

**Taras
Hunczak**



**SYMON PETLIURA
AND THE JEWS
A REAPPRAISAL**

UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

SYMON PETLIURA AND THE JEWS
A REAPPRAISAL

UPDATED AND REVISED EDITION

by

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Lviv New York Toronto
2008

Hunczak, Taras, 1932 –
Symon Petliura and the Jews: A Reappraisal
Editor Wynar, Lubomyr
CONTENTS: Hunczak, Taras,
The History of the Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917-1921

Editor: Lubomyr Wynar
Copy Editor: Assya Humesky

The book *Symon Petliura and the Jews* is based on the author's article of the same title which originally appeared in 1969 in *The Jewish Social Studies* as well as his "Letter to the Editors" published in the above journal a year later. Both works deal with the years 1917-1921, a complex period in the history of Ukraine intertwined with confrontations between various ethnic groups particularly the Jews and the Ukrainians. As a result there emerged certain stereotypes which to this day remain as obstacles to the normal relations between the two nations. The primary target of the undocumented accusations for alleged crimes against the Jewish people was Symon Petliura, the Head of the Ukrainian Government in 1919-1921. The book proves that nothing could be further from the truth. Even in his youth, Petliura was a supporter of the Jews who were fighting for their rights. When he became a political leader fighting for the Ukrainian cause Petliura continued to support the rights of the minorities in Ukraine, particularly those of the Jewish people. The documents added to the second edition of the book demonstrate that not only Petliura but the entire Ukrainian Government had a democratic and humanitarian attitude toward the people of Ukraine, irrespective of their nationality or religion. The best example of this attitude is the "Law on National-Personal Autonomy" of the national minorities of Ukraine passed by the Central Council of Ukraine on January 22, 1918.

The Addendum contains the information on the latest research and publications on Petliura as well as the new documentation found in the archives of the former Soviet Union, hitherto inaccessible.

ISBN 1-879070-22-7

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Editor's Preface

"The Jewish National Autonomy and the Ukrainian Revolution came on the scene as Siamese twins. With the fall of an independent Ukrainian state there followed automatically an end also to Jewish National Autonomy."

Solomon I. Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine 1917-1920*. Chicago, 1968, p.123.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Taras Hunczak's study, *Symon Petliura and the Jews: A Reappraisal*, which originally was published in 1985 in the UHA series, *Ukrainian Jewish Studies*¹. It now includes an "Addendum" in which the author discusses recent studies on Ukrainian-Jewish relations, additional historical documents that expand the source base of the first edition, and an updated bibliography.

The publication of this new edition is very timely, especially in view of the continued interest in Jewish-Ukrainian historical relations as well as the present reevaluation in Ukraine of the activity of Symon Petliura (1879-1926) as a politician, statesman, supreme commander of the UNR Army, and the President of the Directory (DyrekTORIA) of the Ukrainian National Republic. On the basis of historical sources, Professor Hunczak presents a lucid picture of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the short existence of UNR, and vindicates Petliura's reputation from the charges of his personal involvement in anti-Jewish pogroms in Ukraine. According to David Sanders of the University of Newcastle, "Hunczak's case [in regard to Petliura and his relations with Jews] is well made, and deserves renewed attention..."² Since the first UHA

¹ T. Hunczak's study was initially published in *Jewish Social Studies* (vol.31, no. 3, 1969, pp. 163-184), as well as his "Letter to the Editor" (Vol. 32, no. 3, 1970, pp. 246-253). A translation from English to French by Yann Gayet appeared in 1984, *Symon Petlura et Les Juifs* (Paris: Bibliothèque ukrainienne Simon Petlura, 1984, 70 p.). It was also published in Ukrainian, *Symon Petliura ta Evrei* (Kyiv, v-vo "Lybid", 48 p.).

² D. Sander's review of Hunczak's study was published in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 66, no. 1, 1988, pp. 161-162. See also B. Budorowycz, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 27, no. 4, 1985, p. 493; Henry Abramson, "Historiography of the Jews and the Ukrainian Revolution", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, (vol. 15, no. 2, 1990, pp. 39-40).

publication of this study is out of print it is hoped that this revised edition will enable researches on Jewish-Ukrainian relations to have access to this valuable and interesting work.

The present edition consists of the following sections: Editor's preface; Preface and Acknowledgement to the first edition; T. Hunczak's study *Symon Petliura and the Jews: A Reappraisal*; Letter to the Editors, Prof. Hunczak's response to Zosa Szajkowski's rebuttal article pertaining to his study; the author's Addendum to his study; Documentation section consisting of 18 documents including four Manifestos – Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada, "The Personal-National Autonomy of National Minorities in Ukraine," Petliura's order to Ukrainian troops condemning pogroms, and other important documents pertaining to Ukrainian-Jewish relations in 1917-1923. This section also includes excerpts from Solomon I. Goldelman's monograph, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*. Professor Solomon Goldelman (1885-1974), one of the leaders of the Jewish Socialist Zionist party "Poalei Zion", served as the Secretary of Labor and the Acting Secretary of the National Minorities in the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic. A Selective Bibliography and a Name Index concludes this publication.

Dr. Taras Hunczak, Professor of history at Rutgers University, is considered as one of the leading authorities on Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in the 20th century. He is the author of numerous studies on Ukrainian modern history and editor of many collections of historical sources to Ukrainian history. This important work presents a balanced interpretation of Symon Petliura and his attitude toward the Jewish minority in Ukraine during the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic. Both Jewish and Ukrainian historians will certainly benefit from this study.

A number of persons contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the publication of this revised edition.

First of all we wish to express our sincere gratitude to the author, Professor Taras Hunczak of Rutgers University. We are also indebted to Professor Assya Humesky of Michigan University for her thorough copyediting, and to Mr. Mykola Darmochwal whose technical assistance facilitated the process of finishing the book.

