

UKRAINIANS and JEWS

A Symposium



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UKRAINIANS AND JEWS

ARTICLES, TESTIMONIES, LETTERS AND
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH
INTERRELATIONS OF UKRAINIANS AND
JEWS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

A Symposium

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Contents:

INTRODUCTION	7
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CHAPTER I: FEATURE ARTICLES:

1. Why the Jewish Problem Has Been Connected with Ukraine <i>Matthew Stachiw</i>	11
2. Ukrainians and Jews <i>Leo Heiman</i>	55
3. Russia, the Jews and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement <i>Lew Shankowsky</i>	65
4. The Puppets of Soviet Russian Colonialism <i>Michael Broida</i> (as told to <i>Leo Heiman</i>)	97
5. The Revived Myth of Ukrainian Anti-Semitism <i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	107
6. Shevchenko and the Jews <i>Roman Smal-Stocki</i>	119

CHAPTER II: TESTIMONIES

1. Testimony by Dr. Volodymyr Bemko	123
2. Testimony by Ivan Lyuty-Lyutenko	126
3. Testimony by Stepan Lisovy	131
4. Testimony by Alexander Hladyshovsky	133
5. Testimony by Petro Pyasetsky	134
6. Testimony by Yaroslava Forovych	139
7. Testimony by Moses Diamond	143
8. Testimony by Dr. M. Shkilnyk	143

CHAPTER III: UKRAINIAN STATE DOCUMENTS

1. Decree of the Ukrainian Government on Assigning a Budget to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs	149
2. Decree of the Ukrainian Government Concerning <i>Pogroms</i> in Ukraine (No. 171)	149
3. Order of the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Army Con- cerning <i>Pogroms</i> in Ukraine (Order of the Day No. 131)	151
4. Appeal of Petlura to the Ukrainian Army	152
5. The Personal-National Autonomy of the National Minorities in Ukraine	154

CHAPTER IV: UKRAINIAN-JEWISH DISCUSSION
IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*:

1. Letter to the Editor by Walter Dushnyck	157
2. Letter to the Editor by Judd L. Teller	159
3. Letter to the Editor by Eugene Sanjour	161

CHAPTER V: STATEMENTS REJECTING
MOSCOW-SPONSORED ANTI-SEMITISM

1. Statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America	163
2. Statement of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee	167
3. Statement of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky before the House Sub-Committee on Europe	169

CHAPTER VI: EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS:

1. "Moscow's War on Judaism and Religion in General" Editorial. <i>The Ukrainian Quarterly</i>	173
2. "Kichko: Latest Soviet Pawn in Anti-Semitic Game" Editorial. <i>The Ukrainian Bulletin</i>	184
3. "Kizya's Interview on Kichko's Book" <i>The Ukrainian Bulletin</i>	187
4. "'Radio Free Europe,' NCWC News Service Comment on UCCA Statement Denouncing Anti-Semitism" <i>The Ukrainian Bulletin</i>	190
INDEX	193

Introduction

Viewed in historical perspective the question of Ukrainian-Jewish relations is an extremely important one, not only as regards the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples, but also in the light of world peace and international well-being.

First of all, a substantial part of Europe's Jewish population lived in Ukraine for several centuries. There they shared the lot of the Ukrainian people in their misery and the ongoing struggle for freedom and national emancipation. Relations between Jews and Ukrainians were clouded at times by mutual accusations that followed upon bitter conflicts affecting both peoples adversely.

During both World War I and World War II the interrelations of Ukrainians and Jews reached the highest point of tension. It was at these times that the Ukrainians were making supreme efforts to attain freedom and national independence. They had to wage a long drawn out and desperate struggle, at times against two or even three aggressive neighbors who had designs on the natural resources of Ukraine. With that in view, these neighbors opposed the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to freedom and national statehood.

As one of the largest and most active minorities in Ukraine, the Jews often found themselves between hammer and anvil. They endeavored to maintain an unlikely neutrality, or else found themselves associated with forces that the Ukrainians came to oppose as they reached for independence. This situation, unhappily for both groups, occasioned tension and recriminations. Jews charged that Ukrainians were anti-Semitic, while Ukrainians maintained that the Jews en masse were supporting Russian policies and were providing personnel for the Russian communist police apparatus in Ukraine.

Fortunately for both peoples, these charges are greatly exaggerated. While anti-Semitic excesses occurred in Ukraine during the revolution, and especially during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in 1941-44, these cannot be charged to the Ukrainian people as such. All the historical evidence proves the opposite.

The Ukrainian community rejected the anti-Semitic pogroms as inconsistent with the Ukrainian democratic traditions and way of life. During the short-lived Ukrainian independent state (1918-

1920), the Jews were granted national-personal autonomy in Ukraine. Jewish ministers were appointed to the Ukrainian government. The Hebrew language was on the currency of the Ukrainian government.

In the time of Hitler's barbarous rule in Ukraine, hundreds of Ukrainians were executed by the Gestapo for giving help and shelter to persecuted and hunted Jews. The late Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church issued two notable pastoral letters in defense of Jews. Subsequently Himmler is said to have ordered his arrest. It was only the Nazi debacle at Stalingrad that dissuaded the Nazi police from arresting Metropolitan Sheptytsky.

On the other hand, while some Jews occupied prominent positions in the NKVD and MVD before and during World War II and served in Ukraine in the generally oppressive apparatus of Communist Russia, the rank and file of Jews in Ukraine suffered just as much from Moscow's totalitarian rule as did the Ukrainians.

Today the situation has changed to an appreciable degree. The Jews have succeeded in establishing their own state of Israel; there thousands of Jews, including a great number from Ukraine, have found a new life in freedom. But the Ukrainians are still enslaved and persecuted. And some 900,000 or 1,000,000 Jews still in Ukraine experience with them the ruthless oppression and persecution directed by the Kremlin.

Moscow has always played the classic game of divide et impera (divide and rule). It has been using anti-Semitism as a powerful weapon against Jews and Christians alike. The notable example was the publication in 1963 in Kiev of Judaism without Embellishment, by Prof. Trofim K. Kichko, under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. This understandably created worldwide indignation and protests. Some Jewish leaders unthinkingly ascribed the publication of the book to "Ukrainian anti-Semitism," failing to discern that the true culprit was the Soviet government itself. Today Prof. Kichko's book has been withdrawn from circulation and he himself is said to have been assigned some obscure post in the Soviet administration.

But damage to the Ukrainian name was done with telling effect. Such was the intention of Moscow in ordering the publication of Prof. Kichko's book in the first place.

The approach to a positive solution of the Ukrainian-Jewish problem should not be obscured by either hatred or emotion. The fact is that the future of Ukrainian-Jewish relations very much depends upon the leaders of these two peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain. They should exercise judicious wisdom in appraising

and analyzing the relations which have bound the two peoples for centuries.

With such an aim in mind, this Symposium is being published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. It includes a number of Jewish writers: Leo Heiman and Dr. M. Broida of Israel; Dr. Judd Teller and Eugene Sanjour of the United States. There also are articles by outstanding Ukrainian American writers: Dr. Matthew Stachiw, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, Dr. Lew Shankowsky, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky and Walter Dushnyck. There are historical testimonies of several Ukrainian and Jewish witnesses about the assistance given to Jews by Ukrainians during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in 1941-44. There are included official statements and pronouncements of the Ukrainian government regarding Jewish autonomy and the pogroms in Ukraine, statements of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee denouncing the anti-Semitic publication in Kiev, and other important statements.

It is sincerely hoped that this Symposium will provide important source material for those interested in the plight of Jews in the Soviet communist empire, and also for those who study the history of the Ukrainian people and their aspiration to freedom and independence.

THE EDITORS

Chapter I

FEATURE ARTICLES

WHY THE JEWISH PROBLEM HAS BEEN CONNECTED WITH UKRAINE

By DR. MATTHEW STACHIW
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In 1917-1920, Ukraine was a sovereign democratic state known under its constitutional name of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Its Constitution was passed by a legislature which was elected by the entire population under conditions of full democratic freedom. Each of its governments was appointed by a democratic majority. From the very beginnings of the Republic and at the time of the great revolution in Eastern Europe (and, partly, in Central Europe) the Ukrainian state authorities, using all the forces at their disposal, tried to maintain social order and inter-class peace by enacting genuine and indispensable socio-economic reforms—reforms which other states carried out only later. Characteristic of and unique with the Ukrainian state was the system of national peace, legitimized in the Ukrainian People's Republic by constitutional law: constitutional guarantees of civil rights extended to all citizens of the Republic without regard to differences of race, national-cultural origin, language, creed, and social class, and the granting to all national minorities (Russians, Jews, Poles, Greeks, Moldavians, etc.) of a wide national-cultural autonomy, specified by law and financed by appropriations derived from internal revenue. The largest minorities—the Jews, the Russians and the Poles—received a proper representation in the Government of the Republic by the creation of ministerial posts for the affairs of each minority.

It must be emphasized that at this time no national majority in a State accorded privileges so widely to national minorities as did the elected representation of the Ukrainian majority in Ukraine wholly of its own will.¹

¹ For a closer look at the problem, see Prof. Solomon I. Goldelman, *Zhydivska natsionalna avtonomiya na Ukrayini 1917-1920* (The Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine 1917-1920), Munich, 1963, Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR, 109 pp. 40.

What is of importance in the case of the Jewish minority in Ukraine is that, for the first time in the modern history of Central and Eastern Europe, the Jews were recognized by law as a separate nationality. For the first time in the history of the entire world, inscriptions in the languages of the three largest national minorities in Ukraine, the Jewish included, appeared on the banknotes of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Up to this time neither the Russian Empire nor the Central-European Empires (which had important Jewish minorities) had ever officially recognized the Jewish nationality, always having referred only to "the religion of Moses."

Soon, however, for reasons quite independent of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, deplorable developments took place on the Ukrainian territory, the victims of which numbered thousands of Ukrainians and Jews. Provocative anti-Jewish *pogroms* were employed as one of the forms of the struggle against the Ukrainian People's Republic. With all the means at its disposal, the Ukrainian Government tried to fight the emergence of criminal elements, but could not manage to eliminate them entirely, principally because of the military aggressions of Soviet Russia. The battle-fronts shifted constantly and widely over the land. With the outnumbered Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic retreating from one or another part of the Ukrainian territory, the authority of the Ukrainian government weakened; and the criminal elements were able to raise their heads. Had the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic received aid from the democratic West in repelling the Soviet Russian invasion, it would have undoubtedly succeeded also in suppressing the criminal elements, and Jewish national autonomy would have functioned and developed in Ukraine up to the present. But Jewish autonomy was abolished as soon as the occupational regime enforced by Soviet Russia was established.²

Ignoring the facts presented by objective historians and attested to by such leading Jewish figures as Prof. Solomon Goldelman

² Solomon Goldelman, one of the leaders of the Jewish Party "Poalei Zion" who worked in Ukraine during the whole period of the Ukrainian People's Republic's existence and cooperated with the supreme authorities of the Republic, pronounces a similar opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 71). He states: "If not for the catastrophic outcome of the Ukrainian National Revolution, the constructive forces within the Ukrainian community would have mastered the *pogromist* anarchy, and the Jewish national autonomy would have remained as a constituent part of the democratic Ukrainian Republic." Also see the work of another prominent Jewish statesman, Dr. Arnold Margolin, who first was appointed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and later became Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic: *Ukraina i polityka antanty* (Ukraine and the Policy of the *Entente*), 1922, 397 pp. 80.

and Dr. Arnold Margolin—particularly the favorable and friendly attitude towards the Jews on the part of the Ukrainian statesmen—various authors still continue to betray their prejudice against the latter and against the entire Ukrainian people. Many authors ascribe the anti-Jewish pogroms which took place at the time of the great revolution and of the Soviet Russian aggression against Ukraine to the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian people. A recent manifestation was occasioned by the book of a Communist-Bolshevik, Trofim Kichko, who heavily assaulted Judaism and the Jewish people. Although this scurrilous book was published by the Communist authorities and in accordance with their designs, its appearance evoked a repetition of accusations against the leading men of the Ukrainian People's Republic and, particularly, against the President of its Directorate, Simon Petlura.³

It is interesting to note that there are few writers in the English press willing to ask themselves this question: Why—precisely at the time of the revolution in Eastern Europe in 1917-1920—did criminal pogroms flare up against the Jews? Why, in general, was the Jewish problem acute only in Ukraine, and not in neighboring Russia proper? If they addressed themselves to this question objectively they would at once discover the historic truth that the Jewish problem emerged not in the sovereign Ukrainian People's Republic of 1917-1920 but that, in its specific pogromist form, it had been handed down and imposed by Czarist Russia as her historic legacy. It is just this very fact which we wish to examine here in order to show this historic Russian legacy more intimately.

THE QUARANTINE AGAINST THE JEWS IN MUSCOVY

The Muscovite rulers, who displayed an acute mistrust of aliens and, especially, of Jews, barred the Jews from living in Muscovy. Jews were not allowed to enter Muscovy even as transient merchants.

The principal reason for the anti-Semitism of the Muscovite rulers was their deep and groundless fear of the Jewish religion. Their fear of it was matched only by their hate of it.

Another reason was evident in the efforts of these rulers to attain full totalitarian unity of their subjects. The latter had to be ruled not only by the single secular power of the Czar, but also by his religious power. The Czar saw himself as the natural head of the Church; therefore, any other religion was construed as a form of rebellion against himself. At the least, it denoted a lack of recogni-

³ For an assault of this kind, see Professor Judd L. Teller's letter to *The New York Times*, April 14, 1964.

tion of his authority. The Tatar concept of state power largely contributed to this implacable attitude against strangers and against the Jews.⁴

The fear of the Jews was expressed by the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Vasiliï III, through his ambassadors in foreign countries. His ambassador in Rome, for example, stated: "The Muscovite people dread no one more than the Jews, and do not admit them into Muscovy."⁵

Such was the tenor of Muscovite-Jewish relations up to the second half of the 16th century. Barred from Muscovy, the Jews had no contact either with the Muscovite government or the Muscovite people.

Only during the Muscovite-Polish war over Byelorussian lands in the second half of the 16th century did the Jews get a chance to become acquainted with the Muscovite ways of government. Muscovite troops occupied the city of Polotsk, which contained many Jews. Czar Ivan the Terrible gave the local Jews this choice: either immediately be baptized and join the Muscovite Orthodox Church or be drowned in the Dvina River. According to the contemporary chronicles, the Muscovite troops drowned some 20,000 Jews in the Dvina River.⁶

This first official *pogrom* of the Jews clearly indicated the treatment Jews could expect from the Muscovite government once they fell under its administration.

Anti-Jewish feelings traditionally ran high among the *boyars*, the ruling caste of Muscovy, as was shown during the change of the dynasty at the beginning of the 17th century. In the negotiations on the eventual election to the Muscovite throne, the council of *boyars* presented the Polish Crown Prince Vladislav with such an added clause to the proposed agreement: "... the Jews shall not be allowed to enter the Muscovite Czarodom either on business or in connection with any other affairs."⁷

Closer contacts with the methods of administration of the Muscovite Empire were made by the Jews during the next war of Muscovy against Poland. Then in 1654, upon supreme orders from Moscow, regular Muscovite troops organized mass *pogroms* of the Jews

⁴ Simon M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*. From Earliest Times until the Present Day. Vol. I-III, Philadelphia, 1946, See Vol. I, p. 242.

⁵ Cf. Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

⁶ V. Ivanyts, *Symon Petlura, Prezydent Ukrayiny* (Simon Petlura, President of Ukraine), and the sources quoted therein, pp. 135-136.

⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 244.

in the cities they captured. Particularly bestial *pogroms* were conducted by the Muscovite army in Vilna, Mogilev and Vitebsk. Thousands upon thousands of Jews were killed or wounded.⁸

ANTI-JEWISH POLICIES OF PETER I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Czar Peter I enjoys fame as the Muscovite ruler who sought to Europeanize Muscovy as well as all his conquered lands, which he officially renamed Russia. We shall not discuss here the methods he used to introduce "Europeanism" in Russia. But, apropos of the Jewish problem, we shall point out only that while he eagerly invited various foreigners to Russia to help implant European ways in Russia, particularly administration, he always remained a determined enemy of the Jews. For example, during his stay in Holland, the Jews, through the mediation of the Dutch, appealed to Peter to permit Jews to work freely in Russia. Peter was adamant in his refusal to grant such permission.⁹

Thus Muscovy closed its doors to Jewry as if confronting a scourge. This did not mean, however, that the Czars did not commit anti-Jewish actions. They tried to set their anti-Jewish policies to work in Ukraine which in the second half of the 17th century found herself under Czarist control.

During the time the Ukrainian Kozak State was fully independent as well as during the time its dependency on the Czar of Moscow was still limited, Ukraine pursued a tolerant policy as regards Jewish affairs and permitted the Jews to settle in the Ukrainian territory. With the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667, Right Bank Ukraine passed under Polish sovereignty and Left Bank Ukraine fell under increasing Czarist control. Still refusing to admit Jews into its territory, Muscovy pressed the Ukrainian Kozak government to expel the Jews from Left Bank Ukraine, too. Such demands were contained in the 1727 *ukase* of the Muscovite government. The Ukrainian government protested against this *ukase*.¹⁰

In the following year, overriding the Ukrainian protests, the *ukase* was repeated by Czar Peter II with an unconditional order to expel the Jews beyond the borders of the Ukrainian Kozak State.¹¹

Although various means were used by the Ukrainian government to combat the *ukases* from Moscow, its authority steadily weak-

⁸ Cf. Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 245.

⁹ Dubnow, *ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 250.

¹¹ Dubnow, *ibid.*

ened, and it was forced to comply with the inhuman deportation order of 1741.¹² Moscow's genocidal savagery made for the expulsion of some 30,000 Jews from Left Bank Ukraine.

Catherine II continued the anti-Jewish policies of her predecessors, although the sycophants of the progressionist Voltaire type called her the "Semiramis of the North." She invited foreigners from Western Europe to come to Russia, making a distinct exception, however, in the case of Jews.¹³

The quarantine against Jews in Muscovy and in non-Muscovite countries subordinated to it (e. g., the Left Bank Ukraine) remained in force up to 1772, the time of the first partition of Poland.

The partitions of the Kingdom of Poland enlarged Russia with the vast expanses of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian territories. With these territories Russia acquired hundreds of thousands of Jews. Now, however, there was no place to which to expel the masses of Jewish population; their social-political status had to be established.

The Russian government, i. e., the progressive Czarina, Catherine II, and her ministers, decided to comply with the desire of the "Orthodox people" (as Catherine herself recalled in her diary) to keep the Jews put, firmly and rigidly, on the newly-acquired territories.

Setting up severe penalties for offenders, no Jews from the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian territories were allowed to pass into the territory of Muscovy.

In Ukraine the Jews were allowed to settle only in the provinces of Kholm, Polissya, Volhynia, Podolia, and in the Right Bank part of the province of Kiev, with the exception of the city of Kiev. Left Bank Ukraine was excluded from the Pale of Settlement.¹⁴

ILL-FATED PALE OF SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA

Taking into consideration the numerousness of the Jews who came under the rule of Czarist Empire with the second partition of the Kingdom of Poland, Moscow decided to expand the Pale of Settlement of the Jews to some extent. Nevertheless, it continued to exclude Jews from Muscovy (or, if we use the modern terminology, Russia proper). The extended boundaries of the Pale of Settlement of the Jews now included the whole of Ukraine. The *ukase* of June 23, 1794 defined these new boundaries. They took in the Byelorussian and Lithuanian governments to the north, Minsk, Polotsk (later Vi-

¹² Cf. Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 254 ff.

¹³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 260-261.

¹⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 306-316.

tebsk), Mogilev and the region of Taurida in the South. The third partition of Poland added the governments of Grodno and Vilna. Thus, by 1795, great masses of the world Jewry found themselves in a single state—Russia—and had to share its fate.¹⁵

The Jews were concentrated in the heavily overpopulated Ukrainian and Polish provinces. Between them and vast and underpopulated provinces of Muscovy proper, a true "Muscovite Wall" was erected by the Czarist authorities to prevent any migration of the Jews. On the territory of the Pale of Settlement itself, from this time on the authorities began to manipulate the Jews according to Muscovite national interests. The living body of Jewry was subjected to a many-sided experimentation.

Driving the Jews from the villages into the cities and towns was the first experiment which the Czarist government conducted. A special Czarist *ukase* decreed that, starting January 1, 1807, the Jews in the villages of Ukraine would not be permitted to hold any leases on land, to keep taverns or inns either under their own name or that of some third party, or even reside in them. This measure virtually denuded the villages of Jews. It created, in effect, a new "Pale of Settlement" within the larger one.¹⁶

This measure wreaked havoc with the lives of the Jews. Affected were some 50,000 Jewish families (about 250,000 Jews in all, counting 5 persons to a family).¹⁷ The Jews, of course, did what they could to prevent the execution of the *ukase*. In this they were helped somewhat by the international situation and, especially, by Napoleon's war against Russia.

In the meantime international developments brought about a further change in the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe. After the fall of the Napoleonic Empire in France, the Congress of Vienna of 1815 carried out a new partition of the former Kingdom of Poland. Russia swelled with the addition of the Polish Vistula provinces (former Duchy of Warsaw) acquiring thereby yet more Jews. No less than 2 million Jews were now to be found in its empire, making it a major center of Jewish settlement in the world. The history of the Jews became indissolubly connected with the history of Russian Czardom.¹⁸

¹⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I., pp. 317-320.

¹⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 343.

¹⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 346.

¹⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 390.

DESPOTIC METHODS OF "ENLIGHTENMENT" OF THE JEWS

The regime of Czar Alexander I aimed at "enlightening" the Jews, featuring their conversion to Russian Orthodoxy. For this purpose, a special "Society of the Israelite Christians" was formed by an *ukase* in 1817. Special colonies were organized for the converted Jews, and free crown lands were allotted them.¹⁹ For example, large tracts in former Zaporozhe (i.e. in the government of Ekaterinoslav) were set aside for future settlements of Israelite Christians. Few colonies, however, were actually organized; the program of conversion had negligible success. After Alexander I, this method of "enlightenment" was abandoned.²⁰

With the advent of Czar Nicholas I to power, a new and far more effective method of "enlightenment" was devised. Called the "cantonist" system, it conscripted the Jewish youth into military service.

Claimed were Jewish boys from twelve to eighteen years old, who were to be found in every Jewish community. They were delivered to the army by the *Kahal* officials, and given a special education, followed by military service, all in the hope that this would lead them to accept Orthodoxy. The government even helped in marrying off the Jews who were adequately impressed by the military service and in settling them in the colonies. This system of "cantonists" was a heavy stroke against the Jewry and a bitter one for the *Kahals*, which had to help the Czarist authorities in carrying out this anti-Jewish action.

For the Jews it was a calamity, which left heavy and poignant memories in the Jewish folklore.

The Jews tried unsuccessfully to defend themselves against this onslaught on their culture and their very lives. Sir Moses Montefiore, in his privileged position as financial adviser to the Queen of England, journeyed to St. Petersburg to intercede with Czar Nicholas I for the abolition of the odious system. The Czar received him coldly and was not to be moved. It was not until the accession of Czar Alexander II in 1855 that the "cantonist" system was ordered abolished.²¹

Anti-Jewish tendencies were not confined to the ruling circles of the Russian Empire. Even the oppositionists and revolutionaries of the time regarded the Jewish problem with unsympathetic eyes. The ideologist of the revolutionary Decembrist movement, Paul Pestel,

¹⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 400

²⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 400-401.

²¹ Cf. Nathan Ausubel, *Pictorial History of the Jewish People, From Bible Times to Our Own Day throughout the World*. New York (13th ed.), 1962, p. 233.

inserted in his *Russian Truth* a separate chapter, entitled, "On the Tribes Populating Russia." In it Pestel attributed certain characteristics to the Jews, most of which, deriving from popular lore, were untrue. Pestel concluded his recital by pronouncing the Jews unfit for membership in any good social order. The Jews, complained Pestel, "foster among themselves incredibly close ties." He maintained that the Jews "have a religion of their own, which instills in them the belief that they are destined to conquer all nations." This feature, said Pestel, "makes it impossible for them to assimilate with any other nation."²²

In his book, Pestel emphasized this statement: "The rabbis hold unlimited sway over the masses; they keep the people in spiritual bondage, forbidding the reading of all books save the Talmud." He also hit at Jewish messianism: "The Jews await the coming of the Messiah, who is to establish them in their kingdom. They look upon themselves as but temporary residents of the country in which they live." Hence, Pestel deduced, the neglect by Jews of agriculture and their passion for commerce and industry. Since commerce alone is unable to provide the huge masses of Jews with a livelihood, Pestel declared, the Jews consequently consider permissible cheating and trickery at the expense of the Christians.

This revolutionary ideologist, however, had no eye for the heavy burden of Jewish discrimination within the Russian Empire. Indeed, he views the Jews as a privileged class in Russia. Why? Because the Jews do not furnish any recruits for the army as other Czarist subjects do, they enjoy their own rabbinical autonomy, they have their own tribunals, and they have the right to educate their children in accordance with their beliefs and, in addition to all these privileges, they also enjoy all the rights of the country in which they live.²³

Pestel proposed a solution of the Jewish problem for the future revolutionary government of Russia: after the victory of the revolution, the revolutionary government was to break up the Jewish exclusiveness in order to make the Jews develop a more friendly attitude towards Christian Russians. Should the Jews balk at this solution, the Russian revolutionary government would assist the Jews to leave Russia and to form a separate commonwealth of their own in some part of Asia.²⁴

Obviously underlying Pestel's program was the desire for the complete elimination of Jews from society. If such open anti-Jewish

²² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 410.

²³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

²⁴ Dubnow, vol. I, pp. 412ff.

sentiments could have been aired by a revolutionary ideologist like Pestel, how much more unfavorable to the Jews must have been the sentiments of the average Muscovite revolutionary intellectual of the time!

In 1827, two new *ukases* were issued, one decreeing the expulsion of Jews from all villages in the government of Grodno, and the other ordering the banishment of all Jewish residents from the city of Kiev.²⁵ Subsequently, expelled were not only those Jews who had arrived to settle in Kiev in accordance with the new designation of the Pale in 1794, but also those who had lived in Kiev prior to 1648.

Another *ukase* in 1830 had the Jews expelled from the villages of the government of Kiev. Numerous Jewish families suddenly had to leave their homes and look for shelter in the little towns, which thenceforth became Jewish in their compact majority. Later, this Jewish majority turned up a bitter problem in 1918-1920, during the years of the revolution in Ukraine.

Simultaneously, with social-economic repressions, the Jews were subjected also to afflictions of a spiritual character. There were the trials for alleged *ritual murders of Christian children*, which the Russian Government began trumping up in the first half of the 19th century. The first trial of this kind examined the murder in 1810 of Maria Adamovich, the four-year-old daughter of a Grodno resident. As the body of the murdered girl was found shortly before Passover, provocative rumors began circulating to the effect that the girl had been killed for Jewish ritual purposes, i. e., for obtaining blood needed for the production of ritual *matzoth*. Suspicion fell on Shalom Lapin, a member of the Grodno *Kahal*, if only because his house adjoined that of the Adamovich family. Lapin was put under arrest and an investigation ensued. A sergeant named Savitsky, who was a converted Jew, appeared before the investigators and made the fantastic statement that, according to the Jewish beliefs, "Christian blood is exactly what is needed for the production of ritual *matzoth*." There is small doubt that this witness was procured by the Government, and that his evidence was fabricated. The investigation, accompanied by provocative anti-Jewish rumors circulating all over Russia, lasted for a year. Finally, however, the charge against Lapin could not be substantiated, and the case was dismissed.²⁶

During the reign of the same Czar (in 1823), the case of another alleged ritual murder was put before the courts. Again before Passover, the corpse of a little boy, Theodore Yemelyanov, was discovered

²⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol II., pp. 30-31.

²⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 72-74.

in the town of Velizh, the government of Vitebsk. The child's body was covered with knife wounds. Again suspicion was directed against the Jews. The finger of suspicion was jointly pointed by a prostitute called Maria Terentyeva and by an old spinster named Yeremyeyeva. Accused were two Jewish merchants, Shmerka Berlin and Yozel Zetlin. The Governor and the police wanted—at any price—to see the Jews sentenced for ritual murder, and so the whole investigation of the case was conducted in complete accordance with their wishes. In actuality, using the depositions of the supposed witnesses, the investigators arrested no less than 42 Jews of Velizh on the charge of ritual murder. The examination lasted for a long time, but it could not prove the guilt of the accused Jews. It was dropped upon the death of Alexander I.²⁷

The discontinuance of the examination did not mean, however, that Czar Nicholas I and his ministers had ceased believing in the actuality of Jewish ritual murders of Christian children. On the contrary, the Czar firmly believed in the existence of a Jewish sect which utilized Christian blood for ritual purposes. When this belief became known to the investigators in the Velizh case, they re-opened it, recalling both principal defendants. The examination continued up to 1831, at which time both defendants were released by an *ukase* of the Czar; no positive evidence had been found to prove their guilt in *this* specific case. However, the Czar's *ukase* voiced a strong belief that murders for ritual purposes might exist. The Czar put it this way (in his own handwriting) :

...I do not have, and, indeed, cannot have, the inner conviction that the murder has not been committed by the Jews. Numerous examples of similar murders... show that among the Jews there probably exist fanatics and sectarians who consider Christian blood necessary for their rites. This appears the more possible since unfortunately even among Christians there sometimes exist such sects which are no less horrible and incomprehensible. In a word, I do not for a moment think that this custom is common to all Jews, but I do not deny the possibility that there may be among them fanatics just as horrible as among the Christians...²⁸

Could there be any doubt that if the supreme ruler of Russia believed in the existence of a Jewish sect utilizing Christian blood, the average member of his bureaucracy as well as the average member of Muscovite society believed all Jews practiced ritual murder?

In 1836 an uproar was caused by a crime committed in Nova Ushytsya, government of Podolia (Ukraine). Found were corpses of two Jews, Shvarts and Oxman, who were suspected of being inform-

²⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 75-78.

²⁸ Quoted after Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 83.

ers for the Russian authorities. The latter regarded the crime as the collective work of the local Jewish community, maintaining that secret tribunals were active among the Jews, issuing verdicts of their own. About eighty *Kahal* elders and other prominent Jews of Nova Ushytsya and adjacent towns, including two rabbis, were placed under arrest and tried by court-martial. The court handed down "an exemplary verdict": twenty Jews were sentenced to hard labor with a preliminary "punishment by rods (*Spießsruten*) through five hundred men," and a like number were deported to Siberia. Many of those who ran the gauntlet died under the blows.²⁹

One can but guess at the extent of the maelstrom of fantastic rumors in Podolia province and other provinces of the Empire that resulted from this infamous trial and verdict. The gist of the rumors was that the Jews had an underground system of justice capable of destroying any person daring to disclose Jewish secrets.

It was not long before similar official propaganda was initiated with an incident which took place in 1844 in the town of Mstislavl, government of Mogilev. An insignificant altercation arose when soldiers searched two Jewish merchants suspected of holding contraband goods in their warehouses. This incident served the Czar as a pretext for charging "Jewish mutiny" and ordering the "mutineers" to be tried before a court-martial. In addition, the Czar ordered taken one recruit for penal military service for every ten Jews of this "turbulent" community. The police arrested the most prominent members of the *Kahal* during the feast of *Purim* (*Haman*).³⁰

Here, as in other cases, an old Russian administrative principle was applied in dealing with the Jews: the principle of common responsibility for the actions of the individual, the most infamous and the most unjust principle used by despots.

To promote its anti-Jewish policies, the Russian administration urgently needed another ritual murder trial. The opportunity came in Saratov in 1853. In January of that year two Russian boys disappeared in Saratov; their bodies turned up later in the Volga. The bodies were covered with wounds and bore the traces of circumcision. The latter circumstance permitted the authorities to channel the inquiry in the direction of ritual murder. A conscripted soldier, Shlieferman, and an artisan named Yankel Yushkevicher were thrown into prison on the charge of ritual murder. The Czar himself appointed a "Special Commission of Inquiry" which was to investigate not only

²⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 84-85.

³⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 85-87.

the crime itself but also the dogmas and rituals of the Jews making for their alleged religious fanaticism.³¹

The investigation of the Saratov case lasted long years. It ended only after the ascendency to the Russian throne of Czar Alexander II in 1856. The case was finally decided by the Council of State in St. Petersburg, which brought in a verdict of guilty against the accused Jews, sentencing them to hard labor. The sentence was confirmed by the Czar's own signature.³² Thus a legal verdict of the highest judicial instance in the Empire, signed into law by the "progressive" Czar, formally bespoke the existence of Jewish ritual murders. Repercussions of the case in the entire Russian Empire were widespread; the case had frightful consequences for the Jews while opening doors for an incessant hate propaganda against them. Jews living beyond the borders of the Empire petitioned the Czar for annulment of the infamous verdict. Representatives of the St. Petersburg Jewish community, among them Baron Joseph Gunzburg, joined in these endeavors, but to no avail. Count Orlov, president of the Council of State, in his report to the Czar insisted on rejection of the petition. The unfortunate victims of the "justice" continued to be incarcerated until 1867 when, enfeebled and unable to discharge their penal servitude, they received a pardon from the Czar. However, the verdict of guilty for ritual murder remained in force.³³

The infamous verdict of the highest Russian instrumentality of justice immeasurably strengthened anti-Jewish hate propaganda among the illiterate masses of the Russian people, as well as among the highest administrative strata of the Empire and the highest strata of Russian society.

MOTLEY OF "LEARNED" ANTI-SEMITISM, ASSIMILATION POLICIES,
AND POGROMS—"SCHOLARLY" ANTI-SEMITIC LITERATURE

It was not long before a Slavophile movement developed in Muscovy, or Russia proper. Its Slavophilism was a watered-down, distorted version of the genuine Slavophile idea which had originated among the Czechs and Slovaks and had risen to eminent heights, especially thanks to Safarik. The genuine Slavophile movement, which had found eager followers among all the Slavic peoples, stood for the liberation of all Slavic peoples from whatever subjugation any might be subjected to and for the creation of national republics of these peoples in an all-Slavic confederation. The ideas of the genuine Slavo-

³¹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 150-151.

³² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 151-152.

³³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 152-153.

phile movement clearly had their foundation in general democratic ideology, which logically and inevitably led to their goal of liberation of the subjugated peoples. Considering the common roots of the Slavic languages and the consequent ease of communication among them, the Slavophiles called for an attainable equality and fraternity of all Slavic peoples, and extolled their presumptive democratic federation of equals with equals.

Fundamentally, the Slavophile idea turned equally against the German or Austrian autocracy, which subjugated the Slavic peoples, as well as against the oppressive Russian tyranny. Where the Muscovite people were concerned only politically, the other non-Muscovite peoples had both national and economic grievances. The Slavophile idea turned also against the Ottoman Empire. Thus the consistent Slavophilism among the non-Muscovite nationalities of the Russian Empire constituted by its very nature a revolutionary movement *par excellence*. And it was a truly revolutionary and profoundly democratic movement among the Ukrainian intellectuals in particular.³⁴

On Muscovite soil, among the *Muscovite intelligentsia*, the Slavophile idea instantly assumed a distorted form. In the first turn, it was exploited by the reactionaries for exculpating the imperialist policies of Russian Czardom. They propagated the thesis that all Slavs should strive for union in a single Russian Empire and thus eventually become submerged in a single "Russian people." According to their teachings, *one czar, one creed, one people* ought prevail over all Slavdom. And before the Slavic peoples under the rule of the German, Austrian and Ottoman Empires could unite, the slogan of "one czar, one creed, and one people" obviously first required its realization with regard to the non-Muscovite nationalities within the borders of the Russian Empire.

The Russian variety of Slavophilism dominated most Muscovite national groups; it set the fashion for Muscovite society and literature. As this movement was directed against all non-Muscovite nationalities and propagated their unity in a single Muscovite nation, it only followed that the Jewish community should also have been required to become diffused in a "single" people.³⁵

True, this nationalist and imperialist movement did not possess a "racist" character. Although the Russian Slavophile believed in the superiority of the "Russian" people, they did not consider other nationalities unworthy of joining with the Russian nation. This held

³⁴ In Ukraine a genuine Slavophile program was advanced by the *Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood* under the ideological leadership of Taras Shevchenko and Mykola Kostomarov.

³⁵ Ausubel, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

true for the Jewish "race" as well. Plumping for an *all-Russian assimilatory principle*, the Russian reactionaries required only the conversion of the Jews to Russian Orthodoxy. Those Jews who accepted Orthodoxy and assimilated with the Russians found every possible support from among the reactionaries. Those unwilling to surrender their religion encountered every possible persecution in their way.³⁶

The first reforms of Czar Alexander II, too, were directed at the assimilation of the Jews. But where the former Czar had striven at assimilation by conversion of Jews to Orthodoxy or by their Rus-sification in the army or by means of free agricultural colonies for the lower strata of the Jewry, the new Czar turned to assimilation of the higher strata. Probably he saw the tendency in Western Europe of the rich and educated layer of Jewish society to become assimilated relatively quickly. For this reason the Czar put before his highest council the problem of the *extension of the right of residence of Jews*. For two years the problem had been discussed in the Council of State. Finally, with the Council's move, a new law was promulgated by the Czar in March of 1859. In accordance with this law, two groups of Jews were allowed to settle anywhere in the Empire: 1) the wealthiest Jewish merchants belonging to the "first guild," and 2) prominent Jewish merchants, industrialists, and bankers from abroad. In this way, the new *ukase* of the Czar linked the assimilation of Jewish capitalists with Russian capitalism, leaving the poor Jewish strata as victims of forcible incarceration in the narrow Pale of Settlement among the overcrowded non-Muscovite countries of Ukraine, Poland, White Ruthenia and Lithuania.

In a short time the right of residence in the entire Empire was extended to the Jewish professional men: doctors and other intellectuals having an academic degree. The law was promulgated by the Czarist *ukase* of November, 1861.³⁷

The poorer strata of Jewry remained the targets of planned action on the part of the Russian Government, aiming at disrupting Jewish organizations in their autonomous *Kahals*. This action was euphemistically termed "a fight against Jewish separatism." Some aspects of the Government's "fight against Jewish social separatism" were utilized by the subordinate governors for the organization of *pogroms*.³⁸

On Palm Sunday in 1871 in Odessa, Russian official and clerical circles were incited by rumors that Jews had cast stones at the

³⁶ Ausubel, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

³⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 166.

³⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 190-191.

Christian procession. As a result, a long mass *pogrom* of the Jews raged for several days. The appeal of representative Odessa Jews to the Governor General for intervention by the army was met by the retort that the Jews themselves were to blame, they having provoked the Christians. Only on the fourth day, when thousands of houses had been destroyed and thousands of Jews had fallen in the massacre, the Governor sent in army detachments to stop the slaughter.³⁹

It was at this time that the Russian authorities offered as a cause of anti-Semitism the *economic exploitation* of the Christian population by the Jews. The Muscovite reactionaries began to devote more and more attention to such argumentation, and they were followed in this by the highest Czarist authorities.⁴⁰

Along with the rise of anti-Semitism in the highest circles of the imperial administration, the publication of anti-Semitic literature went apace. They provided fresh material for the growth of anti-Semitism in the highest layers of Muscovite society. A typical example is the doctoral dissertation of the Orthodox priest, Hippolyte Lutostavsky, on the theme: *Concerning the Use of Christian Blood by the Jews*. Lutostavsky published his "learned" treatise in 1876 and presented it later to a much-impressed crown prince (subsequently Czar Alexander III). Many copies of this scholarly effort of this "learned" priest were run off and distributed by the Chief of Gendarmerie among secret police officers all over Russia. The power of the written word, backed by the official apparatus of the Empire, gave much impetus to popular belief in Jewish use of Christian blood in their rituals and hence to a virulent anti-Semitism.⁴¹

Encouraged and abetted by these high circles, in 1879 Lutostavsky produced another effort: *The Talmud and the Jews*. This book contained innumerable fictions about the Jews which in no way detracted from or hindered its intended success.⁴²

THE INAUGURATION OF OFFICIAL POGROMS

Alexander III soon struck out along the path of a most reactionary policy in the entire Empire. It was directed against all non-Muscovite peoples, including the Jews. Every shade of liberal and oppositionist thought was subjected to severe persecution. One tactic was to divert the popular masses from any democratic and revolutionary

³⁹ Dubnow, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 193.

⁴¹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 203-204.

⁴² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 204.

development by ascribing all shortcomings in the Empire to the Jews. The chief reactionary daily, *Novoye Vremya*, became the main mouthpiece of anti-Semitism and a semi-official organ under Alexander III. Several provincial anti-Semitic and nationalistic press organs received Czarist subsidies.⁴³

The Jewish masses, who lived in a narrow Pale of Settlement in Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Lithuania and Poland, were attacked through the Russian provincial press organs. A savage anti-Jewish agitation was readily tolerated by the censorship. At the same time, numerous emissaries from St. Petersburg made their appearance in the Pale of Settlement in order to agitate among the urban proletariat, which was of Muscovite origin or was a Muscovitized illiterate mass. Officials openly sought "an outburst of popular indignation against the Jews." "*Katsaps*," i. e., Muscovite workers and tradesmen as they were called in Ukraine, suddenly made their appearance on the railroads and at market places where they openly proclaimed *pogromist* slogans.⁴⁴

All this action was carried on under the principal slogan of defense of the regime and the social order against the revolutionaries, who, according to the reactionaries, were directed by the Jews. The slogans were spread by a special organization which had been formed in 1881 under the name of "The Sacred League." It enjoyed the full support of the Czar and of his administration.⁴⁵

The first outbreak of the storm took place in Yelisavetgrad in the government of Podolia with a Jewish population of 15,000 souls. On the eve of the Orthodox Easter, the organized emissaries on the streets and in the stores began shouting that "the Jews are about to be beaten." The Jews alerted the authorities and asked for protection. The authorities responded by sending small military detachments to patrol the streets for three days of the Easter, only to remove them the fourth day. The general *pogrom* promptly began, the crowd shouting: "The Jews are beating our people." The *pogrom* lasted for two days. In the same month of April, 1881, with the news of the "victory" over the Jews in Yelisavetgrad, anti-Jewish riots erupted in many places in the government of Kherson.⁴⁶

A large-scale *pogrom* began in Kiev on April 23, 1881. On this day Jewish passers-by were assaulted in the streets. It was a pre-

⁴³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II., pp. 244-247.

⁴⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 248. Dubnow clearly uses the term "katsaps" for the emissaries and states that they were mainly responsible for the *pogromist* agitation in Ukrainian cities.

⁴⁵ Dubnow, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 251.

lude to the *pogrom* which gripped the section of Podol, a part of the city which was densely populated by Jews. Kiev was then the capital of the Governor General, the highest dignitary of the Czarist administration in Ukraine, a seat of the army corps command, and so forth. It would have seemed that precisely in Kiev no disorders could possibly take place. However, as became evident later, it was just in Kiev that the administration allowed the *pogrom*, which lasted for a day and a night, to destroy the entire Jewish ward. Although the authorities ordered military detachments into the streets of Podol, this move was for the sake of form only. Under the orders of generals and officers, the military detachments only pushed the mobs from one street into another so that they could systematically ravage street after street.⁴⁷

In a few days, a similar *pogrom* disgraced Demiyivka, another suburb of Kiev.⁴⁸

Similar *pogroms* broke out in other places. The most severe was the three days' *pogrom* in Odessa, May 3 to 5, 1881. Odessa was then a large Jewish center containing a Jewish population of 100,000. Although the Odessa *pogrom* resulted in the destruction of several Jewish districts, it did not slake the thirst of the organizers of the *pogrom*; anti-Jewish riots of lesser intensity continued up to the beginning of July, 1881.⁴⁹

For our review of the *pogromist* action, the fact that these criminal assaults were not organized by the *local* criminal elements has a special importance. The chief organizers and leaders of all these *pogromist* actions were the "*katsaps*" newly arrived from Muscovy. The fact is distinctly stressed by the Jewish historian, S. M. Dubnow.

He writes: "In all these incidents, *pogroms* were organized by the newly-arrived Great Russians (i. e. Muscovites) who, having accomplished their 'work,' vanished without a trace."⁵⁰

That *pogroms* took place in Kiev and Odessa, the great cities which were the seats of the highest administrative authorities and military commands, clearly demonstrates that they must have had the blessings of the Government. An unfortunate by-product is that this violence only intensified anti-Semitic feelings in the society. By this time anti-Semitism had become an official doctrine of the state and of the highest strata of Russian society.

It is true that on paper the Russian Empire was counted among the law-abiding states and that its law courts were independent to a

⁴⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 251-254.

⁴⁸ Dubnow, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 257ff.

⁵⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

degree. However, when necessity put some perpetrators of the *pogroms* on trial before the imperial court, both judges and prosecutors were prejudiced against the Jews. After the *pogroms* of Kiev, for example, the public prosecutor emphatically argued at the trial that the disorders had been provoked by the Jews themselves because of their exploitation of the Christian population.⁵¹

When one Jewish witness retorted that the aggravation of the economic struggle was due to the artificial congestion of the Jews in the narrow strip of the Pale of Settlement and that the way to East or North was closed to the Jews, i. e., to Russia proper, the prosecutor declared before the court and the public: "If the Eastern frontier be closed to the Jews, the Western frontier is open to them, and the Jews may take advantage of it."⁵²

Here the public prosecutor (by the name of Strelnikov) betrayed the underlying purpose of the Government in the *pogroms*: under the stress of the *pogrom* panic the Jews were supposed to leave the country, to emigrate to the West and, particularly, to the United States of America. The courts of the Empire turned into an additional instrumentality of anti-Jewish agitation.

The early summer days of 1881 saw the start of a second series of *pogroms* in little cities, of which the *pogroms* in Pereyaslav and Nizhyn were the most notorious. They were successful in that a wave of Jewish emigrants swept through Brody to Austria and thence to the United States. The International Jewish Organization had to raise considerable funds to aid the Jewish refugees to reach a haven. In the autumn of 1881 some 10,000 Jewish refugees huddled together in the city of Brody.⁵³

On the Czar's orders official commissions for the study of the Jewish problem were created in each of the 17 governments which constituted the Pale of Settlement of the Jews. The Commissions were ordered to submit suggestions to the Central Government up to the end of 1881. The Commissions were headed by the Governors and were made up of representatives of the communities and of "social groups" (evidently of reactionary groups). Soon they became notorious as organized provincial centers of anti-Jewish agitation. The tasks of the Commissions were formulated by the Minister, Count Ignatyev, who himself indicated how the work of the Commissions had to be channeled: "For the last twenty years the Jews have gradually managed to capture not only commerce and industry but by their

⁵¹ Dubnow, *op.*, vol. II, p. 264.

⁵² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 265.

⁵³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 268.

clannishness and solidarity they have also succeeded in acquiring a large amount of landed property. In this they have directed their efforts not towards the increase of the productive forces of the country, but towards exploitation of the original inhabitants, primarily the poorest classes of the population.”⁵⁴

It is true that an ordinance of the Minister contained a statement on the Government's duty to prevent mob rule and to shield the Jews against violence, but, at the same time, it ordered the Commissions to come up with means whereby the population could defend itself against Jewish exploitation.⁵⁵ Hardly a more pronounced anti-Jewish manifesto could have been issued.

In the ministerial circular of August 25, 1881, the attitude of the administration was unmistakably shown in the contention that the poverty among the Christian population was due to the detrimental economic activity of the Jews, their racial separatism and their religious fanaticism.⁵⁶

The Commissions followed Czarist and ministerial ordinances strictly. In turn, they submitted to the center anti-Jewish suggestions of their own, unfailingly condemning the entire Jewish people as a race of exploiters.

As a consequence of the feelings fostered by the *ukases* and ordinances of the Government, the anti-Semitism of the *Russian press* supported by the Government grew unbridled. That principal organ of reaction and anti-Semitism, *Novoye Vremya*, was a steady companion of the Czar, who read it avidly. It was followed closely by the similar organ of the Slavophiles in Moscow, *Rus*, which was edited by Ivan Aksakov. *Novoye Vremya* in all seriousness formulated the Jewish problem in a paraphrase of Hamlet: “to beat or not to beat the Jews.” This Czarist paper did advise the people not to turn *directly* against the Jews because Russia was a monarchical state; this function was not to be discharged by the people but by the Government. Beating of the Jews was reserved for the Government's apparatus alone. Aksakov's *Rus* maintained in every possible way that the Jews were striving for “world domination” and that, therefore, the peoples of Christian civilization had to defend themselves jointly.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II. pp. 271-272.

⁵⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁵⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 278.

"POPULIST" RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA PROVOKES *POGROMS*
OF THE JEWS

Up to this point we have discussed the attitudes of the official Russian society: the Czar as the representative of a sovereign state, and the educated reactionary ruling caste, which supplied the administrative apparatus for the Czar. Now we turn our attention to the oppositionist and even revolutionary Russian or Russified intelligentsia. Among them and the most active at that time was the revolutionary intelligentsia of the "Populists," i. e., people's socialists who were grouped in a revolutionary organization under the name of "The People's Freedom."

The "People's Freedom" took up the cause of the defense of the "Russian" people in every main aspect: political, social, economic, and religious. It aimed at a total, politico-social revolution but had a vague socialist program. Taking up the cudgels for a full social and political revolution, in its propaganda the "People's Freedom" severely attacked the autocratic Czarist regime, the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The "Populists" were indifferent to the "Russian" bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of other nationalities, including, of course, the Jewish bourgeoisie.

Impressed with the phenomenon of *pogroms*, which were blessed with one hand and supported with the other by the Czarist authorities, the "Populists" decided to exploit the illiterate and even criminal masses for raising revolutionary ardor among the people. They decided to propagate anti-Semitic feelings among the uneducated masses in order to attract them into their own fold. In August, 1881, the Executive Committee of the "People's Freedom" issued an appeal, which, in fact, supported the existing *pogromist* action in full.⁵⁸

The appeal declared that the Czar had enslaved the people and had distributed among landlords the lands rightfully belonging to the peasants. The people, it said, are ruled and exploited also by the bureaucrats and the Jews, who enjoy the protection of the Czarist regime. Landlords and officials share the profits of exploitation with the Jews. A proper battle-cry of the people would be a call to struggle against the Jews, the landlords, and the Czar. The manifesto ended with the appeal: "Assist us in arousing the people, avenge yourselves on the landlords, plunder the Jews, and slay the officials."⁵⁹

As we see, in this *pogromist* situation the slogan of the "Populists" hardly differed from the future Bolshevik slogan: "Plunder what has been plundered." In addition to the manifesto of the center,

⁵⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 279.

