

University of Mary Washington

Eagle Scholar

Student Research Submissions

Spring 5-9-2021

Nation-Building in Newspapers: A Comparison of Lithuanian and Ukrainian Ethnic Newspapers in America, 1940-1953

Emily Johnson

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Johnson, Emily, "Nation-Building in Newspapers: A Comparison of Lithuanian and Ukrainian Ethnic Newspapers in America, 1940-1953" (2021). *Student Research Submissions*. 392.

https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research/392

This Honors Project is brought to you for free and open access by Eagle Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Research Submissions by an authorized administrator of Eagle Scholar. For more information, please contact archives@umw.edu.

Nation-Building in Newspapers:

A Comparison of Lithuanian and Ukrainian Ethnic Newspapers in America, 1940-1953

Emily Johnson

HIST 485

Dr. Steven Harris

5/9/2021

Abstract: The scholarly debate surrounding the American diaspora's involvement in setting the foundation for myths about nationalist fighters used in Eastern European memory wars today places responsibility for these myths with the Displaced Person (DP) wave of immigrants. However, ethnic newspapers during World War II reveal that nationalist sentiments and favorable feelings toward nationalist movements existed before the DPs arrived. As expressed in such newspapers, these sentiments pushed those of Lithuanian and Ukrainian descent in America to advocate for Eastern European nations' independence from the Soviet Union. Consequently, a nationalist foundation was already set for the DP population to build upon when they arrived, enabling them to withhold information on the violence of the nationalist movements to portray the nationalists as patriotic victims. This paper argues that the pre-DP American diaspora helped build the modern myth of the tragic nationalist hero by de-emphasizing the violence of nationalist movements in ethnic newspapers.

Introduction

World War II brought about major shifts in borders and cultivated new transnational relationships among peoples, upending the lives of millions of people across the globe. Countries such as Lithuania and Ukraine endured several occupations from the Nazis and the Soviets, with Ukraine suffering particularly badly under the scorched earth policy first enacted by the Soviets.¹ Though one might assume that American immigrant communities watched on helplessly as their homelands succumbed to conquest upon conquest, ethnic newspapers prove this was not the case. Newspapers like *Dirva* and *The Ukrainian Weekly* attempted to cut through the confusion and chaos of the war to present a united diasporic front primarily focused on establishing independence for their respective nations at the end of the war. To immigrants and those residing in occupied European nations, the Second World War seemed as though it would result in a second Paris Peace Conference where nations could establish their independence based on the principles of self-determination.²

Working under this assumption, ethnic newspapers concentrated their efforts on writing their nations' histories, cultures, and languages while also documenting their nations' worthiness to be independent.³ This documentation included reports of the armed nationalist resistances

¹ The scorched earth policy was first enacted by the Soviets wherein grain, machinery, and livestock were destroyed during the Soviet retreat to prevent the Nazis from gaining more material. The Nazis later adopted the same policy during their retreat from Ukraine, leaving ordinary Ukrainians to suffer twice ; Karel Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 18, 34 ; Serhii Plokyh, *Forgotten Bastards of the Eastern Front: American Airmen Behind the Soviet Lines and the Collapse of the Grand Alliance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2019), 35, 37.

² Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 288 ; "Ukrainian Congress Committee's Statement in Support of Lease-Lend Bill," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-07.pdf ; "Memorandum on Some Aspects of a World Security Organization," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 18, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-05-18/ed-1/seq-6/>.

³ Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 3, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-03->

taking place in Lithuania and Ukraine, which cast the nationalists in the light of tragic heroism and sought to portray them positively in spite of the violence they partook in against the population and its minorities.⁴ In exploring the history of Lithuanian and Ukrainian communities in the United States during the war, this paper asks several critical questions. How did older waves of Eastern European immigrants react to the Second World War? What activities did immigrants participate in to rebuild their homelands in the United States and how did ethnic newspapers factor into this nation-building effort? What effect did diaspora populations have on framing the myth of the tragic nationalist hero? Through an examination of over one hundred newspaper articles and advertisements, this thesis contends that the pre-Displaced Person (DP) immigrant population contributed significantly to the modern memory myth of the tragic nationalist hero central to memory wars in Eastern Europe by de-emphasizing the violence of such nationalist movements in ethnic newspapers.

Despite there being general agreement among researchers that the diaspora helped to preserve homeland cultures after the Soviets occupied Lithuania and Ukraine, there exists little research on their direct involvement in cultivating modern memory politics, reflecting a devaluation of the immigrant contribution. Instead, researchers argue that the DP wave of

03/ed-1/seq-8/ ; "Governor Bricker Proclaimed February 16 Lithuanian Day," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 18, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/> ; "Two Different People," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jul. 31, 1943, http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/1943/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1943-30.pdf.

⁴ Milton Stark, "Lithuania's Fight for Freedom," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 10, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-03-10/ed-1/seq-8/> ; H. Hessel Tiltman, "Hitler's First Major Blunder," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 25, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-17.pdf ; Olena Petrenko, "Ukrainian Insurgency Against the Post-War Sovietization: The Case of the Female Teachers from the East in Western Ukraine," *Kaleidoscope: Journal of History and Culture, Science and Medicine* 5, no. 9 (2014): 171-2 ; Ivan Katchanovski, "The OUN, the UPA, and the Nazi Genocide in Ukraine," *Mittäterschaft in Osteuropa im Zweiten Weltkrieg und im Holocaust/Collaboration in Eastern Europe during World War II and the Holocaust*, ed. Peter Black, Béla Rásky, and Marianne Windsperger, (New Academic Press, 2019),73 ; Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 289.

immigrants that arrived after World War II were more active in nation-building for their homelands in the United States. For example, John-Paul Himka argues that the Ukrainian DP wave used the lack of reliable information on the Eastern Front to lead older waves of American immigrants into believing that the Ukrainian nationalist movement were tragic heroes undergoing persecution by the Soviets.⁵ Vytis Čiubrinskas presents a similar argument for the Lithuanian DP wave, claiming that the DPs began codifying Lithuanian history and memory in DP camps in the late 1940s, culminating with the publication of the 1949 Lithuanian Charter.⁶

While the DP wave made significant contributions to immigrant communities' perceptions of the Soviet Union and what was transpiring behind the iron curtain, they did not begin the process of nation-building. Rather, I argue that it was the work of older waves of immigrants from Lithuania and Ukraine that the DP wave was later able to build upon with their own accounts from the war. Before the arrival of the DPs, immigrants and their descendants had established ethnic newspapers to better consolidate their communities and report on their shared histories, cultures, and languages. During World War II, these newspapers documented the successes of their communities, advocated for independence for their homelands in Europe, and combated any reporters or politicians who dared to "slander" their countries by organizing letter-writing campaigns against them. Though scattered across several different states, the pre-DP wave found themselves connected through print, helping to create a community dedicated to fostering a national consciousness among its members.⁷ These earlier nation-building efforts

⁵ John-Paul Himka, "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: The Galician Ukrainians in North America," *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006): 21-22.

⁶ Vytis Čiubrinskas, "Reclaiming European Heritages of Transatlantic Migration: The Politics of Identity of East European Immigrants to the U.S.A.," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 18, no. 2 (2009): 55.

⁷ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 46.

helped create a framework in which the stories of the DPs fit neatly, allowing nationalist myths to grow and eventually be exported back to Europe when the Soviet Union fell in 1991.

Despite the availability of digital archives, research on the topic of Eastern European ethnic newspapers in the United States during World War II is lagging, with the field instead focusing on publishing articles dedicated to the violence of the nationalist movements, the involvement of women in nationalist movements, and the modern memory wars in Eastern Europe. Researchers who feature the violence of the nationalist movements in their papers often face fierce backlash motivated primarily by the diaspora populations.⁸ According to Violeta Davoliūtė, such backlash is so severe that it has stalled Lithuania's English-language research on nationalist violence for the past decade.⁹ A similar phenomenon is reported by Himka, who has been the victim of the Ukrainian diaspora of which he is a member for his research into the crimes of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), with North American Ukrainians going so far as to lobby his university to silence him.¹⁰ Though Taras Kuzio did not step into the fray, he explicitly stated that his research into the history of the *Prolog* publishing company avoided taking any sides on the controversial issue of

⁸ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 30 ; John-Paul Himka, "Interventions: Challenging the Myths of Twentieth-Century Ukrainian History," in *The Convolutions of Historical Practices*, ed. Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2012), 235-6 ; Dovilė Budrytė, "Memory, War and Mnemonical In/Security: A Comparison of Lithuania and Ukraine," in *Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics: Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė, and Didem Buhari-Gulmez (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 163, 165-6 ; Violeta Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains and Matters of State: The Partisan and Popular Memory in Lithuania," in *Cultures of History Forum* (2017): 3 ; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Holocaust Amnesia: The Ukrainian Diaspora and the Genocide of the Jews," *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* 1 (2016): 142-143 ; Anna Wylegała, "Managing the Difficult Past: Ukrainian Collective Memory and Public Debates on History," *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 5 (2017): 780-1 ; Andreas Umland, "The Ukrainian Government's Memory Institute Against the West," *IndraStra Global* 3, no. 3 (2017): 2.

⁹ Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 4.

¹⁰ Himka, "Interventions," 229-30 ; John-Paul Himka, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Unwelcome Elements of an Identity Project," *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2010): 90.

the OUN and UPA.¹¹ While much of this backlash is extreme, it is rooted in concerns over national security and Russian meddling in Lithuanian and Ukrainian affairs, causing politicians and the public to double down in their support for the nationalists regardless of what researchers discover.¹²

Less controversial but also understudied is the topic of women's involvement in the European nationalist movements. This is an emerging field that has gained popularity among English-language Ukrainian researchers, but has yet to receive much attention from English-language Lithuanian researchers. Among scholars of Ukrainian studies, the subjects of gendered violence and roles women held within the OUN take importance.¹³ For the latter of the two subjects, some contention arises in the modern portrayal of these women, as can be witnessed in Olesya Khromeychuk's opposition to Oksana Kis's claim that nationalist women ought to be celebrated alongside nationalist men. Khromeychuk counters this by arguing that neither should be celebrated and that by celebrating nationalist women, researchers would be extending the tragic hero myth to women who have remained largely untouched by it.¹⁴

The tragic nationalist hero has become a popular myth among Lithuanians and Ukrainians alike, with both nations boasting significant participation in their respective nationalist movements in the 1940s and early 1950s. After Lithuania and Ukraine gained

¹¹ Taras Kuzio, "U.S. Support for Ukraine's Liberation during the Cold War: A Study of Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* xxx (2012): 2.

¹² Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 5 ; Budrytė, "Memory, War and Mnemonical," 171 ; Tatiana Zhurzhenko, "Russia's Never-Ending War Against 'Fascism,'" *Eurozine* (2015): 1-2 ; Katchanovski, "The OUN, the UPA," 69.

¹³ Marta Havryshko, "Love and Sex in Wartime: Controlling Women's Sexuality in the Ukrainian Nationalist Underground," *Aspasia* 12 (2018): 35-67 ; Larysa Zariczniak, "Violence and the UPA Woman: Experiences and Influences," *Європейські історичні студії* 2 (2015): 243-67.

¹⁴ Oksana Kis, "National Femininity Used and Contested: Women's Participation in the Nationalist Underground in Western Ukraine during the 1940s-50s," *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 56 ; Olesya Khromeychuk, "Militarizing Women in the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement from the 1930s to the 1950s," *Aspasia* 12 (2018): 4.

statehood with the collapse of the Soviet Union, this collective identity created by their diaspora populations was adopted in homeland populations.¹⁵ Due to claims of Nazi collaboration among nationalist groups, this adoption has resulted in memory battles across Eastern Europe over whether these figures should be celebrated as heroes or vilified as fascists, often causing clashes with neighboring nations like Russia and Poland.¹⁶ Women have gone mostly forgotten in this narrative, with even former nationalist messengers such as Aldona Vilitienė choosing to focus on the tales of her male counterparts.¹⁷ Claudia Lenz and Helle Bjerg argue that women's acceptance of male-led narratives is due to women acting in the role of "theme-takers" while men are the "theme-givers" who are allowed to write the "collective encyclopedia."¹⁸ Dovilė Budrytė argues against the notion that women are "theme-takers" by pointing to women such as Vilitienė, who founded her own museum dedicated to the plight of the Forest Brothers, Lithuanian anti-Soviet guerrilla fighters, with the hope to "foster patriotism" in visitors.¹⁹ Budrytė also advocates for finding new lines in gender history rather than looking to "fill in the blanks."²⁰ However, there is a degree of "filling in the blanks" required, at least initially, to provide a holistic understanding of history where women's involvement can be discussed alongside that of men's, as this thesis intends to demonstrate.

¹⁵ Rossoliński-Liebe, "Holocaust Amnesia," 649 ; Himka, "Interventions," 235.

¹⁶ Umland, "The Ukrainian Government's Memory," 3, 6 ; Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 3 ; Zhurzhenko, "Russia's Never-Ending War," 1-2.

¹⁷ Dovilė Budrytė, "Points of Memory in the Narrative of a 'Mnemonic Warrior': Gender, Displacement, and the Anti-Soviet War of Resistance in Lithuania," *Journal of Baltic studies* 47, no. 4 (2016): 491.

¹⁸ To these researchers, this point is especially focused on the topic of war history. From several multi-generational interviews they conducted, they concluded that men talking over and dismissing the lived experiences of female survivors and participants in World War II is a result of this concept of "theme-taking" versus "theme-giving" ; Claudia Lenz & Helle Bjerg, "'To Be Honest, I Don't Think She Has Much to Say...' Gender and Authority in Memories of the Second World War in Denmark and Norway," *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 32, no. 4 (2007): 34 ; Dovilė Budrytė, "Experiences of Collective Trauma and Political Activism: A Study of Women 'Agents of Memory' in Post-Soviet Lithuania," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41, no. 3 (2010): 332.

¹⁹ Budrytė, "Points of Memory," 481, 485.

²⁰ Budrytė, "Points of Memory," 480.