Our special appreciation goes to Mr. Andrew Fedynsky, Director of Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland, for

providing facsimile copies of the Central Rada Universals of 1917 and other important materials. Special thanks to Mrs. Oksana Radysh and Mrs. Tamara Skrypka for providing certain materials from the Archives of The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the USA. Also, Professor Alla Atamanenko of The National University of Ostroh Academy deserves special recognition for her assistance in finalizing this project.

We are especially grateful to The Bahriany Foundation, Inc. and the Research Endowment of the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors for their financial support provided toward the publication of this work.

We would also wish to thank Prof. Julia Zafferano, the managing editor of the *Jewish Social Studies* for giving Dr. Hunczak permission to reprint his article in this edition.

Lubomyr R. Wynar,
Editor

Note from the Copy Editor:

It should be noted that the transliteration of certain proper names, organizations, and geographic locations differs in different sections of the book. For example: Petliura vs Petlura, Proskuriv vs Proskurov, Poalei Zion vs Poale Tsion.

It was decided to preserve the spelling as it occurred in the original texts.

Assya Humecka,
Copy Editor

Preface to the First Edition

The first issue of this new UHA series is devoted to Symon Petliura (1879-1926) in the context of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921. In his study, Professor Taras Hunczak, noted historian of East European history, reappraises the role of Symon Petliura in Jewish pogroms in Ukraine and critically reexamines the myth of Ukrainian governmental anti-Semitism during the short lived existence of the Ukrainian National Republic.¹

It is only fair to state that the question of Jewish participation in either the Ukrainian National or the Bolshevik movements of 1917 and the following years requires an impartial analysis based on thorough external and internal analysis of historical sources.

The creation of the Ukrainian independent and sovereign state in 1918 under the leadership of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934) and later under Symon Petliura as well as their attitudes to the Jewish minority in Ukraine is very essential toward the comprehension of the spirit and scope of the Law on National-Personal Autonomy of January 22, 1918. This law, passed by the Ukrainian Central Rada, provided the Jewish population in Ukraine with its national-cultural autonomy – a unique case in European political history of this period.² Professor Solomon I. Goldelman, one of the leaders of the Jewish socialist party "Poalei Zion" (Workers of Zion) and a student of Jewish-Ukrainian relations during this period, stated that "The Jewish national autonomy and the Ukrainian Revolution came on the scene as Siamese twins. With the fall of an independent Ukrainian state, the end of Jewish National autonomy came automatically."³

¹ Dr. Taras Hunczak is professor of Soviet, Russian, and East European history at Rutgers University. He is editor of *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1974), *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), *Ukraine and Poland in documents, 1918-1922*, 2 vols. (New York, 1984), *Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka v 20 stolitti*, 3 vols. (New York-Munich, 1983), *UPA in Light of German Documents*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1984), and others. Professor Hunczak has also published articles in major professional journals.

² The text of the Law on National-Personal Autonomy is published in the section on "Documentation," see p.75...

³ Solomon I. Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*,

Another major topic, which requires impartial historical analysis, is linked to the activities of Jewish political parties in Ukraine and their attitude toward the creation and functioning of a Ukrainian national independent state during this turbulent period.

It is hoped that Taras Hunczak's study on Petliura and the Ukrainian-Jewish relations will fill an essential gap in East European and American historiography. It is interesting to note that his article on Symon Petliura, which appeared in the *Jewish Social Studies*, originated at a lecture series of Professor Salo Baron at Rutgers University. During one of the usual post-lecture discussions Professor Hunczak objected to what he considered as an unfounded and unfair criticism of Symon Petliura. Subsequently, Professor Baron suggested that he prepare a well-documented article on Petliura and the Jews and submit it for publication in *Jewish Social Studies*.⁴

The present publication consists of the following parts: 1) brief preface, 2) Hunczak's study, "A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917-1923," 3) Hunczak's "Letter to the Editors," 4) Documentation; sources pertaining to Ukrainian-Jewish relations in 1917-1923. The last section also includes an excerpt from S. I. Goldelman's study *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*. The name index concludes this publication.

It is not within the scope of this preface to raise additional questions pertaining to Jewish-Ukrainian relations during the various historical periods. In the 20th century, both nations were exposed to physical annihilation by foreign governments.

(Chicago, 1968), p. 123.

On the activities of Goldelman see Leo Bykovsky, *Solomon I. Goldelman: A Portrait of a Politician and Educator (1885-1974)*, (New York-Toronto, 1980).

⁴ Letter of Professor T. Hunczak to L. Wynar, January 14, 1984. In his letter Hunczak writes the following: "As was to be expected, my arguments did not go unchallenged, for in the same issue the late Zosa Szajkowski wrote a vehement rebuttal to my article. A year later appeared a response to the rebuttal of Mr. Szajkowski and again it was accompanied by another rebuttal by the same author. Viewing the intellectual confrontation from the distance of fifteen years, I can honestly say that the substantial research in the area since the publication of my article, proves that my conclusions were correct. . . . To conclude, it might be appropriate to mention that both my article and the "Letter to the Editor" have been favorably received by the Jewish scholarly community."

During the 1930s (Stalin's purges and the famine of 1933) and during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in 1941-1945 millions of Ukrainians perished. The Jewish people suffered terrible physical extermination (the Holocaust) during the Nazi period. Many Ukrainians and Jews in the present Soviet Ukraine are persecuted by the Communist Government.