⁵⁹ Dubnow, *ibid.*

this slogan was also spread by the local organizations of the "People's Freedom" with the help of special emissaries. All this contributed heavily to the anti-Jewish feelings of Muscovite society.⁶⁰ While some members of the Executive Committee were opposed to the manifesto formulating the support of anti-Jewish *pogroms*, the organization as such continued to justify theoretically the utilization of *pogromist* riots for the aims of its revolutionary action.⁶¹

It must be emphasized in connection with the "Populist" attitude that the "Populist" tactics elicited resolute protest, rather than approval, on the part of the Ukrainian national camp and, particularly, on the part of the Ukrainian socialist circles. The chief ideologist of the Ukrainian National Movement and theoretician of Ukrainian democratic socialism, Professor Michael Drahomaniv, voiced strong criticism of these "Populist" tactics.⁶²

CONTINUANCE OF POGROMS

The same year of 1881 witnessed an anti-Jewish *pogrom* of unprecedented dimensions in Warsaw. It took place on Christmas Eve and found the approval of the Muscovite reactionaries, especially in their hate organ, *Novoye Vremya*.⁶³

Three months later, the known official circles organized a big *pogrom* in Balta. One of the most savage of all the criminal bacchanalia, it set off lesser *pogroms* in other localities.⁶⁴

The outbursts of "the people's ire" having broken the ground, the Czarist authorities proceeded to a "legal" sanctioning of the created situation. On May 3, 1882, the Czar issued an *ukase* legislating new "temporary rules" for the Jews. These rules forbade the Jews to live or to have their places of business in the villages, restricting them to the towns and hamlets of the Pale of Settlement of the Jews. They were forbidden to purchase or to rent any property outside their towns and hamlets, and were forbidden also to carry on any business on Sunday and Christian holidays.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ The Executive Committee had its headquarters in Moscow. However, the manifesto with the support for *pogromist* action was approved by a minority of the Committee only, because many members were then outside Moscow. Later, some members of the Committee refused to extend their approval of the manifesto's wordage without, however, influencing the actual continuation of the action by the rank and file of the "People's Freedom."

⁶¹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 280.

⁶² Cf. his profound work on the Muscovite revolutionary organizations and Polish nationalists under the title *Istoricheskaya Polsha i velikoruskaya demokratiya (Historical Poland and Great Russian Democracy)*, Geneva, 1882.

⁶³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 280ff.

⁶⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 297ff.

⁶⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 311ff.

In the spring of the next year the *pogrom* movement began all over again. The biggest *pogrom* of 1883 took place in Rostov-on-Don. In the summer, another big *pogrom* raged in Ekaterinoslav. Both utilized now established techniques, with known leaders behind the scenes.⁶⁶

In the fall of that year additional large-scale *pogroms* took place: one in Novorossiysk, another in Nizhniy Novgorod. Again, in the same pattern.⁶⁷

The new wave of *pogroms* increased the panic among the Jewish population, especially among the poor people, impelling them towards emigration. The emigre stampede increased from year to year. During the two decades from 1884 to 1903, some 700,000 Jews fled the Russian Empire. They settled in various countries of the West, mostly in the United States; according to reliable estimates some 500,000 Jews emigrated to this country.

Public demonstrations of anti-Jewish feelings as manifested by various reactionary Muscovite circles of the intelligentsia and bureaucracy, as well as by the uneducated masses, had blessings from above—from the Czar himself. In 1890, this opinion of Czar Alexander III was pronounced in regard to the Jews: "But we must not forget that it was the Jews who crucified our Lord and spilled his priceless blood."⁶⁹

To be noted is that the Czar was the visible Head of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus the clergy of this Church could not but arrive at "proper" conclusions on the basis of the Czar's warning. In their preachings in all the places of the Pale of Settlement of the Jews, they publicly advised the faithful that a Christian ought not to cultivate friendly relations with the Jews since it was a command of the gospel "to hate the murderers of our Savior."⁷⁰

It was on the first day of the Jewish Passover of 1891 that an imperial *ukase* and the order of the Governor General of Moscow were published, which forbade Jewish merchants and industrialists from the Pale of Settlement to resettle in Moscow. Further, the *ukase* ordered the expulsion of such Jews from the city. On the basis of this *ukase* thousands of Jews were cruelly evicted from Moscow, all totally ruined economically.⁷¹ Some 14,000 Jews shared this lot⁷²

⁶⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 358-359.

⁶⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 360ff.

⁶⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 379.

⁷⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 379.

⁷¹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 399ff.

⁷² Ausubel, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

and, in addition, thousands of such once "privileged" Jews were expelled from Kaluga, Novgorod, Tula, and other cities, and thrust into the Pale of Settlement of the Jews.⁷³

Following these "legal" strokes against Jewry, new anti-Semitic pogroms made their appearance. In September, 1891, on the Holy *Yom Kippur* eve, a big pogrom ravaged Starodub.⁷⁴

The pogroms charged the atmosphere of Jewish life with sheer dread. Ostensibly aiming at accelerating the Jewish emigration beyond the borders of the Russian Empire, these genocidal policies continued up to the death of Czar Alexander III.

PERIOD OF NICHOLAS II AND THE "BLACK HUNDREDS"

The rule of Czar Nicholas II extended over the years 1894-1917. This was the time in modern history when ideas of democratic government and social justice were triumphing in America and in Europe and gaining ground in Asia. The only remaining absolute and despotic monarchies with territories also in Europe were Russia and Turkey.

However, in the Russian Empire the progress of universal education coupled with growing feeling against the prevailing social injustice created a revolutionary atmosphere. Resentment grew not only among the intelligentsia but also among the peasants and workers. During the last decades of the 19th century, the growth of industry in the Russian Empire gave rise to an increase in the numbers of the working class. The burgeoning capitalism had a profound effect also upon rural economic differentiation and on industry connected with agriculture (as, e.g., the sugar refining industry). Thus the working class, although constituting but a fraction of society, began playing a significant politico-social role because of its massing in industrial and commercial centers.⁷⁵

In addition to internal political and social-economic conditions which affected all the nationalities of the Russian Empire to a like degree, a specific revolutionary atmosphere was produced by the relations between the distinct nationalities of the Empire. Non-Muscovite nationalities, subjugated by Muscovy, advanced their claims for national rights in an ever increasing degree. Usually this national liberation struggle began with claims for self-government and ended with a struggle for full separation from Muscovy, i. e.,

⁷³ Ausubel, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 411ff.

⁷⁵ For a more detailed discussion, see M. Stachiw, *Narys istoriyi revolyutsiynoho rukhu v Rossiyi*, part I, 2nd ed., Lviv, 1934.

for the "dismemberment" of the Russian Empire into separate national countries.⁷⁶

In Ukraine, for instance, the first modern political organization, which was established in Kiev in 1846 and was called *The Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius*, possessed this revolutionary character. It called for the dismemberment of the Russian Empire into separate national republics which, however, after liberation from under the yoke of Czarism, were to join together in a free confederation. In a wider form, this program was elaborated by Michael Drahomaniv in 1878, to be altered two years later to wholly separatist aims. Up to 1900, the Ukrainian national movement encountered formidable obstacles put up by Russian Czarism; nevertheless, it continued to develop strongly. In the year 1900, a Ukrainian Revolutionary Party with a separatist program was formed, soon to be followed by other Ukrainian political parties within the Russian Empire.

The struggle in Ukraine took the form of strikes by industrial, mining, and agricultural workers. In 1901-1902 the strike began to assume a mass character. In 1902 large agricultural strikes connected with peasant riots took place; they were the forerunners of a great revolutionary movement in the entire Russian Empire.

Such was the atmosphere in which the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries renewed its terrorist activities. It started by applying individual terror against the representatives of the regime, whom it sentenced to death. In April, 1902, the terroristic organization assassinated the Minister for Internal Affairs, Dmitry Sipyagin. The Czar replied by appointing to this post a still worse reactionary, V. K. Plehve, who introduced the system of *police provocations and pogroms* into the administration.

In this situation the supreme leadership of the Russian Czarist regime had but two alternatives. One was to retreat before the opposition movement and grant democratic political reforms as well as some limited form of national self-government (under such a regime the granting of national sovereignty was inconceivable). The other was to suppress the opposition and drown the revolutionary movement in its own blood. Czar Nicholas II and the supreme leadership of the ruling Muscovite society chose the second course.

The means for attaining this aim were defined as follows: inside the empire, to instigate the Muscovite national masses against every facet of the revolutionary movement by representing it as the work of the Jews; outside the empire, to exert imperialistic pressure in Asia and, with the successes gained there, to exploit the

⁷⁶ See, *ibid*, parts 1 and 2.

resultant heightening of patriotic feelings in the masses at home. A "small war" in the Far East was thus conceived by the Russian leaders. The intended victim was Japan, which had become their chief competitor in Northern China in a very short time. According to their expectations, a returning victorious army would easily be able to pacify the whole Empire, area by area.

The catchwords which the regime drubbed into the whole administration from top to bottom were: "Revolution is the work of Jews. The Jews aspire to 'liberty' only in order to have the opportunity for still greater exploitation of the Christians; to pacify the Jews means to suppress the revolutionary movement."

Here is an example of how these catchwords worked. The year is 1903. It is decided to organize a model anti-Jewish *pogrom* in a large Jewish center. The city of Kishinev in Bessarabia is selected for this purpose. Suddenly the local paper, *Bessarabets*, supported by the government, starts a mounting agitation against the Jews. At the same time, in the capital of the Empire, St. Petersburg, a paper, *Znamya*, is established for the patent purpose of furthering anti-Jewish propaganda. Now an incident in the little town of Dubossary in Ukraine (close to Bessarabia) helps the anti-Jewish agitators greatly: the maimed body of a Christian boy named Rybalenko is found. Before a judicial commission is able to publish its findings that the boy had been murdered by his uncle for his inheritance, *Bessarabets* has proclaimed the killing to be a Jewish ritual murder. In spite of the rigid censorship of the press *Bessarabets* is able to shriek such slogans as "Death to the Jews," "Beat the Jews," and so on. And now a Christian girl servant with a Jewish family dies before the Passover. Again the rumor is spread in the city that the Jews are guilty of the death of this girl. A group working hand in hand with the newspaper prepares—with the full knowledge of the local police authorities—a mass anti-Jewish *pogrom* which is executed on the Christian Easter. The *pogrom* lasts for several days, the police and military conspicuously inactive. The inflamed *pogromists* are able to demolish and to loot thousands of Jewish stores and apartments, to kill 45 Jews, to wound or to cripple over a thousand, and to rape hundreds of women and girls. So was the "Jewish revolution" fought.⁷⁷

The anti-Jewish *pogrom*, an overt instrument in the hands of government circles, had two important effects upon Russian Jewry: 1) as already mentioned, it terrified Jews into fleeing beyond the

⁷⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. III., pp. 69-75.

borders of the Empire; 2) it drove part of the Jewish youth into the ranks of the Russian revolutionary organizations.

The Kishinev *pogrom* was not unique at that time. Nor, in the same year, in August, was the *pogrom* at Homel. In the latter town a fight was provoked between a crowd of Jews and Christians in the marketplace, and then the catchword was spread: "Jews are beating Christians." This provided enough justification for a large anti-Jewish *pogrom*. When a Jewish deputation appeared before the Governor of Mohilev to protest the *pogrom* and to ask for legal protection, the Governor bluntly admonished the deputies: "You Jews are yourselves guilty for all the *pogroms*. You Jews have overcrowded the anti-government organizations and instigate the people against the government. You do not educate your children properly. You propagate opposition and disobedience against the government among an uncivilized population. So the Russian populace turns against you."⁷⁸

No Russian functionary in the provinces could have expressed himself more clearly. He offered a clear choice: either the Jews support the regime against the democratic opposition or suffer *pogroms*.

Along with the Jewish *pogroms* inside the Empire, the Russian regime opened its war against Japan in the Far East in 1904. Contrary to the fond expectations of the regime, however, the Russian Army suffered a defeat. Instead of a planned patriotic and reactionary wave in the country, the war intensified revolutionary feelings among the peasants and workers and simultaneously made for a consolidation of the liberation struggle among the non-Muscovite nationalities. The terrorist organization of Socialist-Revolutionaries redoubled its activities and, in July, 1904, carried out the assassination of the Minister for Internal Affairs, V. K. Plehve. To counteract the Socialist oppositionist movement among the workers, the Czarist government founded an organization of workers' unions of its own, primarily in St. Petersburg, which contained the largest concentration of industrial workers. (By this time there were one and a half million factory workers in the Russian Empire.)

The organization of industrial workers in St. Petersburg was directed by Father Gapon in agreement with the secret police. This organization, however, soon fell into conflict with the management of a big St. Petersburg factory, which had fired a few workers belonging to the organization. Unable to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the dispute, Father Gapon organized a march of some 100,000 workers bearing a petition to the Czar. Although this manifestation remained entirely loyal to the Czar, it was far from agreeable either

⁷⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 87-89.

to the Czar or to his regime. When, on January 22, 1905, this multitude marched to the Winter Palace, carrying crosses and icons and with Father Gapon at their head, it was greeted by troops and a shower of bullets. Killed were a great number of demonstrating workers, and killed as well was faith in the Czar.

This bloody manifestation marked a turning point. The shooting of the people had taken place under the windows of the palace of the Czar.⁷⁹ Now wide masses of peasants and workers began to wonder whether the Czar was as evil as the administration.

Military reverses inflicted by the Japanese Army in Manchuria, the news of the bloody dispersal of the peaceful workers' manifestation in St. Petersburg, the mounting propaganda of all opposition groups among the populace of the Russian Empire—all combined in making for the first general political strike. It began in September and grew stronger from day to day. First embracing only the working masses in urban centers, it then spread to the villages, where toilers of the soil demanded return of land taken from the peasants by the landlords at the time of the emancipation. In a short time more than 200 estates were burned down by the rioting peasants. In the army, too, mutinies in various units increased in number. The pressure of the strikes and riots was especially intense in Ukraine and Poland throughout which rang the call: "Let the people decide in the Constituent Assembly about the order."⁸⁰

Confronted by this first popular revolutionary thunderstorm, the Czar and his Government adopted two courses: to continue and to strengthen the old practice of anti-Jewish *pogroms* with the aim of turning the attention of the masses toward the Jews and, simultaneously, to make some temporary concessions with the aim of pacifying the masses.

The Russian Government also determined to use the criminal underworld to terrorize the intelligentsia and prevent it from making common cause with the people. The attention of the people had to be turned to the Jews as the source of all social evil and, simultaneously, all forces, no matter how nefarious, had to be turned against the revolutionary movement. This is how the infamous "black hundreds" originated, the greatest stain on the Muscovite nationalist movement.

Officially, the "black hundreds" carried various patriotic names: "The Union of the Russian People," "The National Union," "The National-Cultural Society," "The Union of Archangel Michael," "The

⁷⁹ See, M. Stachiw, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁰ Stachiw, *ibid.*, p. 45.

Union of the Doubleheaded Eagle," etc. The "black hundreds" instituted a savage anti-democratic and anti-Jewish agitation; their battle-cries, "Kill the Students and the Jews," "Kill the Jews and Save Russia," "Remember Kishinev and Gomel," etc., openly adorned different publications and an avalanche of leaflets.

In their public demonstrations, the "black hundreds" always assumed a very patriotic Muscovite character. The parading "black hundreds" always carried portraits of the Czar, the Russian national colors, crosses and icons. Behind this front column, the marching crowd sang various *pogromist* songs and shouted its battle-cry, "Kill the Jews and Save Russia."⁸¹

In 1904-1905, the "black hundreds" were still in their embryonic stage, not yet sufficiently organized to undertake their sweeping criminal actions. In the fall of 1905, however, the general strike deeply impressed the society of the entire Empire, and the Czar and his government now feared that the spread of unrest in the army might assume not a sporadic but a permanent character. Temporary concessions obviously were in order. Upon advice of his ministers, the Czar proclaimed a Manifesto on October 30 by which he agreed to grant a Constitution. The Manifesto promised also the granting of democratic guarantees of individual and political freedoms, and universal suffrage for the elections to the National Legislature ("the State *Duma*") which had the power of legislating for the entire Empire.

The Manifesto achieved its purpose. The revolutionary tide ebbed; moderate circles of society, especially that of Muscovite society, were satisfied with the concessions and stepped aside from the revolutionary movement. From now on it comprised only radical and, especially, socialist groups. Now the time seemed ripe to the Czarist authorities to strike back against the revolutionary movement, particularly the socialist movement. Accordingly, the Ministry for Internal Affairs ordered the "black hundreds" to prepare and execute anti-Jewish *pogroms*.

Not long after the October 30, 1905 Manifesto had been proclaimed, the Police Department of the Ministry for Internal Affairs in St. Petersburg started printing *pogromist* appeals and distributing them among the "black hundreds" in various centers of the Pale of Settlement of the Jews. There can be no doubt about the origin

⁸¹ For a closer look at the atmosphere of this Muscovite "patriotic black hundreds movement," see Vasyl Ivanys, *Symon Petlyura, Presydent Ukrainy* (Simon Petlura, President of Ukraine), Toronto, 1952, pp. 135-137.

of these appeals; the director of the St. Petersburg police, A. Lopukhin, himself established this fact and gave proof in his memoirs.⁸²

Evidence that the *pogroms* were directed from one center is also provided by the striking fact that the *pogroms* erupted in hundreds of towns at the same time. That they were directed by the police may be seen from by the fact that policemen often headed the *pogrom* mobs.⁸³ Such was the testimony of unimpeachable eyewitnesses of these criminal events.⁸⁴

High Czarist officialdom voiced their approval of the *pogroms* without evincing any scruples. According to existing evidence, at a gathering in the home of the Chief of Police, the Commanding General in Odessa expressed his view candidly to the officials and police officers present: "We should call a spade a spade. In our souls we all approve of *pogroms*." Another example from many: eyewitnesses testified that in Kiev the local policeman, Tsikhotskiy, was present in person when the *pogrom* was raging and openly encouraged the *pogrom* mob. Only when exhaustion overtook all did he say: "Now, brethren, that's enough." The Commanding General in Kiev admonished the *pogromists*: "Beat, but do not plunder. Plundering has been forbidden."⁸⁵

Proclamations distributed by the police and the "black hundreds" scathingly spoke of liberty and democracy as being the goals of only the enemies of Russia, i. e., the Jews, Armenians, Poles, Ukrainian separatists, etc. One of the proclamations put it quite bluntly: "Be on your guard against the Jews. All the misfortunes in our lives are due to the Jews. Soon, very soon, the great time will come when there will be no Jews in Russia. Down with the traitors! Down with the constitution!"⁸⁶

To be emphasized is that the *pogroms* in the Pale of Settlement (i. e., in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland) were carried on under *Russian patriotic banners and slogans* and, exclusively, by the Russian "black hundreds" organizations. Although their ranks included members of families of various officials as well as the faithful of the Russian Orthodox Church, misguided by the Russian clergy, the core of the

⁸² A. Lopukhin, *Otryvki iz vospominaniy* (Fragments of Memoirs), 1923, p. 188.

⁸³ Arnold Margolin, *Ukraina i politika antanty* (Ukraine and the Policies of Entente), Berlin, 1922, p. 13.

⁸⁴ Margolin, *ibid.* Margolin was an eyewitness while visiting a locality in the Pale of Settlement of the Jews.

⁸⁵ Ya. Frumkin, *K istorii russkogo evreystva. Kniga o russkom yevreystve* (From the History of Russian Jewry. The Book on Russian Jewry), pp. 72-73.

⁸⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 114.

“black hundreds” was recruited from the city scum, which either was Russian in origin or Russified. This fact has been established by many who participated in the defense against the *pogromists*, especially in Ukraine. The peasantry from the neighboring villages, mostly Ukrainian in origin, did not participate in the *pogroms* which took place in the cities of Ukraine. The “black hundreds” had no success in organizing the Ukrainian peasantry for their heinous work.⁸⁷ This fact has been clearly established by Jewish scholars and eyewitnesses of the *pogroms*. Moreover, the Jewish historians attest to the importation of original Muscovite *zhuliks* (rogues) from Russia proper to enable the force of local Russian or Russified scum to carry out the *pogrom*. Once their job was done, the *katsaps* would return to their Muscovy.⁸⁸

The *pogroms* took the lives of a great many Jews. Thousands of them were wounded; thousands of women were raped; an immense amount of Jewish property was plundered and destroyed. That it was planned official work may be best shown by the fact that not a solitary soul was prosecuted for participation in the *pogroms*. Obviously it is impossible for the prosecutors and law enforcement officers not to have detected at least one *pogrom* ruffian in the hundreds of *pogroms* of those times. There is no doubt that the prosecutors had to shield the *pogromists* as executors of the official policies being directed from the center of the Empire.⁸⁹

Simultaneously with its pursuance of *pogroms* and following its October Manifesto, the Government threw numerous loyal army units into “pacification” of all the countries of the Empire. Army detachments savagely dispersed demonstrations with sabres and bullets; participants were arrested and put before the courts or deported to Siberia by orders of the administration. In connection with the revolutionary movements, some 7,000 persons were tried and sentenced by the courts, and some 70,000 were kept in prisons for a long time.⁹⁰

The Czar himself urged his governors and generals to shoot down the demonstrators ruthlessly. One time when Gen. Katzbek was making a personal report to the Czar about the “pacification” of a demonstration by his detachment, the Czar angrily interrupted, exclaiming: “For all that you killed too few people! Yes, you killed too few of them!”⁹¹

⁸⁷ Margolin, *op. cit.*, pp. 12.

⁸⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 115.

⁸⁹ Frumkin, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁹⁰ Stachiw, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 46.

⁹¹ Stachiw, *ibid.*, p. 74.

Thus, using *pogroms* against the Jews and against the democratic opposition of various nationalities, the Czar and his regime paved the way of retreat from the proclaimed Constitution.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AGAINST *POGROMS*

In presenting the case of the *pogroms* in the Russian Empire, Jewish historians have rightly pointed out the attempts on the part of the Russian intelligentsia at influencing the Russian public opinion in favor of the Jews. Though these attempts were largely ineffective, as the censorship made publishing of any protests in the press impossible, Jewish historians, nevertheless, have devoted considerable space to them in their essays.⁹² However, the same historians neglect to mention the fact that the Ukrainian National Movement, as a whole, never at that time defamed itself even by a partial participation of its conscious national element in the *pogroms* and that, on the contrary, there were many instances of this element participating in the active defense of the Jews against the *pogromists*.

To be pointed out is that there is not a shred of evidence to show that the smallest cell of the Ukrainian National Movement ever participated in the *pogroms* during the time of the Czars on the Ukrainian territory which was a part of the Pale of Settlement. All evidence points that all the mentioned *pogroms* were organized by the Russian patriotic "black hundreds" organizations and carried out under unmistakably Russian nationalist slogans. The latter fact alone indicates that no nationally conscious Ukrainians could have participated in such "actions." It must be remembered that the anti-Jewish movement of the Russian patriotic organizations soon found an additional target in all the non-Russian nationalities—primarily, the Ukrainian National Movement. Furthermore, all anti-Jewish literature and proclamations were written *exclusively in the Russian language*. That infamous book, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which laid the foundation of anti-Jewish philosophy, was published in Russian. Not a single anti-Jewish book, brochure or proclamation was ever translated into Ukrainian. Thus the whole anti-Semitic movement on the Ukrainian territory in Czarist times originated with the Russian minority in Ukraine, and drew its literary, financial and even human resources from Russia: it im-

⁹² Cf., e.g., the corresponding part of Ausubel, *op. cit.*, or Frumkin, *op. cit.* p. 574.

ported *katsaps* from Russia, as the Jewish historian, Dubnow, established quite precisely.⁹³

It would be an exaggeration to say that no persons of Ukrainian "racial" origin participated in the *pogroms* that ravaged the cities of Ukraine. However, we are not dealing with "race" but with the "nation." Some of the cities' lowly elements undoubtedly were of Ukrainian racial origin, but it was exactly they who were fully Russified, who abjured their Ukrainian nationality, and who always showed an inimical attitude toward the true Ukrainians. There can be only one permissible conclusion from all these objective facts—the entire *pogrom* movement was carried on under exclusively Russian slogans and was dominated by the Russian patriotic organizations of the "Union of the Russian People" type.

To be admitted, too, is that among the leaders of the "black hundreds" anti-Semites there were persons of Ukrainian *racial* origin, as, e.g., Vitaliy Shulgin, Savenko, and many others. However, it was also well-known that they were Ukrainian renegades who bitterly fought every manifestation of the Ukrainian National Movement and publicly denounced every conscious Ukrainian in order to harm him in the eyes of the police. They acted as agents of great-power Russian imperialism and nationalism.

To be stressed is that not only was there *not* a single Ukrainian publicistic work or newspaper article of anti-Jewish character, there was, in addition, something far more positive. Numerous Ukrainian groups had formed expressly for protecting the Jews, organized during the time of official *pogrom* activity. The Jewish historians who describe all facets of Jewish life in the Russian Empire overlook this fact which shines uniquely in the entire history of the Empire. Where the Russian intellectuals stood in defense of the Jews on *paper*, the Ukrainian activists in their humane attitude stirred themselves to performing *deeds* at the risk of their own personal liberty and life. This remarkable fact deserves some elucidation.

Eyewitnesses have informed this writer about the Ukrainian groups fighting against the *pogroms* in Kiev and in Kharkiv. They consisted chiefly of Ukrainian Social Democrats. In Kharkiv, such a group was under the leadership of Borys Martos, who later became Prime Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic. In his memoirs, the lawyer and Jewish political figure, Arnold Margolin, told about another defense group of this kind which was formed in the town of Lubny, in the government of Poltava. This group prevented the outburst of a *pogrom* in the town which had long been planned.

⁹³ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol III, p. 115.

At the critical moment when orders arrived from St. Petersburg to start the *pogrom*, the group armed itself, formed sub-groups, stationed guards all over town, and forestalled the *pogrom* by nipping every suspicious move in the bud. The leaders of the Lubny group were members of the Ukrainian political-social parties ranging from left Ukrainian Social Democrats to right Democratic Conservatives, as, e.g., Andriy Livytsky (later Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic and, after Petlura's death, Prime Minister and President of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Exile), the brothers Shemet (later leaders of the *Hetmanite* Movement), Suprunenko, and others.⁹⁴

The following fact may well characterize the Czarist Russian regime and its anti-Semitic policies. The prosecutor ordered the members of the Lubny defense group arrested and tried by court-martial in Kiev. The trial lasted for a month. The prosecution defined the anti-*pogrom* activity of the group as an attempt to overthrow the existing state order. Such an accusation was rank juridical nonsense. Nevertheless, the defendants Livytsky and the Shemet brothers were convicted and sentenced. The case was carried to the Appellate Court: a two-week trial was required to convince the Court that prevention of a *pogrom* could not be equated with an attempt to overthrow the existing state order of the Russian Empire.⁹⁵

The effectiveness of the "black-hundreds" propagandists may be ascribed to their using every opportunity presented by numerous pilgrimages for spreading hate of the "Christ-killer Jews." Little wonder that poison of this sort should have forced an entry into the souls of illiterate and unenlightened believers.

Similar doctrines were also preached by anti-Semitic NCOs and officers of the army. The introduction of general military service within the Russian Empire brought many Jewish youths into the army. The NCOs were fond of making them objects of vituperation and ridicule for the other recruits. They used every occasion to spin anti-Jewish tales for the amusement of the non-Russian recruits. Yet the majority of the recruits, not only from Ukraine but also from Russia proper, showed no special dislike of the Jews as such. However, unrelenting anti-Semitic indoctrination insidiously changed this attitude, finding fertile soil in moral instability and general human frailty.

Such anti-Semitic practices could hardly have been eliminated by officers of a different persuasion. For, unfortunately, anti-Jewish

⁹⁴ Margolin, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26

⁹⁵ Margolin, *ibid.*, p. 26.

tendencies and policies were imposed from above—the ruling caste of the Empire with its generals, grand dukes, ministers, and the Czar himself. While referring to the friendly attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry toward the Jews as experienced and observed by himself,⁹⁶ the Russian writer, Maxim Gorky, simultaneously pointed out the prevalent anti-Semitism of the Russian ruling caste, which emanated from the palaces of the Czar and pervaded all the echelons of the administrative apparatus. Gorky quotes the authenticated saying of Czar Alexander III to Gen. Gurko: “You know, I like when the Jews are killed.” One can imagine the zeal with which the Gurkos and other dignitaries of state passed the “illustrious” word of their Sovereign down to the lower echelons. Official poison against the Jews and against all “internal enemies” of the Empire, who consisted not only of the Jews but also of Ukrainian “Mazepists,” Polish “Independents,” etc., seeped through from top to bottom and continuously infected the weaker elements of all the nationalities of the Empire.⁹⁷

In addition to this, so to speak, *theoretical indoctrination* in anti-Semitism, the latter was also spread by *deeds*: by the *pogroms* ordered from above. The terrible extent of these massacres can be seen in the fact that, in 1905 alone, *pogroms* took place in 275 towns and villages.⁹⁸ Consistent anti-Jewish propaganda from above was also evident in the *trials* for alleged ritual murders of Christian children which had truly catastrophic results for Jewry. The trials were conducted from time to time with the evident purpose of keeping the alleged *Jewish ritual murders* a live issue in the Empire. In their consequences these trials were much more damaging than the worst excesses of the *pogroms*. *Pogroms* killed innocent Jews and destroyed their property but did have the effect of arousing decent people against such criminal methods, eliciting compassion for their victims and indignation at such bestiality. However, the trials of “Jewish ritual murderers” perniciously aimed at the moral strangulation of all Jewry. Their intent was no less than to create a widespread conviction that Jews, in their most profound, religious nature, were monstrosities of humanity. Thus the revolting charge of the state authorities: the Jews practiced a most inhuman religion requiring the human blood of murdered Christian children for their religious services!

⁹⁶ Cf. Gorky's declaration in Maurice Thorez, *Le process des pogromes*, Paris, p. 127.

⁹⁷ Cf. Gorky, *ibid.*, p. 128.

⁹⁸ See, *ibid.*, p. 207. Testimony of Mr. Slyosberg, Chairman of the Jewish Committee in Petrograd.

The official travesty was played to the full: state prosecutors with solemn and scholarly mien displaying juridical forms of judicial evidence which accused some hapless Jew of murdering for ritual purposes a Christian child, the body of which was conveniently found near some Jewish home. Everything was conducted in the open, with full publicity and accompanied by propaganda drums beating for state "justice." And all this in our time, in the enlightened 20th century, in the years 1912-1913, which had to witness the last trial of this kind in the Russian Empire, the trial conducted in Kiev against the Jew, Mendel Beilis.

In the spring of 1911 the body of a mysteriously murdered boy, Andriy Yushchynsky, was found in Kiev. The body was slashed with many wounds. Members of a "black hundreds" organization, the "Union of the Doubleheaded Eagle," lost no time in pinning the tag of ritual murder onto the case. The assassination in Kiev of the Russian Prime Minister, Peter Stolypin, during the Czar's visit to that city, by a Jew, Mordekai Bogrov, had aroused the reactionaries against the Jews, and they seized upon the slaying of little Andriy Yushchynsky as a means of exacting retribution. In August, 1911, Mendel Beilis, a worker in a neighboring sawmill, was arrested as the murder suspect. After the arrest, the police and the prosecutor exerted herculean efforts to prove that Mendel Beilis had committed ritual murder. The lawyer, Arnold Margolin, along with other prominent Jewish lawyers took up the defense. The Minister of Justice showed personal interest in the trial, directing the investigation of the case through the Prosecutor's Office and interrogators.

The investigation of the case lasted long. Witnesses against Beilis were coached. Meanwhile the local Russian reactionaries used their press and means of oral propaganda to prejudice public opinion against Jewry in general and, specifically, to represent ritual murder as having long been proved, the case of Beilis being the case of just another Jew guilty of it. When the case finally went to trial in 1912 before a jury, the reactionaries used every means of moral pressure to sway the jurors, selected from among officials and peasants, pointing out that the Minister and prosecutor were assured of their insusceptibility to corruption by the Jews. After a long and moving trial, the jurors, in their majority Ukrainian peasants from the neighboring villages, by a majority vote pronounced Mendel Beilis not guilty.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Margolin, *op. cit.*, pp. 27ff. See, also, his *The Jews of Eastern Europe* (in English); a large part of the book is devoted to a description of this trial.

The formal outcome of the trial, however, did not mean the defeat of the reactionary elements in the central and local Russian governments and in Russian society. For a long time after its formal conclusion, the trial remained a topic of public interest. The reactionaries in the Government and in Russian society were loathe to give up, they continued asserting Beilis' guilt and maintained that his guilt could not only have been proved by procedural means. Rumors were set in motion that the Beilis jurors had been bribed by the Jews. Many naive and primitive people swallowed this canard and passed it along by word of mouth. The harm caused by the trial in its influence upon impressionable minds cannot be underestimated even if one realizes that it was chiefly the Czarist government and its judicial authorities which firmly believed in the existence of Jewish ritual murders and which were convinced that in this specific case it had only been a matter of inability to prove the guilt of the defendant, Mendel Beilis.*

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JEWRY IN UKRAINE IN 1917
Jewish Population Figures in the Czarist Empire, in Russia proper and in Ukraine

Having examined the policies of Russian Czardom against the Jews which were pursued in the last years before World War I under the slogan: "Kill the Jews, Save Russia," we now pass to a review of the social-economic structure of Jewry in the Czarist Empire and,

* The belief of the existence of ritual murders of Christian children after the Beilis trial took such deep root in the Russian Empire that it was able to survive the Empire itself. The writer has had the opportunity of speaking to many refugees from the USSR, who have informed him of the persistence of the belief up to the present, the families of Communist party members being no exception. In 1958 the writer discussed the problem with a person well known to him from Lviv. This acquaintance described the wives of the party members transferred to Lviv from distant Muscovy. In private conversations these women insisted on Beilis' guilt, maintaining that his acquittal was due to bribery of the jurors by the Jews. The writer's acquaintance had voiced her doubt of his guilt by pointing out, at the least, the practical impossibility from the religious point of view as well as for practical difficulties involved in killing a Christian child every year for ritual production of the *matzoth*. With the necessity of producing tens of thousands of tons of *matzoth* for Passover, the Jews would have to kill hundreds of Christian children to obtain the needed blood. However, her interlocutresses disagreed; they said, cunningly, that the blood needed for the production of the *matzoth* for the whole town could be placed on the point of a needle. Moreover, the dough with Christian blood could be preserved for the next year. The writer's acquaintance could make no headway against the belief of these formally atheist Bolshevik women in the existence of ritual murder.

particularly, in Ukraine. First, it is necessary to recall the distribution of Jewry in the Empire. A table shows the settlement of Jewry in different countries of the Empire according to the official census of 1897. No subsequent official censuses were taken by the Czarist authorities before the advent of the Soviet regime. (Only private and scholarly censuses were made.)

Table 1

NUMBER OF JEWS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE; CENSUS OF 1897

Country	Absolute Figures	Percentage of all the Jews in the Russian Empire	Percentage of Jews in the population of the given country
Ukraine -----	2,155,796	41.3	9.4
Lithuania and Byelorussia -----	1,422,431	27.3	14.1
Poland -----	1,321,100	25.4	14.0
In the Pale of Settlement -----	4,899,327	94.0	11.6
European Russia -----	211,221	4.0	0.3
Siberia and Central Asia -----	48,474	0.9	0.4
The Caucasus -----	56,783	1.1	0.6
Beyond the Pale of Settlement -----	316,478	6.0	0.5

This table ought always be kept in mind while discussing the Jewish problem in the Russian Empire and, particularly, in Ukraine. What do its figures tell us? The table informs us that:

1) Nearly *half* of all the Jewish people in the Russian Empire lived in Ukraine;

2) Only a scant 4 per cent of the total Jewish population of the Russian Empire lived in Russia proper, which country ruled over all the non-Russian countries of the Empire. An overwhelming *96 per cent of Jewry* in the Empire lived in non-Russian countries subjugated by Czardom;

3) 94 per cent of Jewry lived in the compulsory Pale of Settlement of the Jews.

The above figures show convincingly that the proper problem of relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations could only exist in the compulsory Pale of Settlement in the non-Russian countries, and not in Russia proper. This is natural enough since the bulk of the Russian populace could not even see the Jews; in Russia proper the Jews constituted only 0.3 per cent of the whole population.

We should ponder the historical fact that in Ukraine, under Czarist rule, almost 10 per cent of the entire local population were Jews. This meant that in their everyday life the local Christian population came into contact with the Jews *in every facet* of social-economic relations. In Russia proper, to repeat, only 0.3 per cent of the population were Jews. *In Ukraine, therefore, there were almost 30 times as many Jews as in Russia proper.* However, there is still more contrast. There were equally sharp differences in the social-economic structures of Jewry in the two countries. The difference in the structures was not caused by natural economic reasons; it was artificially created by the Russian Government. This difference of social-economic structures had in its turn an immense effect on the aggravation of the Jewish problem in Ukraine at the end of the Czarist rule and at the time of the Great Revolution in Eastern Europe. The picture of the social-economic structure of Jewry merits close examination.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JEWRY IN UKRAINE AND IN RUSSIA PROPER

The social-economic structure of the Jewish population within the borders of the Russian Empire was quite unique: it derived exclusively from its *urban* character. The official census of 1897 reported that out of 5,215,000 Jews in the Empire, only 179,000 were occupied in agriculture.¹⁰⁰ Thus 96.6 per cent of the Jews were engaged in non-agricultural activities. Such was the percentage for the entire Russian Empire. In Ukraine the percentage of the Jews occupied in agriculture was still smaller; it amounted to 2.5 per cent of the total Jewish population in Ukraine. Of course, this was neither the fault of the Jews nor that of the Ukrainians. It was strictly the fault of the Russian Government which was the master of Ukraine and which had forcibly squeezed the Jews into the Pale of Settlement in Ukraine, compelling them to live in the towns and hamlets.

Let us take a closer look at the social-economic structure of all the national minorities in Ukraine as well as of the Ukrainian nationality at this time of Czarist rule.

Table 2 was prepared shortly before World War I.¹⁰¹ It shows that the Jews in Ukraine as compared with the Ukrainians occupied a diametrically opposite position in the economic life; the Jews were

¹⁰⁰ Yakov Leshchinskiy in Ya. Frumkin, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁰¹ Mykyta Shapoval, *Natsionalna sprava na Skhodi Evropy* (National Problem in Eastern Europe), *Nova Ukraina*, Prague, 1928, (1-3).

Table 2
SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES
IN UKRAINE

Occupation	Percentages of Respective Nationalities				
	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews	Poles	Others
Agriculture and					
Mining -----	90.0	18.0	2.5	51.0	82.0
Industry -----	3.0	21.0	32.0	14.0	8.0
Commerce -----	0.9	14.0	48.0	6.0	0.2
Administration and					
Free Professions -----	5.5	47.0	17.5	29.0	0.8

not only an urban population, and the Ukrainians a rural one, but the Jews were also predominantly commercial-industrial, while the Ukrainians were a working population. The bulk of the Russians in Ukraine served with the Czarist administration, worked in industry, and constituted a typical urban population.

At the time of World War I and especially at the time of the Great Revolution in Eastern Europe, a *shortage of goods* in towns and villages was a quite natural consequence of war, economic crises and deadlocks in industry. A conflict between the merchants and the populace arose under these circumstances. Merchants were unjustly accused by reactionaries and Bolsheviki of speculation. Since the merchants were predominantly of Jewish nationality, this circumstance was exploited by the reactionary "black hundreds" elements for anti-Jewish propaganda and for provocation of criminal *pogroms*. This circumstance went hand in hand with another one. In Ukraine, some cities and towns had either a Jewish majority or a large Jewish minority, a fact largely due to the Czarist policies in Ukraine. Here is a table (Table 3) which shows the population percentage of Jews in some cities and towns of Ukraine in 1917:

Table 3
PERCENTAGES OF JEWS IN POPULATIONS OF SOME CITIES
AND TOWNS OF UKRAINE

Cities and Towns	Percentage of Jews
Hrytsiv -----	98
Kamin' Koshyrsky -----	99
Berdychiv -----	78
Radomyshl -----	69
Khvastiv -----	59
Rivne -----	71
Proskuriv -----	50
Felshtyn -----	95
Balta -----	44
Bila Tserkva -----	44
Odessa -----	41
Kamyanets Podilsky -----	45

Only those specific towns with a Jewish majority or a near Jewish majority are given. The figures show a clear picture of the Jewish urban *islets* in a sea of non-Jewish population. Czarist policies used this circumstance for the aggravation of relations between the Christian and Jewish populations. However, in the Revolution of 1917, it had truly catastrophic consequences.

LEGACY OF RUSSIAN CZARDOM FOR UKRAINE IN 1917

Let us recapitulate the elements of Russian Czarist policies up to the advent of the Great Revolution in Eastern Europe and let us briefly review the consequences of World War I waged on the territory of subjugated Ukraine.

1) The Russian Government *forcibly* created the *Pale of Settlement of the Jews* in Ukraine by not allowing their migration to Russia proper. As a result, there was an overpopulation in Ukraine of the Jews, who were forced by the Government to live in the towns.

2) The Russian Government, using its prosecutors, police, and judicial authorities as instrumentalities, spread anti-Jewish agitation among the whole populace, particularly by fomenting hatred against the Jews among ignorant masses with the help of an official *doctrine* that Jews used the blood of murdered Christian children for *ritual purposes*. Sham trials of Jews falsely accused by the authorities poisoned the masses with hatred and resentment against the Jews. The last trial of this kind against a Jew took place in Kiev on the eve of World War I.

3) From 1915 to 1917, the *war fronts swirled back and forth across the territory of Ukraine*, exactly in the region densely populated by the Jews (Right-Bank Ukraine). *Masses of Russian soldiers* were concentrated there who, with increasing demoralization in the army and collapsing military discipline, made bold to commit *pogroms* on the local Ukrainian peasantry and on the Jews.

4) *Gangs of deserters* from the demoralized army harassed the local populace and spread *pogrom* agitation among the peaceful people, particularly among the illiterate masses.

5) In every town the former Russian "black hundreds" supported this movement with ardor. During Czarist times they had had their dark-nationalist reactionary nests everywhere; with the advent of the Revolution they did not disappear but only hid their Czarist banners and screened themselves behind the Bolshevik slogan: "*Kill the Bourgeois.*" They only slightly modified the Bolshevik slogan, turning it into "*Kill the Jewish Bourgeois.*" According to their understanding the Jewish merchant or worker was ever a "bourgeois."

6) At the time of the Revolution in 1917, *pogroms* spread all over the territory of the former Russian Empire. On August 12, 1917, Russian Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky told a gathering in Moscow that hatred of the non-Russian peoples and particularly of the Jews had expanded all over the Russian Empire.¹⁰² By September, 1917, many *pogroms* by military units and civilian gangs had already been recorded by the Provisional Russian Government of Alexander Kerensky.¹⁰³ The press of the Russian socialist parties stated then that the Russian Government was powerless to prevent the expansion of the *pogrom* movement on the territory of the former Empire.¹⁰⁴

It is obvious that the *pogroms* in Russia proper had a predominantly internal Russian character, since the "bourgeoisie" in Russia was of Russian origin, the Jews hardly being visible. In the Pale of Settlement, however, the *pogroms* turned against the Jews and against the non-Russian populace as well. Here the troops of old Czarism, skillfully demoralized by Bolshevik propaganda, assaulted and plundered "bourgeois speculators" without any regard as to their nationality. In Ukraine, the merchants were predominantly Jewish; consequently, the criminal activities of demoralized soldiers affected the Jews primarily.

7) By their illegal propaganda during the time of Kerensky's rule, the Bolsheviks aroused all rebellious and criminal elements among the peasantry of the entire former Empire. Defiance of the authorities and law led to their destroying the existing order and preparing for the advent of the Soviet rule. The acceleration of destruction can best be illustrated by the facts registered by the Prosecutor's Offices of the Provisional Russian Government as well as by the reports of Government Commissariats. They show that the number of *pogroms* against the landlords and their intendants took a sharp upturn during 1917. So, e. g., in April, 1917, there were 204 *pogroms*, in May—250, in June—577, in July—1,122, in August—647, and in September—629. The *pogroms* were distributed all over the territory of the Empire according to the intensity of the Bolshevik propaganda in the region and the number of landlord estates. So, e. g., up to 10 *pogroms* took place in the governments of Vologda, Yaroslav, Vyatka, Esthland, Kovno, Grodno, and in the Caucasus; from 10 to 25 *pogroms* in the governments

¹⁰² Cf. *The Russian Provisional Government 1917*. Documents selected and edited by Robert Paul and Alexander F. Kerensky, vol. III, p. 1460.

¹⁰³ See, *ibid.*, pp. 1641-1647.

¹⁰⁴ See, *ibid.*, p. 1644.

of Moscow, Vladimir, Kostroma, Perm, Astrakhan, the region of the Don, Taurida; from 26 to 60 *pogroms* in the governments of Livonia, Petrograd, Novgorod, Tver, Kaluga, Nizhniy Novgorod, Ufa, Khar-kiv, Ekaterinoslav, Bessarabia, Podolia, Volhynia, Vilna; from 50 to 75 *pogroms* in the governments of Vitebsk, Smolensk, Orel, Poltava, Kiev, Kherson, Saratov, Orenburg; from 76 to 100 *pogroms* in the governments of Minsk, Tula, Kursk, Voronezh, Tambov Penza, Sim-birsk, and over 100 in the governments of Pskov, Mogilev, Ryazan, Kazan, Samara.¹⁰⁵

Rural elements thrown by the Bolshevik propaganda into the revolt against the state order and into *pogrom* activities became pacified only in November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia by overthrowing the Government of Kerensky. On December 17, 1917, the Bolsheviks started a military aggression against Ukraine. However, the invasion by the Soviet Army and the ruin of the social order on three quarters of the Ukrainian territory seized in the first months of 1918 did not stop the activities of the seditious elements, but only strengthened them. They were active also after repelling the invasion in mid-April of 1918.

Such was Russia's legacy in Ukraine at the beginning of the Great Revolution in Eastern Europe in 1917 and at the end of that year when Ukraine started creating its own democratic sovereign state in the form of an independent Ukrainian People's Republic.

¹⁰⁵ See, *ibid.*, p. 582.

UKRAINIANS AND THE JEWS*

By LEO HEIMAN

On June 18, 1961, Israel's President Isaac Ben-Zvi received 150 representatives of Ukrainian Jewry now resident in the Jewish State. Himself born in Ukraine, where he organized the first Jewish self-defense units at Poltava to protect the local Jewish community from a wave of anti-Semitic *pogroms* in 1905, the President was proud to see top Israeli Cabinet Ministers, scientists, poets, writers, educators, statesmen, parliamentary leaders and army generals among the 150 Ukrainian Jews invited to his residence in Jerusalem.

Mr. Ben-Zvi stressed again and again that the contribution of Ukrainian Jewry to Israel's growth and development cannot be overestimated. The Ukrainian Jewry, the President declared, was the spearhead of modern Zionism which redeemed the Holy Land from twenty centuries of neglect and oppression, and gave the dispersed and persecuted Jews firm soil under their feet.

Today, although the greatness and glory of the former Jewish-Ukrainian communities of Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Lviv, Rivne or Berdychiv is gone—buried forever under the nameless mass graves into which the victims of Nazi massacres were dumped by their killers—Jewish Agency chiefs in Jerusalem estimated that there still are some 900,000 Jews within the present borders of Ukraine.

The distinguished guests of President Ben-Zvi were plainly worried about the persistent reports of officially-inspired anti-Semitism filtering in from Ukraine. But for the first time in many years, perhaps for the first time in Jewish history, it became apparent to most Israeli experts and informed observers of East European affairs that the "traditional" Ukrainian anti-Semitism is now being deliberately and artificially fostered by the Soviet authorities, for Moscow's own political purposes.

* All names of Ukrainian cities and provinces are spelled here according to the accepted transliteration pattern used by *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. This article appeared in the Summer 1961 issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Vol. XVIII, No. 2).—*Editor*.

A Jewish doctor, who was allowed to leave Lviv last year, reported that his 15-year-old daughter was forced to ridicule the Jewish faith in front of her class. When she refused, she was expelled from school, and all appeals made by her father, a senior surgeon at one of Lviv's hospitals, to have her reinstated, since she was an *otlitchnitsa* (best pupil in her class), were summarily rejected by local educational authorities. The father appealed their ruling to the Ministry of Education, but was allowed to leave the Soviet Union before any reply arrived. The curious thing about this case is that the history teacher who forced the Jewish girl to say that "Judaism and Zionism are tools of exploitation of the masses, and the Star of David is a symbol of oppression and deceit," was himself not a Ukrainian, but a Russian, from Novgorod. The headmaster of the school, to whom the father went to protest when his daughter was expelled, called himself a Ukrainian, but his name was Fiodor Arsenyevich Velikanov, and he was born in Sverdlovsk.

Local Ukrainian officials of the Lviv Education District Administration told the worried father in strict confidence that he was lucky his daughter was merely expelled from school. Orders came from the "central authorities," they said, to crack down on any Jewish pupils and students in Ukrainian schools who refuse to castigate Judaism and Zionism, and publicly repeat ridiculous Nazi-like anti-Semitic statements.

An Israeli newspaperman who recently returned from a 30,000-kilometer tour of the Soviet Union, during which he visited the Jewish communities of Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Vilnius, Minsk, Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Simferopol, Yalta and Tiflis, disclosed that official Soviet anti-Semitism has many nuances and meanings. The worst anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is in Moscow, because of the heavy concentration of Jews in the Soviet capital, and official restrictions are imposed on their employment and higher education.

No Jews are allowed to serve in the Foreign Ministry, secret police, security service, regular armed forces, Ministry of Foreign Trade, and VOKS (Soviet Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—a front organization for Communist espionage and subversion, as well as political propaganda, abroad).

This is a far cry from the late 1920's and the early 1930's when these very departments and services were almost entirely staffed and dominated by Russian Jews. A very strict *numerus clausus* selection limits the entry of Jewish students to universities, colleges and higher academic institutes. Some branches of higher learning are entirely closed to Jews, like the Foreign Diplomatic Service School, Civil Aviation Institute, Merchant Fleet College and others.

OFFICIAL SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

At other schools on the academic level, restrictions against Jews are never officially published, yet are very severely enforced. To be sure, Jews get around these restrictions, just as they get around most other government-imposed limitations, by paying heavy bribes to the university authorities, who register the Jewish students as "Armenians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks," and almost every other nationality, except their own.