Early 20th century nationalism is reflected similarly across other European ethnicities, with newer waves of immigrants to the United States remarking on the country's cultural inferiority in comparison to the homeland and using newspapers to consolidate communities.²¹ One such example is that this mentality was so prevalent among German Jews who immigrated to the United States in the interwar period that it became a joke among the community and appeared in its ethnic newspaper, *Aufbau*.²² This holds true for both Lithuanian and Ukrainian immigrant populations after the end of World War II. According to Čiubrinskas, Lithuanians from the DP wave complained that the previous waves of Lithuanian immigrants had defined Lithuanianness incorrectly and sought to take charge by developing their own curriculum to be used to educate Lithuanian-Americans.²³ Ukrainian DPs, too, had noted a perceived lack of culture among Ukrainian-Americans after World War II, with Per Anders Rudling stating that these DPs helped to set a nationalistic tone for the community by introducing youth re-enactments of nationalist battles and forming cultural groups like choirs.²⁴

This rebuke of the diaspora populations goes further than the supposed cultural degradation occurring in the United States. In Eastern Europe, ethnicity and nationalism are intrinsically tied to one's religion. This is best explained by Karel Berkhoff, who describes ethnic Ukrainians identifying by their religion when confronted by others about their nationality.²⁵ Alfred Senn and Alfonsas Eidintas's research revealed that when Lithuanians visiting the

²¹ Dominique Daniel, "Elusive Stories: Collecting and Preserving the Foreign-Language Ethnic Press in the United States," *Serials Review* 45 (2019): 9.

²² Hagit Lavsky, *The Creation of the German-Jewish Diaspora: Interwar German-Jewish Immigration to Palestine, the USA, and England* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH: 2017), 120.

²³ Čiubrinskas, "Reclaiming European Heritages," 55, 58.

²⁴ Per Anders Rudling, "Terror Remembered, Terror Forgotten: Stalinist, Nazi, and Nationalist Atrocities in Ukrainian 'National Memory'," in *World War II Re-Explored: Some New Millennium Studies in the History of the Global Conflict*, ed. Jarosław Suchoples, Stephanie James, and Barbara Törnquist-Plewa (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019), 411.

²⁵ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 206.

American diaspora at the beginning of the 1900s discovered their fellow countrymen leaving traditional Roman Catholic ideologies behind in favor of socialism, these travelers began to believe that Lithuanian-Americans were no longer Lithuanians.²⁶ This emphasis on religious nationalism caused strains between Jewish minority populations and ethnic Lithuanians and Ukrainians long before the Holocaust, as noted by Timothy Smith.²⁷ While religion's ties to homeland populations of Lithuanians and Ukrainians have received much attention from scholars, the effects of religion on definitions of nationhood within the American diaspora have largely gone understudied.

While these newspapers can provide key insights into the activities and common arguments utilized by ethnic newspapers, they do not give the full picture of the lives of Eastern European immigrants in the United States. Both newspapers are noted to be nationalistic in tone, though other more moderate ethnic newspapers were circulating at the same time.²⁸ It is difficult to gauge the public's reaction to these newspapers and how far their reach was. However, *The Ukrainian Weekly* is described as one of the most widely read ethnic Ukrainian newspapers and several Lithuanian-American interviewees have noted a common Lithuanian-American practice of collecting ethnic newspapers for display.²⁹ The lack of documentation on the Holocaust in the *Dirva* and *The Ukrainian Weekly* papers that have been preserved is telling of the strained relationship between ethnic Lithuanian and Ukrainian immigrants in the United States and their

²⁶ Alfred Erich Senn & Alfonsas Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement before 1914," *Journal of American Ethnic History* (1987): 12-3.

²⁷ Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 5 (1978): 1164.

²⁸ Mykolas J. Drunga, "Personal Reflections on a Dear Friend," *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 55, no. 4 (2009): http://www.lituanus.org/2009/09_4_02%20Drunga.html ; J. P. Balys, "The American Lithuanian Press," *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 22, no. 1 (1976): http://www.lituanus.org/1976/76_1_02.htm.

²⁹ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 29 ; Drunga, "Personal Reflections," http://www.lituanus.org/2009/09_4_02%20Drunga.html.

Jewish counterparts, with both ethnic majority communities choosing to focus on their own collective sufferings and paying less attention to those of their homelands' Jewish populations.³⁰ There exists sufficient evidence to argue that these newspapers can show how these immigrant communities reacted to World War II and how immigrants began framing their own histories as they were happening in real-time, setting the foundation for the memory amnesia around atrocities committed in Lithuania and Ukraine by nationalist fighters in the 1940s and 1950s.

Lithuania: The Forest Brothers

With the gradual dissolution of Lithuanian statehood from the Soviet-Lithuanian Mutual Assistance Pact of 1939 to the formation of a pro-Soviet puppet government in June of 1940 came several underground nationalist movements hoping to restore Lithuania's national sovereignty through guerrilla warfare.³¹ Since the reestablishment of Lithuanian independence in 1918, guerrilla warfare and propaganda had been the primary cornerstones of Lithuania's military training in preparation for a future war in Eastern Europe. This training was predicated on the belief that guerrilla warfare would merely act to stall the enemy long enough for allies to come to Lithuania's aid, rather than the belief of outright defeating foreign invaders on their own.³² Although several nationalist movements operated in Lithuania, the most prominent and well-remembered of them are the Forest Brothers, anti-Soviet partisans led by those who had

³⁰ Nationalities in Eastern Europe were closely linked to specific religions, with Lithuanians identifying themselves as Roman Catholics and Ukrainians as Ukrainian Catholics, Uniates, or Greek Orthodox. Despite having this identity, *Dirva* and *The Ukrainian Weekly* did not emphasize religion in their articles and mentioned it sparingly; Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 206.

³¹ Vytautas Jokubauskas, "The Concept of Guerrilla Warfare in Lithuania in the 1920—1930s," *Baltic Region 2* (2012): 34; Romuald J. Misiunas & Rein. Taagepera, *The Baltic States, Years of Dependence, 1940-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15-6, 19.

³² Jokubauskas, "The Concept of Guerrilla," 33.

received training in guerrilla warfare.³³ Their training in guerrilla warfare and the loose structure of the Lithuanian military prepared the Forest Brothers to act independently when the pro-Soviet puppet government dissolved the Lithuanian Rifleman's Union on July 11, 1940.³⁴ Due to the foresight of the interwar Lithuanian government, those within the army were able to act autonomously and maintain several military districts across Lithuania until the Soviet government employed harsher tactics against anti-Soviet guerrillas in 1949.³⁵

According to Violeta Davoliūtė, the Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance was the second largest guerrilla operation in the post-war Soviet Union with only Ukraine's underground nationalist movement besting them in terms of size and scale.³⁶ Such an extensive operation relied heavily upon the local population when fighting the Nazis and the Soviets, though this mutual alliance between guerrilla fighters and the local populace did not start with the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. A significant portion of Lithuania's military training was dedicated to forging bonds between riflemen and local communities through the development of cultural institutions like libraries, theater companies, and choirs. These services, as well as performing essential duties such as serving on fire brigades, helped to give locals a sense of familiarity with military members with whom they had no familial ties to.³⁷ By the time guerrilla warfare came to be necessary, the population already viewed the nationalists in a positive light due to their community development efforts in the years before the war.

³³ Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, "Bronius Liesys-Naktis (1922-1949)," accessed Apr. 4, 2020, <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/753/a/>.

³⁴ Jokubauskas, "The Concept of Guerrilla," 34.

³⁵ Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, "The Partisan Military Districts of the Lithuanian Freedom Fighters," accessed Feb. 2, 2020, <http://genocid.lt/centras/en/1017/a/> ; Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 2.

³⁶ Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 2.

³⁷ Jokubauskas, "The Concept of Guerrilla," 37.

Women in the Lithuanian nationalist movement in Europe aided the resistance in a variety of roles, many of which have yet to be fully researched. In English-language scholarship, women are described as having acted primarily as messengers and nurses, with few having taken up arms against the occupying forces of the Nazis and the Soviets. Their roles as messengers and nurses are described as being “auxiliary,” however, without such message delivery and first-aid, the nationalist movement could not have continued to operate for as long as it did due to Soviet restrictions on male movement across the countryside.³⁸ Despite women’s commitment to Lithuanian independence, they were restricted from joining the movement as active fighters in 1949, reinforcing the concept that women’s roles within the movement were to be secondary to those of men.³⁹ This doubling down on traditional gender roles came at a time when the nationalist movement needed as many supporters as it could get, given the Soviets’ increased infiltration of partisan units, collectivization of farms, and mass deportations decimating popular support for the guerrilla fighters.⁴⁰ Infiltration, betrayal, and arrest brought women’s relationships into the crossfire of partisan warfare, with arrested women partisans finding their gender come under attack from Soviet interrogators calling them “prostitutes.”⁴¹ In this way, the nationalist movement was uniquely feminine, though this aspect of the struggle has remained ignored by the public and little studied by scholars.

The Lithuanian immigrant community was well established in the United States by the time the Second World War began in Europe. The first Lithuanian immigrants arrived in the

³⁸ Kis, “National Femininity,” 59.

³⁹ Dovilė Budrytė, ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 57, no. 2 (2011): http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11_2_05Budryte.html.

⁴⁰ Dovilė Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields: Two Women’s Stories about the Second World War and Its Aftermath in Lithuania,” *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 757.

⁴¹ Budrytė, ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know,”” http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11_2_05Budryte.html.

1860s and were mostly comprised of uneducated and illiterate farmers who had to develop means outside of literacy to cultivate a sense of community.⁴² Before literacy and newspapers gained a foothold in Lithuanian-American communities, these immigrants used Lithuanian-owned taverns and saloons to create their nation abroad. These spaces were used to meet and discuss building churches along with any other pressing concerns the community had, serving as make-shift town halls and giving a sense of camaraderie away from their homelands, showing the beginnings of national community building.⁴³ This community building eventually led to the production of newspapers and publications, with Lithuanian-Americans producing one-seventh of all Lithuanian language books published between 1547 and 1904.⁴⁴ With the advent of popular newspaper publications such as *Lietuva* came a new way to funnel community pressure to other Lithuanian immigrants.⁴⁵ These early newspapers published ads and articles emphasizing the importance of maintaining a connection to the homeland through writing letters, often offering letter-writing services for a fee.⁴⁶

This insistence on maintaining a connection to the homeland extended beyond simply staying in contact with distant relatives in Lithuania; it also pressured immigrants to donate what little money they had to various causes in Lithuania. Alfred Senn and Alfonsas Eidintas's research details several accounts of Lithuanians arriving in the United States to collect donations for Lithuanian churches and schools. While fundraising missionaries were more than happy to collect the handsome donations the Lithuanian-Americans gave, they were also critical of the

⁴² Balys, "The American Lithuanian Press," http://www.lituanus.org/1976/76_1_02.htm ; Daiva Markelis, "'Every Person Like a Letter': The Importance of Correspondence in Lithuanian Immigrant Life," in *Letters across Borders*, eds. David A. Gerber, S. Sinke, and Bruce Elliot (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 110.

⁴³ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 9.

⁴⁴ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 7.

⁴⁵ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 9.

⁴⁶ Markelis, "'Every Person Like a Letter,'" 116.

Lithuanian-American way of life.⁴⁷ Their criticisms ranged from a distaste for the usage of taverns and saloons as meeting spaces to the new vocabulary invented by the immigrants.⁴⁸ Further, those fundraising insisted that the immigrants owed Lithuania this money, claiming that they had left a vacuum that was being exploited by the tsars who were settling more Russians in Lithuania.⁴⁹ All of these criticisms accumulated to a rebuke of immigration and a belief that the Lithuanian-Americans were no longer Lithuanians, a pattern that seems to repeat itself during and after the Second World War.⁵⁰

With the new immigrant population beginning to gain literacy in the late 1800s and early 1900s, newspapers were able to mobilize the community in a variety of ways. Mobilization involved creating sensationalized news articles to stress the need for an independent Lithuanian state, such as the article published by *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* in the wake of the Kražiai Massacre, which began as a protest opposing the Russian Empire's suppression of Roman Catholicism. *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* published an article inflating the number of protestors killed in the massacre from nine to 160, sparking outrage among Lithuanian-Americans who saw Roman Catholicism as an important marker of being Lithuanian.⁵¹ Such articles prompted homeland nationalism among immigrants and led to Lithuanian-Americans partaking in subversive actions against the

⁴⁷ Between 1911-1913, researchers cite a total of \$38,500 being collected from Lithuanian-Americans who were considered to be impoverished and living lower-quality lives than those in the homeland ; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 12, 14.

⁴⁸ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 6, 14.

⁴⁹ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 7, 12.

⁵⁰ As Čiubrinskas states in his research, the DP wave of immigrants would later come to rebuke Lithuanian-Americans as not being Lithuanian enough. This remark is again seen among the Ukrainian DP population rebuking Ukrainian-Americans similarly ; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 13-4, 16 ; Vytis Čiubrinskas, "Transnational Identity and Heritage: Lithuania Imagined, Constructed and Contested," *Communicating Cultures* 1 (2004): 60.

⁵¹ Ethnic newspapers at the time set out with the intention to shape the world's opinion of Lithuania, much like they did during World War II ; William Wolkovich-Valkavičius, "Endurance of Homeland Support by Lithuanians in the United States," *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 44, no. 4 (1998): http://www.lituanus.org/1998/98_4_03.htm ; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 9.

Russian Empire, such as creating a Lithuanian exhibit for the 1900 World's Fair in Paris.⁵² Outside of this event, Lithuanian-American newspapers were used to foster nationalism in homeland Lithuanians, being smuggled into Lithuania by those traveling back-and-forth due to the tsarist regime's ban on the Lithuanian language.⁵³ Being the sole force for nationalism in newspapers before the ban was lifted in 1904, Lithuanian-Americans played a key role in establishing Lithuanian independence from abroad after the First World War and renewed their efforts during the Second.⁵⁴

By the beginning of the Second World War, Lithuanian-Americans had several ethnic newspapers to choose from. For a paper with a nationalistic focus, Lithuanian-Americans could readily rely on *Dirva*, which will be the central focus of this paper. *Dirva* is described as having been the most sympathetic paper in circulation toward the plight of former President Antanas Smetona, who had been forced to flee Lithuania after the Soviet occupation in 1940, and the most active advocate for Lithuanian independence.⁵⁵ Despite promoting Lithuanian nationalism, *Dirva*'s editors took care to remain cautious in the tone of their articles during the war. Much of the focus of the paper appears to have been on swaying non-Lithuanians into supporting Lithuanian independence and providing explanations for Lithuanian history, the importance of Lithuanian statehood, and the achievements of lobbying efforts.⁵⁶ While editors remained wary of writing too much support for the nationalist movement abroad during the war, this support

⁵² Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 10-1.

⁵³ A. Craig Wight & J. John Lennon, "Selective Interpretation and Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania," *Tourism Management* 28, no. 2 (2007): 524; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 7.

⁵⁴ Even after the ban was repealed, censors still prevented Lithuanian publishers from writing about nationalism, causing Lithuanians to prompt Lithuanian-Americans to publish such materials ; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 11.

⁵⁵ Drunga, "Personal Reflections," http://www.lituanus.org/2009/09_4_02%20Drunga.html.

