



UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

**SOLOMON I. GOLDELMAN:  
A PORTRAIT OF A POLITICIAN  
AND EDUCATOR  
(1885-1974)**

**A Chapter in Ukrainian Jewish Relations**

by  
**LEV BYKOVSKY**

Edited by  
**LUBOMYR R. WYNAR**

**New York - Toronto - Muenchen  
1980**

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*Solomon Goldblatt*

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## INTRODUCTION

On January 3, 1974, Solomon I. Goldelman, a prominent Jewish educator, scholar, publicist and noted political activist in Ukraine and Israel, died in Jerusalem. Two years later, his student Lev Bykovsky, published a commemorative treatise, *Solomon Izrailevych Goldelman, 1885-1974: Bio-bibliohrafichni materialy*. (Denver-Jerusalem, 1976, 293p.) in the Ukrainian language.

The present publication in English constitutes an abridged translation of Bykovsky's Ukrainian edition. It consists of the following parts: (1) Goldelman's biography arranged chronologically in four chapters; (2) appendices containing Goldelman's "Memoirs from my Ukrainian Era" translated from Ukrainian, excerpts from his published works, and several important historical documents pertaining to Jewish-Ukrainian relationships in 1917-1919; (3) a selective bibliography of his published works; and (4) appropriate name and geographical indices. A modified Library of Congress transliteration system was used for this translation, patterned after *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (University of Toronto Press, Vol. 1, 1963), prepared by the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Professor Solomon I. Goldelman, one of the leaders of the Jewish socialist Zionist party "Poalei Zion" (Workers of Zion), was a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the government of the Ukrainian National Republic during the turbulent years of 1917 through 1919. In 1918, he served as Secretary of Labor in the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic, and as acting Secretary of the Ministry of National Minorities. Goldelman and his political party promoted the cause of an independent Ukrainian republic in 1918 and 1919, and directly participated in the activities of the Ukrainian national government.

It is important to note that in 1918 the Ukrainian Central Rada was the first European government to grant national autonomy to the Jewish population in Ukraine. According to Goldelman, "This act will go down into the history of both nations—Ukrainian and Jewish—as a brilliant example of the fact that it really is possible to decide a national question and prepare international matters by positive constructive means and that for this end there was needed only one prerequisite—mutual goodwill."<sup>1</sup> This decree of national-personal autonomy for minorities in Ukraine was renewed by the Ukrainian Directory which established a separate Ministry of Jewish Affairs headed by Jewish minister Pinkhas Krasny. Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), an outstanding Jewish writer, stressed the importance of the Jewish National autonomy in Ukraine in his letter of October 19, 1919 to the Ukrainian national government.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that you have granted the Jews national rights testifies to your real statesmanship, and appears as a sharp contrast to Poland and its attitude toward the Jews, and I earnestly hope that your republic will endeavor to give the whole world an example of strength and lofty patriotism which are the result of friendly cooperation and mutual esteem of all various religious denominations and nationalities inhabiting a modern state.

Zangwill's view was shared by other contemporary Jewish political leaders and intellectuals.<sup>3</sup>

Prominent members of the Ukrainian government, i.e., Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Symon Petliura, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and others, supported the political and cultural aspirations of the Jewish population in Ukraine. Solomon Goldelman himself exercised significant influence on Jewish-Ukrainian relationships during this period.<sup>4</sup> However, the majority of Jews in Ukraine did not support Ukrainian independence and this attitude contribut-

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<sup>1</sup>Solomon I. Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine*. Chicago, 1968, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>*Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of the Revolution (1917-1921)*. Collection of Documents and Testimonies of Prominent Jewish Political Workers. Edited by F. Pigido. Munich, 1956, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>See Abraham Heller, *Die Lage der Juden in Russland von der Märzrevolution 1917 bis zur Gegenwart*, Breslau, 1935, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup>Other Jewish participants in Ukrainian government include activists Moishe Zilberfarb, Moishe Rafes, Arnold Margolin, and Abram Revutsky.

ed toward Ukrainian and Jewish hostilities.<sup>5</sup> Many Jews supported the Communist government and, according to Goldelman, some who were former members of the Central Rada, "began to destroy everything that they had established with their own hands, cursing everything which they had hitherto blessed."<sup>6</sup>

It is not within the scope of this brief introduction to analyze Jewish participation in either the Ukrainian national or the Bolshevik movements of 1917 and the following years. It is only fair to state that there is a serious gap in historiography dealing with an impartial analysis of the Ukrainian Jewish relationship of this revolutionary era. It is hoped that historians of 1917-1920 will analyze the political activity of Solomon Goldelman and his writings pertaining to this period, and that this will help them to comprehend the complexity of the political situation in Ukraine.

Goldelman understood the dynamics of the political awakening of the Ukrainian nation and linked the future of the Jewish minority of Ukraine with the establishment of the Ukrainian national state. Unfortunately, many of his contemporaries did not share his views and were engaged in opposing the birth of a Ukrainian National Republic. Later, Goldelman wrote that, "The Jewish National Autonomy and Ukrainian Revolution came on the scene of events as siamese twins. With the fall of an independent Ukrainian state there followed automatically an end also to Jewish national autonomy."<sup>7</sup>

Jewish and Ukrainian historians will certainly benefit from Goldelman's interpretation of recent East European history, and Lev Bykovsky deserves acknowledgement for presenting a clear picture of Goldelman's political, cultural and pedagogical activity in the 1920's and 1930's. Special attention should be given to the author's interpretation of Goldelman's professorship at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy (UHA) and at the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI) in Czechoslovakia

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<sup>5</sup>A valuable interpretation of Ukrainian Jewish relations is presented by Taras Hunczak, "A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917-1921," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1969, pp. 163-83. See also, Zvi Y. Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics*, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 155-157.

<sup>6</sup>Goldelman, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup>Goldelman, *op. cit.*, p. 123.



prior to his departure to Palestine in 1939. Solomon I. Goldelman was an outstanding educator as well as politician. In Israel, he established the Institute of Zionist Education in Jerusalem and became partially involved in Jewish political life. After World War II, he maintained close contact with Ukrainian scholarly institutions in the United States and Europe, as well as with his former students, especially with the author of this biography.

At present, and probably in the future, Goldelman serves as a symbol of close cooperation between the Jewish and Ukrainian people. It is hoped that this study will fill an important gap in biographical and historical studies and contribute to a better understanding of Jewish-Ukrainian relationship.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A number of persons contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the completion of this publication. First of all I wish to express sincere gratitude to the author of this biography, Mr. Lev Bykovsky—a noted bibliographer and educator—for preparing an abridged version of his work for translation. Mrs. Oksana Kraus, the translator of the text, deserves credit for the translation of the text and the preparation of the indices. Mr. George Gajecky also translated part of the manuscript and should be acknowledged for his preliminary work. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. O. Kraus for his research assistance and Ms. Tatianna Gajecky for her thorough copy editing. Our special gratitude and appreciation is expressed to Mrs. Miriam A. Goldelman for her initiative and financial aid in the publication of this edition.

L. R. Wynar, Editor

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- SPUHA** Spilka Profesoriv Ukrains'koi Hospodars'koi Akademii (Association of Professors of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy)
- TPUHA** Tovarystvo Prykhylnykyv Ukrains'koi Hospodars'koi Akademii (Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy)
- UHA** Ukrains'ka Hospodars'ka Akademiia (Ukrainian Husbandry Academy)
- UNR** Ukrains'ka Narodnia Respublika (Ukrainian National Republic)
- UTHI** Ukrains'kyi Tekhnichno-Hospodars'kyi Instytut (Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute)
- UVAN** Ukrains'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences)
- UVU** Ukrains'kyi Vil'nyi Universytet (Ukrainian Free University)

## UKRAINIAN PERIOD 1885-1920

The Ukrainian period of Solomon I. Goldelman's life and works covers the timespan from his birth to his emigration from Ukraine in 1920. This period may be further subdivided into the Jewish-Russian era (1885-1917) and the Jewish-Ukrainian era (1917-1920), according to Goldelman's areas of concentration.

Solomon Izrailevych Goldelman was born on December 5, 1885, into a Jewish family in the town of Soroka, northern Bessarabia (presently the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Soroka, an ancient settlement dating back to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, served as a county seat during the nineteenth century. According to the Census of 1897, it had a population of 15,800, half of whom were Jews; the other half consisted of Ukrainians, some Russians, Moldavians, Poles, and Gypsies. The townspeople were engaged primarily in trade (particularly the Jews), agriculture, and viticulture. They also cultivated fruits, vegetables, tobacco, kept bees, and produced sundry crafts.

The artist Petro Mehyk<sup>1</sup>, who studied in Soroka from 1915 to 1918, left an interesting description of the town showing the local color which permeated this old-fashioned provincial Jewish-Ukrainian settlement in northern Bessarabia. The Gypsies added a special flavor; they were quite well-off and owned large brick houses, smithies, and locksmith shops in the town. In summertime, the males would erect tents on the other side of the Dniester River for their families. They themselves spent their days in town, returning to their tent villages in the evenings. This continued until fall when the Gypsies moved back to town. They dressed well; on Sundays, the Gypsy men would don colorful costumes consisting of: black boots, black velvet pants and matching coat over a dazzling waistcoat with large silver buttons, the size of a small egg.

Life in Soroka was inexpensive. Small orchards and vineyards were scattered throughout the town. Produce was cheap—a

pound of grapes or plums cost one kopeck at the marketplace, and there were plenty of watermelons and squash.

Above Soroka towered the ruins of an ancient round fortress with a Genovese tower dating back to the thirteenth century. Many such remains of old Genovese and later Turkish forts—like the ones in Akkerman, Bender, and Soroka—stretched upwards along the Dniester from the Black Sea.

Among these pleasant and somewhat somnolent surroundings grew young Solomon. He was raised in the midst of a large patriarchal family. What scant information is available about his family—one of the oldest Jewish families in Bessarabia—and his youth, comes from Goldelman's correspondence. When the Russians annexed Bessarabia (1809), Solomon's great-great-grandfather, a wealthy merchant and landowner, already lived in Soroka. Since the Bessarabians, particularly the Jews, had no surnames and used only the patronymic, according to ancient Palestinian traditions, the Russians gave everyone a surname according to his occupation. (Since the Russians knew neither the Moldavian nor the Jewish language, the results were sometimes comic.)

From early childhood, Solomon remembers that his grandfather would drive around town in his own carriage with two horses, and that he attended the *zemstvo* meetings. At that time only rich and prominent Jews were appointed to town and *zemstvo* governments. He also recalls how seventy years ago his father would go with his grandfather to visit the family estate—Holovchyntsi, on the Dniester River, across from Iampil'. The family disappointment was great when his grandfather sold the 240 *desiatyn* estate after a violent quarrel with his four sons (he also had four daughters), particularly since he had no need of the money. This sale was considered a crime by the whole Jewish community, since new laws forbade Jews to buy land outside city limits.

The Goldelmans were considered one of the most aristocratic families by the Jewish society of that time. Solomon's grandfather owned a whole block of buildings in the center of town. (Even his father was still called by his patronymic—Izrael Menashe Nuchym—for this name was known "throughout the world.") The family dwelling was so large that upon the grandfather's death, his sons sold it to the town to house the women's high

school which was founded at the end of the last century. During the great-grandfather's time, the governor of Bessarabia would stay in their house when he visited Soroka.

With time, the family's fortunes declined. The coming of the railroad, which bypassed Soroka by thirty kilometers, dealt a great blow to the merchants of the town. No longer were wheat and other goods shipped to Odessa—and beyond—by water. Of their former wealth, the Goldelmans retained only the apartment buildings and the rents thereof.

At this time, however, Solomon's maternal grandfather died. Solomon's mother, a Lieberman, came from prominent sugar beet magnates from the province of Kiev. Although they, too, were experiencing financial difficulty, the legacy she received from her father enabled the Goldelmans to build yet another apartment building. Considering the times, the Goldelmans were relatively well educated, not only in the traditional Jewish manner, but in general. They subscribed to the Russian newspaper *Odesskie Novosti* and received several children's magazines: *Niva*, *Vokrug Sveta*, *Mein Read*, and others.

The Goldelmans had six sons, one of whom died when Solomon was ten. Three of his brothers contributed articles, in Russian and Hebrew, to contemporary Jewish newspapers published in Warsaw and St. Petersburg. One older brother became a prominent journalist in Odessa and later in St. Petersburg (where he died from tuberculosis in 1907). His oldest brother, Nakhum, was the editor of a daily Russian paper in Kamianets Podilsky during the Revolution. In June 1919, when Solomon Goldelman and the Ukrainian government—of which he was a member—arrived at Kamianets Podilsky, he published an open letter to the Ukrainian socialists entitled "Who's Guilty?" It appeared in his brother's newspaper, *Podilskii Krai*, and in the Ukrainian newspaper, *Hromada*. (This letter is included in Goldelman's work, *Letters About Ukraine*.)

At home the Goldelmans spoke Yiddish, but Solomon learned Russian at an early age, from a Russian family which boarded with them. His education began at home, then continued at grammar school and high school in Soroka. In 1902, the seventeen-year-old Solomon entered fourth grade at Karchevsky Prep School in Kishinev. This city was at that time the capital of the province (*guberniia*) of Bessarabia. Its population numbered

100,000 people, of whom 78% were Jews. Goldelman liked Kishinev and continued his education there. However, he had to leave the Karchevsky School in the sixth grade and entered the Skorodynsk Commercial School. There he successfully completed his studies in 1907 with a diploma in commerce. During these years Solomon showed himself to be a sharp and quick learner with an idealistic outlook on life, and a lack of appreciation for practical activities. This outlook remained with him throughout his entire life.

Goldelman's Kishinev era began during the rise of a universal Zionist movement among the Jews, which was started by Theodor Hertzl.<sup>2</sup> While still in Soroka, as an enthusiastic fifteen-year-old youth, Goldelman had already begun his Zionist activity. Now in Kishinev, he immediately joined a student group called *Kadima* (which in Hebrew means "forward" as well as "Orient;" combining these two meanings, *Kadima* meant "Forward to the Orient," i.e., to Palestine). Soon after, in 1903, Solomon wrote his first ideological Zionist article for a Russian language newspaper.

Goldelman believed that one should study this early period of his life to find the principles which fifteen years later guided him in his attitude towards the Ukrainian liberation movement. T. Hertzl had proclaimed the slogan "Jewish State" as an ideal for the rebirth of the Jewish people, and for their liberation from the unnatural dispersal among foreign peoples in foreign lands. The conviction that each oppressed nation deserves freedom and its own state had to be the inevitable result of Zionist ideology for every logically thinking and feeling Jew. This conviction ruled Goldelman from his first encounter with the Ukrainian liberation movement, and during his participation in it from the spring of 1917 to the fall of 1939 (the time of his emigration to Palestine).

During his first year of active Zionist activity in Kishinev, Goldelman saw the results of a Jewish pogrom. It occurred on April 19-20, 1903 during Jewish Pascal celebrations. Goldelman was home on vacation, but when he returned to Kishinev he saw mounds of broken furniture, torn down doorways, and shattered window panes. This pogrom was only one in a series, organized by the Russian government to combat revolutionary movements in the country. Tsarist pogroms were staged to draw away the anger and discontent of the downtrodden masses from the

government and to direct them towards the Jews, as well as to discourage Jewish revolutionaries from participating in anti-government activities.

In 1905 another Jewish pogrom took place in Kishinev. The Russian government, however, achieved none of its aims. Pogroms only aided the spread of Zionism among the Jews, by showing them that until Jews obtain equal status and realize a homeland in Palestine, there would be no hope for them. The pogroms also convinced the Jewish Zionist youth that the Tsarist rule in Russia must be destroyed, since it was the main obstacle to any improvement in the legal and economic life of the Jewish masses. The result of this conviction was the spread of Zionist and Socialist movements whose chief representative was the Jewish Social Democratic Party, Poalei Zion (Workers of Zion).<sup>3</sup>

As a revolutionary consciousness was developing among the Jewish youth, Goldelman joined the mainstream and, in mid-1905, organized the local chapter of Poalei Zion in Kishinev. He first served as the local spokesman, then affiliated himself with the central headquarters of the party in Poltava, and rapidly rose to the position of secretary for the southwest region, which encompassed Bessarabia, Podollia and the Kherson regions of Ukraine (1905-1907). During these illegal activities he used the pseudonym "Shalom Kishinever." (The Poltava center was commanded by Ben Zvi ["Avner"],<sup>4</sup> who later served as the second president of Israel.) The main spokesman of this movement in Ukraine was Ber Borokhov.<sup>5</sup> Later a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada,<sup>6</sup> he distinguished himself at the Congress of Nationalities, held in Kiev on September 18-21, 1917, as the theoretician of the rebirth of national minorities in the former Russian Empire.

During the spring of 1907, Goldelman finished the Commercial School in Kishinev. That summer he illegally crossed the border, and attended a conference of Poalei Zion in Cracow. In the fall, Goldelman moved to Kiev to pursue his education and to broaden his intellectual horizons.