I think it is appropriate to conclude this preface with an excerpt from the speech of Ivan Dziuba, Ukrainian literary critic, which he delivered on September 29, 1966, at the Babyn Yar in Kyiv, commemorating the Jewish and Ukrainian victims of the Nazi terror. Dziuba stated:

"The way to true brotherhood lies not in self-oblivion (samozabutti), but in self-knowledge; not in renunciation of one's identity and adaptations to others, but in being one's own self and respecting others. Jews have the right to be Jews, Ukrainians the right to be Ukrainians, in the most profound sense of these words. Let Jews know their history, culture and language and be proud of them. Let Ukrainians know their history, culture and language, and be proud of them. Let them know the history and culture of each other, and of other peoples, and let them value each other, and others, as brothers."⁵

This UHA new series is intended to publish studies and source materials pertaining to Ukrainian and Jewish historical experiences in Ukraine. It is hoped that this first issue will contribute to a better understanding of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the turbulent years of 1917-1921. If this publication contributes to the development of a constructive dialog among researchers of East European history, then we feel it will have served its purpose.

⁵ Ivan Dziuba, "Vystup u Babynomu Yaru 29 veresnia 1966," in V. Chornovil, *Lykho z rozumu* (Paris, 1967), pp. 307-308. An English translation was published in *The Chornovil Papers* (New York-Toronto, 1968), pp. 222-226.

Acknowledgements

A number of individuals and institutions contributed to the initiative of this publication. First and foremost, we wish to express our gratitude to the late Mrs. Miriam A. Goldelman (d. 1984) from Jerusalem who provided some financial assistance to initiate a series of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in memory of her deceased husband, Solomon I. Goldelman (1885-1974), a prominent Jewish educator, scholar and noted political activist in Ukraine and Israel. We especially wish to thank Professor Taras Hunczak for procuring permission from Mr. Tobey B. Gitelle, managing editor of *Jewish Social Studies*, to republish his article, "A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917-1921," published in *Jewish Social Studies* (vol. 31, no. 3, 1969, pp. 163-184), and his "Letter to the Editor" (vol. 32, no. 3, 1970, pp. 246-253).

We are grateful to the Ukrainian Historical Association and the Research Endowment of the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors for their support of this publication.

Also Mr. Leo Bykovsky, a noted bibliographer and educator, deserves our gratitude for his encouragement of this series. Finally, we wish to express our thanks to members of the UHA chapter in Toronto, who provided a major part of the financial support toward the publication of this study.

L.R. Wynar, Editor



Symon Petliura

**A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura
and
Ukrainian-Jewish Relations,
1917-1921**

Sensation-loving Paris has recently been treated to the most titillating of thrills, a spectacular murder trial. When we add that international politics and rampant race hatreds were thrown in by way of good measure, it will be realized that the dish was seasoned highly enough even for the jaded tastes of the boulevardiers. Emotion dominated the scene from start to finish. Such cold abstractions as law and reason found no place in the crowded courtroom. Theatrical display and the appeal to sheer feeling were everywhere present in the trial of Samuel Schwartzbard, a young Jewish watchmaker, for shooting down General Simon Petliura, the Ukrainian army chieftain, on the streets of the capital some 15 months ago.¹

This is a most fitting description of the atmosphere of the trial which, from October 18 to 26, 1927, claimed the attention of the entire world. The only item that is missing in this eloquent summation of the entire affair is the appreciation that in reality Petliura, not his assassin, was placed on trial posthumously on the charge of instigating and tolerating some of the bloodiest Jewish pogroms the world had ever seen before World War II. The attorney for the defense, Henri Torres, one of the most successful criminal lawyers in France, skillfully diverted the attention of the court from the defendant by concentrating on the horrors of the pogroms. Thus the roles of the accuser and the accused were completely reversed.² Torres sought to prove Petliura's personal responsibility for this tragedy that befell Ukrainian Jewry. However, since there was no concrete evidence to prove this point, after two days of cross-examining various witnesses, Torres changed his line of argument. He

¹ "Lurid Trial of Petliura", *Literary Digest*, vol. lxxxxv (November 19, 1927), pp. 36-42.

² Iakovliv, A., *Paryzka tragediia [Parisian Tragedy]* (Paris, 1958), pp. 24-6. (U).

NOTE: (U) denotes Ukrainian and (R) Russian.

proceeded to claim that Petliura, as the Chief of State and Commander of the Army, was responsible for the acts of his soldiers and for all developments in the territory under his control. This substantially was the argument of some of the witnesses, particularly that of Henry Sliosberg, a distinguished Russian-Jewish lawyer, who also imputed Petliura's moral responsibility.³ The defense was successful; the French jury found Schwarzbard "not guilty."

Viewed as an avenger by some, and as a Bolshevik agent or at least a tool of a Communist conspiracy by others, Schwarzbard may well remain an eternal enigma.⁴ Whatever the truth may have been, the object of this study is not to try to convict the assassin nor even to examine his motive in perpetrating such an irrevocable act. The principal purpose of this study is to establish, as far as historical sources and human failings permit, the culpability, if any, of Symon Petliura for the pogroms.

The origin of the pogroms in Ukraine during the stormy days of the revolution, foreign invasion, civil war, and Western intervention presents a complex problem. Yet it is against this background, together with that of deep-seated historical socio-economic animosities, that one must try to understand the horrors that engulfed Ukraine during one of the most critical periods of her history. It should be noted, however, that whatever explanations may be offered, nothing, absolutely nothing, can possibly justify the vicious pogroms which shed so

³ See *The New York Times*, October 25, 1927, p. 5; also the special daily issues of *Tryzub [Trident]*, Paris, no. 5 (Oct. 25, 1927), p. 1; no. 6 (Oct. 26, 1927, p. 1; no. 7 (Oct. 28, 1927), p. 1; no. 8 (Oct. 31, 1927), p. 3. (U).