⁵⁶ Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

was still present in cultural fundraising events and speeches given at conventions.⁵⁷ Further, when the war ended without reestablishing Lithuania's independence, *Dirva* took a more fervent approach to advocating for the nationalists without the prompting of the DP wave.⁵⁸

Just as it was up to Lithuanian-Americans to establish the nation abroad at the turn of the 19th century, responsibility was once again given to them in the face of what seemed to be the Soviet annihilation of Lithuania. Newspapers set to work against the newest threat to their nation's culture, history, and language by running repetitive articles on the topics, stressing the importance of maintaining their national heritage.⁵⁹ A part of the reasoning behind running such repetitive articles was to clear up misconceptions the public held about the right to statehood Lithuania and the other Baltic states had, believing that they were created from the Treaty of Versailles and were something akin to rogue Russian states. The editors of *Dirva* established Lithuania's history as being distinct from that of the Slavs or the Germans, even going so far as

⁵⁷ Šarunas, "Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Dec. 15, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-12-15/ed-1/seq-8/>; Anthony A. Olis, "Lithuania's Right to Independence," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 30, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-03-30/ed-1/seq-8/>; Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 3, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-03-03/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁵⁸ "Concert for Old and Young," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 23, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-05-23/ed-1/seq-6/>; "Letter from Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation: To Paris Peace Conference Delegation," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jan. 10, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-01-10/ed-1/seq-8/>; Arthur W. Coolidge, "Behind Lithuania's Iron Curtain," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Oct. 15, 1948, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1948-10-15/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁵⁹ Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 3, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-03-03/ed-1/seq-8/>; "Lithuania and International Organization," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 8, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-06-08/ed-1/seq-6/>; "Displaced Lithuanians Appeal to the World," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 14, 1948, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1948-05-14/ed-1/seq-8/>.

to say that the other Baltic states felt German influence more strongly than Lithuania had.

Addressing more recent history, the editors pointed to Poland laying claim to Vilnius in 1920, an act that was condemned by the League of Nations, further establishing Lithuania's borders and legitimacy as a country.⁶⁰ By highlighting the Lithuanian language's roots in ancient Sanskrit, *Dirva* further differentiated Lithuania from its neighbors to better dispel misunderstandings surrounding Lithuania's status as an independent nation-state.⁶¹

Fears of the cultural destruction of Lithuania ran rampant within the diaspora, who took up the mantle to retain and restore their nation from abroad. This meant participating in a variety of cultural events and raising awareness to the plight of Lithuanians by making connections with other immigrant groups as well as more rooted American families. Tasks involving advocacy for culture often involved women, a fact which is reflected by their prominence in writing on such topics in *Dirva*. Women's involvement in supporting "Lithuania's cause" in the United States extended to various roles such as writing articles for the ethnic newspaper, participating in cultural events to raise funds for those in Lithuania, and joining organizations to promote the diaspora community. One writer for *Dirva*, Frances Mary Siedlik, lamented the fact that Lithuania was being incorporated into the Soviet Union by force, claiming that the arts were being discouraged. Siedlik advocated further awareness on the issue, believing that if other

⁶⁰ J. Kajeckas, "Some Common Misconceptions about the Baltic States," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 17, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-05-17/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁶¹ "Governor Bricker Proclaimed February 16 Lithuanian Day," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 18, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/>; J. Kajeckas, "Some Common Misconceptions about the Baltic States," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 17, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-05-17/ed-1/seq-8/>.

nations knew of the harm being done then Lithuania's independence would be restored.⁶² Helen V. Sinclair shared this sentiment and reported on the cultural advocacy promoted by Mrs. Conrad Ronning, who attended the Baltic-Scandinavian Society's Christmas Social in traditional Lithuanian attire and was invited to appear on Fred Drake's radio show to discuss Lithuanian customs.⁶³

The cultural front was not one of disengagement with the political sphere. Instead, culture was actively used to further "Lithuania's cause," as it was often called. Fundraising events in which American-born and Lithuanian-born women musicians performed were held after the war and the editors of *Dirva* pressured readers to attend such events.⁶⁴ Lithuanian-Americans also made use of the written arts when trying to reach out to both Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians. One method used by Frances Mary Siedlik was to write poetry like "Lithuania Speaks," in which she describes the strong Lithuanian spirit awaiting freedom. This piece was published in 1946, after it became evident that Lithuania was to be a Soviet state, and helps to mark a clear shift between *Dirva*'s caution during the war and its louder lobbying in the post-war period.⁶⁵

One of the primary goals of *Dirva* was to establish an active diasporic front in the fight to regain Lithuania's independence. This front was to appeal to the masses of Americans who had never heard of Lithuania before and whose help was needed in lobbying efforts to pressure

⁶² Frances Mary Siedlik, "Lithuania Today," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jul. 19, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-07-19/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁶³ Helen V. Sinclair, "Baltic-Scandinavian Society," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jan. 10, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-01-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁶⁴ "Concert for Old and Young," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 23, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-05-23/ed-1/seq-6/>.

⁶⁵ Frances M. Siedlik, "Lithuania Speaks," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 15, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-03-15/ed-1/seq-8/>.

politicians into demanding the USSR respect the Atlantic Charter, a statement that became the rallying cry of Lithuanian-Americans throughout the 1940s and early 1950s. The editors of *Dirva* employed several main arguments in their articles, including appeals to American values by discussing the threat of the USSR expanding even farther, the Atlantic Charter, the principles of self-determination developed after World War I, and expressing Lithuania's desire for democracy.⁶⁶ Oftentimes, the first three points became blended in articles published in *Dirva* given their interrelated nature, with the Atlantic Charter establishing fallen states' rights to reemerge if their people desired it and self-determination allowing nations to draw their own boundaries based on where their people lived. Throughout the war, *Dirva* repeatedly emphasized the threat of further Soviet encroachments and violations of the Atlantic Charter, focusing on the hazard this posed to the independence of American allies and the United States itself.⁶⁷ Writers consistently asked their audiences where this encroachment would end, pointing out that Lithuania's government had been friendly toward the Soviet Union and was still dissolved with the Soviets using the excuse that it was not. The editors suggested that this argument was soon to be used against the governments of the West if they continued to allow land concessions.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>; K. S. Karpus, "The Work of Comintern Agents Taken Up by Some of America's Outstanding Columnists," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Oct. 22, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-10-22/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁶⁷ P. J. Zuris, "In Fairness to Lithuania and Other Baltic States," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 14, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-05-14/ed-1/seq-6/>; Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jan. 29, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-01-29/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁶⁸ "The League for the Liberation of Lithuania," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 28, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-28/ed-1/seq-8/>.

Even still, editors strayed away from full-fledged, blatant support for the Lithuanian nationalists and kept reports on them fairly vague. Though the nationalists were decidedly anti-Soviet, ethnic Lithuanian newspapers presented them in a balanced fashion to better position the group for gaining American allies. Instead of highlighting their anti-Soviet nature, Lithuanian-Americans argued that wanting Lithuanian independence did not inherently make them anti-Soviet, pointing to several treaties signed between independent Lithuania and the USSR.⁶⁹ These treaties included the Lithuanian-Soviet Peace Treaty of 1920, in which the USSR renounced all rights to claim Lithuania, as well as a 1926 non-aggression treaty and the Treaty of Mutual Assistance in 1939, with the former of the pair still being in effect until December 31, 1945.⁷⁰

Despite not focusing heavily on the narrative of democracy, the editors of *Dirva* made sure to stress the importance of democracy to Lithuanians and Lithuanian-Americans alike.⁷¹ *Dirva* referenced letters that Lithuanian-Americans had been receiving from their families still within Lithuania who insisted they wanted democracy and were not being given it.⁷² This point

⁶⁹ "Letter to the Governor," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 18, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷⁰ "Soviet Annexationist Policy of 1940 Repeated in '44," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 29, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-09-29/ed-1/seq-8/>. ; P. Zadeikis, "Moscow Treaty is Favored," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/> ; "Governor Bricker Proclaimed February 16 Lithuanian Day," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 18, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷¹ The editors of *Dirva* may not have been keen on mentioning Lithuania's pre-war democracy due to it coming to an abrupt end before the start of World War II to prevent the possibility of Bolshevik infiltration in the government ; "The League for the Liberation of Lithuania," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 28, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-28/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷² Anthony A. Olis, "Lithuania's Right to Independence," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 30, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-03-30/ed-1/seq-8/> ; "Memorandum on Some Aspects of a World Security Organization," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 18, 1945, *Chronicling America:*

may have come under fire as *Dirva* published several articles describing how Soviet elections were rigged. One article discussed how an election official announced the results of the July 1941 election a full 24-hours before the polls were supposed to close.⁷³ Another article pointed out that Lithuanians were being forced to partake in the elections in order to receive a meal ticket, using this as further evidence that the elections were neither free nor fair.⁷⁴ Scholarly sources, too, have noted the rigged nature of these elections, with Daniel J. Kaszeta saying that Lithuanians were so disempowered by them that they wrote in the names of cartoon characters on their ballots.⁷⁵

Despite their caution when referring to the crimes of the Soviet regime, the editors of *Dirva* cannot be described as being friendly toward the Soviets. Rather than the bombastic accounts given in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, the articles that ran in *Dirva* maintained a cooler tone in which the editors proposed compromises such as lending the Soviets ports in exchange for recognition of independence.⁷⁶ These cautious compromises were a staple of *Dirva* articles during the war when there still existed some hope of a redrawn Europe in the post-war period. Once it became apparent this was not to be the case, the editors of *Dirva* began suggesting far more drastic measures be taken to force the Soviet Union into returning to its pre-war borders.

Historic American Newspapers, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-05-18/ed-1/seq-6/>.

⁷³ "The League for the Liberation of Lithuania," *Dirva = Field*, [volume] (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 28, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-28/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷⁴ P. J. Zuris, "Wants Baltic States Admitted to United Nations," *Dirva = Field*, [volume] (Cleveland, Ohio), Apr. 16, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-04-16/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷⁵ Daniel J. Kaszeta, "Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952," *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88_3_01.htm.

⁷⁶ Milton Stark, "Lithuania's Fight for Freedom," *Dirva = Field*, [volume] (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 10, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-03-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

One such suggestion proposed by Anthony Olis was to leverage the atomic bomb against the USSR to secure its return to pre-war borders, arguing that the U.S. was powerful enough not to need to submit itself to the demands of a totalitarian country it did not need for protection.⁷⁷

A quote that best illustrates this departure from subtly supporting the Lithuanian nationalists to pledging full-fledged support for them comes from an article in which two Roman Catholic priests from the United States claimed that the Soviets were nailing priests to crosses and that only the activities of the nationalists were protecting them. According to the paper, “despite the dangers and hardships, Lithuanian peasants and partisans are still fighting for Lithuania’s liberty...”⁷⁸ This article came amidst others that bolstered such claims of the nationalists having religious ties, with one article claiming that many priests had joined the Forest Brothers after the Nazis attempted to force them into the army, making the guerrillas more sympathetic figures in the eyes of the Lithuanian-American public.⁷⁹ Other writers supplemented such accounts by adding their own feelings toward the nationalists, with Frances Mary Siedlik hailing them as “patriotic fighters” fighting for the freedom of their “motherland.”⁸⁰ At a conference for the 28th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, one speaker argued that the UN ought to go to Lithuania to assist the 60,000 guerrilla fighters there if they were also going to Indonesia to help Indonesians establish self-determination. This led to the speaker advocating for

⁷⁷ Anthony A. Olis, “Small Nations and the Atomic Bomb,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Dec. 7, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-12-07/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷⁸ Stanley Pieza, “Witnesses Reveal Terror in Lithuania,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jul. 19, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-07-19/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁷⁹ Šarunas, “The Periscope,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸⁰ Frances Mary Siedlik, “Lithuania Today,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jul. 19, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-07-19/ed-1/seq-8/>.

building a free Lithuania which, as he likely knew, was already in-progress among the diaspora community in the United States.⁸¹

Organizations documented by *Dirva* felt the need to stress that their interests lay with both the homeland and with the United States. The League for the Liberation of Lithuania was formed in Michigan in 1941 as a reaction to Lithuania's lost independence and members of the League quickly set to work lobbying politicians. This organization, like others, felt they were responsible for explaining to non-Lithuanian Americans that Lithuanian-American loyalties belonged to Lithuania and the United States. One article claims that the League was fighting for the United States and Lithuania against the Nazis and the Communists. This article continued on to appeal to the American value of democracy by claiming they did not want American soldiers to die in vain when they were fighting for democracy in the war, ensuring that Americans knew Lithuanian-Americans had their best interests in mind when advocating for the United States to tout the Atlantic Charter in meetings with Soviet officials.⁸² The editors of *Dirva* littered their articles with warnings for the United States about the imperialistic aims of the Soviet Union. Much like their Ukrainian-American nationalistic counterparts, *Dirva* emphasized the peril Americans were putting themselves in if they did not put a stop to the expansion of the USSR. These claims went on to contend that World War III would shortly follow if pre-war borders, self-determination, and the Atlantic Charter went ignored.⁸³

⁸¹ "Feighan Condemns Soviets Action and Aggression in Lithuania," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 22, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-02-22/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸² "The League for the Liberation of Lithuania," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 21, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-21/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸³ "Memorandum on Some Aspects of a World Security Organization," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 18, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-05-18/ed-1/seq-6/>; "The League for the Liberation of

Members of the Lithuanian diaspora in the United States were quick to petition their state and federal representatives to take action to preserve their homeland, with the editors of *Dirva* documenting the results of successful lobbying efforts.⁸⁴ In 1947, the paper featured an address given by Senator Charles Wayland Brooks of Illinois in which he highlighted the difference in treatment between Poland and Lithuania, arguing that Lithuania, too, deserved recognition for its mistreatment during the war. The senator then proceeded to assert that the United States was pursuing a foreign policy of appeasement with the Soviets by allowing them to violate treaties they had held with Lithuania and stated that Lithuanian-Americans believed in the UN and the Atlantic Charter, validating claims being made by the Lithuanian diaspora community.⁸⁵ As a result of successful lobbying, in 1945, a Congressional Resolution to make a statement regarding the status of Lithuania was introduced by Senator Raymond E. Willis of Indiana and Representative Edward Kelly of Illinois, though this died due to opposition by the State Department. This did not deter Senator Charles W. Brooks of Illinois and Representative Richard Vail of Illinois from taking further action on behalf of their Lithuanian-American constituents, introducing a new resolution for President Truman to create a national “Lithuania Day” in 1947. While this resolution ultimately failed, successful Lithuanian-American lobbying achieved

Lithuania,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 28, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-28/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸⁴ Arthur W. Coolidge, “Behind Lithuania’s Iron Curtain,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Oct. 15, 1948, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1948-10-15/ed-1/seq-8/>; Richard B. Walsh, “Republican Senator and Representatives Mark Feb. 16 as Lithuania’s Independence Day,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 12, 1948, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1948-03-12/ed-1/seq-8/>; Henry Lodge, “Senator Lodge Makes Strong Appeal for Lithuania’s Freedom,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Mar. 12, 1948, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1948-03-12/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸⁵ “Sen. Brooks Defends Lithuania’s Cause in His Address to the Senate,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 21, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-02-21/ed-1/seq-8/>.