Kiev then became his home base from the fall of 1907 until his emigration from Ukraine during the Revolution. Here Goldelman registered at the newly-established Advanced Commercial School, which in May of 1908 became the Commercial Institute, with two departments: economic and commercial. He chose the

Commercial Institute because Jewish attendance at the more prestigious Polytechnical Institute was limited by an entrance quota to 3% of the student body. In addition, Goldelman was interested in economic and socio-political affairs, and therefore the curriculum of the Commercial Institute suited him.

Goldelman began his higher education at the age of twenty-two, which was late, in comparison with the other students. However, he had solid educational background—having attended two high schools—some life experience; a developed Zionist-socialist world outlook; and he was engaged as a social activist. This was immediately apparent when he started studying in the Commercial Institute, where he soon became one of the top students. His studies at the Institute lasted almost six years, from fall 1907 to spring 1913. Various reasons contributed to his long association with the school, namely: his having to support himself through school; his work in the illegal Poalei Zion Party which stayed underground until February, 1917; the economic and sociological programs at the Institute which corresponded to his interests, and which he therefore studied in far greater depth than was required; and finally, he saw no reason to finish the program before the school received accreditation as a regular institution of higher learning (this occurred in 1913). As a result of these years at the Institute, Goldelman developed his social and political outlook.

In 1913, when Goldelman left the Institute at the age of 28 with a better-than average education, he was prepared to resolve the complex and responsible tasks which fate held in store for him. From his fifth semester at the Institute (c. 1910), he served as assistant to Professor C. H. Vobly,<sup>7</sup> who held the Chair of Political Economics, and to Professor L. M. Iasnopolsky,<sup>8</sup> who held the Chair of Economic Politics. A year later, he became responsible for the Department of Financial and Economic Studies at the Institute.

During Goldelman's stay at the Institute, a significant event took place. In 1911 the distinguished Jewish Zionist activist, Volodymyr Zhabotynsky,<sup>9</sup> left Odessa for Kiev. He began advocating Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation in the struggle against the Tsarist Russian government, calling upon Ukrainians and Jews to become allies. He lectured publicly and his appeals appeared in the local and capital press, especially in Kiev's *Rada*



and Moscow's *Ukrainskaia Zhizn'*. Zhabotynsky's activities in the field of Jewish-Ukrainian relations are an example of what happens when a nationally-conscious Zionist confronts the Ukrainian problem honestly. He inevitably takes a favorable position towards the Ukrainian nationalist movement. This occurred with Zhabotynsky in 1911, and with Goldelman in 1917, although Goldelman had not yet met any representatives of Ukrainian illegal parties who were working on parallel interests among the Ukrainian masses. Neither did he meet Zhabotynsky nor was he influenced by his ideas during his stay in Kiev.

Long before finishing the Institute (prior to 1912), Goldelman began publishing articles, mainly in the field of economic politics. He began contributing regularly to the Russian newspaper *Khoziaistvo* (which came out in Kiev), and to the monthly *Mashina v sel'skom khoziaistve*, as well as to other professional journals.

In the spring of 1913, Goldelman completed his studies at the Economic Department of the Kiev Commercial Institute with excellent results. His thesis, written in Russian, analyzed the influence of export premiums on exported goods. This work, entitled "German Grain on the Russian Markets," was approved for publication by the Institute, and appeared as a separate publication in the serial *Transactions of the Society of Economists at the Kievan Commercial Institute*.

Upon completion of his studies, Goldelman remained at the Institute from 1913 to 1915 as an assistant to the Chair of Economic Policy; actually, he had already fulfilled this function from 1910-1911. His full Jewish name, Chaim Sholom Srulevych Goldelman appeared in the register of the personnel, *Richnyk Ministerstva Torhu i Promyslovosty* (Yearbook of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce), although this practice was forbidden by Russian law in Tsarist times.

With the help of two assistants, Goldelman published a textbook, *Khrestomatiia z ekonomichnoi polityky* (Selected Readings in Economic Policy), which contained excerpts from works by German economists. It was published in Kiev in 1913, and served as an examination guide for students. In 1914 Goldelman became a member of the organizing committee and, later, the secretary of the Provincial Export Congress held in Kiev, at which he delivered a paper. The following year he again

served as secretary at the Provincial Congress of Dealers and Traders of Farm Machinery in Kiev, delivered a paper, and took part in editing the transactions of both congresses. He also published a monograph in Russian, entitled *Custom Policy and Production of Farm Machinery* (Kiev, 1915).

Unfortunately, his auspicious academic career terminated in 1915, since official Russian policy prohibited the nomination of Jews to professors and associate professors in the Kiev Commercial Institute. Therefore, for the next two years, he worked as secretary of the Kievan Provincial Committee which studied the Russian-German Trade Agreement.

In 1915 Goldelman was asked by the All-Russian Union of *Zemstvos* to organize and direct the Bureau of Employment at the South-Western Front. Throughout 1915-1917, he directed an excellent employment office that daily found work for hundreds of persons, mainly refugees from the war zone. In connection with this, he delivered a paper in 1916, in Kiev, at the Congress of the All-Russian Union of *Zemstvos* of the South-Western Front. It was published separately, in pamphlet form, as *Kievskoe Oblastnoe Biuro Truda* (The Kievan Provincial Bureau of Employment). In early 1917, Goldelman was also appointed director of the Department to Aid Refugees from the War Zone.

The beginning of the Russian Revolution, in February of 1917, created great turmoil. Solomon Goldelman was also caught in the kaleidoscope of events; he took active part in the community—political affairs, which suddenly seemed to have unlimited possibilities.

In the spring of 1917, Ukrainians began organizing their own system of higher education, parallel to the Russian. At the same time, a Polish and a Jewish Popular University were established in Kiev. Goldelman then renewed his academic career as Lecturer of Economic and Social Politics at the Jewish Popular University. That same year he was also appointed by the Ministry of Labor of the Russian Provisional Government to the post of director of its labor office in Kiev. All the employment and labor offices located in the six Ukrainian provinces of the then autonomous Ukraine came under his direction.

With the establishment of Ukrainian national rule on March 17, 1917, Goldelman served in several of its administrations. From June 28, 1917 he became involved in the Ukrainian General

Secretariat of the Central Rada, and later—from January 22, 1918—in the Ministry of Labor of the Ukrainian National Republic, whereby he was nominated Director of the Employment Bureau. He also became head of the Department of Social Legislation. Goldelman remained in these positions until the coup d'état, and the installation of Hetman Skoropadsky,<sup>10</sup> on April 30, 1918; at this time Goldelman resigned from his office, since he did not want to cooperate with the occupation forces that destroyed the independent democratic Ukrainian State.

In addition to his official duties, Goldelman continued his social and political activities. The hitherto underground activities came out into the open. Illegal Ukrainian political and revolutionary parties surfaced along with the Russian, Polish, and Jewish parties. Ukrainian national and political slogans began spreading and gaining support of the broad masses. Jewish political leaders in Ukraine suddenly faced the phenomenon of renewed Ukrainian national awareness and political movement, and had to formulate their political responses to this—unexpected by them—movement.

“This was a difficult task,” writes Goldelman in his memoirs. Psychologically it required the Jewish community to reshuffle all its thinking habits. Prior to the Revolution, Jewish political groups considered themselves, and the entire Jewish population of Ukraine, as part of the five million Jews of Russia. Jewish politicians in Kiev and Odessa did not consider themselves different from the Jews in St. Petersburg, Moscow, or elsewhere in the Russian Empire. All of them worked towards the liquidation of the Tsarist regime, the strengthening of democracy, and the equalization of Jewish status in the Russian Empire. Of course, the Jewish leaders also wanted to achieve some national goals: autonomy for their language, culture, and religion, but within the framework of the Russian Empire. There were other considerations of a practically-political nature, which hindered change in the Jewish way of thinking. Jewish politicians were instinctively against the disintegration of the Russian Empire because it meant that the five million Jews in the Russian Empire would be split and divided by political and national frontiers of the new states.

Such centralizing tendencies of the Jewish community had to be overcome, and a new and forceful initiative had to be

undertaken to free the Jews from the psychological inertia into which the Russian language and culture had immersed them. All Russian and former Imperial organizational frameworks had to be broken before a reappraisal of policy towards the nascent nationalities could be undertaken.

This kind of initiative, according to Goldelman, could come only from Zionist circles—those who aspired for a Jewish state in far away Palestine, where hundreds of thousands of European Jews were to be resettled. For those who believed in the fulfillment of this dream had to recognize that the Ukrainian liberation movement, a powerful struggle of tens of millions of people, would, sooner or later, end in victory, and that this victory would be realized even before the Zionist ideal (so Goldelman then believed). Personally, Goldelman joined and supported the Ukrainian national liberation movement out of emotional and ideological conviction that its cause was just.

The precarious state of affairs that existed in Kiev demanded decisive action from the Jewish community. A struggle began between the Ukrainian government and the Russian Provisional Government for the limits and extent of Ukrainian political autonomy, which at this time was the first postulate of Ukrainian national organizations. The decision to support the Ukrainian liberation movement was made by the Jewish Poalei Zion Party, of which Goldelman was an active member since 1905.

In April, 1917, at the All-Russian Congress of the Jewish Social Democratic Party (Poalei Zion), in Moscow, Goldelman was elected to its central committee. The members of the party's central committee from Kiev formed the All-Ukrainian National Committee of Poalei Zion. From this period began Goldelman's active work toward Jewish-Ukrainian political cooperation.

Meanwhile, on June 10, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed its First Universal, or manifesto, which resulted in the organization of the General Secretariat (the executive branch). On June 27, 1917, the latter came out with a resolution to attain the rapid understanding of and cooperation with the national minorities living in Ukraine. Two days later, the All-Ukrainian National Jewish Committee of the Poalei Zion met and listened to Goldelman's evaluation of the current situation. They then approved and published a resolution, proposed by him, which firmly expressed the support of the Poalei Zion for the struggle of

Ukrainians for independence in their own state. It became the starting point for the Jewish policy towards Ukrainians, as represented by members of the Poalei Zion Party.

This situation lasted until 1919, when the Communists seized the greater part of Ukraine. They then began systematically destroying all the parties and organizations, both politically and physically—by liquidating their members. Even the Jewish section of the Communist party did not escape this fate.

The above-mentioned resolution of the All-Ukrainian National Committee of the Poalei Zion, dated June 29, 1917, was approved prior to the signing of an agreement between representatives of the Central Rada and members of the Russian Provisional Government, which discussed the grounds for an autonomous Ukraine and included provisions for minority representatives to join the Rada. On June 30, 1917, Goldelman was delegated by the Poalei Zion to represent the Jews in the Ukrainian Rada. From the moment when he became a member of the Ukrainian Parliament until his emigration in July, 1920, Goldelman consistently supported the Ukrainian liberation movement in its efforts to build an independent state, and constructively cooperated in this activity as a member of the various cabinets of the Ukrainian government.

An example of Goldelman's position may be found in the following recollection by M. Ieremiiv, former Secretary of the Rada, who writes,

I remember a crucial meeting called together in response to a directive from St. Petersburg, which tried to make the Ukrainian General Secretariat accountable to the Russian capital. Speakers for the minorities urged unconditional compliance with this directive. Their main spokesman was Mikhail Balabanov, a well-known journalist, revolutionary, and editor of the largest Kievan newspaper, *Kievaskaia mysl'*. He delivered a brilliant, well-documented speech, and sat down glancing with contempt at the Ukrainians. Whereupon, Solomon Goldelman, member of the Socialist-Zionist party, arose and—to everyone's surprise—announced: "The speech of comrade Balabanov does not in any way concern us, because we are members of a Ukrainian Parliament on Ukrainian soil, and therefore, let us part ways with Petersburg." This statement had a bomb-shell effect, and, as a result, the directive was not accepted. From that day, all the Jews and Poles joined the Ukrainians, while the others slowly left the Central Rada.

Such policy, Goldelman believed, was to aid the strengthening of democracy in Ukraine, liquidate the destructive anarchist

elements, guarantee equal rights to the Jewish population, and autonomy for Jewish national and cultural developments. In the Central Rada, Goldelman served as a member of the Legislative Commission, and remained an active participant in the Ukrainian Parliament throughout its existence. Due largely to the activity of Poalei Zion (and especially its representative, Goldelman) on behalf of the Ukrainian state, the Central Rada proclaimed the "Law of National and Personal Autonomy" dated January 22, 1918. The aim of this law was to safeguard every national group and individual that lived in Ukraine from denationalization, and to secure the rights and opportunity for him to retain and foster his language and tradition. In such manner, the activities of the Jewish socialists on behalf of the reborn democratic Ukrainian Republic heralded an era of organized Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation.

During this period, Goldelman was also a member of the Jewish National Council, the Kievan Jewish Association, and a representative to the Kievan County Assembly from the suburb Demiiivka. Furthermore, in the fall of 1918, he was elected delegate to the Jewish Provisional National Assembly in Ukraine.

With the installation of the Hetmanate on April 30, 1918, Goldelman's activities in the Ukrainian government terminated temporarily. He then left Kiev for Odessa where he edited the Poalei Zion's daily newspaper, *Unser Leben* (Our Life), in Yiddish, until the end of October, 1918. At this time, he went to Kiev as a delegate from the Odessa Jews to the Ukrainian National Congress. Although the planned Congress was never held, Goldelman remained for the ceremonious convocation of the Jewish Provisional National Assembly, held on November 2, as one of the eleven-men delegation of the Poalei Zion. On November 14-15, 1918, Goldelman learned of the imminent uprising against Hetman Skoropadsky, and immediately left Kiev for Vinnytsia. On December 4 he came in contact with V. Vynnychenko<sup>11</sup> and volunteered his services to the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). From December 6, 1918 he served as Acting Minister of Labor for the Directory of the UNR, and on December 10, 1918, he was also appointed Acting Head of the Bureau of National Minorities. While in this position, Goldelman obtained the formal reinstatement of the

“Law of National and Personal Autonomy,” which had been revoked in the summer.

Meanwhile, on December 18, 1918, Goldelman married Miriam Aranovna Waksman. A native of Vinnytsia (at that time part of the Podollia *guberniia*) she came from a wealthy Jewish merchant family, about which little is known today. Her parents’ holdings consisted of four buildings and a large orchard. One of these buildings housed the municipal post office. The Waksmans had intended to live out their lives off the rents from the buildings, but during the Revolution they lost everything. The Communists appropriated their property and moved the parents into the stable. Miriam’s mother soon died of despair, at the age of 56, while her father met his end during the famine of 1929-32, in Ukraine. Her only brother, together with his wife and daughter, perished with other Jews during the German occupation of Vinnytsia. They were dragged out into the street, forced to dig their own graves, and shot like dogs.

Like Goldelman, Miriam Waksman completed her studies at the Commercial Institute in Kiev. It is here that she and Solomon met, while he was doing assistant teaching. During the war, she worked for a while as a statistician in the Office of Employment headed by Goldelman. A highly intelligent woman, Miriam was a worthy companion for Goldelman, to whom she remained faithful for life. She understood and sympathized with his ideals and strivings, and aided in their realization. After his death, she took care of his spiritual heritage, collected his manuscripts, and made sure that the memory of her husband would be preserved for future generations.

Detachments of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic entered Kiev on December 14, 1918. The Directory arrived shortly thereafter, and on December 20 Goldelman was nominated Assistant Minister of Commerce and Trade, which was headed by his former colleague from the Commercial Institute, S. Ostapenko.<sup>12</sup> This later became the Ministry of National Economy under V. Chekhivsky. As Assistant Minister, Goldelman chaired the Committee of National Economy for both Eastern and Western Ukraine, which prepared plans for the nationalization of the sugar beet industry.

With the capture of the capital by the Red Army, the Directory left Kiev (on February 2) for Vinnytsia, which now became the

center of Ukrainian political life. When the Directory arrived in Vinnytsia, after the evacuation of Kiev, all hopes for peace with the Bolsheviks were abandoned, and efforts were renewed to find recognition from the Entente. The socialist government of V. Chekhivsky<sup>13</sup> resigned on February 10, 1919, and a more moderate government was formed in its place by S. Ostapenko. In connection with the demise of Chekhivsky's cabinet and in protest to the Proskuriv pogrom, Goldelman and A. Revutsky, the Minister for Jewish Affairs, tendered their resignations and left the Directory on February 15, 1919. Goldelman's memoirs from this time show a positive attitude towards the peasant masses, which enthusiastically volunteered for the Insurgent Army. His attitude towards the political leaders, however, was critical, for he held the Directory responsible for the failure of the national uprising.