Parallel with the official anti-Jewish measures, popular anti-Semitism in Moscow is felt everywhere—in queues for movie tickets, on the football fields, in the giant Parks of "Culture and Relaxation," in the open-air peasant markets and in the *Metro* subway.

Jews are openly insulted and sometimes even beaten up in the streetcars and if militia patrolmen happen to be standing nearby, they do not interfere, but either turn away to look in the opposite direction or smile to encourage the anti-Semites. Popular anti-Semitism in Moscow stems from daily campaigns of vituperation against Israel and Zionism in the Soviet press and radio, from envy of the Jews who—so the Muscovites believe—live in better apartments and have more money without doing any heavy work, and from the traditional Russian attitude of "Kill the Jews—and Save Russia!"

On the other hand, the Soviet government is careful not to allow this latent anti-Semitism to get out of hand. With so many foreign diplomats, journalists and tourists on hand, any bloody excesses would have a negative impact on public opinion abroad. Official Soviet anti-Semitism is explained as a "struggle against Zionist reactionaries on behalf of honest Jewish toilers and the exploited proletariat of Israel." Popular anti-Semitism is naturally encouraged by this official attitude, but kept in control by the authorities in Moscow and Leningrad, for the reasons stated above.

In Ukraine, things are vastly different, according to reports of Israel newspapermen who visited Ukrainian cities recently, Jewish Agency officials and recent arrivals from Lviv, Rivne, Tarnopil, Stanislaviv, Kovel and other parts of Western Ukraine. But before moving on to Ukraine, two more authentic stories of Jewish life in Moscow may be of interest to the readers of this article.

A few years ago an Israeli youth delegation was invited to participate in the Communist-sponsored International Youth Festival, then held in Moscow. The Soviet authorities, who knew that only Communist or Communist-front groups would accept such an invitation, hoped to make political capital out of the visit by exploiting the Red-front Israeli delegates for purposes of anti-Zionist propaganda.

Indeed, the Israeli youngsters who went to Moscow were mostly members of Marxist-front organizations. But when they felt the poisonous air of anti-Semitism, when they met weeping Jews who had travelled to Moscow from as far as Murmansk to see the Israelis and hear Hebrew spoken in public, when they heard the tales of woe and suffering told to them by local Jews—they refused to cooperate with their Soviet hosts and foiled their anti-Zionist propaganda plans.

A scheduled lecture on "Zionist Chauvinism and Nationalism in the Service of American Imperialism" had to be cancelled when the Israeli delegation refused to participate. An Israeli Communist, Samuel Gordon (who was later expelled from the Communist Party) was invited to speak on "The Ruling Circles in Israel—Lackeys of Neo-Nazi Reaction in West Germany." He refused, saying: "Everything you want me to say may be quite true. Personally, I believe it to be true. But Israel is my country, for better or for worse, and there is no son in the world who will publicly call his own mother a prostitute, even if she really is one. . ."

Another Israeli delegate, a folk dancer named Ovadia Bartosh, twisted an ankle and was taken to a hospital reserved for Youth Festival participants. Because he was of Oriental descent (his parents came from Yemen) and looked like an Arab, the Russians put Bartosh in a room reserved for the Egyptians. There were five Egyptians in the room, and the Israeli was put in the sixth vacant bed. Soon after a doctor examined his ankle, a team of Russian radio reporters and television cameramen arrived with their bulky equipment, glaring lights and other paraphernalia of the trade. Bartosh's bed was the one nearest the door, and the Russian reporters zeroed in on him right away. Speaking through an Arabic interpreter, the Russian interviewer asked the Israeli boy: "And how do you like it here in Moscow, our Egyptian friend?"

"I like it fine," Bartosh replied in fluent Arabic, "but I am not an Egyptian, I am an Israeli. . ."

The thunderstruck Russians tried to back out, but it was too late. The chief interviewer tried to save the situation by asking again: "Could you perhaps tell us in a few words the reasons for the difficult economic conditions in Israel, why so many people are out of work, why only the wealthy ones eat meat, and why you allow the Germans and the Americans to rule your country?"

These were standard slanders and lies of Soviet anti-Israeli propaganda, and Bartosh did not even bother denying them. He looked straight into the cameras and admitted: "Well, I know one good reason for unemployment in my own family. My father was a shoe-

maker and eked out a living of sorts. But for the past two years, he has been out of work. . .”

The Russians nearly jumped with joy. Here was the real “jack-pot.” “Yes, we commiserate wholeheartedly with your situation. Our listeners do not know what it means to be out of work. The Soviet citizen does not know what unemployment means. But tell us, our friend, why your father lost his job. . .” Ovadia smiled: “Well, when the Israeli troops defeated the Egyptian army in Sinai, the Egyptian soldiers were running away so fast, most of them took off their shoes and threw them away, to run faster across the sands of the desert. We captured 100,000 pairs of shoes, and since then my poor father has been out of work. . .”

The next day, during a political discussion in which Russians, Americans, Indians, Poles and Israelis took part, the Russians accused Israel of “warmongering, aggression and invasion of Arab countries.” The Israeli delegate Jacob Almog, sick and tired of refuting baseless Soviet charges and accusations, sadly admitted that all the Russians said was true, but immediately added: “You yourself are to blame for this state of affairs. If you want us to be a peaceful nation, why do you deliver so many tanks, jets, cannons and machine guns to the Israeli Army?”

The stunned Russians denied that the Soviet Union sent even one rifle to Israel. “Well, perhaps not directly,” Almog declared, “but you do send all this hardware to Nasser, we capture it from the Egyptians and it winds up in our arsenals and arms stores. . .”

A quarrel developed, during which Almog was called by the Russians “*parshivaya zhidovskaya morda*” (“dirty Jewboy face”). Within a few days, the entire Israeli delegation was instructed to leave the Soviet Union and not return.

FRIENDLINESS TOWARD JEWS IN UKRAINE

By contrast to Moscow, anti-Semitism in Ukraine is deliberately fostered from above by the Soviet authorities. The two Soviet cities friendliest to Jews are not Moscow and Leningrad, as is mistakenly believed by many Jewish communities abroad, but Tiflis and Lviv. Tiflis (Tbilisi), the capital of the Georgian (Gruzin) republic, has a large and thriving Jewish community, which maintains synagogues, ritual matzo bakeries for the Passover festival, and a regular rabbinic and religious community administration.

All Russian attempts to stir up anti-Semitism among the Georgians have failed so far, and Tiflis Jews interviewed by an Israeli newspaperman stated that whatever anti-Semitism can be felt in their city invariably comes from the Russians.

Lviv was a great center of Jewish culture and learning before the Second World War. During the German occupation in World War II, over 600,000 Jews were slaughtered in Lviv and nearby Galician districts by the Nazis and local underworld elements who volunteered for the Gestapo-organized auxiliary security police.

But the testimony of witnesses and survivors during the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem shows that only a small part of the local Ukrainian population took part in the Nazi-incited anti-Jewish excesses.

Before the *S.D. Einsatzgruppen* killer squads arrived to kill the Jews with machine guns and rifles, the Nazis hoped that most of their "dirty work" would be done by local collaborators and *pogrom* mobs. There was certainly no lack of pro-Nazi collaborators in the German-occupied Ukraine. But such was also the case in Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, even France and Norway, where Laval and Quisling became symbols of treason and pro-Nazi collaboration.

Each occupied nation had its share of pro-Nazi collaborators, and the Ukrainians were no exception. The results of diligent Nazi efforts to organize "Ukrainian *pogrom* mobs" were disappointing, however. According to official German documents introduced by the prosecution during the Eichmann trial, the Nazi commander of *S.D. Einsatzgruppe "Kommando Lemberg"* complained to his superiors that ". . . to rely on local people to take the law of retribution in their own hands, and themselves carry out final solution measures against Jews, is hopeless. We organized several action groups, but they soon degenerated into ordinary *pogrom* mobs, more interested in looting and plunder than in energetic and forceful measures against Jews. The number of Jews eliminated by mobs runs less than two thousand in my area of operations, and the damage done by mobs to property, as well as the disruption of order, does not justify this kind of action. I have no choice but to employ my own men."

According to official records of Israel's War Crimes Investigations Office, over 95,000 Nazis and Nazi collaborators throughout occupied Europe were directly connected with anti-Jewish measures, massacres and deportations. Of this number 45,000 were Germans, 8,500 Austrians, 11,000 Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, 7,500 Poles, 3,000 West Europeans, 9,000 Russians and Byelorussians, and 11,000 Ukrainians.

Considering Ukraine's population of some 40 million at that time, this yields a percentage of Nazi collaborators and *S.S.* volunteers actually smaller than that of any other East European country occupied by the Germans during World War II.

On the other hand, numerous Jews in Israel owe their lives to Ukrainians who saved them from the Nazis. Ivan Hrycko, Irena Mazaniuk, Stefan Dushny, and the nameless public notary at Lviv who issued false "Aryan" birth certificates to Jews until he was caught and killed by the Nazis, are remembered by grateful survivors in Israel.

But all that is in the past. Perhaps because Lviv and other Eastern Galician districts, where only 5,000 out of 610,000 Jews survived, themselves felt later the yoke of German occupation and Russian "liberation," this is now the "Friendliest city in the Soviet Union for Jews to live in," a recent arrival reported.

Jews speak Yiddish openly in public, in streetcars and in the marketplace and no one makes fun of them, or utters anti-Semitic remarks, as would be the case in Moscow or Leningrad. There is a triple reason for this pro-Jewish attitude, so surprising to people who live in the past, with their outmoded ideas of "traditional" Ukrainian anti-Semitism:

(1) Israel, Zionism and Jews are now one of the main targets of violent Soviet propaganda. Since the Ukrainians hate Communism, Soviet rule and Russian domination, it is a plain case of "your enemy is my enemy."

(2) The Russians are trying to incite anti-Semitism in Ukraine, deliberately and provocatively, to discredit Ukrainian nationalists as "Nazis and Fascists."

(3) Both the Ukrainian National Movement and the Jewish National Movement (i. e., Zionism) have many common aims that every intelligent Ukrainian who thinks of his country's ultimate liberation realizes that anti-Semitic incitement is Moscow's best weapon against both national movements.

I feel happy and free in Israel. Despite the friendly atmosphere in Lviv, I felt melancholic and oppressed to live for years near the unmarked mass graves of my people.

These graves are unmarked and unnoticed because of Moscow's specific orders.

This first-hand report by a man who left Lviv in December, 1960, is corroborated from many other sources. Soviet objections to let the surviving Jews honor the memory of their murdered families and brethren stem from a very simple wish to prevent any pro-Jewish sympathies among the indigenous populations of Ukraine, Byelorussia and other parts of the USSR which were occupied by the Nazis in World War II. If Jews are the villains in official Soviet policy, if Zionism is castigated as an "ally of Neo-Nazi reactionaries," Jewish victims of the Nazis may not be mentioned. That is the reason why Soviet dispatches from the Eichmann trial do not mention the fact that the arch-criminal and his killer squads murdered millions of Jews. The word "Jewish victims" does not appear in the Soviet papers, which speak only of "millions of Soviet citizens murdered by the Hitlerites."

That is also the reason why all mention of Jewish partisans, the annihilation of Jews by the Nazis, or the heroic war deeds performed by Jews, was deleted from books and war memoirs of wartime Soviet guerrilla leaders in Ukraine—Saburov, Naumov, Kovpak, Melnyk, Vershyhora and Kozlov.

Mr. Sholom Golub of Haifa, who recently returned from a two-week visit to his relatives in Kiev, reports the desecration by Soviet authorities of the *Babyn-Yar* canyon on the outskirts of Kiev, where over 40,000 Jews were killed and buried by the Nazis during World War II. The Russians tore down the small wooden memorial tablet put up on the site after the war by the few Jewish survivors who returned to Kiev. Last year they dammed up *Babyn-Yar* and pumped water from the nearby river to turn the mass grave into a giant storage reservoir. Due to faulty planning and shoddy execution of the earthen dam's construction, the accumulated water broke out in the spring of 1961 and swept down a neighboring district of the city, killing several thousand people under the flood and debris.

The site of Jewish mass graves, where over 40,000 martyrs—men, women and children—lie buried, is now a neglected morass of stinking mud.

According to the Information Section of the National Religious Movement in Jerusalem, over 20 Jewish rabbis were arrested in the first six months of 1961 in Odessa, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi and Tiraspol, on trumped-up charges of “drunken orgies in synagogues” and “black market speculations under cover of religious activities.” Their fate is unknown, the Religious Movement Council stresses.

All these items, and many others, add up to a policy of planned intimidation of Ukrainian Jews, over and above the general policy of official Soviet anti-Semitism. Top Israeli experts disagree on an actual interpretation of this Moscow line. There are many veteran Israeli officials of Russian-Jewish origin, who albeit outspokenly anti-Communist themselves, still retain the outmoded notions that “real Russians” cannot be anti-Semitic, and that Moscow adopted an anti-Jewish line because Nikita Khrushchev is a Ukrainian, which is also a good reason why the most virulent forms of Soviet anti-Semitism find their expression in Ukraine.

But there are numerous younger officials, diplomats and Soviet affairs experts who point out:

¶ Khrushchev is not, and has never been, a Ukrainian. He was born into a Russian family in the village of Kalinovka which is in Russia proper, just outside Ukraine's border. His only connection with Ukraine was as Stalin's *Gauleiter* in Kiev, before, during and immediately after the war. In this capacity, he killed and deported,

or doomed to death by hunger or resettlement, millions of Ukrainians, and also many Jews.

¶ The "real Russians" are anti-Semitic from way back. The first wave of *pogroms* towards the end of the XIXth century, and the second wave of anti-Jewish excesses in 1905, were both instigated and organized by Russian Cabinet Ministers and secret police chiefs of the Russian Czar's government. Father Gapon and his "Black Hundreds" gangs of Jew-killers were "real Russians," while Stalin's anti-Jewish "Doctors' Plot" started in Moscow proper.

Most experts believe there is still another reason why Moscow sponsors popular anti-Semitism in Ukraine, in addition to official anti-Jewish measures elsewhere in the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian population is seething with discontent. By holding up the traditional Jewish scapegoat, Moscow hopes to provide a ready-made emotional outlet for all pent-up hates and resentments against the regime and conditions of life. But the Ukrainians of 1961, according to all authoritative reports, are not the Ukrainians of 1941, just as the Jews of 1961 are not the Jews of 1941.

This is the reason why Moscow gets contrary results in Ukraine. It was easy for the Russians to stage a *pogrom* in a Jewish-populated suburb of Moscow where a Jewish cemetery and synagogue were desecrated and a Jewish woman killed. It is impossible for the Kremlin dictators to stage even a small token anti-Jewish *pogrom* anywhere in Ukraine, although Ukraine is—by all accepted Jewish definitions—the cradle of East European anti-Semitism. Whether the definitions were right or wrong in the past, this is certainly not the case now. In fact, considering the amount of anti-Jewish incitement and vituperation expended daily by Soviet-controlled schools, book publishers, radio broadcasting services and other media of public information in Ukraine, the only results have been a strengthening of pro-Jewish attitudes rather than the *pogroms* and excesses desired by Moscow.

Had such *pogroms* happened, Moscow could have stepped in to pose as a "defender" of Jewish lives, at the same time cracking down on Ukrainian nationalists under the guise of a "police campaign against anti-Semitism." But Soviet *pogrom* plans are foiled by the attitude of the Ukrainian population, which surprises the Israeli visitors and newspapermen who happen to pass through Ukraine.

Curiously, this strange pro-Jewish attitude (strange in the light of past history) is more noticeable in Western Ukraine than in the Eastern regions, according to Israelis who have studied both parts of Ukraine. There is more anti-Semitism in Odessa than in Lviv, perhaps because Odessa has a large Russian minority, and

perhaps also because the Western Ukrainians have always been more nationalist-conscious. They realize now that their own interests, the interests of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, demand a new look, a new era in relations between Ukrainians and Jews, a common front against Moscow's destructive policies and against Soviet imperialism, which is just as dangerous to independent Israel in the Middle East as to captive Ukraine in Eastern Europe.

In the light of this information, and its evaluation, the 150 distinguished Ukrainian-Jewish guests of President Ben-Zvi had a feeling that a new era had indeed arrived. "Freedom is indivisible," one of the statesmen told me, "we Jews are already free in a land of our own. We now hope the Ukrainians will soon be free, so that the 900,000 Ukrainian Jews are free to come to Israel."

RUSSIA, THE JEWS AND THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

By LEW SHANKOWSKY

*It takes two to speak the truth—
one to speak, and another to hear.*

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

1. INTRODUCTION: HIS MASTER'S VOICE

Early in July, 1943, the Red Partisan brigade of Gen. Sydir Kovpak¹* approached Skalat, a small town in Galicia, then part of Frank's *Gouvernement General*. The small garrison of German police fled from Skalat, offering no resistance. The Red Partisans entered the town without firing a shot. The remnants of the Jews in the

* *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Spring, 1960, and *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Summer, 1960.

¹ Sydir (Isidore) Kovpak, former mayor of the city of Putivl in Northern Ukraine, an old Communist who fought for the communist cause back in the Civil War (1917-1920), was a chieftain of the largest Red partisan group which operated in Western Ukraine in 1943. He is a celebrated hero of Soviet guerrilla warfare and was named a major general of the Red Army, though his raid across Western Ukraine was actually a failure. For the activities of Kovpak's group, see Kovpak's and Vershyhora's memoirs: S. A. Kovpak, *Ot Putivla do Karpat (From Putivl to the Carpathians)*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945; Petro Vershyhora, *Liudi chistoi sovesti (Men with a Pure Conscience)*, Moscow, 1952. Col. Vershyhora was chief of intelligence of Kovpak's group. He returns to the destruction of Kovpak's group in the Carpathians in his memoirs, *Reid na Sian i Vishu (Raid on the San and Vistula Rivers)*, *Novyi Mir*, Moscow, No. 2, February 1959, p. 7. There Vershyhora attributed the destruction of Kovpak's group to a large concentration of German forces in the Carpathians (according to Vershyhora it was an "army group" of Gen. Krueger consisting of 8 SS regiments, 1 mountain regiment, 1 Hungarian mountain rifle division, and the 14th SS Division "Galicia"). Such a concentration never existed, and is among the author's many fantasies. To mention only a few: Krueger was not a "general," but a Gestapo chief of Stanislaviv; the Hungarians occupied positions in the Carpathians only in 1944, and not in 1943; only in July, 1943, the recruitment for the "Galicia" division was announced in Galicia, and the division itself was not ready for combat until July, 1944. For the Ukrainian side of the presentation, see Mykola Lebed, *UPA: Ukrainiska Povstanska Armia (UPA: Ukrainian Insurgent Army)*, Press Bureau, UHVR, 1946; Lew Shankowsky,

*Arbeitslager*² found themselves suddenly liberated. It was as if good angels had appeared in time to save the Jews of Skalat and take them under their protection. However, Kovpak's attack on Skalat did not result in the liberation of the town's Jewish population, for the good "angels" turned their backs on the Jews of Skalat, leaving them behind to be massacred by the Nazis. Here is the sad tale of what happened in Skalat on a hot summer's day in 1943.

The Partisans seized the Jewish *Arbeitslager*, pillaged the German depots and destroyed the German offices. The inmates greeted the Partisans with cries of gratitude and tears of joy in their eyes. Gen. Kovpak, along with Commissar Simon Rudnev and Col. Petro Vershyhora, entered the camp and ordered the inmates assembled for a meeting.

"I am greeting you with liberation," roared Gen. Kovpak. "It is the glorious Soviet partisans that have brought you freedom. The most heroic sons and daughters of the Soviet people have brought you liberation at the points of their bayonets. Hurray for Comrade Stalin, our glorious leader in the Kremlin who directs the glorious struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders!"

"Hurray! Hurray!" agreed the inmates of the Nazi death camp.

Gen. Kovpak continued: "As you have been liberated by the Soviet partisans, you now have to show your gratitude to the fighting Soviet people by helping them at every step. In defense of your lives you have to turn against the blood-thirsty Nazi invaders with arms in your hands and form the first Jewish partisan unit in the Nazi rear. Your main task will consist now of destroying the

"*Ukrainska Povstanska Armia*" in Ivan Krypiakevych, Ed., *Istoria ukrainskoho viyska (History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces)*, Winnipeg, 1953, pp. 635-832; *idem*, "Ten Years of the UPA Struggle (1942-1952)" in *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, New York, 1954, pp. 23-51; *Ukrainian Resistance*, published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, 1949. All these sources present the complex situation in Ukraine during the last war. On the activities of Kovpak's group, see also John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism 1939-1945*, New York 1955, pp. 134, 136-137-139, 146-147, 151-153.

² At the time of Kovpak's arrival in Galicia, Hitler's "final solution" of the Jewish problem was already nearing its end. The Jewish ghettos in which the Jews were herded together in 1941 were already "liquidated" with indescribable brutality and unimaginable horror in the course of the so-called "actions" against the Jews in 1941 and 1942. In 1943, only Jewish *Arbeitslager* (labor camps) were left where the remnants of the Jewish population were kept to work for the German war economy. Actually, these *Arbeitslager* were nothing less than death camps. On Nazi extermination of the Jews, see Stefan Szende, *The Promise Hitler Kept*, New York, 1945, and Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*, London, 1953. The latter contains a valuable bibliography.

Nazis and their helpers—the Ukrainian nationalists.³ You have to avenge the ruthless extermination of the Jews, the wholesale murdering of your next of kin.” Gen. Kovpak ended his emotional appeal with the call: “Liberated Jews to arms!”

There were peasant carts full of arms in the trains of Kovpak’s partisan group. The former inmates of the Nazi death camp eyed the arms impatiently, anxious to get them in their hands as soon as possible. Hearing the General’s call to arms, several Jews rushed to the carts, expecting a distribution of arms among at least those still able to carry them. However, a bitter surprise awaited them.

“Halt!” thundered Gen. Kovpak. “You expect me to give you arms? There are no arms in my trains for you. My boys and girls have not received arms from anybody, they have captured them from the enemy. Not only Red partisans, but even the soldiers of our glorious army go into positions barehanded, and they capture the arms from the enemy and kill him. I advise you to do the same. Kill your enemies and capture their arms. And when you are armed and organized, rest assured that the Soviet government will help you. We have liberated you, but now having freedom from our hands, you should kill our common enemies and capture their arms. There is nothing else for you to do than to take this inevitable step, otherwise you will perish amidst the general destruction of your race initiated by the Nazi barbarians.”

³ In 1943, with the Germans already defeated at Stalingrad, a big anti-Nazi partisan movement behind the lines of the German front gained in strength from day to day. In Byelorussia, it was mainly a Soviet organized and directed movement, but to the south, in Ukraine, it was mostly Ukrainian national partisans who had under their control the forests and swamps of Volhynia and Polissia. There the UPA—*Ukrainska Povstancha Armia* (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) fought simultaneously the Nazis and the Red bands, aiming at creating favorable conditions for the re-establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian state. After the war, the UPA did not lay down its arms but continued fighting Red occupants, holding out in its strongholds in Western Ukraine, and occasionally carrying its battle out to Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. This lone battle against Red Moscow, without aid from anyone, was, however, viewed with seriousness by many foreign observers. It is quite understandable that the activities of the UPA during the last war should have been salt in the eye of Moscow. The NKVD, which played a major role in the development of the Red partisan movement and which in its entire history never underestimated the Ukrainian liberation movement, viewed the situation in Ukraine with apprehension. It saw a great threat to the Soviet regime with dangerous complications evolving from the existence of a large Ukrainian anti-Soviet guerrilla force during the war, and decided to act swiftly in order not to allow the situation in Ukraine to pass out of control. This was the reason for the appearance of the first large group of Red Partisans in the stronghold of the Ukrainian liberation movement, in the western part of

Within a few hours Kovpak's partisans had left Skalat. Only a handful of Jews were admitted into the partisan ranks, only those who could prove their connections with the NKVD during the Soviet occupation of the town in the years 1939-1941. Some of their relatives were permitted to join the band as cattle drivers, but these were given no arms. Still others tried to follow the band, but were driven away with sticks or even fired at by the partisan rear guard. Some of the more energetic men and women made for the countryside, but for the great majority of the "liberated" Jews joy ended as suddenly as it had come when they saw their Nazi oppressors fleeing in panic. These unfortunate people returned to the *Arbeitslager* to await death. They had not long to wait. On the very next day the Nazis returned to Skalat and shot all the Jews they found in "reprisal" for their "assistance" to the Red partisans. The Soviet "liberation" had turned into a Nazi massacre.

The Skalat incident became widely known in the territories under the Nazi occupation. Rumors of how the Red partisans had "liberated" the Jews of Skalat spread like wildfire in ghettos and death camps, killing the last hope of the Jews for salvation through the intervention of those who fought their Nazi oppressors. In the villages and hamlets of Galicia, on their route to the Carpathians, the partisans of Gen. Kovpak frequently boasted of how their chief-

Ukraine. When in February, 1943, Kovpak's group, 2,000 strong, well armed and equipped, crossed the Pripet River into Ukraine, it found itself on Ukrainian territory which only nominally was occupied by the Nazis, but in fact was controlled by the UPA. The very first penetrating efforts showed Gen. Kovpak that it was too dangerous for his group to cross the territory and to make a detour to the east, which delayed the execution of the tasks given to Gen. Kovpak by Stalin personally for several weeks. Then came orders from Moscow for more vigorous and extensive operations against the UPA, including penetration of Galicia. Again Kovpak turned to the west, and then to the south, always skirting skilfully the areas of operations of the UPA, or negotiating with UPA commanders for a free passage. See Vershyhora, *op. cit.*, pp. 241f, 380-385, 388f, 393, 398f, 426. Vershyhora is more outspoken than his chief and, therefore, frequently mentions in his memoirs encounters with the Ukrainian insurgents, negotiations with their commanders, the unfriendly attitude of the Ukrainian population which gave the Ukrainian Insurgents an all-out support, marches through areas infested with the Ukrainian insurgents, etc. Accusing the Ukrainian nationalists (UPA, OUN) of being Nazi "helpers," Gen. Kovpak voiced only a Red "psychological warfare" against the UPA exactly in the same way as SS Obergruppenfuehrer von dem Bach-Zelewski, who later became known as the "pacificator" of Warsaw and in 1943 was "plenipotentiary of Reichsminister Himmler" for combatting Ukrainian bands (UPA) "by all means," accused the UPA of being in the service of "Jewish Bolshevism" and of being a "nationally disguised Bolshevik front group." See photostats of Nazi propaganda against the UPA in Lebed, *op. cit.*, Appendix.

tain had refused to take along the Skalat Jews because they "neither knew how nor wanted to fight against the Nazis." Instead of displaying sympathy for the victims of ferocious Nazi terror, the partisans of Gen. Kovpak had an outright hostility toward Jews, ridiculed them as cowards, accused them of collaborating with their oppressors, spread hatred, suspicion and distrust of Jews in a manner akin to Nazi propaganda.⁴ It looked as if all the forces of hell had turned against the people of the millennial culture which the madmen of the Third Nazi Reich had marked for total extinction.

The Skalat incident is no invention of anti-Soviet propaganda. It has been also corroborated by Jewish eyewitnesses, who recorded it in their memoirs. However, Abraham Weissbrod of Skalat tries to exonerate Gen. Kovpak and his men. He maintains that the partisans refused to take along the Jews of the Skalat death camp because "they needed soldiers, healthy men, and not Jews from a concentration camp who could barely drag their feet."⁵ To this

⁴ The anti-Semitism of Kovpak's partisans was not an isolated case. Anti-Semitism was so notorious among the Red partisans that it could not escape even such a pro-Soviet source as Moshe Kaganovich, *Der Idisher Ontail in der Partizaner-Bewegung fun Sovet-Rusland (The Jewish Participation in the Partisan Movement of Soviet Russia)*, published by the Central Historical Commission of *Partizan-Khayyi-Khaluts* (Partisan Federation) in Italy, Rome, 1948. In his book, Moshe Kaganovich relates frequent manifestations of anti-Semitism among Red partisans and even admits that such anti-Semitism was a matter of policy of the Red partisan movement, and not just a coincidence or individual expression of anti-Semitic feelings by some commanders and fighters. See Moshe Kaganovich, *op. cit.*, pp. 165ff. Corroboration of Kaganovich's observation can be found in many other sources on file with YIVO. This led even Solomon M. Schwarz to admit that the "bulk of the (Red) partisan movement must have been affected in one way or another by anti-Semitism." See Solomon M. Schwarz, *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, Syracuse, 1951, p. 325.

⁵ According to Abraham Weissbrod, when Kovpak's Partisans were preparing to leave Skalat, almost all the Jews asked to be taken along. But the Partisans refused, saying that they needed soldiers, healthy men, and not Jews from a concentration camp who could barely drag their feet. When the Red Partisans departed, according to Weissbrod, they were followed by about 30 of the strong Jews, but the Partisans drove them back with sticks. They continued to follow. After several days they were finally permitted to join the band. See Avrom Weissbrod, *Es Shtarbt a Shtetl. Mgiles Skalat*, published by the Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany. Ed. I. Kaplan, Munich, 1948, pp. 138ff. Another eyewitness, Fima Geldfand, a Jewish girl who spent two years with Kovpak's Partisans, does not mention the Skalat incident in her affidavit (No. 714 in Material from the Lodz Archives, Documents of the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland), probably because her affidavit was made in satellite Poland and relation of such incidents as that of Skalat would not confer much glory on the Red Partisans.

eyewitness the decision of Gen. Kovpak was of a "military" nature, with no political considerations underlying it. However, on analyzing Gen. Kovpak's action in Skalat, which confronted men, women, and children with certain death, the sensitive observer cannot fail to ask himself: How was it possible for a Soviet general to commit such an inhuman act if there were no "higher" reasons for his decision? What can be said of this decision when one is sure that the General was really able to distribute part of his arms among the liberated Jews, seeing that they were able to start fighting for their lives to which they had been called by the General himself? To what extent did Kovpak's decision reflect his personal feelings for the Jews, though as partisan leader he knew of the audacity, initiative and energy of fighting men regardless of their nationality in the face of death, of their heroism in fight if they knew that they were doomed, of their willingness to die for freedom? Why then did Kovpak not save the Jews of Skalat?

To answer this question one has to go a little deeper into the essence of Russian Bolshevism. First of all, Russian Bolshevism has always had a low regard for sentimentality. According to Bolshevik doctrine, any tendency to be influenced by "feelings" in action must be suppressed most emphatically. No "feelings," even "revolutionary" ones, must play a role in ascertaining and executing the Party line. In Lenin's words, "putting political questions on a sentimental basis" leads only to failure, even to catastrophe. Accordingly, reasons of expediency must be put over all other considerations, including those of a moral or sentimental nature. The Party must always be prepared to inflict any amount of harm on any amount of human beings if only this appears "expedient." Or as Stalin advised Churchill: "military diplomacy must be able to use for military purposes... the Devil himself and his grandmother."⁶ Of course, Stalin himself was never afraid of using all sorts of "devils" for his purposes.

In Skalat, Gen. Kovpak showed perfectly how to use "devils" for Stalin's purposes. Were these purposes only "military"? Not in the least. Indeed, it would have been of some "military" advantage to arm the survivors of the Nazi death camp and to let them fight against their oppressors. This was in the realm of possibility, as from Kovpak's own account we know that he had been ordered to mobilize everyone willing to fight the Nazis, and especially former officers and soldiers of the Red Army in the Nazi rear. For this purpose, Kovpak carried enough weapons in his trains to arm 2,000

⁶ From Stalin's Message to Churchill quoted in *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, by Robert E. Sherwood, New York, 1948, p. 651.

additional fighters. If he refused to distribute these arms among the Jews of Skalat and, moreover, if he barred the joining of his group by the liberated Jews, then such a decision had to have not "military," but political reasons as its base. It was an important *political* decision and as such could not have been taken by Gen. Kovpak *alone*. Political decisions were the responsibility of Kovpak's political officer, Commissar Simon Rudnev. But such an important decision as to whether to save the Jews of Skalat or not could not be made by the Commissar only in accordance with his personal predilections, but had to be based on the directives of the Communist Party, i. e., made strictly in conformity with the binding Moscow line. In the light of the Skalat incident as well as of other similar incidents exposing a rabid Red anti-Semitism during the last war, it is easy enough to conclude that at that time the Kremlin line demanded that the Jews be exterminated, and not saved. Whatever the personal feelings of Gen. Kovpak and his Commissar might have been, they had them strictly under control, and they had not let them intrude upon the Party line. For the time being the Nazi and Bolshevik interests in the extermination of Jews had coincided. However, to keep one's feelings under control implies also the ability to simulate them. From this point of view we may also dismiss Gen. Kovpak as an orator: his little speech to the "liberated" Jews in Skalat was nothing less than "his Master's Voice." In the art of deception Moscow has no equal anywhere.

The writer is fully aware that his argumentation would be hard to accept for many who sincerely believe in Soviet "philo-Semitism." It may seem bombastic for the naïve peddlers of the theory of the *Jewish* origin of *Russian* Bolshevism for whom a Soviet "philo-Semitism" is quite a natural phenomenon, a manifestation of intrinsic sentiments of the followers for the "founding fathers" of their system. It may seem also too complicated for those who believe in a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world and consider Red Moscow a partner to it. Such people exclude any possibility of the existence of anti-Semitism in the USSR and dismiss all accounts of it as mere "Jewish or Zionist propaganda." However, there are still people, and most of them are Jews, who believe in "new" Russia's having wiped away all signs of anti-Semitism. Such people would dismiss any account of its existence in the USSR as a piece of anti-Soviet propaganda, as a slur upon their beloved Russia, a pure coincidence, or a matter of no significance. The fact remains that anti-Semitism has always existed in the USSR despite the laws making it a criminal offense, and we shall furnish further proof that it is no myth. Here we limit ourselves to discussion of why the Russians needed the ex-

termination, and not the salvation of the Jews during the last war. What were the Soviet reasons for using their devils in abundance?

First, Moscow needed the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis for its own rehabilitation in the eyes of the world. The world knew that the Nazi Attila came to power (1933) fifteen years after another cynical despot sitting in Moscow had instituted a gory pattern for Hitler. The world knew that until the horrors of the gas-chambers and crematories were instituted by Hitler's madmen, the rule of the Red Terror was the bloodiest, most murderous affair in modern times. Moscow needed something to erase its own crimes in world opinion. From this point of view, Moscow was helped by Hitler to win a truly golden prize in his picking up where Stalin had left off by ordering a wholesale extermination of the Jews, Slavs and many others whom the Nazi "supermen" considered inferior to their race.

Second, Moscow needed a continuous extermination of the Jews to keep Germany and the Western Allies from arriving at a compromise at the expense of the USSR. During the last war Stalin was keenly aware of such a possibility and constantly feared it. This possibility, however, was excluded since the Nazis embarked upon a policy of extermination of the Jews which not only aroused world opinion against Nazi Germany, but was also instrumental in thrusting the ideological concept of the war upon the Western Allies. According to this concept the war could have but one aim: total defeat of the Nazi-Fascist-Japanese totalitarian alliance, without any regard for the re-establishment of reasonable political conditions throughout the world and especially in Europe. In accordance with this concept, the "unconditional surrender" formula was accepted in Casablanca, and the Morgenthau Plan in Quebec. In the light of later knowledge both proved to be major mistakes of the Western Allies' political warfare. Such mistakes only favored totalitarian Russia, whose very practical and imperialistic aims were thereby obscured.

Third, disasters to the civilian population and political troubles on the territories occupied by the Nazis were welcome to Moscow, since a suffering and discontented population was a potential reinforcement of its forces in the fight against Nazi Germany. The fact hardly can be contested that at the beginning of the German occupation in the East, the overwhelming majority of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian populations, including the misinformed Jews, felt indifferent, if not outright friendly, toward the German occupants. One of the major reasons for a subsequent complete change of the popular attitude was the mass executions of the Jews. People felt

it was a terrible blow because they had never seen executions of such magnitude (the Bolsheviks performed their executions in secrecy). They instilled terror in the population, so much so that the Nazis themselves were forced to admit that "sharp measures against the Jews, especially the executions, have by now considerably increased the anti-German mood."⁷ There can be no doubt that the massacres of the Jews shocked the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples, even those infected with anti-Semitic prejudice.⁸

It must be stressed in this context that the large-scale extermination of the Jews by *SS Einsatzgruppen* (Task Forces) began only after the outbreak of war in 1941. The formal decision to embark upon a policy of extermination was not taken until March, 1941, when Hitler was giving the preliminary orders for the invasion of the USSR. Stalin must have known it as he played willingly into the hands of the Nazi exterminators by forbidding the evacuation of the Jews from Ukraine and Byelorussia. In Ukraine, the Red Army established a military cordon along the Dnieper River which did not allow the Jewish refugees to cross the river, allegedly in order to prevent them from disturbing the movements of the Red Army. In this way, during the last war, Stalin deliberately condemned to death hundreds of thousands of Jews in the western regions of the USSR by leaving them behind to be massacred by the Nazis.⁹

The situation was still more aggravated by the fact that the Jewish population in the USSR was largely unaware of the persecution and extermination that awaited it at Nazi hands. Throughout the period of the Hitler-Stalin friendship, the readers of the Soviet press, the listeners to the Soviet radio, the participants in the Soviet meetings were kept in total ignorance of the Nazi anti-Jewish policies and were wholly misinformed about the treatment of the Jews in Frank's *Gouvernement General*. It must be emphasized that during the time of the Hitler-Stalin friendship, the Soviet government went too far in placating the Nazis by totally refraining from any denunciation of Hitlerism, by supplying the Nazi war machine with essential materials, and even by extraditing German and Jewish Communists

⁷ From *Einsatzgruppen* reports quoted by Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945. A Study of Occupation Policies*, London-New York, 1957, p. 215.

⁸ Cf. Solomon M. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁹ An interesting report on the tribulations of the Jewish population of Ukraine during the so-called "evacuation," with facts of indiscriminate shootings, pogroms, preventing of evacuations, bribery, etc., was published by A. Chervinsky in *Socialisticheski Vestnik (Socialist Messenger)*, New York, May 1952, pp. 80-93.

to the *Gestapo*. It is interesting to hear now that it was not they but the Zionists who had tried to help the Nazis win the war, and helped them to exterminate the Jews throughout Europe. Of the many absurd theories and lies which have been propounded by the masters of the Kremlin, this one will stand preeminently as an example of the morbid obsessions tormenting the Soviet leaders. However, it will also attest to the fact that anti-Semitism has become an inevitable component of the Soviet order and has turned into an irreplaceable political weapon in the hands of the Soviet government. It has truly become its voice, the voice of its master in external and internal affairs.

2. THE CRUCIAL TEST: RUSSIAN OR UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM?

It was in New York that the writer met the late Prof. Philip Friedman, a man of great erudition and a truly scholarly historian. His objectivity and his ability to treat controversial topics in a true scholarly manner were admirable. We often discussed the complex Ukrainian-Jewish relations of the past and were in agreement that the resentments of the past are quite able to mar the Ukrainian-Jewish relations of the present and to influence them in the future. Being also in agreement that the Ukrainians and the Jews now have a common enemy in Communist Moscow, we often discussed the steps which would be necessary on both sides to improve Ukrainian-Jewish relations strictly from the point of view of the present situation and of future developments. The Ukrainians will always remember the late Prof. Friedman as the man who first acknowledged the Ukrainian contribution in saving the Jews at the time of the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. The Ukrainians had to wait for fifteen years until such an acknowledgment was made; and it appeared in the works of this highly esteemed scholar.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers*. The Christian heroes and heroines who helped the oppressed escape the Nazi terror. New York, 1957, pp. 130-135. Also his *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation*. Reprinted from YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, Vol. XII, New York 1958-1959, pp. 287-294. Of course, there are many records on Ukrainians who saved and helped Jews, also in the archives of YIVO and Jewish memoirs, also in Stefan Szende, *op. cit.*, who told of how Ukrainian peasants and priests had protected the Jews from Nazi persecution at the risk of their own lives. Itzhak Levin told the story of his own rescue together with other Jews in his book *Aliti mi Spezzia (I Left Spezzia [for Israel])*, Tel Aviv, 1946, but even he could not free himself of the stereotype of "Ukrainian anti-Semitism," calling his rescuers "anti-Semites." Rabbi David Kahane told in *Undzer Veg* (Paris, Sept. 17, 1948) of his visits to the Ukrainian Metropolitan of Lviv, Andrey Sheptytsky, of the latter's attempts at rescuing the Jews, of his letter to Himmler

In one discussion with Prof. Friedman the author mentioned the Skalat incident as a proof of the existence of Soviet anti-Semitism. Of course, the author of *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation* was well acquainted with the situation in Ukraine under the Nazi occupation and knew of the activities of Kovpak's group from source material. However, his comments on the Skalat incident were surprising. Prof. Friedman said, "It is right that the Skalat incident was another proof of the existence of anti-Semitism among Red partisans, but in the case of Kovpak's group this anti-Semitism *could* be of Ukrainian origin. You know that Gen. Kovpak claimed to be a descendant of the Zaporozhian Kozaks and even the Soviet propaganda pictured him as a successor to *Hetman* Khmelnytsky. His group was formed in Ukraine, was composed largely of Ukrainians, and even its official designation was the 'First Ukrainian Partisan Division.' This Ukrainian composition of Kovpak's group *could* be the reason for the frequent and at times violent manifestations of anti-Semitism among its members."

"And what about its leaders?" the writer rejoined. "What about the leadership of the entire Red Partisan movement? How could it tolerate the manifestations of anti-Semitism if it itself were philo-Semitic? Or were the leaders of the Red Partisan movement also Ukrainians?"

"It was possible that the Soviet leadership tolerated the virulent anti-Semitism of the Red partisans not only to appease it, but also with the purpose of diverting the wide Ukrainian popular masses from support of the Nazis."

Such sentiments from a gifted scholar were disheartening. Prof. Friedman *knew* that Gen. Kovpak was not a "descendant of Zaporo-

protesting the extermination of the Jews and of the rude reply Metropolitan Sheptytsky received from the Nazi SS and Police Chief. However, we find no mention of the Metropolitan's activity in saving Jews in the works of Joseph Tenenbaum (*In Search of a Lost People*, New York, 1948; *Underground*, New York, 1951), though Dr. Tenenbaum was a personal acquaintance of the late Metropolitan. On the Ukrainian side, an attempt at collecting materials and testimonies of Jews who survived thanks to Ukrainians was made by a former leader of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish *Sejm*, Vasyl Mudry, with the cooperation of Joseph Schwarz of Brooklyn, and was published in *Svoboda*, Ukrainian daily in Jersey City, N. J. See Vasyl Mudry, "Na chysti vody" ("On Clean Waters"), *Svoboda*, May 3, 1955, pp. 2-3; *idem.*, "Na zhydivski temy" ("On Jewish Themes"), *ibid.*, August 25, 1955, pp. 2-3; *idem.*, "Na zhydivsky temy," *ibid.*, November 14, 1956, pp. 3-4. Prof. Friedman's undeniable contribution consists in that he put research on Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the last war on a scholarly basis by collecting a wealth of material both friendly and unfriendly to Ukrainians, valuable and useful for objective evaluation.

zhian Kozaks," but a Gypsy and, in addition, an old party member who had fought for the communist cause back in the times of the Civil War (1917-1920). His political commissar, Simon Rudnev, the real "brains" of his group, was a Russian. The Ukrainian composition of the "First Ukrainian Partisan Division" is but another myth. Its nucleus was formed by remnants of the ruling machine in Northern Ukraine, and later was reinforced by the officers and soldiers of the Red Army who had escaped capture by the Nazis in one of the great battles of encirclement and had been hiding in the Bryansk forests on Russian territory. However, if there had been any Ukrainians in the group, if they had even prevailed in it (they did not), if the Ukrainian partisans all had been anti-Semites, they could hardly have manifested their anti-Jewish sentiments *if such were not shared by their leaders.*

The author of course told Prof. Friedman of his strong reservations with respect to the theory that the Soviet leaders endorsed anti-Semitism during the last war only to appease its Ukrainian proponents. We hold that such a theory is only a reflex of the widespread Jewish charges that Khrushchev, if not exactly an anti-Semite, was an opportunist who tolerated "blood-thirsty" Ukrainian anti-Semitism during the last war to gain Ukrainian support for Moscow. Such charges were advanced authoritatively by the *Union of Former Partisans and Ghetto Fighters* in Israel and were widely popularized by prominent Jewish journalists in Israel and in this country.¹¹

There is a curious continuance of such accusations in the form of ascribing to the Ukrainians under Soviet rule anti-Semitic excesses and even persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union. Among many allegations of this sort, a case in point is a reportage by Patricia Blake which appeared in *Life Magazine*.¹² This account and other productions of this sort almost suggest that the Ukrainians are masters of their own country, and that they are free to do what they wish. This of course is not so.

One of the most curious items of Patricia Blake's reportage was her account of the desecration of a Jewish cemetery by a "mob of Ukrainians" on September 29, 1958, the anniversary of the Nazi

¹¹ Among others we quote Leo Heiman, "Khrushchev and the Jews," *The Jewish Spectator*, New York, March 1959, pp. 8-10, also in *The Jewish Frontier*, July, 1959, and A. Glanz, "Khrushchev und Jidn" ("Khrushchev and the Jews"), *Der Tug-Morgen Journal*, New York, July 20, 1958, p. 4, and *idem.*, "Khrushchev's partret" ("Khrushchev's Portrait"), *ibid.*, July 21, 1958, p. 4.

¹² Cf. Patricia Blake, "New Agony for Russian Jews," *Life*, New York, December 7, 1959, pp. 63ff.

massacre of Jews at *Babyn Yar* in Kiev. On reading this, one regrets that neither Patricia Blake nor the editors of *Life Magazine* apparently ever heard of numerous desecrations of Ukrainian churches and cemeteries by similar "Ukrainian mobs." Ever since the final occupation of Ukraine by the Russians in 1920, no less than forty churches have been demolished in Kiev alone, among them monumental buildings of great artistic value. There is no trace in Kiev today of the "Golden Roofed" St. Michael's Cathedral from the 11th century, of the Holy Trinity Church of 1184, of the splendid structures of the "Kozak Baroque" style (such as St. Nicholas Cathedral, erected by *Hetman* Ivan Mazepa in 1690), of SS. Peter and Paul Church from 1640, of the Bratsky Cloister of the 17th century, and of many others, demolished by the Russian Communists out of national and religious hatred for the Ukrainians.¹³ The Ukrainians did not blame the Jews for all this destruction on the ground that such Jews as Kaganovich or Khatayevich were Moscow's bosses in Ukraine or on the ground that the city administration of Kiev, which carried it out, was almost wholly (90 per cent) in the hands of Jews. The Ukrainians know that the real culprit behind this terrible blow at Ukrainian culture was Moscow.

However, there is an urgent necessity to discuss another aspect of Patricia Blake's account. We start from the fact: *Life's* reporter was informed in Kiev that a "mob of Ukrainians" had desecrated a Jewish cemetery on the anniversary of the massacre of *Babyn Yar*. But why should the Ukrainians celebrate the anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Jews? The only logical answer to this question would appear to be that in the hotbed of "historic" Ukrainian anti-Semitism the people shared and continue to share the Nazi's feelings toward the Jews and therefore they approved and continue to approve of the *Babyn Yar* massacre. It is a fact that there exists a widespread belief among Jews that the *Babyn Yar* massacre was carried out amidst the cheers of many Ukrainians. In his excellent and exciting best seller, *Exodus*, Leon Uris twice mentions the massacre of *Babyn Yar* as having been carried out to the accompaniment of Ukrainian cheer-

¹³ The editors of *Life* would immensely profit by reading an article by Sviatoslav Hordynsky, "The Stones Cry Out," in *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, vol. IV, No. 1. Winter, 1948, pp. 36ff. The fact that this terrible destruction of the monuments of Ukrainian architecture went unnoticed in the West as went unnoticed the man-made famine of 1932-33 which cost the Ukrainians millions of victims, and the ferocious liquidation of Ukrainian literature, theater, arts, etc. by exiling and outright killing of Ukrainian writers and artists—will ever remain a stain on the conscience of the West. For details, see George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine 1917-1934*, New York, 1956, a book which has evoked a strong reaction on the part of Soviet writers.

ing.¹⁴ For the record, the simple truth, in contrast to the stereotype from which even Leon Uris could not free himself, is that the massacre found neither approval nor exultation among the Ukrainians of Kiev. On the contrary, it shocked them profoundly. People were appalled by the mass execution, and began to predict that a similar fate would befall them once the extermination of the Jews had been completed. In fact, the massacre of *Babyn Yar* caused a complete change of the disposition of the Ukrainians toward the German occupants, switching almost overnight from friendliness to hostility. The Nazi "liberators" suddenly appeared in their true colors as crazed barbarians and hangmen, and the hope of the enslaved Ukrainians for freedom rapidly began to evaporate.

In her penetrating "novel-chronicle" of Kiev in 1941-1943, an outstanding Ukrainian woman-writer depicts the changing mood of the Ukrainian population under the Nazi occupation. Here a Ukrainian in her book speaks:

...There was not a person in Kiev who did not abhor, who inwardly did not shudder at Hitler's butchery of the Jews... Who could have expected such a disaster? It was the small traders who had remained, those who dreamt of their own shops, those who had no favor with the authorities, former bourgeois, malcontents, doctors, teachers, those who were unable to bribe their way out. Why did they stay if not for a better chance than they had had under Stalin? No, the bloody bath of Hitler has not pleased the Kievans, and the voices of malicious joy which Hitler might have expected, are missing. Hitler behaved abjectly with the Jews. It would have been better if the Jews had left the city, for then this could not have happened...¹⁵

Truly, who could have expected such a disaster? Besides Hitler, only Stalin. Consequently, not the Ukrainians, but Stalin's agents in Ukraine had every reason to approve of the massacre and to cheer it. And they did.

That there exists a hotbed of anti-Semitism in Ukraine is another example of the technique of the Soviet Big Lie. Believing it is equivalent to believing other forms of the Soviet Big Lie, such as that "the U. S. is a police state," that "the State Department is full of fascists," that "the FBI uses *Gestapo* methods," that "the U.S. Army waged germ warfare in Korea," or that "the Americans plan to conquer the world for the benefit of Wall Street," and the like.

¹⁴ See Leon Uris, *Exodus*, New York, 1958, Bantam Edition, pp. 80, 116.

¹⁵ Dokia Humenna, *Khreshchaty yar (The Cross-Shaped Ravine)*, New York, 1956, p. 203. See, also, L. Forostivsky, *Kyiv pid vorozhymy okupatsiamy (Kiev under Enemy Occupation)*, Buenos Aires, 1952, pp. 36-37.