February 16 being recognized as “Lithuania Day” in several states, including Ohio, Maryland, Illinois, New York, Connecticut, and Michigan.⁸⁶

During the war, nationalistic newspapers such as *Dirva* received increased scrutiny from a variety of reporters for embracing the nationalist movement abroad and supporting political figures like Antanas Smetona taking refuge in the United States. One such criticism came from reporter Drew Pearson, a columnist who was called a “liar” by Franklin D. Roosevelt for making earlier claims that Secretary Cordell Hull wanted the Russians “bled white.”⁸⁷ According to Pearson, Smetona had allowed the Nazis to use Lithuania as a jumping point to attack the Soviets in 1941 before fleeing to Berlin to “play ball” with the Nazis while securing a passport from Secretary Hull. Kazys S. Karpus, editor for *Dirva*, proceeded to deconstruct these claims by stating that Smetona fled to a German border town in June of 1940 where he was later arrested by the Nazis and told to leave Germany, frustrating Stalin who wanted to exile Smetona as he had done to the two heads-of-state of Latvia and Estonia.⁸⁸ Karpus ended his article by saying that reporters like Pearson were “fifth-columnists” being used by the Comintern to regurgitate

⁸⁶ “Letter to the Governor,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 18, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/>; “State of Michigan: Executive Office Lansing Proclamation,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 25, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-25/ed-1/seq-4/>; “Statement by Governor Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Feb. 25, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-02-25/ed-1/seq-4/>.

⁸⁷ Šarunas, “The Periscope,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁸⁸ Misiunas & Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 19, 22; K.S. Karpus, “The Work of Comintern Agents Taken Up by Some of America’s Outstanding Columnists,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Oct. 22, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-10-22/ed-1/seq-8/>.

Soviet lies, that the USSR's expansion was likely to reach U.S. borders, and that Americans saved Russia through their sacrifices.⁸⁹

While Pearson is an example of a particularly inflammatory reporter whose articles drew outcry from the Lithuanian-American community, calls for appeasement with the Soviet Union also prompted responses from *Dirva*. As the war in Europe ended, more arguments for navigating peace and allowing the USSR significant concessions came from politicians and reporters alike. Mike Sullivan, writer for the *New York Herald Tribune*, and British ambassador to the U.S., Lord Halifax, advocated for using caution when discussing the status of the Baltic states since the USSR seemed intent on keeping them. Šarunas, a writer for *Dirva*, pushed back against this advice by stating that the Soviet regime had taken the place of the tsarist one and was using the same imperialistic policies they had enacted. Šarunas continued his argument against appeasement by pointing out that Lithuanians wanted a free democracy rather than Soviet rule, providing evidence for this by mentioning the Lithuanian guerrilla resistance in the forests that had allegedly fought off the Nazis. He concluded his article with an appeal to his Lithuanian-American audience, informing them that the best way to help Lithuania regain independence was by proving the righteousness of the Lithuanian independence movement.⁹⁰

Even after the war ended, arguments between Communist organizations and nationalist organizations continued, leading to *Dirva* continuously breaking down and rebuking the claims

⁸⁹ Even in the title of this article, one can see the caution *Dirva* used when approaching the topic of Lithuania's independence and the war ; K.S. Karpus, "The Work of Comintern Agents Taken Up by Some of America's Outstanding Columnists," *Dirva = Field*, [volume] (Cleveland, Ohio), Oct. 22, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-10-22/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁹⁰ Šarunas, "The Periscope," *Dirva = Field*, [volume] (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

being made by their opponents. In one article, the editors of *Dirva* even attempted to explain the issue of Lithuania's interwar independence and the USSR's border expansion by comparing the U.S. and Canada. They explained that the argument of the USSR needing Lithuania for access to the Baltic Sea was the same as if Canada demanded New York City for its harbor, helping the average American to better visualize their outrage over the loss of their nation for port access.⁹¹ Another common argument used by *Dirva*'s opponents was that Lithuania had been a part of the Russian Empire and had only broken off at the end of World War I. While *Dirva* frequently addressed this particular point by discussing Lithuania's medieval history, some articles also made use of several treaties signed between the USSR and Lithuania in which the USSR agreed to relinquish its claims to Lithuania.⁹² A third argument employed by opposing media was that the Lithuanian government was fascist due to its movement away from democracy in 1926, which *Dirva* claimed was an act of self-defense against Bolsheviks infiltrating the *Seimas*, Lithuania's parliament.⁹³

The Lithuanian-American community recognized theirs was not the only nation to have its independence undone throughout the course of the Second World War. Acknowledging the

⁹¹ One organization *Dirva* took issue with was the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which published a pamphlet called "A Family of Nations." This pamphlet claimed that the Baltic states had fallen into poverty during the interwar period and sought to re-join the Soviet Union but had been interrupted by the German invasion ; "Another Soviet Misrepresentation," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jan. 5, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-01-05/ed-1/seq-8/> ; "The League for the Liberation of Lithuania," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 28, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-06-28/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁹² P. J. Zuris, "Wants Baltic States Admitted to United Nations," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Apr. 16, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-04-16/ed-1/seq-8/> ; P. Zadeikis, "Moscow Treaty is Favored," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁹³ P. J. Zuris, "In Fairness to Lithuania and Other Baltic States," *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 14, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-05-14/ed-1/seq-6/>.

plight of other neighboring Eastern and Central European countries, Lithuanian ethnic newspapers began building a broad coalition of “Axis-enslaved nations” that later fell to “Russian enslavement.”⁹⁴ Dramatic word choice such as “enslavement” and “extinction” were peppered throughout *Dirva*’s articles, though these became a more noticeable feature after the end of the war when it became clear that the United States was not going to commit itself to a direct confrontation with the USSR over its recently expanded borders. Sentiments that were cautiously stepped around during the war now became readily discussed by the editors as they wrote of Lithuania’s history, calling the “extinction” of Lithuania a major crime of the 18th century now being repeated in the 20th. These writers went on to say that from 1920-1, the Bolsheviks attempted to “enslave” Lithuania and that Lithuania had fiercely defended its independence just as it had at the beginning of the Second World War.⁹⁵ Notably, these claims of extinction failed to mention the decimation of the Lithuanian Jewish population in the Holocaust despite Lithuania having one of the highest victim rates in Europe.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ P. J. Zuris, “In Fairness to Lithuania and Other Baltic States,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 14, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-05-14/ed-1/seq-6/> ; P. J. Zuris, “Wants Baltic States Admitted to United Nations,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Apr. 16, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-04-16/ed-1/seq-8/> ; Helen V. Sinclair, “Baltic-Scandinavian Society,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jan. 10, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-01-10/ed-1/seq-8/> ; P. Zadeikis, “Moscow Treaty is Favored,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Sept. 10, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1943-09-10/ed-1/seq-8/> ; “Zadeikis Charges “Liberation” by Russia Brings Return of 1940 Persecutions,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Nov. 17, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1944-11-17/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁹⁵ “Lithuania and International Organization,” *Dirva = Field. [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jun. 8, 1945, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1945-06-08/ed-1/seq-6/>.

⁹⁶ 90% of Lithuania’s Jewish population was murdered in World War II ; The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Lithuania,” <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/lithuania> (accessed May 5, 2021).

Ukraine: The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Unlike Lithuania, the close of World War I did not bring with it Ukrainian independence. While there was an attempt to establish an independent Ukraine following the end of the First World War, this was short-lived.⁹⁷ Instead, most of Ukraine's lands were under either Polish or Soviet rule, splitting the Ukrainian population into two different realities of subjugation. For western Ukraine, violent crackdowns by the Polish government against the Ukrainian language and traditional Ukrainian religions led to organized terrorist acts such as the assassinations of several Polish officials.⁹⁸ For eastern Ukraine, resistance to forced collectivization resulted in the Stalinist regime allowing a famine from 1932-3.⁹⁹ Living under such violence gave rise to several Ukrainian nationalist groups, though the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) became the most prominent and well-known.¹⁰⁰ The beginning of World War II launched Ukraine into bloody turmoil, with the OUN Banderite faction (OUN-B) taking the opportunity to declare an independent Ukraine on June 30, 1941, believing the Nazis to be their allies until leading members of the OUN were arrested and Ukraine was declared a colony of Germany.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ "How the Germans Dispersed the Central Rada," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 13, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-15.pdf ; "Traditional Ukrainian Democracy," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-38.pdf.

⁹⁸ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 8 ; Maria Savchyn Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads: A Memoir of a Young Woman's Life in the Ukrainian Underground During and After World War II*, trans. Ania Savage (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Company & Inc., Publishers, 2001), 1, 10 ; John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism* (Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990), 5, 37.

⁹⁹ This event has been named by some as the "Holodomor" ; David Shearer, "Stalin at War, 1918-1953: Patterns of Violence and Foreign Threat," *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 66, H. 2 (2018): 196, 198.

¹⁰⁰ The Het-man group was another nationalist organization operating at the time, but did not receive the widespread support enjoyed by the OUN ; Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 18-9.

¹⁰¹ Jared McBride, "Who's Afraid of Ukrainian Nationalism?" *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 17, no. 3 (2016): 650 ; Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 20 ; Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads*, 17 ; Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 19.

Forced to operate underground, the OUN-B continued their fight for Ukraine's independence by infiltrating Ukrainian auxiliary police units to gain valuable training and weapons that they then smuggled into the forests when they deserted the police to join the OUN-B.¹⁰² In 1943, the OUN-B created a new, more openly violent branch called the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This branch went on to massacre ethnic Poles and Jews living in western Ukraine throughout 1943-4, acting under the logic of better positioning themselves to carve out Ukraine's boundaries through the principle of national self-determination.¹⁰³ Realizing that news of such an event would be to the movement's detriment, the OUN later attempted to hide their massacres of minorities, even going so far as to doctor documents and fabricate Jewish OUN members to paint themselves in a better light in the eyes of the West.¹⁰⁴

With the return of the Soviets in 1944, the Ukrainian nationalist movement became far more feminized than OUN leaders had wanted. Women had been members of the Ukrainian nationalist movement from its beginnings, though they have not received the same level of attention from scholars or the public as their male counterparts.¹⁰⁵ In Ukraine, women acted in key positions that were essential to the functioning of the nationalist movement, taking on roles as messengers, laundresses, nurses, propagandists, and educators.¹⁰⁶ While the bulk of the OUN's female membership appears to have been in the form of local support, enough women

¹⁰² Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 20.

¹⁰³ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 288.

¹⁰⁴ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 22 ; Himka, "Interventions," 214 ; Kuzio, "U.S. Support," 2 ; Rudling, "Terror Remembered," 409-10.

¹⁰⁵ Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads*, 1, 11-2.

¹⁰⁶ Kis, "National Femininity," 62-4.

joined the official ranks of the OUN that they were able to form a Women's Network and create entire units solely comprised of women.¹⁰⁷

The Soviets' return in 1944 brought about new restrictions on the movement of men in Ukraine. At risk of the nationalist movement collapsing under these new regulations, OUN leadership was forced to recruit more women due to the fact that women were perceived as less threatening by Soviet officials and could therefore move much more freely about the countryside.¹⁰⁸ Alongside more female membership in the OUN came new methods for delivering packages from one unit to another as women began hiding notes in their braids.¹⁰⁹ This shaped the OUN in a distinctly feminine way, a fact often ignored given that men are credited by participants and the public alike as being the main fighters in the movement. Despite their importance, OUN leadership sought to shut women out of leading roles and broader memory, instructing them that their primary duty was to act as mothers rather than leaders.¹¹⁰ Even with male leadership trying to prevent the influence of women on the movement, women's roles significantly contributed to the movement's survival in the 1940s and 1950s and beyond.

Even before the end of the Second World War, Ukrainian immigration to the United States was predominately comprised of those from the westernmost regions of Ukraine, such as Galicia and Volhynia, which were strongholds for the Ukrainian nationalist movement during the war.¹¹¹ Despite coming from the same area, the older wave of immigrants from the 1800s

¹⁰⁷ Kis, "National Femininity," 60 ; Michal Smigel, "Propaganda Raids of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) in 1945-1946: Structure and Forms of Czechoslovak Resistance," *Slovak Republic Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts* 4, no. 1 (2017): 27.

¹⁰⁸ Kis, "National Femininity," 58-9.

¹⁰⁹ Kis, "National Femininity," 65 ; Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads*, 114.

¹¹⁰ Kis, "National Femininity," 55.

¹¹¹ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 20-1 ; "New Ukrainian Church to Open Next Spring: Completed Edifice to Follow Design of St. Sophia's in Constantinople," *Detroit Evening Times*, (Detroit, Mich), Aug. 23,

primarily found their roots in farming and were more politically left wing than the wave of refugees from World War II.¹¹² As the war in Europe closed, many displaced western Ukrainians sought refuge in the West, with approximately 80,000-100,000 emigrating to the United States throughout the late 1940s and 1950s.¹¹³ These new immigrants arrived in the communities of older waves of Ukrainian immigrants and brought with them news of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, placing DPs in a unique position of power in shaping discourse on the nationalist fighters. Using this power to their advantage, the DP wave of immigrants hid the OUN's involvement in massacres and terror, instead portraying them as tragic heroes who needed the diaspora's help.¹¹⁴

This essay does not argue that the DP wave had no effect on the previous waves of Ukrainian-Americans. In fact, the DPs made a substantial impact on the Ukrainian community already living within the United States, both by explaining who the unknown guerrilla fighters in Ukraine were by depicting them as heroic figures and through their complaints that the older waves of immigrants were no longer Ukrainian enough. While the editors of *The Ukrainian Weekly* bristled at these complaints at first, saying that the new DPs would eventually assimilate and understand that the older waves had a different way of life in the United States, they were quick to concede to the DPs' outrage over the newspaper being published largely in English.¹¹⁵ By the end of 1947, the editors added an extra page to their paper that was entirely in the

1941, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1941-08-23/ed-1/seq-8/>.

¹¹² This left-wing trend is notable among the older wave of Lithuanian immigrants as well, with both groups experiencing small clashes with newer immigrants because of this difference ; Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 21.

¹¹³ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 20.

¹¹⁴ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 21-2.

¹¹⁵ "The New Arrivals," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jun. 30, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-25.pdf.

Ukrainian language, though this additional page was eliminated from the paper in March of 1953 without explanation.