On February 22, 1919, Goldelman left Vinnytsia and headed west to Stanislaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk), at that time the capital of the Western Ukrainian Republic. Although he had many chances to go abroad, Goldelman remained in Stanislaviv, and for two months (March to April of 1919), worked successfully in the local chapter of the Poalei Zion to change the Jewish position from neutral to active support of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

Meanwhile, on March 7, 1919, the government of Ostapenko—temporarily based in Proskuriv—was dissolved, as a result of its failure to reach an agreement with the Entente. The new cabinet, formed on April 12, 1919 in Rivne, Volhynia, and headed by Borys Martos,<sup>14</sup> invited Goldelman to join their government. Though he refused to accept his old post as Assistant Minister, Goldelman nevertheless left Stanislaviv for Rivne, and from May 1919 began work in the Ministry of Labor, under O. Bezpalko.<sup>15</sup>

The Ukrainian government, meanwhile, suffered severe losses on the Bolshevik front, and was constantly in retreat. On May 5 it left Rivne for Radzivilov. Under pressure from the Polish forces, the UNR Army and its government started evacuations in mid-May and moved southward in the direction of Krasne and Ternopil; Goldelman accompanied it in all its displacements. In unusually complicated and dangerous circumstances, threatened by both the Polish and the Bolshevik armies, the Ukrainian Government reorganized its army in the months of May and



June, and launched a desperate—but successful—counterattack against the Red Army. The Government left Ternopil and accompanied its army in advance to the east. At one point Goldelman personally took part in the military operation, by delivering ammunition to the front in a ministry vehicle. In early June 1919, the Ukrainian Army held the front line at Starokonstantyniv-Proskuriv-Kamianets Podilsky. The town of Proskuriv was recaptured by the troops of General V. Salsky<sup>16</sup> and the Government moved on to Kamianets Podilsky.

Goldelman remained in that city from June 1919 until May 1920. He was first appointed Councillor of the Ministry of Labor (on June 14, 1919), but later (on August 29)—with the consent of the Poalei Zion—he became Assistant Minister of Labor to Isaac Mazepa.<sup>17</sup>

Amidst these very difficult and alarming circumstances, Goldelman actively participated in the daily operations of the Ukrainian government. He helped in its struggle against anti-Semitism and pogroms, and in trying to control the unbridled anarchy of the various *otamans*. In these matters, he worked closely with V. Kedrovsky,<sup>18</sup> the Inspector-General of the Ukrainian Army. At the same time, he continued to publish articles, in the local Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish press, on burning issues of the day. He also acted as an intermediary between the Jewish community of Kamianets Podilsky and the Ukrainian Government. That fall (October 15-18, 1919) Goldelman presided at the National Conference of the Poalei Zion of Ukraine—consisting of delegations from Podollia, Volhynia, and parts of the Kiev province—which was held in Kamianets Podilsky.

In October 1919 the League of Nations convened its first International Conference of Labor in Washington, D.C. Its purpose was to discuss problems of labor legislation and international labor regulations. Goldelman was one of two Ukrainian delegates selected to this conference, but due to the unfavorable political situation, neither was able to attend.

Meanwhile, due largely to a lack of satisfactory relations between the two Ukrainian government (Galician and Eastern), catastrophe occurred on the Ukrainian front. The exhausted Galician army signed a separate armistice with the forces of the Whites under General Denikin (November 7, 1919),<sup>19</sup> while the

Directory came to an agreement with the Poles on November 9, 1919. On November 15, 1919, the last meeting of the Directory and the Government of the UNR took place in Kamianets Podilsky. Evacuation of the city began immediately thereafter and the government left for Proskuriv. The Polish Army started occupying parts of Volhynia and Podollia, and took over Kamianets Podilsky. Professor I. Ohienko,<sup>20</sup> then Dean of the local university, was left to defend the interests of the Ukrainians in Kamianets Podilsky. However, the Poles refused to recognize him.

Due to such chaotic conditions and the haste with which the government was evacuated, many members of the government and other leading Ukrainian political figures were left behind and subjected to repressive measures by the Polish occupational forces. Especially noted for such matters was the commander of the Polish garrison, Otsetkevich, who arrogantly declared that Kamianets Podilsky and the surrounding areas were annexed to Poland. Goldelman, ill with typhoid fever at the time, also had to remain; he was left in the care of his wife.

When Professor Ohienko, the plenipotentiary of the Ukrainian government, took over his duties, he formed a Council of Deputies of the various ministries. Goldelman represented the Ministry of Labor; he himself was not particularly harassed at this time, but his quarters were kept under constant surveillance. Once his home was entered and searched by the Polish police: a large sum of money was confiscated, and Goldelman was arrested. However, it turned out that the Poles had mistaken Goldelman for the Jewish Minister, P. Krasny,<sup>21</sup> whom they wished to annoy. Goldelman sat in jail for a couple of hours until Professor Ohienko intervened on his behalf. The confiscated money, which Goldelman had been keeping for the Minister of Finances, M. Shadlun, was immediately returned.

The current negotiations between the Ukrainian government and the Poles took an unfavorable turn for the Ukrainians, and led to the inauspicious declaration of December 2, 1919 issued by the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Warsaw. The Poles, in the meantime, set up a severe military regime on the occupied Ukrainian lands, and behaved as an occupation force rather than as allies. Therefore, the declaration found no support in

Kamianets Podilsky, either from Goldelman or any other political figure.

At the end of January 1920, the UNR Prime Minister, I. Mazepa, arrived in Kamianets Podilsky and called a cabinet meeting. After preliminary sessions with available ministers, the official meeting took place on February 10-11, 1920. It was attended by ministers I. Ohienko, M. Shadlun, A. Livytsky,<sup>22</sup> and O. Bezpalko, who discussed plans for further Ukrainian action. Their deliberations, however, were interrupted by the Polish authorities. The Polish Minister for the Eastern Provinces, A. Minkevich—who had just arrived in Kamianets Podilsky—ordered their arrest as Bolsheviks. Through the energetic and diplomatic intervention of I. Mazepa they were soon released, but this incident serves to illustrate the attitude of the Polish occupational forces towards their “allies.” It also shows the atmosphere in which Goldelman lived in Kamianets Podilsky.

Meanwhile, negotiations continued between Ukrainian and Polish diplomats in Warsaw. In the days of April 22-24, 1920, the Warsaw Agreement was signed by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. A crisis in the Ukrainian government ensued. Goldelman and others tendered their resignations in protest against this “personal” Warsaw policy of S. Petliura<sup>23</sup> and A. Livytsky, which was signed without the knowledge and approval of other members of the Ukrainian government. This Agreement limited the sovereignty of the Ukrainian National Republic and allowed Poland to send its troops into Ukraine. Through the efforts of A. Livytsky, the UNR government was re-organized in Mazepa’s absence.

Goldelman initiated and wrote a resolution which opposed the Warsaw Agreement. He was backed by the members of all four socialist parties which supported Mazepa’s government: the Ukrainian Social-Democrats and Social Revolutionaries, and the Jewish Poalei Zion and Bund. Goldelman was against Polish armed intervention in Ukraine. On the basis of personal experience and from the actions of Polish forces in Kamianets Podilsky, he was convinced that the Warsaw Agreement was a disaster. He knew that neither the Ukrainian villages nor the Jewish towns would welcome the armies of the Polish “allies.” A hostile force in Ukraine, the Polish intervention was bound to fail, as was that of the White Russian generals Denikin and

Wrangel.<sup>24</sup> Future events confirmed the accuracy of Goldelman's predictions, and Petliura's error in judgment concerning the intelligence and far-sightedness of his Polish allies.

In line with the Warsaw Agreement between the Ukrainian government and Poland, Polish and Ukrainian armies began their advance into Ukraine on April 25, 1920. The 6th Ukrainian Division under the command of Gen. M. Bezruchko<sup>25</sup> covered the left flank of the Polish army while the 2nd Ukrainian Division under the command of Gen. O. Udovychenko<sup>26</sup> operated on its right flank. The allied forces advanced rapidly. On April 27, 1920, Udovychenko's 2nd Division occupied Mohyliv, and on May 7, 1920, the combined Polish-Ukrainian armies entered Kiev. Soon thereafter, on May 11, 1920, the government of the UNR transferred its seat to Kamianets Podilsky, but after Kiev was occupied it moved to Vinnytsia as its temporary capital. Here on May 26, 1920, a new cabinet of the Ukrainian National Republic was formed—with Viacheslav Prokopovych<sup>27</sup> as Prime Minister—to replace the Mazepa cabinet which had resigned earlier (May 19, 1920).

Goldelman and his wife, who had stayed with him throughout the Kamianets Podilsky period, took advantage of the situation at the front, and followed the Ukrainian government to Vinnytsia, to visit Goldelman's in-laws. While in Vinnytsia, Goldelman attended a few of the ministerial conferences of the new Prokopovych government. He remembers one meeting in particular during which a sharp argument arose between him and Henryk Jozefski, a member of the cabinet representing the interests of the Polish government. The latter proposed that the government issue a decree for the surrender of all weapons to the military by the civilian population. Goldelman argued against this proposal, convinced that arms in the hands of the population assure some degree of certainty that the people's rights and freedom will be preserved.

Goldelman stayed in Vinnytsia through the month of May, planning to visit Kiev at the beginning of June; however, this was never to happen. On the 5th of June, 1920, the Bolshevik First Cavalry Army under the command of Budionny,<sup>28</sup> broke through the southern flank of the Polish-Ukrainian armies and precipitated a general retreat of the allied armies from Kiev.

On June 8, 1920, the Ukrainian government left Vinnytsia for Zhmerynka, then moved to Proskuriv, and finally to Kamianets Podilsky. Like many others who found themselves in danger from the Bolsheviks, the Goldelmans followed the retreating armies and sometime in July left Kamianets Podilsky and Ukraine, traveling through Poland to Vienna. Here Goldelman hoped to continue his previous political and civic activities for the benefit of Ukraine, in the spirit of Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation.

## THE EUROPEAN PERIOD 1920-1939

As a result of the political situation in the fall of 1920, a large number of the Ukrainian emigration settled in neighboring Poland, while others emigrated to Vienna, Austria, and Prague, Czechoslovakia. Vienna soon became the center for all Ukrainian political emigres, but particularly for those from Western Ukraine. It also became the home of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky,<sup>29</sup> who organized the Sociological Institute there, and of several members of the former government of the Ukrainian National Republic, who were in opposition to Petliura (O.P. Andrievsky,<sup>30</sup> A. Makarenko,<sup>31</sup> and others). Ukrainian periodicals and books began appearing in Vienna; on the initiative of Ukrainian journalists and writers, the Ukrainian Free University was established in January 1921 (at the end of 1921, it was transferred to Prague).

Upon his arrival in Vienna (in July 1920), Goldelman immediately established contact with the local Ukrainian, Jewish, German, and other communities, and became involved in their activities. As he grew better acquainted with the Western lifestyle, he began to discover, much to his surprise, the total lack of information not only about the most recent history of Ukraine, but also about the current conditions there. This deplorable fact he found to be true in all strata of society, socialist or bourgeois, regardless of nationality (Austrian, Jewish, Ukrainian).

Goldelman's greatest concern was that the Jews of Vienna did not understand the situation in Ukraine, past or present; furthermore, they sympathized with the Russian Bolsheviks, whom they considered the vanguard of the revolution, and were hostile toward the creation of a Ukrainian independent state. The irony of the situation was (as Goldelman pointed out in one of his letters) that even the Zionist Jews of Vienna, who were members of Poalei Zion and who struggled for the creation of a Jewish state

in Palestine, opposed the formation of an independent Ukrainian state. This was particularly ironic because the years 1920-21, the Jewish population of Palestine was in the minority, while the Ukrainians in Ukraine comprised 76% of that area's population. Furthermore, the Viennese Jews could not understand that the Jewish policy was—despite the horrible wartime conditions—to support the Ukrainian independence movement and the Ukrainian government, to take advantage of the autonomy provided them, and to have no sympathy for the Bolsheviks.

To correct the unfavorable Jewish and world opinion, the secretariat of the Jewish Social Democratic Party (Poalei Zion), instructed Goldelman to inform its members, as well as the Jewish Socialist and Democratic membership in the West, about the real state of Jewish affairs in Ukraine, and about the attitude of the Jewish Socialist National Democracy towards the Ukrainian struggle for independence in the years 1917-1920. Goldelman began work on this project at the 5th World Conference of the Poalei Zion, which opened in Vienna on August 2, 1920.

Between August and November of that year Goldelman published several articles on the above-mentioned topics in the Ukrainian weekly *Volia*, edited by Dr. V. Pismanchevsky. These articles, together with those published in Kamianets Podilsky in 1919, were later released in a book entitled *Lysty zhydivskoho sotsial-demokrata pro Ukrainu* (Letters of a Jewish Social-Democrat Dealing with Ukraine. Vienna, 1921). Later authorized translations of this work were published in Yiddish and in German. Through these *Letters* Goldelman continued to inform and educate both the Jews and other Europeans, on the Jewish support of Ukraine's struggle for independence—a policy Goldelman endorsed during the years 1917-1920.

Sometime at the end of 1921 Goldelman was contacted by M. Iu. Shapoval,<sup>32</sup> an old colleague in the former Ukrainian government, who at that time represented the Ukrainian community in Prague. Shapoval invited Goldelman to help in the organization of projected centers of higher learning for Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia, to which Goldelman agreed. This, as he mentions in his memoirs, Goldelman understood as the next logical step in the continuation of his work toward the improvement of Jewish-Ukrainian relations; it was also an opportunity for him to return to academic life, and a chance to

help prepare a new Ukrainian administrative apparatus, which was lacking in the 1917-20 period. As member of the Committee to organize an institute of higher learning, Goldelman developed a curriculum for the Economic Department of the newly-formed Ukrainian Husbandry Academy.

Permission to establish this academy in Podiebrady (on the outskirts of Prague), was granted by the government, finances were secured, and on April 28, 1922, a conference of the Faculty Council of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy was held.

On May 3, 1922, the Faculty Council of the Academy nominated Solomon Goldelman to be the lecturer at the Chair of National Economy. On May 6, 1922 Goldelman moved to Podiebrady where he became a member of the teaching staff of the UHA. Goldelman rose rapidly within the structure of the Academy. On May 16, 1922 he began lecturing on economic politics, on May 28, 1922 he was elected secretary of the Faculty Council, on July 22, 1922 he was asked to head the Chair of Economic Policy and then on January 25, 1923, he was elected Associate Dean of the Economic-Cooperative Department of UHA.

The principle subjects taught by Goldelman throughout the 13 years of his association with UHA were: economics of industry, international economic policy (international trade), transportation economics, labor exchange, foundations of social economics, and economics of private ownership. Along with Professor V. Tymoshenko,<sup>33</sup> Goldelman conducted seminars on applied economics; he also headed the committee engaged in compiling a dictionary of economic terminology.

On Goldelman's initiative, an institute of national economy was established on March 1, 1924, which he administered until 1935, the last year of UHA's existence. On January 16, 1925 Assistant Professor (docent) Goldelman presented an exhaustive study, *Teoriia aktsiinoho pidpriemstva* (Theory of Stock Companies), to the faculty of his department; it was later published in Podiebrady in manuscript form (300 pages). At this time he was elected full professor of the Academy.

Goldelman stayed with UHA from its inception in 1922 until its closing on January 1, 1936, after which time he continued his academic work at the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI; a correspondence school), for which he wrote a



special textbook in 1933-34, entitled *Ekonomiia promyslovosty* (The Economics of Industry).

In addition to teaching, Professor Goldelman was also engaged in active scholarly research at UHA. His published works of this period (1922 to 1935) included two textbooks for his students: *Ekonomiia promyslovosty* and *Mizhnarodnia ekonomichna polityka* (International Economic Policy).

In 1927 UHA began to publish its *Zapysky Ukrainskoi Hospodarskoi Akademii v ChSR* (Proceedings of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Czechoslovakia); Goldelman's articles appeared in the first three volumes, 1/27, 2/29, and 3/31. He also wrote many articles for various Ukrainian newspapers; among these articles were, "Promyslovist' Radians'koi Ukrainy" (Industry of Soviet Ukraine), "Sotsiialno-ekonomichna struktura Radians'koi Ukrainy" (The Socio-Economic Structure of Soviet Ukraine), "Promyslovist' v hospodarstvi Ukrainy" (Industry in the Economy of Ukraine), "Industriializatsiia hospodarstva Ukrainy" (Industrialization of Ukrainian Economy), "Sotsiialno-ekonomichni osnovy mizhnatsional'nykh vidnosyn" (Socio-Economic Bases for International Relations). In addition, Goldelman published a series of works on the subject of Jewish economics and sociology, some of which appeared in Ukrainian. In 1930 Professor Goldelman, an active member of the Society of Ukrainian Economists in Podiebrady, presented a paper at one of its meetings, entitled "Naselennia i komunistychna partiia Radians'koi Ukrainy" (Population and the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine); it was later published in article form in the third volume of the Society's non-periodic publication, *Ukrains'kyi Ekonomist* (Ukrainian Economist, 1930), and as a separate monograph.

