

Introduction

Discussing Ukrainian Historical Ultra-Nationalism in Comparative Perspective*

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The debate presented in this special section has emerged as an appendix to an ongoing *JSPPS* series of edited special sections titled “Issues in the History and Memory of the OUN.”¹ As of summer 2021, four installments containing thirteen research papers and one letter

* We are very grateful to Julie Fedor for her extremely careful and patient final editing of the contributions to this special section including this introduction. Per Anders Rudling and Łukasz Adamski are acknowledged for their valuable help organizing this debate.

¹ The fifth installment in this series as well as a continuation of the present debate are currently scheduled to be published by *JSPPS*, in autumn 2021. Proposals for further sections in the series “Issues in the History and Memory of the OUN” are welcome. These should take the form of a set of abstracts and notes on contributors and can be emailed to the journal’s General Editor (details at www.jspps.eu). The introductions to the previous special sections, which are freely accessible online, outline the rationale of this series, and list most of the relevant secondary literature in the footnotes. See Andreas Umland and Yuliya Yurchuk, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Post-Soviet Ukrainian Memory Politics, Public Debates, and Foreign Affairs,” *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 3, no. 2 (2017): 115–28, spps-jspps.autorenbetreuung.de/files/umland_yurchuk_3_2.pdf (accessed 16 April 2018); *idem*, “Essays in the Historical Interpretation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,” *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 4, no. 2 (2018): 29–34, spps-jspps.autorenbetreuung.de/files/yurchuk_umland_jsp ps_4_2_2.pdf (accessed 26 January 2020); *idem*, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and European Fascism During World War II,” *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 6, no. 1 (2020): 181–204, spps-jspps.autorenbetreuung.de/files/o6-01-jspps-intro_02.pdf.

will have been published within this project that started in 2017.² The following controversy builds upon these studies.

Context and Format

This introduction's purpose is not to take a side in the discussion presented below. Instead, it aims to locate the contributions to this special section within the context of a number of previous country-, region- and discipline-specific publications on related topics, and indicates where the authors are engaging with previous scholarly debates and where they go beyond them. We have included footnotes with comprehensive references so as to indicate all possible lines of continuity and discontinuity with the existing relevant scholarly literature and controversies.

The debate presented here, first of all, continues the brief discussion conducted within a 2015 *JSPPS* collection of three review

² Per Anders Rudling, "Yushchenko's Fascist: The Bandera Cult in Ukraine and Canada," Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Ukrainian Memory Culture Post-1991: The Case of Stepan Bandera," Yuliya Yurchuk, "Rivne's Memory of Taras Bul'ba-Borovets': A Regional Perspective on the Formation of the Founding Myth of the UPA," and Łukasz Adamski, "Kyiv's 'Volhynian Negationism': Reflections on the 2016 Polish-Ukrainian Memory Conflict," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 3, no. 2 (2017): 129-290; Ivan Gomza, "Catalytic Mobilization of Radical Ukrainian Nationalists in the Second Polish Republic: The Impact of Political Opportunity Structure," Igor Barinov, "Allies or Collaborators? The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Nazi Germany during the Occupation of Ukraine in 1941-43," Myroslav Shkandrij, "Volodymyr Viatrovych's *Second Polish-Ukrainian War*," and John-Paul Himka, "Correspondence," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 4, no. 2 (2018): 35-132; Kai Struve, "The OUN(b), the Germans, and Anti-Jewish Violence in Eastern Galicia during Summer 1941," Yuri Radchenko, "The Biography of the OUN(m) Activist Oleksa Babii in the Light of His 'Memoirs on Escaping Execution' (1942)," Tomislav Dulić and Goran Miljan, "The Ustašas and Fascism: 'Abolitionism,' Revolution, and Ideology (1929-42)," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 6, no. 1 (2020): 205-306; Grzegorz Motyka, "NKVD Internal Troops Operations against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1944-45," Oksana Myshlovska, "History Education and Reconciliation: The Ukrainian National Underground Movement in Secondary School Curricula, Textbooks, and Classroom Practices in Ukraine (1991-2012)," and Marian Luschnat-Ziegler, "Observing Trends in Ukrainian Memory Politics (2014-2019) through Structural Topic Modeling," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 7, no. 1 (2021): 15-108.