The canard of Ukrainian anti-Semitism is intended to smear the Ukrainian liberation movement. It was successfully propagated at the time of the Ukrainian War of Independence (1917-1920) and it is being used now because the Ukrainian people have not ceased to struggle for their liberation. Moreover, the aim of the Soviet Big Lie is also to sow hate, distrust and division throughout the world, in spite of all professions of peaceful intentions coming from Moscow. Why not instigate the Jews against the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Ukrainians against the Jews? Why not neutralize the potentially powerful Ukrainians under Soviet rule by making them a prime target for Soviet-sponsored anti-Ukrainian propaganda in the world? Why not make them a scapegoat for Moscow's own crimes, including the crimes of its own rabid anti-Semitism?

It is necessary, therefore, not to remain silent when the black clouds of the "infamy" of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian liberation movement roll again over the world. It is necessary to ask a question: Is there an "eternal," "permanent," "historic" Ukrainian anti-Semitism? How deeply has anti-Semitism taken root among the Ukrainian people as a national, individual, or group passion? If it exists, what is its provenance? Is it autochthon or was it implanted from abroad and by whom: the Germans, the Russians? In other words, there is a need for a crucial test, a test to determine whether the alleged "Ukrainian" anti-Semitism is "Ukrainian" as such. There are 840,000 Jews still in Ukraine, and their lot must not be neglected by either Jews or Ukrainians. The writer intends to answer these questions.

3. FACE TO FACE: IS THERE UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM?

Our main problem lies in ascertaining the root causes of the irrational hostility to Jews which is called anti-Semitism. Of course, anti-Semitism is an effect and not a cause, and has to be recognized as such before one can even begin to talk about finding a solution to the problem. Chesterton rightly points out that "common sense demands an investigating of the causes of anti-Semitism" and bitterly complains that the Jewish apologist rather fixes upon the effect (i. e. anti-Semitism). This method, says Chesterton, aggravates rather than alleviates the effect of the disease of anti-Semitism.¹⁶ *

The primary component of anti-Semitism is *hatred*, which may have a different background: political, social, cultural, religious, psychological, etc., but contrary to wide-spread belief such hatred is

¹⁶ Cf. A. K. Chesterton and Leftwich J., *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, London 1948, p. 15.

not to be explained as being due to any faults of the Jews. What was the fault of the Jews in their Pale of Settlement in Czarist Russia that they should have been so heavily persecuted by the Czarist regime? The extermination of Jews in Russia, men, women, and children by the notorious "black hundreds" for no other reason than they were Jews, indicates that there was something diabolical in the government and police-sponsored hatred. Perhaps Joshua Trachtenberg was right in pointing out that there were also superstitious elements in anti-Semitism.¹⁷ In any event, the complex phenomenon of anti-Semitism has existed as long as Jews have lived among the non-Jews in the *Diaspora*. In the course of nearly two millennia of their living in dispersion, horror upon horror has piled upon the Jews, falsehood upon falsehood has faced them unjustly in *all* the lands of the world. The cumulative effect is insupportable even for a "Chosen People." In this *effect* the author sees a grave threat to mankind.¹⁸

In modern times this threat has been growing. Whatever the cancerous doctrine of anti-Semitism in ancient and medieval times might have been, the 19th and 20th centuries spawned a new form of anti-Semitism. This new anti-Semitism developed its own "philosophy," "ideology," "programs," and "popular movement," carefully organized and politically exploited and directed by skillful leaders well versed in the arts of politics and propaganda. In the modern sense, anti-Semitism became "scientific," and it was Germany which became notorious not only for having given birth to such anti-Semitism, but also for exporting it outside her borders, e.g., to Russia. Even before the rise of Nazism a pleiad of anti-Semites, from Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Jacob Friedrich Fries to Hans F. Gunther and Alfred Rosenberg, preached anti-Semitism among the German people, held anti-Semitic congresses, and established anti-Semitic leagues

¹⁷ See Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews. The Medieval Conception of the Jews and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, New Haven, London, 1943, *passim*. The author presents abundant material to prove that in the Middle Ages the Jew was considered the devil's incarnate, and contends that present anti-Semitic propaganda reawakens the outworn superstition picturing a Jew as a devil. The author believes that modern superstitions are the most important cause of anti-Semitism.

¹⁸ For those who want be informed of the indignities and cruelties Jews have undergone at the hands of non-Jews in the *Diaspora*, we recommend a well written and well documented book by Catholic scholar Malcolm Hay, *The Foot of Pride. The Pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 Years*. Introduction by Thomas Sugrue. Boston, 1951.

in Germany.¹⁹ Karl Marx himself was a violent anti-Semite and so was Friedrich Engels.²⁰

A "spontaneous," "popular" anti-Semitism is not as pernicious as calculated and organized anti-Semitism. It becomes especially dangerous if a state or powerful party adopts it as an official policy, gives it an "ideology" and "program," spreads it by skillful propaganda and, finally, exterminates Jews through hunger, cold, pestilence, torture, medical experimentation, shooting squads, gas chambers and crematories. This happened precisely in totalitarian Nazi Germany where anti-Semitism became an effect of organized and systematic propagation of hatred by so-called anti-Semites and wholesale extermination of Jews was carried out by a powerful totalitarian machine.

The question arises: where else did anti-Semitism of such character and dimensions flourish? Where else in modern times did it exist in the form of an organized and government-sponsored movement? The answer is: Russia. Anti-Semitic traditions in Russia are of long standing: the first encounter of Jews and Russians in Polotsk in 1563, ended with a large scale *pogrom* of Jews by Russians.²¹ Since then, anti-Semitism in Russia has continued unabated, marked by a series of cruel *pogroms* in the 19th and 20th centuries. The very term *pogrom* came to the Western languages from the Russian, meaning a massacre, riot, pillage, etc. *officially* instigated and directed against the Jews.

¹⁹ A penetrating study of the social causes of anti-Semitism in Germany is given in the book by Eva G. Reichmann, *Hostages of Civilization. The Social Sources of National Socialist Anti-Semitism*. Boston, 1951. The authoress missed noticing anti-Semitic Marxism and draws no conclusions from its existence for the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany.

²⁰ For anti-Semitic aspects of Marx' writings, see Karl Marx, *A World without Jews*. With an introduction by Dagobert D. Runes, New York, 1959. The booklet presents the first unexpurgated English language publication of papers written by Karl Marx and originally published in Germany. The editor of the booklet, Dagobert D. Runes, points out the fact that Marx' anti-Semitic references were entirely eliminated by his various editors. Their full text, however, was published in the Soviet Union!

²¹ According to an ancient chronicle, *Memorabilis et perinde stupenda de crudeli Moscovitarum expeditione narratio*, upon seizing the city of Polotsk in Byelorussia (then in Lithuania—*Lithuaniae oppidum, quod sedecim miliaribus a deserts situm est*), in 1563, Czar Ivan the Terrible gave the Jews of Polotsk the choice between submitting to baptism or being drowned. According to the chronicle, 20,000 Jews were then drowned. This number may be exaggerated, but the genocidal practice itself does not stand isolated either in the history of Russian anti-Semitism or in the history of Russia. Other examples: the massacres of Novgorod (1570), of Baturyn (1708), of Warsaw (1795)—which show that genocidal practices are an old Russian specialty.

The unhappy lot of the Jews in the Russia of the Czars gained world-wide notice. A medieval anti-Semitism became an integral part of the policy of the Russian empire. At the Berlin Congress, 1878, Gorchakov said that the interests of Russia necessitated an inferior position for the Jews, and to produce this inferior position the Czarist government confined the Jews to the "Pale of Jewish Settlement"—a huge ghetto in the western part of the empire. The Russian May laws of 1882, with their arbitrary confiscations of Jewish property and reduction of Jews to misery, were a prototype of the Nuremberg laws, while the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, invented for anti-Semitic propaganda purposes in Russia, became another *Myth of the Twentieth Century*. The lot of Russian Jews in the Pale of Settlement (in 1897 they were expelled from Moscow), restricted, *pogrommed* and humiliated, put an anti-Semitic mark on the Russian empire and caused its condemnation throughout the world.²²

Did the lot of the Jews in Russia change when the power passed into the hands of the Russian Communists? It did not. The history of the Soviet Russian domination is full of proof that anti-Semitism remained an official policy of the Soviet government and the Russian Communist Party. It is true that the Soviet government was very careful not to issue laws discriminating against Jews as such. On the contrary, it issued laws prohibiting any manifestations of anti-Semitism and making it a criminal offense of counter-revolutionary character, punishable usually by death. But what happened behind this screen of laws? The Jews were not only persecuted in the USSR, but destroyed with the deadly precision of a totalitarian power, which is able to marshal all its resources to achieve its aims.

There is much prejudice with regard to the Soviet anti-discrimination laws of the 1920s. People the world over are inclined to take them at face value and to praise the Soviet government for its stand on paper against anti-Semitism. To be sure, at the outset it seemed that the laws might work, and that the days of *pogroms*

²² Cf. S. Bershadski, *Russko-ievrejsky arkhiv* (Russian-Jewish Archives), Petersburg, 1880; Iu. Gessen, *Istoria ievreyev v Rosiyi* (*The History of Jews in Russia*), Petrograd, 1914; Simon M. Dubnov, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1916; Arnold Margolin, *The Jews of Eastern Europe*, New York, 1926; Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Ievreiske pytannia na Ukraini" ("The Jewish Problem in Ukraine"), *Nova Ukraina*, Prague, vol. VII-VIII, 1923; M. Drahomanov, "Ievrejsky vopros na Ukraini," ("The Jewish Problem in Ukraine"), *Volnoye slovo*, Nos. 41-45, 1882; J. Schall, *Historja Zydow w Polsce, na Litwie i Rusi* (*The History of Jews in Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia*), Lviv, 1934.

and of the Pale of Settlement had vanished forever. For the first time in the history of Russia, Jews were able to occupy key positions not only in the party organization and in the central state apparatus, but also in the administration, police, economic apparatus, commerce, etc. Propagation of anti-Semitism was not only punished, but also a program of re-education of the wide masses of the population was initiated to eliminate all manifestations of anti-Semitism. However, seen with hindsight, one cannot doubt that this pro-Semitic policy of a totalitarian and terroristic Soviet regime had its long-range anti-Semitic effects. Although paradoxical, this is, nevertheless, true. First of all, terroristic Soviet Russia had urgent need of a scapegoat, and she found it in the Jews, whom she used as commissars of the new regime so hated and despised by the populace. Hence, it was quite natural that the people should identify the new regime with the Jews, and this contributed substantially to the rise of popular anti-Semitism in the USSR. On the other side, this pro-Semitic policy of the Soviet government had a pernicious effect on the Jews themselves. As its consequence, many Jews, and especially the youth, sought to deny their very natures and to identify themselves completely with "good" Soviet Russians, accepting their political and ethnical ideals and sincerely trying to become the most loyal and useful citizens of "new" Russia. In their zeal, they sometimes outdid others proving their loyalty, even closing their eyes to what the "good" Russians did to their own brethren in blood—the Jews. And much was done. Having secured impunity in world opinion by emphasizing in their propaganda that "anti-Semitism" is "hostile to the proletariat" and that "it is low and beneath human dignity," the Russian Communists were able in the 1920s to liquidate tens and hundreds of thousands of Jews. The Jews were not done away with as Jews, but as "capitalists," "Jewish bourgeois nationalists," "Bundists," "Zionists," "Mensheviks," and what have you. Walter Kolarz is quite correct in pointing out that the liquidation of the leaders and activists of the Jewish non-communist political parties proved to be more ruthless than the liquidation of the political leaders among other peoples of the USSR. The persecution of "Bundists" and "Zionists" was especially bestial. The extent to which the Russian Communists hated the Jewish Socialists is indicated by the fact that even in the winter of 1941, at a time when the USSR was engaged in its struggle with the Nazi invaders, Stalin ordered the

execution of two outstanding "Bund" leaders, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter on trumped-up charges of espionage for Hitler's cause.²³

However, the heaviest blow dealt by the Soviet government was directed at the Jewish religion. There is hardly a people in the world so closely bound up with their religion as are the Jews. Whoever knows that Judaism is the most sacred thing in Jewish national life must also know that the attacks on the Jewish religion are not simply "anti-religious" propaganda, but must be regarded as the very core of the Soviet version of ideological anti-Semitism. In our opinion there is no difference in substance between, e. g., the *Apikoires* (*The Heretic*), a Soviet journal in Yiddish devoted to derision of Jewish religion, Jewish traditions, Jewish customs, Jewish history, Jewish rabbis, etc., and *Der Stuermer*, a Nazi journal devoted to exactly the same thing. And there is no difference between the closing of synagogues by Nazi storm-troopers in Germany and the closing of synagogues by the "Jews themselves," i. e., by Jewish hooligans on the instigation and under the direction of the Big Russian brethren. Both had the same effect.

At this point still another injurious effect of the Soviet propaganda claim of wiping out all traces of anti-Semitism must be mentioned. This propaganda blinded the Jews in the USSR to the extent that they could not see the real anti-Semitism behind it. But it was not Jews in the USSR alone who were blinded; the whole world was blinded, too. On the one hand, such Soviet propaganda helped spread the idea of "Judeo-Bolshevism," i. e. the impression that the USSR is some sort of paradise for Jews, that this totalitarian state was conceived by Jews, was almost founded by Jews, and is governed by commissars, the majority of whom are Jews. This Soviet propaganda largely contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism inasmuch as the idea of "Judeo-Bolshevism" became one of the main ideological weapons of the Nazis and the Russian reactionaries. On the other hand, however, some Jews in the *Diaspora*, sincerely believing the Soviet propaganda of a Jewish paradise free of anti-Semitism, gravitated more and more towards "new" Russia and soon found themselves in all parts of the world among the most vociferous propagandists in her behalf. This is no exaggera-

²³ Cf. Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies*. London, 1952, p. 165. Erlich and Alter had tried to form a "Jewish Anti-Hitlerite Committee" in the USSR, but after their execution the "Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee" was organized by the Soviet authorities. See Solomon M. Schwarz. *The Jews... op. cit.*, pp. 201-202. In 1948, in the purge of the "cosmopolitans" the first Jewish intellectuals to be arrested were the Jewish leaders who had been instructed by the Soviet government to form the "Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee" in 1942.

tion. Even at the time of the Slansky trial in Prague, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, one of the most influential Zionist leaders in the U.S., declared at a Zionist banquet in Philadelphia (December 2, 1952) that he was not prepared to label Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, as "anti-Semitic." In support of his opinion he referred to the "laws" prohibiting anti-Semitism in all countries behind the Iron Curtain.²⁴ Thus, to quote Koestler's words, the "new" Russia because a new "opiate for the people, and everything Russian became a faith."

Of course, Rabbi Silver was not alone in his opinion. In one of his articles on Soviet anti-Semitism, Solomon M. Schwarz rightly observed that in world opinion any facts of "any widespread popular anti-Semitism, *much less of any official policy of anti-Semitism in the USSR* were rejected as *unthinkable* in the light of official pronouncements and *presumed practice*" (all Italics mine—L. S.).²⁵ After all the purges of the Jewish Communists in the 1930s, the "homeless cosmopolitans" in 1948, the writers and intellectuals in 1952 (Leib Kvitko and Itzakh Fefer with 22 others tried and sentenced for "creating an underground organization with the purpose of detaching the Crimea from the USSR; it must be noted that almost eight hundred Yiddish poets, writers, novelists, scholars, and teachers were executed at the behest of Stalin!), after the doctor's plot charge of 1953, after the suppression of nearly all Jewish organizations, newspapers, publishing houses, theaters, other cultural institutions, etc., there are still many in the world who believe that anti-Semitic outrages occurred only in the last years of Stalin's reign (the so-called "black years of 1948-1953") or even that they have not occurred at all. Had not good old Joe said in an interview

²⁴ Rabbi Hillel Silver also cited the USSR as "the first nation in the United Nations to call for the establishment of the State of Israel." Unfortunately, Rabbi Hillel Silver did not seem to know that simultaneously the Kremlin prepared serious anti-Semitic purges at home. The official policy of the Kremlin towards the State of Israel and the Jewish people in general is unmistakably stated in the book by K. Ivanov and Z. Sheinis, *Gosudarstvo Izraila—yego pozitsia i politika* (*The State of Israel — Its Position and Policies*), Moscow, 1958. Edited by I. Dinershtein and published by the State Publishing House for Political Literature, it is not only anti-Zionist, but also anti-Jewish, i. e., "anti-Semitic." Rabbi Silver quoted from *Voehenblatt*, Canadian Jewish weekly of communist orientation, Vol. 13, No. 634, December 18, 1952, special supplement: "Truth of the Slansky Trial." To be noted is the first page, bearing a photograph of Rabbi Hillel Silver, captioned, "Rabbi Silver Refuses to Join Hysteria" (caused, of course, by the Slansky trial).

²⁵ Cf. Solomon M. Schwarz, "The New Anti-Semitism of the Soviet Union. Its Background and Its Meaning" in *The New Real Anti-Semitism. A Symposium: A Beacon Commentary Study*, by Elliot E. Cohen, Boston, 1953, p. 38.

with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that anti-Semitism is "the most dangerous survival of cannibalism" and that "anti-Semitism is rigidly prosecuted in the USSR as a phenomenon profoundly hostile to the Soviet regime"? With equal right Hitler could say that "anti-Semitism is a phenomenon profoundly hostile to National-Socialism," but he was much too stupid a disciple of Machiavellian Stalin.

To return to our main subject, the conclusion is inescapable that anti-Semitism in Russia did not vanish with the Romanovs, as commonly supposed. Instead, it has been an integral feature of Soviet Russia's development, always officially sponsored and politically organized by the Soviet regime as a long-range policy planned in terms of generations.

The question now arises: What stage of development and intensity has anti-Semitism reached at present, in the Khrushchev era? Bela Fabian, a former political leader in Hungary, recently elaborated on the theme,²⁶ as has Harrison E. Salisbury, renowned authority on Soviet affairs.²⁷ Both are in agreement that anti-Semitism in the Khrushchev era continued unabated, possibly not in that gradation as under the "old Generalissimo" (Salisbury) but in a somewhat "concealed" (Fabian) or "disguised" form. It would appear, however, that there is nothing especially "disguised" in the closing of synagogues, the destroying or defacing of memorials of Jewish victims of the Nazi terror, the desecrating of Jewish cemeteries, or in the policy of discrimination against the Jews.²⁸ Still more significant and more ominous is the fact that the Soviet government at present has embarked upon a consistent and intensive anti-Semitic propaganda which does not hesitate to use the worst fabrications known from anti-Semitic literature. For instance, on July 22, 1959, the Rivno radio carried a talk by a certain Boyashevich, described as a former sectarian preacher, who told his audience that by reading and re-reading the Bible he had "discovered" how many horrors and crimes were perpetrated by the Jews, being incited in this by Jehovah. He also called the "religious" Jews "a savage people" favoring slavery, humiliation of women, debauchery... This broadcast was not an isolated case of anti-Semitic hooliganism but rather an example of how the Soviet government is carrying on its war against Judaism over the Soviet radio and in the press.²⁹

²⁶ Bela Fabian. "Soviet Anti-Semitism—The Story that Khrushchev Tries to Hush Up," *U.S. News and World Report*, Washington, March 7, 1960, pp. 100 ff.

²⁷ Harrison E. Salisbury, "The Tragedy of the Jews" in his book *To Moscow and Beyond. A Reporter's Narrative*. New York, 1960, pp. 65-80.

²⁸ For well arranged facts, see Fabian, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101.

²⁹ As already noted, the attacks against Judaism are not so much "anti-

It would be a mistake, however, to consider a Soviet war on Judaism a purely "anti-religious" campaign. The gist of this Soviet campaign is that the Jews are attacked specifically as Jews, and its aim is clearly discernible: to spread hatred against the Jews as such and to make them "inferior" in the eyes of the broad popular masses. Such a campaign is therefore typically "racist." Accordingly, synagogues are closed not because they are synagogues, i. e., houses designated for religious worship, but because they are used for "non-religious and illegal "purposes," such as "black market activities," "anti-Soviet conspiracy," etc. The leaders of the Jewish communities are vilified in the Soviet press not as such, but as debauchers, swindlers, thieves, "asocial" elements, etc. Such was the case in Stanislaviv (Western Ukraine) where the local paper excoriated Khomiak-Goldsheit, Liberman and Tartakovsky, leaders of the Jewish community in the city, whose "crime" was that they had collected funds for the erection of a Jewish house of prayer. Referring to this attack in the Soviet paper in Stanislaviv, a Jewish monthly in France called it an instance of "traditional *Ukrainian* anti-Semitism!"³⁰

Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda is not confined to radio broadcasts and to feuilletons in the Soviet press. There is also quite abundant anti-Semitic literature in the form of so-called "scholarly" publications in widely-distributed popular editions.³¹ These "popular"

religious propaganda" as they are assaults at the very soul of the Jewish people, closely bound up with Judaism. The aim is to eradicate all those principles under which the Jews have lived for centuries. In attacking "Bundists" or "Zionists" the Government limits its targets to these groups only, i. e., to the leaders and members of both movements, respectively; but in attacking religion, the Soviet anti-Semites hit the wide Jewish masses. It is interesting that the banning of the Hebrew language and culture which has continued in the USSR for the last 40 years, and has variously been explained as a ban against an "artificial" language, or a part of the Government's fight against religion, is in fact a fight against "Zionism," a movement which strives for the revival of the Jewish people and establishment of a national home for Jewry. Like all "bourgeois nationalist movements," Zionism is regarded in the USSR as the worst sort of political crime.

³⁰ Cf. *L'Arche*, Paris, March 1959, reference to the article "Zhertsi Boha Iahve" ("Priests of God Jehovah") in *Prykarpatska Pravda* (*Transcarpathian Pravda*), Stanislaviv, September 24, 1958.

³¹ See, e. g., A. Ranovich, *Ocherk drevneyevreisko religiyi* (*Outline of Old-Hebrew Religion*), Moscow 1937; M. Shaknovich, *Sotsialnaia sushchnost talmuda* (*Social Essence of Talmud*), *idem.*, "O protskhozheniyi i klassovoi sushchnosti yudeiskoi religiyi" ("On the Origin and Class Essence of Judaism") in *Sbornik: Nauka i Religiya* (*Collection: Science and Religion*), Moscow, 1957, as specimens of rabid anti-Semitic propaganda. For anti-Zionist and anti-Israel propaganda, see A. Leonidov, "Za shirmoi sionizma" ("Behind the Screen of

brochures propagate the most venomous and cynical anti-Semitic fabrications. For instance, a brochure by a certain T. K. Kichko³² prefers to assail "bourgeois-nationalist elements exploiting Judaism" rather than Judaism itself. Kichko comes to the cynical conclusion that these "elements" (i. e., rabbis, Zionists, Zionist "left" fellow-travelers of *Poale Zion* and *Bund*) are the worst enemies of the Jewish people because they collaborated with Pilsudski, Mussolini, and even with Hitler, assisting the latter to exterminate Jewry in various countries.³³ The emphasis which Kichko puts upon the struggle against Jewish national traditions and sentiments can be seen in his derision of *mogen David*—the six-pointed star-emblem of King David—which is simultaneously "the emblem of Judaism, Zionism, and the state emblem of Israel." According to Kichko, David was a "king-debaucher and despot" and, therefore, he asks his readers: "Is it fitting for practicing Jews who are citizens of the USSR to use this shameful symbol?"³⁴ What is especially lamentable is that in expending his venom against all the Jews hold sacred, the Soviet scribe does not even abstain from quoting old Russian anti-Semites of Czarist times.³⁵ These old *advocati diaboli* were found by the Soviet author quite helpful in support of his poisonous insinuations.

The Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda can be neither ignored nor hushed up in the world. The world must face it as a reality—a

Zionism"), *Sovremenny Vostok (The Contemporary East)*, Moscow, No. 5, 1957; *idem.*, "Israel i neft" ("Israel and Petroleum") in *Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, (World Economics and International Relations)*, Moscow, 1958; D. Burshtein, "Kak zhivet molodezh v Israele" ("How the Youth Live in Israel"), *Molodoi kommunist (The Young Communist)*, Moscow, No. 8, 1958, and the work already quoted: K. Ivanov, Z. Sheinis, *Gosudarstvo Izrail, yego pozitsia i politika (The State of Israel, Its Position and Policies)*, Moscow, 1958, all of them sharply negative to Zionism, Israel and its policy.

³² Cf. T. K. Kichko, *Pro yudeisku relihiyu (On Judaism)*, Kiev, 1959, 62 pp, published by the Association for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge of the Ukrainian SSR in 43,000 copies. The brochure is typical of popular anti-Semitic literature. Another brochure published by the above Association is: *Pravda pro yudaism (The Truth about Judaism)*.

³³ Cf. Kichko, *op. cit.*, p. 28, 33.

³⁴ Cf. Kichko, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. For English quotations on *mogen David*, see V. Borysenko, "Anti-Semitism in the USSR," *Problems of the Peoples of the USSR*, Munich, No. 4, 1959, p. 26.

³⁵ T. K. Kichko uses such sources as A. A. Alekseev, *Ocherki domashnei i obshchestvennoi zhizni yevreyev (Outline of Domestic and Social Life of Jews)*, St. Petersburg, 1896, to prove the inferior position of women in Jewish life, and S. Ia. Diminsky, *Evreyi, ikh veroucheniye i nravoucheniye (The Jews, Their Religion and Moral Teachings)*; St. Petersburg, 1891, to prove that the moral principles of the Jews are not operative in relations with the Gentiles.

living, dangerous fact. It cannot remain blinded, because the lives of Jews are in grave danger. Anti-Semitic propaganda devised and implemented by a powerful totalitarian regime can result in wholesale destruction of Jews. Fabian is eminently correct in pointing out that "*pogroms* are not spontaneous outbreaks of mob violence," but "start and last as long as the authorities want them to."³⁶ Whatever the reasons might be, it is obvious that the Soviet authorities want the *pogroms* to start and, therefore, vigorously wage their inciting anti-Semitic propaganda. The *pogroms* have already started: there have recently been numerous instances of physical assaults against Jewish worshippers and their *miniamin* (groups assembled for common prayer) as well as against synagogues by modern "black hundreds," the worst of which occurred on October 4, 1959, in Malakhovka, a Moscow suburb; on the second day of *Rosh Hashana* hooligans set fire to the synagogue, strangled the 70-year-old wife of the caretaker and threw her body into the flames.³⁷ It is a significant fact that as in Czarist Russia, such acts of flagrant anti-Jewish hooliganism and vandalism go unpunished in Soviet Russia.

The conclusion from all these facts can be but one: Soviet anti-Semitism is no myth. In studying recent Soviet Russian anti-Semitism as compared with the medieval or the Czarist Russian versions, one detects that a prime reason for its constancy is traditional Russian xenophobia and paranoiac suspicion of foreigners, exhibited by *all* Russian rulers throughout the ages. Far more important than theoretical considerations about the origin and underlying philosophy of Russian anti-Semitism, however, is that dangerous, living fact that anti-Semitism continues today. As Harrison E. Salisbury put it: "The old anti-Semitic cry of the Czarist *pogroms*: 'Kill the Jews and Save Russia' has not been forgotten in Soviet Russia." Salisbury concludes: "Anti-Semitic policies should teach the Jews of Russia that all Russian governments in Russian history regarded the Jews as enemies of the state and the Russians regard the Jews as inferiors."³⁸

Has this lesson been taught only to the Jews of Russia? Has world Jewry learned that anti-Semitism has also been preached, organized and carried on by the Soviet Russian government? Have the Jews beyond the borders of the USSR ever denounced the anti-Semitic policies of the Soviets in the way they formerly denounced the anti-Semitism of the Czars or the Nazis?

³⁶ Fabian, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁸ Harrison E. Salisbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

The dismaying answer to the last question is that they have not. To be sure, the Jews have at times scored the brutality of Soviet anti-Semitism,³⁹ but the record shows that their protests have not been forceful enough to be noticed or achieve significance. Their anti-Soviet propaganda because of anti-Semitic policies in the USSR has fallen far short of their old hard-hitting propaganda directed against Czarist Russia or Nazi Germany. Have the Jews been required to make compromises with their Soviet oppressors?

Because the Jews allegedly are "always fanatically united against any force which is inimical to their existence," the lack of a forceful anti-Soviet propaganda on their part unfortunately supports the argument that the Jews are not persecuted in the USSR. "The most transparent myth which the Zionist-controlled press has foisted upon the American people is the myth that Communism is anti-Semitic and that Jews are persecuted in the USSR," says *American Mercury*. "If this were true," it continues, "Jews who are U.S. citizens would constitute the most hostile racial group of anti-Communists in the country—whereas almost the exact opposite is true."⁴⁰

The writer of this article and the quarterly in which it appeared are not "Zionist controlled." From the many facts presented here, however, it is evident that the Jews are heavily persecuted in the USSR. Yet many Jewish writers and journalists in this country become very agitated about *Ukrainian* anti-Semitism, admittedly deplorable if it exists, but say nothing or too little and too late about *Russian* anti-Semitism. Is Russian anti-Semitism preferable to any other kind? It would appear that the disease of Russophilism is indeed widespread among the Jews of Russian origin.⁴¹

³⁹ Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, executive director of the American-Jewish League against Communism, in a statement prepared for delivery to the House Committee on Communist Aggression in 1952, called the disappearance of 3,390,000 Jews out of the 5,140,000 known to have been in the USSR when World War II broke out, a "Katyn Massacre" of Jews, and held the Soviet government accountable. He demanded a U.N. investigation of Russian massacres of Jews, but his action received little publicity in the press. It was even called a "hysteria bogey." So little publicity was accorded the recent statement by the Synagogue Council of America that the Soviet ideological campaign to destroy Judaism in the USSR has never been checked. For the statement by the Synagogue Council of America, see "Charge Reds Press Drive against Jews" in *The New York World-Telegram and the Sun*, June 10, 1959, p. 1.

⁴⁰ "Termites of the Cross." A Special Report, Part II, *American Mercury*, October, 1959, p. 5.

⁴¹ The writer has in mind, of course, political Russophilism, i. e., devotion to the Russian empire and Russian colonial imperialism. Love of Russian-culture, literature, music, ballet, affection for Russian *samovars*, *troikas* and snowdrifts constitutes Russophilism of a different kind (the writer counts himself among

It is thus not difficult to understand why Ivan Bahriany, an outstanding Ukrainian writer and himself a prisoner of Soviet prisons and concentration camps, annoyed by continuous accusations that Ukrainians are anti-Semites, burst forth with the following angry definition of what anti-Semitism really is:

On the basis of historical experience, we can now state what anti-Semitism is. Anti-Semitism means *pogrom* of Jews by Russian black-hundreds in the Russian empire. It means preaching of racial hatred, murdering of children, women and grey-haired old men. It means the battle-cry: "Kill Jews, Save Russia," and it means saving the Russian empire with this battle-cry. It means the infamous Pale of Settlement for the Russian sub-humans of Semitic origin. Anti-Semitism means also the burning of Jewish children, women, and grey-haired old men in Hitler's gas chambers with the help of Russian quislings... to mention only the ill-famed Division of Kaminsky. Anti-Semitism means.. inflamed hatred of the Jewish people and the bringing up of cut-throats, Judaephobes and Jew-baiters. Anti-Semitism means deporting thousands upon thousands of Jewish intellectuals to Solovki and Kolyma, and murdering and shooting them in the torture chambers of Yezhov and Beria for "Trotskyism," "Zionism," "Cosmopolitanism" and for the state of Israel, i. e. for "nationalism" and "separatism." Anti-Semitism is a zoological and blind hatred on the part of various admirers of the Russian empire who still continue to use the formula of "Judaebolshevism" in accusing the Jewish people of all crimes of a modern Red Ivan Kalita... And, finally, anti-Semitism means the preaching and inflicting of genocide on the Jewish people by various racist theoreticians and practitioners in a general extermination of Jews in which the same admirers of the Russian empire excelled... ⁴²

such Russophiles), but at times it may also serve political Russophilism (e. g., by implying that everything in Russia is as nice as the Russian ballet). Among the political Russophiles in this country are many Jews of Russian origin who are most vociferous defenders and admirers of "one and indivisible Russia" in the form of the Russian colonial empire. A classical example is Mr. Mark Efimovich Weinbaum, editor-in-chief of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, a Russian daily in New York, which is dedicated to the preservation of the Russian empire and the combatting of non-Russian "separatists." In the usage of this paper, the term "separatism" sounds as the worst crime possible; "separatists" are presented almost as villains. It is indeed difficult to understand the presence of political Russophilism among Jews of Russian origin. In striving for the preservation of the Russian "prison of peoples," they actually strive for the preservation of a "prison" in which the Jews themselves were and continue to be disfranchised prisoners. The belief in a future "democratic" Russia may serve as partial explanation of this enigma. Unfortunately, such a "democratic" Russia has never existed inasmuch as the non-Russian peoples can be kept in check only by un-democratic methods. If by some miracle democracy were introduced into the USSR, the Russian empire would dissolve overnight with all the non-Russian peoples voting their secession immediately.

⁴² Cf. Ivan Bahriany, "*Ekspluatatsia anti-semityzmu*" ("Exploitation of anti-Semitism"), *Ukrainski Visti* (*The Ukrainian News*), Neu Ulm, Vol. VII, 1951, No. 90 (555), p. 4. In this country, Bahriany is known from his novel *The Hunters and the Hunted*, translated into English and very favorably reviewed by American critics.

This is what anti-Semitism is and what it means, and the existence of such anti-Semitism is not of Ukrainian origination. Organized and systematic anti-Semitism in Ukraine has never existed, unless it was introduced by the foreign powers occupying and oppressing Ukraine.

Since olden times Ukraine has served as a meeting place for foreigners who belonged to different religious denominations and different nationalities. Armenians, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Russians, Serbs and White Ruthenians lived among the Ukrainians since time immemorial. As a consequence, Ukrainians are accustomed to hearing foreign languages spoken in their midst, and the Ukrainians have never objected to people of foreign facial characteristics, language or customs. This spirit of tolerance, this absence of national arrogance, is the basic reason why the Ukrainians have never tried to subjugate foreign peoples. They have reacted only when foreign peoples have tried to subjugate them.

Significantly, there is no trace of anti-Semitism in Ukrainian folklore and popular songs, which according to Nicholas Gogol (Hohol) are "everything: both poetry and history, and the father's grave." And there is no trace of anti-Semitism in Ukrainian literature, which is democratic in content and popular in form, a literature which according to one of its historians is "permeated with the spirit of true humanity, with an unceasing quest for truth, goodness, beauty of life, with sincere sympathy for all those who are slighted and oppressed."⁴³

And there has been no trace of anti-Semitism in Ukrainian political life. Ukrainian political parties and social organizations, including the nationalist ones, have developed no anti-Semitic programs and have preached no anti-Semitism. The Parliament of the reborn Ukrainian state—Ukrainian National Republic—legislated personal-national autonomy for national minorities in Ukraine, including the Jewish minority. The representative of the *Bund*, M. Rafes, commented: "This is an act of the greatest value, not to be found in any other country in Europe."⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. Serhiy Yefremov, *Istoria ukrainskoho pysmenstva (History of Ukrainian Literature)*, Kiev, 1911, p. 465. Yefremov, outstanding historian of literature and critic, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was liquidated by the Russian Communists as a "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist."

⁴⁴ For the English text of the law of January 9, 1918, as announced in the *Official Messenger of the Ukrainian Republic* on April 2, 1918, No. 283, see N. Hryhoriyiv, *The War and Ukrainian Democracy*, Toronto, 1945, p. 68ff. For English text of the Law Concerning Jewish Community Self-Government of July 11, 1919, see, F. Pigido, *Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of the Revolution (1917-1921)*, Munich, 1956, pp. 78-102.

And the Ukrainians have always combatted organized anti-Semitism in Ukraine. It was Ukrainian jurors who freed Beilis (1912), accused of using Christian blood for the manufacture of *matzoth*, and numerous instances of the sheltering of Jews from Russian *pogromists* by the Ukrainian population are a matter of public record. And it is a matter of record that at the time of Stalin's worst action against the Jews (doctors' plot, 1953), *the Ukrainians were denounced in the Soviet press for defending the Jews.*⁴⁵

Why, if "in Russia gradual liquidation of Jewry goes on" (Faubian), it is the Ukrainians who are accused of being anti-Semites? Why a witches' brew of defamation when the entire world should be told instead that the Ukrainians have experienced a Golgotha of their own under Nazi and Soviet rules? Who is interested in compromising the Ukrainian liberation movement, which is waging a life and death struggle against the Russian Communist enslavers of Ukraine?

The answer to those questions is simple. It is obvious that in their present situation the Ukrainians have nothing to gain from anti-Semitism, but it is very possible that someone else has much to gain from spreading the canard of Ukrainian anti-Semitism. It is obvious that anti-Semitism could not serve the interests of the Ukrainian liberation movement which needs not only the sympathy but also the support of the free world. We put it, therefore, plainly: it is Communist Moscow which is immensely interested in spreading the myth of Ukrainian anti-Semitism, which it needs for discredit-

⁴⁵ Thus, the *Komsomol* of Ukraine was called on by its leader, G. G. Shevel, at the Kiev Convention on February 23, 1953, to "expose Ukrainian and Jewish bourgeois nationalists," also referred to as "beastly agents of American imperialism who are always ready to sell Ukraine wholesale and retail to American imperialism and Zionism" and their cohorts. See address by G. G. Shevel in *Radyanska Ukraina*, January 28, 1953. Also see Nathan Rybak's attack against the "hirelings of the Yellow Devil" in *Radyanska Ukraina* of February 27, 1953, in which this Ukrainian writer of Jewish descent was forced to assign a common denominator to such men as Hitler, Goebbels, Ben-Gurion, Sharett, Morgenthau, Himmler, Petlura, Margolin, Krasny, etc.—all of whom were denounced as "mad dogs, scum and hirelings of Yellow Devil-American imperialism." Similar scathing attacks appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina* on February 6, 8, 13, and 19. The same *Radyanska Ukraina* castigated many Ukrainians as defenders of Jews. So, in the issue of February 13, 1953, Mme. Mykhailychenko, a doctor and the chairman of the Regional Board of Health in Zhytomyr, was accused of defending and sheltering the Jewish doctors in Zhytomyr. The regional prosecutor, the City Party Committee and the local paper *Radyanska Zhytomyrshchyna* were charged with assisting Dr. Mykhailychenko and Jews. Again, on February 27, 1953, *Radyanska Ukraina* accused the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ministry of Justice and attorney Volovych of protecting Jews. It is impossible to give all such accusations here.

ing and paralyzing the Ukrainian liberation movement and for camouflaging the fact that the USSR is the only large state in the world where organized anti-Semitism does exist and which gains in violence from day to day. The USSR is alone in continuing the heinous practices of its Nazi predecessors.

4. CONCLUSIONS: HOW DO WE PROCEED NOW?

True patriots on both sides of the barricade dividing the Jews and the Ukrainians must find ways and means to remedy a situation which should not be tolerated by either. First, it is in the Ukrainian interest to improve Jewish-Ukrainian relations if only Moscow is following the classic pattern of linking every anti-Communist movement with anti-Semitism. The Ukrainian liberation movement operates under enough burdens as it is.

On the other side, an active support of the Ukrainian liberation struggle by the Jews appears to be in the Jewish interest not only as a "comprehensible, justified and necessary" action, to quote Salomon Goldelman, but (quoting him further) also in the conviction that "if this support is genuine, frank and sure of its aims, then the first step on the way toward understanding between the Jewish and Ukrainian peoples who have been predestined to live with one another, shall without doubt have been made."⁴⁶ After all there are still 840,000 Jews living among 36,852,000 Ukrainians who constitute a majority of 76.1 per cent of Ukraine's population. Thus an unconditional improvement of Jewish-Ukrainian relations is eminently desirable.

It is no easy problem, however. The Ukrainian people in Ukraine are not free to speak for themselves and, therefore, the Ukrainians in the free world must speak for them. The Ukrainians in this country have done so. In 1951, for example, a prominent Ukrainian publicist, Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky, published a series of articles in the Ukrainian daily *Svoboda* calling for a "clean table" for discussions with the Jews. His suggestion was praised and seconded by Vasyl Mudry, former chairman of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish *Sejm*, and many others. The Ukrainian journal, *Suchasna Ukraina* (*Contemporary Ukraine*) in Munich, constantly works for Ukrainian-Jewish friendship on its pages, publishing many articles on this problem, many by Jewish contributors.

⁴⁶ Cf. Solomon Goldelman, *Lysty zhydivskoho sotsial-demokrata pro Ukrainu* (*Letters of a Jewish Social Democrat on Ukraine*), Vienna, 1921, pp. 6. 8. This work by a prominent Jewish political leader, now in Israel, was very sympathetic to the Ukrainian struggle for liberation and appealed to the Jews for support of the struggle.

The response from the Jewish side, unfortunately, has not in the main been promising, poking reference to the past, and not to the present. For example, Aron Tsaitlin, commenting on the discussion in the Ukrainian free press on whether to call Jews “*yevrei*” (Hebrews) or “*zhydy*” (Jews), wrote in the Jewish daily of New York, *Der Tug-Morgen Journal*:

The matter does not lie in terminology, but in emotions underlying it, the more so if it concerns actions which cannot be obliterated. For the Ukrainians Khmelnytsky can be considered a national hero, but for us he will remain the symbol of evil; the same holds for Gonta and Zalizniak in the past, and in our time Petlura, who in response to the desperate cries of Jews, said in cold blood: “Don’t let me quarrel with my Army.” We Jews know well their real names no matter whether they call us “*zhydy*” or “*yevrei*.” Only forty years have passed since a terrible slaughter of Jews took place in Ukraine and Jewish blood flowed like water.⁴⁷

This outburst was answered thus by a Ukrainian publicist, Vasyl Markus:

It has many times been stated by Ukrainians that the tragedy of the Jews in Ukraine is simultaneously a Ukrainian tragedy, and that its causes are rooted in complex political-social conditions created not by the Ukrainian people, but by the ruling regimes in Ukraine. Indeed, does Tsaitlin think that the Ukrainian people have shed less blood in the struggle for their existence against occupiers, in whose service have been many Ukrainian Jews? Does he think that Ukrainian blood, which also flowed, is water! Ukrainian-Jewish relations of the past demand from the Jews as well a re-evaluation and an objective research. If instead of appeals to blood and reminiscences of the dead, if instead of cultivating an eternal hatred in the people—a partner in a common fate, whose territory not only saw *pogroms*, but also preservation by Jewry of a large part of Jewish culture and development of a strong Jewish national movement—if instead of airing resentments, Jewish publicists and leaders were willing to tell us and themselves a bitter truth about our common past—our present relations would only gain from it.⁴⁸

Not only ideas of humanitarianism, but also considerations of national interest, should motivate common action on the part of the Jews and the Ukrainians against the destruction of their peoples by the invader, who incites them to quarreling and fighting with each other. By all means at their disposal and by joining hands they can most effectively oppose the oppressors of Ukraine and of many other non-Russian peoples. The Jews are but one non-Russian people

⁴⁷ Aron Tsaitlin in his column in *Der Tug-Morgen Journal*, New York, April 1, 1959.

⁴⁸ Vasyl Markus, “*Komu tse potribno?*” (“Who Needs This?”), *Ukrainsky Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent)*, Munich, Vol. 10, No. 24, August 1959, pp. 20-25.

heavily oppressed in the past and the present by the same power which subjugates Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Turks of Azerbaijan and Central Asia, Cossacks, Tatars, and many others. The place of the Jews, therefore, is in the common front of all non-Russian peoples waging their liberation struggle against Communist Moscow. If the Jews align themselves with Moscow, they side with a loser, because at a time when all colonial empires are disappearing and colonial nations are freeing themselves from colonial rule, it is impossible that only the Russian colonial empire should be preserved as a special reservation wherein a Russian master-race may rule over other peoples. The historical process works inevitably toward the destruction of the Russian colonial empire too, and toward the liberation of the non-Russian colonial peoples. In order to minimize damage to their national organisms and to ensure fruitful relations in that new and promising era that will dawn with the demise of the Russian colonial empire, the Jews and Ukrainians must work together now, without rancor, without recrimination, without self-consuming hatred.

THE PUPPETS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

By DR. MICHAEL BROIDA as told to LEO HEIMAN

In the course of discharging my duties as one of seven Chief Inspectors employed by the "Ukrainian" educational authorities to supervise the network of some 500 regional and local inspectors in Ukraine, I was intimately associated with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. I knew most of its 100-odd full-time members and its 125 associates. I must say that I never heard of Trofim Kichko, author of the notorious anti-Semitic book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, whose publication in the Soviet Union stirred up a wave of indignant protests in the free Western world.

This does not mean that Kichko is a phony. But he certainly is what we call in Soviet-Russian slang a "*sotrudnik*." The dictionary will tell you "*sotrudnik*" means an associate, or a part-time employee. But the slang meaning is much simpler. A *sotrudnik* is a stooge. He may be a stooge of the secret police or of the "central organs," or both. In the educational-literary-scientific world, such stooges usually are frustrated, mean and vicious men who have failed to prove their mettle as gifted educators, writers or scientists. Consequently, in order to fashion a career they resort to denouncing others and doing whatever the "central organs" want done—no matter how abhorrent. In many cases, the "*sotrudniks*" are set up as "fall guys" by the authorities; then "take the rap" if anything goes wrong. But in nine cases out of ten, they reap material benefits by scheming, intriguing, plotting and betraying their closest friends.

Although I have not had the honor of being acquainted with Kichko—and am sure I have not missed much—I have known another prominent "*sotrudnik*," Aaron Vergelis, editor of the Kremlin-sponsored Yiddish-language journal *Sovietish Heimland*.

I have no words to describe Vergelis, except to state that had he lived in Nazi Germany, he would have sold out the Jews to Hitler and Eichmann, and been an ardent member of the Gestapo's Jewish Affairs Section.

This is exactly what he did do in the Soviet Union. As an agent of the Soviet secret police in the heyday of Stalin's anti-Jewish ter-

ror, Vergelis was instrumental in arranging the executions and deportations of hundreds of prominent Jewish writers, poets, artists and intellectuals. But he knew how to ingratiate himself with Khrushchev after Stalin's death, and was handpicked for the stooge job of publishing a monthly journal in the Yiddish language, expressly to try to prove that no anti-Semitism exists in Khrushchev's Soviet Union.

Now if a renegade like Vergelis is ordered by his masters to publish a vicious attack on the Catholic Church, along the lines of Kichko's "literary masterpiece" against Judaism, he will do so happily and gleefully. But we Jews won't like it if the world views such an attack as an expression of "Judaism's traditional opposition to Christianity." Vergelis is a puppet who would accuse his own mother of being a bordello madam, if so ordered by the Kremlin.

His writings, ravings and outpourings do not represent Soviet Jewry, not even the ideas of the few Jewish Communists still left in the Soviet Communist Party. He is simply the mouthpiece of the Kremlin. And the same goes for Kichko. I am certain he is a Jew-hater, yet he hates his own people even more. His anti-Semitism is more than matched by his hatred for the Ukrainian nationalist movement; his writings do not represent the Ukrainian people, their thinking or mentality, but are a direct expression of the Kremlin's political tactics.

Many people have asked me, what is the so-called Ukrainian Academy of Sciences? Could it really publish such a book as Kichko's on its own initiative, without orders from, or at least the approval, of the "central organs" in Moscow? I have been asked also whether it could possibly be true that Khrushchev learned of the book only after its publication and the subsequent outcry in the West. To answer these questions, I must first describe the Academy of Sciences.

In the ten years which followed Stalin's death in 1953, there had been three sweeping educational reforms in the Soviet Union, and a dozen minor ones. The Ministry of Education and Culture in Moscow has changed its name and shape repeatedly. In the beginning all educational and cultural activities were centralized under the Kremlin's top-ranking woman, Ekaterina Furtseva, who was rumored to be Nikita Khrushchev's mistress at that time. Then the central Ministry of Education and Culture was disbanded. In its place appeared the Ministry of Culture and the State Committee for Higher Education. Next, three separate Ministries were created—to deal with general education, higher education and cultural matters. As matters stood when I left the Soviet Union in 1963, the Ministry of Culture in Kiev, i. e., the Ukrainian branch of the Ministry of Culture

in Moscow, was responsible for a dozen key departments: elementary and secondary education (8-year schools), vocational schools, high schools (11-year schools), correspondence and evening schools, cultural contacts with foreign countries, publication of textbooks and instruction books, operation of teachers' seminaries and colleges, entertainment (folklore, shows, ballet, theater, movies, etc.), literary journals and publications, music, art and drama, and the principal universities of Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa and Lviv, with their branches at Poltava, Uzhorod, Simferopol and Dnepropetrovsk.

A diploma from one of the Big Four universities in Ukraine is equivalent to a lifetime ticket aboard the Soviet gravy train, unless one talks too much or has stupid relatives who get in trouble with the secret police. Since the rush to get into the Big Four universities is terrific, the Soviet authorities have instituted a "*numerus clausus*." Few, if any, Jews are accepted at all, and the number of Russian students is usually kept much higher than the average percentage of Russian residents in Ukraine. Three out of the four university rectors and 86 out of its 112 top ranking professors are Russians. Among the assistant professors, lecturers and instructors with academic rank, the proportion is about three Russians to two Ukrainians.

The latter, however, are so Russified that about the only thing which remains Ukrainian is their names. They speak Russian only, sing paeans of praise for the "great Russian culture" (it is great but not unique), and blacklist students speaking Ukrainian on the campus.

I speak fluent Ukrainian, an accomplishment I acquired while locked up at the institution for juvenile delinquents in Kharkiv. But I can't write Ukrainian, even though I am a graduate of Kharkiv University and defended my doctorate dissertation there. What's even more funny (or tragic, depending on how you view it) is that I served as senior official of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Culture without knowing the language well enough to write a simple letter. But speak it I could, albeit with a Russian accent. Most of the other Chief Inspectors could not even speak it. Only two of us were Ukrainians, the other five were Russians. Of the five, three were "pure" Russians, one a Jew who posed as a Russian (myself), and one a Russified gypsy, my good friend Vassili Lugovoy.

This is why I apply quotation marks when speaking of the "Ukrainian" Ministry of Education and Culture, the "Ukrainian" Academy of Sciences, and the "Ukrainian" Republic.

The Russians keep up the semblance of Ukrainian autonomy within the USSR, and must pretend great friendship and harmony within the Soviet prison of nations. For political reasons they need the "U-



krainian" representative's extra vote in the United Nations and "independent" cultural and social contacts between the Ukrainian Republic and foreign (mostly Afro-Asian) countries. Believe me, a hick sheriff of a hillbilly town in Kentucky has a greater impact on American foreign policy than the "Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs" does upon the external policy of the Soviet Union.

