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THE VERACITY OF TESTIMONY:
RÓŻA WAGNER’S STORY OF THE LVIV POGROM
OF THE SUMMER OF 1941

The article is intended to shed light on the use of survivors’ testimonies as a source. It analyses the testimony of Róża Wagner, a Jewish woman caught up in the Lviv pogrom of the summer of 1941. Wagner composed her text in 1945 in Kraków, Poland. The uniqueness of this piece of testimony is that the incidents Wagner describes happened to be photographed by a German film crew, both as still photographs and as a movie. Thus the textual narrative by a survivor can be compared with a visual narrative by hostile bystanders to examine the veracity of the textual narrative. The portion of Wagner’s text that describes the incident in Lviv is included in a full Ukrainian translation. The article publishes photographs of the Lviv pogrom from the Wiener Library in London and from the private collection of David Lee Preston of Philadelphia and discusses briefly a German newsreel and films held by the Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and by the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre in Toronto.

The comparison of details in Wagner’s text with details captured on camera demonstrates a high degree of veracity in her testimony. Her descriptions of what she saw and experienced were accurate, and nothing in the pictures contradicted her testimony. However, her position as a victim limited her field of vision. She was unable, for example, to understand much about the perpetrators of the pogrom. She correctly identified them as Ukrainian, but considered them to be mere lumpen elements. In fact, though, the author affirms, and appearances to the contrary, the perpetrators of this incident in the pogrom were members of the Ukrainian militia.
This article outlines collective memory about the Holocaust of the contemporary Ukrainian students and its regional features. Empirical data were collected with the help of several methods such as writing essays about the Holocaust and carrying out focus groups the goal of which was to get information about the sources of knowledge about the Holocaust and students’ attitude to it.

The sample was developed with regard for the region, age, education, and gender. There are three main regions in Ukraine which differ in their history, culture, religion, mentality, economic situation, etc. They are Eastern, Central and Western regions, and three cities from these parts of the country were chosen for the study (Kharkiv from the Eastern part, Poltava from the Central, and Lviv from the Western part). Students from science and humanities (excluding history) of the universities in these cities became the respondents in this study. They were of 16-23 years of age, almost equally males and females. 237 essays which were obtained from them have been analyzed.

Such methods as discourse analysis, elements of narrative analysis, qualitative content analysis were used to analyze the data and get the results which gave a possibility to make some conclusions.

Students’ collective memory of the Holocaust is based on different cultural models and values. The most frequently used is a model of human rights, equality of people of different races and nations, then values of non-violence, negative attitude to wars, everyday life stereotypes and myths, and also dislike for the Jews. Their collective memory is not homogeneous, it represents both supplementary versions (e.g., antinationalistic and interpretative) and contested versions (e.g., antinationalistic and anti-Semitic, historical and everyday life). It demonstrates different, sometimes opposite attitude of certain groups to the Holocaust and memory about it. The content of students’ memory about the Holocaust is rather poor and distanced from them.

Collective memory of the Holocaust is a peculiar combination of its official (mass media, textbooks) and unofficial (family stories, conversations with others, beliefs) versions. It has a tendency to simplify events and to imagine them as simple, consistent and noncontradictory. It should be mentioned that nobody (with the exception of only one person) mentioned collaboration and participation of Ukrainians in the destruction of the Jews. On the other hand,
only few mentioned righteous persons who helped the Jews and saved them.

There is also regional specificity of collective memory. Regional memory (both about events in Ukraine and in the own region) is more evidently expressed in the students from Lviv. They used regional discourse four times more frequently than in Poltava and ten times more frequently than in Kharkiv. Their memory of the Holocaust is more saturated with the facts dealing with Ukraine. In general they displayed more interest to the history of Ukraine and its past. Only few students in Kharkiv and Lviv remembered the Holocaust in the regional discourse, which shows their attitude to the Holocaust as an alien event not included in the Ukrainian history and national memory. A number of students (about 15%) mostly from Poltava and Kharkiv expressed anti-Semitic views.

Students from Lviv identified Ukrainian people as victims and displayed negative attitude to the Soviet Union and Russians. Students from Poltava are less critical to the Soviet Union and do not show negativism towards Russians. In Kharkiv they are critical to the Soviet Union and are quite loyal towards Russians.

The Holocaust is considered by the majority of students to be an event from the past that does not relate either to the present or future and their life as a whole.
The topic of the Holocaust during the Second World War and the Gypsies is closely connected with the history and the contemporary development of the organized international Roma movement and has serious dimensions in the whole development of the community. In the last few decades in frames of Romani movement run active processes, which, at least according to some international Roma activists, should led to the creation of a base, on which from the inhomogeneous and heterogenic Gypsy community (or rather communities) a common Roma nation will be formed. Part of these processes are developing and imposing of interconnected concepts of Anti-Tsiganism and of ‘Roma Holocaust’.

The article analyses the perception of the concept of ‘Roma Holocaust” as historical event shaped by Anti-Tsiganism and the relation of the so-called Roma elit and of ‘ordinary’ Gypsies towards it. On ground of analysed materials and events of connected to the Romani movement the article outlined two completely different visions in process of formation of the future development, as the attitude towards the Holocaust is one of the main lines of difference between them. These two different visions are not ‘officially’ opposing each other as ideological platforms, but they find their place as in the contemporary Roma art, literature, press, internet pages, so in study materials prepared in the different countries or on common European level. Actually they are an illustration of the main division in the contemporary Roma/Gypsy movement, based on which stays the division community-society, from the point of view of the Gypsies themselves. The Gypsies always exist, sort of saying, at least in two dimensions, they live at least in two coordinate systems – as separate (often trans-border) community (or communities), and as society (or in other words – as ethnically separated integral part of the corresponding nation-state). In dependence on which of the two dimensions is the leading one, the corresponding vision of the history and the perspectives of development, including the attitude towards the Roma Holocaust, is formed.