essays concerning the scholarly study of the biography and ideas of Stepan Bandera.³ In addition, it relates to an earlier series of four special sections on the same topic in the Bavaria-based Russian-language online journal *Forum for Contemporary East European History and Culture*.⁴ The below comments should also be seen in relation to the important 2010 Ukrainian collected volume *Passions around Bandera* with which most researchers of the OUN will be familiar.⁵ Finally, the following controversy partly continues a number of other recent journal special issues or sections devoted to East

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- 3 Oleksandr Zaitsev, “De-Mythologizing Bandera: Towards a Scholarly History of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement,” André Härtel, “Bandera’s Tempting Shadow: The Problematic History of Ukrainian Radical Nationalism in the Wake of the Maidan,” and Yuri Radchenko, “From Staryi Uhryniv to Munich: The First Scholarly Biography of Stepan Bandera,” *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 1, no. 2 (2015): 411–58. These review essays were primarily, but not only dedicated to the monograph: Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist. Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Stuttgart: *ibidem*-Verlag, 2014). See also the important book discussion: Heather Coleman, Yaroslav Hrytsak, Tamara Hundorova, Oleksandr Zaitsev, and Myroslav Shkandrij, “A Roundtable on Myroslav Shkandrij’s *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology, and Literature, 1929–1956*,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 59, nos. 1–2 (2017): 131–52. Two further relevant recent review essays are: Per Anders Rudling, “Dispersing the Fog: The OUN and Anti-Jewish Violence in 1941,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 44, no. 2 (2016): 227–45; and Jared McBride, “Who Is Afraid of Ukrainian Nationalism?” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 17, no. 3 (2016): 647–63.
- 4 “Istoriia, kul’t i diskussii vokrug Organizatsii ukrainskikh natsionalistov (1–4),” *Forum noveishei vostochnoevropeiskoi istorii i kul’tury* 13–15 (2016–2018), www.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/forumruss.html (accessed 26 January 2021).
- 5 Tarik Cyril Amar, Igor Balyns’kyi, and Yaroslav Hrytsak (eds.), *Strasti za Banderoiu* (Hrani-T, 2010). See further: Eleonora Narvselius, “The ‘Bandera Debate’: The Contentious Legacy of World War II and Liberalization of Collective Memory in Western Ukraine,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 54, nos. 3–4 (2012): 469–90; and Andrei Portnov, “Bandera: Priglaseniie k spokoinomu razgovoru,” *Colta.ru*, 11 January 2021, <https://www.colta.ru/articles/specials/26340-andrey-portnov-bandera-istoriya-i-mif> (accessed on 19 January 2021).

European fascism,⁶ Ukraine's fate during World War II, and the contemporary Ukrainian far right.⁷

However, the present assembly of interventions is different from these and other traditional essay collections in terms of its purpose and content. It is set up as an academic discussion, but one that was designed deliberately and explicitly to take the form of a disputation. We present here a partially interactive, and, sometimes, polemical controversy around a topical conceptual question in the study of historical Ukrainian radical nationalism as well some related empirical and theoretical issues in the cross-cultural study of the international extreme right. The essays were therefore not peer-reviewed, but largely left in their original form as submitted by the authors. They are meant to express viewpoints, opinions, and ideas, sometimes tentative or speculative in nature, rather than traditional scholarly outlines of inferences from systematic data collection and analysis.

Our *JSPPS* special section's format thereby partly replicates previously regular and far larger debates conducted in the once influential, yet by now discontinued German journal *Ethik und Sozialwissenschaften: Streitforum für Erwägungskultur* (Ethics and Social Sciences: Dispute Forum for Deliberative Culture), renamed in

⁶ "Fashyzm i pravyy radikalizm na skhodi Evropy," *Ukraina Moderna* 20 (2013): 35–122; and Constantin Iordachi (ed.), "Fascism in East Central and Southeastern Europe: A Reappraisal," *East-Central Europe* 37, nos. 2–3 (2010): 161–371.

⁷ "Doslidzhennia ukrains'koho radikal'noho natsionalizmu," *Ukraina Moderna* 20 (2013): 123–332; "Ukraina vo Vtoroi mirovoi voine," *Forum noveishei vostochnoevropskoi istorii i kul'tury* 10, no. 1(19) (2013): 285–334; "Istoriia sovremennogo ukrainskogo natsionalizma," *Forum noveishei vostochnoevropskoi istorii i kul'tury* 11, no. 2(22) (2014): 133–254; Andreas Umland and Oleksandr Zaitsev (eds.), "The Ukrainian Radical Right in Past and Present: Studies in Ideology, Memory and Politics," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, nos. 2–3 (2015): 169–271; Frank Grelka and Yuri Radchenko (eds.), "Case Studies on Mass Atrocities and Survival in the Modern History of Ukraine," *Euxeinos: Governance and Culture in the Black Sea Region* 9, no. 27 (2019): 3–155; and Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe (ed.), "Conceptualizations of the Holocaust in Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine: Historical Research, Public Debates, and Methodological Disputes," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 34, no. 1 (2020): 124–279.