But in Ukraine proper, the Soviets proceed with their campaign of planned Russification with great cunning and deceit. I had some experience in this field, and I can only say that this devious policy is quite successful, from Moscow's point of view.

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences plays a key role in the Russification, professional education, economic exploitation and political propaganda drives. Under the new educational-system setup, the Academy of Sciences is an octopus-like body, responsible for 34 scientific institutes which provide university-level training for promising young men and women, 12 research laboratories, 5 permanent exploration units, two publishing houses and an Intelligence branch of its own.

Under the old system, all such activities were concentrated in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. I don't know about other phony "republics," but under the new order the "Ukrainian" Academy is authorized to maintain direct channels of communication with Moscow, by-passing the USSR Academy on most levels.

This fact is of the greatest significance when analyzing the general problem of Soviet-sponsored anti-Semitism in Ukraine, and Kichko's ugly book in particular.

Let me add here that the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences is an extremely efficient body despite its top-heavy superstructure. It dabbles in everything, and comes up with positive results in many fields. Among its achievements I can recollect offhand is the underwater exploration and mapping of the entire Black Sea—its currents, shoals, reefs and, most important, sea bottom. The sounds and noises made by the surf, river streams pouring out of their estuaries, underwater currents, schools of fish, and whirlpools caused by storms—all were tape recorded, coded and programmed for the giant electronic-brain computer built especially for this purpose by scientists of the Academy's computer department. The ostensible purpose of this research was to provide adequate advance knowledge of the navigation hazards which can be expected in the Black Sea under all conditions of weather, climate and time of year.

The Black Sea is relatively small, landlocked and overflowing with the waters pouring into it from such great European rivers as the Danube, Dnieper, Don, Dniester and Bug. The accumulated silt

and sand create moving shoals off the eastern and northwestern coasts. These shoals shift southward until they are swept away by the powerful currents racing down the Bosphorus and Turkish Straits into the Mediterranean. Thus, intimate knowledge of the Black Sea, its currents, both surface and underwater, and the shifting sea bottom features, is of great importance to navigation, harbor-construction, recovery of wrecks, and the like. But there was one more purpose behind the great underwater exploration performed by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Moscow fears that American Polaris submarines will enter the Black Sea via the Turkish Straits, hide on the sea bottom and launch their missiles with lethal accuracy in the event of a global nuclear war.

To prevent this, sensitive listening devices developed by the Soviet Navy's electronic research laboratories will be (or have already been) anchored off the sea bottom in a semicircle facing the Bosphorus, about 30 to 50 miles off the Turkish shore. These listening devices, which are controlled, removed, replaced and renewed at regular intervals by Soviet submarines, operate continuously around the clock, picking up all the sounds made by water currents, waves, fish and propellers of merchant ships passing overhead.

Soviet Naval Intelligence already has tape recorded the exact noises made by propellers of American Polaris subs. These recordings were probably made by one of the Soviet spy ships masquerading as fishing trawlers in the Atlantic and the North Sea. In any case, the Polaris tapes have been programmed and fed into the "Universal" computer built by Ukrainian Academy scientists.

The Soviet Navy's central listening post at the Sevastopol Naval Base picks up the transmissions of underwater devices off the Turkish coast, and passes them on to the computer. A button is pushed and the electronic brain is capable of telling whether the noise was made by an ordinary submarine, a dolphin, a torpedo boat, a storm, or an atomic submarine. Till now, I don't think the "Universal" computer has flashed the red light to indicate that Polaris subs have entered the Black Sea. And if the whole business sounds like a cloak-and-dagger story, it is no more fantastic or improbable than some other operations carried out by the Academy of Sciences.

I must stress here that although the underwater exploration and construction of the "Universal" computer were overt missions, published by the Academy in its bulletin, the submarine-listening business was a top-secret operation, of which I heard from one of my friends—a brilliant electronics engineer who spent a lot of time

travelling between Kiev and Sevastopol, and who blurted out the story while drunk at my "dacha" (summer villa) near Kiev.

But the most important work—from the point of view of Moscow's long-range policies—is done by the Academy's political research department. This department is devoted to distortion, falsification and rewriting of history—right out of George Orwell's 1984.

The most important project is the *Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, whose volumes must be rewritten faster than they are published. To work on this project is a good way of getting a nervous breakdown, ulcers, or a bad case of "prisonitis" in a Soviet slave labor camp. It is useless for me to try and quote the deliberate lies, distortions and falsifications published by the "Ukrainian" Encyclopedia. Every second word is a lie, every sentence is crooked. Not even the serial numbers of chapters and pages are right, because from time to time subscribers are sent "important corrections," asked to cut out a page or a chapter, substitute a new one instead (special transparent adhesive tape is provided for the purpose) and send the removed pages by return mail to the Academy's publishers.

Another major project was compiling the *History of Administration and Jurisprudence in Ukraine*, designed to prove that law and order existed only under the Soviet regime.

Quite vicious was the *History of the Ukrainian Literary Language* published in 1961, with the ostensible purpose of commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and best known figure in the progressive and enlightened Ukrainian national liberation movement. The book's real aim was to prove that there were—and are—two Ukrainian languages. A spoken one, which is uncultured, uncouth and full of foreign—mostly Polish and Tartar—roots; and a literary one, which is elegant, polished and shares a common linguistic heritage with Russian. In other words, that Ukrainian and Russian are twin branches of the same tree. In my opinion, Ukrainian is closer to Bulgarian or Serbian than to Russian, as the Ukrainians belonged to the southern group of Slavic peoples, while the Russians are descendants of northern Slavic tribes which intermingled with such local ethnic groups as Mordva, Chuvash, Mari and Komi.

IZ-AN-USSR (*Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk USSR*—Publishing Organs of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) publishes about 350 books a year, plus monthly bulletins, annual reports and numerous *possobiya* (educational aid) pamphlets. Its giant printing plant works overtime, but the pressure of publishing a book a day necessitates the "farming out" of much work to printing plants in Odessa, Kharkiv, Lviv, Simferopol, and other cities. Actually IZ-AN-USSR

consists of two separate publishing houses, known (in Russian, of course—who uses the Ukrainian language in the “Ukrainian” Academy?) as OTN (*Otdeleniye Technicheskikh Nauk*—Section for Technical Scientific Works) and OON (*Otdeleniye Obshchestvennikh Nauk*—Section for General Public Works).

Since OON also stands for “*Organizatsiya Obyedinennykh Natsiy*” (United Nations Organization), we used to joke that “successful work at the OON in Kiev can bring an appointment to the OON in New York.”

OTN is a bona fide technical-scientific publishing house (sample titles I can recall: Professor Nikolai Starikov’s *Geological Exploration at Great Depths*, Professor Belevtsev’s *Structure of Ore Deposits* and Dr. Ostrovsky’s *The Nervous System of Cephalopods*.)

To get a book published by the OTN section, one submits the manuscript to the OTN director, who passes it on to a commission of experts in the particular field the book deals with. They return it with their remarks, and if the author’s scientific reputation is sound, no further approval is needed. It is up to the director of the OTN section to decide whether to print, but up to the Chief Director of IZ-AN-USSR to decide how many copies to run off for each edition. Unless the work is very important and of universal scientific value, 50,000 copies are printed for sale and distribution throughout the USSR. Very important books are authorized a first edition of 100,000.

If the subject is highly specialized or if the treatment is such that interest will be limited, the book is published either in the cheaper “pamphlet-monograph” form (in other words—a soft-cover paperback on poor-quality paper) or as a “collective work” together with other monographs on the subject.

The OON section works in a different way, owing to the more ticklish and politically-explosive nature of its subject matter. In the OTN section, the scientists and professors themselves initiate publication by submitting manuscripts, or outlines and queries. But in nine out of ten cases, the OON section works in the opposite direction. A list of subjects to be dealt with, or instructions to produce a book on a specific subject, come “from above”—the Central Committee of the “Ukrainian” Communist Party, the Education and Culture subcommittee of the “Ukrainian” Council of Ministers, or even the “central organs” in Moscow.

The director of OON then looks for suitable authors, to whom he assigns each publication project. I know, for instance, that Dimitri Stashevsky’s book *American Imperialism in Europe in 1919-1923*, which was published in 1960 after the U-2 affair and cancellation of President Eisenhower’s planned visit to Moscow, was initiated by the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of USSR, cleared with the Political Publications Section of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, and assigned to Stashevsky via the IZ-AN-USSR—OON.

Stashevsky who was about 40 years old at that time, was a brilliant writer, twice-divorced, with a weakness for vodka and women. Whenever he was "on the wagon," he worked hard, often 14 to 16 hours a day, and his memory was phenomenal. He earned a lot of money, but was always in debt, spending twice as much as he earned on drinking bouts in hotels and restaurants, buying expensive gifts for his numerous mistresses, and carrying on with minor girls whose parents blackmailed him later.

Moscow needed a "scientific-historical" book to prove the U.S. policy was "rotten and imperialistic" from way back, when it tried to branch out in Europe after the First World War, in the guise of helping refugees and the starving masses. Stashevsky wrote it in the record time of nine weeks, quoting from Lenin and inventing facts when no sources could be found to substantiate his thesis.

It took four more weeks for the manuscript to be corrected, edited and checked by an editorial committee, and then an unprecedented first edition of 150,000 copies was run off at the giant Kiev plant. Stashevsky got a very handsome fee for this one, and when I saw him last, he was staggering drunk in the corridor of Kiev's new "Moskva Hotel," his arm around the waist of a 16-year-old girl. "Meet my new niece," he said, winking broadly.

I do not blame Stashevsky and—believe it or not—I do not even blame Trofim Kichko. Writers who accept assignments from the OON section are prostituting their integrity in any case. People must make a living somehow, and if you turn down the OON assignments too often, you can find yourself chopping trees for an existence in some Siberian camp. At least Stashevsky felt subconsciously guilty about being a "literary prostitute"; one does not have to be a psychologist in order to diagnose his chronic alcoholism and woman-chasing as a desire for self-punishment and escape from reality.

I have written all this to show that a book like Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment* could not have been initiated, let alone written, without the approval of the "central organs."

Neither Kichko, nor the director of the OON section, nor the Chief Director of IZ-AN-USSR, is crazy. They may be degenerates and renegades, but they are not lunatics. And only a lunatic would have published a book which caused severe embarrassment for the Soviet Union abroad, without clear-cut orders from Moscow.

That's why I say—do not blame Kichko and Vergelis, but pity them. They are monsters and renegades, but also victims of the

cruel and inhuman Soviet system. *Judaism Without Embellishment* was published in the the Ukrainian language for circulation in Ukraine only. Moscow desired to whip up violent, Nazi-like anti-Semitism among the "broad masses," so as to divert discontent from fastening upon the Soviet regime, and foment hatreds between Ukrainians and Jews.

About Khrushchev's alleged ignorance of the book—this I can believe. One cannot expect the Soviet leader to read every book published in the Soviet Union. He was much too busy for that—travelling to Egypt to stir up trouble in the Middle East, worrying about the failure of his agricultural policy, and quarrelling with Mao Tse-tung in Peking. But Khrushchev was certainly responsible for its publication, because no one would dare to initiate an anti-Semitic campaign without his approval and blessing. I would say that the chain of responsibility went as follows: from Khrushchev down to Suslov, then the chief Soviet communist theoretician: from Suslov to the Central Committee's Political Publications Section, which worked out the project in detail; and thence to IZ-AN-USSR-OON, which assigned Kichko to the job.

The entire project boomeranged for three unforeseen reasons, which should have been foreseen by the IZ-AN-USSR-OON. Which is why I believe the responsible men (but not Kichko himself, who only did as ordered) are now digging coal in the frozen Arctic wastes of the Soviet Far North. The worst thing about the book were the crude anti-Semitic cartoons and illustrations, which would have done credit to the Nazis' infamous hate-sheet *Der Stuermer*. The Russians, after being caught red-handed in the act of disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda, could have explained Kichko's text in one way or another, but there was no excuse for the cartoons and illustrations, and no explanations were possible. Which is why Nikita Khrushchev was reported to have exploded and raved, "Idiots!" and "*Duraki!*" (Stupids) after reading Kichko's masterpiece. This was mistake number one. On the other hand, though the Soviets hate China now, they know the ancient Chinese proverb that "one picture tells more than a thousand words." Kichko's book was designed for distribution among *kolkhoz* peasants and big-city workers, who would not have bothered reading another political propaganda piece, without the eye-catching cartoons.

Mistake number two was designating it as an "atheistic campaign book." If Kichko's hate-filled piece had been distributed only to city libraries, village reading-rooms, schools and youth clubs, it could not have been purchased by American-Jewish tourists or Western diplomats passing through Kiev at that time. In fact, foreign visitors as well as the outside world would have remained ignorant

of the new anti-Semitic campaign, unless some courageous local Jew had stolen a copy from a library and handed it to a foreign tourist to be smuggled out abroad. But because it was designated as an "atheistic campaign book," it was placed on sale in all general book-stores and on special book-stands in front of the Museums of Atheism in Kiev, Lviv and other big cities. The third reason why the book backfired was the reluctance of IZ-AN-USSR to withdraw it from the market without first receiving clear-cut orders from the "Council of Ministers" in Kiev or the "central organs" in Moscow. And Moscow hesitated to backtrack and eat humble pie under pressure of "Zionist-capitalist-bourgeois" propaganda. It was only after the Western Communist parties came out against the book, and Moscow saw that it was losing the support of pro-communist left-wing groups in the West, that Khrushchev asked to see it and ordered it burned.

Yes, Kichko's book was burned, yet Kichko, Vergelis, Khrushchev and the inhuman Soviet system are still very much alive. It is useless to speculate on the reasons which prompted Moscow to order the publication of Kichko's book in Kiev rather than in Leningrad. Probably, the Kremlin masterminds felt that what they were doing was a criminal act, of which they were secretly ashamed. By ordering its publication in Kiev, they took out insurance against failure. If the book boomeranged, as it did, they could always claim that "not only Jews, but we Russians ourselves, have suffered for many, many years, from Ukrainian nationalist chauvinism, its bias, prejudice and intolerance"—to quote the words of Khrushchev's son-in-law, the former Chief Editor of *Izvestia*, Alexei Adzhubei, in reply to a question put forward by an Israeli newspaperman in France.

To sum up, I must reiterate that I do not hate Kichko or Vergelis. Hatred is emotional, while these people are sick persons in urgent need of psychiatric treatment. What I do hate is the rotten system of Soviet-Russian colonialism, which makes puppets out of men, and is based on deceit, exploitation and injustice.

THE REVIVED MYTH OF UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Late last Spring, in one of our many friendly conversations, Dr. Sidney Hook, the eminent American philosopher of New York University, made a remark that stirred me deeply. While commenting favorably upon the nature and quality of recent Ukrainian publications, he expressed himself rather strongly on the inclusion of any reference to General Simon Petlura, military leader of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918-1919. With manifestly good intention Dr. Hook felt that this would only serve to harm and needlessly detract from what he adjudged to be a valuable source of information. Petlura, in his eyes and doubtless those of many others, is presumed to have been, to use the recalled phrase of the astute doctor, "an unsavory character," specifically because of his alleged anti-Semitic leanings and consequent ostensible responsibility for the inhuman pogroms that were staged in Ukraine during that period.

This mischaracterization based on the cited grounds of accusation was supposed to have been settled some twenty years ago, but when one hears it from the responsible lips of so fair-minded a person as Dr. Hook, one cannot help but wonder as to where and in whose minds the issue has resolved.

In point of fact, it was my original intention to concentrate exclusively on this Petlura affair in a more or less academic treatment of a series of tumultuous events that occurred some thirty years ago, but, as the very title of this article suggests, this was necessarily altered by the ugly reappearance last Fall of substantially the same smear campaign that had been employed earlier against Petlura and the newly-founded independent Ukrainian state, except that in this instance it is being systematically waged against the Ukrainian DP's in Western Europe. It was commenced in the articles written by David Nussbaum for *The New York Post* (November 19 and 21, 1948) and in the anti-DP memorandum prepared by Abraham G. Duker who through the accommodating efforts of Congressman Klein of New York, one of those Democrats with unflinching American Labor Party support, managed to have it introduced into the *Congressional Record*.

A. THE EARLIER PETLURA SITUATION

It will be agreed, I am sure, that a fair and honest judgment on the truth of any such serious accusation as the one directed against General Petlura must necessarily be dependent upon (1) an understanding of the general conditions prevailing in Ukraine at the time,

* *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 2, Spring 1949.

(2) the disclosure of any signs of criminal negligence or positive support on the part of his government toward the anti-Jewish demonstrations and pogroms, and (3) the testimony of authoritative and acceptable witnesses and parties responsibly concerned with the affair. To simply argue, as in substance our anti-DP writers do within the context of the other situation, that, as matters of undeniable fact, pogroms were staged in Ukraine in 1918-19, Petlura was at the head of the Ukrainian government during the time, and therefore, Petlura is criminally responsible for this outrage is essentially tantamount to saying that lynchings occurred in the United States during the 30's, Mr. Roosevelt was the executive head of the American government then, and therefore, Mr. Roosevelt is to blame. The validity of the analogy and the absurdity of such slipshod reasoning are shown by a rational consideration of the pertinent facts in the strict light of the above criteria.

The first general fact to be appreciated is, of course, that the territory of Ukraine during those years was no rose-bed of political law and order, but rather a ghastly scene of war, devastation, confusion, pillage and revolutionary disorder. It was in this tragic setting, as the Ukrainian Jewish writer, Dr. Margolin, authoritatively portrays it, that the sole democratic force in Eastern Europe at the time, the Ukrainian National Republic, had to struggle alone for its preservation against the overwhelming forces of German intrigue, Trotsky's Red Army, Poland's military legions, Denikin's reactionary gangs, and even marauding Ukrainian bandit units.² Ironically enough, it was the democratic West in the depth of its ignorance that contributed heavily toward the asphyxiation of this genuine liberal force through its blind support of the imperialist-minded Poles and the White Russian Denikin. It is perfectly obvious that this general chaos was a fertile breeding ground for all sorts of excesses, barbarities, and massacres, of Jews and others, and one must fairly admit that the difficulties confronting the Ukrainian government in any endeavor to prevent such bestialities in the interests of a quick restoration of order and justice were clearly insuperable.

We must appreciate this situation to have a valid understanding and evaluation of the additional data which we must consider. First, the military position of the young national government which was being attacked from all sides, was continually shifting with the result that the de facto jurisdiction of the government was perforce a constantly changing one. The crucial significance of this lies in the time

² *From a Political Diary, Russia, the Ukraine and America, 1905-1945*, by Arnold D. Margolin, Columbia University Press.

and locality sequence of the pogroms. They went on chiefly during the Fall and Winter of 1918 and the Spring months of 1919 in Eastern Ukraine, but the events of the period reveal that after December, 1918 the national government no longer exercised any effective control over this region. By February, 1919, only portions of Podolia and Volhynia were actually under its control, and by the end of March the bulk of its army, retreating before the sweep of the Red forces, had already entered Western Ukraine where, it is significant, no such outrages were reported at this time.

Secondly, an objective examination of this period discloses the following factors at work in the pogroms. For decades, it must be remembered, the Czarist regime systematically spread the infection of anti-Semitism throughout its Empire and as late as 1905 succeeded in disseminating the rumor that the revolution of that year was instigated by the Jewish members of the Cadet Party. To be sure, the pogroms of that year, as those of 1881, fall within the life-span of that regime, but who would be foolish enough to believe that this spiritual disease vanished with the fall of that regime in 1917? On the contrary, its virulence was strengthened among the polluted sectors of the population in the post-1917 period by the remaining symbols of Czardom, the imperialist forces of Denikin and Kolchak. Aply supported by the anti-Ukrainian and anti-Jewish "Black Hundreds," consisting of former Russian officer-monarchists or landowners and which was originated under Czarist auspices to organize pogroms in Southern Ukraine, Denikin's army in holocaust massacred not only Jews, but also the so-called "separatist" Ukrainians, Georgians and other national groups. As a representative of North Caucasia wrote, "It is thanks to his devastating work that thousands of Ukrainians and Jews have been massacred in cold blood in Ukraine. . ." ³ The North Caucasian Parliament repeatedly sought aid from Colonel Haskell, representing the bewildered Allies in Caucasia, to prevent the atrocities perpetrated by the Denikin and Kolchak gangs.⁴ The most hideous event, which doubtlessly gratified Denikin's comrade-in-arms, Purishkevich, the chief of the Black Hundreds, was the pogrom that took place in Kiev in 1919, and resulted in the death of some 10,000 Jews.⁵

The Russian Bolshevik armies contributed to this gory spectacle. The ludicrous accusation that all Jews are Bolsheviks was common

³ A. Meker, "The Restoration of a Holy Russia, One and Indivisible," *The Eastern Europe Review*, No. 6, Paris, November, 1919.

⁴ E. g., the official protest of President Tzalikoff, *The Eastern Europe Review*, Paris, No. 5, November, 1919.

⁵ *Echo de Kiev*, Paris, October 5, 1919.

in Eastern Europe even prior to 1917, but those who continued to drink in such nonsense neither understood the ideology of the atheist Bolsheviks who were of Jewish descent nor knew of the pogroms carried on by the Red Army in Ukraine. The entire record of the Bolshevik regime since then has been a bloody one as concerns the traditional Jew and no political facade of a Jewish Republic in far-off Siberia can screen it. The recent testimonies of Drs. Julius Margolin and Altberg, Polish Jews who were sympathetic to the Soviet Union and its "momentous experiment" until they tasted it, are sufficiently conclusive.⁶ When the former asserts that "*The Soviet camps have swallowed more people, have exacted more victims, than all other camps—Hitler's and others—*"...and that "*An entire generation of Zionists has died in Soviet prisons, camps, and exile,*" the simple fact cited above, of the "world-liberating" proletarian army staging pogroms, appears hardly startling. Of essential importance is the fact that the notorious, pogrom-instigating Machno and Grigoriev played at various times their macabre roles in the Bolshevik ranks. The latter, who revolted against the Ukrainian government because of its stern opposition to his activities, found ready welcome in the Bolshevik army and was appointed Bolshevik commander in South Ukraine.

The remaining factors that spurred on the pogroms at the time included the marauding Ukrainian bandit units, Polish attempts to discredit the Ukrainian government, and the pro-Russian or Polish sentiments and support expressed by some self-seeking bourgeois Jews. The first, who were even dressed in Ukrainian military uniforms, constituted an embarrassing difficulty for the government which it was nevertheless able to meet through the infliction of the death penalty. The second, however, proved somewhat more troublesome as the Polish government, operating through a semi-official news agency, and other Polish interests endeavored to justify in the Western mind Poland's imperialist claim to Ukrainian territory as far east as Kiev by accusing Petlura of being a Bolshevik and his government of responsibility for the pogroms and an inability to rule—this, curiously enough, at a time when anti-Jewish excesses were occurring in all parts of the Polish territory proper.⁷ As for the last, it can be readily understood why this relatively unimportant factor had incited under the prevailing anarchic conditions some quasi-pogromic acts.

⁶ David J. Dallin and B. Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, 1947, Yale University Press.

⁷ For this design, see *The Times*, London, No. 20064, August 5, 1919.

(2) With this understanding of the complex situation that actually existed in Ukraine during those turbulent war years, one can more objectively assess the steps taken by the Ukrainian government to meet this problem. In addition to its fundamental moral aspects, the problem of the pogroms was in large measure created as a medium of disorganization and civil disruption aimed at undermining the very foundations of the Ukrainian government. As the representative testimonies of Jewish leaders will amply corroborate below, the majority of Jews in Ukraine recognized the valiant attempts on the part of the Petlura government to eliminate these excesses and restore just relations and order. Their various Parties—the “Bund,” the “Unified,” the “Poalei-Zion,” and the “Folks Party”—supported the cause for an independent Ukraine. For example, on September 20, 1919 the “Bund” at a conference in Kamenets Podilsky demanded the recognition of the independence of Ukraine by foreign powers. Also, a declaration signed by Jacques Kraise, chief of the Israelite workers’ group of Kamenets, concisely states in part: *“The oppression and the exploitation of Ukraina by the different imperialisms affected the laboring masses of the Jewish population as much as it did the Ukrainians. . . (the Israeli people) will fight side by side with the Ukrainian people to ensure the triumph of the cause of the Popular Independent Ukrainian Republic.”*⁸

A fair investigation of this subject will reveal that the Petlura government did all that was humanly possible to prevent and atone for the abominations that occurred. Upon the overthrow of the Hetman government in December 1918, the Petlura administration immediately restored the laws passed by the Central Rada of the first Ukrainian government guaranteeing the autonomy of minorities, although, as Dr. Arnold Margolin candidly observed, the engendered rights were not *in fact* affected by the Hetman regime.⁹ Moreover, in the course of its ephemeral existence the Petlura government issued edict upon edict, proclamation after proclamation to its armies and the general populace, prohibiting anti-Jewish demonstrations under even the penalty of death as was decided upon by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers in 1919. One of Petlura’s own orders, number 131 of August 26, 1919, reads in part as follows: *“I expressly order you to drive away with your arms all who incite you to pogroms and bring them before the courts as enemies of the state. And the*

⁸ Documents, *The Eastern Europe Review*, Paris, No. 6, November, 1919. See also the extensive documentation in *Documents sur les Pogromes en Ukraine et L’Assassinat de Simon Petlura a Paris*, Librairie du Trident, 1927.

⁹ Interview in *The Jewish Chronicle* of London, *The Jewish Pogroms in Ukraine*, Friends of Ukraine, Washington, 1919.

*tribunal will judge them for their acts and the most severe penalties of the law will be inflicted on all those found guilty.”*¹⁰ Thousands of murderers and Czarist or Bolshevik agents-provocateurs were punished and executed.

For the relief of Jewish victims the Ukrainian government under Petlura made frequent financial allocations, at one time amounting to two million *hryvnas* (a *hryvna* being equivalent to a shilling), and administered by the Minister of Jewish Affairs, M. Pinkhos Krasny, a Jew himself.¹¹ Properties were restored and other forms of compensation made use of. Further, because its hands were clean the government publicly invited prominent Jewish leaders to form an Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry and investigate the pogroms in Ukraine. Unlike the Bolsheviks who either refused outright to allow such commissions to operate within their domain, as e.g., the Soviet annihilation of 12,000 Polish officers in Katyn forest, or, where practicable, prepare the scene for an inquiring outside group, e.g., the forced labor camps in the timber regions of north Russia, the Ukrainian government welcomed such men as Achad Haam, the famous Jewish author, M. Ussihkin, well-known Zionist leader, Dr. D. Jockelman, chairman of the Territorial Organization, Mr. Goldstein, head of the Ukrainian Zionist Organization, and Israel Zangwill, the noted Jewish writer, to determine the validity of the slanderous charges issuing from the evil designs of its enemies. The chances for “preparing the scene of inquiry” were, in view of the general state of affairs then, practically nil.

The final significant fact is that there was never a Ukrainian government during this period of time without Jewish representation and, strikingly enough, in the Petlura directory it was the broadest. The Minister of Jewish Affairs, M. Krasny of the Jewish Social Democratic Party, the Undersecretaries of Labor, M. Goldelman of Poalei Zion and M. Breitmann of the Bund, and the Undersecretary of Public Economy, M. Solodar, formed this representation, not to mention the many in the economic and political commissions sent abroad by the Petlura government. These men were, what I referred to above, traditional Jews who participated in a government dedicated to the preservation of time-honored Jewish customs and ritual, the Hebrew language and religious belief, and the opportunities for cultivating Jewish talents and culture. Toward these ends, for example, a chair was established for Jewish culture at the Ukrainian

¹⁰ Documents, *The Eastern Europe Review*, Paris, No. 5, November, 1919.

¹¹ *The Ukraine*, Weekly Bulletin, The Ukrainian Press Bureau in London, Sept. 13, 1919.

University in Kamenets Podilsky, for which a professor was appointed by the Minister of Jewish Affairs who, it should be mentioned, was also responsible for the foundation of Jewish schools throughout the territory of the Ukrainian Republic.

(3) These several illustrations of the position assumed by Petlura and his government toward the comparatively heavy Jewish population in Ukraine receive substantial verification from the testimonies of outstanding Jewish leaders who possessed some knowledge of what was transpiring in Eastern Europe. It is unfortunate that space forbids the presentation of all these testimonies or even the full reproduction of those cited here, but the following excerpts, abstracted with guarded respect for their individual contexts, are adequately convincing. Israel Zangwill, for instance, in a letter replying to the invitation extended to him by the Ukrainian government to join the aforementioned commission of inquiry, expressed himself as follows: "*I take the opportunity of saying . . . that it needed not this step, nor even your honest admission of the deplorable facts as regards the towns, to convince me that your Government is working hard, if not perhaps its hardest, to stop massacres for which the unsettled state of Russia is largely responsible. The national rights you have given to the Jews are a manifestation of true statesmanship and in shining contrast with the Jewish policy of Poland, and I can only hope that your Republic will be preserved to give the rest of the world an example of the strength and the exalted patriotism that comes from the cordial cooperation . . . of all the varied racial and religious elements that make up a modern state.*"¹²

In his able comments upon the guarantees given to minorities by the Ukrainian government and the manner by which it literally solved the Jewish question, Dr. Mark Vishnitzer, Jewish historian and editor of the "Jewish Encyclopedia" and the "History of the Jewish People," elaborated further by saying, "*during the two years the independent Ukrainian State has existed, public Jewish life has been able to develop freely. The Jews in Ukraine have the most extended national rights . . . The Jews in Ukraine will lose much if the imperialistic aspirations of the Poles, Russians and Rumanians for Ukrainian land should become a reality.*"¹³ Much the same was expressed by Dr. S. Zarchi, Counselor of the Ukrainian Delegation to the Peace Conference and a Jewish physician, in a lecture on "Ukraine and the Jews" at the Jewish Institute (Beth Hamidrash) in Lon-

¹² Letter to the President of the Delegation of the Ukrainian Republic, October 20, 1919, *Eastern Europe Review*, No. 5, November, 1919.

¹³ Article in "The Jewish Pogroms in Ukraine," Friends of Ukraine, Washington, D. C., 1919.

don on November 29, 1919. Most significant was the parallel he drew between the Ukrainian movement for independence and Jewish aspirations for a free Palestine.

In the interview mentioned previously, Dr. Arnold Margolin, makes statements identical with those above and adds to them the following important observation: "*Nearly all Jewish parties and organizations were united on the question of the right of the Ukrainian people to determine their ultimate political destiny on popular lines.*"¹⁴ Referring to the Central Representative Parliament sponsored by the Petlura regime, he avers, "*This Parliamentary body showed its willingness to grant more concessions to Jews than had any other constituent assembly in history.*" Concerning the pogroms, he declares, "*They were instigated by criminals, Black Hundreds and Bolsheviks who wished to discredit the Ukrainian Government... there is no anti-Semitic tendency in the Ukraine Government, which differs in this respect, very notably, from that prevailing in Poland.*"

To this testimony given by enlightened Jews themselves much more can be added—telling the same story.¹⁵ Yet the weight of the false propaganda circulated by Petlura's enemies in the ignorant West proved to be overpowering for him, his government, and the Ukrainian people. The injustice done to the man followed him to his assassination in 1926 by a Samuel Schwartzbard. Many maintain that the assassin was an OGPU agent, which certainly is plausible. Others claim that he was trying to avenge his relatives who had been allegedly murdered by some of Petlura's soldiers, something which is equally plausible when one considers again the conditions of the time. Some Russian Czarist elements managed to infiltrate his army at certain times and places. However, definite proof is lacking for either theory, but whichever may be true, it still remains intrinsically unrelated to the acts of the man himself and his government toward the Jews. In the light of the factual evidence provided here and what has transpired in Eastern Europe since 1920, the essential significance of Petlura, his democratic government, and an independent Ukraine for the maintained ideal of democracy itself, for hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Soviet Union, yes, and even for the peace that might have prevailed in Europe, could well be pondered.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵ E. g., Goldelman, Solomon, *Juden und Ukrainer*, (Jews and Ukrainians) Hamojn, Judischer Verlag in der Ukraine, 1921.

B. THE CURRENT UKRAINIAN D. P. SITUATION

The myth that was viciously created to becloud the preceding situation is today being revived with the apparent purpose of destroying our whole D. P. legislation and the harmonious relations existing between the Jewish and non-Jewish agencies in America that are occupied with this problem. The anti-D. P. memorandum prepared by Mr. Duker, which has been tactically circulated almost exclusively among Jewish organizations and upon which the articles of Mr. Nussbaum are evidently based, is calculated to achieve these sinister ends. It bears fundamentally on the anti-Semitic issue, charging the non-Jewish D. P.'s in Western Europe, especially the Balts and Ukrainians, with the perpetration of pogroms and murder. The obvious aim of this familiar and serious accusation is to incite the Jewish organizations, with the prospect of a larger Jewish immigration held out to bait, to propagandize and fight against the entry of the large majority of non-Jewish D.P.'s on the basis of this substantially groundless charge. The net result unquestionably would be a prolonged struggle between the existing interested agencies here, which would exasperate Americans generally, with the final consequence of a severe limitation placed upon both Jewish and non-Jewish D. P. immigration into the United States.

This deceptive memorandum is a masterpiece of camouflage, slanderous and unfounded general assertions, and calculated omissions of pertinent facts. Examples of each of these characteristics will suffice to indicate the distortions committed by the author to misguide the gullible and naive reader into lending support to his objectives which are suspiciously identical with those expressed by the Soviet regime.

To take the first point, the memorandum is heavily studded with documentary excerpts drawn from the United States' publication, "Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression," containing the evidence given at the Nuremberg Trials. The immediate impression conveyed is that the author's generalizations and assertions are based upon authoritative material. The camouflage is quickly disclosed, however, when anyone with even a superficial knowledge of the events that occurred in Eastern Europe during World War II begins to assess the author's deliberate misuse of them. Excerpt after excerpt is cited, notably that from Hans Frank's memo of 1943, to show that the Ukrainians, Balts and others voluntarily took up arms during the German advance to fight against the Soviets and the "gallant partisans." The inference drawn by Mr. Duker for an ignorant audience is that they therefore "collaborated" with the Nazis, were fascist

themselves, and consequently were anti-Semitic. He then shrewdly intermixes with this evidence further memoranda to show the pogroms staged by Balt, Ukrainian and other S.S. troops. The stunt fails when one realizes as one honestly must and which Mr. Duker purposely does not, that the nationalist Ukrainians saw in the German advance their opportunity to fight for their long-sought independence from the Soviet tyranny and then tried to sustain it against German domination. Like Soviet spokesmen, he particularly attacks Bandera, Melnyk, and other Ukrainian nationalists as "fascist bandits," but avoids the contradiction of explaining why they fought the Germans as strenuously as they are now combatting the Red dictatorship.¹⁶

Consider also some of his many slanderous and irresponsible assertions. He speaks, not unlike the vilifiers of the earlier situation, of the "historic hatred of Jews by Ukrainians." He asserts that the American authorities in Germany "have never bothered to check their identity (that of the D.P.'s) too closely," this despite the fact that, as shown by Mr. David Martin of the Refugee Defense Committee, since UNRRA days, they may have been screened more than thirty times. He contends that "no mention has been made of the presence among the D. P.'s of Nazi collaborationists of many nations," which is patently false. Moreover, it was easy to detect the relatively few S. S. men because of their body identifications incurred upon their admission into the corps. The peak of his falsification is reached, however, in his explanation of why so many of the earlier D. P.'s returned home. Simply the impulse to go back home—the implication being that those who remained fear for their supposed crimes. He fails to mention that those who were captured in German uniforms were immediately sent back by our authorities. He omits the marauding activities of Soviet units sent into the Western sectors with the benighted consent of our authorities to forcibly round up thousands of D.P.'s for shipment back "home." Above all, the existence of Communist tyranny "back home" is of no import to him. Is Mr. Duker seeking Nazis among D.P. Ukrainians because of their well-known hatred for communism as Albert Kahn did during the war among Americans of Ukrainian descent here? Mr. Kahn, who wrote his articles for the *New York Post* as has Mr. Nussbaum recently,

¹⁶ See "Limits of Terror" by Joseph Guttman, *Modern Review*, April, 1947. This former Czech journalist, now with the Yiddish Scientific Institute, bases his article on German documents assembled by the Institute, which Mr. Duker cautiously failed to incorporate in his tortuous memo.

was eventually revealed by official Washington to be the head of a Jewish Communist organization.¹⁷

From a moral point of view, to accuse a person or group of anti-Semitism without sufficient cause is as reprehensible as any intent to practice it. The injustices and inhumanities that flow from both are morally equivalent. The false accusations made against Petlura and his government played no small role in precipitating the disastrous consequences that befell the Ukrainian people. This cannot be undone. The current accusations, as embodied in the Duker memorandum and the Nussbaum articles, and to which Congressmen Klein and Celler have given their stamp of approval, can produce similar results. This can be properly created. It is difficult to believe that leading Jewish representatives who rightly insist upon the maintenance of just relations to the benefit of their, and all, peoples would let pass these notorious writings. Fair play, as the saintly Rabbi Lazzaron has always insisted upon, is not unilateral.

¹⁷ Recently Mr. Kahn showed his hand at the Kravchenko law suit in Paris with his pernicious lies attributing the publication of Kravchenko's book, *I Chose Freedom* to some mythical "fascist" propaganda agency formed among "the enormous Ukrainian group in the United States." (*New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1949.)

SHEVCHENKO AND THE JEWS*

BY ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI¹

Recently I discussed one of the most important characteristics of Taras Shevchenko's ideology: his fight not only for the liberty of Ukraine but of all nations enslaved by Russian imperialism, from Finland to Rumania, from Poland to the far Caucasus and Turkestan.

This defense of the right to self-determination of the non-Russian nations inside the Russian Empire (which before World War I constituted in that Russian prison of nations a majority of nearly 58 percent against the Russian minority of 42 percent) grew up out of Shevchenko's struggle against the serfdom of the peasantry, whose descendant he was. Thus being against the serfdom of the peasants, who then were like the cattle property of their masters, Shevchenko was also against the serfdom of the non-Russian nations which were converted into colonial serfs of the Russian-Muscovite nation, represented by its divine right autocrat, the Russian Czar. Both ideas were deeply rooted in his Christian world outlook which envisaged the brotherhood of all nations.

IN DEFENSE OF OPPRESSED JEWRY

I mentioned in this connection that Shevchenko also defended the rights of the Jews in the Russian Empire. Here I should like to present my evidence in full, because I am aware that this fact is little known not only to our fellow American scholars of Jewish descent but also of Ukrainian descent.

As a matter of fact, this defense of the Jews by Shevchenko was well known before World War I amongst Jewish leaders in Austrian Bukovina. I remember that Benno Straucher, a prominent Jewish

* *Europe's Freedom Fighter: Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1861. A Documentary Biography of Ukraine's Poet Laureate and National Hero.* House of Representatives Document No. 445. 86th Congress, 2nd Session. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960.

¹ Selected parts of a paper prepared in dedication to the memory of the Ambassador of the Ukrainian National Republic to Great Britain, the Hon. Arnold Margolin. Shevchenko Scientific Society Study Center, Chicago, Ill., 1959, p. 11.

leader, called it to the special attention of Stephen Smal-Stocki, then professor at the University of Czernovitz-Chernivtsi (presently under the Soviet Union).

Let me now present the material available in the United States for this case.

Taras Shevchenko was severely punished for his revolutionary poems and activities by Czar Nicholas I, the gendarme of Europe, who also crushed the Polish (1830) and Hungarian (1848) revolutions. As you know, he was exiled. After ten years he finally was amnestied, and on March 27, 1858, he returned to St. Petersburg.

There are many Russian and Ukrainian reports describing his reception in the capital by the large Ukrainian colony and by Russian liberal circles. For the Ukrainians, Shevchenko was a national hero and martyr, but liberal Russians also looked up to him as a man who suffered for his struggle against Czarism. He frequented the salons of Count Tolstoy, where he met the Russian elite of writers, scholars, public personalities, artists, actors, and musicians. There he met not only the Ukrainian elite of that time: Marko Vovchok, Kulish, Hulak Artemovsky, Kostomarov, Aivazovsky, Bilozersky and others, but also such leading Russians as Turgenev, Chernyshevsky, Leskov, Kurochkin, Zhemchuzhnikov, Polonsky, O. Tolstoy, and many others.

The chief problem discussed then was the emancipation of the serfs. Every really Christian and civilized person was deeply ashamed to face daily in the Russian Empire an institution which disappeared in England in the fourteenth century. This problem was logically connected with the equalization of the civil rights of all subjects of the Czar. It was just at that time that an attack against the Jews appeared in the journal *Illustratsia*. The clear aim of the attack was to eliminate the Jews from the discussed reforms in order to continue their discrimination. An already existent public opinion in St. Petersburg strongly disfavored the idea of continued discrimination against the Jews, and soon a protest was drafted by Chernyshevsky.

A whole series of writers, scholars, and public figures of the capital signed this protest, which later was widely used by the Jews outside the Russian Empire for the mobilization of liberal public opinion against their persecution in the Czarist Empire.

Since its unification Germany was the rising intellectual and political power inside Europe and served as a clearinghouse for information about the Russian Empire for the whole West. Serving in this role, Germany became a center for the defense of the Jews against the Russian persecution. It was therefore natural that a German translation of a Russian book was published. The book originally appeared

in 1891 in St. Petersburg, titled *Russkie Liudi o Yevreiach*, but soon disappeared. Apparently it was bought out by the government and destroyed. Only one single copy was preserved and subsequently deposited in the British Museum Library in London. It is a collection of statements in the defense of the Jews by subjects of the Russian Czar of different nationalities: Russian-Muscovites, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and from different professions: soldiers, priests, educators, diplomats, etc. The German translation is titled: *Die Juden in Russland, Urkunden und Zeugnisse Russischer Behoerden und Autoritaeten*. Aus dem Russischen Uebersetzt von August Scholz. Berlin, 1900. Concordia Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

SHEVCHENKO SIGNS STATEMENT IN DEFENSE OF JEWS

There on pages 241-44 is the following statement, which I give in photostatic copy: "Protest russischer Schriftsteller von 1858" (statement provided in Shevchenko hearing in the House).

Let us evaluate the fact that Shevchenko signed this protest in defense of the civil rights of the Jews:

(a) Terminologically one must keep in mind that "*russische Schriftsteller*"—"Russian writers"—identifies not nationality but the imperial citizenship or better yet "subjectship" of the said persons who signed the protest.

(b) It was rather seldom that Ukrainians and Russian-Muscovite writers and intellectuals formed a common front, but it happened in this case for the defense of the rights of the Jews. It is clear that for the Ukrainians it was a matter of principle which was basic for the rights of all non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire.

(c) Not only Shevchenko but also Marko Vovchok, P. Kulish, the scholar Kostomarov and others signed the protest. This indicates that it was a jointly decided action by the nucleus of the Ukrainian *Hromada* which then existed in St. Petersburg.

(d) Shevchenko, after ten years of exile, was then in St. Petersburg enjoying great moral and political prestige. He did not hesitate to put his name under the statements in defense of the Jews in spite of the fact that he risked immediate retaliation by the police under whose supervision Shevchenko was in St. Petersburg. This action was definitely an act of moral courage.

(e) The participation of Shevchenko in such a political public act, together with Chernyshevsky, surely alarmed the police. Therefore, his later arrest during his visit to Ukraine was, in my opinion, partly connected with this act; partly it was prearranged by police

provocateurs who provoked him with various questions and then gave the police authorities false reports.

(f) In the time of serfdom in the old Polish Commonwealth and later in Czarist Russia, the Jews in fact often administered this immoral and frightful institution of serfdom over the peasantry on behalf of the absentee landlords, from which even Orthodox churches of the Ukrainian serfs were not excluded.² In his previous historical poems there are traces of a just indignation by Shevchenko against the Polish nobility and its Jewish collaborators in the exploitation of the serfaged peasantry.

Returning from exile, Shevchenko was faced not with history but with the urgent problem of the abolition of the serfdom of persons, which logically widened for him to an abolition of the serfdom of the non-Russian nations; that meant their freedom and civil rights.

Shevchenko believed that "where does not exist the holy liberty, there never will be a good (social system)." In this "holy liberty" were included also the Jews. Shevchenko prayed: "and give *all* of us on earth brotherly love"—including in it also the Jews. The coming emancipation of the serfs and the elevation of them to human beings with civil rights should include, according to Shevchenko's opinion, also the discriminated Jews in the Russian Empire.

² Cf. G. F. Abbot, *Israel in Europe* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1907), pp. 238-39.

Chapter II

TESTIMONIES

TESTIMONY

BY DR. VOLODYMYR BEMKO

I, Dr. Volodymyr Bemko, aged 62, Greek Catholic, former attorney-at-law, now a refugee residing in Salzburg (Austria), testify that during the period from 1941 to July, 1944, I was an attorney-at-law with the right of representation before all German courts. My office was at 5 Allengasse, Lviv (Lemberg). As I do not have my journals with me, I am unable to quote the number of legal cases or the dates of sentences, etc., but only the names and residences of the people who at the time, from 1941 to 1944, were tried and sentenced by the German courts for aiding persecuted Jews.

(1) Vavro Terluk, aged 40, the village elder of the village Vivsya, county of Pidhaytsi, was arrested in 1942 and held in prison under investigation for 12 months. He was accused of sheltering a Jew by the name of N. Dick. The Court found him not guilty, though, in fact, Terluk had sheltered Dick for several months.

(2) Mykola Sluzhynsky, aged 60, dweller in the city of Berezhan, with residence at Vyviz Street, sheltered 6 Jews in the years 1943 and 1944, among them a Jew by the name of Munio Haber, who was 21 years old and a tinsmith. In May, 1944, Sluzhynsky was denounced and the Gestapo searched his premises, seizing 2 Jews, the other 4 escaping. The whole Sluzhynsky family was arrested instantly. Their fate is unknown to me.

(3) Apollonia Bemko, aged 70, resident of Berezhan, sheltered 2 daughters of the local Rabbi and a girl named N. Maiblum at her home. In 1943, the Gestapo searched the house of Mrs. Bemko but with no result. Nevertheless, they beat the old woman, causing her to be ill for two weeks. Her son-in-law, Mr. A. Parasevych, was beaten by the Gestapo so badly that he had to be taken to the hospital. Neither was arrested because the search produced no results, but, in fact, the Gestapo did not know how to search properly.

(4) Mykhailo Vydoynyk, a forest superintendent in the village of Vulka, county of Berezhan, sheltered the Jewess Maiblum (mother of the girl mentioned in (3) for a period of three years, 1942-1944. He was denounced and arrested in the summer of 1943. He was kept in Berezhan prison for 10 months, but no trial was held since the Germans meanwhile evacuated the town.

(5) Maria Fedyk of the village of Mechyshchiv was arrested on June 7, 1944, for supplying food to the Jews. She and her brother, Yaroslav, were deported.

In the village of Mechyshchiv, which was surrounded by forests and situated quite far from the county center in Berezhany, some 100 Jews were sheltered. The place had many advantages for this purpose. How secure the Jews felt in this Ukrainian village may be seen from the fact that many of them used to walk around in a quite composed manner even in the day-time, "to stretch their legs from sitting," they said.

Unfortunately, in April or the beginning of May, 1944, the German police arrived in force to confiscate the cattle in the village for their slaughterhouse. The Germans caught two Jews on the street. One of them was Dr. Dienes, the dentist from Berezhany; I am unable to recall the name of the other man. Instantly, Dr. Dienes betrayed not only the names of all the Jews sheltered in the village, but also the names of the Ukrainian peasants who had sheltered them. The Germans were able to seize only 8 Jews, the remainder succeeding in escaping into the woods, but 80 local peasants were arrested. After a week, only 50 peasants returned home; the others were shot in Berezhany along with the seized Jews.

(6) Ivan Bohach, storekeeper in Berezhany, sheltered two Jewish girls named Guttenplan and a third girl whose name I am unable to recall. He was denounced, but a search proved fruitless. Nevertheless, he was arrested and spent two weeks in the Gestapo prison. He was beaten and allowed to return home.

(7) Mykola Lushnyak, driver from Berezhany, sheltered two Jews by the names of Hecht and Blank, both of Berezhany. He was denounced, arrested, and beaten so hard that he was hospitalized for a month.

(8) Rev. Stepan Bachynsky, the vicar priest of Berezhany, aided the Jews by giving them certificates of baptism. I do not know whether Rev. Bachynsky converted the Jews to Christianity, but I do know that he was lucky enough not to fall into the Gestapo's hands, as had his colleague:

(9) Rev. E. Kovch, parish priest of Peremyshlany, who was arrested by the Lviv Gestapo on the charge of having issued 100 certificates of baptism to Jews in the summer of 1942. Rev. Kovch was held at the *Lontsky* Gestapo prison in Lviv for 11 months and then taken to the concentration camp at Auschwitz, from which he never returned. Most probably he perished in the Camp.

(10) N. Komaryansky and N. Zarichny both of the village of Kuryany, and Ivan Boyko of the village of Ray, county of Berezhany,

were arrested in early 1944 for supplying food to the Jews. They were arrested after having been named by the involved Jews. They did not return home.

(11) Mykhailo Mohyla, N. Porubochny, and Hryhoriy Bilous, all of the village of Slavyatyn, county of Rohatyn, were arrested in May, 1944, for sheltering Jews. Mohyla was killed as he tried to run away; the others were deported to the West.

(12) Stephan Zdyrko of the village of Baranivka, county of Berezhany, and Vasyl Starko and his wife of the village of Shybalyn, county of Berezhany, were jailed in the Gestapo prison for sheltering Jews for 7 months in 1943 and 1944. They were finally released, but Vasyl Starko came home with two broken ribs. Nevertheless, he was very content that he escaped so lightly.

(13) Theodosia Bilyk of the village of Ray, county of Berezhany, was arrested with her husband Volodymyr for having transported 5 Jews from Berezhany to the village of Ray. Volodymyr Bilyk, trying to flee, was killed on the spot.

(14) Vasyl Semkiv and Mykhailo Yakymiv of the village of Ray, county of Berezhany, were arrested in 1943 for sheltering 6 Jews. They were taken to the city of Ternopil and, later, to the concentration camp in Auschwitz.

(15) Ivanna Leheta of the village of Ray was arrested in March, 1944, for aiding Jews. She did not return home.

(16) Stakh Yakymiv of the city of Berezhany sheltered a Jewess by the name of N. Lille, who was a student. Both were saved, and Yakymiv married Lille after the war. Both are now living in Wroclaw (Breslau), Poland.