Most researchers in the field argue that the DP wave is primarily responsible for modern memory amnesia after they skewed the truth on the nationalist movement in their conversations with established immigrants.¹¹⁶ While the DP wave did contribute to the narrative of tragic heroism, Ukrainian nation-building abroad had begun before their arrival in the United States as evidenced by ethnic newspapers circulating at the time. Though this paper does not analyze when nation-building began for Ukrainian immigrants due to a lack of sources, it shows the immediate reactionary responses from the Ukrainian community as World War II engulfed Ukraine in conflict. Even before the arrival of the DP wave, Ukrainian-Americans had created *The Ukrainian Weekly* based in Jersey City in 1933 to help foster a cohesive Ukrainian-American space for youths. This newspaper acted as more than just a youth-led newspaper as its editors began piecing together Ukrainian history, culture, language, and politics, lobbying politicians to petition for a free and independent Ukraine. The articles run by *The Weekly* showed Ukrainian-Americans ardently defending the nationalist fighters without having much knowledge of them, resulting in some youths leaving the United States to join their ranks.¹¹⁷

In discussing the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the United States, this paper primarily analyzes *The Ukrainian Weekly*, a nationalistic weekly newspaper that has been described as being the most widely read periodical among the diaspora population.¹¹⁸ *The Weekly* set out with several tasks in mind, such as providing news on Ukrainian-Americans, fostering a

¹¹⁶ Rudling, "Terror Remembered," 410 ; Rossoliński-Liebe, "Holocaust Amnesia," 141.

¹¹⁷ "Philly Ukrainian Girl Saved from Red Execution," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 17, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-20.pdf.

¹¹⁸ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 29.

sense of loyalty to both the United States and Ukraine, and arguing for the independence of Ukraine.¹¹⁹ Throughout World War II, *The Weekly* documented events like the Nazi betrayal of Carpatho-Ukraine, the formation of the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee, and how Ukrainians in Ukraine were handling the war.¹²⁰ Despite editor Stephen Shumeyko believing nationalism was crucial to the survival of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, he allowed dissenting articles to be published in *The Weekly*. From the dissenting articles published, it is clear that not everyone was accepting of the Ukrainian nationalists operating abroad and that some held reservations about embracing the nationalists as heroes.¹²¹ As the war ended and the DP wave arrived, a notable shift in tone and subject matter can be detected in the papers, with the DP wave pushing for more celebration of Ukrainian nationalism and use of the Ukrainian language.¹²² However, the seeds for such a shift had already been planted through efforts of various writers and translators to fully document the tragic heroism of Ukrainian history.¹²³

¹¹⁹ "Reds Hunt Down Nationalists," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 3, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-05.pdf ; "Measures Worth Adopting," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 9, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-19.pdf ; "Canadian and American Ukrainians," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 20, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-16.pdf.

¹²⁰ H. Hessel Tiltman, "Hitler's First Major Blunder," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 25, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-17.pdf ; "Many Endorse All-Ukrainian Congress," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 13, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-02.pdf ; "Misery in Western Ukraine Under Red Rule," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 27, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-04.pdf.

¹²¹ "Varied Program Features New England Rally," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-09.pdf ; Marie S. Gambal, "Natives and Newcomers," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-39.pdf.

¹²² "Unidentified Planes Aid UPA," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-39.pdf ; G.H., "The Eagle," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-39.pdf ; "Krutyy" – Ukrainian Thermopylae," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 2, 1948, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1948/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1948-05.pdf.

¹²³ "A British View of Ukrainians," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 9, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-18.pdf ; "Ukrainian Movement in Galicia,"

With the perceived threat of Soviet extermination of Ukrainian history and culture in Europe, *The Weekly* began its mission to establish a case for Ukrainian independence in the hope that World War II might conclude with new nation-states. *The Ukrainian Weekly* churned out articles on the history of Ukraine, stretching from its Cossack past to Ukraine's repeated short-lived independences.¹²⁴ These short-lived independences were points of bitter remembrances, with the editors of *The Ukrainian Weekly* making their position clear that they blamed the Allied Powers for the failure of the nascent Ukrainian state that formed after World War I. Over several articles, they cited the "Cordon Sanitaire," a blockade of the Bolsheviks supported by the Allies, and the Allies' short-sightedness in believing this would halt the Bolshevik advance as reasons for the loss of Ukraine.¹²⁵ As a repetition of history, Ukrainian-Americans bore witness to the rise and fall of Carpatho-Ukraine, and the subsequent tragic narrative of the Ukrainian nationalists that came with it.¹²⁶ With the failure of Carpatho-Ukraine came new Ukrainian immigrants hoping to share their stories with Ukrainian-Americans. For one mother, Kalyna Lisiuk, this meant directing her own film called "The Tragedy of Carpatho-Ukraine" (1940), which told the tale of the tragic Ukrainian nationalists who had been betrayed by the Nazis and was later screened in New York City.¹²⁷

The Ukrainian Weekly, May 9, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-18.pdf; "The Story of Hetman Ivan Mazepa," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 9, 1946, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1946/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1946-06.pdf.

¹²⁴ "Geographical Influences on Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 16, 1943, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1943/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1943-03.pdf; "A Memorable Day," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 19, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-03.pdf.

¹²⁵ "The Ukrainian National Union Act of January 22, 1941," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 24, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-04.pdf.

¹²⁶ Carpatho-Ukraine was a state promised to the Ukrainian nationalists by the Nazi regime to antagonize Czechoslovakia, the USSR, and Poland, but quickly allowed Hungarians to overtake the land for themselves in 1939; Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 15-16.

¹²⁷ Lisiuk's son had fought with the nationalists and was killed in Carpatho-Ukraine; "Carpatho-Ukraine Film Shown," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 30, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-13.pdf.

Simply attending film screenings about events in Ukraine was not enough. Immigrants faced pressure from within their communities and abroad to maintain more intimate ties to their homeland. Within Ukrainian-American communities, ethnic newspapers helped to give voice to this pressure, wherein articles pushed immigrants and their American-born family members to take lessons in Ukrainian language and culture, and to join Ukrainian-American organizations. One such organization was the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee (UACC), which began in 1940 as a combination of several dozen Ukrainian-American organizations across the United States.¹²⁸ *The Weekly* made note of the Congress's first meeting, which included a choir performance representing the tragedy of Ukrainian history and Ukraine's continued struggle for freedom.¹²⁹ While the UACC was well-documented by *The Ukrainian Weekly*, the editors were especially interested in motivating Ukrainian-American youth to join organizations like the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), an organization founded in 1894 to help Ukrainian immigrants maintain their Ukrainian identities while still being good Americans.¹³⁰ The pressure to become involved vacillated between highlighting the achievements of members and admonishing youth for poor turn out to cultural events, such as talks given by lecturers about the Ukrainian nationalist movement.¹³¹

¹²⁸ "Many Endorse All-Ukrainian Congress," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 13, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-02.pdf; "Ukrainian Congress Platform," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 13, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-15.pdf; "Memorandum of the Congress of American Ukrainians Concerning the Liberation of Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 25, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-21.pdf.

¹²⁹ "Congress Concert to Portray Ukraine's Struggle for Freedom," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 4, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-18.pdf.

¹³⁰ "The Ukrainian National Association," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 21, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-08.pdf.

¹³¹ John Seleman, "Letter to the Editor," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 31, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-41.pdf; "Sad But True," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-09.pdf; "Lecture at Columbia Stresses Strength of Ukraine's Liberation Movement," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-09.pdf.

The Ukrainian Weekly stressed that Ukrainians could contribute to the United States' larger melting pot, pointing out several different instances where Americans enjoyed being exposed to a culture they had previously known little of, helping to shape their perspective on the Ukrainian community and bringing its issues to light. One such instance came from parades that Ukrainian folk dancers participated in, in which women from the Ukrainian National Women's League were able to meet other dancers and introduce them to the colorful costumes and customs of Ukraine.¹³² These dancers were later used to help build morale on the home front by performing for troops stationed at Camp Dix and Brooklyn Navy Yard YMCA, hoping to educate more non-Ukrainian Americans on Ukraine's culture and contribution to the United States.¹³³ Another instance highlighting blending between Ukrainian and American cultures came from a radio station featuring an allegedly new song by a musician based in New York that had been inspired by a folk song his Ukrainian mother had sung to him as a child, bringing this music to a broader audience.¹³⁴ Ukrainian-Americans such as Ann Dudiak also offered Ukrainian language lessons to Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, allowing another form of exposure to their American peers to show Ukrainians that their heritage mattered in the grand scheme of the United States.¹³⁵

¹³² Annette L. Kmetz, "'Soyuz Ukrainok' Takes Part in N.Y. Women's Festival," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 21, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-12.pdf.

¹³³ This also served as an opportunity to show that Ukrainian-Americans were dedicated to the war effort ; "A Suggestion," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 12, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-02.pdf.

¹³⁴ "Adventure of My Darling Daughter," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-05.pdf.

¹³⁵ *The Trend* was a Ukrainian-American magazine intent on familiarizing non-Ukrainian Americans with Ukrainian culture ; "Miss Ann Dudiak Elected to Head Ukrainian Society," *Evening Star*, [volume] (Washington, D.C.), Feb. 23, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-02-23/ed-1/seq-25/> ; "Ukrainian Polkas Featured at Social," *Evening Star*, [volume] (Washington, D.C.), Aug. 2, 1944, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1944-08-02/ed-1/seq-22/> ; "The Newark Youth Convention," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 7, 1939, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1939/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1939-42.pdf.

As the war progressed, more women editors began taking center-stage in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, though they had been featured regularly throughout *The Weekly*'s publishing history. Articles written by women went beyond traditional gender roles. In fact, women can be seen joining in heated debates with their male counterparts as early as 1941 due to the passage of a resolution in support of the Ukrainian nationalist movement at the Ukrainian Youth's League of North America's 1939 Newark Convention, causing the diaspora community to discuss what to make of the rising nationalism in Ukraine. To Anne Zadorsne, former editor of *The Trend*, nationalism was inherently anti-democratic and should be avoided, though this sentiment was not shared by Stephen Shumeyko, editor of *The Ukrainian Weekly*. Shumeyko agreed with the Newark Convention's resolution and argued against Zadorsne in favor of Ukrainian nationalism, claiming that the spirit of revolution was needed to gain independence just as the United States had.¹³⁶ Other women like Mary Kusy became politically involved by writing to the newly formed Ukrainian-American Congress Committee, listing action items they should prioritize and requesting that they come to an agreement on how the diaspora could best help Ukraine achieve independence.¹³⁷ Marie S. Gambal was another writer for *The Ukrainian Weekly*, though her articles presented dissenting opinions toward the nationalist movement and the DPs' criticisms of Ukrainian-American life.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ "Varied Program Features New England Rally," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-09.pdf.

¹³⁷ Mary Kusy, "Tasks Facing Ukrainian Congress," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 9, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-10.pdf.

¹³⁸ Gambal went so far as to suggest that the diaspora should not be supporting "extremists" that they did not have much information on and argued that there was nothing wrong with Ukrainian-American youth embracing both their Ukrainian heritage and the American culture they were immersed in ; Marie S. Gambal, "Natives and Newcomers," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-39.pdf.

Aside from writing articles for *The Weekly*, women took part in developing the Ukrainian nation in the United States through leadership roles in their communities. For women like Ann Dudiak, helping to develop Ukraine abroad meant becoming the president of the American Ukrainian Society of Washington.¹³⁹ Mary Malevich was another such woman who took on a leadership role during the war, joining the first Ukrainian-American Congress Committee as the only woman member of the committee.¹⁴⁰ Valentina Ray Mitz gave presentations to locals on Ukrainian culture across 17 states, arriving to the events in traditional Ukrainian folk costume that enthralled her audiences, with people later describing her hospitality as being like the hospitality of Ukraine.¹⁴¹ Paving the way for these women were Emily Sichinsky Strutynsky, Julia Shustakevich, and Stephanie Abrahamovska with each taking leading roles in Ukrainian-American women's organizations in the late 1800s and early 1900s, explicitly stating that they had led such organizations for the sake of preserving Ukraine abroad and giving "moral and material support to the movement for Ukrainian independence."¹⁴²

The Ukrainian Weekly walked a tight-rope balancing act between supporting a positive nationalistic narrative for Ukraine and being loyal to the United States. This loyalty came into

¹³⁹ "Miss Ann Dudiak Elected to Head Ukrainian Society," *Evening Star*, [volume] (Washington, D.C.), Feb. 23, 1943, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-02-23/ed-1/seq-25/>.

¹⁴⁰ "Ukrainian Congress Platform," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 13, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-15.pdf.

¹⁴¹ "Presents Ukrainian Festival at Montgomery, Ala.," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-38.pdf.

¹⁴² Strutynsky founded the first Ukrainian women's league in the United States, the Sisterhood of St. Olga, in 1897 and later went on to found the Union of Ukrainian Women, the magazine, *Morning Star*, and collaborated with Jane Addams to establish Ukrainian Relief Day in the wake of World War I. Shustakevich was the first president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and helped to recruit new members, pushing the organization forward. Abrahamovska served as the chairwoman for the First Ukrainian Women's Congress in the United States in 1933, wherein women from across America gathered to discuss the future of the Ukrainian people; Yaroslav J. Chyz, "Ukrainian Women and Their Organizations," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1943, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1943/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1943-07.pdf.

question several times throughout the war and, at one time, came under fire by the *Hudson Dispatch*, another newspaper based in New Jersey, which accused the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) of having ties to Nazis and said the organization was under investigation by the FBI. These accusations spurred prompt backlash from *The Ukrainian Weekly*, an offshoot of the UNA, whereby the editors of the paper claimed no such investigation was underway and that this was yet another attempt by “sixth columnists” to slander Ukrainians.¹⁴³ While regular reports of war bond purchases by Ukrainian-Americans had already become a staple of war-time articles, this event caused them to be featured nearly every week.¹⁴⁴

Alongside praise for the consistent high number of war bonds purchased by Ukrainian-Americans came ties drawn by the editors between American history and Ukrainian history. The first of these ties can be seen in “And Yet He Must Appear,” whereby the editors cited poet Taras Shevchenko’s hope for the appearance of a Ukrainian version of George Washington.¹⁴⁵ This appeal to an American national myth continued with further connections made between the aspirations of Ukrainians and Americans for democracy. The editors of *The Weekly* leaned heavily on the history of the Cossacks, whom they claimed were structured as a democratic

¹⁴³ Theodore Lutwiniak, “Ukrainian National Association Anti-Nazi,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 26, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-04.pdf. ; Theodore Lutwiniak, “Youth and the UNA,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 2, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-05.pdf.