2002 *Erwägen Wissen Ethik: Forum für Erwägungskultur* (EWE, Deliberation – Knowledge – Ethics: Forum for Deliberative Culture).⁸ EWE was published by the University of Paderborn in 1990–2015. At the time, because of its peculiar debating format, it attracted considerable attention in European academia. Over the years, EWE developed an elaborate rationale and sophisticated methodology for organizing interactive debates between academics in the form of collections of unreviewed opinion pieces on a broad variety of burning research topics.⁹ The two EWE debates that are most relevant to the controversy presented in this special section—namely, extensive discussions by leading scholars of the concepts of generic fascism developed by Wolfgang Wippermann (Free University of Berlin) and Roger D. Griffin (Oxford Brookes University)—were later republished as books.¹⁰

Background to the Present Debate

The present debate's format partially follows EWE's lead, and takes as its starting point a 2015 seminal paper by Oleksandr Zaitsev (Ukrainian Catholic University at L'viv) that introduced—to the English-reading audience, for the first time—a new generic concept which Zaitsev calls “ustashism.”¹¹ Zaitsev distinguishes this

⁸ Frank Benseler, Bettina Blanck, Reinhard Keil, and Werner Loh (eds.), *Erwägen Wissen Ethik: Forum für Erwägungskultur* (Lucius & Lucius, 2002–2015). <https://groups.uni-paderborn.de/ewe/>.

⁹ “Programm,” Universität Paderborn, web.archive.org/web/2011110002309/http://iug.uni-paderborn.de/ewe/Konzept/programm.htm.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Wippermann and Werner Loh (eds.), *“Faschismus”—kontrovers* (Lucius & Lucius, 2002); and Roger Griffin, Werner Loh, and Andreas Umland (eds.), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East: An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right* (ibidem-Verlag, 2006).

¹¹ Oleksandr Zaitsev, “Fascism or Ustashism? Ukrainian Integral Nationalism of the 1920s–1930s in Comparative Perspective,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, nos. 2–3 (2015): 183–93. See also, more recently: *idem*, “Integral Nationalism in the Absence of a Nation-State: The Case of Ukraine,” in Marco Bresciani (ed.), *Conservatives and Right Radicals in Interwar Europe* (Routledge, 2020), 118–42. Further important contributions by the same author include, among others: Oleksandr Zaitsev, *Ukrayins'kyi integral'nyy natsionalizm (1920-*

overarching term from the earlier country-specific taxon “Ustašism,” as a proper name for the ideology of the Croatian Ustašas. He thereby makes a differentiation that is reminiscent of the distinction that most comparatively engaged historians draw between the words “Fascism” (with a big “F”), meaning Italy’s prototypical movement existing until 1945 (in German: *Italofaschismus*), and “fascism” (with a small “f”), as a cross-cultural and inter-epochal notion (in German: *allgemeiner Faschismus*).¹²

While Zaitsev explained his new concept primarily through the example of the inter-war and war-time OUN, the first elaborate response to his innovation came in the form of an extensive and original peer-reviewed research paper written by two experts on the Ustašas—Tomislav Dulić and Goran Miljan (Uppsala University).¹³ The two Balkanologists, in their 2020 *JSPPS* essay, explicitly reject Zaitsev’s terminological proposal based on their findings on the Ustašas as well in view of their decades of studying, as they see it, Croatian war-time fascism (rather than ustashism). Moreover, Dulić and Miljan introduced into the debate yet another novel—for fascist studies—generic notion: abolitionism.¹⁴ They have made thereby their own conceptual innovation to comparative research into ultra-nationalist movements.

ti — 1930-ti roky): Narysy intelektual'noyi istoriyi (Krytyka, 2013); *idem*, “Ukrainian Integral Nationalism in Quest of a ‘Special Path’ (1920s–1930s),” *Russian Politics & Law* 51, no. 5 (2013): 11–32; and *idem*, *Natsionalist u dobi fashyizmu: L’viv’s’kyy period Dmytra Dontsova, 1922–1939 roky. Nacherk intelektual’noi biohrafiy* (Krytyka, 2019).