(17) On the initiative of Dr. Eugene Lovitsky of the town of Pidhaytsi, the family of Dr. Wilhelm Neumann (the doctor, his wife and daughter) was sheltered in the village of Shumlany, county of Pidhaytsi. The so-called *Landkommisar*, Hans Thachyk, a "Volksdeutsche" (native German) from the Stryj area, helped considerably in this affair.

(18) The peasants of the village of Holhochi, county of Pidhaytsi, sheltered a Jewish doctor named Reichmann, from the town of Pidhaytsi, with his whole family (mother, wife and, probably, three children). Later, Dr. Reichmann served with an UPA unit.

(19) Maria Bodnar of the village of Ray, county of Berezhany, was sentenced to death by hanging by the German Court in Ternopil in February, 1944, for sheltering 5 Jews. The sentence was executed.

(20) N. Rudkovsky of the village of Posukhiv, county of Berezhany, was arrested in 1943 for sheltering 7 Jews, among them

N. Siegal, a carpenter from Berezhany. Rudkovsky vanished without a trace.

(21) Rev. Havryluk, parish priest of the city of Rivne, was hanged in February, 1943, by the Gestapo in the market place of the city for sheltering and aiding Jews. Along with him the Gestapo hanged his wife, his daughters, Nadia, aged 22, and Tatyana, aged 19, as well as a girl friend of his daughters by the name of Varvara Glasko. It seems that Rev. Havryluk was the only Greek-Catholic priest in the city of Rivne (Rovno), but I cannot tell for sure.

June 18, 1951, Salzburg, Austria.

Signed: DR. VOLODYMYR BEMKO

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America testifies herewith that Dr. Volodymyr Bemko was well known to the Committee. The Committee confirms that at the time of the Nazi occupation in Galicia in 1941-1944, Dr. Volodymyr Bemko as an attorney-at-law had the right to represent the Ukrainians before the German courts and that he exercised it, especially in the defense of Ukrainians who were persecuted by the German authorities for sheltering and aiding the Jews. [Dr. V. Bemko died in the summer of 1965 in Newark, N. J. —Ed.]

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

TESTIMONY

BY IVAN LYUTY-LYUTENKO

I, the undersigned, Ivan Lyuty-Lyutenko, was born on June 24, 1898, in the city of Cherkassy, province of Kiev. By profession, I have been a trader and industrialist. I was an officer in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, holding a commission of captain and was in command of the 23rd Special Battalion of Cherkassy. Later, I was a Commander of the Kholodny Yar Units which, at the time of the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik insurgence, operated in the region of Kholodny Yar in the province of Kiev.

I testify: At the time of the Nazi occupation of the region of Kholm, I was the chief director of the Kholm Union of Cooperative Associations. On June 4, 1941, I was arrested by the Gestapo without explanation and taken to the prison in Kholm. I was kept there up to the time that war broke out between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941) and then I was transferred along with the other arrested people to Lublin under heavy convoy. In Lublin

I met many arrested Ukrainians. While in the Kholm prison I was held in a single room behind the walls of which, in the neighboring room, interrogations of other arrested people were conducted every night. Even today it is very hard to describe all the horrors of this experience.

In Lublin, I was held in the "King's Castle"—such was the name of the prison. During my stay there, they let me out of doors only once, the time I was taken with other prisoners to build a fence around the well-known concentration camp, "Majdanek." I was held in "King's Castle" for four and a half months. However, all the Ukrainian institutions intervened in my behalf. I was finally released, being bailed out by Archbishop Ilarion (the former Prof. Ivan Ohienko), Dr. Ivan Drabaty, Ivan Kramarenko, a co-operative worker, Borys Rzepetsky, and others. I then again took over the management of the Kholm Union of Cooperative Associations. This was on August 10, 1941.

At the beginning of the Nazi occupation, the Nazis destroyed the Jews gradually, first of all killing the Jewish intellectuals and seizing their property. The Jewish professionals were exploited by the Nazis in the beginning, and were killed only toward the end of the Nazi occupation. Many different people came to my office in the Union and asked for food. I never refused to help, offering them what I was able to give, including Jews, whom I only asked to keep silent about my efforts. Once a delegation from the local Jewish Community came to my office and asked for salt, flour, eggs, etc. I told the President of the Community, who was a local attorney-at-law, and his brother-in-law: "Ask the Gestapo, maybe they would give you some order for me or would call me about your demand, then we shall see what can I do for you." They agreed and told me that they would ask the Gestapo only for salt. In a short time I received a telephone order from the Gestapo to give them salt. By referring to this telephone order whenever necessary, I provided the Jewish Community with whatever I was able to deliver: flour, beaten eggs, salt, coffee, etc., and not only this time, but all the time. In addition, individual Jews came to my office and I never refused them. This was my attitude, which may be confirmed by all my co-workers in the Kholm Union of Cooperative Associations, many of whom are now in the United States.

However, the time arrived when the Nazis started annihilating the Jews in the mass. This horror is well-known. I told several Jews to go to the forests and to arm themselves; otherwise, they would perish in the general destruction.

When I was released from prison, I was ordered by the Gestapo to report to them every day. For about half a year I reported to the Gestapo personally. Then I was ordered to report by telephone, and only once on the weekend. From time to time I heard (in the Gestapo headquarters) of imminent "action" against the Jews and I was able to forewarn my Jewish friends. Unable to bear the horrors and all the nightmares connected with the mass liquidation of the Jews, I usually left Kholm for Cracow or Warsaw or elsewhere to purchase goods for the Union. However, the door of my house was thrown open to many, including Jews. I had a Jewish girl servant. At the time of the liquidation of the Jews, I asked her to go to the village where she would be able to survive the times of horror. On her way she met a girl friend of hers, stopped with her, and disappeared. It is my guess that she was caught by SS men, who killed her. However, I cannot say so positively.

Once, nearly a month after the general liquidation of the Jews, a woman dentist by the name of Rabinovich ran into my house at noontime, followed by a group of children crying: "The Jewess, the Jewess!" I ran outside and told the children: "This is not a Jewess, this is my girl servant." The children, silenced, ran away. I returned to the house and asked her: "Why do you walk around in daylight?" She answered: "I've been living with a Polish family, but my money ran out, and they are not willing to keep me any longer. Help me, please." I had only 500 zlotys with me, which I gave her, and my wife added some of her money. Then I personally accompanied Dr. Rabinovich home, showing her the way across the gardens. I told her to come to me in the evening, promising her help. But she never came back and I do not know what happened to her.

At the time when I helped the Jews, my wife, Mrs. Olha Lyuta-Lyutenko as well as my son, Yuriy Lyuty-Lyutenko, and our Polish girl servant risked much more on their own: in the stable with the adjoining wood storage room, they dug a hole under the stored wood, hiding in it a whole group of Jews. I do not know how many of them were there; I was only told later that in addition to our acquaintance, Mrs. Maria Tenenbaum (later: Kaminsky) with her seven-year old boy, Mirko, there were 14 Jews. My son Yuriy assembled them, and my wife and the girl servant fed and cared for them for more than 3 months. I did not know anything about all this; only sometimes my attention was attracted by large pots in the kitchen. However, I was neither unduly curious nor interested; I knew that many people of a day often visited our home.

However, one evening upon coming home from the office I found my wife weeping. "Why do you weep?" I asked her. My wife told me

everything. Mrs. Maria Tenenbaum had contracted typhus fever and my wife had taken her along with the child into the house. I was taken aback. I instantly went to the room where Mrs. Tenenbaum was lying in bed and told her (she was still conscious): "If anybody comes, say that you are the sister of my wife, that you are from Warsaw, and that you contracted typhus fever on the way. Your son speaks perfect Polish: let him say, too, that he is from Warsaw." She agreed.

After half an hour or so, we heard a knock at the door. It was the Gestapo chief with two SS officers, hoping for a drink and a "talk on Ukrainian themes," as they said. Although I was not visited often by the Gestapo chief, this was one of the times. He would play the piano. The piano was exactly in the room where Mrs. Tenenbaum was lying in bed. I told the Gestapo man: "You know, the sister of my wife came with her child to visit us from Warsaw, but she contracted typhus fever on the way. Do not go to this room lest you become infected." However, the chief replied that the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*-security service) feared nothing, and he entered the room. He lifted the cover and said: "Truly, she has fever, she is red all over. I am a civilized man and so should not play, but you should get the doctor as soon as possible." All of them then went to another room and drank quite a lot; the Germans from habit, and I from the happiness of having been saved from death.

However, I was thinking: "Somehow we would take care of Mrs. Tenenbaum, but what could we do with all the people sitting in the wood storage room? What would we do if they became ill?" Although it was winter then, the fear of consequences was uppermost in my mind. So, on the next night, I went to them and told them: "My dear people, I am very sorry for you, but I am also very sorry for myself. What shall we do? You know the possible results: if they find you, they will kill you and they will kill us. Moreover, I am afraid of your getting ill and what would happen then?" And we decided that they would leave the stable and the wood storage room and go to the forest. I promised to give them bread, fats, sugar, brandy, onion, garlic, and groats, as well as several *kotylki* (iron or copper pots), an axe, and also (it seems to me) a pistol. The food would suffice for two weeks and I advised them to join the partisans in the woods, who at that time had made their appearance in our vicinity. During the next two days I prepared food for them and during the nights I came to them and as an old partisan would advise them about life in the forest. I did not know those people, but I was satisfied that Mrs. Tenenbaum knew them. On the last night they got everything

I had promised, and they departed for the forest. I never met them again.

In a week or so, Mrs. Tenenbaum began recovering, improving from day to day. After having fully recovered she went to my sister-in-law in Warsaw and there she received official papers of an Aryan (Polish) school teacher. Mrs. Tenenbaum spent some time with my sister-in-law and, later, she went to the village of Skotniki, county of Konskie, where she lived with her son Mirko, having obtained the post of a teacher in the local school. My wife sent her 1,000 zlotys and, incidentally, we still have Mrs. Tenenbaum's receipt for this money. In addition, we mailed her some clothing, too. This was on March 2, 1943. We know that Mrs. Tenenbaum survived the war; we only do not know what happened to her subsequently. It is possible that my testimony would be confirmed by the testimony of Mrs. Tenenbaum. However, I have been occupied in my business and I and my family do not have time to look for Mrs. Tenenbaum, but I believe that the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America would be able to check upon my story and locate Mrs. Tenenbaum.

My belief is based on the fact that Mrs. Maria Tenenbaum has an uncle in the United States who is an attorney-at-law. His name is Herman Friedman and he was living in the City of New York, in Manhattan or in Brooklyn. I am sure that Mrs. Maria Tenenbaum would have contacted him after the war, and if the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America learns his whereabouts, the address of Mrs. Tenenbaum could easily be gotten through him.

Telling about all these affairs, I simply forgot to mention this: Soon after the departure of Mrs. Tenenbaum, my wife became ill with typhus fever of a very heavy kind: a spotted fever in the beginning, and typhoid at the end. As a result of the illness, my wife lost all her hair. She lay in bed for more than 3 months, also contracting a heart condition as a result of the illness. My wife was in the care of Dr. Khomyn, who is now in the U.S.A., and of a Polish doctor. Sometimes, Dr. Kucher came in, too. During all the time of my wife's illness, a Ukrainian nun from St. Basil's order cared for her.

This is a short story about my endeavors to aid the Jews at the time of their disaster. It is a pity to hear and to read about anti-Semitism which some people try to ascribe to the great and noble Ukrainian people.

Testimony was signed by: Ivan Lyuty-Lyutenko, former director of the Union of Cooperative Associations in the Region of Kholm; Captain of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and Commander of the Kholodny Yar Insurgent Units in the Province of Kiev, Ukraine.

March, 1963, Bound Brook, N. J.

TESTIMONY

BY STEPAN LISOVY

I, the undersigned Ukrainian, Stepan Lisovy, born on December 27, 1892, in Haysyn, province of Podillya, am an old emigre who after the liberation struggle by the Ukrainian Army for the independence of Ukraine, left his native country of Ukraine in 1920, after its occupation by the Bolshevik armies.

During World War II (in the years 1941-1944) I lived in the city of Kholm where I worked for the Welfare Section of the Ukrainian Community Committee. At the same time I held the post of manager of the student dormitories of the High School and Technical School. My managerial office was located in the Church building, separately from the Committee.

I lived not far from my office, in the hotel which was situated at 12 Copernicus Street. The family of a Jew, by the name of Meyer, lived in the basement of the same hotel. Mr. Meyer had a food store on the same street, and I often did business with him.

Mr. Meyer was always very nice to me: he was very kind. Generally, I carried on very important business with him, concerning the food supplies. I must stress that my Committee elected me a member of the Salvaging Committee for Aiding Prisoners of War.

The Germans maintained two big camps for prisoners of war in the city of Kholm. In those camps, prisoners of war would die of hunger by the hundreds every day. They were soldiers of the Soviet Army, mostly Ukrainians and Russians who had voluntarily surrendered to the Germans in order not to fight for the hated Red regime. The Nazis deliberately destroyed them by famine.

Thus the Committee for Aiding Prisoners of War had the task of aiding the prisoners with food and of saving their lives in every possible way. For this purpose I used the services of Mr. Meyer who supplied me with food for the prisoners of war in large quantities. I must say that this cooperation brought us very close to each other.

During the liquidation of the Jews in Kholm (and it was carried out several times), twice I risked sheltering Mr. Meyer and his wife in the cellar of the Church building for several days. This was done without the knowledge of the inhabitants of the building; I took all responsibility for my action on myself.

When the final extermination of the Jews of Kholm was under way, and it was in August or in September, 1943, Mr. Meyer, his wife and his son ran into my office and, in tears, begged me to save their

lives. I thought for a while, and, disregarding the fact that my action could bring about a personal disaster, I decided to meet the Meyers halfway. At night I took them with all precautions into the barn which belonged to the Church, and ordered them to hide in the straw of which there was a sufficient amount in the barn. Nobody knew about my action, and I knew that I risked not only my own life, but also that of Very Rev. Mitrate Korobchuk and his family, (he was the parish priest of St. John the Divine Church) and the life of Mr. Bonishchuk and his family, (he was the superintendent of the Church), and all who were living in the Church building.

In this secret hiding-place, Mr. Meyer and his family stayed for two weeks. I supplied them with food and drink, hiding myself from all inhabitants of the building. Unfortunately, this hiding place was discovered by the superintendent, Mr. Bonishchuk. The matter was arranged so that the Meyers had to leave the barn and go into the forest; at that time I was helpless and could not help them otherwise. For a while I did not know what had happened to this family.

Then, after about a month, the middle daughter of the Meyers came to my office from the labor camp, accompanied by a guard, and asked me for food for the Jews in the labor camp, who were starving there. I gave her what I only was able to give. She told me that, according to her information, her mother was still alive but she did not have any information about the other members of the family. She told me that she was working as the cook in the kitchen of the Camp Commander and, therefore, she was able to visit me. She was a young and attractive girl, and this had helped her to become the cook in the kitchen of the German Commander. After her visit, I never heard of the Meyer family any more.

In Woonsocket, R. I. where I am living now, I recalled Mr. Meyer and his family and wanted to find out what had happened to them. I asked a local Jewish man, Mr. Polyakov, to find out through the local Jewish Community, who of the Meyer's family is still alive. Mr. Polyakov promised to do everything in his power, but no information has as yet arrived.

Now I making this request of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; I believe that the Committee may be able to check this and clear up the fate of this family.

The address of Mr. Meyer in Kholm was: 12 Copernicus Street, City of Kholm, Poland.

(My address: 436 River Street, Woonsocket, R. I.), *Captain, Army of the Ukrainian National Republic.*

Very truly yours,

STEPAN LISOVY

State of Rhode Island, County of Providence Sc.. On this 25th day of September, A. D. 1962, before me personally appeared Степан Лисовий, also known as Stephen Lisovy, known to me and known by me to be the person executing the foregoing instrument and that he acknowledges said instrument to be his free act and deed, and that he has signed before me the above instrument written in the Ukrainian language and purported to be a "Statement."

Witness my hand and seal this 25th day of September, A. D. 1962. (Notary Public), my commission expires June 30, 1966.

ORIST D. CHAHARYN

The Parochial Office of St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Woonsocket, R. I., testifies herewith that Mr. Stepan Lisovy has been a member of our Parish. He has been living at 436 River Street, Woonsocket, R. I., and has generally been known as a truth-loving, quiet and honest person.

Parish Priest, St. Michael's, Ukrainian Orthodox Church; Arch-priest, Very Rev. Michael Mostensky, September 26, 1962. Woonsocket, R. I.

*Chairman, Parochial Office,
Secretary, Parochial Office,*

KOST KORNITSKY
TOMA CHAHARYN

TESTIMONY

BY ALEXANDER HLADYSHOVSKY

I, the undersigned Ukrainian, Alexander Hladyshevsky, having been living in the City of New York, U.S.A., am able to testify regarding the Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the Nazi occupation of Galicia as follows:

At the time of the ill-fated liquidation of the Jewish people in Galicia, I was living in the village of Tyskova, county of Lisko. It was a small village which had only 42 households, including that of the local land-owner and a small farm of Shulim Arbeit.

The Arbeit family had lived in Tyskova since olden times. Up to World War I, they kept a tavern. Shulim was born in Tyskova and was educated together with his Ukrainian neighbors. The local people liked him and regarded him as one of their stem. After World War I, Shulim abandoned the tavern and busied himself with his farm. To make ends meet, he helped himself by buying and reselling

chickens, eggs, and, sometimes, a calf in the not too distant town of Balyhorod. Those peasants who were not willing to sell their goods in town by themselves, readily offered Shulim their products for sale.

Before World War II Shulim became a widower. He was left with two daughters, Surtisia—aged 10, and Sema—aged 7. When in the spring of 1942 the Gestapo ordered all the Jews to transfer to the ghetto in Zahirya where they were slowly liquidated, Shulim hid with his two daughters in the thicket of the land-owner's forest where he had prepared a comfortable bunker in advance. The sincere attitude of the peasants towards Shulim and his daughters can be best shown by the fact that they organized the supply of food for him and his family. On each day the shepherd, whose turn it was to drive out the cattle from every household on the land-owner's pasture-grounds close to Shulim's bunker, brought him and his daughters a jug with a hot dish and a loaf of bread. On each day, one of the village elders visited Shulim in his bunker and told him the news. In a word, the whole village sincerely sympathized with Shulim and his unenviable lot.

Such a state of affairs lasted throughout the whole summer of 1942. However, Shulim and, particularly, his daughters, were losing their nerve more and more. They cried, became impatient, panicked very easily. And with the advent of the fall which was very wet that year, the life in the unlighted bunker, in a fearful and unfriendly forest, especially during very long and dark nights, became unbearable. Shulim and his daughters became dominated by an irresistible fear. On their plea, one of the village elders came to the bunker every evening and stayed with the Arbeits the whole night, but this helped but little. The Arbeits were dominated by a profound depression. One day they disappeared. The shepherd who had brought them food, returned home with a full jug. Shulim Arbeit and his two minor daughters were not able to stand it any longer; they broke down and reported voluntarily to the Gestapo in Balyhorod. All were shot instantly. And behind, in the village, they left a sincere grief and a genuine pity for them.

Signed: ALEXANDER HLADYSHOVSKY

TESTIMONY

BY PETRO PYASETSKY

In the years 1935 to 1944, I was living in Yaktoriv serving, first, as the manager of the Capitular Estates of the Greek-Catholic Metropolis in Lviv—the Estates Yaktoriv-Univ—and, then, during the war

as the chief forester of the Yaktoriv state division of forestry. It was situated on the territory of the Peremyshlany and Zolochiv counties of the province of Ternopil, and on the territory of the Bibrka county of the province of Lviv.

Before I pass to my testimony, I want to make the following statement: At the time of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, during World War II, the Jews were spontaneously helped by the Ukrainian people. It was not only those individual Ukrainians who are mentioned by the Ukrainian press from time to time, and not only Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who were saving the Jews, but the entire Ukrainian people were saving them. And the Jews were saved by the Ukrainians on all Ukrainian lands not for the reason of a special Ukrainian love for Jews, but because the Ukrainians are among the most humane people to be found in the world. The Ukrainian people have profound religious feelings and always act in accordance with Christian principles.

Of course, this statement does not mean that there were no dregs of Ukrainian nationality who surrendered Jews to the Nazis or helped the Nazi Gestapo men to ferret out the Jewish hiding-places, but these were only exceptions. Each nationality has dregs of its own, not excluding the Jewish nationality. So, e. g., in Peremyshlany, a Jewish "policeman" (the Jewish police was organized by the Nazis for service in the ghettos) pulled out his own relative by the hair from the basement where the Jews were hiding in order to deliver her over to the Gestapo.

Now for my testimony proper.

On April 9, 1955, I related in the daily *Svoboda* about events which, now, I shall review and describe in more detail.

As one of many Ukrainian chief foresters in the Western Ukrainian provinces, I was a direct witness to all these events which took place in our forests (they took place everywhere, and not only in my forestry), but also as their co-author I was partly responsible for them. I and the whole forestry service (foresters, superintendents) were responsible to our conscience, to the people, and to the whole civilized world for the safety of all those hunted and persecuted people who in the forest looked for protection from the dangers of the savage and cruel times of the 20th century. However, we were also accountable to the "security services" of all those horrible regimes which rolled over our lands at the time of World War II. The forest served as a refuge not only for our revolutionaries-patriots of the UPA, but also for the fugitives from Soviet and Nazi prisoners of war camps, and all other persecuted people. An important role

was played by the Ukrainian forest as a shelter for a great number of the Jews persecuted at the time of the Nazi occupation.

The Yaktoriv state division of forestry comprised 4 forestry regions with a size of 9,000 hectares. Its forests were situated among 36 villages and 5 townlets of the Peremyshlany, Zolochiv, and Bibrka counties. Of 4 foresters, 3 were Ukrainians and 1 was a Pole. All 4 forestry trainees were Ukrainians. Out of 32 forest superintendents, there were 28 Ukrainians and 4 Poles. The population was 70 per cent Ukrainian. In 3 forestry regions less suitable for hiding, there were living over 200 Jews; in one with excellent conditions for hiding, some 1,500 Jews found shelter. They all succeeded in surviving the dangerous times. It must be added here that in the Univ Monastery of the Studite Fathers, which was situated amidst the forests of my division, an additional 150 Jews found shelter.

The entire forestry personnel helped the Jewish sufferers in every possible way and in no event caused any harm to come to them. One of the foresters, Mr. Ivan Vakhuta who is now living in New York City, supplied the group of the Jews in the bunker with food, bringing it with his own horses. He did it disinterestedly. In the forestry region where 1,500 Jews were hiding, the forester was a true guardian of the Jews, their father, commander, and the intermediary between them and the outside world. In a word, this forester was for his Jews everything, and he did everything also disinterestedly. Out of these 1,500 Jews, many were armed and even the cartridges were supplied the Jews by this Ukrainian forester. I can give his name, but only confidentially, in case of necessity. He is living in Ukraine.

All foresters kept the Jews informed about the movements of the Gestapo and about any imminent dangers to individual bunkers.

It must be emphasized that in the villages of Yaktoriv, Kurovychi, and Latske there were Jewish concentration camps with Gestapo guards. One morning around 7:00 A.M. some 100 Gestapo men and German gendarmes came to my place and ordered me to show them into the forest where they wanted to round up all "illegal" inhabitants of the forest. I immediately called the forest superintendent who was on duty at the forestry division's building and asked him to run to the Yaktoriv forestry with rush orders: Before I take the lead of the German raiding party, to clear the forest region of Jews and partisans. I told him that I would lead the raiding party into the region of "Zasady" and into the community forest. Luckily enough I could myself select the region of the forest which could have been dangerous from the German point of view. On the "Dekhtyarky," half a kilometer behind the skirmish line I formed from

the German raiding party, there was a Jewish bunker with 19 Jews from the village of Lahodiv. One of the girls who was in the bunker, by the name of Sosa (I do not recall her surname), is now living in the U.S.A., according to my information.

We crossed the selected region in a skirmish line but found nobody with the exception of wood-cutters. I was congratulated by the Germans for the order in the forest, and the whole affair ended with a banquet which lasted until 4 A. M. If they had found the Jews in the forest, I would have been held responsible for not reporting the Jews to the Gestapo. The forester, who had cleared the forest before the raiding party came in, is now living in New York City, and his name is Eugene Liudkevych. I believe we both shall remember this day until our last day because death really threatened us both on this day.

To prove the veracity of my statements, I call as witnesses all those living in the mentioned counties of Galicia at that time and who now live in the U.S.A. or anywhere else outside Ukraine. Of course, both mentioned foresters now living in New York City can confirm my statements, too. I know one Jew who survived in the forests of the Yaktoriv state division of forestry, and who now is in the U.S.A. His name is Jacob Feld, also known as "Yanek." I do not have his address, but his relatives are now living somewhere in Jamaica (they are Charlie Feld and Jack Feld, both known in the firm "Progressive Demolition Co.").

My family and my servants helped the Jews directly, too. The building of the Yaktoriv state forestry division was situated at the end of the forest, and often the Jews came in for some food or clothing. One of the Jewish girls who came almost every day was Clara Katz, the daughter of the Yaktoriv inn-keeper, Leib Katz. One evening when the visiting Gestapo man was sitting in my dining room, we heard somebody knocking at the door of the porch late at night. My wife and I exchanged looks, knowing who the belated guest was. Our Gestapo man jumped up and wanted to grab his rifle, but I "jokingly" seated him by force on the chair. My wife went out on the porch and it was difficult to convince Clara that she could not be received this evening. Having returned from the porch, my wife told the Gestapo man that it was my driver who asked for orders for the next day as he wanted to feed the horses and to prepare everything for the journey.

The reader of this testimony may imagine what would have happened to the Jewish girl and to all of us if the Gestapo man had not obeyed me and had gone to the porch. I must add that Clara was hiding at the house of the forest superintendent, Volo-

dymyr Stefaruk, which was situated amidst the forest. I had many similar situations, which always ended for me quite happily. Clara survived the Nazi occupation, but I do not know what happened to her when the Bolsheviks came to the village in July, 1944, because I had already left for the West.

As long as it was possible, I kept the Jews as workers in my yard and in the forest. The work in the forests was regarded by the Germans as "Kriegswichtiges Betrieb," i. e., as work important for the war effort. However, later, an ordinance was issued by the Germans which forbade employing Jews for such work. Then all the Jews who were on my payroll went into hiding in the forest. The nurse of my sons, who were small children at that time, Olenka Bilous, now living in Canada, can testify about the aid my family and I extended to the Jews.

It is obvious that without the protection of the foresters and of the entire people, the Jews would not have been able to keep hiding for a long time; if the attitude of the populace towards the Jews had been unfavorable or even "neutral," not one Jew could have survived in the forest. Thus, e. g., many shepherds who pastured herds of cattle in the forest or the forestry laborers from the neighboring villages knew about each Jewish bunker in the forest. Many brought the Jews food from the villages. Any of them could have betrayed the Jews to the Gestapo but this, however, did not happen.

In this fact we see the best proof that the whole Ukrainian people helped the Jews to survive the disaster, directly or indirectly. The forester was personally responsible to the Gestapo for the existence of all these bunkers and hiding places of the hunted people in the forest. For lack of reports on the people hiding in the forest, the Polish police, the Bolshevik NKVD (1939-1941), and the Nazi Gestapo (1941-1944) threatened the foresters with death.

The Ukrainian forester had to utilize all his life experience and skill to adjust to his duties as a Ukrainian patriot and an honest man to his duties as a "state servant," and to survive all the horrors of such an adjustment by himself. For all the acts he performed in the name of humanity, the forester was threatened by death every day and at any hour. Indeed, many foresters did perish by fulfilling their dangerous duties.

The Yaktoriv forestry division was one of many, which in the same way sheltered the Jews and all the persecuted people in their thickets. The Yaktoriv forestry division was not an exception on the Ukrainian lands.

New York, February 17, 1963. (forestry engineer, former Chief of the Yaktoriv State Division of Forestry in the Ukrainian forests).

Signed: PETRO PYASETSKY

The signature by the own hand of Mr. Petro Pyasetsky was certified on February 19, 1963, by Anthony Shumeyko, Public Notary in his Manhattan Office in New York City.

The Committee of the United Organizations in New York City, U. S.A. certifies that Mr. Petro Pyasetsky, forestry engineer, is a resident of New York City, and has been known to the Committee in Western Ukraine as an outstanding and respectable Ukrainian citizen.

Chairman—Ivan Bazarko, M. A. (LS); Secretary—Lev Pryshlak (LS), February 20, 1963, City of New York. Sample of the certification by the Notary Public:

This is to certify, that John Wachuta, appeared before me on this 1st day of May, 1963, that he is personally known to me, and duly acknowledged that he executed and signed the foregoing document.

Vera Shumeyko, Notary Public, State of New York. No. 41-8983250, Qualified in Queens County. Cert. filed with New York Co. Clerk. Term expires March 30, 1964.

Notary Public

VERA SHUMEYKO

TESTIMONY

BY YAROSLAVA FOROVYCH

The events about which I want to testify took place in the vicinity of the town of Bolekhiv in Galicia, Western Ukraine, at the end of 1943 or in the beginning of 1944. At that time I was living in the village of Cholhany, but on weekends I used to go to Bolekhiv, where I had lived for a long time.

In Cholhany, I worked with the "Liegenschaft" (State Land Estate) which was under German management but, unofficially, was under the management of the Ukrainian partisans. So, e. g., the crops of grain were taken by first one and then the other.

With intensification of the Ukrainian partisan warfare which paralyzed the activities of the German administration as well as the supply system of the German army, the times became truly oppressive, filled with poverty and fear of arrests and shootings which became an everyday experience not only for our people, but also for the Jews whom the Germans annihilated in the mass.

At that time the Jews did not live a free life any more; they were moved to the ghettos, and then they disappeared, being continually deported to destinations unknown then either by us or by the Jews.

TRAGEDY IN THE VILLAGE OF HUZIIYIV, COUNTY OF DOLYNA

The village of Huziyiv is situated between the town of Bolekhiv and the village of Cholhany. I witnessed a tragedy about which I want to testify.

There was a mill in the village owned by a Ukrainian by the name of Kulak (it is his surname; I do not recall his first name). In the mill 11 Jews (maybe 10) from the town of Bolekhiv found shelter.

Kulak was a Ukrainian peasant, married, and the father of children. In addition, his brother worked with him in the mill.

The Kulaks hid the Jews in the cellar under the barn. I do not know how long the Jews had stayed there.

At that time the Germans ordered dismantling of the houses evacuated by the Jewish families from Bolekhiv. One Jew from among those hidden in the Kulaks' cellar went at night to his Bolekhiv house, probably to take something that was lying concealed there. The police seized him or followed his trail to the mill. All the Jews hiding in the cellar were shot on the spot by the Germans while the Kulak family, excluding the children, was taken to the city of Striy. There they were shot in the market-place before the assembled people.

Thus, in spite of a German decree which forbade aiding the Jews under punishment by death, the example of the Kulak family shows that there were people risking their own lives to aid the Jews. The Kulak children are now living in Ukraine.

BAPTIZED JEWISH GIRLS

In the village of Cholhany there lived two baptized Jewish girls; I do not know when they were baptized. I would meet them quite often at the house of our parish-priest, Rev. Zubrytsky. They were dressed like peasant girls, made an appearance rarely, but, sometimes, they would visit their friends. All the people in the village of Cholhany and in the neighboring villages knew them as they grew up in this vicinity and, maybe, they were even born there. I do not know their names because I did not know them even at that time.

One may not wonder about their survival, because they had been baptized. To this I must say that for the Gestapo such a matter had not the slightest significance. The same punishment was meted

out by the Gestapo to baptized Jews as to those who had sheltered them.

THE UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—A HIDING
PLACE FOR THE JEWS

While visiting Bolekhiv on weekends, I learned that the Ukrainian Cooperative Association in Bolekhiv had also become a shelter for the Jews, but I do not know how many Jews were hidden there or who they were. The Cooperative Association had its own building which was also permanently occupied by the manager, by the name of Tymkiv as I recall. He was warned in time by someone from the Ukrainian auxiliary police that the Germans suspected him of hiding Jews, and he was able to escape as a laborer to Germany. The Jews also had to flee. I know that they were not seized at that time, but I do not know what happened to them later on. I do not know about the whereabouts of Mr. Tymkiv.

Here, in the United States, in New York City, we met, i. e., my uncle Taras Simkiv and some Jews from the Drohobych province of Galicia. They have a store in our neighborhood. His name is Moses Diamond. Once he told Mr. Taras Simkiv that the name of the man who had saved his life was inscribed on the door. It was the commander of the Ukrainian auxiliary police, Makar Matsiuk, and he was shot by the Nazis. Mr. Moses Diamond wrote a card and gave it to Mr. Taras Simkiv. I enclose it with my testimony.

ATTITUDE OF THE UKRAINIAN POLICE

One night, the Ukrainian auxiliary police from Bolekhiv left their posts, and to a man joined the Ukrainian partisans.

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*

In addition to Mr. Taras Simkiv and myself, there are several persons from our vicinity in the U.S.A., who would be able to add some details to my testimony and, simultaneously, to confirm that at the mentioned time I was truly living in the village of Cholhany or in the twon of Bolekhiv.

At the same time I want to emphasize that I do not recall these events in order to re-open old sores; my purpose is to prove that horrible accusations made against our people in inhumanely dealing with the Jewish people have only been hostile propaganda which harms both one and the other.

Neither is my testimony a display of a hostile attitude towards the German people; to prove the contrary I want to recall two instances.

A German, Mr. Lado Nardina from Austria, was the manager of a small tannery in Bolekhiv. He was not a party-man. In the beginning of 1944, the Gestapo arrested Rev. Zubrytsky, Mr. Taras Simkiv, one teacher, and one peasant, all from the village of Cholhany, on charges of cooperation with the partisans. It was truly with great difficulty that Mr. Nardina was able to snatch them out of the Gestapo's hands. At that time, nobody was released from prison; the people were either shot or hanged without trial as retribution for the activities of the partisans. We learned from the large Gestapo announcements affixed to the walls of the houses in Bolekhiv who would be shot or had already been shot.

Another German, Mr. Bote (I do not recall his first name) was the manager of several "Liegenschaften" (State Land Estates). He knew about the cooperation of the Cholhany "Liegenschaft" with the partisans. His report to the German authorities would cause enormous sacrifices, but he refrained from reporting. In his conversations with us, Mr. Bote condemned everything that happened at that time and openly showed his hostility to Hitler's regime. He was of German origin.

Signed: YAROSLAVA FOROVYCH

The signature by the own hand of Mrs. Yaroslava Forovych was certified on May 31, 1962, by Philip Meltzer, Notary Public in his Bronx office of New York City.

The Committee of the United Ukrainian Organizations in New York City, U.S.A., which has been acting as branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, certifies herewith that Mrs. Yaroslava Forovych, a Ukrainian, as well as Mr. Taras Simkiv have been well known to the Committee as fully trustworthy persons. Mrs. Yaroslava Forovych as well as her uncle, Mr. Taras Simkiv, have been living in New York City. The Committee certifies, too, that Mr. Moses Diamond has also been living in New York City where he owns a grocery. The Committee also certifies that a message, transmitted by Mr. Moses Diamond, had been written by his own hand. On 27th day of February, 1962, City of New York.

Chairman of the United Ukrainian Organizations of New York City, Secretary of the Committee—Ivan Bazarko, M. A. (LS).

The contents of the message transmitted by Mr. Moses Diamond to Mr. Taras Simkiv. The original was written in Ukrainian, but in

Latin letters. February 26, 1962, Branch of the UCCA in New York, N.Y.

TESTIMONY BY MOSES DIAMOND

New York.—May 27, 1962. *My testimony for the Ukrainian Congress Committee in New York.* I, Moses Diamond, was living in Boryslav, county of Drohobych, during the horrible times of the total destruction of the Jewish people by the Germans (1941-1944).

By this way I want to thank some Ukrainians who tried to help me. There was a time that I was going around without an armband which we were ordered to carry on the sleeve, and nobody pointed out at me with his finger but, on the contrary, often gave me bread. Especially, I want to thank Makar (I do not recall his surname), the commander of the Ukrainian police who helped me to reach freedom, though this was not the end of my tragedy at that time.

Simultaneously, I have been very grateful to Mr. Matsiuk (I do not recall his first name) and the family Postoyko, who sheltered me and helped with food.

I still wish to mention the mother of Vepryk who once intervened for me with her son.

Living in Boryslav, not far from the village of Nahuyevychi where the family of the Ukrainian writer, Ivan Franko, had been living, I knew that they had sheltered the Jews and helped them.

(By his own hand) : MOSES DIAMOND

The signature by the own hand of Mr. Moses Diamond was certified on May 31, 1962, by Philip Meltzer, the Public Notary in his Bronx office of New York City.

TESTIMONY BY DR. M. SHKILNYK

Writing about an episode, the authenticity of which is upheld by the Jewish United HIAS Service in Tel Aviv (Israel), I'm hoping that the described act of mercy will be a contributing factor toward the clarification of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. The episode described

here is not unique. There are hundreds and even thousands of such instances. The attitude of the population of Western Ukraine was one of opposition toward the mass anti-Jewish actions of hostility. The sympathy of the Ukrainians was with the suffering Jewish population.

Despite the cruelty and terrorism of the Hitler regime, beginning with our Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky and ending with the average man, the Jewish population had the moral and material support of all classes of the Ukrainian population. As is evident from the martyred death of the late Rev. Emilian Kovch, this sympathy for the Jewish population required great, in fact heroic, efforts and sacrifice.

It is, therefore, necessary to point out with bitterness that leading Jewish circles and the Jewish press fail to recognize this and continue to maintain an attitude of enmity toward the Ukrainian people, their efforts towards independence, and their heroes and national leaders.

The Great Rabbi—as he was called by the Jewish people—was Aaron Rokach—the Rabbi of Belz (Western Ukraine), descendant of a very old family of rabbis. He was known not only in Western Ukraine but in the entire Jewish world. The Orthodox Jews worshipped him almost like a God; in Belz he was visited by great personages not only of the Jewish world, but also of the Christian world, among them members of royal families.

The Jewish population went to him for advice in the most important family matters and in political problems, and they followed his advice very closely. He had wider fame and enjoyed greater confidence than any other rabbi—greater even than that of the Rabbi of Lviv, who was rescued by the late Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky.

I do not know exactly when the physically weak rabbi resettled in the city of Peremyshlany—but I think it was near the end of the first Soviet occupation, for at that time many Jews (about 1,200), fleeing before the advance of the German Army into Ukraine, came to this city. The arrival and residence of this rabbi was kept in the greatest secrecy. I learned of it only after I had become the mayor of Peremyshlany, the city where for 17 years I had served on the judicial bench and, thanks to the Providence of God, I was the only judge to survive the NKVD terror of the first occupation.

Immediately after the entry of the German army into the city on July 1, 1941, the mass grave in which 39 murdered leading Ukrainians from the Peremyshlany district had been buried the night before was opened. After the mutilated bodies had been exhumed and legal and medical investigations completed, the heat made it neces-

sary to rebury the bodies immediately. To do this permission was required from the local military commander. After midnight of July 2nd, I, together with Father E. Kovch received this permission. The German general used this occasion to pressure me into accepting the duties of the mayor. Although fully aware of what heavy responsibilities would confront me in this position, I finally accepted.

About a week after the arrival of the German army, as I was sitting in my legal chambers, S. Hishchynsky, the secretary of the municipal council, burst in upon me about noon in obvious terror and told me that the Jewish quarters were ablaze and that anti-Jewish *pogroms* had commenced. Stunned by this incredible information, I prepared to go to the site of the trouble only to have the secretary bar my path, saying, "I will not let you go—the German soldiers have spread gasoline over all four of the synagogues, set fire to them and are now snatching Jews and throwing them into the conflagration and inciting the worst elements of the population to physical attack upon the Jews. If you interfere with the acts of the German soldiers you will not help matters but will only succeed in exposing yourself to great danger."

I am briefly mentioning this episode because the son of the Rabbi of Belz perished in this *pogrom*—he was thrown alive into the burning synagogue. This was a tragic blow to the rabbi—because this was the only descendant to keep unbroken the rabbinical line which had stretched over many generations.

A few days later a Jewish delegation came to see me. From it I first learned that the Rabbi of Belz was in Peremyshlany—and of the death of his son. It also informed me that an armed band had entered the dwelling of the rabbi, looting it completely, taking even an antique silver and gold ritual religious object, a mink coat, underclothing, bedding and other items, and that similar thievery was taking place in the city more and more often. Disturbed by this unpleasant report, I immediately summoned the commander of the city police. I reprimanded him sharply for his failure to keep law and order in spite of the fact that he commanded armed police and, under the threat of dismissing his force if he failed, I ordered him to recover the belongings of the rabbi. Within 24 hours the police returned all the rabbi's belongings to me and I returned them to him.

The plight of the Jewish population became more tragic by the day: a Jewish Council (*Judenrat*) and Jewish police—strictly under the jurisdiction of the Gestapo—were created, frequent monetary contributions were requested, household belongings were confiscated, forced labor was established, the strongest Jews were removed to concentration camps, the Ghetto was established. Famine, epidemics,

executions—all this created great fear, a hell which even Dante could not describe. Here I must state that both the Ukrainian as well as the Polish population of the city sympathized deeply with the suffering of the Jews and showed many acts of mercy and sacrifice; and one must remember that aid to Jews was punishable by death or confinement in the concentration camps—in other words, a slow martyred death.

In the midst of such circumstances a delegation representing the rabbi and the entire Jewish population once again came to see me and asked that I try to save the life only of the rabbi—his family would share the fate of the other Jews. Upon some reflection I told the delegation that I could not do this; they themselves were well aware of the consequences for me should it become known that I hid a rabbi. I stated that I deeply sympathized with the tragic position of the Jewish population and the problem of the rabbi of Belz perplexed me deeply. I could give no other answer to a delegation consisting of a number of people because of the importance of the question and the need for secrecy.

However, the desire to rescue the rabbi haunted me in spite of the knowledge of the great risk to my family and myself should I try to do so. Walking down the street I noticed an empty three-story building (three buildings away from my home) with an attic apartment; its inhabitants had been transferred to the Ghetto. It struck me that this attic dwelling would be a good hiding place for the rabbi.

The city council employed a single Jew, A. Zilber, an electrician who was very trustworthy and cooperative. He was the only Jewish expert who had escaped liquidation and was preserved almost like a showpiece. I summoned him and told him that I was designating the mentioned building as a storage place for electrical equipment and that he would be exclusively responsible for the whole building. I ordered that an appropriate billboard be hung at the entrance doors and told him he could station someone in the attic quarters to serve as a watchman against theft. The electrician surmised whom I had in mind. He fulfilled my orders well and served as a good liaison between the “arrested” rabbi and the outside world.

After some time I decided to visit the rabbi and make his acquaintance. I entered his quarters after midnight and we greeted each other cordially. The rabbi thanked me for my assistance but was greatly depressed by the sorrow which had befallen him and the Jewish population. He spoke little—but eagerly listened to my report of the contemporary local and world situation.

One day at the end of August, 1942, my wife phoned me to come home because a high-ranking officer of an unknown army had arrived in front of my home in an elegant car and wanted to have an important but private talk with me. At home I found a Hungarian colonel who told me that on the authorization of the Minister of Defense in Budapest he had a certain mission to perform but that he would talk about this to me "only eye to eye."

When we were alone the Colonel asked me whether I could point out to him the dwelling of the a rabbi of Belz and arrange for a talk with him. For a minute I remained silent. The thought flashed through my mind that this was a bit of Gestapo provocation and that the end had come for both the rabbi and myself. I answered finally that I knew of no rabbi and did not know if any such person resided in the city. However, I did say that I could name a person who might possibly know of such things and perhaps this person could establish contact with the rabbi.

In a few days the electrician notified me that the rabbi wanted me to visit him. I complied with this request and found the rabbi in a much better frame of mind than before, he was calmer and talked freely. He offered me dried fruit and good Tokay wine: all this he had received from the Hungarian Jews through this colonel. He had been supplied with money and food to such an extent that I no longer had to provide him with food. We sincerely bade each other farewell, not realizing that this was our last meeting.

Not long after, the electrician brought me the news that at night two Gestapo officers had taken the rabbi into a car and out of the city—where he did not know. For a few months I was confronted by the riddle as to whether the rabbi had been liquidated by the Gestapo or taken away so that his life could be spared. The mystery was clarified when one autumn evening in 1943 an elegant lady whom I recognized as the rabbi's sister or cousin, visited me. From her I learned that the Rabbi had been taken to Bokhnia near Cracow where he still resided—but that recently his stay there was becoming unsafe and that he would like to return to Peremyshlany under my guardianship. I explained to her that this was impossible, that the Ghetto had been liquidated some time ago, that all of the living quarters were occupied, and that the trustworthy repairman had shared the fate of all other Jews. I advised her that with the help of the Hungarian Jews the rabbi might be taken to Hungary.

A few years later I received news from Israel that the Great Rabbi had successfully made the trip from Bokhnia to Budapest and from there to the "Promised Land"—independent Israel. After a number of perilous years, I found myself in free Canada.

Chapter III

UKRAINIAN STATE DOCUMENTS

I

DECREE OF THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT ON ASSIGNING A BUDGET TO THE MINISTRY FOR JEWISH AFFAIRS

Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv
(Journal of State Laws), August 15, 1919.

*Ordinance Concerning the Assignment of 11,460,000 hryvnas to the
Minister for Jewish Affairs for the Purpose of Assisting the Poor
Jewish population in the Cities and Places Affected by Pogroms.*

The Minister for Jewish Affairs is to be assigned from the State Treasury 11,460,000 (eleven million four hundred and sixty thousand) *hryvnas* for the purpose of assisting the poor Jewish population in the cities and places affected by *pogroms*. The carrying out of this Ordinance is to be ordered by wire.

President of the Cabinet Council: ----- (signed) B. MARTOS.
Minister for Jewish Affairs: ----- (signed) P. KRASNY

II

DECREE OF THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING POGROMS IN UKRAINE (No. 171)

August 18, 1919.

(Record of the Proceedings No. 171)

The Cabinet Council, after hearing the report of the Minister for Jewish Affairs, Mr. P. A. Krasny, on the situation as it appeared in connection with the anti-Jewish *pogroms* in Ukraine—particularly in Kiev—and in connection with the reaction of public opinion abroad, resolves as follows:

The Ukrainian and Jewish peoples both of whom work at the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, find themselves in the face of the common enemies who are trying to sow discord and anarchy in order to destroy the Ukrainian Republic which they hate. For this purpose your enemies organize *pogroms*, spin provocative news about *pogroms* in Ukraine so as to exploit them for their imperialistic objectives and to attain mastery over the Ukrainian people—with the help of the Polish ruling classes, or of the Denikin reactionaries. In deliberately lying and provocative reports they are changing arbitrarily

* *Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of the Revolution (1917-1921)*. The Ukrainian Information Bureau, Munich, Germany, 1956, pp. 65-72.

the places of the *pogroms* which are arranged in Ukraine by the Bolsheviks and by the reactionary clique who are in close connection with Denikin's and Polish reactionary circles' secret plans. In mendacious publications and in public letters addressed to the leading representatives of European countries, all these happenings are charged to the account of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, although its aim it is to suppress vigorously all *pogroms*.

In view of the fact that such provocations and aims of the Polish and Denikin reactionaries endanger the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian Republic as well as the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Ukraine, the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic has set itself the most urgent task of doing away with all possibility of provocations, *pogroms* or other excesses, and of calling to account all persons hostile to the Ukrainian State, who are doing the treacherous *pogrom* work in Ukraine.

The Government has decided:

1. To make at once a proposal to the Commander-in-Chief, Petlura, that he issue an order by which all commanders of the respective bodies of troops, from the lowest to the highest ones, would be called to account for negligence and tolerating *pogrom* excesses, and that they would be immediately arrested as traitors and handed over to a special court-martial which would impose upon them the severest penalty, *including the death sentence*.

2. To issue an order in the name of the Government and in the name of the Commander-in-chief to the Ukrainian partisans on the others side of the battlefield that they also 1. should take a vigorous action against the instigators of *pogroms*, 2. fight against particular treacherous *pogrom* bands and annihilate them—always remembering that the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic does not tolerate *pogroms* on its victorious march and inflicts the severest punishment upon all the guilty ones.

3. To appoint immediately a special government commission with extensive powers of investigating *pogroms* and of combating them; the said commission to be composed of one representative from the following offices: The Commander-in-Chief, the Inspector General, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the Minister for Jewish Affairs. The Commission should proceed at once to the frontline to the area of liberated cities and other places of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Commander-in-Chief should be advised to order an authorization with full powers to the Commission.

4. Through inspections, the bodies of troops and the commissioners of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic should be informed about the foreign provocative work of the enemies of the Ukrainian Republic, who exploit the *pogrom* excesses for their own purposes.

5. By means of a special report from the Prime Minister, to inform the Directorate of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic of this Decree, and to manifest the Government's firm determination and effort in the direction of removing completely any possibility of *pogroms* in Ukraine.

6. To issue an appropriate proclamation of the government to the people.

7. The Minister for Press and Information should initiate an intensive campaign against *pogrom* arrangers; inform the foreign press and foreign public about the actual state of affairs, and protest against the outrageous slandering of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

8. The Minister of Justice should at once take steps that all those who are guilty of *pogrom* excesses, i. e., those who already have been arrested as

well as those who may be arrested, should be handed over to a special court.

9. This Decree is to be made public.

(Ukraina, August 21, 1919.)

III

ORDER OF THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMY CONCERNING POGROMS IN UKRAINE (Order of the Day No. 131, August 26, 1919)

Officers and Soldiers!

It is time for you to realize that the Jews together with the majority of the Ukrainian population have recognized the evil of the Bolshevik-Communist invasion, and know already where the truth lies. The most important Jewish parties, such as: "Bund," "United Jewish Socialists," "Poalei-Zion" and "People's Party," have decidedly placed themselves on the side of the Ukrainian independent state and are working together hand-in-hand for its good.

It is time for you to understand that the peaceful Jewish population, their children and women, the same as ourselves have been oppressed and deprived of national freedom. They cannot be alienated from us, they have of old been always with us and they have shared with us their joys and sorrows.

The gallant army which brings brotherhood, equality, and freedom to all peoples of Ukraine should not be lending an ear to various adventurers and provocateurs who long for human blood. Likewise, the Army should not be a party in bringing a hard lot on the Jews. Whoever is guilty of permitting such a heavy crime, is a traitor and enemy of the country and must be thrust out of human society.

