May 2011; <http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/una-unso-my-ne-voevali-v-yuzhnoi-osetii-rossiya-blefuet.html> (2009) - Accessed 2 May 2011; <http://www.una-unso.org/album/kyiv2000.htm> (2000) - Accessed 2 May 2011; http://www.una-unso.org/album/kyiv2000_5.htm (2000) - Accessed 2 May 2011.



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