¹² Andreas Umland, “Challenges and Promises of Comparative Research into Post-Soviet Fascism: Methodological and Conceptual Issues in the Study of the Contemporary East European Extreme Right,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, nos. 2–3 (2015): 169–81.

¹³ E.g.: Tomislav Dulić, “Mass Killing in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941–1945: A Case for Comparative Research,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 3 (2006): 255–81; Goran Miljan, “From Obscure Beginnings to State ‘Resurrection’: Ideas and Practices of the Ustaša Organization,” *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 5, no. 1 (2016): 3–25; *idem*, “‘The Brotherhood of Youth’: A Case Study of the Ustaša and Hlinka Youth Connections and Exchanges,” in Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe (eds.), *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945* (Berghahn Books, 2017): 119–41.

¹⁴ Dulić and Miljan, “The Ustašas and Fascism.”

In some ways, the debate presented below continues earlier reactive discussions on Ukrainian interwar and war-time anti-Semitism¹⁵, anti-Polish¹⁶ actions, and—most directly—fascism¹⁷. In particular, the present controversy is reminiscent of the partial back-and-forth in some of these debates, for instance, on Ukrainian

¹⁵ In chronological order: Taras Kurylo and Ivan Khymka [John-Paul Himka], “Iak OUN stavylasia do evreiv? Rozdumy nad knyzhkoiu Volodymyra V’iatrovycha,” *Ukraina Moderna* 13 (2008): 252–65; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Debating, Obfuscating and Disciplining the Holocaust: Post-Soviet Historical Discourses on the OUN-UPA and other Nationalist Movements,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 42, no. 3 (2012): 199–241; Taras Kurylo, “The ‘Jewish Question’ in the Ukrainian Nationalist Discourse of the Inter-War Period,” *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 26 (2013): 213–58; Alexander J. Motyl, “The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Jews: Theoretical Reflections on Nationalism, Fascism, Rationality, Primordialism, and History,” *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 26 (2013): 275–95; Marco Carynnyk, “‘A Knife in the Back of Our Revolution’: A Reply to Alexander J. Motyl’s ‘The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Jews: Theoretical Reflections on Nationalism, Fascism, Rationality, Primordialism, and History,’” *The American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies*, 2014, aapjstudies.org/manager/external/ckfinder/userfiles/files/Carynnyk%20Reply%20to%20Motyl%202020.pdf (accessed 26 July 2017); Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Erinnerungslücke Holocaust: Die ukrainische Diaspora und der Genozid an den Juden,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 62, no. 2 (2014): 397–430; Mykhailo Martynenko, “Deiaki refleksii pro dyskusiiu ‘Ukrainskyy natsionalizm ta evrei (1920-50 rr.),” *Ukraina Moderna*, 31 May 2015, <http://uamoderna.com/blogy/martynenko/diskusiya>; Iuriy Radchenko, “Stavlennia OUN do evreiv: Diskusiia bez ‘spil’nykh deklaratsii,” *Historians.in.ua*, 3 & 5 July 2016, <http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusyiya/1932-yurii-radchenko-stavlennia-oun-do-ievreiv-dyskusii-bez-spilnykh-deklaratsii-chastyna-1> (accessed 5 February 2020), <http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusyiya/1935-yurii-radchenko-stavlennia-oun-do-ievreiv-dyskusii-bez-spilnykh-deklaratsii-chastyna-2> (accessed 5 February 2020); Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Holocaust Amnesia: The Ukrainian Diaspora and the Genocide of the Jews,” *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* 1 (2016): 107–44; *idem*, “Die antijüdische Massengewalt ukrainischer Nationalisten in der antikommunistischen, deutschen, jüdischen, polnischen, ukrainischen und sowjetischen Historiografie,” in Kerstin Schoor and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (eds.), *Gewalt – Gedächtnis – Erkenntnis: Nationale und transnationale Erinnerungsräume im östlichen Europa* (Wallstein, 2016): 206–26; Jared McBride, “Ukraine’s Invented ‘Jewish-Ukrainian Nationalist’ to Whitewash Its Nazi-era Past,” *Haaretz*, 9 November 2017, www.haaretz.com/opinion/ukraine-nationalists-are-using-a-jew-to-whitewash-their-nazi-era-past-1.5464194 (accessed 10 February 2020); and John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA’s Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941-1944* (*ibidem*-Verlag, 2021).