Goldelman had planned to publish a reader in economic literature similar to the *Khrestomatia ekonomichnoi polityky* (Reader on Economic Politics), which he and other assistants had prepared in 1913 at the Commercial Institute in Kiev. His plans included the publication of *Hospodars'ki narysy* (Economic Sketches), collections which would contain papers presented at the seminars of the Economic-Cooperative Department of UHA, and which would be edited by Tymoshenko and himself. However, only four student papers were published in 1925-26 and, due to financial and technical difficulties, only one collection

appeared, *Pratsi seminariv ekonomichno-kooperatyvnoho fakultetu UHA v ChSR* (Transactions of the Seminars of the Economic-Cooperative Department of UHA in Czechoslovakia).

Towards the end of his stay at Podiebrady, Goldelman took an active part in the Ukrainian Workers' University correspondence school, established July 1, 1927 at the Ukrainian Social Institute (Prague). During the 1927-28 term, Goldelman conducted a course on national economy; the lectures were to be published in lithographic form, but only the first one, *Osnovni pytannia hospodarstva ta hospodars'koi polityky* (The Basic Questions of Economy and Economic Policy), ever appeared.

Although mainly involved in scholarly activities, Goldelman did not refrain from participation in community life. He was an active member of the local chapter of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, where he frequently conducted public lectures, not always under favorable conditions or with favorable results. At one such public lecture at the student union in Prague (1924), Goldelman was verbally attacked by Jewish students who accused him of cooperation with the "pohromshchyk" (S. Petliura), and his "haidamaky," statements which Goldelman resolutely refuted, saying he refused to wallow in such muck.

Following Symon Petliura's assassination in Paris in 1929 Goldelman joined in the general Ukrainian mourning; he immediately sent condolences from the Poalei Zion Party to Petliura's government representatives. Furthermore, before the trial of S. Schwartzbard, Petliura's assassin, Goldelman left for Paris, where he labored among the Jews from Ukraine in favor of the late Petliura. Attempting to gain favorable "public opinion," he arranged a meeting between the more prominent members of the former Ukrainian government and the Jewish representatives. In Paris Goldelman also visited well-known Zionist leader V. Zhabotynsky. Aware that Zhabotynsky did not ascribe any of the pogroms to Petliura, Goldelman hoped that he could convince him to appear as a witness at the trial. Unfortunately, Zhabotynsky would not oppose the Jewish position of vindication for Schwartzbard. Goldelman then notified Ukrainian and Jewish leaders involved in this affair that he considered himself to be the only objective witness, and proposed that he be a witness for both sides in order to clarify in court the tragic events in Ukraine at the time, and the powerless position in which Petliura

found himself. Unfortunately, this did not happen for the Ukrainians recalled their witnesses, and the trial ended in the now familiar verdict.

Almost thirty years later Goldelman, still true to his beliefs of 1926, wrote that

. . . The second hard blow to be dealt the idea of Ukrainian independence and its realization with the help of Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation, was Schwartzbard's deadly shot and the general mobilization of Jewish public opinion for his defense. The gulf that had appeared during the revolution was widened even more. On the one hand, this event served as a reminder to the Jews of the horrors of the war period, while on the other hand the Ukrainian distrust of Jews was intensified by the feelings of anger and pain at this senseless killing.

M. Iu. Shapoval noted in his diary entry of November 9, 1926, that in his conversations with Goldelman about Schwartzbard, Goldelman shared the Ukrainian views.

During this same visit to Paris in 1926, Goldelman met with P. N. Miliukov<sup>34</sup> with whom he had a long and interesting conversation about the Ukrainian question, expressing his ideas on the Jewish attitude towards Ukrainian independence. He remembers that he left Miliukov with the impression that were it not for the Bolshevik revolution, the differences between Russia and Ukraine would have been settled by a peaceful means, rather than by invasion of Ukraine. "One learns from mistakes, but always too late," wrote Goldelman.

At the end of 1926 Goldelman moved to Prague; from there he visited the Academy in Podiebrady only twice a week to deliver lectures and attend meetings. In Prague, a city with a large Jewish population, Goldelman again became active in the Jewish community life, and immediately joined the Zionist movement there. "It was," writes Goldelman, "a critical period in the Zionist movement." Great Britain had forsaken its pledge, set forth in the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, to play an active role in making Palestine into a Jewish homeland, and began to limit the number of Jewish settlers allowed to go to Palestine. An atmosphere of disillusionment and doubt as to the possibility of ever reaching Palestine and achieving the Zionist ideal began to prevail among the Jews in diaspora.

Communist propaganda took advantage of the ideological crisis among the Zionist youth, and began attracting young Jews

to Communism, as a way of resolving the Jewish problem. Even the Zionist leaders in Eastern and Central Europe were in some degree attracted to Communism, by this Bolshevik propaganda of a happy life for Jews in a Soviet Union. The Soviets had prepared an alternative for Palestine, by creating a new homeland for the Jews in Birobidzhan on the Amur River. The first Jewish colonists began arriving there in early 1928.

Goldelman began his counterattack by establishing a Bureau of Zionist Propaganda (Zionistische Propagandastelle) in Prague. He traveled all over Czechoslovakia, visiting many cities and towns, with lectures on the "real" life of Jews under the Soviets; in 1934 he even spent some time in Carpatho-Ukraine.

When UHA was threatened with liquidation, Professor Goldelman proposed (on May 18, 1931) the establishment of a correspondence institute of higher learning. He noted that the institute could replace the services provided by UHA, and prior to UHA's closing, would exist as a parallel organization within the framework of the parent organization. Goldelman also proposed the creation of a Society of Friends of the UHA (TPUHA), which would provide financial support through dues and the creation of a "National Fund" that would operate on the model of the successful Zionist-Jewish National Fund. Goldelman's proposal was unanimously accepted, and work began immediately toward its realization. On June 20, 1931 an organizational meeting for the establishment of TPUHA was held; that fall the society began to collect funds. Its first governing board was composed of B. Matushenko, president, Professor Goldelman, vice-president, and V. Sapitsky, secretary. On April 21, 1932, the organization was legalized, and on July 20, 1932, the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI) began to function as part of UHA until January 1, 1936. From the time of its inception in 1932, to 1939, it enrolled 1,003 correspondence students, from among Ukrainians in emigration.

UTHI existed in Podiebrady until the German occupation of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939. Professor Goldelman was among the faculty and wrote a textbook for UTHI, entitled *Ekonomiia promyslovosti* (Economics of Industry) which was reproduced in mimeograph form. During the German occupation of Czechoslovakia (1939-44), UTHI at first struggled for survival, but later continued to develop. In April of 1945, however, with

the advance of the Soviet armies, the Institute completely stopped its activity. In the period from 1932 to 1944 it had serviced about 8,020 students.

The activities of UTHI were renewed after the end of World War II, in mid-1945 in Platling, Germany; on June 28, 1945, UTHI was transferred to Regensburg. This Institute grew rapidly and soon developed into a polytechnical institution of higher learning, which included a correspondence section. In 1947 the Institute had more departments than the former UHA, with 2,191 students, and 354 faculty members. UTHI continued its work from 1946 to 1952; its educational activity among the Ukrainian emigrés facilitated their emigration to the U.S. and other countries overseas. With this mass emigration, and the consequent loss of a student body, part of the UTHI faculty moved to Munich, where from 1951 the Institute continued to operate as a scholarly research center. Its educational section, however, was at first taken over by the UTHI branch established in New York, and, from 1954, by the Ukrainian Technical Institute, in which Goldelman taught for some time. These were the results of Goldelman's foresight and initiative which led him to organize a Ukrainian institution of higher learning in diaspora, in 1931.

Continuing his Zionist and anti-Bolshevik propaganda among the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia during 1931-1936, Goldelman presented a series of special lectures on the subject of "The Jewish socio-economic structure, as a pre-destined community" (Schicksalgemeinschaft); these were published during the first half of the 1930's in the Czechoslovak Zionist press, particularly in the weekly, *Selbstwehr*. Some of these articles were also included in the book *Chy rozrishaie komunizm zhydivs'ke pytannia?* (Does Communism Solve the Jewish Question?) while others, entitled "Narys sotsiial'no-ekonomichnoi struktury zhydivs'koho narodu," (Sketches of the Socio-Economic Structure of the Jewish Nation), appeared in *Zapysky UHA*, No. 1. These lectures on the real situation of the Jews in the Soviet state and on the policy of the Soviet government towards the Jews, soon became a very successful weapon against Communist propaganda among the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. All these articles (13 in number), with the addendum "Judentum und Kommunismus," were published in book form in German under the title *Löst der*

*Kommunismus die Judenfrage?/Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge (1930-1936)* . . . This book was a great success, and served as a guide in the struggle against Communist influence on the Jewish youth in the Jewish settlements.

All this activity started taking an organized form. In 1933 Goldelman reorganized the Bureau of Zionist Propaganda in Prague into the Institute for Zionist Education, which became a private educational institution, subsidized by the Zionist Executive Board. Goldelman—its founder and director—and the authors of the course studies and texts, were responsible for the ideological content. The Institute's activities included work in education, correspondence courses, and publishing.

One of their first projects was to establish an evening school in 1933 ("Zionistische Folks-Hochschule," or a Zionist National University), with a full-time staff of 30 lecturers, in charge of 18 courses for more than 200 students. Among the lecturers, which included the best Zionist intellectuals in Czechoslovakia, were also several Ukrainians, e.g., Olgerd Bochkovsky<sup>35</sup> and Panas Fedenko.<sup>36</sup> A year later, in 1934, a correspondence department (Zionistischer Fernunterricht), was established at the Zionist Folks-Hochschule. Mimeographed copies of lectures presented at the school were sent to thousands of interested students in Czechoslovakia, Palestine, U.S.A., and other countries. (A total of 27 lectures were issued in this manner.) Parallel to the course studies, a publication center was established. In a series entitled "A Small Zionist Library," 14 books and brochures were published in German, Czech, and Hungarian (two works in German were written by Professor Goldelman and one by Bochkovsky). The work of these Zionist Institutes in Prague (during 1933-38) consisted of 34 subjects grouped into four categories: 1) the national problem and the Jewish question; 2) the Zionist movement; 3) Palestine and its national reconstruction; and 4) Hebrew culture.

All these educational endeavors undertaken by Professor Goldelman developed so well, and stood on such a firm financial base, that when in 1937 UHA could no longer pay its professors, and they had to exist on a small subsidy provided by the Czech government, Goldelman was able to decline this help. It is only natural that along with the moral and ideological successes in Ukrainian and Jewish educational and scholarly activities of that

period, Goldelman also experienced various organizational and personal difficulties and misunderstandings. But he was able to overcome them, and continue his involvement with current projects.

Goldelman's years in Prague (1930-1938) were as productive as those in Podiebrady in 1922-29. In addition to the above-mentioned publishing activity, he actively participated in the Ukrainian Research Institute in Warsaw, established in 1929, where his friend, Professor V. Sadovsky<sup>37</sup> was the director of the Economics Department. We should also mention Goldelman's study, "Natsional'nyi i sotsial'nyi sklad komunistychnoi partii na Ukraini" (The National and Social Composition of the Communist Party in Ukraine), published in Ukrainian and German (Podiebrady, 1930), as well as his sociological study, "Sotsial'na rolia bolshevyts'koi partii v protsesi industriializatsii Rosii" (The Social Role of the Bolshevik Party in the Process of Russia's Industrialization). This latter study was published under the title "Partiinyi kapitalizm" (Party Capitalism) in the Russian newspaper *Revoliutsionnaia Rosiia* in Prague, 1931. Both of these studies had been previously presented by Professor Goldelman in 1930 at a seminar of Professor S. Prokopovich's<sup>38</sup> "Russian Economic Cabinet" in Prague.

From November 16, 1930 until the German invasion of Poland in 1939, Goldelman was also an active member of the Economic Section of the Jewish Research Institute (YIVO) in Wilno, Poland. When Prague was occupied by the German armies on March 15, 1939, Goldelman's work and that of his institutes was automatically halted. In July, 1939, a center for Jewish emigration from Czechoslovakia was established in Prague.

On August 24, Goldelman and his wife left Prague for Palestine. A few days before their departure they visited Podiebrady to take leave of their colleagues at UTHI; there they learned that the Ukrainian institutions were also scheduled to close down. While traveling through Italy, the Goldelmans were stopped by agents of the Italian Fascist government and Yugoslavian border guards, who threatened to send them back to Czechoslovakia. With difficulty they reached the port of Trieste, and at the beginning of September, 1939, sailed for Haifa. This began a new era in the life of the Goldelmans, a life under very difficult conditions.

## THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI PERIOD 1939-1974

The post-European period (or more accurately, the Palestinian [1939-48] and Israeli [1948-74] periods in the life and work of Solomon Goldelman), embraces the period from September 1939 to the time of his death on January 3, 1974. This stage of his life is noted for his activity in Jewish affairs and, beginning with 1950, an ever-increasing interest in reestablishing ties with Europe and particularly with Ukrainian emigrés.

Goldelman and his wife finally arrived in Haifa on September 9, 1939 where, on the threshold of the "Promised Land," they were left penniless, since they were not allowed to take money out of Czechoslovakia. However, they were allowed to ship merchandise and other household goods; this they did, sending a load, which weighed approximately 4,000 klg., to Haifa through Italy. However, in the meantime, Germany began World War II, and the cargo never reached Palestine; it was seized in Italy, confiscated by Hitler's soldiers, and sent to Germany. This left the Goldelmans with only their handbaggage, without any money, clothing, or furniture; most importantly, Goldelman's professional library, archives, research material, and card catalog were lost. All his works, published and unpublished, manuscripts, and diplomas attesting to his many years of academic and community work were also gone. Therefore, Goldelman could not turn to the appropriate institutions or individuals to offer his services as a professor. In Palestine, no one had heard of a Ukrainian institution of higher learning in Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, relying on his long experience at UHA, Goldelman proposed that with his help the Haifa Polytechnic Institute establish a department of economics. However, it soon became apparent that at this time (the second half of 1939), as a result of the Italian-Ethiopian war on the one hand, and the uprising of the Arabs against Jewish colonization on the other,



the country was experiencing an economic crisis. Also, with the outbreak of World War II and the inevitable decline of Jewish immigration to Palestine, it was impossible to find the necessary funds for the new department at the Polytechnic Institute. Therefore, after only a two-week stay in Haifa, Goldelman left this city (at the end of September, 1939), and moved to Jerusalem.

Arriving in Jerusalem, the Goldelmans, who were accustomed to West European living standards, found themselves in the rather primitive conditions of the East, at a time when the country was rapidly building its future at the expense of the present generation. These conditions forced them to spend much time and energy to set up a very primitive type of household.

While still in Prague (from 1929), Goldelman had been in contact with the Central World Zionist Organization, affiliated with the University of Jerusalem; it had partially funded his research in the Prague academic institutions since 1933. Thus, when he arrived in Jerusalem, Professor Goldelman immediately began studying Hebrew, which was now the official language in Israel, and without which he could not begin any work. The study of the languages went smoothly, just as in 1918 when he learned Ukrainian. Only after Goldelman mastered Hebrew did he begin actively searching for an appropriate position.

At this time the University of Jerusalem did not have a department of social sciences, or even a course in the field of economics. And so, in the spring of 1940, Goldelman, with his usual energy, began to look for work in the various other Jerusalem centers and institutions of higher learning. Soon, however, he had to face the sad reality, which he mentions in his short, unfinished memoirs:

I came to this country—Palestine—without money, but brought with me my spiritual treasures. My fame as a capable organizer of Zionist propaganda preceded me; behind me were 20 years as an educator, economist, politician, organizer, administrator, researcher, in the community and governmental institutions of Russia and Ukraine, as well as in Jewish affairs—a total of 40 years of systematic work. I was naive and expected to be met with open arms in my homeland, convinced that my knowledge, my strengths, my energy, experience, and initiative ability would be immediately recognized and put to use. I expected that I would be given an opportunity to work for my country and my people in a responsible position. But I soon realized just the opposite; the indepen-

dence of my character, and my feeling of self-respect—these qualities for which I was held in high esteem by non-Jews with whom I had worked for such a long time—became an obstacle to me in the country of my forefathers, and finally brought my plans 'zum Scheitern.'

One of the local dignitaries, familiar with the conditions in the administration, told Professor Goldelman, "Here people are turned into non-entities," while the editor of the newspaper *Selbstwehr* added, "It is even worse. Here non-entities transform people into non-entities."<sup>39</sup>

Goldelman then realized that for someone like himself it would be impossible "to pass through the eye of a needle" in the local struggle for a place in the sun, and that if he wanted to retain his independence and continue his career in economics, he must strike out on his own. And so in 1940, Goldelman decided to establish a Correspondence Institute of Zionist Education, semi-private and semi-official in character. The existence of this independent institution was a thorn in the side of the local Zionist politicians, and therefore their subsidy amounted to only a fraction of the Institute's budget. It eventually became apparent, however, that the success of the Institute among the public was immense; this provided a modest means of existence for Goldelman in his struggle for livelihood, and left him with the knowledge that he was providing a very useful service to his people and country.