⁴ Allen W. Dulles, the late chief of the CIA, wrote that "in Paris in 1926 the Soviet security murdered General Petliura." See his "The Craft of Intelligence," *Encyclopedia Britannica: Book of the Year 1963*, p. 20. Also Petr S. Deriabin, former officer of the Soviet Committee of State Security (KGB), testified to "have heard it said in the Émigré Department of State Security that Petlyura was assassinated by Soviet State Security." "Hearing before the Subcommittee to investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on Judiciary, United States Senate, 89th Congress, First Session," *Murder International, Inc.: Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy* (Washington, D.C., 1965), pp. 54, 60, 62, 64. Elie Dobkowski, former Deputy Commissar General of the Central Jewish Commissariat, maintained in 1926 that the assassination of Petliura was the work of the Bolsheviks. See his *Affaire Petliura – Schwarzbard* (Champigny, 1927 [?]).

much innocent blood, causing untold suffering to those who survived, and leaving thousands of widows and orphans in their wake.⁵

When we examine closely the entire period of the Ukrainian Revolution, we find that the fortunes and misfortunes of the Jewish community were directly related to the successes or failures of the Ukrainian government to establish a solid foundation for the peaceful and independent existence of the newly created Ukrainian state.

The collapse of the tsarist empire marked the triumph of social and national democracy in the Ukraine. The *Centralna Rada* (Central Council), which set itself up as the highest political organ in the country (March 17, 1917-April 29, 1918), initiated reforms that were progressive, enlightened, and democratic, even by the standards of our times.⁶ For the various national minorities in Ukraine, the first truly significant act of the new Government was the proclamation of the Second Universal (Decree) on July 16, 1917, which established autonomy for the Ukrainian people and provided a status of complete equality for all minority groups.⁷ In accordance with the spirit of the Second Universal, the Government, which included Petliura as Secretary of Military Affairs, prepared the draft of a statute for the autonomous order in Ukraine. This basic law (completed on July 29, 1917) provided that henceforth the national minorities

⁵ Pogroms took on different forms at different times depending on the needs, objectives, and imagination of the perpetrators. As the word itself suggests, a pogrom was a purposeful devastation of property generally accompanied by beatings, rape, and massacres of innocent victims.

⁶ The attitude of the *Central Rada* toward social, economic, minority, and other questions manifested itself as early as the resolution of April 19, 1917, in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Universals, in the Agrarian Law, and finally in the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic of April 29, 1918. For details see Doroshenko, Dmytro, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917-1923* (New York, 1954), vol. i, pp. 58-9, 89-92, 148-50, 177-81, 264-8, 285-9. (U).

⁷ *Ukrainskaia zhizn [Ukrainian Life]* (Moscow, 1917), no. 3-6, pp. 149-51. (R). The sincerity of the *Central Rada* in promulgating the Second Universal was further emphasized by a series of articles in which its President, Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi, most emphatically rejected any mistaken notion that "Ukraine was only for the Ukrainians." He clearly stated that Ukraine was for everybody who was an inhabitant regardless of his ethnic origin. See Hrushevskyyi, Mykhailo, *Vilna Ukraina [The Free Ukraine]* (New York, 1918), pp. 17-25. (U).

(that is, Jews, Russians, and Poles) were to be directly represented in the General Secretariat (the executive branch of the government) through their chosen representatives who were to hold the position of Under-Secretaries. The Under-Secretaries were to enjoy full equality with the Secretary General for Nationalities in the area of their jurisdiction. From the point of view of the legal status of minorities under the new "Constitution," Article Twenty is of special significance. It provided that "all laws, administrative rules and decisions, published in the Ukrainian language, will also be published in Russian, Jewish, and Polish languages."⁸ The first Under-Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the newly-enlarged General Secretariat (sometimes referred to as *Mala Rada*) was Moshe Silberfarb.⁹ The Jewish community reacted favorably to these democratic measures and began to identify its interests with the Ukrainian cause.

The Russian Provisional Government, however, refused to recognize the Ukrainian demand for national autonomy, as it contradicted basic Russian centralist policies. Equally adverse to Ukrainian statehood were the Bolsheviks who overthrew the weak Kerensky regime. It is noteworthy that despite the inimical attitude of the Russian Provisional governments, the Ukrainian Central *Rada* continued to hope that eventually a democratic Russian republic would emerge which would become the base for a federation of free and equal states. So as not to prejudice the nature of the anticipated federal structure, the Central *Rada* was careful to avoid any unilateral decisions of fundamental significance before the convocation of the Russian Constituent Assembly. These utopian considerations of the Ukrai-

⁸ For the "Constitution," or as it was known, "Statut Vyshchoho Upravlinnia," see Khrystiuk, Pavlo, *Zamitky i materialy do istorii Ukrainiskoi Revoliutsii 1917-1920 [Notes and Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920]* (Vienna, 1921), vol. i, pp. 96-7. (U). In the fulfillment of this provision the Ukrainian currency also bore its inscription in the languages of these three major minority groups. See Schwarz, Solomon M., *The Jews in the Soviet Union* (Syracuse, 1951), p. 83. For a good, concise treatment of the policies of the Ukrainian government toward the Jews, see Janowsky, Oscar I., *The Jews and Minority Rights, 1898-1919* (New York, 1933), pp. 230-40.