Officers and soldiers! The whole world cannot but admire our heroic deeds in the struggle for freedom. Do not stain those deeds—not even accidentally—by disgraceful actions and do not bring down burning shame upon our state in the face of the whole world. Our many enemies, external as well as internal, are already profiting by the pogroms; they are pointing their fingers at us and inciting against us saying that we are not worthy of an independent national existence and that we deserve to be again forcefully harnessed to the yoke of slavery.

I, your Commander-in Chief, tell you that this very moment the question of to be or not to be for our independent existence is being decided before the International Tribunal.

Officers and soldiers! The judgment on this question rests in your hands, so decide it by showing an armed fist against our enemies, remembering always that a clean cause demands clean hands. Be sure that a severe and lawful punishment by a people's court will overtake all enemies of our country; but remember also that vengeance—often the result of want of careful consideration—is not the way of the Ukrainian Kozaks. I most positively order that all those who are instigating you to *pogroms* be thrust out of the army, and as traitors to the fatherland be handed over to the court. Let the court punish them according to their crimes by giving them the severest lawful penalty.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic recognizing the harm done to the state by the *pogroms* has issued an appeal to the whole population of Ukraine to withstand all attempts of the enemies who might arouse it to anti-Jewish *pogroms*.

I command the whole army to obey this appeal and to provide for its widest dissemination among comrades-in-arms and among the population.

This Army Order is to be read to all divisions, brigades, regiments, garrisons and squadrons of the Dnieper and Dniester armies as well as the partisan detachments.

The Commander-in-Chief: -----PETLURA.

The Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander: -----YUNAKIV.

IV

APPEAL OF PETLURA TO THE UKRAINIAN ARMY

Soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

The Ukrainian Republican People's Army of the Dnieper and Dniester territories, now united into one army, is advancing victoriously, is crushing the enemy, gaining each day new territories of Ukraine to liberate them from the Bolshevik brigands, bringing with them freedom to the Ukrainian people as well as the certainty of happy days of living in a peaceful and orderly state.

The Bolshevik anarchy and maladministration, the horrible Red terror, the tyranny of the extraordinary inquiry commission and of other criminals for whom there is nothing sacred in life—have sapped our people's strength to the utmost and have flooded our steppes with human tears and with streams of blood of the innocent.

Amidst a peal of church bells, with bread and salt, with flowers and tears of joy the weary, oppressed and pillaged Ukrainian people are greeting you, their valiant warriors, as liberators from the yoke and from Bolshevik atrocities, as flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood.

A mighty national enthusiasm has seized our people at your entry into villages and towns, and everywhere a festive reception is awaiting you—and all this has been brought about by you, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

You are living now through glorious and never to be forgotten moments of your life, and together with you all peoples inhabiting the Ukrainian territory are experiencing the same enthusiasm.

The holy crusade for the liberation of the oppressed, regardless of their nationality, for the rule of law and order under freedom and democracy and the independence of our republic—these are the ideals in this struggle.

The union of all democratic forces of all nationalities in Ukraine, standing for the independence of our Republic, and their participation in the reconstruction of the state will warrant our victory over our enemies, and will guarantee to us an independent life subject to no one.

Our enemies, however, are not sleeping but only watching our every step in order to sow discord among us in one way or another, and thus to frustrate the immediate realization of our people's efforts.

The Bolsheviks themselves consider Ukraine Moscow's inheritance—with the difference that formerly it was the heritage of black Moscow, now of a Red one.

They see that the end of their rule in Ukraine is already approaching because the Ukrainian people themselves have risen against them: but they do not give up yet their hope of subjugating the Ukrainian masses. By provocations for which they are spending enormous sums of money they want to divide

us from within, hiring criminal elements who are inciting our soldiers to all sorts of outrages and *pogroms* against the innocent Jewish population; in this way they want to stamp our soldiers as *pogrom*-mongers, although these soldiers are bringing liberty to all peoples of Ukraine.

Our enemies intend thus to split the Ukrainian and Jewish laboring masses whose ways, in fact, have been bound together by three hundred years of Russian Czarist yoke.

Our national army must bring equality, brotherhood and freedom to the Ukrainian as well as the Jewish citizens who are also supporting actively the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. All their parties, i. e.: "Bund," "Obyednantsi," "Poalei-Zion" and People's Party are standing on the principles of the independence of Ukraine, and are participating in the reconstruction of the republic.

I know myself how the representatives of the Jewish population have helped our army and supported our legal republican government.

The enemies of our state, the Bolsheviks, are shooting down not only the Ukrainian but also the Jewish people, depriving the others of the barest means of living.

I have the highest esteem for the sacrifices made during this war upon the altar of the fatherland by the Jewish population.

From the reports by the commanders of our brave divisions and corps as well as from reports by State Inspectors I have already learned that the Jewish population brought help to our wounded and sick soldiers, in the hospitals which had been built hastily 3-5 kilometers behind the battlefronts.

I have been touched deeply by tears of thankfulness in the eyes of our soldiers for the loving care and human aid given them by Jews, and I have noted with satisfaction how the soldiers of our army were standing guard at the shops and stores of Jews in order to protect them against plunderers.

The restoration of a bridge at Starokonstantyniv—which had been destroyed by the Bolsheviks—by the Jewish population in an exceedingly short time, as well as their help with foodstuffs and underwear testify also to the loyal conduct of Jews in relation to our army.

I am convinced and I ardently hope that in the future such help on the part of Jews will occur ever more frequently and that they will continue to further the cause of peace in our country.

The Minister for Jewish Affairs has by a series of measures already exercised some influence upon the Bolshevik circles of Jews so that many of them no longer support Bolshevism, since they consider it now to be their ruin.

Together with you I call upon the Jewish citizens to go with us and to support wholeheartedly our army and our government; then we shall be able to affirm that the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and you, its army, will finish that great responsible work which you are now doing—destroying the power of the Bolsheviks and building up our independent republic in which each nationality enjoys full rights and a peaceful life.

Officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army! The Ukrainian-Jewish laboring masses see in you their liberation, and future generations will not forget your services rendered to them; history will with pride record on its pages your achievements in this struggle. Beware of provocations, and have no mercy on provocateurs or on those who execute *pogroms*, or incite the weakest among you to this action.

Let the death sentence overtake the perpetrators of *pogroms* and provocateurs. I demand the strictest discipline from you so that not even a hair of an innocent's head be touched.

Bear in mind that you are the elite sons of your great nation which wants to live its independent life and to be subjugated by no one, and therefore keep an unflinching watch on its interests as well as on the interests of all those who help you and are well-disposed to you and to the liberation of your people.

Those who are guilty before the Ukrainian people and before the republic, no matter what their nationality, shall suffer the severest punishment according to law prevailing in the territory of the Ukrainian republic; to the innocent, however, you must bring liberation from the hated Bolshevik yoke.

The Republic's and my own cordial thanks to and high esteem for your martial bravery, devotion, and self-sacrifice which you offer upon the altar of the fatherland, while liberating our Ukraine and the nationalities living there—including the Jews—from the Bolsheviks!

May God help us in the great and sacred cause of liberating the nations from the heavy yoke of the Bolsheviks!

August 27, 1919

Commander-in-Chief: PETLURA.
(Ukraine, September 2, 1919.)

V

THE PERSONAL-NATIONAL AUTONOMY OF THE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN UKRAINE

Art. 1—Each nation living in Ukraine has the right to national-personal autonomy, within the limits of the Ukrainian National Republic, that is to say, the right to arrange its national life independently which is implemented by the organs of the National Union “whose power extends to all its members, wherever they may reside, but within the limits of the Ukrainian National Republic.” It is an imprescriptible right of each national minority and none of them can be deprived of their rights or limited in their application.

Art. 2—The Great Russians, Jews and Poles residing within the territories of the Ukrainian National Republic have the right to national-personal autonomy by the act of this law. The White Ruthenians, Czechs, Moldavians (Rumanians), Germans, Tartars, Greeks and the Bulgarians can take advantage of the right to national-personal autonomy on condition that the Supreme Court receives a special petition from each nationality signed by a least 10,000 citizens of the U.N.R. without distinction of sex and creed, who have no influence on these civic rights, and declaring that they belong to one of these nations. The Supreme Court must examine this petition at its public session within a period of six months from the date of its receipt and advise the General Secretary (Government of the State) of its decision and bring it to the notice of the people. The nationalities which are not mentioned in this article can present their petitions to the Parliament of the U.N.R. which will examine them.

Art. 3—For the execution of the right mentioned in Article 1 the citizens of the U.N.R. who belong to any of these nationalities in question organize on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic a National Union. For all the members of each National Union, personal lists will be made which will form a National Register published after its composition in order that all and every citizen has the right to demand his inscription in the National Register of such a nationality, as well as his exclusion, by making the declaration that he does not belong to such and such a nationality.

Art. 4—The National Union enjoys the legislative right and privilege within the limits of the departments established specifically in the order mentioned in Article 7 of this law. The National Union enjoys the exclusive right to represent the members of its nationality residing within the territories of the U.N.R. before the governmental and public institutions of the State. The laws enacted by the National Congress within the limits of the competence of each National Union (Article 9) must be published by the method generally adopted for laws.

Art. 5—Out of the general receipts of the U.N.R., as well as the autonomous local organs, a certain sum will be taken out of the budget, which the state places at the disposal of the National Union for the affairs which it directs and proportionately to the number of members of each National Union.

Art. 6—Each National Union will establish its annual budget and has the right to impose taxes on its members on the basis established for the taxation by the State in general. Each National Union has the right to raise loans on its own responsibility and to effect any other financial operations indispensable to assure its normal activity.

Art. 7—The domain of the affairs belonging to each National Union, its departments as well as the statutes of its administration, is determined by the Constituent Assemblies of each nation which at the same time defines the conditions whereby changes (modifications) can be effected. The resolutions adopted relative to the domain of the departments of the National Union are under the jurisdiction of the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or of its Parliament.

Remark—The dissensions which may arise from this act between the National Constituent Assembly and the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or its Parliament are solved by a special commission which is composed of an equal number of representatives of these two institutions. The decisions come to by this Conciliatory Commission go before the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or to its Parliament for definite confirmation.

Art. 8—The Constituent National Assembly is composed of members elected by universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret, with the application of a proportional principle for the representation of sex or of creed. The citizens of the U.N.R. belonging to the said nation who are aged 20 years or over have a vote.

Art. 9—The organs of each National Union are the organs of the State. The Supreme representative organ in each National Union is the National Assembly which is elected by the members of the said Union following the conditions fixed by Article 8 of this law. The Supreme Executive organ in each Union is the National *Rada* which is elected by the National Assembly and is responsible to it.

Art. 10—All discussions concerning the departments which can emerge among the organs of each National Union on the one hand and the Government organs, the local autonomous organs as well as the other National Unions, on the other hand, will be solved by an administrative Court.

Signed: Michael Hrushevsky, President of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Onatsky, Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Ivan Myrny, General Secretary of State.

(From: *The Official Herald of the U.N.R.*, dated April 12, 1918)

Chapter IV

UKRAINIAN-JEWISH DISCUSSION IN 'THE NEW YORK TIMES'

SOVIET ATTACK ON JUDAISM

USE OF TRACT TO IMPLY UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM DENOUNCED

TO THE EDITOR:

Your March 30 editorial "Anti-Semitism in the USSR" rightly rejects an ugly book, "Judaism Without Embellishment," by Trofim K. Kichko, published last October in Kiev by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. It appropriately scores recurring Soviet attacks on religion generally. I, too, regret these evidences of irreligion and anti-Semitism twenty years after Hitler's tragic program of persecution and extermination.

One passage in your editorial calls for comment. You write, "The partial recantation of the Ukrainian tract suggests that not everyone in authority in the USSR feels the same way." For some this may imply that Soviet authority in Moscow is beneficent and humane, whereas that in Kiev is savage and anti-Semitic. Such inference neglects important facts.

PLACING RESPONSIBILITY

The Ukrainian people as such are not, and were not historically, initiators of anti-Semitism. Like you, they do not wish to see responsibility parceled out indiscriminately, but placed where it belongs.

The Kremlin wished the book to appear in the Ukrainian language rather than in Russian. Hence, a "Ukrainian" author, Kichko, was drafted, and an allegedly Ukrainian institution of higher learning gave its blessing.

Nevertheless, over 90 per cent of footnotes in the book are from Russian authors and Russian-language sources. Of the two authors signing the preface, one, Andrey Vvedensky, was born in Perma, Russia, and is a Russian historian. The other signer, Grigori Plotkin, is a Ukrainian Jew, born in Odessa. He wrote "A Trip to Israel" (1958), a distorted anti-Semitic work.

Fortright condemnation by the Kremlin of such virulent anti-Semitism was in order. Only on April 3 did *Pravda* and *Izvestia* denounce Kichko's book, primarily for "historical and factual mistakes."

Communist puppets in Kiev have published attacks on Ukrainians generally. For instance, Luka Kizya, permanent delegate of the Ukrainian SSR to the U.N., in 1959 wrote a vitriolic book, "A Centuries-Long Struggle of the Ukrainian People Against the Vatican," deriding traditional Ukrainian religious customs and faith.

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky was portrayed in a film made in Kiev as a traitor, and his church a network of "Vatican spies." Yet Sheptytsky sheltered hundreds of Jews from Nazi police at risk to himself and his church. Dead since 1944, his cause is being processed in Rome for beatification.

FUTURE BONDS

Within recent years contacts between Jews and Ukrainians have multiplied. At joint conferences Jewish-Ukrainian relations and interests were assessed. Approximately one million Jews reside within Ukraine. Their future is bound with that of 42 million Ukrainians who also suffer a Communist tyranny supervised from Moscow.

The Kremlin, harassed by rumblings from Asia, is perturbed by harmonious relations between Jews and Ukrainians. Hence the book of Kichko, as well as other manifestations, including denial of matzohs, ridicule of circumcision and rabbis, frequent indictments of Jews for economic offenses and incessant clamor against "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" and Zionism.

Anti-Semitism remains a weapon which Moscow manipulates dexterously, as in the days of czarism. In the present case the weapon is turned not only against Jews, but against Ukrainians as well.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

Editor, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*,

New York, April 9, 1964.

(Courtesy: *The New York Times*,
Monday, April 13, 1964.)

ANTI-SEMITISM IN UKRAINE
RECORD OF NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, COLLABORATORS
WITH NAZIS CITED

The writer of the following, whose latest paper, "Ideology and History of Soviet Jewish Policy" has just been published, is author also of "Scapegoat of Revolution" and "The Kremlin, the Jews and the Middle East."

TO THE EDITOR:

It is too simple to allege, as Walter Dushnyck does on April 13, that the anti-Semitic book "Judaism Without Embellishment," published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, is a Moscow stratagem to disrupt "harmonious relations between Jews and Ukrainians." It is more realistic to assume an interaction between Kremlin bias and popular anti-Semitism in the Ukraine.

Since no people in its entirety should be indicted, Dr. Dushnyck may state without refutation that "the Ukrainian people as such, are not, and were not historically, initiators of anti-Semitism." However, this exemption does not apply to the Ukrainian nationalist movement, which from its earliest days, some four centuries ago, and to this day has had a lamentable record of anti-Semitism.

The two great heroes of Ukraine nationalism, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, leader of the uprising against Poland in the seventeenth century, and Simon Petlura, leader of Ukraine separatists in the civil war against Communism, were both guilty of horrendous massacres of thousands of Jews. Khmelnytsky succeeded in decimating the overwhelming majority of the Ukraine's Jewish population of his day.

ATTENTION FOCUSED

Shalom Schwartzbardt, the kin of a family massacred by Petlura's bands, assassinated the Ukrainian leader on a Paris street in 1926. Schwartzbardt's trial before a French jury, which resulted in his acquittal, focussed international attention on Ukraine pogroms.

The record of Ukraine under the Nazi occupation was equally horrible. A recent book, "The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland," published by the Medical Alliance-Association of Jewish

Physicians from Poland, carries a list compiled by Drs. Leopold Laza-rowitz and Simon Malowist, of nearly 3,000 Jewish doctors who perished under the Nazis. Many of these names bear the notation "killed by Ukrainian bands."

Ukrainians collaborated with the notorious Nazi Einsatzgruppen. Most of the Jews of Soviet Russia who perished under the Nazis were residents of the Ukraine. The young Soviet poet Yevtushenko memorialized their martyrdom in his poem "Babi Yar." Babi Yar is a suburb of Kiev where tens of thousands of Jews were massacred. It is a matter of record that the population of Kiev lined the sidewalks and applauded when the Nazis led Jews to death.

Individuals should never be presented as representative of an entire people. However, Dr. Dushnyck makes it a point that the author of one of the prefaces to the book "Judaism Without Embellishment" is a Ukraine Jew himself. Pursuing his logic one might point out that Khrushchev is Ukrainian.

PATTERN SET

Simon Dubnov, one of the great Jewish historians of all time and an expert on Russian-Jewish history, who perished under the Nazis, attributed all negative Jewish stereo-types in Russian literature to the pattern set by the Ukraine's foremost author, Nikolai V. Gogol, in "Taras Bulba."

Dr. Dushnyck refers to "joint conferences (on) Jewish-Ukrainian relations." He does not specify these conferences. This writer was closely associated several years ago with leading Jewish organizations and personalities who had been approached by Ukrainian exile groups. The groups were rebuffed on two grounds—American Jews saw no reason to become involved in incriminating Ukraine nationalistic movements, and were shocked by the insistence of some of these groups that the horrors visited on the Jews in Ukraine through the centuries were merited by Jewish conduct. Ukraine periodicals, published abroad and in this country, reflect this attitude.

JUDD L. TELLER

New York, April 13, 1964.

(Courtesy: *The New York Times*
Thursday, April 16, 1964.)

ANTI-SEMITISM IN UKRAINE

BLANKET CHARGE AGAINST NATIONALIST MOVEMENT DISPUTED

To the Editor:

In his letter published on April 16 Prof. Judd L. Teller made a few statements which, in the interest of historical truth, need to be corrected.

Professor Teller states that the Ukrainian nationalist movement has always been anti-Semitic. But the Ukrainian national movement, just as the Jewish national movement, is not and never has been a monolithic, ideologically homogeneous group. It consists now, and always has consisted, of parties and factions, often at odds with one another. Some are liberal and democratic; others are chauvinistic and reactionary.

The chief figure in the Ukrainian national revival of the 19th century, the poet Taras Shevchenko, participated in a public protest against Czarist persecution of the Jews. The Government of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic of 1917-1918 contained some leading Jewish personalities, such as Arnold Margolin, as well as some of the main Jewish political groups, such as the Bund and the Labor Zionists. Yiddish was one of the official languages of the republic.

PETLURA ROLE

The exact nature of the connection between Petlura and the *pogroms* of 1919 has never been clearly established. There is no doubt that armed groups subject to Petlura's authority participated in *pogroms*; but whether Petlura ordered, or even acquiesced to, the massacres, is very doubtful.

The *pogroms* occurred during the period of the collapse of the Ukrainian military resistance to the Bolshevik advance. Petlura's defenders, including Margolin, claim that he attempted to stop the *pogroms*, but was powerless in the face of the breakdown of military discipline. This is a subject that needs further research.

Petlura's assassin, Schwartzbart, served in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War. It would seem that the sincerity of his motives, as explained by Professor Teller, is subject to question. The fact that a representative of Petlura's government made a tentative agree-

ment with the Zionist leader, Jabotinsky, to arm and equip a Jewish self-defense force, would tend to indicate a sincere desire on the part of the Ukrainian leadership to come to grips with this problem.

RECORD UNDER OCCUPATION

Professor Teller states that Ukrainians aided the Nazi Einsatzgruppen. The whole story is that in most of, if not all, the Nazi-occupied countries there were some people who helped the Jews and others who hurt and killed them. Ukraine was no exception.

I refer Professor Teller to the case of the Ukrainian Metropolitan Sheptytsky in Philip Friedman's book *Their Brothers' Keepers*. The reason that most of the murdered Soviet Jews were residents of Ukraine is that Ukraine contained the largest number of Jews of all the Soviet regions under German occupation.

Professor Teller is quite correct in rejecting the notion that the Jews merited persecution by their behavior. However, I suggest that the professor read his acknowledged authority—Dubnow's description of the socio-economic conditions that led to the Khmelnitsky massacres.

For hundreds of years, Jews and Ukrainians have been oppressed by the same enemies: the Polish gentry, Russian autocracy, Communists and Nazis. During all this time, many Jews and many Ukrainians have been used as pawns against each other by their common oppressors. Is it too farfetched to expect these two groups to refuse to be pawns any longer, and to combine efforts against a common foe?

EUGENE SANJOUR

Brooklyn, April 21, 1964

(*The New York Times*,
April 25, 1964.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: The publication in 1963 of *Judaism without Embellishment* by Prof. Trofim K. Kichko in Kiev under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, precipitated a flood of comments and reports in the American press, including *The New York Times*, which printed three letters by the following authors: Walter Dushnyck, Judd L. Teller and Eugene Sanjour:

WALTER DUSHNYCK, a graduate of the University of Louvain and Columbia University; he is editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and author of several articles, pamphlets and books on Ukraine, the USSR, and Eastern Europe;

JUDD L. TELLER is the author of several books on Jews, including *Ideology and History of Jewish Policy*, *Scapegoat of Revolution*, and *The Kremlin, the Jews and the Middle East*. His articles on the Jews appear frequently in the American press;

EUGENE SANJOUR is a young American of Jewish background whose parents came from Ukraine. He has been a student of Ukrainian-Jewish problem for a number of years.

Chapter V

STATEMENTS REJECTING MOSCOW-SPONSORED ANTI-SEMITISM

STATEMENT OF UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

ON ANTI-SEMITIC BOOK PUBLISHED UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINIAN SSR

The Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, at its regular monthly meeting held on April 3, 1964 in New York City, thoroughly discussed the recent anti-Semitic book, published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev by Trofim K. Kichko. Viewing this publication as an act of vicious anti-Semitism and indirectly but maliciously as a crass anti-Ukrainian measure, the Executive Board of the UCCA, condemned the book as further proof of Soviet persecution of all religions within the USSR, and unanimously approved the following:

1. From the very inception of the Soviet communist takeover, Moscow has declared an all-out war against all religions, implementing the well-known slogan of Lenin that "religion is an opiate of the people." Consequently, the Soviet government under Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev has systematically and unrelentingly campaigned against all religions within the USSR, be it Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Buddhism, or Islamism.

2. This anti-religious persecution and oppression was especially harsh in Ukraine, where Moscow saw religion as an ally of Ukrainian nationalism and anti-Soviet resistance of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national freedom and independence. Russian Communist suppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the late 30's was so thorough that as a result the entire Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was wiped out, with its 30 archbishops, bishops and a metropolitan, physically liquidated and some 10,000 of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy deported to Siberia, imprisoned in various slave labor camps or executed without due process of law. The same fate befell the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine in 1945-46, where over 6,000,000 Catholic Ukrainians were forcibly subordinated to the government-controlled Russian Ortho-

dox Church. The entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was arrested and imprisoned and 3,000 clergy subjected to wholesale trials, deportations and executions.

3. Despite perennial official declarations of the Soviet government to the effect that "freedom of religion exists" in the USSR, and despite the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church was allowed to send its observers to the Ecumenical Council in 1962 and 1963, the anti-religious policy is the order of the day in the Soviet Union. Only a month ago, specifically on March 2, 1964 the Communist Party's ideological commission issued a series of resolutions and instructions for the purpose of combatting "religious remnants" in the Soviet Union. Chairs of atheism are to be created in all major universities of the USSR, and courses on atheism will be established for all strata of the population with the purpose of reaching every segment of Soviet society. Thus, the Soviet government once again openly and officially adopted an anti-religious policy as a matter of daily life in the USSR.

3. The publication of Trofim K. Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment* under the so-called sponsorship of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which in fact is a branch of the All-Union Academy in Moscow, is directed not only against Judaism and the Jewish people, but against all religions and the Ukrainian people as well. Ever since the establishment of the free state of Israel, the Soviet government has viewed the Jews in the USSR as potential "agents and spies" of Israel, and as unreliable elements within the Soviet state. As in the case of the Ukrainian Catholics who are considered to be an instrument of the "Vatican reactionaries," so the Jews are earmarked for special inhuman treatment by the Soviet government.

5. *Judaism Without Embellishment* was published in Kiev by an alleged "Ukrainian" author, Kichko, and in the Ukrainian language, under the auspices of a seemingly Ukrainian institution of higher learning, and it conveys an impression that the latest anti-Semitic step originated with the Ukrainian people. This is not and cannot be true in any sense or degree, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, deeply religious to their very roots, are not now, and have not been in the past, originators of anti-Semitism. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which is the national-representative institution of some 2 million American citizens of Ukrainian descent, condemns the virulent anti-Semitism fostered by the Soviet government in Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and rejects the patently evident innuendo that the enslaved people of Ukraine are responsible for these blatant and hideous acts of the communist

puppets who now rule in Kiev with the support and direction of the Kremlin.

6. It is the considered opinion of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America that the publication of Kichko's book in the Ukrainian language, by an alleged "Ukrainian" author and under the sponsorship of a nominal Ukrainian academy in the capital of the Ukrainian republic, is a deliberate anti-Ukrainian act by Moscow in connivance with its subservient satraps in Kiev. It unquestionably was the over-all intent of Moscow to issue the book in Ukrainian at this time, so as to sow animosity and antagonism between the nearly one million Jews in Ukraine and over 42,000,000 Ukrainians, as well as to mobilize world Jewry against Ukrainian aspirations for freedom and independence. This is especially true, as we realize that after the wave of protests against the Kichko book by Jews and non-Jews alike in the Western world, Moscow ordered a mild criticism of the same scandalous book, unostentatiously at first in the Ukrainian-language, *Radyanska Kultura* in Kiev, and subsequently a well-timed condemnation by the Communist Party's ideological commission, which appeared in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* for the obvious benefit of a world-wide audience. What the Kremlin wanted to achieve, and to some extent achieved, is the impression that while there is anti-Semitism in the USSR, it is centered in Ukraine, and not in Russia; that while Moscow is magnanimous and humane, Ukraine is a backward and narrow-minded country which allows rampant anti-Semitic publications. All this obviously is not true and not concurring to the known facts.

It is also important to note that the two authors who signed the preface to the Kichko book, are not Ukrainian. One of them, Andrey A. Vvedensky, born in Perma, Russia, in 1891, is a Russian historian; the other signer, Grigori Davidovich Plotkin, is a Ukrainian Jew, born in Odessa in 1917, and is the author of an anti-Semitic work, *A Trip to Israel* (1958). In addition, it so happens that more than 90 percent of all foot-notes in the book are taken from Russian authors and from Russian language sources.

7. Finally, it should not be overlooked that Moscow, plagued by its perennial internal difficulties and ever-growing antagonism with Red China and other Communist regimes, is upset by the improving Jewish-Ukrainian relations both in Ukraine and abroad. There have been Jewish-Ukrainian contacts with ever-increasing frequency, including Jewish-Ukrainian conferences and panels, at which Jewish-Ukrainian relations were constructively discussed and assessed. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, published by this committee since 1944, has been available to a number of Jewish authors. Apparently,

the Kremlin is alarmed by the prospect of continuous harmonious relations between the Jews and Ukrainians, especially since, in the eyes of the Soviet government, Zionism, Ukrainian nationalism and religion are the greatest enemies threatening the existence of the Soviet empire.

8. Anti-Semitism has been a powerful weapon of Moscow's policies with regard to Jews and non-Jews alike, as it was in the hands of the Russian Czars in the past. The recent manifestation of it underscores most emphatically that the source and origin of this anti-Semitic strategy is in Moscow, and not in Kiev, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, their Orthodox and Catholic religions, are as much persecuted, derided and sneered at as are Judaism and the Jewish people.

(**The Ukrainian Bulletin,**
April 1 — April 15, 1964.)

STATEMENT OF UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

ON ANTI-SEMITIC BOOK PUBLISHED UNDER SPONSORSHIP
OF ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINIAN SSR

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, presently the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, recently published an official tract in the Ukrainian language *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

Once having become acquainted with this publication, the question arises—is this a product of free thought and is there a connection between the thought and feelings of the Ukrainian people, or is it merely a fabrication of the Communist regime? The fact is that this type of publication cannot serve any good purpose. The Ukrainian scientists and their highest scientific institutions are now accused of anti-Semitism, and this can throw an unfavorable light on the entire Ukrainian nation. This publication inflicts a cruel and unjustifiable blow to the Jewish people and their religion.

To fully understand the problem and to give it a proper appraisal, careful attention should be given to the fact that the USSR is a state in which everything is under the control of the Communist party. There is a real dictatorship of one or a few persons. The Communist reality is such that not only statistics and encyclopedias, but even the works of writers, created before the Communist party came to power, are changed and falsified, if their views conflict with Communist beliefs. There is no trace of freedom for the creative talents and all is under strict control, and surely with no exception for the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It is a notorious fact, for example, that literally hundreds of Ukrainian scientists, writers and poets, who exhibited even an iota of freedom of expression, were arrested, persecuted, exiled and physically liquidated. The inhabitants of the so-called national republics of which the USSR is composed are in fact prisoners of the centralized Communist party and the government in Moscow, and are deprived of all free activities which exist in a democratic society. This has been true for the 46 years of Communist party control in that part of Europe.

Taking the above into consideration, one concludes that this anti-Semitic publication is a product of Moscow conspiracy, with the following three aims:

1. To set the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples against each other and in this way paralyze any cooperation between them.

2. To damage the integrity of the Ukrainian people in the eyes of the free world with the intention of undermining its sacred cause for independence.

3. Internally to render a blow to the authority of the Ukrainian scientists, who in recent years have been becoming more active in the field of Ukrainian culture, thus making them subject to suspicion.

Because of the present political conditions in Ukraine, the Ukrainian people have no way to uncover this double-play intrigue of Moscow and prove their non-implication. Therefore, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, as a representative body of the Ukrainian community in Canada, being aware of the tragic truth regarding the situation of their brethren and the ruthlessness of Moscow, denounces the publication of *Judaism Without Embellishment* as a cynical provocation and condemns it as a shameless attempt to bring disunity and mistrust among two peoples.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee:

REV. DR. B. KUSHNIR
President

W. J. SARCHUK
Gen. Secretary

Winnipeg, April 15, 1964.
(*The Ukrainian Bulletin*,
May 1 — May 15, 1964.)

STATEMENT OF DR. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY: ANTI-SEMITISM—RUSSIAN FEATURE*

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following is the statement of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, dealing with the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union. The statement was presented on May 10, 1965 before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Members! I am grateful for this opportunity to submit a statement in support of H. Con. Res. 408, introduced by the Honorable Leonard Farbstein and which calls for an expression of the sense of Congress relative to the free exercise of religion and pursuit of culture by Jews and all others within the Soviet Union. I express this support in behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, representing over two million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry and of which I have the privilege to serve as president. My remarks are also shared to a large degree by associate members of the Greater Washington Committee on the Plight of Soviet Jewry.

Over ten years ago it was my great fortune to work closely with Dr. Raphael Lemkin on the Genocide Convention and its ratification by the U. S. Senate. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I emphasized the genocidal character of Soviet Russian policy toward the Jews, other religious groups, and the non-Russian nations in the USSR. Just last year I completed a study for the House Committee on the Judiciary, titled *Nations, Peoples, and Countries in the USSR* (Special Series No. 17 [B]) which factually demonstrates how the methodic suppression of Jewish and other religious and national rights in this empire within an empire is part and parcel of Soviet Russian genocidal policy.

In the span of this statement I should like to cite these essentials justifying our position of support for a forthright Congressional expression on the plight of the Jews and others in the Soviet Union:

(1) Historically, onslaughts against Jewish religious and cultural activities in the Russian Empire have been officially inspired

* See, *Anti-Religious Activities in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe*. Hearings before the House Sub-Committee on Europe, May 10, 11, and 12, 1965, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1965.

and engineered. The magnitude and depth of these assaults would not at all have been possible in a governmental and state framework devoid of autocratic, imperio-colonialist, and later totalitarian rule. To cite a few outstanding examples during the Czarist Russian Empire: (a) 1563, the first assault upon the Jews by Muscovy produced the Russian term "*pogrom*" which entered Western vocabulary, (b) "Kill the Jews—and Save Russia" became an officially inspired slogan by the 19th century, (c) 1878, Gorchakov argued at the Berlin Congress that the interests of the Russian Empire necessitated the inferior position of the Jews and the Czarist government confined Jews to the "Pale of Jewish Settlement," which was the western part of the empire, (d) 1882, the May laws of that year brought about the arbitrary confiscation of Jewish property and the reduction of Jews to misery, and (e) the extermination of the Jews by the officially led "black hundreds" at the beginning of this century;

(2) In the more contemporary period of imperial Russian history, the following highlights demonstrate the continuity of both institutions and policy: (a) even before World War I, Stalin regarded the Mensheviks as a Jewish fraction that had to be destroyed by the Bolsheviks, and the entire history of Bolshevik reign from 1917 to the present has been featured by systematic anti-Jewish campaigns, (b) in the 20's, Jews were decried as "Nepmen," traders and small artisan 'capitalists' that had to be destroyed, (c) in 1928, Birobijan was founded by Stalin as an "isolation region" in Siberia for Jews, (d) in the 30's, "Jewish bourgeois nationalists," "Bundists," "Zionists," and "Mensheviks" were targets of Stalin's campaign, (e) Stalin's accommodation of Hitler in 1939-40 included no evacuation of Jews before Hitler's advance, (f) 1941, Stalin's ordered execution of two outstanding Jewish leaders, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, (g) under Stalin, over 800 Jewish poets, novelists, writers, scholars and teachers were executed, and the "doctors' plot" in 1953 capped the end of Stalin's reign, and (h) testimonies of Julius Margolin and Alberg show that an entire generation of Zionists were annihilated in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

(3) But so-called de-Stalinization under Khrushchev and the present rulers has not closed the book to this historical continuity, not by any means: (a) 1957, Khrushchev launched a so-called matzoh legislation prohibiting Jews from baking unleavened bread, the symbol of Jewish liberation in Egypt 3000 years ago, (b) as in Czarist times, responsibility for opposition trends and economic defects placed upon the Jews, (c) continuous anti-Jewish propaganda emanating primarily from Moscow and repeated through its puppet capitals in the non-Russian republics has made a convenient scapegoat

of the Jews, who according to Radio Moscow are incited by Jehovah to perpetrate an assortment of crimes and whose synagogues are "black market centers," "nests of anti-Soviet conspiracy" and other trumped-up charges, (d) again as in Czarist times, the responsibility for these outrageous attacks against the Jews is supposed to have a popular basis in some area of the empire and thus, for example, a *Judaism Without Embellishment* (by Trofim K. Kichko et al.) appears as a publication of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, in the Ukrainian language, but with most of the footnotes taken from Russian authors and Russian language sources and with two of the authors who signed the preface not even being Ukrainian, (e) as in the past, Moscow fosters anti-Jewish propaganda and agitation in the non-Russian colonies of its primary empire, as in Byelorussia, Ukraine and Lithuania, with the intention of realizing two objectives, one, the attainment of Russian genocidal goals and, two, discrediting in the eyes of world opinion the genuine nationalism of these non-Russian peoples, and (f) in substance and effect Hitlerian, by method more subtle and typically Russian Moscow's campaign against the "Talmudists" has led to over 140 executions for "economic crimes," the shutdowns of synagogues, as the Great Synagogue of Lviv in 1962, the acute limitation and suppression of rabbinical academies, and a host of other barbaric outrages in the fields of literature, publication, and religious activity.

When one soberly considers just these few essentials, he cannot but arrive at these determining conclusions:

(1) The anti-Jewish campaigns of autocratic and totalitarian Russian regimes have over the centuries been intimately tied up with the despotic institutions and the imperio-colonialism of the Russian Empire, whether white or red;

(2) These barbarous campaigns have been and are an integral part of Russian genocidal policy that seeks to achieve a greater measure of Russification within the empire;

(3) To curb and minimize these campaigns, Free World attention and opinion must be continually focused on this context of Soviet Russian totalitarianism and imperio-colonialism, with full exposure given to all of its atrocities and barbaric behavior; and

(4) Our Congress should take this necessary lead now by expressing its sense on this vital subject, showing the sheer hypocrisy of "freedom of religion" in the USSR constitution and inspiring all other Free World bodies to concentrate on the genocidal activities of the present imperio-colonialist Russian rulers.



Chapter VI

EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS

MOSCOW'S WAR ON JUDAISM AND RELIGION IN GENERAL

Editorial

"... Never has atheist propaganda in the Soviet state attained so powerful an impetus as today... Typical of the change in the history of atheism is the fact that currently the struggle between science and religion has entered a new phase, one of attack by science on all fronts... Scientific-atheistic propaganda is one of the more outstanding sectors on the ideological front... To fully achieve the Party's objectives with regard to atheistic education of the masses, one cannot rely on a small circle of professional atheists... The matter must be the concern of all the Soviet intelligentsia: teachers, scientific workers, professors in universities, physicians, agronomists, engineers—no one should be outside the struggle against religious superstitions..."

(The Militant Atheist, February 1964)

Recent attacks by the Soviet press on Judaism, and especially the publication of *Judaism Without Embellishment*, highlight the plight of all religions within the USSR. That this book of anti-Semitic caricatures, prepared in Ukrainian by Trofim K. Kichko, was issued under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, may have distracted some from the basic issue. But the central fact remains that religion continues to be persecuted throughout the Soviet Union, despite Kremlin attempts to improve its public image abroad in this respect.

Regard for historical truth requires a noting that the recent virulence against the Judaic faith, with its strong anti-Semitic overtones, is no novel development in the Soviet domain. *Pogroms* date from Czarist times, especially the later nineteenth century, and at times were organized pragmatically by Kremlin officials.

But Moscow has not confined its persecution to Judaism. Other religious groups also have met with barbarous treatment. Thus, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine was not only outlawed but ruthlessly eradicated, to the extent possible. Its clergy were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Its organizational structure was

liquidated. This is a matter of historical record and can be verified by consulting documentary and news sources at the time.¹

A similar fate befell the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church during the 1930's. That religious body was proscribed by the Kremlin as a "non-conformist, anti-state organization." Comparable charges were leveled against recalcitrant Islamic and Buddhist church-bodies, and violent action was taken against them. The same was done to the Old Believers of Russia, and to a number of smaller Christian sects which in recent centuries have mushroomed both in Russia and in the non-Russian countries, which subsequently became republics of the Soviet Union.

To assess adequately the current anti-Semitism and anti-religious moves by the Kremlin, it is appropriate and helpful to analyze what has been happening from three different viewpoints, namely,

- 1) Anti-religious policies of the Soviet government as an integral part of its internal rule;
- 2) Special virulence of anti-Semitism at the present time;
- 3) Attempts of Moscow to shift to Kiev the burden of responsibility for anti-Semitism, thus sowing discord between Ukrainians and Jews in Ukraine, and casting aspersions of guilt upon the Ukrainian people in the free world.

IRRELIGION—A BASIC ORIENTATION OF THE SOVIET STATE

Anti-religious policies were adopted by the Soviet government at the very inception of the Soviet state. Lenin himself, founder of the present Soviet regime, launched a campaign with the slogan, "Religion is an opiate of the people."

In line with this early orientation, the Kremlin has been systematic and for the most part, unbending in its attempts to free the Soviet Union of "religious superstitions." Accordingly, it has intermittently, but systematically and persistently, campaigned against Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Buddhism and Islamism. Religion as such is seen as a real or potential "enemy of the people."²

The anti-religious policies of Moscow have been especially harsh in Ukraine, where religion, whether Orthodox or Catholic, has been regarded by the Kremlin as a handmaid and support of Ukrainian

¹ *Martyrdom in Ukraine. Russia Denies Religious Freedom.* By Walter Dushnyck. The America Press, New York, 1947; *The Red Book of the Persecuted Church.* By Albert Galter. The Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1957.

² Cf. "UCCA Denounces Anti-Semitism Fostered by Moscow in Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, April 1-15, 1964, Nos. 7-8.

national aspirations. Accordingly, it was to be dealt with as dangerous political opposition. The sufferings, and in many cases martyrdom endured by the Ukrainian people because of adherence to ancestral religious faith and practice, has few if any parallels in modern history.

Suppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church during the late 30's was so thorough that its independent organization ceased to exist. The metropolitan, together with thirty archbishops and bishops, was liquidated. Some 10,000 of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy were deported to Siberia or otherwise dispersed or killed. To the extent the faithful were allowed to practice religion, they thereafter found only Moscow-oriented churches open to them.

In 1945-46, after the war had been won and Soviet control extended westward, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine was also destroyed. Some 6,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics—including those from Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina—were forcibly subordinated to the government-controlled Russian Orthodox Church.

The entire Ukrainian hierarchy, and more than 3,000 clergy, were subjected to wholesale trials and with little discrimination were sentenced to deportation or execution. On two occasions, the late Pope Pius XII drew attention to the suffering of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its adherents. Relatively few read what he had to say, it can be noted with regret.³

The more recent Soviet regime, under Nikita S. Khrushchev, had modified somewhat the approach previously taken. Physical liquidation has abated, though subtler pressures and anti-religious propaganda are in effect. In general, it can be said that the policy vis-a-vis religion is double-pronged. This has proved confusing and is much misunderstood in the West. What "thaw" has occurred, thus far touches but superficially the long-term religious stand of the Kremlin.

Admittedly, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Catholic "Archbishop-Major" of Ukraine, was released after an eighteen-year detention in prison in Soviet concentration camps. Two Russian Orthodox observers were admitted to Vatican Council II at both the 1962 and 1963 sessions in Rome. Moreover, in February 1964 the World Council of Churches—of which the Russian Orthodox Church is a member—convened in Odessa, Ukraine, to discuss, among other things, religious freedom.

³ Cf. Encyclical *Orientales Omnes Ecclesias*, issued on December 23, 1945; Encyclical, *Omnes Ecclesias*, issued on December 15, 1952; *Primi incatenati*: The White Paper on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine, Rome, 1953.

However, at the same time (February) the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) issued an *ukase* aimed at intensifying atheistic education among the people. In practice this means, as was underscored by *Pravda* at the time, a new and emergent phase of the continuing war against religion and the various church bodies within the Soviet Union.

A two-pronged approach is well under way. Eager, on the one hand, to exploit two major religious bodies in the USSR, namely Orthodoxy and Islamism, and to use them as instruments of "world peace," the Kremlin has subsidized religious delegates in their travels to the four corners of the earth. Expenses have been paid, diplomatic protection provided, and so forth. On the other hand, within the borders of the USSR, a new anti-religious program has been activated.

Writing in *Kommunist*, L.F. Ilichev, head of the ideological commission of the Party's Central Committee, notes that:

The following picture has become rather characteristic. Though the number of churches and organized religious communities has declined (read: in many instances closed by the Soviet government—Ed.), the number of religious services and ceremonies taking places remains quite high...⁴

The February decree thus initiated a series of far-reaching measures designed to check and repress all religion within the USSR. These include establishment of an Institute of Scientific Atheism, intended to coordinate and control all atheistic activities. A course in "fundamental atheism" will be made mandatory in all universities, medical schools, agricultural colleges and teacher-training institutions, and students will be required to pass examinations on the subject.

Moreover, all party officials, as well as physicians, must attend anti-religious seminars. Throughout the USSR, anti-religious films and TV programs will be sponsored. Stage plays, light comedies and other dramatic productions are to be turned out by professional writers. The multi-lingual press of the Soviet Union is to "draw up a comprehensive plan for the production of atheistic literature in all the languages of the USSR."

In order "to forestall the illegal activities of the clergy, church groups and individual church-goers, measures must be taken to fence off children and adolescents from the influence of church adherents and from efforts of parents to get their children to join in religious observances." Finally, the lower echelons of the Party—there are approximately 300,000 such units—are ordered to delegate a permanent organizer of anti-religious work.

⁴ Cf. *Kommunist*, 1964, No. 1, Moscow.

As Ilichev points out, "We have dealt frequent blows to those who propagate the ideas of religion, but the ideas themselves remain undamaged." Thus, though the vast totalitarian machine of the Soviet state has for almost half a century been engaged in combatting religion, it periodically has to launch new campaigns against "religious superstitions." Despite repeated proclamations to the contrary, "the opiate of the people" persists within the Soviet paradise. But those wishing to put their religious beliefs into practice, can now look forward to new harassments.

ANTI-SEMITISM: A PROGRAM AND A WEAPON

The phenomenon of anti-Semitism in Old Russia and now in the USSR has been discussed and chronicled by trained observers and historians in a number of countries. But still insufficiently realized by many is the fact that the Soviet regime took up where the Czars left off. Those who read carefully the history books and news media, discern a disturbing continuity in anti-Semitism, just as in other matters, such as imperialistic expansion and control, Russian nationalistic messianism, repression and genocide of Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples and ethnic groups and so forth.

While we do not hesitate to affirm that anti-Semitism has been fostered with varying degrees of intensity by Kremlin leaders, it needs to be stated categorically that the Russian people as such, as well as the Ukrainian people or any other people, cannot be indicted or condemned at random. The acts and statements of a relative few, never chosen for office in a free election, cannot and must not be attributed to the generality of long-suffering people who themselves are victims of harsh and inhuman treatment.

In Old Russia, as in the USSR, anti-Semitism has been used by the Kremlin on occasion to divert popular attention from justifiable grievances. Through this means, discontent was channeled and the resentments of the masses were focused on innocent scapegoats—in this case the Jews—for the failures, shortcomings and anti-popular actions of the rulers.

As regards Moscow being a long-time center and on occasion instigator of anti-Semitism, the following quotation from a Jewish authority on the subject is worth noting:

In Russia of the old regime the Jews were considered a separate economic and religious class and their status was regulated accordingly. For the most part they were forbidden to reside outside of the territories of the old Kingdom of Poland, which thus constituted their Pale of Settlement... The use of anti-Jewish

feeling was, of course, not unknown in the Middle Ages... But it was reserved for the Russians to organize this sort of propaganda as a fine art...⁵

The political assassination of Alexander II (1881) increased the hardship and disabilities of Jews. Their condition was aggravated by the May Laws of 1882. Now there existed a Pale within a Pale, since Jews were practically compelled to reside in towns and prevented from owning land.

Numerus clausus, or a quota limitation on attendants at institutions of higher learning, was applied against Jews, so that only 3 to 10 percent of available school space was allotted them. But the same norm was also applied against the Ukrainians and other ethnic groups, for example Poles, whom the Kremlin wished to keep down.

The much-propagandized *pogroms* were a political instrument of the Russian government and of government-sponsored Russian chauvinist organizations, such as the "Union of the Russian People" (*Soyuz ruskogo naroda*), popularly known as the "Black Hundreds." The *pogroms* of 1903 are known to have been organized by Count von Plehve, Minister of the Interior of Russia.

Under the slogan "Beat Jews and Save Russia" these *pogroms* were conducted in Ukraine with the assistance of the police apparatus, helped by hundreds of secret agents and *agent-provocateurs*, as for instance in Kishinev, in Moldavia. The trial of Beilis in Kiev, the mass of anti-Semitic literature in the Russian language, provide ample evidence that the organized anti-Semitic movement was inspired by the Russian government.

But the *pogroms* against the Jews were not only the examples of Czarist terror and massacres. Thus, in 1905, there were shootings outside the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, against the peasants and workers led by Father Gapon, who came to petition the Czar for better living conditions and redress of grievances.

During the revolutionary civil war anti-Semitic *pogroms* took place in Russia and Ukraine, and the various warring fronts used *pogroms* as a counter-revolutionary safety valve.

At the beginning of the Soviet power (1917-1924) the Jews were treated as any other nationality in the Soviet Union. Many of their leaders played leading roles in the Soviet administration. They were employed in the foreign office, the army, the secret police (the Cheka, and later the NKVD and MVD), and especially in many branches of industry, journalism, motion picture and literature. An anti-Semitic course was frankly adopted by Stalin in the late 40's. It was

⁵ "Anti-Semitism," article by Benjamin Ginzberg in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. II, p. 123-124.

intensified with the notorious "Jewish doctors' plot," which allegedly was directed against Stalin and other members of his entourage. The same general course has been maintained under Khrushchev.

In a letter to Bertrand Russell, Nikita S. Khrushchev wrote in February 1962 as follows:

There is not and never has been a policy of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, because the very nature of our multi-national socialist state excludes the possibility of such a policy.⁶

Nevertheless, the undeniable fact is that with the establishment of the free State of Israel in 1948, the Soviet Russian leadership has viewed Soviet Jewry as potential, if not actual "enemies of the Soviet state and agents of Israel." It shaped its policies accordingly.

ANTI-JEWISH AND ANTI-UKRAINIAN AIM OF MOSCOW

The publication of Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment*, in the Ukrainian language and by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, gave rise to anti-Ukrainian feelings and unjust conjectures among some Jewish leaders in the free world. Those who follow this line forget that the Jews also have their own traitors in the USSR. Aron Vergilis, for example, is editor of the only Yiddish journal in the Soviet Union. He has been a vigorous spokesman for pro-Soviet Jews in the USSR and one of the most arrogant critics of Judaism, as well as of the Israeli people.

Someone of influence in the Kremlin wished *Judaism Without Embellishment* to come out in the Ukrainian language, rather than in Russian which is read by additional millions within the USSR. A "Ukrainian" author, Kichko, was drafted, and an allegedly Ukrainian institution of higher learning gave its blessing to the book. After the rage of protests in the free world, including leaders of the communist parties in Great Britain, the United States and elsewhere, Moscow allowed publication of a mild criticism of the Kichko book, and mainly for its "historical and factual inaccuracies." The impression was given to the world that while Moscow is humane and magnanimous, Kiev is savage and given to unbridled anti-Semitism.

Despite the above facts, it so happens that more than 90 percent of all footnotes in the book are taken from Russian authors and from Russian-language sources. Moreover, the two authors who signed the preface to the book, are not ethnically Ukrainian. One, Andrey A. Vvedensky, born in Perma, Russia, in 1891, is a Russian historian;

⁶ "The Plight of Soviet Jews," by S. Andhill Fineberg, *The Christian Century*, April 1, 1964.

the other signer, Grigori D. Plotkin, is a Ukrainian Jew, born in 1917 in Odessa. In 1958 Plotkin made a trip to Israel and wrote some vitriolic pamphlets, one of them, *The Promised Land*, deals with the disillusionment of a Jewish family which settled in Haifa, and which subsequently embraced Communism.⁷

In publishing the book in the Ukrainian language, the Kremlin tried to kill two birds with one stone: to deliver a blow against the Jews in the USSR making them a subject of ridicule and derision, and to cast aspersions upon the Ukrainians as incorrigible "anti-Semites."