“national-liberationist fascism”¹⁸ or on Ukraine’s 2015 decommunization laws.¹⁹ It is also partly reminiscent of the attacks on and

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- ¹⁶ Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der polnisch-ukrainische Historikerdiskurs über den polnisch-ukrainischen Konflikt 1943-1947,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 57, no. 1 (2009): 54–85; Eleonora Narvselius, “Tragic Past, Agreeable Heritage: Post-Soviet Intellectual Discussions on the Polish Legacy in Western Ukraine,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and Eastern European Studies* 2403 (2015); and Adamski, “Kyiv’s ‘Volhynian Negationism.’”
- ¹⁷ E.g.: Alexander J. Motyl, “Ukraine, Europe, and Bandera,” *Cicero Foundation Great Debate Paper*, no. 5 (2010). See further references below.
- ¹⁸ E.g.: Taras Kurylo, “Skandal iz Rossolins’kym-Libe [Rossoliński-Liebe] ta stan ukrainskoi istorii,” *Istorychna Pravda*, 4 March 2012, www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2012/03/4/75432/; Oleksandr Zaitsev, “Chy isnuvav ukrainskyy natsional’no-vyzvol’nyi fashyzm?” *Zaxid.net*, 12 March 2012, https://zaxid.net/chy_isnuvav_ukrayinskyi_natsionalnovizvolnyi_fashizm_n1249957 (accessed 10 February 2020); Anton Shekhovtsov, “K voprosu ob ukrainskom natsional’no-osvoboditel’nom fashizme (kratkie razmyshleniia nad stat’ei Aleksandra Zaitseva),” *Anton Shekhovtsov’s Blog*, 14 March 2012, anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post_14.html; Taras Kurylo, “Shche raz pro OUN ta fashyzm,” *Zaxid.net*, 15 March 2012, zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?shhe_raz_pro_oun_ta_fashizm&objectId=1250264; and Oleksandr Zaitsev, “OUN i fashyzm: sim tez do dyskusii,” *Zaxid.net*, 30 March 2012, zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?oun_i_fashizm_sim_tez_do_diskusiyi&objectId=1251429.
- ¹⁹ David Marples, “Ukraine Parliament Legalizes ‘Fighters for Ukrainian Independence in the 20th Century,’” *Current Politics in Ukraine*, 9 April 2015, <https://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2015/04/09/ukraine-parliament-legalizes-fighters-for-ukrainian-independence-in-the-20th-century/>; “Open Letter from Scholars and Experts on Ukraine Re. the So-Called ‘Anti-Communist Law,’” *Krytyka*, April 2015, krytyka.com/en/articles/open-letter-scholars-and-experts-ukraine-re-so-called-anti-communist-law; Halya Coynash, Anton Shekhovtsov, and Andreas Umland, “Politicizing History: Ukraine’s Laws on ‘Historical Truth,’” *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung*, 13 April 2015, <http://www.rosalux.de/news/41387/politicizing-history-ukraines-laws-on-historical-truth.html>; Oleksandr Zaitsev and Yuriy Radchenko, “Zakon pro vshanuvannia bortsiv za nezalezhnist’,” *Politychna krytyka*, 14 April 2015, <http://ukraine.politicalcritique.org/2015/04/aktualni-komentari-zakon-pro-vshanuvannya-bortsiv-za-nezalezhnist/>; Christopher Gilley and Per Anders Rudling, “Laws 2558 and 2538-1: On Critical Inquiry, the Holocaust, and Academic Freedom in Ukraine,” *Politychna krytyka*, 19 April 2015, <http://ukraine.politicalcritique.org/2015/04/laws-2558-and-2538-1-on-critical-inquiry-the-holocaust-and-academic-freedom-in-ukraine/>; Oleksandr Motyl’ [Alexander Motyl], “Dekomunizatsiia Ukrainy,” *Krytyka*, April 2015, <http://krytyka.com/ua/articles/dekomunizatsiya-ukrayiny>; Yaroslav Grytsak, “My 30 let boremsia s proshlym: i 30 let ono nas pobezhdaet,” *Novoe vremia*, 3 May 2015, <http://nv.ua/opinion/grytsak/gricak-46645.html>; Oxana Shevel, “‘De-Communization Laws’ Need to Be Amended to Conform to European Standards,” *VoxUkraine*, 7 May 2015, <http://voxxukraine.org/2015/>

defenses of Volodymyr V'iatrovych, a controversial publicist who was director of the governmental Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance (Ukr. abbrev.: UINP) under President Petro Poroshenko in 2014–2019. An influential figure in Ukraine's public realm, though not in the academic world, V'iatrovych became a member of the Poroshenko party's Verkhovna Rada faction in 2020.²⁰ However, Zaitsev's novel notion of ustashism and its