⁹ For a summary of his activities see Silberfarb, Moshe, *Dos Jiddish Ministerium un di Jiddish Oitonomie in Ukraine* (Kiev, 1918); also his *Di Jiddish Oitonomie un der Natsionaler Sekretariat in Ukraine: Materialn un Dokumentn* (Kiev, 1920).

nian Socialist parties, which dominated the Central *Rada*, were dashed by the Bolshevik *coup* of November 7, 1917. This prompted the Ukrainian political leaders to assume a more independent attitude toward Russia and to adopt more energetic measures in the realm of domestic affairs.¹⁰

This was in reality the meaning of the Third Universal, which solemnly proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic on November 20, 1917. For the national minorities, this Universal is a landmark of tolerance in the Ukrainian struggle for independence. It declared that the Ukrainians, who, having gained freedom for themselves, would staunchly defend the freedom of national development for all people living in Ukraine. "Therefore let it be known," the Third Universal affirmed, "that we recognize the right of the Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other people for national-personal autonomy in order to secure for themselves the right and freedom of self-rule in questions of national life."¹¹

Ukrainian Jewry, with but few exceptions, hailed the Third Universal as a fulfillment of its hopes and political aspirations. Indeed, it met the expectations of the Bund (the General Jewish Workers' League) which, despite the quixotic internationalism of some of its activities, adopted a program in which the question of national-cultural autonomy figured prominently.¹²

Zionists of various shadings were equally satisfied with the declaration of the Ukrainian Government since it was consonant with their idea of "synthetic Zionism," which meant "a combination of the Palestine idea with the fight for national and cultural autonomy in the Diaspora."¹³

As a political action, granting national-personal autonomy to the Jewish community had no precedent in history, and as such constitutes one of the brightest pages in the Ukrainian

¹⁰ For a more detailed account of Ukrainian national aspirations see Borys, Jurij, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 99-121.

¹¹ For the full text of the Universal see Vynnychenko, Volodymyr, *Vidrodzhennia natsii [Rebirth of a Nation]* (Vienna, 1920), vol. ii, pp. 74-80. (U).

¹² Baron, Salo W. *The Russian Jew Under the Tsars and the Soviets* (New York, 1964), p. 171. See also Rafes, M., *Ocherki po istorii "Bunda" [Outlines of the History of the Bund]* (Moscow, 1923), p. 270. (R).

¹³ Dubnow, S. M., *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (Philadelphia, 1920), vol. iii, pp. 144-145.

Revolution. It speaks highly of the moral fiber and political vision of the Ukrainian leaders.¹⁴

On January 22, 1918, what had been essentially a promise became a reality: the Ukrainian Government unanimously adopted the Law of National-Personal Autonomy, which was then formally announced in the official *Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv* (*Journal of State Laws*).¹⁵ This was accompanied by a new wave of enthusiasm among the Ukrainian Jews. The Secretary for Jewish Affairs, Moshe Silberfarb, moved by the occasion, declared: "The Law which we have approved can be compared only with the acts of the great French Revolution. At that time the rights of men were promulgated, today the rights of nations have been proclaimed." The law was likewise praised by Moisei Rafes, the Bund representative. "This is an act of the greatest value, which is not to be found in any other country of Europe," he said. The Zionist leaders and those of the other Jewish parties expressed themselves in the same spirit.¹⁶

The moment was unique and historic, but it came at the worst time. Accompanying the voices of jubilation were the anguished cries of pogrom victims. Eventually the latter drowned out the former as the population of Ukraine, particularly the Jews, found themselves defenseless victims of the merciless caprice of innumerable marauders. Ukraine became a land without pity.

The period of disorganization and anarchy was, if not precipitated, then certainly enhanced by the Bolshevik seizure of power. For Ukraine, more than any other portion of the former

¹⁴ It might be interesting to note that writing in 1945 Janowsky anticipated the solution of minority problems in Eastern Europe by "national federalism," which is almost exactly what the Ukrainian government sought to implement from 1917 to 1921. See Janowsky, Oscar I., *Nationalities and National Minorities* (New York, 1945), pp. 145-54, 166.

¹⁵ Goldelman, S. I. *Zhidivska natsionalna avtonomiia na Ukraini* [*Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine*]. Hereafter cited as ZNA. (Munich, 1963), pp. 34-5. (U). For a contemporary Polish view see Jablonski, Henryk, *Polska Autonomia Narodowa na Ukraine 1917-1918* [*Polish National Autonomy in the Ukraine 1917-1918*] (Warsaw, 1948). (P).

¹⁶ Tcherikower, L., *Antisemitism i Pogromy na Ukraine 1917-1918* (Berlin, 1923), p. 73. (R). Indeed "Ukraine was the first country of the world to introduce extraterritorial cultural autonomy for minority nationalities." Cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

tsarist empire, it bore tragic consequences. With the fall of Kerensky, the already demoralized troops left the front in ever greater numbers and roamed the countryside at will. Moving in large units, they became the terror of the civilian population. According to the distinguished Jewish historian Tcherikower, they carried out the first pogroms in Ukraine. These troops were not exclusively Ukrainian or Russian, but more likely a cross section of multi-national Imperial Russia.¹⁷ In his well-documented work, Tcherikower wrote:

The frontline as well as the roads for the demobilized soldiery led through Jewish cities and towns which densely covered the Dnieper's right bank of Ukraine. All the consequences of the willful demobilization and of the unsuccessful war fell first of all upon the Jewish population of the front area. ... Anarchy seizes our country increasingly into its clutches. ... The Jewish population finds itself in a particularly bad situation. People in soldiers' uniforms are plundering, devastating and burning. The horror that is suffered by the population is indescribable. The soldiers here call themselves Bolsheviks; they create terror and increase anarchy.¹⁸

According to Volodymyr Kedrovskyi, the former Chief Inspector of the Army of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic, the first large-scale pogrom was perpetrated by the Russian Second Guard Corps in the Podilia Province in November of 1917. In the course of that pogrom, seventeen Ukrainian villages were

¹⁷ Tcherikower, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. Colonel Kedrovskyi refers to the ethnic composition and geographic distribution of the Imperial Russian army when he discusses the efforts of the Ukrainians to turn some of the army units into Ukrainian ones. Thus we find the number of Ukrainians on the northern front was sufficient (110,000) to Ukrainize an entire army corps, while in the Caucasus several battalions were Ukrainized. At the same time the so-called "Wild Division," made up mostly of people from the Caucasus, served on the southern Ukrainian (Rumanian) front. Cf. Kedrovskyi, Volodymyr, *1917 Rik [The Year 1917]* (Winnipeg, 1967), vol. i, pp. 15, 225, 226. (U).