Goldelman had just begun to lay the foundations for his Institute, when he was approached in 1941 by the administration of the National Home in Jerusalem to help establish a "Popular University" in Jerusalem. Goldelman soon became Chairman of the Board of the new university and began to attract many experienced older professors and young lecturers from Jerusalem University. Although most of the work had to be done by Goldelman himself, its success was great. Unfortunately, the new University existed only one semester and then had to close for lack of operating funds.

Another of his memorable achievements in 1941-42 was Goldelman's anti-Bolshevik stance, which became pronounced at the time of the German invasion of USSR in 1941. The struggle of the Red Army against the Germans was considered, in Palestine, a struggle against Hitler's complete destruction of Judaism. Thus a cult of Sovietophilism was born; this came at a time when in

reality the Bolshevik social structure and the Stalinist anti-Semitism threatened the material and national existence of Jews in the Soviet Union. To counteract this cult, Goldelman decided to begin a campaign similar to the one he waged in Prague in the 1930's against the "Red assimilation" of Jewish youth in Europe. With the cooperation of the Cultural division of the large labor organization "HISTADRUT," and in the name of his own Correspondence Institute, Goldelman began a series of lectures in numerous towns, kibutzes, and cooperative farm settlements throughout Palestine, and even in Africa. The subject was always the same: "Jews in the Soviet Union in the era of the development of socialism." The lectures were substantially of a sociological content. The method was Marxist: hit the enemy with his own system of evidence. During 1941-42 Goldelman presented his lectures in more than 40 localities. Everywhere, he successfully presented his thesis that the national Jewish problem could not be solved until the Jews would be organized in their own homeland. He advised against searching for answers in foreign lands, and stressed that the proper solution would not be found either under capitalism or under socialism. For this reason the problem arose in its extreme form in the Soviet Union, with its anti-Semitism as strong as in the time of the tsars.

However, Goldelman's greatest contribution to his nation and homeland was certainly his establishment, in October 1940, of the above-mentioned Institute for Zionist Education in Jerusalem, which he directed for twenty years. The Institute was the extension or revival of the previous identical institution, which he had directed in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In 1943, tying in to its beginnings in Prague, the Institute celebrated its first decade of existence (1933-43), and on this occasion Goldelman received many accolades and acknowledgements for his success; a special jubilee publication was prepared. In 1946, Goldelman, as owner and director of the Correspondence Institute of Zionist Education, reported on its activity at the 22nd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. Based on this report which was later published, and on our correspondence with Professor Goldelman, we find that his experience in Prague convinced him that even in Palestine, where the Zionist ideals were being realized and where a new Jewish society was being born, a potentially large cadre of "builders" would be found, particularly among the youth, who would want

to learn about the theoretical and ideological basis of Zionism.

It soon became apparent that Goldelman was correct in his assumption. His Institute began its activity by offering correspondence courses. The number enrolled in these courses reached a peak of 1,700 and then dropped to 1,300 students in 1960. In its early period (1941-47), the Institute offered courses in the field of Zionist ideology; with the creation of the Israeli State on May 14, 1948, it began to offer courses in the field of Israeli state law. In addition, during the Institute's 20 years of existence, scores of books and brochures were published and sold. Among the publications was a cycle of lectures by Bochkovsky of UHA, issued in Hebrew, in the collection *Natsiolohtia*, 1944. (Although he did not become wealthy from this, Goldelman did succeed in making a living.) In 1945 Goldelman published his article "Hospodars'kyi sklad iako spil'nota doli" in the *Yearbook of the Teachers' Union*. He also published (in a brochure form) a statistical study, in Hebrew and English, entitled *Foreign Trade of the State of Israel* as one in a series of publications of the Institute for Zionist Education.

At this time Goldelman came into contact with the conservative element of Jewish society. These were people who equated Israeli nationhood and statehood with Judaism, and were attempting to force this order upon the Jewish immigrants to Israel. The more progressive element of Israeli society reacted by establishing, in 1950, a League to Prevent Religious Coercion in Israel. This League consisted of "free thinkers" and liberals who wanted to secure freedom of religion and conscience against attempts to reintroduce the theocratic rule of Judea of over 2,000 years ago; a good part of the intelligentsia and the students were members. This League demanded the separation of church and state, the possibility of a civil marriage, etc. Professor Goldelman, a person of European democratic philosophy, took active part in this movement; he was one of its founding members, and its leader for several years.

In the early 1950's, Goldelman began renewing contacts with Europe and with individual prominent Ukrainians active in emigré organizations. Up to this time he had had no news from his colleagues from UHA, with whom he had lost touch in 1939, nor any idea as to the condition of the Ukrainian emigration. M. Hryhoriiv,<sup>40</sup> from New York, was the first of the Ukrainian

scholars to write to Goldelman (letter dated 5. X. 1950), and he began sending him the *Bulletin of the Voice of America* in Ukrainian, since the broadcasts were drowned out in Israel. Soon others began corresponding with Goldelman. Professor S. Drahomaniv,<sup>41</sup> learning Goldelman's address from Hryhoriiv, wrote on 3. X. and 12. XI. 1952. Goldelman answered the first letter on 25. X. 1952; in it he expressed his pleasure at the renewal of contacts—after an almost 13-year break—with the Ukrainian intelligentsia, with whom he had shared many years of creative work, as well as their struggle for an independent Ukraine. In this letter Goldelman announced that his attitude toward the Ukrainian intelligentsia's struggle for national independence had not changed. In this same period Goldelman also received a letter from P. Fedenko from London, England (dated 20. XI. 1952), and copies of the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* published by him in the UNRA refugee camp.

In the meantime L. Bykovsky, then in New York, also established contact with Goldelman; he received an answer dated 24. XI. 1952, and began a correspondence which lasted until the end of 1972. In this letter Goldelman asked about the fate of his colleagues from UHA. Bykovsky began sending him all kinds of informative literature. Two of Goldelman's former students, S. Haievska and Ie. Zalevska sent him New Year's greetings for 1953.

Also in 1952 Goldelman unexpectedly received a letter from A. Livytsky, President of Ukrainian National Republic in Exile (who died in 1954 in Germany). According to Goldelman, Livytsky expressed some unrealistic ideas about relations between Ukrainians and Jews. Soon news of Goldelman and his address began to circulate among the Ukrainian emigre leaders and the graduates of UHA-UTHI.

Thanks to L. Bykovsky, on December 1, 1952, O. Kozlovsky, head of the Alumni Association and long-time secretary of UHA-UTHI began corresponding with Goldelman. Upon Kozlovsky's request, Goldelman wrote an article, "Reminiscences from my Ukrainian Era," dated September 26, 1953, which was published in the following issue of the *Annals of UHA-UTHI*.

Others who corresponded with S. Goldelman at this time were Professor I. Zozulia, from the Ukrainian Technical Institute in New York (letter dated 9. XII. 1952), V. Kedrovsky (letter dated

9. XII. 1952), Professor V. Tymoshenko from Palo Alto, California (letter dated 14. XII. 1952), the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) in New York (letter dated 14. XII. 1952), and K. Nishchemenko (letter dated 20. XII. 1952). In the meantime, Goldelman also made contacts with the Ukrainian Technical-Husbandry Institute (UTHI) in Munich, Germany.

Through the mediation of L. Bykovsky, Dr. S. Baran<sup>42</sup> (Executive Board of the UNR, Munich) began corresponding with Goldelman (from 31. XII. 1952), and started sending him informative literature about the activity of the Ukrainian National Rada in Exile. At the end of 1952 P. Fedenko wrote from the convention of the German Social-Democratic Party in Darmstadt, Germany. By this means, many of Goldelman's former students and co-workers now living in Germany e.g., S. Dovhal, M. Livytsky, Ie. Glovinsky,<sup>43</sup> among others, established contacts with him.

These contacts continued. On the 24th of January, 1953, Professor I. Zozulia began officially corresponding with Goldelman from the Ukrainian Technical Institute in New York, and already in the 1954-55 academic year Goldelman was listed among the faculty of the Ukrainian Technical Institute (UTI).

During the period of 1950 to 1955, Goldelman renewed and made contacts with many Ukrainian and Jewish leaders and scholars, among them: Professor V. Tymoshenko, V. Kedrovsky, N. Hryhoriiv, Professor L. Shramchenko, Professor M. Stakhiv, Rev. V. Klodnytsky, Iosyp Shwartz; he also established ties with the institutions UTI, UTHI, UVAN, Ukrainian National Rada in Exile (and its members), as well as with many other institutions and people in the U.S.A., Germany, France, and other countries. The aforementioned contacts of Solomon Goldelman with Ukrainian activists and institutions up to 1956 were very sporadic. To this period belongs Goldelman's attempt to work with *Svoboda* (the Ukrainian daily in New Jersey), as its representative in Israel; according to Goldelman, nothing came of this venture because of the newspaper's passivity.

During 1954-55, through his former student S. Dovhal, Goldelman made contact with the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich. After studying the activity of this Institute, he decided that it was more "international" than Russian, and from 1956 began working with it. From then on Goldelman took part

in the Institute's annual conferences and publications. While in Europe, he also visited other countries, giving lectures, interviews, and establishing contacts with prominent scholars and politicians.

In 1956 Goldelman visited Germany for the first time. On July 22, 1956, at the conference of the European Section of UVAN, chaired by Professor M. Vetukhiv,<sup>44</sup> Goldelman delivered a lecture on Israel, in Ukrainian. On July 23 and 24 he took part in the VIII Conference of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, where he again delivered the same lecture—but this time in Russian—in front of a larger audience, and took part in the ensuing discussion. Here Goldelman made long-lasting contacts with the Institute and its Ukrainian section. Also at the conference he became better acquainted with Professor Vetukhiv, the president of UVAN in the United States (when Prof. Vetukhiv died in New York on June 11, 1959, Goldelman sent his condolences to the Academy, emphasizing the late professor's accomplishments). While in Munich Goldelman had an interview with the newspaper *Ukrainski Visti* of New Ulm, during which he used the term "Ukrainian diaspora" for the first time. The periodical *Suchasna Ukraina* picked up this term, and it was later used by the rest of the Ukrainian press to denote the Ukrainian emigration.

After a 17 year absence from Europe, Goldelman spent ten days in Germany and then traveled for a vacation to Switzerland. His return trip led him through Italy, where on the 16th of August he stopped in Milan, and in Genoa on the 19th. From Genoa he embarked on a ship for Israel, and on August 26th was back in Jerusalem.

The following year Goldelman again visited Germany to attend the IX Conference of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, held on July 26 and 27, 1957; there he took part in discussions following the presented lectures. While in Munich, he spoke twice over Radio Liberty, beamed to the nations of the Soviet Union, and had an interview with *Suchasna Ukraina*. On the way home through Italy, he spoke on Radio Rome's Ukrainian hour.

In 1959 Goldelman was elected a corresponding member of the Institute for the Study of the USSR. He attended its XI Conference on July 24 and 25, where he again took part in the discussions. On this occasion he made many new acquaintances,

among them that of Liubov Margolin-Hansen, daughter of the late Dr. A. Margolin.<sup>45</sup> Goldelman also visited the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Government in Exile. Following the Conference, the Goldelmans went on a two-month tour of Europe—through Switzerland, Austria, Southern Tyrol (Italy), Bavaria, Sweden (where they visited Upsala, with its old University), then home via Italy, where Goldelman again spoke on the Ukrainian hour of Radio Rome. On October 1, the Goldelmans were already in Naples, from where they departed for Israel.

In 1960 Goldelman came to Germany for the fourth time to take part in the XII Conference of the Institute held October 27th through 29th; here he delivered the lecture, “The Question of Assimilation and Denationalization of Jews in the Soviet Union,” which was later printed in the publication of the Institute, both in Russian and German. (He and his wife again traveled through Europe, this time stopping in Spain.)

In that year the Ukrainian section of the Institute accepted Goldelman’s Ukrainian manuscript, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine 1917-1920*, for publication. Goldelman’s trips to Europe, appearances on the world forums, and the possibility of publishing through the Institute of Study of the USSR encouraged him to devote all his time to scholarly research in the field of Jewish studies, especially the status of Jews in the Soviet Union. In addition to the publications already mentioned, he published a monograph in Hebrew, *The Fate of Jews in the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem, 1958), and a series of articles in Hebrew on the subject of Zionism, Israel’s internal politics, and the status of Jews under the Bolsheviks. He also published in Ukrainian (1958) an article entitled “The Fate of Jews under the Soviets,” and a year later, in Russian, “The Conditions of the Jewish Population in the USSR.” Two other articles on the same topic were published in the English language publication of that Institute in 1958 and in 1960.

Although formally invited, Goldelman did not attend any more of the annual Conferences apparently due to financial difficulties of the Institute, which could no longer fund his travel expenses. However, it is entirely possible that Goldelman was severed from active participation at the Institute because of his consistent defense of the interests of the captive nations of the current



“Russian Empire,” and that for this reason the Russians had become unfriendly towards him. Nevertheless, the Institute continued to keep contact with Professor Goldelman; he was considered its corresponding member, and received all of its publications and activity reports.

In 1959 Goldelman began to take an active part in the activities of UVAN in the United States; his articles, “Examples from the Life of an Ethnic Minority,” was published in UVAN’s English-language publication. Another of Goldelman’s articles, “Memoirs from my Ukrainian Era,” appeared in the second volume of a serial publication, *Ukrains’kyi Tekhnichno-Hospodars’kyi Instytut*, published by the alumni of UHA and UTHI (1962).

On May 16, 1961, on the occasion of his 75th birthday, UTHI in Munich, Germany, honored Goldelman with the title Doctor *Honoris Causa* of Economics.

Dissatisfied that his manuscript of *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920* had not yet come out by 1961, Goldelman had it published in an abbreviated form in Yiddish in the *Collection, Jews in Ukraine*, published by the Society of Jews from Ukraine in New York. (In the same journal Goldelman later [1963] published his study, “The History of the Poalei Zion Party in Ukraine.” At the end of 1963 the Institute for the Study of the USSR finally published, in Ukrainian, his long-awaited *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*. This book was widely and favorably reviewed in Ukrainian newspapers. “In this work Prof. Solomon Goldelman has set himself the task of making generally known, not only to Ukrainians and Jews, the facts about the positively-constructive actions of Ukrainian politics, because prior to this time the world knew only about pogroms in Ukraine. . . .” Unfortunately, according to Goldelman, this work lost much of its impact due to its publication in mimeograph form, and its limited number of copies, sufficient only for research centers.

In 1963 a book entitled *Iudaizm bez prykras* (Judaism Without Embellishment), by T. Kychko, was published in the USSR. It was basically directed against Jews, but at the same time tried to create discord between Jews and Ukrainians. The Jewish community reacted strongly to this libelous book as did the Ukrainian community abroad.<sup>46</sup> Goldelman published a critical

review of this work in 1964, under the title "A Blow to Ukrainians," giving an overview of Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

Goldelman's correspondence, begun in the 1950's with his former students, collaborators, and friends among the Ukrainian community activists, continued through the next decade. It was generally conducted on a personal and informative level, but beginning with 1952, some of it took on political overtones. For example, in 1952, Dr. S. Baran wrote to Goldelman in the name of the Executive Board of the Ukrainian National Rada in Munich. That same year Goldelman also began corresponding with A. Livytsky, President of Ukrainian National Republic in Exile, discussing with him the Ukrainian-Jewish problems and the state of those relations in the future. Following Livytsky's death in 1954, Goldelman corresponded with the next president, Stepan Vytvytsky,<sup>47</sup> and beginning in 1964, with Mykola Livytsky,<sup>48</sup> then a member of the Ukrainian National Rada and since 1967, the President of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile. In one of his letters M. Livytsky asked whether a trip to Israel would be worthwhile; to this Goldelman replied that such a trip would be premature. Goldelman claimed that the Jews were not yet ready for establishing relations with representatives of the Ukrainian independence movement.

At its June 30, 1964 conference, UVAN, in U.S.A., elected Prof. Goldelman as its full member, based on the fact that he was a well-known scholar, with many years of scholarly research and numerous publications, and also because he stood for an independent Ukrainian state.

That fall, the Bundesinstitute für Ost und Internationale Wissenschaftlich Studien (in Cologne, West Germany) engaged Goldelman—an expert in Jewish affairs—to write a study about Jews in 20th century Russia (*Die Jüdenheit Russlands im XX Jahrhundert*). This study, amounting to 320 pages, was to cover the 20th century up to the present Jewish situation in the USSR, and was to be completed by autumn of 1965.