05/07/de-communization-laws-need-to-be-amended-to-conform-to-european-standards/; Volodymyr Kulyk, "Pro neiakisini zakony ta nechutlyvykh krytykiv," *Krytyka*, May 2015, <http://krytyka.com/ua/solutions/opinions/pro-neyakisini-zakony-ta-nechutlyvykh-krytykiv>; Andrii Portnov, "Pro dekomunizatsiiu, identychnist' ta istorychni zakony deshcho inakshe," *Krytyka*, May 2015, <http://krytyka.com/ua/solutions/opinions/pro-dekomunizatsiyu-identychnist-ta-istorychni-zakony-deshcho-inakshe>; Yegor Stadny, "Is Decommunization Good for Ukraine? How Ukraine Is Battling Russia in the Present and the Past," *Al Jazeera*, 23 June 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/6/is-decommunization-good-for-ukraine.html>; and David R. Marples, "Decommunization, Memory Laws, and 'Builders of Ukraine in the 20th Century'," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 39 (2018): 1–22.

- ²⁰ In chronological order: Sofia Grachova, "Introduction to the Forum," Per Anders Rudling, "Warfare or War Criminality?" Igor' Iliushin, "Plokhо zabytoe staroe: o novoi knige Vladimira Viatrovicha," Gzhegozh [Grzegorz] Motyka, "Neudachnaia kniga;" Andzhei [Andrzej] Zemba, "Mifologizirovannaia voina," Vladimir Viatrovich [Volodymyr V'iatrovych], "Vtoraia pol'sko-ukrainskaia voina i diskussii vokrug nee," *Ab Imperio* 12, no. 1 (2012): 351–433; Taras Kuzio, "This Is Not How Ukrainian History Should Be Debated (at Columbia or Elsewhere)," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 19 May 2013, www.taraskuzio.com/Files/Kuzio_Columbia.pdf; Tarik Cyril Amar, Per Anders Rudling, and Andreas Umland, "Taras Kuzio's Alternative Reality or How Not to Write about a Workshop (and Colleagues)—At Columbia or Anywhere Else," *Current Politics in Ukraine*, 24 June 24 2013, ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2013/06/24/taras-kuzios-alternative-reality-or-how-not-to-write-about-a-workshop-and-colleagues-at-columbia-or-anywhere-else/; Christopher Gilley and Per Anders Rudling, "The History Wars in Ukraine Are Heating Up," *History New Network*, 9 May 2015, <http://historynewnetwork.org/article/159301> (accessed 10 February 2020); Andreas Umland, "Sylvester Stallone as a Boxer," *Historians.in.ua*, 24 May 2015, <http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/avtorska-kolonka/1520-andreas-umland-sylvester-stallone-as-a-boxer-a-comment-on-the-infamous-ukrainian-decommunization-laws-and-professional-expertise-in-ukrainian-public-affairs%20> (accessed 10 February 2020); Jared McBride, "How Ukraine's New Memory Commissar Is Controlling the Nation's Past," *The Nation*, 13 August 2015, www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-ukraines-new-memory-commissar-is-controlling-the-nations-past/ (accessed 10 February 2020); Josh Cohen, "The Historian Whitewashing Ukraine's Past," *Foreign Policy*, 2 May 2016,

elaborate justification through the example of the OUN, were meant to be a contribution not so much to Ukrainian (or Croatian) studies specifically. Instead, his 2015 terminological and definitional innovation was designed to establish a new subtype within the broader field of comparative studies on the rise and nature of the 20th-century far right. Namely, Zaitsev suggested that a distinction be drawn between palingenetic ultra-nationalist movements arising, on the one hand, within independent nation-states, i.e., fascism proper, and, on the other side, within colonized nations without their own state, i.e., “ustashism.” Zaitsev proposed the term “ustashism” not only as a proper name for the Croatian movement, but also as a generic label for a larger cross-cultural phenomenon he sees as

foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/02/the-historian-whitewashing-ukraines-past-volodymyr-viatrovych/ (accessed 10 February 2020); Tarik Cyril Amar, “The Radical Historian Rewriting Ukraine’s Past,” *WYNC Studios*, 20 May 2016, www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/otm/segments/radical-historian-rewriting-ukraines-past (accessed 10 February 2020); Per Rudling, Jared McBride, and Tarik Amar, “Ukraine’s Struggle with the Past Is Ours Too,” *Open Democracy*, 15 June 2016, www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/ukraine-s-struggle-with-past-is-ours-too/ (accessed 10 February 2020); Volodymyr Viatrovych, “Ukraine’s History Is in Good Hands,” *Foreign Policy*, 17 June 2016, foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/17/ukraines-history-is-in-good-hands-viatrovych/; Alexander J. Motyl, “National Memory in Ukraine: What the West Gets Wrong About Liberals and Nationalists,” *Foreign Affairs*, 4 August 2016, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-08-04/national-memory-ukraine (accessed 10 February 2020); Andriy Kohut, “Those attacking Ukrainian archives should improve their own research,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 30 September 2016, www.ukrweekly.com/uwwp/those-attacking-ukrainian-archives-should-improve-their-own-research/; Andreas Umland, “Bad History Doesn’t Make Friends,” *Foreign Policy*, 25 October 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/25/bad-history-doesnt-make-friends-kiev-ukraine-stepan-bandera/> (accessed 10 February 2020); Taras Kuzio, “Umland Needs a More Balanced Approach,” *New Eastern Europe*, 11 April 2017, neweasterneurope.eu/2017/04/11/umland-needs-a-more-balanced-approach/; Shkandrij, “Volodymyr Viatrovych’s *Second Polish-Ukrainian War*,” “Historians Sign Petition Objecting to the Inclusion of a Nationalist Who Praised a Nazi Collaborator,” *History News Network*, 8 March 2017, historynewsnetwork.org/article/165383; David R. Marples, “Memory Laws: Censorship in Ukraine,” *E-International Relations*, 5 July 2020, www.e-ir.info/2020/07/05/memory-laws-censorship-in-ukraine/; and Taras Kuzio, “The Polish-Ukrainian War: A Historical and Political Context,” in Volodymyr Viatrovych, *The Gordian Knot: The Second Polish-Ukrainian War 1942-1947* (Horner Press, 2020), vii–xxiv.

sufficiently different from classical fascism to warrant separate terminological designation.²¹

The question of whether the OUN was fascist or not has, to be sure, been raised numerous times before.²² Previous debates,

²¹ On the concept of generic fascism, see, in chronological order: Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism* (New American Library, 1969); A. James Gregor, *The Ideology of Fascism: The Rationale for Totalitarianism* (Free Press, 1969); *idem*, *The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1974); Wolfgang Wippermann, *Faschismustheorien: Zum Stand der gegenwärtigen Diskussion* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972); *idem* and Hans-Ulrich Thamer, *Faschistische und neofaschistische Bewegungen: Probleme empirischer Faschismusforschung* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977); Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Fascism: A Reader's Guide* (Penguin, 1979); Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1980); Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, and Jan Petter Myklebust (eds.), *Who Were the Fascists? Social Roots of European Fascism* (Universitetsforlaget, 1981); Wolfgang Wippermann, *Europäischer Faschismus im Vergleich (1922-1982)* (Suhrkamp, 1983); Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, 2nd edn. (Routledge, 1993); Zeev Sternhell with Mario Sznajder & Maia Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1994); Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (Chatto & Windus, 1995); Roger Griffin (ed.), *Fascism* (Oxford University Press, 1995); *idem* (ed.), *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus* (Arnold, 1998); A. James Gregor, *Phoenix: Fascism in Our Time* (Transaction Publishers, 1999); Stanley G. Payne, *Geschichte des Faschismus: Aufstieg und Fall einer europäischen Bewegung* (Propyläen, 2001); Aristotle A. Kallis (ed.), *The Fascism Reader* (Routledge, 2003); Roger Griffin with Matthew Feldmann (eds.), *Critical Concepts in Political Science: Fascism*, 5 vols. (Routledge, 2004); Angelica Fenner and Eric D. Weitz (eds.), *Fascism and Neofascism: Critical Writings on the Radical Right in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Stefan Breuer, *Nationalismus und Faschismus: Frankreich, Italien und Deutschland im Vergleich* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005); Michael S. Neiberg (ed.), *Fascism* (Ashgate, 2006); Arnd Bauerkämper, *Der Faschismus in Europa 1918-1945* (Reclam, 2006); A. James Gregor, *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Matthew Feldman (ed.), *A Fascist Century: Essays by Roger Griffin* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Wolfgang Wippermann, *Faschismus: Eine Weltgeschichte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Constantin Iordachi (ed.), *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives* (Routledge, 2010); and Roger Griffin, *Fascism: An Introduction to Comparative Fascist Studies* (Polity Press, 2018).