¹⁸ Tcherikower, *op. cit.*, p. 50 ff. Nahum Gergel corroborates Tcherikower's report when he writes that the "first anti-Semitic excesses took place in the fall of 1917, ... The starving soldiers who were deserting the front plundered Jewish settlements on their way. In some places there were excesses on the part of the Ukrainian peasants, but these were merely isolated cases." Cf. Gergel, Nahum, "Pogroms," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1948), vol. viii, p. 561.

looted and completely destroyed.¹⁹ It is possible that some of these pogroms were not necessarily a product of general anarchy, but were rather centrally directed and politically motivated. A. E. Shiller, a lieutenant in the Russian Army, reports that they "were ordered to ruin and destroy ... [the] Russian villages along the way, and to rob the helpless peasants of their last possessions." As could have been anticipated, the "order" bore tragic consequences for the civilian population against which it was directed. "The soldiers ... lost all military semblance, strutted in crowds through the streets and unceremoniously broke up stores, entered private residences and robbed the inhabitants of their property."²⁰ In response to the increasing number of pogroms, Petliura, who was Secretary for Military Affairs, called upon the military to prevent future pogroms and disorders. "No pogroms should be permitted on our land," he said.²¹

What proved to be particularly important was the effect of the increasing violence on the progressive "radicalization of the operative forces of the revolution and its effect on the Ukrainian as well as the Jewish camp." The Ukrainians viewed the Jewish concern for a "one and indivisible Russia" with suspicion; it appeared to them as a lack of regard for Ukraine despite the privileges the country gave them.²² The Jews, on the other hand, apprehensive of the growing national consciousness of the Ukrainian masses, remained either neutral during the initial phase of the Russo-Ukrainian struggle or eventually, in many cases, moved to the side of the enemies of Ukrainian statehood.²³ The deterioration of political order,

¹⁹ Kedrovskiy, V., "The Battle with the Pogroms in Ukraine," *Svoboda [Liberty]*, (Jersey City, N.J.), no. 6, June 26, 1933, p. 2. (U).

²⁰ Shiller, A.E. (Lieutenant), "An Officer's Experience With Bolshevism," *Current History*, vol. x (1919), no. 3, p. 514. (From the rest of the article, which is the first of twenty, it is obvious that the author really refers to Ukrainian villages.)

²¹ Petliura Memorial Committee in America, *Symon Petliura: statti, lysty, dokumenty [Symon Petliura: Articles, Letters, Documents]* (New York, 1956), pp. 219-20. (U).

²² Goldelman, *ZNA*, pp. 30-1.

²³ The Jewish attitude cannot be explained by any temporary disenchantment with the Ukrainians, but rather by the traditional inclination on the part of the Jews to side "with the Great-Russian culture as against the Ukrainian peasants and the handful of Ukrainian intellectuals who were striving to create a

brought about by internal and external forces, deepened the chasm between the Ukrainian and Jewish population, a factor that henceforth figured prominently in the tragic history of both people.

The progressive alienation between the two groups during what one may consider the most promising period of Ukrainian statehood was revealed with unprecedented clarity on January 24, 1918.²⁴ In a tense yet festive atmosphere, the Fourth Universal proclaimed that henceforth Ukraine was the independent and sovereign republic of the people of Ukraine. After the document was read confirming the right of national minorities to national-personal autonomy, the Ukrainian deputies of the Little Council (*Mala Rada*) found that the Jewish representatives did not share their sentiments. On the contrary, the representatives of the Bund, and the "Russians," who for the most part were Russified Jews, voted against the Universal, while the representatives of other Jewish parties abstained from voting altogether.²⁵ Thus, politically at least, the Ukrainians and the Jews parted company.

Reflecting upon those fateful days, Professor Solomon Goldelman stated that "the Ukrainian Revolution, and with it the Jewish national movement, both reached, together and with a certain interdependence, the realization of their highest national aspirations. However, the high point soon gave way to the beginning of a tragic process, a beginning of the movement into an abyss. The highest success turned into the beginning of the end."²⁶

The Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine in January, 1918, prevented any possible stabilization of the deteriorating Jewish-Ukrainian

Ukrainian language and literature, and beginning to aspire to autonomy for their culture and their land. ... Thus, almost unconsciously, most of the Jews of the cities of Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine tended to become opponents of the national separation movements that arose during the breakup of the empire." Wolfe, Bertram D., *Three Who Made a Revolution* (New York, 1964), pp. 182-183.

²⁴ Although January 22, 1918 has entered Ukrainian history as the date when the Fourth Universal was proclaimed, it actually occurred on January 24th. See Zozulia, Yakiv, ed., *Velyka ukrainska revoliutsiia [The Great Ukrainian Revolution]* (New York, 1967), pp. 46-47, 73-77; also Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 103-06. (U).