In 1960, due to his age, research work, and other various activities, Goldelman began neglecting his Institute for Zionist Education. It seemed that the satisfactory development of the Israeli educational system had already made the Institute obsolete; thus having achieved its goal, the Institute was closed. With these developments, however, Goldelman again found

himself in a bad financial situation. His only income now was a small pension from the West German government, which he received (since 1953) as restitution for having had to leave Prague as a result of the Nazi-German invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Goldelmans' life became very difficult. Despite the fact that they had spent almost 30 years in the East (1939-1966), they had not been able to acclimatize. They had no children, and all their relatives had been killed during the German occupation of Ukraine in 1941-1944. In the last several years, outside the publishing and doing scholarly work, Goldelman was no longer active in politics. He did not belong to any political party, but he was still interested in politics, and kept up with them, although he did not agree with the general direction of the Israeli economic and social policies. However, he no longer took part in them, not because he had lost his former energy, initiative, creative ability or temperament, but because he was very troubled that only a few activists of his generation remained, and most of them were removed from the mainstream of life, "as if thrown out on the old junk pile, no longer useful or needed."

Having reached his 80th birthday in December of 1965, Goldelman still felt strong both spiritually and physically. He wrote in his letters that he was sorry not to have at his disposal the appropriate Archimedes' screw to stand the world on its head. Had he had it, Goldelman felt certain he could still make a meaningful contribution, as he had done ten years previously. One such possibility may have been his planned trip to the United States which he had wanted to make since 1956, when he first visited Germany. Dr. A. Margolin had encouraged and helped him in this venture, but on November 1, 1956, A. Margolin died. Four years later (on January 7, 1960), another good friend, Philip Friedman—a professor at Columbia University, who had also been interested in Goldelman's trip to the United States—died. In 1964-1965 the idea of bringing Goldelman to the U.S. surfaced again in some Ukrainian and Jewish circles, but without fruition.

## THE JUBILEE YEARS

In 1965-1966 Ukrainian communities in the United States, Canada, and Germany held lectures, seminars, and conferences in honor of Goldelman's 80th anniversary. This jubilee period was initiated by former student L. Bykovsky, with a lecture at the meeting of the Denver chapter of UVAN (held in Salt Lake City, Utah, on September 12, 1965), entitled "Do problematyky Goldelmanoznavstva, pidhotovchyi period u zhytti Solomona Goldelmana, 1885-1913" (A Study of Goldelman: The First Period of Solomon Goldelman's Life, 1885-1913). A second lecture devoted to the study of Goldelman's life, also under the auspices of UVAN, was held on December 4, 1965 in Denver, again presented by L. Bykovsky, and entitled, "Do problematyky Goldelmanoznavstva, Solomon Goldelman u Vidni, 1920-1921" (A Study of Goldelman: Solomon Goldelman in Vienna, 1920-1921).

On December 11, 1965 the UVAN chapter in Winnipeg, Canada, held a special meeting to honor Goldelman's contribution to the Ukrainian cause. This meeting was opened and chaired by Dr. J. Rudnytsky,<sup>49</sup> President of UVAN in Canada. Lectures honoring the celebrant were given by Dr. M. Mandryka,<sup>50</sup> Mrs. K. Antonovych,<sup>51</sup> and Prof. M. Borovsky,<sup>52</sup> who had worked with Goldelman at UHA in Podiebrady. The members present voted to send Goldelman a letter of best wishes on the occasion of his 80th jubilee, along with some newer publications of UVAN in Canada.

On the initiative of D. Andrievsky, V. Stakhiv, F. S. Haienko, M. I. Dobriansky, and B. I. Kordiuk, a meeting to honor Goldelman on his 80th anniversary was held on December 17, 1965, in Munich, Germany; lectures were given by Kordiuk, Dobriansky, and Haienko. At the beginning of 1966, Goldelman received greetings from the board of the Alumni Association of

UHA-UTHI in New Haven, Connecticut, signed by the President of the Association, P. Shokh, and the Secretary, O. Kozlovsky. On May 29, 1966, the New York chapter of UVAN held a conference dedicated to Goldelman's anniversary, within the framework of the Commission for the Study of the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations. During the conference papers were presented by the following individuals: B. Martos—"Solomon Goldelman as a Citizen of the Ukrainian National Republic," B. Rzepetsky—"Solomon Goldelman Against the Background of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in the Era of Ukraine's Struggle for Freedom," I. Zozulia—"Solomon Goldelman as an Economist." Introductory remarks were presented by A. Archymovych and Liubov Margolin. On June 9, 1966, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the oldest Ukrainian scholarly society, named Goldelman a full member of its Historical-Philosophical Section.

In his letter of January 29, 1968 to the author of this work, Goldelman wrote that "The Ukrainian edition of the *Autonomy* has already appeared as volume no. 182 of *Zapysky NTSh-Europe*, published by Dniprova Khvyliya in Munich. Everything is satisfactory—the format, the print, the paper, and the introduction. If the young Ukrainian generation reads it, then your Ukrainian nation will only profit by it, since only the grave will cure the old generation." In 1968, when this work was to appear in English, Goldelman wrote, "The English edition is being published by the Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, established by Dr. M. Shlemkevych, in Chicago, Illinois. This book has as its goal the dissemination of true information about the international relations in Ukraine during its struggle for independence. It is intended both for foreigners as well as for young Ukrainians who, in the process of 'Americanization,' have forgotten their native language."

Goldelman's health was on the decline. In a postscript to the letter of 1968 he added, "I suffer from forgetfulness and this greatly complicates my work. Everything has to be written down, and the material has to be re-read constantly; however, this does not mean that I am getting senile." Nevertheless, Goldelman's scholarly work kept decreasing with each year.

In April 1969, V. Horchakivsky (Denver, Colorado), visited Goldelman in Jerusalem. Upon his return, he brought back Goldelman's greetings, but his impressions of the visit were not

happy ones. Similar news was brought by Shwartz from Brooklyn, New York, who also met with Goldelman later that year.

In a postcard to the author, dated December 17, 1970, Goldelman wrote, "I am happy to hear that you are intellectually active and healthy, and able to continue your work, which unfortunately I cannot say about myself. For me, it is even difficult to write a lengthy letter." Perhaps this is why the author received only a brief New Year's greeting from him, dated February 23, 1971. The same thing happened at the beginning of 1972, except that the card was not dated, but scrawled with a weak hand. The ending read: "Greetings to all my Ukrainian friends and acquaintances in the United States and Canada. Solomon Goldelman."

B. Kordiuk, who visited Jerusalem in March of that year and met with the Goldelmans on several occasions, had a happier impression of the state of Goldelman's health. Despite his old age and heart ailment (Kordiuk writes), Goldelman retained "sharpness and clarity of thought, expressed his views emphatically, and argued sharply and convincingly. It was a true intellectual experience to argue with him." Unfortunately, this was probably only a temporary state brought on by the visit of a life-long friend. Through Dr. B. Kordiuk, Goldelman sent the editors of *Naukovi Zapysky UTHI*, in Munich, Germany, his manuscript in German, entitled "Jüden-Bauern in der Ukraine. Jüdische Landwirtschaft unter den Zaren." It was published in 1973 in the 24th volume of *Naukovi Zapysky of UTHI*.

Goldelman mailed his New Year's greetings for 1973 to the author on December 20, 1972; he concluded with a promise, "In time I expect to write you a more detailed letter." However, the author's letters, dated March 14, 1971, December 6, 1972, and December 16, 1973, were never answered by Prof. Goldelman.

In the meantime, Prof. L. Margolin-Hansen, a full member of UVAN in the United States, and the chairman of the Committee for the study of the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations at UVAN in the United States, visited Israel in May 1973. She was in Jerusalem and wished to meet with the Goldelmans at their home. She made telephone arrangements with Goldelman's wife, who told her that Goldelman was very weak, and it would be better to wait a few days before they finalized any meetings. After a few

days, L. Margolin-Hansen was told that Goldelman was feeling even weaker, and that they were waiting for a doctor. Before L. Margolin-Hansen's departure from Jerusalem, during their last telephone conversation, Miriam Goldelman mentioned that she would like to meet with L. Margolin-Hansen at her quarters, but that she could not leave her husband alone even for half an hour.

Finally, a letter dated December 14, 1973 arrived from Miriam Goldelman, in which she wrote, ". . . You are probably wondering and do not understand why Solomon Izrailevych has not written to you. Actually, we remember and love you, and we respect your dedication, love and fidelity to your teacher and friend, Solomon Izrailevych. . . Solomon Goldelman has talked many times about his intentions to write to you, but it happens in life that circumstances are sometimes greater than our desires. Why has Solomon Izrailevych been silent for so long? The reason is very simple and very sad. Solomon Izrailevych, has been ill now for several years, and his health is getting worse. It all began with over-exertion. Neither we nor the doctor payed adequate attention to it, and for this reason, perhaps, thrombosis set in. Unfortunately, Solomon Izrailevych ignored the symptoms and continued to live and work as if nothing had happened. This condition probably led to his heart attacks. Eventually other complications set in as, for example, a bleeding ulcer. He lost a lot of blood and 20 kgs of weight; then new complications arose. Solomon Izrailevych is at home now for almost two months. This year he has been in the hospital five times. When the Arab-Israeli war began, however, and all the rooms in the hospital were needed for the wounded soldiers, he was sent home. He looks bad now, feels bad, and therefore is in a bad mood. Now you understand why he has been silent for so long! We will be very happy to receive your letters. . ."

About two months later, a second letter, dated March 3, 1974, arrived from Miriam Goldelman. This one carried the tragic news that Prof. Solomon Goldelman suddenly died in the hospital on January 3, 1974. She wrote that he had left a large collection of books, letters, and other archival material in the Ukrainian, German, Jewish, and Hebrew languages. What should she do with all this? What suggestions could Bykovsky give? On March 11, 1974, the author sent his deeply felt condolences, and advised Mrs. Goldelman not to despair, but rather to finish the task set

upon by her late husband. He advised her, according to Goldelman's precious wishes, to donate the entire collection and the entire archives to the Jewish University and National Library in Jerusalem. Everything will be preserved there for future studies of the life, activity, and creativity of the deserving patriot of two countries—Ukraine and Israel.

News of the death of Prof. Solomon Goldelman, after his prolonged illness and in the 89th year of his life, saddened his numerous former and present students, fellow-workers, and friends scattered all over the world.



## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Mehyk, Petro. (1898- ). Ukrainian artist now living and working in the U.S.
- <sup>2</sup>Hertzl, Theodore. (1860-1904). Born in Budapest. Father of political Zionism.
- <sup>3</sup>Poalei Zion. ("Workers of Zion"). Socialist Zionist party.
- <sup>4</sup>Ben-Zvi. (1884-1963). Born in Poltava, Ukraine. Founder of Zionist Socialism. Second president of Israel.
- <sup>5</sup>Borokhov, Ber. (1881-1917). Socialist Zionist leader.
- <sup>6</sup>Ukrainian Central Rada. The first Ukrainian National Government established in March 1917 in Kiev. On January 22, 1918 declared an independent Ukrainian State, and on April 29, 1918, adopted a constitution for the Ukrainian National Republic.
- <sup>7</sup>Vobly, C.H. (1876-1947). Ukrainian economist and statistician. Involved in studies and research projects dealing with economy.
- <sup>8</sup>Iasnopolsky, L.M. Ukrainian economist and statistician. Involved in studies of economics pertaining to Ukraine.
- <sup>9</sup>Zhabotynsky, V. (1880-1940). Jewish writer born in Odessa. Political Zionist activist.
- <sup>10</sup>Skoropadskyi, Pavlo. (1873-1945). Hetman of Ukraine from April 29, 1918 to November 1918.
- <sup>11</sup>Vynnychenko, Volodymyr. (1880-1951). Outstanding Ukrainian writer and political activist. One of the key figures of the Ukrainian Government in 1917-1919. President of the Directory, 1918-1919.
- <sup>12</sup>Ostapenko, Serhii. Economist and political activist. Member of the Ukrainian delegation to the Brest Litovsk Peace Conference; Premier of the Ukrainian Government (February 1919-April 1919).
- <sup>13</sup>Chekhivsky, Volodymyr M. (1876-?). Head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic (December 1918-February 1919).
- <sup>14</sup>Martos, Borys. (1879-1977). Ukrainian political leader. Became premier and headed the Council of Ministers of the Directory formed on April 9, 1919 in Rivne, Volhynia.
- <sup>15</sup>Bezpalko, Iosyp (1881-1950). Ukrainian educator and political figure. Socialist. Settled in Prague after the loss of Ukrainian independence where he was active in international socialist movement.
- <sup>16</sup>Salsky, Volodymyr (1885-1940). Ukrainian military figure; General. Took part in Ukraine's struggle for independence. Minister of Defense in the Ukrainian Government in Exile.
- <sup>17</sup>Mazepa, Isaak. (1884-1952). A leading Ukrainian figure in the political events of 1917-1920. Minister of Interior from April 1919; Prime Minister from August 1919.
- <sup>18</sup>Kedrovsky, Volodymyr (1890-1970). In 1919 appointed Inspector General of the Ukrainian Republic Army. From 1919 to 1921, Ukrainian Ambassador to Latvia, Estonia and Finland. Head of the Ukrainian Section at the Voice of America, 1955-1963.
- <sup>19</sup>Denikin, Anton (1872-1947). Russian General. Commanded Russian "White" forces who fought against the Ukrainian Army and the Bolsheviks. Attempted to reestablish the Old Russian Empire.
- <sup>20</sup>Ohienko, Ivan (1882-1972). Educator. 1918 Minister of Education in the Ukrainian Central Rada Government. Between the Wars was professor at Warsaw University. From 1940 Archbishop. Later, Orthodox Metropolitan in Canada.

- <sup>21</sup>Krasny, Pinkhas (1881-1939). Jewish civic activist in Ukraine. Organizer of Jewish schools and Minister of Jewish Affairs during the time of the Directory.
- <sup>22</sup>Livytsky, Andrii (1897-1954). Ukrainian jurist and political activist. From April 1919, Minister of Justice and from August 1919, Vice-Premier. In October 1919 headed the Diplomatic Mission to Poland; signed the Warsaw Agreement on April 22, 1920. In October of 1920 headed the Ukrainian Government.
- <sup>23</sup>Petliura, Symon (1879-1926). Ukrainian political leader. Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army. President of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919-1921. Assassinated by Samuel Schwarzbard in Paris on May 25, 1926.
- <sup>24</sup>Wrangel, Petr (1878-1928). Russian General. Succeeded Denikin in command of "White" Russian forces in Ukraine. In November 1920 evacuated his forces to Constantinople.
- <sup>25</sup>Bezrucho, Marko (1883-1944). General in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic. The battles under his command contributed in great part to the defeat of the Red Army at Warsaw on September 15, 1920. During the years 1920-1924 was the Assistant Minister of Defense, later Minister of Defense in the Ukrainian Government in Exile.
- <sup>26</sup>Udovychenko, Oleksander. General in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic. Commander of the southern front—direction of Mohyliv-Odessa. Helped stem the Red Army's attack from the south.
- <sup>27</sup>Prokopovych, Viacheslav (1881-1942). Political and social activist. Historian. Minister of Education in Central Rada. As of May, 1920, Head of Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic.
- <sup>28</sup>Budionny, S. M. (1883-1973). Russian Marshal. Helped organize the Soviet Cavalry.
- <sup>29</sup>Hrushevsky, Mykhailo (1866-1934). Renown Ukrainian historian, educator, and political leader. Was elected to head the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917, and then became President of the Ukrainian National Republic.
- <sup>30</sup>Andrievsky, Opanas (1878-1955). Ukrainian political activist. Judge. A socialist and member of the Directory. Professor of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague.
- <sup>31</sup>Makarenko, A. (1885-1963). Ukrainian political figure. During the Hetmanate Period worked at the Ministry of Railroads, and later was member of the Directory.
- <sup>32</sup>Shapoval, Mykyta Iu (1882-1932). Ukrainian political activist and educator.
- <sup>33</sup>Tymoshenko, Volodymyr (1885-1965). Prominent Ukrainian economist.
- <sup>34</sup>Miliukov, Pavlo (1859-1943). Russian historian. Headed III and IV Duma where he defended cultural rights of Ukraine. As Foreign Minister of the First Provisional Government, opposed an independent Ukraine.
- <sup>35</sup>Bochkovsky, Olgerd (1884-1939). Sociologist. Political activist. Professor of UHA at Podiebrady.
- <sup>36</sup>Fedenko, Panas (1893- ). Historian. Leader of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party.
- <sup>37</sup>Sadovsky, Valentyn (1886-1947). Ukrainian economist. Prominent jurist. Served in the cabinet of Vynnychenko.
- <sup>38</sup>Prokopovich, S. Prominent Russian economist, university professor, director of the Russian Economic Institute in Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- <sup>39</sup>Letter, Miriam Goldelman to Lev Bykovsky, Denver, Colorado, June 16, 1976, from Jerusalem, Israel.
- <sup>40</sup>Hryhoriiv, Nykyfor (1883-1953). In 1918 Minister of Education. Professor and Director of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Prague. From 1949 headed the Ukrainian Section of Voice of America.
- <sup>41</sup>Drahomanov, Svitozor (1884-1958). Economist. Professor at UTHI.
- <sup>42</sup>Baran, Stepan (1879-1953). Lawyer. Member of the Ukrainian National government in Western Ukraine (1918-1919).
- <sup>43</sup>Glovinsky, Ievhen (1894-1964). Economist. Member of the Ukrainian Research Institute in Warsaw, 1930-1939; professor at UTHI and UVU.
- <sup>44</sup>Vetukhiv, Mykhailo (1902-1959). Scientist. Through his efforts the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. was founded in 1950, in New York.