²² E.g., during the post-Soviet period, in chronological order: Kost Bondarenko, "Fashyzm v Ukraini: Do istorii problemy," *Ukrains'ki varianty* 2 (1997): 77-78; Oleksandr Zaitsev, "Fashyzm i ukrains'kyi natsionalizm (1920-30-ti rr.)," *Nezalezhnyy kul'turolohichnyy chasopys "I"* 16 (2000),

however, were arguably unsatisfactory in that the gap between designating, for instance, the ideology of the OUN either as integral nationalist, or as fully fascist remained wide. Those who rejected and reject a classification of the OUN as simply fascist often preferred and prefer to use the OUN's own description of its ideology as integral nationalism.²³ This classification may not, in principle, be wrong. Yet, "integral nationalism" is a rather broad term that can be applied to a wide variety of modern radical movements around the world. It does not do justice to, for instance, the OUN's or Ustašas' clearly revolutionary ambition which made them different from other integral nationalists. In 2015, Zaitsev proposed a terminological and conceptual solution to this dilemma among researchers of Ukraine's historical radical right with his new notion of

<http://www.ji.lviv.ua/n16texts/zajtsev.htm> (accessed 10 February 2020); Anton Shekhovtsov, "By Cross and Sword: 'Clerical Fascism' in Interwar Western Ukraine," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8, no. 2 (2007): 271–85; Heorhiy Kas'ianov, *Do pytannia pro ideolohiiu Orhanizatsii ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv (OUN): Analychynny ohliad* (Instytut istorii Ukrainy, 2003); Timothy Snyder, "A Fascist Hero in Democratic Kiev," *New York Review of Books*, 24 February 2010, www.nybooks.com/daily/2010/02/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev/ (accessed 10 February 2020); Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "The 'Ukrainian National Revolution' of 1941: Discourse and Practice of a Fascist Movement," *Kritika: Exploration in Russian and Eurasian History* 12, no. 1 (2011): 83–114; Oleksandr Zaitsev, "Ukrains'kyy natsionalizm ta italiys'kyy fashyzm (1922-1939)," *Ukraina Moderna*, 3 January 2012, uamoderna.com/md/98-zaitsev; Tomasz Stryjek, "Fashyzm chy integral'nyi natsionalizm? OUN u suchasnykh publichnykh dyskusiakh i v istoriografichnyi ta politologichnyi perspektyvi," *Ukraina Moderna* 20 (2014): 123–50; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "The Fascist Kernel of Ukrainian Genocidal Nationalism," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and Eastern European Studies* 2402 (2015); *idem*, "Der europäische Faschismus und der ukrainische Nationalismus: Verflechtungen, Annäherungen und Wechselbeziehungen," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 65, no. 2 (2017): 153–69; and *idem*, "Inter-Fascist Conflicts in East Central Europe: The Nazis, the 'Austrofascists', the Iron Guard, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists," in Bauerkämper and Rossoliński-Liebe, *Fascism without Borders*, 168–91.

²³ John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism 1939-1945* (Columbia University Press, 1955); and Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929* (East European Monographs, 1980).

“ustashism.”²⁴ His proposal was, however, rejected by the two prominent Ustaša-experts Dulić and Miljan, in 2020.²⁵

Towards an Enlightening Discussion

To continue this nascent debate, we have not only asked Zaitsev to respond to Dulić and Miljan’s rebuttal. We also invited some established experts on the East European far right, historical Ukrainian nationalism, and comparative fascist studies to outline their opinion on the disagreement between Zaitsev and Dulić/Miljan. We approached a number of potential qualified discussants and invited their responses and comments.

By early 2021, the plan was to publish at least two installments of this debate in *JSPPS*.²⁶ The texts by those experts who replied to our call by February 2021 are published below. Enjoy!

²⁴ Zaitsev, “Fascism or Ustashism?”

²⁵ Dulić and Miljan, “The Ustašas and Fascism.”

²⁶ We are, until June 2021, accepting informative submissions of 2,000 words or more for the second installment of the debate. However, we cannot guarantee in advance publication of submitted texts. In subsequent *JSPPS* issue/s, we may—given that sufficiently relevant and numerous additional responses are sent to us—publish one or more additional continuation/s of this debate.