¹⁴⁴ It is uncertain if Ukrainian-American communities really were raising high amounts in war bonds each week or if these numbers were fabricated to silence opponents ; Theodore Lutwiniak, “Youth and the UNA,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 2, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-05.pdf ; Honore Ewach, “Our Gifts for America,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 9, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-06.pdf ; “\$100,00 War Bonds Bought at N.Y. Rally,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jun. 6, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-21.pdf ; “Jersey City Ukrainians Have \$100,000 in War Bonds,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jan. 16, 1943, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1943/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1943-03.pdf.

¹⁴⁵ “And Yet He Must Appear,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 21, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-08.pdf.

society before being conquered by the Russian Empire.¹⁴⁶ This historic claim led to writers such as Honore Ewach suggesting that Ukrainians became exemplary American citizens quickly due to their Cossack ancestors' love for democracy and that those who suggested otherwise were sowing disunity and ought to be investigated.¹⁴⁷ *The Weekly* made sure to stress the American-ness of Ukrainian immigrants throughout the war, even going so far as to imply Ukrainian-Americans held more love and devotion for the United States than those whose families had lived in the country longer by claiming that poor Ukrainian immigrants were purchasing large sums of war bonds to support the American war effort whilst non-immigrants complained.¹⁴⁸

Throughout the war, Ukrainian-Americans also made use of their politicians to lobby for better representation of Ukraine. Unlike Lithuanians, however, Ukrainians preferred to use politicians higher up in the chain of command. This led to more telegrams being sent to figures like Franklin D. Roosevelt and Sumner Welles, rather than to local officials who may have been able to pass legislation to attract more awareness to Ukraine.¹⁴⁹ Despite there being more reliance on high-ranking officials, Ukrainian-Americans did invite Governor A. H. James of

¹⁴⁶ "Always Democratic," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 7, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-06.pdf; "Traditional Ukrainian Democracy," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-38.pdf.

¹⁴⁷ Honore Ewach, "Why They Like America," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 16, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-07.pdf.

¹⁴⁸ Honore Ewach, "Our Gifts for America," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 9, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-06.pdf.

¹⁴⁹ "Mrs. Roosevelt's "My Day" Alludes to Ukrainians," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 18, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-20.pdf; "Ukrainian Developments as Reported in American Press," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 2, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-09.pdf; "Sikorski Arrival Prompts Message to President," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 11, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-15.pdf.

Pennsylvania to the 1941 UNA convention.¹⁵⁰ Ukrainian-Americans also forged ties with Republican gubernatorial candidate for New York, Thomas E. Dewey, who met with his potential constituents in 1942 to discuss the scorched earth policy being used in Ukraine and made the claim that Ukrainians were winning the hearts of onlookers with their staunch resistance to invaders.¹⁵¹ Due to lobbying efforts being focused on national political figures rather than local ones, Ukrainian-Americans did not begin “Ukrainian Day” initiatives until after the war, finally securing a “Ukrainian Day” for June 21st in Newark in 1953.¹⁵²

Several scholars note that the diaspora’s connection to the OUN is personal due to the number of former nationalist fighters that ended up in DP camps and later made their way to the United States.¹⁵³ This was certainly the case for Maria Pyskir and some of the former nationalists she met at Ukrainian organizations in the U.S., though she lamented the fact that many of those she encountered had left for the West far sooner than she had, with most having departed Ukraine before the return of the Soviets.¹⁵⁴ The diaspora’s connection to the OUN goes beyond the new wave of immigration in the 1940s. Some American-born Ukrainians who were sent to study in Ukraine joined the nationalist movement, as was the case for Irene Pick of Philadelphia.

¹⁵⁰ The governor acknowledged the pride the attendees took in their Ukrainian heritage and compared it to his own pride in his Welsh heritage, though the article makes no mention on any conversations had with James to raise further awareness of the Ukrainian independence movement ; “Governor A. H. James of PA Greets UNA Convention,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 17, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-20.pdf.

¹⁵¹ While Dewey acknowledged Ukrainian-Americans’ desire for Ukrainian independence, his acknowledgement did not appear to result in any actionable items, policies, resolutions, or fund-raising based on *The Weekly* not updating with further articles ; “Dewey Meets Ukrainian Supporters,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-38.pdf.

¹⁵² Leo P. Carlin, “Proclamation,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jul. 3, 1953, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1953/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1953-26.pdf.

¹⁵³ John-Paul Himka, “The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine,” in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Europe*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 631 ; Himka, “A Central European Diaspora,” 21-2 ; Rudling, “Terror Remembered,” 408, 410.

¹⁵⁴ Pyskir, *Thousands of Roads*, 227-8.

Pick had been sent to study at the University of Lviv before the Soviet occupation and was arrested by Soviet officials under the charge of participating in “counterrevolutionary activity,” with only the intervention of Reverend Chapelsky and U.S. Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt saving her from execution. A similar sentence was to be levied against 23-year-old Mieczyslaw Rozhkovsky of Massachusetts whose mother appealed to have him saved just as Pick had done for herself.¹⁵⁵ This serves as further evidence that one did not need to reside in Europe to feel the effects of interwar nationalism and to be swayed by the words of the DP immigrants in the years following the war. Nationalism and strong community pressures to nation-build at home and abroad were in full swing by the start of the war and were accentuated by a belief that the Second World War would end with yet another opportunity to establish self-determination, causing drastic measures to be taken to draw national boundaries in Ukraine.¹⁵⁶

Desperate to defend the beginnings of the Ukrainian memory they had worked so tirelessly to craft, *The Ukrainian Weekly* remained defensive throughout the war period, relentlessly arguing with reporters, scholars, and politicians the editors felt were making false claims.¹⁵⁷ As early as 1941, the diaspora’s knee-jerk reaction toward valid criticisms of the OUN can be seen in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, in which a Canadian article was run whereby Ukrainian-

¹⁵⁵ “Philly Ukrainian Girl Saved from Red Execution,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, May 17, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-20.pdf.

¹⁵⁶ “Ukrainian Congress Committee Supports Aid-to-Britain Bill,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-07.pdf ; “Ukrainian Congress Committee’s Statement in Support of Lease-Lend Bill,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-07.pdf ; “Post-War Settlement in Eastern Europe,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Dec. 12, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-47.pdf.

¹⁵⁷ “What Communists Forget,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 24, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-08.pdf ; “German Policy in Ukraine,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1943, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1943/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1943-07.pdf ; “The Same Old Propaganda,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-13.pdf.

Canadians were decrying reports of the nationalists collaborating with Nazis as Communist slander.¹⁵⁸ While this may seem to be a feeling only held by Canadian-Ukrainians, the article was run in an American newspaper that was widely read by those in the Ukrainian-American diaspora and can be surmised to have influenced their opinions on the matter early on, setting the framework for the rallying cry for years to come.

These reactionary responses eventually went beyond the sphere of dispelling potential rumors and *The Weekly* focused its attention on confronting scholars who painted unsavory pictures of Ukrainians and the nationalist movement. One such scholar *The Ukrainian Weekly* took up arms against was Louis Adamic, a renowned researcher on immigration in the United States who had published the book, *Two Way Passage*, with a chapter devoted to Ukrainians in which Adamic claimed that the Ukrainian independence movement in the United States and in Ukraine was being controlled by Nazis. The editors of the newspaper denounced this claim and combated it by arguing that the independence movement was a testament to Ukrainians' self-reliance after the German betrayal of Carpatho-Ukraine and that the movement in the U.S. was controlled by both the UNA and the Ukrainian-American press. The editors went on to complain that such scholarship would only hurt Ukrainian-Americans who would be automatically branded as Nazis, resulting in them being fired and helping Ukraine's enemies in the process. The article slated Adamic as being among "foreign propagandists" who were spreading alleged lies about the independence movement in books, newspapers, and on the radio.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Watson Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Nationalists and Canada," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-09.pdf.

¹⁵⁹ "Mr. Adamic and Ukrainian Americans," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-41.pdf.

The accusations that the Ukrainian nationalist movement was linked with Nazism did not stop there. Competing New York Communist newspaper *Ukrainski Schodenni Visti* published an article denouncing Anthony Hlynka, a Ukrainian-Canadian pro-nationalist activist, as a stooge of Hitler and accused the Ukrainian nationalist movement of being motivated by Hitler. This prompted a swift response from *The Ukrainian Weekly* whose editors countered this accusation by presenting one of their own, claiming *Ukrainski Schodenni Visti* had been pressuring U.S. politicians to support the Nazi-Soviet alliance in August of 1939. *The Ukrainian Weekly* went on to defend the Ukrainian nationalist movement, calling it the “lifeblood” of Ukraine and that without it, Ukraine itself would cease to exist. This posturing gives yet another indication of the aforementioned belief that Ukraine was in the process of being destroyed by the Soviets and that the Ukrainian diaspora was the only group who could prevent this – a notion that had developed before the arrival of the Displaced Persons. *The Weekly* decried *Ukrainski Schodenni Visti*’s article as being “un-American,” linking the Ukrainian cause as being one and the same as the United States’ in an attempt to further shield the movement from early criticism.¹⁶⁰

These activities all culminated with *The Ukrainian Weekly* claiming to ally itself with those from other “enslaved nations,” a phrase typically employed by the European Ukrainian nationalist movement.¹⁶¹ In an attempt to bring further understanding of the Ukrainian cause to Americans, *The Weekly* found itself comparing the sufferings of Ukrainians to sufferings that were more familiar to those in the United States. In one article, the editors compared the

¹⁶⁰ “A Deviation from the American Line,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 24, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-08.pdf.

¹⁶¹ CIA, *An Open Letter to Ukrainian Emigres*, May 1950, Letter, From the Central Intelligence Agency, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP83-00415R008700160006-2.pdf> (accessed Oct. 23, 2020) ; Vasyl Ilnytskyi & Vitalii Telvak, “The Romanian Vector of the Activity of the OUN’s Carpathian Area (the 1940s-Beginning of the 1950s): On the Cooperation of the Ukrainian and Romanian Underground,” *Danubius* 36 (2018): 217 ; Smigel, “Propaganda Raids,” 24.

enslavement of Africans in the United States to the pain of “enslaved nations.” This article went on to say that Abraham Lincoln had seen a country split in half between freedom and enslavement and took a stand against the latter. *The Ukrainian Weekly* claimed that the same situation was unfolding in World War II, wherein half the world was enslaved and half was free, and similar measures needed to be taken to bring the world together again.¹⁶² While this comparison can at best be assumed to have been an attempt to spread awareness of the plight of nations like Ukraine, it again shows how the Ukrainian-American community traditionally compared the sufferings of others to their own, no matter how vastly different those sufferings may be. This set the foundation for the eventual dismissal of the Holocaust and the genocide of ethnic Poles in western Ukraine, with some Ukrainian-Americans believing Ukraine has suffered worse than other communities due to the 1932-3 famine and “enslavement” endured under the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.¹⁶³ This dismissal is marked by the adamant denial of the anti-Semitic sentiments espoused by Ukrainians and Ukrainian-Americans alike in the years following the Second World War, with the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee doubling down on its defenses of ethnic Ukrainians.¹⁶⁴

Ukrainians and Ukrainian-Americans alike propagated a concept of creating an anti-Soviet front among various nationalities in the homeland and abroad, achieving only mild success in this goal as far as ethnic newspapers are concerned. Whereas the Lithuanian

¹⁶² “The Same Issue,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 16, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-07.pdf.

¹⁶³ This dismissal is best exemplified by the Ukrainian-American community attempting to prove that Ukrainians suffered a worse genocide with the Holodomor than what the Jews had suffered in the Holocaust ; Himka, “A Central European Diaspora,” 25, 28 ; Himka, “Interventions,” 213-4 ; Himka, “The Organization of Ukrainian,” 91.

¹⁶⁴ “News in Brief,” *The Arizona Post*, [volume] (Tucson, Ariz.), Mar. 6, 1953, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82000867/1953-03-06/ed-1/seq-1/>.

nationalist newspaper *Dirva* emphasized regaining the independence of each of the Baltic states, *The Ukrainian Weekly* used other “enslaved nations” as a talking point and a means to further their individual goals of independence for Ukraine. For example, the editors of *The Ukrainian Weekly* made note of other ethnicities that had been subjected to Russian rule and were recognized as their own nationalities, arguing that Ukrainians should be warranted this same recognition.¹⁶⁵ The focus of the Ukrainian ethnic newspaper was far more concentrated on building an image of Ukraine abroad than it was with establishing alliances with other Eastern European immigrant groups.

Collective Memory

The modern memory battlefield that can be witnessed in the United States and in Eastern Europe is a direct result of decades of perpetuating the myth of the tragic nationalist hero. Reactions in Lithuania and Ukraine – as well as among diaspora groups – remain defensive whenever the crimes of the 1940s and early 1950s nationalist movements are discussed. Though Lithuania’s government was quick to issue a formal apology to Israel shortly after the fall of the USSR for the role ethnic Lithuanians played in the Holocaust, the public’s sentiment toward the apology was noted as being lackluster, with many citizens preferring to delve into ethnic Lithuanians’ tragedies as opposed to those inflicted upon the Eastern European Jewish community.¹⁶⁶ As time has gone on, the public has gradually started to notice their country’s

¹⁶⁵ This argument also appeared in articles on Ukrainian history, where they claimed that Lithuania had accepted Ukrainian “cultural superiority” and adopted many Ukrainian customs ; “The Story of Ukrainian Literature: The Middle Period,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jul. 18, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-26.pdf ; “Self-Respect,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Apr. 4, 1941, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1941/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1941-14.pdf ; “Post-War Settlement in Eastern Europe,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Dec. 12, 1942, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1942/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1942-47.pdf.

¹⁶⁶ Budrytė, “Memory, War and Mnemonical,” 172.

complicated history surrounding the Holocaust and, in some areas of Lithuania, people are moving away from hailing the nationalists as heroes. For example, in 2015, one town in Lithuania had an anonymous referendum to decide whether to rename a school after local nationalist fighter, Algis Kazulenas. Instead of embracing the fighter, the townsfolk decided against using his name, claiming that there were better local people to honor than him.¹⁶⁷ This marks another trend visible in Lithuania's participation in Holocaust remembrance marches in towns such as Molėtai to honor the Jews murdered there, with support for such marches beginning to push the country forward.¹⁶⁸

While this may seem to be a great leap forward for Lithuania, the country's politicians have continued to double down on their defenses of the nationalists. In 2018, the remains of infamous nationalist leader of the Forest Brothers, Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, were found and exhumed after decades of being missing following his execution.¹⁶⁹ The nature of Ramanauskas-Vanagas's involvement in the Holocaust remains contentious, though much of the Lithuanian Jewish community believes there is no evidence to condemn him for collaborating with the Nazis.¹⁷⁰ However, researcher Dovid Katz adamantly denies the partisan's innocence and insists he was involved in the massacre of Druskininkai's Jewish population, running several articles against the nationalists on his website, *Defending History*.¹⁷¹ In any event, the discovery

¹⁶⁷ Davoliūtė, "Heroes," 5.