That the objective was, at least partially, attained is indicated by the reaction of Jewish leaders in the free world.

Some uncritical writers fell easily a prey to the Soviet game and began playing up the old canard that Ukraine was always a "cradle of anti-Semitism." For example, Prof. Judd L. Teller, incorrectly contends that "the Ukrainian nationalist movement, which from its earlier days, some four centuries ago, and to this day has had a lamentable record of anti-Semitism."⁸

He cited Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Simon Petlura, as "being guilty of horrendous massacres of thousands of Jews."

Historically, his assertions are void of true substance and facts.

The Ukrainian people as such are not, and were not in the past, the initiators or creators of anti-Semitism.

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1647-1654) is singled out by him as a villain. Khmelnytsky was a leader of the Ukrainian national revolution and war of liberation against Poland. Admittedly, it was an exceedingly bloody war and revolt, as were contemporary conflicts elsewhere in Europe. As regards the Jewish population specifically, in Khmelnytsky's time, many Jews in Ukraine were inn-keepers, tax collectors, and doorkeepers of Orthodox churches under the Polish Kings, who ruled with an iron hand over the Ukrainian people. The 250,000 liberation army of Khmelnytsky attacked without distinction. Its victims included thousands of so-called "registered Kozaks," or Ukrainian soldiers who served the Polish Kings. How many Jews were there in Ukraine at that time? Reliable estimates say 10,000 to 20,000. Thus, it is incorrect to say that Khmelnytsky's forces killed more Jews than Ukrainians and others. This is not, of course, to defend killings, but rather to place facts in proper perspective.

⁷ Cf. *Obitsiana zemlya (The Promised Land)*, by G. D. Plotkin, *Radyanska Ukraina*, January 11, 1960.

⁸ Cf. "Anti-Semitism in Ukraine," Letters to *The Times*, by Judd L. Teller, *The New York Times*, April 16, 1964.

Simon Petlura (1879-1926), is summarily assailed for massacres of Jews in Ukraine during the Ukrainian war of liberation in 1917-1920 against the Russian imperial government, and its successor, the Soviet Russian government. Other countries, including the Baltic states and Finland, also broke with the Kremlin at that time. Petlura was neither a fascist nor nationalist, but a social-democrat and socialist. While excesses and *pogroms* occurred in Ukraine, the Petlura government was not responsible for them. In fact, Petlura's "Order of the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic" (No. 131), of August 26, 1919, expressly warned the Ukrainian army that anti-Jewish *pogroms* would be punished by death. And they were.

Moreover, the record shows, as do public statements by Jews still alive (*Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*, by Solomon I. Goldelman) that the Ukrainian government was the only government in Eastern Europe to grant the Jewish people national autonomy, with Jewish ministers, and so forth. Petlura's assassin, S. Schwartzbardt, thus eliminated a man who fought against *pogroms* and excesses. Petlura was long a target of the Communist Cheka, and his heinous murder was loudly applauded in Moscow. None other than Allen Dulles, our former CIA Chief, refers to Petlura's murderer as a "Communist agent" (*The Craft of Intelligence*)⁹ Schwartzbardt's motives in killing Petlura are questionable, inasmuch as he served in the Red Army and undoubtedly was a Red sympathizer, if not a Communist.¹⁰

It must be stressed that the Communist puppets in Kiev have published attacks on Ukrainians generally. For instance, Luke Kizya, Permanent Delegate of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations, in 1959 wrote a vitriolic book, *A Centuries-long Struggle of the Ukrainian People Against the Vatican* (with M. Kovalenko as co-author), deriding traditional Ukrainian religious customs and faith.¹¹ Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky was portrayed in a film made in Kiev a few years ago as a traitor, and his church a network of "Vatican spies." Yet Metropolitan Sheptytsky sheltered hundreds of Jews from Nazi police at the risk to himself and his church. Dead since 1944, his cause for beatification is being processed in Rome.

⁹ Allen Dulles: *The Craft of Intelligence*. *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1963, p. 20.

¹⁰ Cf. "Anti-Semitism in Ukraine," Letters to *The Times* by Eugene Sanjour, *The New York Times*, April 25, 1964.

¹¹ Cf. "Soviet Attack on Judaism," Letters to *The Times*, by Walter Dushnyck, *The New York Times*, April 13, 1964.

It is a fair guess to say that Trofim K. Kichko is as much Ukrainian as Aron Vergilis is a Jew. Both of them are used by the Kremlin to calumniate and besmirch their own peoples.¹²

The future of Jewish-Ukrainian relations lies very much in the hands of the leaders of these two peoples. There have been Jewish-Ukrainian contacts and meetings in this country discussing the future of the Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation.

There can be no question that the Kremlin, harassed by the rumblings from Asia, is perturbed by a prospect of harmonious relations between Jews and Ukrainians: over one million Jews reside in Ukraine. These along with 42,000,000 Ukrainians, suffer communist persecution and oppression. There are millions of Jews and Ukrainians in the free world, and any *rapprochement* naturally irritates Moscow. Hence, there emerged the book by Kichko as well as other manifestations of anti-Semitism, and concurrent attacks on "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and Zionism, in which Moscow sees its greatest enemies.

If Moscow still needs such "enemies," it must be because of continuing stresses within the Soviet Union, which is, after all, practically coterminous with the former Czarist Empire. Apparently, not a few residents are discontented at economic and social conditions, and furthermore are frustrated in the face of abiding restraints on human freedom.

Recently, in a statement to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Ambassador Michael Comay, Permanent Representative of Israel at the U.N., declared:

Anti-Semitism and Nazi movements have been less conspicuous of late, and in a number of countries there has been a healthy reaction against them. At the same time, it would be short-sighted to ignore such movements, or their potential danger, especially in periods of national stress, when they feed on bias and frustration, and are sometimes exploited as political instruments for gaining power.¹³

And he wisely added:

Freedom of expression has certain obvious limits; it cannot properly be exploited to propagate concepts which the civilized world has branded as inherently criminal..

¹² Cf. a letter to *The Jerusalem Post* commenting on the Kichko book, written on April 12, 1964 by Dr. M. Broida, a former official of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR.

¹³ Cf. Statement by Ambassador Michael Comay, Permanent Representative of Israel, U.N. Human Rights Commission, March 12, 1964.

We too, deplore the power situation which tends to eliminate, through genocide, the non-Russian nations in the USSR. And we look to the day when moral law and civil order will prevail to the point that anti--Semitism and anti-religion generally will disappear amid an atmosphere of true freedom, working with deep respect for the human person.

Both the Ukrainians and Jews have been oppressed by tyrannical powers which dominated them both for centuries. Can't they finally realize that the future of both of them depends much on what their leaders in the free world do now?

(**The Ukrainian Quarterly**,
Vol. XX, No. 1, Spring, 1964.)

KICHKO: LATEST SOVIET PAWN IN ANTI-SEMITIC GAME

Editorial

Revealing and disheartening is the reaction in the free world to an anti-Semitic book that appeared last year in the Soviet Union. It reveals that the Soviet manipulation of propaganda still holds millions in the West in thrall. It disheartens because the Soviet manipulation of such oppressed peoples as the Ukrainians is so patently uncomprehended here.

The cover of the ugly paperback, some 195 pages too long and entitled *Judaism Without Embelishment*, depicts a man in a prayer shawl working behind lighted candles, holding out a big fat hand filled with gold coins. Almost all newspaper accounts point out that it is written in Ukrainian by one Trofim K. Kichko (to *The New York Times* it becomes a "Ukrainian tract"), that it appeared in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, and that it was published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Hence the scapegoat for Soviet anti-Semitism is—as was the Soviet infant—firmly established. Who is responsible for anti-Semitism in the USSR? Why, the Ukrainians, of course.

We do not read, however, that over 90 per cent of all footnotes in the publication are taken from Russian authors and from Russian-language sources.

Nor does anyone mention that of the two signers of the preface, one, Andrey A. Vvedensky, is a Russian historian born in 1891 in Perma, Russia, while the other, Grigori D. Plotkin is a Jew, born in 1917 in Odessa, and the author of *A Trip to Israel* (1958), a worthy forerunner of the present work.

Implied is that the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR is an independent body. It is—just about as independent as the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations. The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR is a branch of the All-Union Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Kremlin control is as steadfast and complete in this Ukrainian institution as in all others in this Russian colony.

We do learn from *New York Times* correspondent Theodore Shabad (April 5, 1964) that the Kichko book appeared *after new*

publishing committees had been established throughout the Soviet Union to insure that newspapers, magazines and books conformed more closely to the party's ideological requirements.

One such requirement is the abolition of religion in the Soviet Paradise. As the Soviet news agency *Novosti* put it, Kichko merely "exercised his right to conduct atheistic propaganda."

The elementary fact about the Soviet Union is that it cannot countenance the desire of its oppressed peoples to be free. Thus its savage and unrelenting fight against "bourgeois nationalism." Two prime targets have long been Jewish Zionism and the Ukrainian liberation movement. What better way to strike another blow against the two than by ordering a scurrilous anti-Semitic book to be written by a Ukrainian "specialist" on Judaism?

Should the reaction abroad be too violent—as indeed it turned out to be—then jolly Khrushchev could always throw up his hands and blame the Ukrainians.

This instance of abuse of the Ukrainian language and name is hardly new in the long Communist terrorization of Ukraine. The people, their religion, their historical past—all have been maligned, ridiculed and condemned in innumerable and equally vicious Kichkoisms. A few years ago the Kiev Film Studio produced an outrageous anti-Ukrainian film called *Ivanna*. It depicted the disillusionment with the Catholic Church of its beautiful heroine, who turned for solace and inspiration to the Communist Party. During the course of this rank piece of propaganda, also designed for home consumption, the late Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky and Archbishop Joseph Slipy were denounced as anti-Ukrainian evildoers and allies of Hitler.

What we do not read either in the Soviet Union or here is that the great Metropolitan—who is presently being considered for beatification—sheltered hundreds of Jews from the Nazi head-hunters. Archbishop Slipy—now a Metropolitan—was recently released by the Soviets after 18 years in their concentration camps.

In this latest Kichkoism the Ukrainians receive a few kicks for good measure. The Jews are taken to task for collaborating with the leaders of the Ukrainian independence movement of 1917-1920, namely, *Hetman* Paul Skoropadsky and Simon Petlura. Worse, Jews even participated in the "bourgeois" (read, *free*) Ukrainian Central *Rada*. A cartoon is devoted to Jewish leader V. Zabolotny, who "in the years of the civil war concluded a pact with Hangman Petlura in the common struggle against the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

The crimes committed against Jewry represent an incredible stain on the conscience of so-called civilized mankind. Their basic rights have been appallingly violated in the course of Western history in country after country. Ukraine, where the Russian Czars fomented the ill-famed *pogroms*, was no exception. Nazi Germany plumbed new depths of degradation with its outright genocide of Jews. The destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, with Soviet connivance, made a mockery of human brotherhood.

The Jews in Ukraine—one million of them—and the 42-million oppressed Ukrainians have long shared a common cause. In the past few years numerous joint Ukrainian-Jewish conferences in the free world have discussed and assessed mutual interests, building on the spirit manifested during the time of the free democratic Ukrainian state, 1917-1920, when Jews in Ukraine were granted every right accorded others.

To be stressed is that Soviet Russia, in its fanatical quest for a materialistic paradise and ultimate overlordship of the world, is still using every means at its command to achieve its goals. To have a hack write an anti-Semitic diatribe in Ukrainian in order to foment hatred of Judaism and, incidentally, to discredit the Ukrainians—why, this is picayune stuff for a state that has kept the entire West divided and on the defensive for decades.

The Soviet Union remains the largest and the most skilled imperialistic power ever.

(The Ukrainian Bulletin,
April 1 — April 15, 1964.)

KIZYA'S INTERVIEW ON KICHKO'S BOOK

If, one is to believe *The Ukrainian News*, a Moscow-oriented weekly appearing in New York in the Ukrainian language, Luka E. Kizya, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR at the United Nations, has granted an interview to the editor of *The Morning Freiheit*, a pro-Moscow or "progressive" Yiddish newspaper in New York. The purpose of the interview was the explanation of a Soviet Ukrainian diplomat regarding the significance of Trofim K. Kichko's book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

But before proceeding to give the "essence" of Mr. Kizya's views on the subject, let us review some of his previous activities.

Mr. Kizya's background is wholly communist. His experience in the political warfare and subversion dates back to 1940 when he finished a teachers' school and became a political instructor (*politruk*) with the Soviet partisans after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. He was very active in the Volhynian province of Ukraine, where he was in charge of espionage and infiltration assignments among the Ukrainian people. He conducted large-scale spying activities, and also provoked politically unsophisticated Ukrainian peasants who simply hated Russian rule and hoped for a bettering of their political and national lot with the invasion of the USSR by Germany. During 1944-51 Kizya was rewarded by the Kremlin with a high post in the Soviet partisan organization. In 1951, he was assigned to the "Ukrainian Association for Cultural Liaison Abroad," an intelligence organization established by the KGB (Soviet secret police) for the purpose of wooing Ukrainian political refugees to return to Ukraine, or else to sow provocations, disunity and dissatisfaction in their ranks.

In 1956 Kizya became Deputy Minister of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, and in 1961 head of the Ukrainian Soviet Delegation to the United Nations.

Kizya's activities in the UN forum have been chiefly that of echoing the Soviet delegate and his outbursts against the Western powers in perennial discussions on colonialism. From time to time, however, Mr. Kizya makes vitriolic statements directed against the Ukrainian American community or its activities. Last November, for example, he gave an interview to *The Washington Post* regarding

the erection of a monument to Taras Shevchenko in Washington. It is to be recalled that *The Washington Post* was then campaigning against the Shevchenko monument project and had injected a biased anti-Ukrainian flavor in its polemics. The views of Kizya were supposed to support those of *The Washington Post*, namely, that Shevchenko was a "Communist poet" and no monument was or should be built in his honor in Washington. While supporting the Shevchenko project, Kizya condemned, the Ukrainian American community, which he accused of trying to "instigate" a cold war against the "peace-loving" Soviet Union.

In his interview with *The Morning Freiheit*, the Soviet Ukrainian diplomat tried to justify the book of Kichko. He offered a mild apology, saying among other things that the work "was the result of a frivolous attitude in preparing the book on the part of the author, the publishers and the authors of the preface." But at the same time, Kizya scathingly assailed Ukrainian nationalists, whom he accused of "killing, strangling, burning alive and burying alive Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles and others, including women, old people and children."

Furthermore, Kizya told *The Morning Freiheit* that there is no anti-Semitism in the USSR, and that in Ukraine as in other parts of the USSR there is "a real brotherhood and equality." He added that the works of a number of Jewish authors are published in the Ukrainian language. He enumerated such known Jewish writers of Ukraine as Sholom Aleichem, I. Perets, P. Markish, D. Hofstein, Kvitko, and said that many Jewish writers are now taking an active part in Ukrainian literary life, among them Leonid Pervomaisky, Sava Holovanivsky, Abram Katznelson, Gregory Plotkin, Yukhym Martych and others.

Conveniently, Mr. Kizya "forgot" to mention that some of these Jewish writers, specifically, L. Kvitko, P. Markish and I. Feffer were liquidated in the early 50's. He also neglected to mention that both during the Stalin and Khrushchev periods Jewish writers and poets were subjected to constant ehicanery, ridicule and persecution, as the campaigns against S. Holovanivsky and L. Pervomaisky would demonstrate.

But the acme of Mr. Kizya's two-facedness and mendacity is the fact that he himself is a known author of anti-religious books and pamphlets. In 1959 he authored a very cheap and derogatory book directed against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, entitled, *The Centuries-long Struggle of the Ukrainian People against the Vatican*. Therein he derided the traditional Ukrainian Christian customs and the faith, and denounced as tools of "Vatican reaction" and

fascism known Ukrainian Catholic leaders, such as Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, for half a century a towering figure in the Ukrainian religious and national life.

In conclusion, both Kizya and Kichko are docile tools in the Kremlin anti-religious policies. Kizya's lamentations here in New York about the Kichko book are worth as much as his other declarations and statements.

(**The Ukrainian Bulletin,**
May 1 — May 15, 1964.)

RADIO FREE EUROPE, NCWC NEWS SERVICE, COMMENT ON UCCA STATEMENT DENOUNCING ANTI-SEMITISM

NEW YORK, N. Y.—“Radio Free Europe” and the NCWC News Service commented favorably on the statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America denouncing anti-Semitism fostered in Ukraine through the Communist-controlled media. The UCCA statement, scoring the book by Trofim K. Kichko, *Judaism Without Embellishment* (cf. *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, April 1-15, 1964), was sent out to major American newspapers and radio and TV stations throughout the country.

Date April 21, 1964, the “Radio Free Europe” statement read as follows:

“The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America condemned the recently published anti-Semitic book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, by Trofim K. Kichko as an ‘act of vicious anti-Semitism and indirectly but maliciously as a crass anti-Ukrainian measure...-

“The Committee, after having thoroughly discussed the book at its annual monthly executive board meeting earlier this month, stated that the book was ‘further proof of Soviet persecution of all religions within the USSR.’ It went on to say that ‘from the very inception of the Soviet communist takeover, Moscow has declared an all-out war against all religions ...be it Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Buddhism or Islamism.’

“The statement denounced the publication of Kichko’s book as a step of the Soviet government to sow mistrust and antagonism between the Jews and Ukrainians.

“The release stated further that whereas the book was published in the Ukrainian language and by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, most of the footnotes in the book were taken from Russian authors and from Russian-language sources, and the two authors who signed the preface to the book were not Ukrainian.

“‘Anti-Semitism has been a powerful weapon of Moscow’s policies with regard to Jews and non-Jews alike, as it was in the hands of Russian Czars in the past,’ said the Committee.

“The statement concluded that anti-Semitic strategy lies in Moscow and not in Kiev, ‘inasmuch as the Ukrainian people and their

Orthodox and Catholic religions, are as much persecuted, derided and sneered at as are Judaism and the Jewish people.' ”

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The NCWC News Service comment on the UCCA statement read as follows:

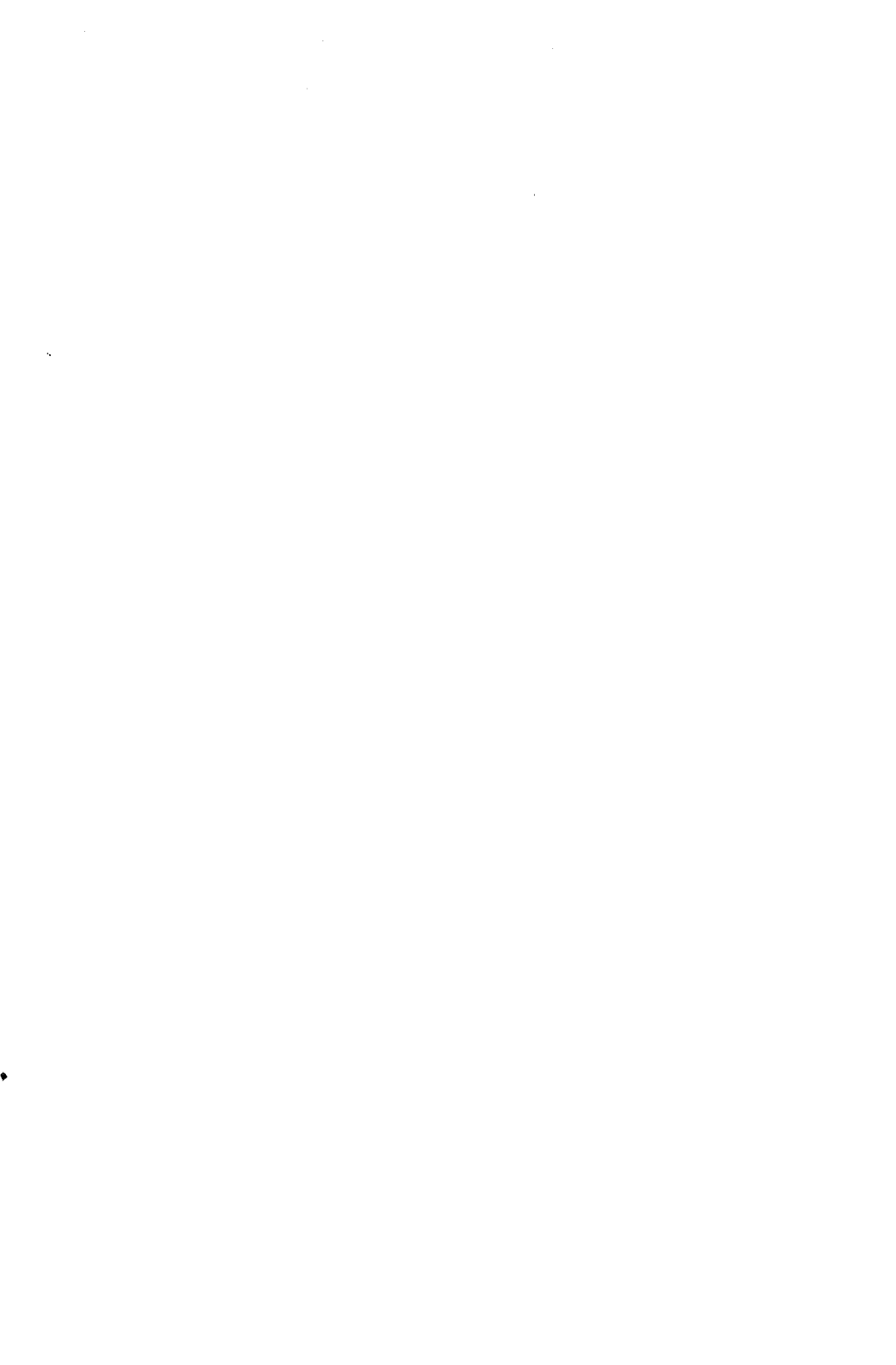
NEW YORK (NC).—The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which claims the allegiance of two million Americans of Ukrainian descent, condemned the “vicious anti-Semitism” practiced in the Soviet Union.

The executive board of the organization adopted a resolution against a book, entitled, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published in the Ukrainian language in Kiev, stating it was an official plot “to sow mistrust and antagonism” between Jews and Ukrainians.

The book, by Trofim K. Kichko, was previously condemned by the ideological commission of the Russian party’s Central Committee in Moscow as “offensive to religious persons” and “anti-Semitic.”

The executive board stated that “Zionism, Ukrainian nationalism and religion are the greatest enemies threatening the existence of the Soviet empire.”

(**The Ukrainian Bulletin**,
May 1 — May 15, 1964.)



Index of Proper Names

- Abbot, G. F.: 122.
Adamovich, Maria: 20.
Aivazovsky: 120.
Aksakov, Ivan: 30.
Aleichem, Sholom: 188.
Alekseev, A.A.: 88.
Alexander I, Czar: 18, 21.
Alexander II, Czar: 18, 23, 25, 178.
Alexander III, Czar: 26, 27, 33, 34, 45.
Almog, Jacob: 59.
Altberg: 110, 170.
Alter, Victor: 84, 170.
Arbeit, Sema: 134.
Arbeit, Shulim: 133, 134.
Arbeit, Surtsia: 134.
Armstrong, John A.: 66.
Attila: 72.
Ausubel, Nathan, author: 18, 24, 25, 33, 34, 42.

Bachynsky, Stepan, Rev.: 124.
Bach-Zelewski, von dem: 68.
Bahriany, Ivan: 91.
Bandera, Stepan: 116.
Bartosh, Ovadia: 58, 59.
Bazarko, Ivan: 139, 142.
Bellis, Mendel: 46, 47, 93, 178.
Belevtsev, Prof.: 103.
Bemko, Apollonia: 123.
Bemko, Volodymyr, Dr.: 5, 123, 126.
Ben-Gurion, David: 93.
Ben-Zvi, Isaac: 55, 64.
Beria: 91.
Berlin, Shmerka: 21.
Bershadski, S.: 82.
Bilous, Hryhoriy: 125.
Bilous, Olenka: 138.
Bilozersky: 120.
Bilyk, Theodosia: 125.
Bilyk, Volodymyr: 125.
Blake, Patricia: 76, 77.
Blank: 124.
Bodnar, Maria: 125.
Bogrov, Mordekai: 46.
Bohach, Ivan: 124.
Bonishchuk, family: 132.
Borysenko, V.: 88.
Bote, Mr.: 142.
Boyashevich: 86.
Boyko, Ivan: 124.
Burshtein, D.: 83.
Breitmann, M.: 112.
Broida, Michael, Dr. 4, 5, 9, 97, 182.

Catherine II, Czarina: 16.
Celler, Emanuel, Congressman: 117.
Chaharyn, Orist D. 133.
Chaharyn, Toma: 133.
Chernyshevsky: 120, 121.
Chervinsky, A.: 73.
Chesterton, A. K.: 79.
Churchill, Winston: 70.
Cohen, Elliot E.: 85.
Comay, Michael: 132.

Dallin, Alexander: 73.
Dallin, David J.: 110.
Dante, Alleghieri: 146.
David, King: 88.
Denikin, General: 108, 109, 149, 150.
Diamond, Moses: 5, 141, 142, 143.
Dick, N. 123.
Dienes, Dr., dentist: 124.
Diminsky, S. Ia.: 88.
Dinershtein, I.: 85.
Dobriansky, Lev E.: 4, 5, 6, 9, 107, 169.
Domaratzky, Anatole: 200.
Drabaty, Ivan, Dr.: 127.
Drahomaniv, Michael, Prof.: 32, 35, 82.
Dubnow, Simon M., author: 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 82, 160, 162.
Duker, Abraham G.: 107, 115, 116, 117.
Dulles, Allen: 181.
Dushny, Stefan: 61.
Dushnyck, Walter: 6, 9, 158, 159, 160, 162, 174, 181, 200.

Eichmann, Adolf: 60, 61, 97.
Eisenhower, Dwight D.: 103.
Engels, Friedrich: 81.
Erlich, Henryk: 84, 170.

Fabian, Bela: 86, 89, 93.
Farbstein, Leonard, Congressman: 169.
Fedyk, Maria: 124.
Fedyk, Yaroslav: 124.
Fefer, Itzakh: 85, 188.
Feld, Charlie: 137.
Feld, Jack: 137.
Feld, Jakob: 137.
FERENCEVYCH, Roman: 200.
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb: 80.
Fineberg, S. Andhill: 179.
Forostivsky, L.: 78.
Forovych, Yaroslava: 5, 139, 142.

- Frank, Hans: 65, 73, 115.
 Franko, Ivan: 143.
 Friedman, Herman: 130.
 Friedman, Philip: 74, 75, 76, 162.
 Fries, Jacob Friedrich: 80.
 Frumkin, Ya.: 40, 41, 42, 49.
 Furtseva, Ekaterina: 98.
- Galter, Albert: 174.
 Gapon, Father: 37, 38, 63, 178.
 Geldfand, Fima: 69.
 Gessen, Iu.: 82.
 Ginzberg, Benjamin: 178.
 Glanz, A.: 76.
 Glasko, Varvara: 126.
 Goebbels: 93.
 Gogol, Nicholas, see: Hohol, Nicholas
 Goldelman, M.: 112.
Goldelman, Solomon I., Prof: 11, 12, 94,
 114, 181.
 Goldstein: 112.
 Golub, Sholom: 62.
 Gonta, Ivan: 95.
 Gorchakov: 82, 170.
 Gordon, Samuel: 58.
 Gorky, Maxim: 45.
 Grigoriev, (Hryhoriyiv), Otaman: 110.
 Gunther, Hans F.: 80.
 Gunzburg, Joseph, Baron: 23.
 Gurko, General: 45.
 Guttenplan, two girls: 124.
 Guttmann, Joseph: 116.
- Haam, Achad: 112.
 Haber, Munio: 123.
 Hamlet: 30.
 Haskell, Colonel: 109.
 Havryluk, Rev.: 126.
 Havryluk, Nadia: 126.
 Havryluk, Tatyana: 126.
 Hay, Malcolm: 80.
 Hecht: 124.
 Heiman, Leo: 4, 5, 9, 55, 76, 97.
 Himmiler, Heinrich: 8, 68, 74, 93.
 Hishchynsky, S.: 145.
 Hitler, Adolf: 8, 66, 72, 73, 78, 84, 86,
 88, 91, 93, 97, 110, 142, 144, 157, 170,
 171, 185.
 Hladyshovsky, Alexander: 5, 133, 134.
 Hofstein, D.: 188.
 Hohol, Nicholas V.: 92, 160.
 Holovanivsky, Sava: 188.
 Hook, Sidney: 107.
 Hopkins: 70.
 Hordynsky, Sviatoslav: 77.
 Hrushevsky, Michael: 156.
 Hrycko, Ivan: 61.
 Hryhoriyiv, N.: 92.
 Hulak-Artemovsky, Artym: 120.
 Humenna, Dokia: 78.
- Ignatyev, Count: 29.
 Ilarion, Archbishop: 127.
 Ilichev, L.F.: 176, 177.
 Ivanov, K.: 85, 88.
 Ivan the Terrible, Czar: 14, 81.
 Ivanys, Vasyl: 14, 39.
- Jabotinsky, V.: see Zabotinsky, V.
 Jehovah: 86.
 Jockelman, D.: 112.
- Kaganovich, Lazar: 77.
 Kaganovich, Moshe: 69.
 Kahane, David: 74.
 Kahn, Albert: 116, 117.
 Kalita, Ivan: 91.
 Kaminsky: 91.
 Kaminsky, Maria, see: Tenenbaum,
 Maria.
 Kaplan, I.: 69.
 Katz, Clara: 137, 138.
 Katz, Leib: 137.
 Katzbek, General: 41.
 Katznelson, Abram: 188.
 Kedryn-Rudnytsky, Ivan: 94.
 Kerensky, Alexander F.: 52, 53.
 Khatayevich: 77.
Khmelytsky, Bohdan: 75, 95, 159, 162,
 180.
 Khomiak-Goldsheit: 87.
 Khomyn, Dr.: 130.
 Khrushchev, Nikita: 62, 76, 86, 98, 105,
 106, 160, 163, 170, 175, 179, 185, 188.
 Kichko, Trofim K., Prof.: 6, 8, 13, 88,
 97, 98, 100, 104, 105, 106, 157, 158,
 162, 163, 164, 165, 171, 173, 179, 182,
 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191.
 Kizya, Luka E.: 6, 158, 181, 187,
 188, 189.
 Klein, Congressman: 107, 117.
 Koestler, Arthur: 85.
 Kolarz, Walter: 83, 84.
 Kolchak, Admiral: 109.
 Komaryansky, N.: 124.
 Kornitsky, Kost: 133.
 Korobchuk, Very Rev.: 132.
 Kostomariv, Mykola: 24, 120, 121.
 Kostomarov, Mykola: see, Kostomariv,
 Mykola.
 Kovalenko, M.: 181.
 Kovch, E., Rev.: 124, 144, 145.
Kovpak, Sydir: 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69,
 70, 71, 75.
 Kozlov: 62.
 Kraise, Jacques: 111.
 Kramarenko, Ivan: 127.
 Krasny, M. Pinkhos: 93, 112, 149.
 Kravchenko, Igor: 117.
 Krueger, Hans: 65.
 Krypiakevych, Ivan: 66.
 Kucher, Dr.: 130.
 Kulak, M.: 140.

- Kulish, Panteleimon: 120, 121.
 Kurochkin: 120.
 Kushnir, B., Rev., Dr.: 168.
 Kvitko, Leib: 85, 188.
- Lapin, Shalom: 20.
 Laval: 60.
 Lazaron, Rabbi: 117.
 Lazarowitz, Leopold, Dr.: 160.
 Lebed, Mykola: 65, 68.
 Leftwich, J.: 79.
 Leheta, Ivanna: 125.
 Lemkin, Raphael, Dr.: 169.
 Lenin, Nikolai: 70, 104, 163, 174.
 Leonidov, A.: 87.
 Leshchinskiy, Yakov: 49.
 Leskov: 120.
 Levin, Itzakh: 74.
 Liberman: 87.
 Lille, N.: 125.
 Lisovy, Stepan: 5, 131, 132, 133.
 Liudkevych, Eugene: 137.
 Livytsky, Andriy: 44.
 Lopukhin, A.: 40.
 Lovitsky, Eugene, Dr.: 125.
 Luckyj, George S.N.: 77.
 Lugovoy, Vassili: 99.
 Lushnyak, Mykola: 124.
 Lutostavsky, Hippolyte, Rev.: 26.
 Lyuty-Lyutenko, Ivan: 5, 126, 130.
 Lyuta-Lyutenko, Olha: 128.
 Lyuty-Lyutenko, Yuriy: 128.
- Machno, Otaman: 110.
 Maiblum, Mrs. Mother of N.: 123.
 Maiblum, N.: 123.
 Malowist, Simon: 160.
 Mao Tse-tung, see: Tse-tung, Mao.
 Margolin, Arnold, Dr.: 12, 13, 40, 41,
 43, 44, 46, 82, 93, 103, 111, 114,
 119, 161.
 Margolin, Julius: 110, 170.
 Markish, P.: 188.
Markus, Vasyl: 95.
 Martin, David: 116.
 Martos, Borys: 43, 149.
 Martych, Yukhym: 188.
 Marx, Karl: 81.
 Matsiuk, Makar: 141, 142.
 Mazaniuk, Irena: 61.
 Mazepa, Ivan: 77.
 Meker, A.: 109.
 Melnyk: 62.
 Melnyk, Andriy: 116.
 Meltzer, Philip: 142, 143.
 Meyer, family of: 131, 132.
 Mohyla, Mykhailo: 125.
 Montefiore, Moses, Sir: 18.
 Moses, religion of: 12.
 Mostensky, Michael, Very Rev.: 133.
 Morgenthau: 72, 93.
 Mudry, Vasyl: 75, 94.
- Mussolini, Benito: 88.
 Mykhailychenko, Mme.: 93
 Myrny, Ivan: 156.
- Napoleon, Bonaparte, Emperor: 17.
 Nardina, Lado: 142.
 Nasser, Abdel: 54.
 Naumov: 62.
 Neumann, Wilhelm Dr.: 125.
 Nicholas I, Czar: 18, 21, 120.
 Nicholas II, Czar: 34, 35.
 Nicolaevsky, B.: 110.
 Nussbaum, David: 107, 115, 116, 117.
- Ohienko, Ivan, Dr.: see, Ilarion, Arch-
 bishop.
 Onatsky, Secretary of UNRada: 156.
 Orlov, Count: 23.
 Orwell, George: 102.
 Ostrovsky, Dr.: 103.
 Oxman: 21.
- Parasevych, A.: 123.
 Perets, I.: 188.
 Pervomaisky, Leonid: 188.
 Pestel, Paul, Decembrist author: 18,
 19, 20.
 Peter I, Czar: 15.
 Peter II, Czar: 15.
Petlura, Simon: 5, 13, 14, 39, 44, 93,
 95, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113,
 114, 150, 152, 154, 159, 161, 180,
 181, 185.
 Petruch, Jaroslav: 200.
 Pigido, F.: 92.
 Pilsudski, Jozef: 88.
 Pius XII, Pope: 175.
 Plehve, V. K., count von: 35, 37, 178.
 Plotkin, Grigori Davidovich: 157, 165,
 180, 184, 188.
 Polonsky: 120.
 Polyakov, Mr.: 132.
 Popovich, Mikolaj: 200.
 Porubochny, N.: 125.
 Postoyko, family of: 143.
 Pryshlak, Lev: 139.
 Purishkevich, Deputy: 109.
 Pyasetsky, Petro: 5, 134, 139.
- Quisling: 60.
- Rabinovich, Mme., dentist: 128.
 Rafes, M.: 92.
 Ranovich, A.: 87.
 Reichmann, Dr.: 125.
 Reichmann, Eva G.: 81.
 Reitlinger, Gerald: 66.
 Robert, Paul: 52.
 Rokach, Aaron, Rabbi: 144, 145, 146,
 147.
 Romanovs: 86.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano: 70, 108.
 Rosenberg, Alfred: 80.
 Rudkovsky, N.: 125, 126.
 Rudnev, Simon: 66, 71, 76.
 Runes, Dagobert D.: 81.
 Russell, Bertrand: 179.
 Rybak, Nathan: 93.
 Rybalenko: 36.
 Rzepetsky, Borys: 127.

Saburov: 62.
 Salisbury, Harrison E.: 86, 89.
 Sanjour, Eugene: 6, 9, 162, 181.
 Sarchuk, W. J.
 Savenko: 43.
 Savitsky, Sergeant: 20.
 Schall, J.: 82.
 Schodz, August: 121.
 Schultz, Benjamin: 90.
 Schwartzbardt, Samuel: 114, 159, 161, 181, 185.
 Schwarz, Joseph: 75.
 Schwartzbardt, Samuel, (Shalom) 114, 159, 161, 181, 185.
 Semkiv, Vasyi: 125.
 Shabad, Theodore: 184.
 Shankowsky, Lew: 4, 5, 9, 65.
 Shankovich, M.: 87.
 Shapoval, Mykyta: 49.
 Sharet, Moshe: 93.
 Sheinis, Z.: 85, 88.
 Shemet, brothers: 44.
 Sheptytsky, Andrew, Metropolitan: 8, 74, 135, 144, 158, 162, 181, 189.
 Sherwood, Robert E.: 70.
 Shevchenko, Taras: 24, 102, 119, 120, 121, 122, 161, 188.
 Shevel, G. G.: 93.
 Shkilnyk, M. Dr.: 5, 143.
 Shlieferman: 22.
 Shulgin, Vitaliy: 43.
 Shumeyko, Anthony: 139.
 Shumeyko, Vera: 139.
 Shvarts: 21.
 Siegal, N.: 126.
 Silver, Abba Hillel: 85.
 Simkiv, Taras: 141, 142.
 Sipyagin, Dmitry: 35.
 Skoropadsky, Paul, *Hetman*: 185.
 Slansky: 85.
 Slipy, Joseph, Metropolitan: 175, 185.
 Sluzhynsky, Mykola: 123.
 Slysberg: 45.
 Smal-Stocki, Roman: 4, 5, 9, 119.
 Smal-Stocki, Stephen: 120.
 Solodar, M.: 112.
 Sosa, girl: 137.
 Stachiw, Matthew, Dr.: 4, 5, 9, 11, 34, 38, 41.
 Stalin, Joseph: 63, 66, 68, 70, 72, 73, 78, 83, 85, 86, 93, 97, 98, 163, 170, 178, 179, 188.
 Starikov, Nikolai: 103.
 Starko, Vasyi: 125.

Stashevsky, Dimitri: 103, 104.
 Stefarak, Volodymyr: 138.
 Stolypin, Peter: 46.
 Straucher, Benno: 119.
 Strelnikov: 29.
 Sugrue, Thomas: 80.
 Suprunenko: 44.
 Suslov, Mikhail: 105.
 Sydoriak, Jaroslau: 200.
 Szende, Stefan: 66, 74.

Tartakovsky: 87.
 Teller, Judd L., Dr.: 6, 9, 13, 160, 161, 162, 180.
 Tenenbaum, Joseph: 75.
 Tenenbaum, Maria: 128, 129, 130.
 Tenenbaum, Mirko: 128, 130.
 Terentyeva, Maria: 21.
 Terluk, Vavro: 123.
 Thachyk, Hans: 125.
 Thoreau, Henry David: 65.
 Thorez, Maurice: 45.
 Tolstoy, Count: 120.
 Tolstoy, O.: 120.
 Trachtenberg, Joshua: 80.
 Trotsky, Leon: 108.
 Tsaitlin, Aron: 95.
 Tse-tung, Mao: 105.
 Tsikhotskiy, Policemaster: 40.
 Turgenov: 120.
 Tymkiv: 141.
 Tzalikoff, President: 109.

Uris, Leon: 77, 78.
 Ussihkin, M.: 112.

Vakhuta, Ivan: 136, 139.
 Vasili III, Grand Duke of Muscovy: 14.
 Velikanov, Fiodor Arsenyevich: 56.
 Vepryk, family of: 143.
 Vergelis, Aaron: 97, 98, 104, 106, 179, 182.
 Vershyhora, Petro: 62, 65, 66, 68.
 Vishnitzer, Mark: 113.
 Vladislav, Polish Crown Prince: 14.
 Volovych, Attorney: 93.
 Voltaire: 16.
 Vovchok, Marko: 120, 121.
 Vvedensky, Andrey A.: 157, 165, 179, 184.
 Vydoynyk, Mykhailo: 123.
 Vynnychenko, Volodymyr: 82.

Wachuta, John: see, Vakhuta, Ivan.
 Weinbaum, Mark Efimovich: 91.
 Weissbrod, Abraham: 69.

Yakymiv, Mykhailo: 125.
 Yakymiv, Stakh: 125.
 Yefremov, Serhiy: 92.
 Yelisavetgrad: 27.

- Yemelyanov, Theodore: 20.
 Yeremyeyeva: 21.
 Yevtushenko, Evgeniy: 160.
 Yezhov: 91.
 Yunakiv: 152.
 Yushchynsky, Andriy: 46.
 Yushkevicher, Yankel: 22.
 Zabotinsky, V.: 162, 185.
 Zalizniak, Maksym: 95.
 Zangwill, Israel: 112, 113.
 Zarchi, S., Dr.: 113.
 Zarichny, N.: 124.
 Zdyrko, Stepan: 125.
 Zetlin, Yozei: 21.
 Zhemchuzhnikov: 120.
 Zilber, A.: 146.
 Zubrytsky, Rev.: 140, 142.

Index of Cities

- Andrusovo, Treaty of: 15.
 Astrakhan: 53.
 Auschwitz: 124, 125.
 Balta: 32, 50.
 Balyhorod: 134.
 Baranivka, village of: 125.
 Baturyn: 81.
 Belz: 144.
 Berezhany: 123, 124, 125, 126.
 Berdychiv: 50, 55.
 Berlin: 40, 82, 121, 170.
 Bibrka: 135, 136.
 Bila Tzerkva: 50.
 Bokhnia: 147.
 Bolekhiv: 139, 140, 141, 142.
 Boryslav: 143.
 Boston, Mass.: 80, 81, 85.
 Bound Brook, N.J.: 130.
 Brody: 29.
 Brooklyn, N.Y.: 75, 162.
 Bryansk: 76.
 Budapest: 147.
 Buenos Aires: 78.
 Casablanca: 72.
 Cracow: 128, 147.
 Cherkassy: 126.
 Chernivtsi: 62, 120.
 Chicago, Ill.: 119.
 Cholhany, village of: 139, 140, 141, 142.
 Dniepropetrovsk: 99.
 Dolyna: 140.
 Drohobych: 141, 143.
 Dubassary: 36.
 Ekaterinoslav: 18, 33, 53.
 Felshtyn: 50.
 Geneva: 32.
 Gomel: see Homel
 Grodno: 17, 20, 52.
 Haifa: 62, 180.
 Haysyn: 131.
 Holhochi, village of: 125.
 Homel: 37, 39.
 Hrytsiv: 50.
 Huziyiv, village of: 140.
 Jersey City, N.J.: 2, 75.
 Jerusalem: 55, 60, 62.
 Kalinovka, village of: 62.
 Kaluga: 34, 53.
 Kamin, Koshyrsky: 50.
 Kamyanets Podilsky: 50, 111, 113.
 Katyn: 90, 112.
 Kazan: 53.
 Kharkiv: 43, 53, 55, 99, 102.
 Kherson: 27, 53.
 Kholm: 16, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132.
 Khvastiv: 50.
 Kiev: 4, 8, 9, 16, 20, 27, 28, 29, 35, 40, 43, 44, 46, 53, 55, 56, 62, 77, 78, 88, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 126, 130, 149, 157, 158, 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 171, 174, 178, 181, 184, 185, 191.
 Kishinev: 36, 37, 39, 178.
 Kostroma: 53.
 Kovel: 57.
 Kovno: 52.
 Kurovychi: 136.

- Kursk: 53.
 Kuryany, village of: 124.
- Lahodiv, village of: 137.**
 Latske: 136.
 Leningrad: 56, 57, 59, 61, 65, 106.
 Lisko: 133.
 Livonia: 53.
 Lodz: 69.
 London: 4, 66, 73, 79, 80, 84, 110, 111, 112, 113, 121, 122.
 Louvain: 162.
 Lublin: 126, 127.
 Lubny: 43, 44.
 Lviv (Lvov): 4, 34, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 74, 82, 99, 102, 106, 123, 124, 135, 144, 171.
- Majdanek: 127.**
 Malakhovka: 89.
 Manila, the Philippines: 4.
 Mechyshchiv, village of: 124.
 Minsk: 16, 53, 56.
 Mogilev (Mohilev): see Mohyliv.
 Mohyliv: 15, 17, 22, 37, 53.
 Moscow: 30, 32, 33, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 68, 71, 72, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 98, 99, 103, 106, 164, 166, 167, 170, 171, 176, 191.
 Mstislavl: 22.
 Munich: 11, 69, 88, 92, 94, 95, 149.
 Murmansk: 58.
 Nahuyevychi, village of: 143.
- Neu Ulm: 91.**
 New Haven, Conn.: 80.
 Newark, N. J.: 126.
 New York, N.Y.: 3, 18, 66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 86, 91, 95, 103, 103, 130, 133, 136, 139, 141, 142, 143, 158, 160, 163, 174, 187, 189, 190, 191.
 Nizhniy Novgorod: 33, 53.
 Nizhyn: 29.
 Nova Ushytsya: 21, 22.
 Novgorod: 34, 53, 56, 81.
 Novorossiysk: 33.
 Nuremberg: 82 (laws), 115 (Trials).
- Odessa: 25, 26, 28, 40, 50, 55, 56, 62, 63, 99, 102, 157, 165, 175, 180, 184.**
 Orel: 53.
 Orenburg: 53.
- Paris: 45, 74, 87, 109, 111, 112, 117.**
 Peking: 105.
 Peremyshlany: 124, 135, 136, 144, 147.
 Pereyaslav: 29.
 Perm: 53.
 Perma: 157, 165, 179, 184.
 Petrograd: 53.
 Philadelphia, Pa.: 4, 14, 82, 85.
 Pidhaytsi: 125.
- Polotsk: 14, 15, 16, 21, 53, 81.**
 Poltava: 53, 55, 99.
 Posukhiv, village of: 125.
 Prague: 4, 49, 82, 85.
 Proskuriv: 50.
 Pskov: 53.
 Putivl: 65.
- Quebec: 72.**
- Radomyshl: 50.**
 Ray, village of: 124, 125.
 Riga: 56.
 Rivne: 50, 55, 57, 86, 126.
 Rohatyn: 125.
 Rome: 14, 69, 158, 175, 181.
 Rostov: 4.
 Rostov-on-Don: 33.
 Ryazan: 53.
- St. Petersburg: 18, 23, 27, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 82, 88, 120, 121, 178.**
 Salzburg: 123, 126.
 Samara: 53.
 Saratov: 22, 23, 53.
 Scranton, Pa.: 4.
 Sevastopol: 101, 102.
 Shumlany, village of: 125.
 Shybalyn, village of: 125.
 Simbirsk: 53.
 Simferopol: 56, 99, 102.
 Skalat: 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75.
 Skotniki, village of: 130.
 Slavyatyn, village of: 125.
 Smolensk: 53.
 Stalingrad: 8, 67.
 Stanislaviv: 57, 62, 65, 87.
 Starodub: 34.
 Starokonstantyniv: 153.
 Stryj: 125, 140.
 Sverdlovsk: 56.
 Syracuse, N.Y.: 69.
- Tambov Penza: 53.**
 Tarnopil: 57, 125, 135.
 Tel Aviv: 74, 143.
 Tiflis: 56, 59.
 Tiraspol: 62.
 Toronto: 92.
 Tula: 34, 53.
 Tver: 53.
 Tyskova, village of: 133.
- Ufa: 53.**
 Univ: 134, 136.
 Uzhorod: 99.
- Velizh: 21.**
 Vienna: 17, 94.
 Vilna, Vilnius: 15, 17, 53, 56.
 Vitebsk: see: Polotsk

Vivsyia, village of: 123.
 Vladimir: 53.
 Vologda: 52.
 Voronezh: 53.
 Vulka, village of: 123.
 Vyatka: 52.

Warsaw: 4, 17, 32, 68, 81, 128, 129,
 130, 186.
 Washington, D.C.: 4, 86, 111, 113, 119,
 169, 188.
 Westminster, Md.: 174.
 Winnipeg: 66, 168.

Woonsocket, R.I.: 132, 133.
 Wroclaw (Breslau): 125.

Yaktoriv, village of: 134, 135, 136, 137,
 138, 139.
 Yalta: 56.
 Yaroslav: 52.
 Yelisavetgrad: 27.

Zahiryia: 134.
 Zhytomyr: 93.
 Zolochiv: 135, 136.

Editorial Note

The present book, *Ukrainians and Jews*, is a compilation of several articles, testimonies, official documents, editorial comments, and reports written in different countries and at different times. Understandably, there is a discrepancy in the spelling of proper nouns as well as in that of the cities. In the original articles and documents the names were written according to Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, or German spelling and transliteration. For instance, the name of Schwartzbardt also appears as Schwartzbart. This should be borne in mind by the reader.

Consequently, several cities in Ukraine may be found in variant spellings, e. g., Lviv-Lvov-Lemberg; Kharkiv-Kharkov; Rivne-Rivno-Rovno; Ternopil-Tarnopol, on non-Ukrainian cities: Tiflis-Tbilisi; Vilna-Vilnius, and som others.

Regarding proper nouns, it is editorially impossible to search out all given names. Thus, several names appear in the *Index* without given names, e. g., Savitsky (p. 20), Shvarts, Oxman and Yeremeyeva (p. 21), and many others.

Also, no first names are given for such historical figures as Stalin, Hitler, Himmler, Khrushchev, Nasser, Khmelnytsky, Pilsudski, Mussolini, Eisenhower, Roosevelt, Denikin, Trotsky, and others.

Errata

The reader's attention is drawn to the following corrections. The correct reading is indicated:

- p. 7, line 5 from bottom: as such.
- p. 65, line 14 from bottom: *Raid*
- p. 109, line 9 from bottom: massacred
- p. 114, line 9 from top: sponsored
- p. 141, line 6 from bottom: in the town of
- p. 142, line 14 from bottom: as a branch
- p. 147, line 9 from top: of the rabbi of Belz
- p. 152, line 15 from top: and orderly state.
- p. 155, line 6 from bottom: the organs of the State.
- p. 170, line 11 from bottom: Altberg show that
- p. 174, line 14 from top: different viewpoints, namely:

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