- <sup>45</sup>Margolin, Arnold (1877-1956). Jewish-Ukrainian political and social activist. In 1918 was member of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian National Republic. Assistant Foreign Minister in the cabinet of Chekhivsky.
- <sup>46</sup>For a fuller discussion of Kychko's book see *Ukrainians and Jews, A Symposium* (New York: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1966), particularly chapters IV and V.
- <sup>47</sup>Vytvytsky, Stefan (1884-1965). Statesman. Lawyer. From 1919 Vice-chairman of the Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian National Republic to Warsaw. Instrumental in reviving the government of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile after World War II. From 1955 was its President.
- <sup>48</sup>Livytsky, Mykola (1907- ). Journalist and political activist and from 1949 member of the Executive Body of the Ukrainian National Government in Exile. From 1967 its President.
- <sup>49</sup>Rudnytsky, Iar (1910- ). Member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada.
- <sup>50</sup>Mandryka, Mykyta (1886-1979). Poet, publicist, and a civic activist. Member of the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917.
- <sup>51</sup>Antonovych, Kateryna (1887-1975). Ukrainian artist, civic activist, and educator.
- <sup>52</sup>Borovsky, Mykhailo (1891- ). Agronomist and botanist. Presently a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada.

## APPENDICES

## No. 1

Excerpts from Solomon I. Goldelman's, *Zhydivs'ka Natsionalna Avtonomia na Ukraini, 1917-1920* rr. Muenchen, 1963, pp. 8-10, 102-102.

### *Fatal Alienation.*

What did the average Jewish citizen, the intellectual or laborer, know about the Ukrainian national movement in Kiev before the revolution where Ukrainian community cultural life, a regular Ukrainian theatre, Ukrainian political groups, and Ukrainian folklore was still alive? What did the Jewish community circles of this period know about the harsh suppression of every manifestation of Ukrainian national life, about Ukrainian sufferings, dreams, and expectations? Exactly nothing! The Ukrainians had no desire to admit strangers to the inner chambers of their intimate national life, nor did the Jews exhibit any real interest in closer relations with the Ukrainian community. It was as if a wall, a nontransparent curtain separated these two peoples, although they lived side by side for centuries, suffering under the heavy tyranny of the Tsarist regime, and dreaming of liberation. It would seem that a common fate would have brought them together in the struggle against a common enemy, but they have remained unchangeably isolated from each other. It was not until the waves of the Ukrainian movement began to flood the streets and squares of Ukrainian cities at the beginning of the revolution in March 1917, that the new events compelled the Jewish community-political circles to seek a clear orientation and to take a distinct position, one way or another.

### *Ukrainians incline to cooperate with the Jews.*

There can be no doubt that at this early stage the elite of the Ukrainian community, which led the national movement, acknowledged every possible advantage that would flow from an understanding with an ally such as the Jewry in Ukraine. In view of such cooperation, the most important element was the great number of Jews living in cities where Ukrainians alone were

powerless. Both the leading Ukrainian politicians, and certain Jewish leaders from the Zionist and labor-Zionist camps, regarded such an understanding as the first rung in the ladder leading to the union of those two main factors of the revolution—the Ukrainian village and the Jewish city—agreement and active cooperation of which would ultimately decide its fate. Such Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation at the time seemed like a dream to those circles, a dream towards the realization of which great efforts should be taken, without making any significant concessions. In fact, the very idea of a national-personal autonomy for the Jewry originated in the process of considering this active cooperation of both peoples. This autonomy was regarded as a parallel establishment to the political-territorial autonomy of Ukraine, which during this initial period of the Ukrainian revolution was considered to be the highest possible achievement of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

It is true that the circumstances kept changing rapidly, and with them changed the moods and tendencies of the main forces of the revolution. Already at the very beginning of 1918 the dreamers of this Ukrainian-Jewish united front must have understood that the former psychological ground for such mutual understanding had been forfeited, at least on the Ukrainian side. This occurred during the time of the first military-political crisis of Ukrainian statehood, when the government and Rada were compelled, under pressure from Muraviov's "Red Guard," to evacuate Kiev for the time being and retreat to Zhytomir. There the Little Central Rada met without any representatives from the national minorities, who did not arrive in Zhytomir.<sup>1</sup> During this military-political crisis a change of government also took place. Heading

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<sup>1</sup>The absence of the representatives of the minorities at the sessions of the Rada at Zhytomir was interpreted by the Ukrainians as a purposeful deviation of those representatives from mutual cooperation and responsibility over the fate of the state at such a critical moment. This interpretation, insofar as it relates to the behavior of the Jewish representatives, had particularly negative results as was clearly stated above. Jewish historiography accepted it without reserve. The historian of the anti-Jewish pogroms in Ukraine, Cherikover writes in regard to the absence of Jewish representatives at Zhytomir that "the Jewish representatives did not consider it essential to go along with the Rada to Zhytomir" (*Anti-Semitism and Pogroms in Ukraine*, page 111). In respect to this, I must say that I, who during the whole time of the existence of the Central Rada was one of the representatives of the Jewish parties in the little Rada, had received no indication of the intention of the Government and the Rada to leave

the new government were elements which did not hide their nationalistic leanings, because they felt that the way to end the disruptive influence of the extreme social slogans on which the Bolsheviks capitalized against the new Ukrainian state was to counter with equally extreme slogans of Ukrainian nationalism. The absence of representatives of the national minorities at Zhytomir, particularly of the Jewish delegates, helped to promote those attitudes, which took concrete form in the activity of the government and Rada during this period. A few new acts, directed against the minorities, particularly the Jewish minority, were passed. With the return to Kiev, a certain normalization took place, and the internal international relations were renewed. However, the psychological effect of this "transitory period" left its mark on both sides.

For that part of the Jewish community which consistently tied the realization of Jewish national autonomous aspirations with the triumph of the idea of Ukrainian statehood, it then became clear that the plan of active Ukrainian Jewish cooperation would not in the long run justify its initial hopes. But now in retrospect, we can say that if this fine idea of Ukrainian statehood had not sunk under the seething waves of Bolshevik demagoguery and otamanic anarchy, and if those elemental forces of the revolution had not proved themselves stronger than the leading elite groups of both peoples, then this plan of Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation had been very fine opportunity which history would have advised both sides to accept.

#### *Summary.*

Jewish National Autonomy flashed by on the horizon of Jewish life like a brilliant comet and then disappeared without a

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Kiev. Exactly on the day of departure from Kiev, I met W. Holubovych, the current Head of the new Government, on the street, not far from the Central Rada building. On this occasion we discussed events—Bolshevik bombers flying overhead—and we then parted, each on his own way, without the Head of the government giving me so much as a hint that at night he was abandoning Kiev along with his Government, the Rada, and the Army. No notice of this retreat was sent to me from the office of the Rada either, although hitherto and afterwards there were many occasions, even at nighttime, when I was called to a meeting when I was needed. At this time, quite evidently the ruling circles did not consider me, or any other representative, as essential in the mutual activity and cooperation, or as responsible for the fate of the state in this grave moment of its existence. I went into hiding for a few days in Kiev from Muraviov's Cheka, and sometime later I was able to find my way out of Kiev and head towards Vynnytsia.SG.

trace. There was nothing left of four years of revolution, except misty reminiscences of something brilliant, that had drowned in dark fear and torment; these were preserved in the national memory from the pogrom era, which came in paradoxical concurrence with the structure of autonomous national life.

The Jewish National Autonomy and the Ukrainian National Revolution arrived on the world scene as Siamese twins. With the fall of an independent Ukrainian state, the end of Jewish National Autonomy came automatically.

A historical summary of Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine provides a balanced loss, but the defeat of the Ukrainian National Movement during this great era takes on a different aspect. It is true that national-state independence also blazed across the Ukrainian sky like a streak of lightning. But the Ukrainian balance shows that, following the defeat of armed opposition against the superior forces of the Muscovite conqueror, there is a visible net profit. Although the Ukrainian Democratic National Independent Republic does not currently exist, even the Bolsheviks did not dare to destroy the principle of Ukrainian statehood. "The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" is not a free, independent state of Ukrainian people, and the Soviet Union, in which this "Ukrainian state" is included as a "Federative" section, is really only a surrogate of a real federation. However, "Ukraine," the very name of which was forgotten throughout the world before the revolution of 1917, after the revolution became a psychological and political reality in world consciousness, including the Jews in the entire world. The world today realizes that there is, in Eastern Europe, a country with a territory as large as that of France, with a population over 40,000,000, and that, next to Russia, this country is the largest Republic of the Soviet Union. The world knows, too, that Ukraine is a founding member of the United Nations; it becomes aware of the international status of Ukraine every year because of the presence of her delegates at the Assembly of the United Nations, even though that delegation does not dare to take a position independent of the delegation of the Soviet Union. The world knows also that this country does not accept its position as a captive nation and that its people keep fighting, in ways and forms possible under a totalitarian regime, for their national rights.



When, at the beginning of the 1917 Revolution, the Ukrainians in St. Petersburg and Kiev came out into the streets in masses of thousands, the Russians in St. Petersburg and the Jews in Kiev actually could not believe their eyes that there exists such a large nation whose people are called "Ukrainians," and such a large country known as "Ukraine." Who, then, can doubt the existence of such a country or such a people?

This, indeed, was the real victory of the Ukrainian Revolution. This victory is also in part, attributable to the fact that, during this period of the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920, National Autonomy for the Jewish population in Ukraine, was under preparation.

Jerusalem, Israel.  
Summer, 1960.

## MEMOIRS FROM MY UKRAINIAN ERA\*

It was not an accident that the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Prague, headed by Mykyta Iukhymovych Shapoval, asked me and six other Ukrainian activists, to be members of the organizational committee for the establishment of a Higher Polytechnical School of the Ukrainian Husbandry Institute in Czechoslovakia. This invitation was a result of my activities with the Ukrainian political and national movement, and of my participation in the building of an independent Ukraine, during the period of the Ukrainian revolution, 1917-1920.

Fifty years ago a very important event occurred in the life of a Jewish boy: in the fall of 1902 I was accepted to the fourth grade of the Karchevsky Prep School in Kishinev. This happened in the early stages of the new political Zionist movement among the Jews, initiated a few years earlier by Theodore Hertzl. I immediately joined a Zionist youth group, and soon after wrote my first ideological Zionist article for a "newspaper" published by it. It is in these beginnings that one should search for my basic approach to the Ukrainian struggle for independence, with which I came into contact 15 years later. Theodore Hertzl proclaimed a "Jewish State" as the goal of Jewish national revival and its "liberation" from the unnatural way of life among foreign peoples on foreign lands. The conviction that each subjugated nation is entitled to freedom and its own independent state, was the staunch conclusion of the Zionist outlook of every honest, and thinking Jew. This principle guided me from the first moment of my contacts with the Ukrainian national movement, and for the entire period of my association with the movement, that is, from the fall of 1917 to the fall of 1939 when I left Prague (which was already under Hitler's rule) and headed for Jerusalem.

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\*First published in Ukrainian in *Ukrains'kyi Tekhnichno-Hospodars'kyi Instytut*. vol. 2. New York 1962, pp. 155-161. Translated by Oksana Kraus.

In that very first year of my active participation in the Zionist movement (1903), the Kishinev pogrom—the first in a series of pogroms with which the Russian government attempted to fight the revolutionary movements in the country—was organized. The Tsarist pogroms had as their aim to direct the anger of the subjugated masses against the Jews rather than against the government, and furthermore, to discourage the Jewish revolutionaries from joining the struggle against the government. Now we know that neither the first nor the second goal was achieved; the pogroms only helped to spread among the Jewish population the Zionist idea that there cannot be any hope for a better future until the Jews become equal with other nations i.e., until they attain their own statehood in Palestine. In addition, the pogroms helped convince the Zionist youth of the necessity for the destruction of the Tsarist regime in Russia since it was the major hurdle to the improvement of the political and economic position of the Jewish masses. The result of all this was the creation of the Zionist-socialist movement, the main representative of which was the Jewish Social Democratic Party, Poalei Zion (Workers of Zion). In 1905 on my initiative and with my active help, a chapter of this party was established in Kishinev. Until fall of 1907 I was the secretary of the regional committee of the party (Bessarabia, Podollia, Khersonshchyna), the center of which was in Poltava. The main spokesman for this movement was Ber Borokhov, who in 1917—as a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada—gained prominence at the Congress of the Nationalities as a theoretician of the national awakening of the minorities in Russia. In 1907 I began my studies at the Kiev Commercial Institute, and from this time I became a permanent resident of Kiev, where I continued to be active in Poalei Zion, which existed illegally until February 1917.

With the beginning of the Revolution in February 1917 Ukrainian revolutionary organizations also surfaced. Ukrainian national slogans began spreading among the masses and gaining in popularity. The Jewish political circles in Ukraine were suddenly confronted by this phenomenon, and had to assume a clear position towards it. This was not an easy task, even psychologically, for it demanded a definite change in the direction of their political thoughts. Prior to this time Jewish political groups considered themselves and the Jewish population in the

territories which suddenly became Ukrainian as part of Russia and its population of five million Jews. The Jewish politicians in Kiev or Odessa did not consider themselves different from those outside the borders of Ukraine, i.e., Petersburg, Moscow, or elsewhere. They all faced the problem of working toward the destruction of the Tsarist system, establishment of democracy, and the attainment of equality for the Jewish population. It's true that the Jewish politicians had a nationalistic goal to achieve—autonomy of culture, language, etc. but even this they wanted to achieve within the boundaries of Russia. There were also reasons of a practical-political nature that stood in the way of a change in Jewish political thinking; the Jewish politicians instinctively opposed the dismemberment of Russia into independent national units, because this breakdown would dissipate the power of the national-political block of 5 million Jews. This kind of breakdown would divide the Jews among several countries separated by national borders.

This inertia had to be overcome and decisive action had to be taken. Such initiative had to come from the Zionist circles. Whoever dreamed of achieving a Jewish independent state in distant Palestine where at least hundreds of thousands of Jews were to be resettled from Europe, had to believe that the Ukrainian struggle for independence, the struggle of tens of millions of people, living for the most part on their own soil, would sooner or later end in victory, and that this victory was more of a reality even than the Zionist ideal.

The situation in Kiev demanded a decisive step from the Jewish politicians. A struggle began, between the Ukrainian political figures and the Russian Provisional Government, for the boundaries of Ukrainian political autonomy which, in those years, was the first demand of the Ukrainian national organizations. This step was taken by the Jewish Socialist Democratic Party, Poalei Zion, of which I was an active member since 1905. At the meeting of the Kiev chapter I presented a lecture following which a resolution which I proposed was accepted. This resolution clearly defined our positive approach to the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for independence on its native soil, and became the basis for the direction of the Jewish policy in Ukraine represented by Poalei Zion; it lasted until 1919 when the Communists occupied the major part of the country. The

Communists eliminated the political position of Jewish politicians, and physically liquidated the members of all Jewish parties and organizations, even the Jewish section of the Communist party.

From the time of my entry into the Ukrainian Central Rada at the beginning of 1917 as a representative of the Poalei Zion, until July 1920, when—with the retreat of the army of the Ukrainian National Rada—I also had to leave that country, the following political line was adhered to: SUPPORT OF THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT TOWARD ITS STATEHOOD AND CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE BUILDING OF THIS STATE. It was always my conviction, that such a stand would help secure: democracy in Ukraine, liquidation of anarchist pogrom elements, complete equality for the Jewish population, and the autonomous administration of Jewish national and cultural affairs. The leading Ukrainian political circles were always aware of the importance of this decision of the Poalei Zion.

At the end of 1921 I accepted the invitation offered by the head of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Prague, M. Shapoval, to move from Vienna to Prague and take an active part in the work of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, and later in the establishment of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy there. This was a logical step in the continuation of my above-mentioned political philosophy, although, unfortunately, this time it was not on Ukrainian soil, but in emigration.

As directed by the Organizational Committee for the establishment of UHA, I developed a program for the Economics Department. This program became the basis for the curriculum of the Cooperative-Economics Department, which was later approved by the Faculty Council of the Department.