¹⁶⁸ Budrytė, "Memory, War and Mnemonical," 172.

¹⁶⁹ "Partisan Leader Ramanauskas-Vanagas Buried Amidst Fanfare," *True Lithuania*, Oct. 6, 2018, <http://www.truelithuania.com/partisan-leader-ramanauskas-vanagas-buried-amidst-fanfare-9789>.

¹⁷⁰ The Lithuanian Jewish community released a statement citing several other partisan leaders where there is enough evidence to prove their complicity in the Holocaust, including Jonas Noreika, Juozas Krištaponis, and Kazys Škirpa ; LRT.lt, "Lithuanian Jewish Community Says It Has No Problem with Monument for Partisan Leader Ramanauskas," *LRT English*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1057673/lithuanian-jewish-community-says-it-has-no-problem-with-monument-for-partisan-leader-ramanauskas>.

¹⁷¹ There are tags on the website to find articles relating to Ramanauskas-Vanagas and news that glorifies the Forest Brothers. The two articles cited here present a sample of such articles ; Violeta Davoliūtė, "The Prague Declaration of 2008 and Its Repercussions in Lithuania: Historical Justice and Reconciliation," *Lituanus: Lithuanian*

of Ramanauskas-Vanagas's remains was met with fanfare and caused the building of a monument in Chicago in his honor, with Foreign Minister, Linas Linkevičius, hailing him as "our nation's hero."¹⁷²

While many gave praise over the exhumation and subsequent reburial of Ramanauskas-Vanagas, the resulting monuments and parades gave way to heated debates over the Forest Brothers' murky pasts. According to the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Russia, Lithuania has not faced the truth about the Forest Brothers' participation in the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust. Lithuania, however, argues that Ramanauskas-Vanagas has been cleared of suspicion and that most Forest Brothers were not involved in the Holocaust.¹⁷³ This debate is discussed in more detail on *True Lithuania*, a website on the opposite end of the spectrum from Katz's *Defending History*. Responding to the renewed cries against honoring Ramanauskas-Vanagas and the Forest Brothers, the site doubles down on the myth of the tragic nationalist hero by calling such cries "slander" against Lithuanian heroes and hails several partisan leaders who have been proven to be Nazi collaborators.¹⁷⁴ This language and backlash reflect the heightened sense of nationalism in Lithuania that is now being seen at local events, where right-wing nationalists are arriving clad in swastikas despite there being a ban on symbols of Nazism.¹⁷⁵

Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences 57, no. 3 (2011): 4-5 ; Evaldas Balčiūnas, "Footprints of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas in the Mass Murder of the Jews of Druskininkai," *Defending History*, Mar. 27, 2014, <https://defendinghistory.com/footprints-adolfas-ramanauskas-vanagas-mass-murder-jews-druskininkai/65177> ; "A Tale of Two Cities? New Britain (Connecticut) and Chicago (Illinois)," *Defending History*, Apr. 15, 2019, <https://defendinghistory.com/a-tale-of-two-cities-new-britain-connecticut-and-chicago-illinois/98602>.

¹⁷² Baltic News Service, "Monument to Lithuanian Partisan Leader Unveiled in Chicago," *LRT English*, May 6, 2019, <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1056152/monument-to-lithuanian-partisan-leader-unveiled-in-chicago>.

¹⁷³ Paul Kirby, "Lithuania Monument for 'Nazi Collaborator' Prompts Diplomatic Row," *BBC News*, May 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48186346>.

¹⁷⁴ "Partisan Leader Ramanauskas-Vanagas Buried Amidst Fanfare," *True Lithuania*, Oct. 6, 2018, <http://www.truelithuania.com/partisan-leader-ramanauskas-vanagas-buried-amidst-fanfare-9789>.

¹⁷⁵ Davoliūtė, "The Prague Declaration," 5-6.

While Lithuania has had some room to explore its ‘dark history,’ Ukraine has been under heightened pressure to avoid such divisive discussions altogether. Ukraine currently finds itself split into two primary factions of memory on World War II: the memory of the tragic nationalist hero embraced by western Ukraine and the tale of the triumphant Red Army in southern and eastern Ukraine. This drastic pendulum swing in memory politics is brought to a head in the political sphere, where politicians must do a careful balancing act to appease those favoring Russia and those adamantly against their eastern neighbor.¹⁷⁶ One such dramatic swing of the Ukrainian political pendulum came with Viktor Yushchenko’s tenure as president of Ukraine from 2005-2010.¹⁷⁷ Under Yushchenko’s presidency, strong adherence to what John-Paul Himka refers to as the “OUN-UPA-Holodomor” narrative resulted in inflammatory actions such as bestowing posthumous medals of honor onto members of the OUN and UPA who were known Nazi collaborators and assisted in the genocide of ethnic Poles.¹⁷⁸

These inflammatory actions did not come without backlash and have had grave consequences for Ukraine’s standing in Central and Eastern Europe, with such actions threatening the possibility of Ukraine joining the European Union. Unfortunately, this threat has not caused enough internal opposition against the continuation of the amnesia movement to end such international bridge-burnings.¹⁷⁹ After Russia’s annexation of the Crimea in 2014, many Ukrainian politicians doubled down in their support for the Ukrainian nationalists, as did many ordinary citizens in the 2014 Maidan protests. Remaining steadfast in their commitment to uphold the myth of the heroic nationalists, politicians placed the Ukrainian Institute for National

¹⁷⁶ Himka, “Interventions,” 220.

¹⁷⁷ Rossoliński-Liebe, “Holocaust Amnesia,” 141.

¹⁷⁸ Himka, “Interventions,” 220.

¹⁷⁹ Umland, “The Ukrainian Government’s Memory,” 4 ; Budrytė, “Memory, War and Mnemonical,” 170.

Remembrance (UINP) in charge of researching the nationalists in 2014. However, this appointment has been controversial given many individual staff members have had links to the Center for Research into the Liberation Movement, whose goals are to publish books to persuade more sympathetic sentiments toward Stepan Bandera and the nationalists.¹⁸⁰ These biases in favor of the nationalists have been shown through the UINP's Bandera-centric narratives and its attacks against Western scholars by claiming they have been paid by Russia to fabricate anti-nationalist stories against Ukrainians, seeming to recycle the lines used by editors of *The Ukrainian Weekly* during World War II.¹⁸¹

With the power of the émigré-based foundational myth and a new institution dedicated to selective remembrance, it was only a matter of time before issues between Ukraine and the West escalated further. Despite continued confrontations with Germany, Israel, and Poland over World War II memory, in July 2016, at the behest of the UINP, Ukrainian politicians renamed a street in Kyiv in Bandera's honor, further sullyng Ukraine's reputation with neighboring Poland. This provocation resulted in the Polish government voting in favor of recognizing the 1943-4 massacres of ethnic Poles in Ukraine as a genocide in the hopes of finally ending Ukraine's memory war.¹⁸² Though Ukraine has greatly damaged its relationship with Poland, there have been attempts at formal apologies made to Israel in recent years for Ukraine's participation in the Holocaust, beginning as lukewarm condolences and becoming more sincere over time.¹⁸³

Memory institutions and research centers also play key roles in modern memory politics, with the Tauras District Museum of Partisans and Deportations that Aldona Vilutienė founded in

¹⁸⁰ Umland, "The Ukrainian Government's Memory," 2.

¹⁸¹ Umland, "The Ukrainian Government's Memory," 4, 6.

¹⁸² Umland, "The Ukrainian Government's Memory," 7-8.

¹⁸³ Budrytė, "Memory, War and Mnemonical," 172.

the 1980s being an important example of the diaspora's memory-building at work.¹⁸⁴ Vilutienė was an anti-Soviet messenger during and shortly after the Second World War and claims that as soon as she was captured by the Soviets, she was already devising ways to memorialize the “heroic struggle” of the men in her unit, notably excluding women such as herself.¹⁸⁵ By the time the 1980s came along, Vilutienė had already spoken with several other former messengers in an effort to collect materials for her planned museum, with many of the women encouraging her to go forward with the idea.¹⁸⁶ While she was able to collect items for exhibits, Vilutienė struggled to fund her museum and turned to the Lithuanian-American diaspora for help, with the diaspora readily supplying her with the funds required to begin the museum.¹⁸⁷ Vilutienė herself claims her museum's mission is to “foster patriotism” in visitors and to engage them in the “fighting and suffering” narrative described by Dovilė Budrytė, contributing to the myth of the tragic nationalist fighter and again linking the diaspora to such a narrative.¹⁸⁸

While Vilutienė's museum is a glaring example of a cultural heritage institution perpetuating the myth of the tragic nationalist hero with the support of members of the diaspora, more balanced museums are also struggling in their approaches to ‘dark history.’ One such museum is the Museum of Genocide Victims, run by the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, which is situated near the Vilna Gaon Museum, a museum dedicated solely to local Jewish history in Vilnius and the surrounding region.¹⁸⁹ According to Violeta Davoliūtė, the guides at the Museum of Genocide Victims talk at length about topics such as the ancient folklore of ethnic Lithuanians, but when questioned about the Holocaust and the local Jewish

¹⁸⁴ Budrytė, “Points of Memory,” 486.

¹⁸⁵ Budrytė, “Points of Memory,” 484, 491.

¹⁸⁶ Budrytė, “Points of Memory,” 485.

¹⁸⁷ Budrytė, “Points of Memory,” 485, 487.

¹⁸⁸ Budrytė, “Points of Memory,” 485.

¹⁸⁹ Wight & Lennon, “Selective Interpretation,” 521.

population they simply tell visitors to visit the Vilna Gaon Museum instead.¹⁹⁰ Despite bearing the name ‘Museum of Genocide Victims,’ the museum’s mission is to “...immortalize the freedom fighters and the victims of the Soviet Genocide,” with the institution’s primary focus being on the tragic struggle of nationalist partisans and the cruelty of the Soviets rather than the Nazis.¹⁹¹ Some modest improvements have been made to the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre’s mission since the publication of Wight and Lennon’s article. One major change to the Museum of Genocide Victims came in 2018, when the name of the museum was updated to be the ‘Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights,’ marking a gradual shift in accepting a more complicated war history.¹⁹²

While Lithuania continues to grapple with museums as memory institutions, both the Lithuanian and Ukrainian governments have taken to using the law as an extension of their memory regimes. These laws come as a tidal wave of memory laws have been implemented across the region under the threat of national founding myths being undermined by archival holdings and researchers.¹⁹³ Such laws were first seen in Lithuania where, in 2009, lawmakers put forth legislation to ban loosely defined slander against the Forest Brothers, again echoing the diaspora’s nation-building in the 1940s and defenses for nationalists. This came as a reaction to Russia annexing a part of Georgia, alarming Lithuanian politicians into legislating the memory war that was already transpiring.¹⁹⁴ In 2015, Ukraine’s politicians repeated this action by enacting their own laws known as “decommunization laws,” forbidding people from slandering

¹⁹⁰ Davoliūtė, “The Prague Declaration,” 3.

¹⁹¹ Wight & Lennon, “Selective Interpretation,” 526.

¹⁹² Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights,” accessed Mar. 13, 2021, <http://www.genocid.lt/muziejus/en/>.

¹⁹³ Himka, “Interventions,” 235 ; Himka, “The Organization of Ukrainian,” 89 ; Rudling, “Terror Remembered,” 402 ; Umland, “The Ukrainian Government’s Memory,” 4.

¹⁹⁴ Davoliūtė, “Heroes, Villains,” 3.

the OUN and UPA.¹⁹⁵ Such laws forbidding the slander of nationalists harken back to the fierce campaigns launched by *Dirva* and *The Ukrainian Weekly* against reports, academic or otherwise, deemed as slanderous by the diaspora community.

Modern memory wars have also permeated popular media outlets. In Lithuania, short films and documentaries have been on the rise in recent years, glorifying anti-Soviets and stirring the public to come to the defense of the nationalists. The release of such short films has evoked strong reactions in Lithuania, as noted by Davoliūtė. For example, “The Invisible Front” (2014) was shown before American blockbusters at theaters across the country and was met with resounding applause, showing the power of media to shape public sentiments on controversial histories.¹⁹⁶ This pride can also be found in the comment section where “Forest Brothers – Fight for the Baltics” has been uploaded to YouTube, with user Modnack’s comment of “Heroes Long Live Lithuania” receiving a favorite from NATO’s YouTube channel.¹⁹⁷ This is reminiscent of short films produced during the war in Ukraine, such as Kalyna Lisiuk’s film on Carpatho-Ukraine that had carefully curated the narrative of the tragic nationalist and presented it to audiences in New York City to raise awareness of the nationalist cause.¹⁹⁸ Modern films, too, string together the “fighting and suffering” narrative and leave out the darker sides to the history of nationalist leaders working with the Nazis or pursuing their own ethnic cleansings.

While positive steps forward have been taken by both countries, Lithuania and Ukraine have also come under scrutiny for their handlings of scholars and members of the public bringing

¹⁹⁵ Budrytė, “Memory, War and Mnemonical,” 156.

¹⁹⁶ Davoliūtė, “Heroes, Villains,” 3.

¹⁹⁷ NATO, “Forest Brothers – Fight for the Baltics,” *YouTube*, Jul. 11, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5rQFp7FF9c&t=322s>.

¹⁹⁸ “Carpatho-Ukraine Film Shown,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Mar. 30, 1940, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1940/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1940-13.pdf.

controversial aspects of history to light. In Lithuania, popular author Rūta Vanagaitė came under fire for accusing Forest Brothers leader, Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, of participating in the Holocaust and collaborating with the KGB – both charges he has been found innocent of by local historians. After making this statement, her publisher withdrew her books from stores, raising an alarm for Israel and the United States. The public has not restrained their outrage toward popular media only; it has extended its influence to the scholarly sphere by attacking the work of scholars. This is best exemplified by the publication of the 2009 book, *The Far Side of the Moon*, in which historian Mindaugas Pocius describes the many instances of Forest Brother involvement in the Holocaust. The release of this book was met with prompt backlash that has stifled the development of the field as a whole, causing scholars to shy away from discussing the controversial legacy of the Lithuanian anti-Soviets.¹⁹⁹

Unfortunately, this trend is not restricted to Lithuanians and indicates a much larger movement against scholars dispelling the myth of the nationalist hero. Professor emeritus at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, John-Paul Himka, has spoken at length about the challenges he has faced for his research on the OUN-UPA's participation in the Holocaust, which has consistently sparked public backlash against him in North America and in Ukraine. After consistent rounds of harassment from the Ukrainian-Canadian community, Himka is now barred from publishing short articles dismantling the tragic hero myth in even the most moderate of online forums and newspapers.²⁰⁰ This backlash among the diaspora in particular shows that the children of immigrants have become so invested in the tale of the tragic hero that many still refuse to accept the crimes of nationalist leaders and are actively trying to propagate the myth

¹⁹⁹ Davoliūtė, "Heroes, Villains," 4.