²⁵ Goldelman, *ZNA*, pp. 32-35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

relations. The advancing Bolsheviks drove the *Rada* out of the capital, forcing it into the arms of the Germans and Austrians who promised to aid the young republic in return for food supplies.²⁷ With the support of the Austrian and German armies, the *Centralna Rada* returned to Kiev only to be replaced several weeks later by the German-sponsored regime of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi. The eight-month rule of Skoropadskyi was a period of reaction to the preceding economic, social and national legislation of the *Centralna Rada*. As early as July 18, 1918, the new regime annulled the law of National-Personal Autonomy for the minorities in Ukraine.²⁸ The resultant popular dissatisfaction hastened the demise of the Hetman State. Under the leadership of the Directory, a temporary insurrectionary government consisting of Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Symon Petliura, Fedir Shvets, and Andrii Makarenko, launched a general uprising. The rebels were successful; the victorious army of the Directory entered Kiev on December 14, 1918. In the provinces, the popular armies were able to establish the rules of the Directory even earlier.²⁹

During those stormy days, Vynnychenko and Petliura emerged as the representatives of Ukrainian aspirations for political independence. Although both belonged to the Social Democratic Party, they differed markedly in their approach to certain basic problems. Vynnychenko, a Utopian socialist, emphasized the primacy of the socio-economic factors in the revolutionary struggle. Consequently he was torn between national interests and his quixotic brand of socialist idealism – a factor that may, at least partially, explain inconsistencies in Vynnychenko's political life.³⁰

Petliura, on the other hand, sought the realization of his ideals

²⁷ For details of the agreement see Wheeler-Bennett, John W., *The Forgotten Peace: Brest-Litovsk* (New York, 1939), pp. 392-402.

²⁸ Goldelman, *ZNA*, p. 47.

²⁹ *Die Deutsche Okkupation der Ukraine: Geheimdokumente* (Strasbourg, 1937), p. 15.

³⁰ There is no study which explains the many-sided nature of that extremely talented and active man. The works, which offer us the best insight into his political ideas, are his *Vidrodzhennia natsii* [*Rebirth of a Nation*] (Vienna, 1920), 3 vols. (U); and his novel *Nova zapovid* [*New Commandment*] (Neu-Ulm, 1950). (U). In 1953 the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences published a book in New York entitled *Volodymyr Vynnychenko* which commemorated his activities.

of social justice and equality within an independent Ukrainian Republic. Thus he emphasized the practical side of the struggle for independence. This has led some observers to conclude erroneously that Petliura subscribed to extreme nationalism with its usual exclusive, discriminatory, and frequently intolerant tendencies. For lack of a better word in the English language one may, indeed, use the term "nationalist," but only in its most general connotation.³¹ In trying to comprehend Petliura's political thought, one comes closer to the truth by realizing that he was first and foremost a "Samostiinyk," (Independentist), that is, one who regarded national independence as the *sine qua non* for fulfillment of all other aims. Their differences notwithstanding, Petliura and Vynnychenko were both devoted champions of popular democracy.³²

In accordance with this underlying tenet of their political faith, Vynnychenko, Petliura, and other members of the Directory readily accepted Professor Goldelman's suggestion that national-personal autonomy for the minorities of Ukraine be renewed.³³ It is significant that the Directory decided to act on this important matter while the uprising was still in progress. As early as December 10, 1918, it issued the Decree reestablishing national-personal autonomy, which became law by the unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers on January 24,

³¹ As an active member of the Ukrainian Social Democracy, Petliura was conscious of the dangers of rising nationalism. Therefore as early as January 1906, he cautioned the Galician Ukrainians against excessive zeal in emphasizing the purely nationalist elements in the struggle for social justice. Observing the prevalent conditions, he said that the rule of the bourgeoisie "awakens nationalist-chauvinist feelings not only in the dominant nation, the Poles, but in the subjugated as well. Because of this," said Petiura, "the party must fight through verbal and literary propaganda against the development of chauvinism." See *Symon Petiura: statti, lysty, dokumenty*, p. 208.

³² Livytska-Kholodna, Nataliia, Ivasyshyn, Zakhar, Zubenko, Artem, eds. *Symon Petliura: derzhavnyi muzh [Symon Petliura: A Statesman]* (New York, 1957), pp. 89-90. (U).

³³ Professor Solomon Goldelman, an active and prominent member of Ukrainian Jewry, was elected to the *Centralna Rada*. During the uprising against Skoropadskyi, he accepted the post of Secretary of Labor. Subsequently, until Abraham Revutsky became Minister of Jewish Affairs, Goldelman was also acting Secretary of Nationalities. Today Goldelman lives in Jerusalem and is the author of more than twenty-five books and articles dealing with Jewish history.

1919. Thus despite the conspicuous absence of the Jews in the anti-Skoropadskyi uprising, the Jewish population received its much cherished status within the Ukrainian Republic at the suggestion of Solomon Goldelman, the only prominent Jew who actively supported the cause of Ukrainian independence.³⁴

In view of Petliura's growing prominence, the Judeophile attitude on the part of the Ukrainian Government is not at all surprising. As a champion of equality and a tribune of the downtrodden, Petliura displayed a lively interest in the Jewish problem. Even as a boy, according to his classmate Ivan Rudychiv, he defended the Jews against the abuses of the other students. For this he was called "the Jewish father."³⁵ Professor Fedir Shcherbyna, who employed Petliura when he was ousted from the seminary, reported that the young Petliura always displayed sympathy for the Jews.³⁶ As a young revolutionary in 1905, Petliura denounced the oppression of one nation by another. Referring to the plight of the Jews, he opposed the discriminatory policies of the Russian government regarding settlement and education when Jewish children were not admitted to school on the basis of equality with the children of other groups.³⁷

Probably the most eloquent plea of Petliura on behalf of the Jews was made in his preface to Chirikov's play, *The Jews*, published in Kiev in 1907. "The suffering of Nachman in the *The Jews* by Chirikov," said Petliura, "will evoke a profound sympathy in everyone even if he does not belong to this nation whose historical destiny has been to carry the heavy cross of oppression and violence ... And even if not everyone will agree with the thoughts of Nachman, that the precise medicine he wants to use to heal the wounds of his people will produce the desired results, nevertheless, he will perceive the necessity to

³⁴ Goldelman, *ZNA*, pp. 58, 71-3, 92. For details of the Law and the Statute of the Jewish Community Self-Government see The Ukrainian Information Bureau, *Materials Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Years of the Revolution, 1917-1921* (Munich, 1956), pp. 78-102.