On May 3, 1922 the Faculty Council of the Academy named me Assistant Professor (Docent) at the Department of National Economy. On May 16 I was asked to teach a course in economic policy, and on May 28 I was elected secretary of the Faculty Council. On July 22 I was appointed head of the Economic Policy Department. On January 25, 1923 I was elected Assistant Dean of the Faculty for two consecutive years. On January 16, 1925 I was named full Professor of the Academy. An Institute of National

Economy was also established at the Academy, which I directed for the entire time of its duration. Together with Prof. Volodymyr Tymoshenko, who was responsible for the area of economic geography, I also headed the Committee on Economic Terminology. My major fields of interest were: economy of production, international economic policy (foreign trade), transportation policy, labor exchange, principles of social policy, and economy of private enterprise. The last two disciplines I taught only during the first few years of the Academy's existence until new lecturers for them were hired. These were Prof. Valentyn Sadovsky who took over social politics, and Assistant Professor Karlo Kobersky, who taught private economy. I also taught a course on the Distribution of Agricultural Economy at the Agriculture-Forest Department.

My academic and pedagogical work at the Ukrainian Higher Institution in emigration began with its establishment and ended only with its liquidation in 1935. It then continued at the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute's Correspondence School, for which I wrote a special curriculum on the Economy of Industry. Besides teaching, I did creative research work at the Academy; I wrote two textbooks for my students (*Economy of Industry*, and *Foreign Trade Policy*), a longer scholarly work, *Theory of Stock Companies*, and numerous shorter works: "Industry in Ukraine," "The Black Sea and its Importance to the Economy of Ukraine," "The Social Economic Structure of Soviet Ukraine," "The Importance of Industry in the Economy of Ukraine," "Industrialization of Soviet Ukraine's Economy," "The Population and the Communist Party in Soviet Ukraine in the National and Social Profile," "Socio-Economic Bases for International Relations," "Transportation and Roads in Ukraine." Furthermore, I wrote a series of works on Jewish economy and sociology, some in Ukrainian; the longest of these works was a socio-political study entitled *Does Communism Solve the Jewish Problem?*, published in 1937, in German.

These academic endeavors were, for me, a natural and lucky continuation of my academic career which started at the Kiev Commercial Institute in the pre-revolution period. As early as 1910 I had begun my scholarly work as secretary for the Seminar of Political Economy directed by Prof. C.H. Vobly (later a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences). Two years later

Prof. L.M. Iasnopolsky (also later a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences), entrusted me to be the secretary of his seminar on Economic Policy. During this same time I was also responsible for the Department of Economics and Finances at the Institute. From 1913 I was officially appointed Assistant to the Economics Department; in 1914 I was secretary at the Convention of Farm Machinery and Trade in Kiev. In 1915-1916 I was secretary for the committee reviewing the Russian-German Trade Agreement; in 1917 I became a Lecturer of Economic and Social Policy at the Jewish Popular University in Kiev.

My political and administrative work in Ukraine in 1917-1920 (legislative work in the Ukrainian Central Rada, supervision of the Department of the Labor Market and the Legislative Department in the General Secretariat of Labor of the Ukrainian Government, Secretary of Labor of the Directory during the time of the coup d'etat against Hetman Skoropadsky, Secretary for National Minorities during the same period, Deputy Minister of Labor during the Kamianets Podilsky period) interrupted my academic work in the area of economic policy. UHA in Podiebrady gave me the opportunity to renew this work and continue it for almost 15 years. It was the reason that a citizen of Ukraine, but of non-Ukrainian nationality—a nationally-conscious son of the Jewish nation—had the opportunity to make a humble contribution to Ukrainian scholarship and to the education of a new generation of young Ukrainian economists, whose work will in the future be useful to an independent Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation. From distant Israel, the reborn state of the Jewish nation, I sincerely greet my former students and colleagues! I have the best memories of this period of our mutual creative work. With deep regret I remember also my numerous colleagues and students who met such an untimely end in the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Czechoslovakia reached a high standard and was soon on a level with the other schools of higher learning in Europe. Its professors and students had a good working relationship and they all contributed to its academic growth. The financing of the school depended on the good will of outside factors for which the Academy was grateful; unfortunately, these same factors eventually contributed to its closing. Already in the early 1930's it became evident that such a

fate was inevitable, and that only one possibility remained: the Academy had to find an independent means of financing itself.

At that time I no longer lived in Podiebrady but in Prague, where I had moved at the end of 1929. A large Jewish community as well as an active Zionist group already existed in Prague, and—after a ten-year break—I now had an opportunity to renew my Zionist activity. Soon after I arrived in Prague, I established the Bureau of Zionist Propaganda. I began my work with occasional lectures, but later established a Zionist Evening School (People's University). In time, this university began to distribute its lectures to Zionist organizations and chapters in Czechoslovakia, as well as to foreign countries, including Palestine and South America. Due to this experience the idea occurred to me that if the Czechoslovak Ministry of Agriculture refused the Academy a permit to hold classes, perhaps it would be possible to continue the same educational work by means of correspondence courses, after reassuring the Ministry that the Academy would not require any financial support from the Czechoslovak government. The main problem was how to secure a financial base, because the tuition payments were not enough. In this respect information on how the Zionist organization financed its activities, and how the Jewish National Fund obtained its financial means, helped me greatly.

It was in 1931, at the meeting of the Faculty Council, if I remember correctly, when we heard the sad report about the imminent closing of the Academy, that I unexpectedly submitted my proposal, which included the following points: To establish a Correspondence Institute at the Academy, and to recruit students for it from the entire Ukrainian diaspora (because similar to the large Jewish diaspora, there also exists a Ukrainian one: millions of Ukrainians who left their native land and emigrated to the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere). The principle on which this institution would function would be that the students pay for lectures, which would be mailed to them; this would cover expenses for the preparation and printing of the lectures. However, since these funds would not be sufficient to cover all the expenses, I proposed the creation of a Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy (ТПУН), which would recruit members from the Ukrainians living abroad. If each member would contribute \$10.00 annually, and I figured that in time the



membership would grow to 10,000, this would bring in \$100,000. dollars each year. This amount would suffice for the support of the school and its personnel. In addition, I also proposed the creation of a Fund of the Ukrainian Polytechnical Institute (associated with TPUHA), which would be similar to the Zionist Jewish National Fund, and would use similar methods to collect small contributions from Ukrainians living throughout the world.

My propositions, even though unexpected, were accepted by the members of the Faculty Council. Following the necessary preparations, the Ukrainian Technical-Husbandry Correspondence Institute (UTHI) was created in 1932 as part of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy; the Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy was established even earlier, in the fall of 1931. I was elected vice-president of the latter organization. We had some success, although we never reached the projected sum; nevertheless, the main objective was achieved—approximately 1,000 students enrolled at UTHI, and thus the idea of a Higher Ukrainian Polytechnical School abroad was realized.

With the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and the beginning of the Second World War, the activity of UTHI was almost completely curtailed. At the end of September 1939 I left Prague and after a short stay in Podiebrady, where I stopped to bid farewell to my colleagues and the Academy, I departed for Palestine; thus, my contacts with the Ukrainian community were severed for a long time.

These contacts were unexpectedly renewed through the initiative of Ukrainians who had managed to immigrate from Prague to the United States. The first letters reached me in 1950; later, others, who had lived in Podiebrady, and were continuing the work of UTHI in the U.S., began to correspond with me. One, who did the most to renew ties between me and the Ukrainians, was my former student, engineer, and economist, Lev Bykovsky, to whom I am deeply grateful for the numerous literary materials and other information he keeps sending me.

From this correspondence and the materials received, I learned with great joy that UTHI and the Association of the Professors of UHA (SPUHA), along with the Society of Friends of UHA (TPUHA), were reactivated in Bavaria in 1945; they achieved

such success that the former Podiebrady center of the Ukrainian Polytechnical Institute still exists today.

## AN APPEAL OF THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT TO JEWISH CITIZENS AND WORKERS (1919)

*To All Jewish Citizens and Workers in Ukraine\**

The Ukrainian Democratic Republic is waging violent war against the enemies on its right and on its left for its existence and independence, for the preservation of the rights of the toiling people to ownership of land, and for laws to protect all workers. The Russian Communist-Bolsheviks cannot wean themselves from traditional Russian imperialism; they consider themselves the tsarist heirs in Ukraine. In the hope of establishing Communism by means of bayonets and civil war, they incite the ugliest instincts and the worst impulses in the masses. This kind of work has brought the desired results: a hurricane of anti-Jewish pogroms has swept throughout the Ukraine.

The government at the head of the Republic and the military Commander-in-Chief, Petliura, are waging a vigorous struggle against the pogroms.

For the purpose of investigating all cases of pogroms and pogrom instigations, as well as for delivering the guilty ones to military court, a special Investigating Commission, with extensive powers, has been appointed. Members of this Commission include representatives of Jewish democrats.

An office of State Inspectors with extensive authority has been set up in the army; these inspectors are conducting a powerful campaign against pogrom elements in the army.

The last conference of inspectors approved the proposal of the Minister for Jewish Affairs to have representatives of that ministry among the inspectors.

The Commander-in-Chief, Petliura, has issued a series of orders by which he demands the radical suppression of all attempts at pogroms, and the execution of all pogrom instigators,

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\* *Visnyk Ukrains'koi Narodnoi Respublyky*, Aug. 9, 1919. See also *The Materials concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of Revolution (1917-1921)*. Munich, 1956, pp. 62-64.

making the military and civil authorities responsible for carrying out his orders. The special Military Tribunal has passed a series of death sentences; many pogrom instigators have already been executed.

In his many proclamations, the Commander-in-Chief, Petliura, emphasizes the fact that large-scale support is being given by the Jewish population to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in its struggle for existence and independence, and appeals to all the people as well as to the partisans on the other side of the battlefield to thoroughly suppress the pogroms which are ruining the country and endangering, to a large extent, the very existence of our republic.

The government is willing to help in a positive way with the "All-Ukrainian Central Relief Committee of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs for Aiding the Victims of the Pogroms" in the matter of reconstruction and repairs of Jewish settlements. 20 million hryvnas from the State Treasury have been assigned as the first step in that direction.

The Government stands behind the law on national-personal autonomy, and is resolved to enforce it fully. Recently a new law has been promulgated which gives the Jewish community self-government, with broad powers and the right of taxation.

The Jewish population actively supports the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. At their numerous meetings all the Jewish political parties have expressed their support for the complete independence of Ukraine.

The Jewish democrats—with Bund, Obyednantsi, Poalej-Zion and the People's Party at their heads—whose representatives belong to the Council of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs and whose important leaders hold many responsible positions in the Ministries, support the Ukrainian People's Government.

The Jewish population, and especially the Jewish workers, took an active part in the celebration of the First Proclamation because they are conscious of the fact that the day of the First Proclamation was for the Jews the first herald of their national and personal autonomy which, in fact, was soon afterwards proclaimed (on January 9, 1918). A healthy national feeling induces the Jewish population to fight side-by-side with the Ukrainian democrats for the independence of Ukraine; for, the liberation of Ukraine means at the same time the liberation of Ukrainian Jews, who are bound by a thousand threads to the

social and economic structure and to the fate of Ukraine. Only in an independent and democratic Ukraine is the development of trade and handicraft on which the Jewish laboring masses subsist possible.

Meanwhile in the Republican Army the idea of peaceful companionship among the peoples of the Ukraine is gaining a firmer footing; while the Army purges itself more and more of the pogrom elements and the many bodies of troops show signs of recovery,—the Bolshevik army shows more threatening signs of inner demoralization and dissolution. Recently a whole series of anti-Jewish pogroms took place; there were perpetrated by various Bolshevik troops. And the faster the victorious march of the united republican and Galician armies advances (which, incidentally, includes a considerable number of Jewish soldiers and officers in their ranks), the more demoralization increases in the Bolshevik army.

Bolshevism, by its terror and dictatorship, has crushed the forces of united democracy, and has prepared the ground for the successful advance of Russian reaction in the form of a Denikiad, which brings with it the danger of a tsarist restoration in the most real sense of the word.

Jewish citizens and workers! Remember the threatening danger! Remember that it is your duty to help save Ukraine from the threatening Bolshevik anarchy, and to defend your civil, political and national rights against the fearful reaction which is coming with the Denikin regime.

Remember that the paths of the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples are closely bound together, and that they have three hundred years of annihilation and enslavement by Russian tsars behind them.

As Ukrainian citizens with equal rights, defend-together with the Ukrainian people—your common fatherland!

Long live the Independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic!

Long live the brotherly and just companionship of the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples in the Ukraine!

Long live national-personal autonomy!

Long live the united laboring masses of all peoples in the Ukraine!

Long live Socialism!

President of the Cabinet Council: Borys Martos.

Minister for Jewish Affairs: Pinchos Krasny.

No. 4

DAILY ORDER BY THE SUPREME COMMANDER  
OF THE TROOPS OF THE UKRIANIAN  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC\*

August 26, 1919

Order No. 131

*This order will be read in the divisions, the brigades, the regiments, the batallions and the companies of the armies of the Dnieper and of the Dniester and in the detachments of the insurgents.*

The valiant Ukrainian troops, grouped by the national conscience of its sublime goal of liberation, and imbued with the great traditions of their ancestors, is [are] advancing by a rapid and irresistible march to its [their] highest destiny by the conquering of their enemies at the cost of their blood and that of their enemies.

It was written in history, that our glorious Cossacks would carry on their bayonets, liberty for the native country, and happiness for all those who had lived there for a long time. The brigands of the world, the Bolsheviks, on being suddenly attacked retreated in panic towards the North in their obscure grotto. But they still remain on our territory, free but defiled by the stench of the bestial and shameless enemy. He is not satisfied with the noble blood of our combatants. He thirsts also for the blood of the most peaceful inhabitants. The sinister men of the "Black Hundred" and the "Red Hundred" are but one band. These instigators of all crimes, who had dropped their arms have again left their hiding places and have recommenced their hideous struggle on another ground. They are assiduously weaving the frightful spider's web, provoking pogroms of the Jewish population, and on many occasions they have incited certain backward elements of our army to commit abominable acts. They thus succeeded in defiling our struggle for liberty in the eyes of the world and compromise our national cause.

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\*Reprinted from *Eastern Europe* (Paris) Vol. 1, No. 5, 1919, pp. 149-150. Ukrainian text was published in *Symon Petlyura. Articles, Correspondence, Documents*. New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1956, pp. 228-230.

Officers and Cossacks! It is time to know that the Jews have, like the greater part of the other members of our Ukrainian population suffered from the horrors of the bolshevist-communist invasion and follow the way to the truth. The best Jewish groups such as the "Bounde", the "Unified", the "Poaley-Sion" and the "Folks Party" have willingly placed themselves at the disposal of the sovereign and independent Ukrainia and cooperate with us.

It is time to learn that the peaceable Jewish population, its women [and] its children have been imprisoned in the same way as ours and deprived of national liberty. This population has lived with us for centuries and divides our pleasures and ours [sic] sorrows.

The chivalrous troops who bring fraternity, equality, and liberty to all the nations of Ukrainia must not listen to the invaders and the provocators who hunger for human blood. They cannot either remain indifferent in face of the tragic fate of the Jews. He who becomes an accomplice to such crimes is a traitor and an enemy of our country, and he must be placed beyond the pale of human society.

Officers and Cossacks! The entire world is amazed at your heroism. Do not tarnish it, even accidentally in an infamous adventure and do not dishonor our Republic in the eyes of the world. Our many interior and exterior enemies have exploited the pogroms against us. They point us out and affirm that we are not worthy of an independant and sovereign existence and that we must be enslaved once again.

I, Your Supreme Commander, I tell you that at this very moment the International Tribunal is judging the cause of our independant [sic] and sovereign life.

Officers and Cossacks! You hold this cause in your hands. Ensure the victory by directing your arms against the real enemy, and remember that our pure cause, necessitates clean hands. Be sure that all the enemies of our country will be severely punished by the just popular judgment. 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 tribunal will judge them for their acts and the most severe panalties of the law will be inflicted on all those found guilty.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic conscious of the harm the pogroms have caused to the state, have addressed an appeal to all the inhabitants of the country to resist the entreaties of our enemies who provoke the pogroms of the Jewish population.

I order all troops to listen well and to retain this appeal and to propagate it as much as possible among their comrades and among the people.

Petliura.

Commander-in-Chief,



THE JEWISH QUESTION IN UKRAINE

October 20, 1919

*The President of the Delegation of the Ukrainian Republic\**

Dear Sir,

I feel highly honored at the invitation of the Ukrainian Government to take part in the proposed Commission for the investigation of Anti-Jewish pogroms but I am away in Wales, resting under medical advice, and do not feel the strength to undertake the journey. Moreover if Doctor Yochelman, a member of the Council of the Jewish Territorial Organization, forms one of the members, the organization will be sufficiently represented. I take the opportunity of saying, however, 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 and mutual respect of all the varied racial and religious elements that make up a modern state. That these massacres, if they continue, will destroy your State no less surely than its innocent victims, adds to the regret with I, as a supporter of the principle of self-determination, observe your present failure to suppress them entirely.

Again thanking you for the honor of your invitation,  
Sincerely yours,

Israel Zangwill

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\**Eastern Europe* (Paris) Vol. 1. No. 1. 1919, p. 160.

Slightly different stylistic version of the letter was also published in *Materials Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of Revolution (1917-1921)* Munich, 1956.

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