²⁰⁰ Himka, "Interventions," 228 ; Himka, "The Organization of Ukrainian," 98.

into the modern day. For those among the homeland populations, this adopted narrative has become a foundational myth that becomes harder to dislodge the longer it goes unchallenged.²⁰¹

Conclusion

As evidenced by nationalist newspapers like *Dirva* and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, the pre-DP diaspora was a powerful force in setting the foundation for modern memory wars in the United States and Eastern Europe. Even before the onset of World War II, the American diaspora helped to fund and support independence movements though they were reprimanded throughout the early 1900s by those from their homelands who claimed that they were no longer Lithuanian or Ukrainian enough.²⁰² In spite of these criticisms being levied against them, the diaspora still churned out highly sought-after publications unable to be produced in their homelands, helping to set a tone of nationalism after World War I.²⁰³ The lack of acknowledgement of the diaspora's role in crafting a collective memory for their homelands may be derived from biases against them, where they are not viewed as full members of their homelands despite fundraising efforts being brought to them.²⁰⁴ Despite not being "enough," both diaspora populations have helped dramatically shift the course of history for their homelands by helping to support independence movements abroad.

While credit is given to members of the DP waves for codifying the narrative of the tragic nationalist, the support for the nationalist movement already existed among the diaspora

²⁰¹ Himka, "A Central European Diaspora," 30 ; Himka, "Interventions," 223.

²⁰² For Lithuanians, this distinction was marked by a notable shift in language. In the early 1900s, Lithuanian scholars began codifying the Lithuanian language while those living in the United States diverged by using Americanized vocabulary ; Čiubrinskas, "Reclaiming European Heritages," 55-6 ; Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 6, 13-4 ; "The New Arrivals," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Jun. 30, 1947, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1947/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1947-25.pdf.

²⁰³ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 10-1.

²⁰⁴ Senn & Eidintas, "Lithuanian Immigrants," 11-12, 14.

populations.²⁰⁵ With the arrival of the DPs came new stories of the partisans, resulting in a more cohesive post-war formation of the tragic nationalist hero narrative central to modern memory wars today, wherein nationalists were characterized as heroic young men who sought to protect their families and their nation from the brutality of the Soviet regime.²⁰⁶ Without access to the archives, this narrative took hold of diaspora populations who justifiably found their fellow countrymen to be far more trustworthy than the Soviet regime. Even as archives began opening in Lithuania and Ukraine in the 1970s and 1980s, many within the diaspora remained adamant that the atrocities committed by nationalists were simply Soviet slander. For example, the broadcast of the *60 Minutes* episode “The Ugly Face of Freedom” (1994) came with fierce backlash from the Ukrainian-American community and swift condemnation from the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee despite the show using archival materials to prove the crimes of the OUN.²⁰⁷ As time has gone on, however, both communities have experienced fractures from within over how to deal with the bloody legacy of the nationalists as more crimes have been gradually revealed, though these fractures are far more visible in the Ukrainian diaspora.

The myth of the tragic nationalist hero has persisted due to the work of nation-building in ethnic newspapers in the United States. By emphasizing their own tragedies and highlighting the alleged heroism of nationalist movements, diaspora populations set the foundation for modern memory wars and shaped public discourse through cultural events, lobbying politicians, and

²⁰⁵ Čiubrinskas, “Reclaiming European Heritages,” 58 ; Čiubrinskas, “Transnational Identity,” 59, 61.

²⁰⁶ ““Kruty” – Ukrainian Thermopylae,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Feb. 2, 1948, http://ukrweekly.com/archive/pdf1/1948/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1948-05.pdf ; Stanley Pieza, “Witnesses Reveal Terror in Lithuania,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), Jul. 19, 1946, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1946-07-19/ed-1/seq-8/> ; “Lithuania Victim of Aggression Kiwanians Told: Plight of Country Cited by Consul at Chicago Office,” *Dirva = Field, [volume]* (Cleveland, Ohio), May 23, 1947, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035604/1947-05-23/ed-1/seq-6/>.

²⁰⁷ Himka, “A Central European Diaspora,” 24.

combating those who opposed this narrative. Progress is slowly being made in dismantling harmful myths through the actions of scholars and members of the public who have recently taken an interest in commemorating the loss of Jews in Europe. Despite politicians doubling down for fear of a disrupted collective memory threatening national security, members of both the diaspora and homeland populations are eschewing this myth in favor of a more balanced reality that recognizes the dark and complicated nature of World War II. In this essay, I have argued that pre-DP American ethnic newspapers contributed to the modern memory amnesia about the atrocities committed by nationalist fighters due to their attempts to re-build their homelands abroad, eventually exporting the myth of the tragic nationalist fighter back to their home nations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers

Detroit Evening Times (Detroit, Michigan).

Dirva (Cleveland, Ohio).

Evening Star (Washington, D.C.).

The Arizona Post (Tucson, Arizona).

The Ukrainian Weekly (Jersey City, New Jersey).

Books, Articles, & Reports

CIA. *An Open Letter to Ukrainian Emigres*. May 1950. Letter. From the Central Intelligence Agency. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP83-00415R008700160006-2.pdf> (accessed Oct. 23, 2020).

Drunga, Mykolas J. "Personal Reflections on a Dear Friend." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 55, no. 4 (2009): http://www.lituanus.org/2009/09_4_02%20Drunga.html.

Pyskir, Maria Savchyn. *Thousands of Roads: A Memoir of a Young Woman's Life in the Ukrainian Underground During and After World War II*. Translated by Ania Savage. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Company & Inc., Publishers, 2001.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London ; New York: Verso, 1991.

Armstrong, John A. *Ukrainian Nationalism*. Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990.

"A Tale of Two Cities? New Britain (Connecticut) and Chicago (Illinois)." *Defending History*, Apr. 15, 2019. <https://defendinghistory.com/a-tale-of-two-cities-new-britain-connecticut-and-chicago-illinois/98602>.

Balčiūnas, Evaldas. "Footprints of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas in the Mass Murder of the Jews of Druskininkai." *Defending History*, Mar. 27, 2014. <https://defendinghistory.com/footprints-adolfas-ramanauskas-vanagas-mass-murder-jews-druskininkai/65177>.

- Baltic News Service. "Monument to Lithuanian Partisan Leader Unveiled in Chicago." *LRT English*, May 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1056152/monument-to-lithuanian-partisan-leader-unveiled-in-chicago>.
- Balys, J. P. "The American Lithuanian Press." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 22, no. 1 (1976): http://www.lituanus.org/1976/76_1_02.htm.
- Berkhoff, Karel. *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Budrytė, Dovilė. "Experiences of Collective Trauma and Political Activism: A Study of Women 'Agents of Memory' in Post-Soviet Lithuania." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41, no. 3 (2010): 331-350.
- . "From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields: Two Women's Stories About the Second World War and Its Aftermath in Lithuania." *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 754-74.
- . "Memory, War and Mnemonical In/Security: A Comparison of Lithuania and Ukraine." In *Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics: Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė, and Didem Buhari-Gulmez, pp. 155-77. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- . "Points of Memory in the Narrative of a 'Mnemonic Warrior': Gender, Displacement, and the Anti-Soviet War of Resistance in Lithuania." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47, no. 4 (2016): 473-96.
- . "'We Didn't Keep Diaries, You Know': Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 57, no. 2 (2011): http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11_2_05Budryte.html.
- Čiubrinskas, Vytis "Reclaiming European Heritages of Transatlantic Migration: The Politics of Identity of East European Immigrants to the U.S.A." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 18, no. 2 (2009): 50-68.
- . "Transnational Identity and Heritage: Lithuania Imagined, Constructed and Contested." *Communicating Cultures* 1 (2004): 42-66.
- Daniel, Dominique. "Elusive Stories: Collecting and Preserving the Foreign-Language Ethnic Press in the United States." *Serials Review* 45 (2019): 7-25.
- Davoliūtė, Violeta. "Heroes, Villains and Matters of State: The Partisan and Popular Memory in Lithuania." In *Cultures of History Forum* (2017): 1-6.
- . "The Prague Declaration of 2008 and Its Repercussions in Lithuania: Historical Justice and Reconciliation." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 57, no. 3 (2011): 1-6.

- Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. "Bronius Liesys-Naktis (1922-1949)." Accessed Apr. 4, 2020. <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/753/a/>.
- Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. "The Partisan Military Districts of the Lithuanian Freedom Fighters." Accessed Feb. 2, 2020. <http://genocid.lt/centras/en/1017/a/>.
- Havryshko, Marta. "Love and Sex in Wartime: Controlling Women's Sexuality in the Ukrainian Nationalist Underground." *Aspasia* 12 (2018): 35-67.
- Himka, John-Paul. "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: The Galician Ukrainians in North America." *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006): 17-31.
- . "Interventions: Challenging the Myths of Twentieth-Century Ukrainian History." In *The Convolutions of Historical Politics*, edited by Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman, pp. 211-38. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2012.
- . "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Unwelcome Elements of an Identity Project." *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2010): 83-101.
- . "The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine." In *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Europe*, edited by John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, pp. 626-61. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013.
- Ilnytskyi, Vasyl, and Vitalii Telvak. "The Romanian Vector of the Activity of the OUN's Carpathian Area (the 1940s-Beginning of the 1950s): On the Cooperation of the Ukrainian and Romanian Underground." *Danubius* 36 (2018): 217-34.
- Jokubauskas, Vytautas. "The Concept of Guerrilla Warfare in Lithuania in the 1920-1930s." *Baltic Region*, no. 2 (2012): 32-43.
- Kaszeta, Daniel J. "Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88_3_01.htm.
- Katchanovski, Ivan. "The OUN, the UPA, and the Nazi Genocide in Ukraine." *Mittäterschaft in Osteuropa im Zweiten Weltkrieg und im Holocaust/Collaboration in Eastern Europe during World War II and the Holocaust*, edited by Peter Black, Béla Rásky, and Marianne Windsperger, 67-93. New Academic Press, 2019.
- Khromeychuk, Olesya. "Militarizing Women in the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement from the 1930s to the 1950s." *Aspasia* 12 (2018): 1-34.
- Kirby, Paul. "Lithuania Monument for 'Nazi Collaborator' Prompts Diplomatic Row." *BBC News*, May 8, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48186346>.
- Kis, Oksana. "National Femininity Used and Contested: Women's Participation in the Nationalist Underground in Western Ukraine during the 1940s-50s." *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 53-82.

- Kuzio, Taras. "U.S. Support for Ukraine's Liberation during the Cold War: A Study of Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* xxx (2012): 1-14.
- Lavsky, Hagit. *The Creation of the German-Jewish Diaspora: Interwar German-Jewish Immigration to Palestine, the USA, and England*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2017.
- Lenz, Claudia, and Helle Bjerg. "'To Be Honest, I Don't Think She Has Much to Say...'" Gender and Authority in Memories of the Second World War in Denmark and Norway." *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 32, no. 4 (2007): 34-44.
- LRT.lt. "Lithuanian Jewish Community Says It Has No Problem with Monument for Partisan Leader Ramanauskas." *LRT English*, May 9, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1057673/lithuanian-jewish-community-says-it-has-no-problem-with-monument-for-partisan-leader-ramanauskas>.
- Markelis, Daiva. "'Every Person Like a Letter': The Importance of Correspondence in Lithuanian Immigrant Life." In *Letters across Borders*, pp. 107-123. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006.
- McBride, Jared. "Who's Afraid of Ukrainian Nationalism?" *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 17, no. 3 (2016): 647-63.
- Misiunas, Romuald J., and Rein. Taagepera. *The Baltic States, Years of Dependence, 1940-1990*. Expanded and Updated ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- NATO. "Forest Brothers – Fight for the Baltics." *YouTube*, Jul. 11, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5rQFp7FF9c&t=322s>.
- "Partisan Leader Ramanauskas-Vanagas Buried Amidst Fanfare." *True Lithuania*, Oct. 6, 2018. <http://www.truelithuania.com/partisan-leader-ramanauskas-vanagas-buried-amidst-fanfare-9789>.
- Petrenko, Olena. "Ukrainian Insurgency Against the Post-War Sovietization: The Case of the Female Teachers from the East in Western Ukraine." *Kaleidoscope: Journal of History and Culture, Science and Medicine* 5, no. 9 (2014): 169-81.
- Plokhyy, Serhii. *Forgotten Bastards of the Eastern Front: American Airmen behind the Soviet Lines and the Collapse of the Grand Alliance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2019.
- Rossoliński-Liebe, Grzegorz. "Holocaust Amnesia: The Ukrainian Diaspora and the Genocide of the Jews." *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* 1 (2016): 107-43.
- Senn, Alfred Erich, and Alfonsas Eidintas. "Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914." *Journal of American Ethnic History* (1987): 5-19.
- Shearer, David. "Stalin at War, 1918-1953: Patterns of Violence and Foreign Threat." *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, 66, no. 2 (2018): 188-217.

- Smigel, Michal. "Propaganda Raids of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) in 1945-1946: Structure and Forms of Czechoslovak Resistance." *Slovak Republic Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts* 4, no. 1 (2017): 24-51.
- Smith, Timothy L. "Religion and Ethnicity in America." *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 5 (1978): 1155-85.
- The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Lithuania." Accessed May 5, 2021. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/lithuania>.
- Umland, Andreas. "The Ukrainian Government's Memory Institute Against the West." *IndraStra Global* 3, no. 3 (2017): 1-9.
- Wight, A. Craig, and J. John Lennon. "Selective Interpretation and Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania." *Tourism Management* 28, no. 2 (2007): 519-529.
- Wolkovich-Valkavičius, William. "Endurance of Homeland Support by Lithuanians in the United States." *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 44, no. 4 (1998): http://www.lituanus.org/1998/98_4_03.htm.
- Wylegała, Anna. "Managing the Difficult Past: Ukrainian Collective Memory and Public Debates on History." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 5 (2017): 780-97.
- Zariczniak, Larysa. "Violence and the UPA Woman: Experiences and Influences." *Європейські історичні студії* 2 (2015): 243-67.
- Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. "Russia's Never-Ending War Against 'Fascism.'" *Eurozine* (2015): 1-6.
- I hereby declare upon my word of honor that I have neither given nor received unauthorized help

on this work. – Emily Johnson