³⁵ See Rudychiv, I., "Memories of Symon Petliura," p. 7, an unpublished manuscript, The Ukrainian Museum-Archive, South Bound Brook, New Jersey, also Zhuk, Andrij, ed., *Symon Petliura v molodosti [Symon Petliura in His Youth]* (Lviv, 1936), pp. 8-9. (U).

³⁶ *Symon Petliura: derzhavnyi muzh*, pp. 139-40.

³⁷ *Symon Petliura: statti, lysty, dokumenty*, p. 202.

pour the healing balm on these wounds."³⁸

The restoration of autonomy to the Jewish community was more than a gesture by the leading members of the Ukrainian Government. It was also a political act, which aimed at establishing an understanding and, hopefully, Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation. The former leader of the Bund, Moisei Rafes, wrote that "one of the favorite ideas of Petliura, as well as of many other Ukrainian nationalists, was always the idea of creating an alliance of the Ukrainians and Jewish democracies. To put the Jewish intelligentsia and the merchant class in the service of the Ukrainian state idea meant to them saving 'independence'. ... On the eve of the overthrow of the Hetman state Petliura spoke of his passionate desire to realize this alliance."³⁹

However, the efforts of the Directory were not rewarded to the extent expected since only a few of the Jews decided to join with the Ukrainians. Some, realizing that the trend was not to be reversed and that Ukraine, having proclaimed her independence, would not revert to the previous autonomous status, entered the government as early as April 1918.⁴⁰ Others, particularly the Bundist, remained adamant in their opposition to Ukrainian independence, even after the restoration of autonomous rights to the Jews. The occasional anti-Jewish excesses during the uprising and the seemingly victorious march of communism to world leadership pushed the Jewish socialists into the Russian camp. Some joined the purely Russian national cause in order to reestablish a "one and undivided Russia."⁴¹ Commenting on the political loyalties of Ukrainian Jewry, Arnold Margolin, a distinguished jurist and Jewish civic leader, stated: "But a fact remains a fact. ... Jews were prominently represented in the ranks of the Bolsheviki and at the beginning, in the ranks of Denikin's army. The Ukrainian movement, on the contrary, attracted but a handful of Jews."⁴²

³⁸ Chirikov, E., *Evrei [The Jews]* (Kiev, 1907), p. xvi.

³⁹ Rafes, M. G., *Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine [Two Years of Revolution in Ukraine]* (Moscow, 1920), p. 133. (R).

⁴⁰ Goldelman, *ZNA*, pp. 45-46.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80. These circumstances go far to explain the explosive situation the Directory encountered upon entering Kiev. See Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 201.

⁴² Margolin, Arnold D., *The Jews of Eastern Europe* (New York, 1926), p. 130. Arnold D. Margolin was a man of high ideals and great strength of

Whatever the actual statistics, there can be no doubt that Jewish actions heavily influenced Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

The question of minorities became particularly acute in the Ukrainian Republic's struggle for survival, which, in reality began at the moment the Directory triumphed over Skoropadskyi. As early as December 1918, various Bolshevik military groups appeared in the southeast and, together with some peasant bands, began to fight the troops loyal to the Directory. The Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine was successful. Their troops steadily pressed upon the retreating forces of the Directory until they captured Kiev on February 6, 1919.⁴³

In the course of its retreat the army of the Directory melted away; by the end of January, Petliura was left with little more than 21,000 men. Professor Arthur Adams suggested that this could have been prevented only if swift and competent measures had been taken to transform the many partisan bands into military units obedient to a central command.⁴⁴ Since Petliura did not initiate these measures perhaps due to lack of time, the various "otamans" and "bat'ky," who were previously engaged in the popular anti-Hetman cause declared themselves independent. As a result, the military engaged in an orgy of abuse in various localities. The "otamans" and commanders terrorized the population, particularly the Jews.⁴⁵ It seemed that

character, who was not afraid to face adversity. He was born in Kiev in 1877 and received his high school and university education there. In 1900 he was awarded a law degree from the St. Volodymyr Kiev University. As a member of the Russian bar, Margolin represented Jews in numerous pogrom trials. In 1911-1913 he participated in the Beiliss ritual murder trial. Margolin also compiled a distinguished record as a civic leader. From 1905-1917 he was secretary-general of the South Russian Branch of the Union for the Achievement of Equal Rights for the Jews. Between 1906-1918 he was a founder, secretary-general, and later the president of the Jewish Territorial Organization. For details of his activities see Arnold Margolin, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, (New York, 1942), vol. vii, p. 353; see also the special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy* (New York, 1959), vol. vii, pp. 1671-94, devoted to the memory of Arnold Margolin.

⁴³ For details see Antonov-Ovseenko, Vladimir A., *Zapiski o grazhdanskoi voine [Notes on the Civil War]* (Moscow, 1932), vol. iii, pp. 11-5, 26, 155-7. (R).

⁴⁴ Adams, Arthur E., *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine: The Second Campaign, 1918-1919* (New Haven, Conn., 1963), pp. 78-9, 112.

⁴⁵ For details concerning the anarchy in the hinterland of the Directory see

in 1919 the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse galloped through Ukraine spreading war, famine, pestilence, and death. According to Richard Pipes, the entire area "fell into innumerable regions isolated from each other and the rest of the world, dominated by armed bands of peasants or freebooters who looted and murdered with utter impunity." Pipes wrote:

In Kiev itself governments came and went, edicts were issued, cabinet crises were resolved, diplomatic talks were carried on—but the rest of the country lived its own existence where the only effective regime was that of the gun. ... Throughout the Ukraine there appeared bands of peasant partisans who attacked estates, robbed and killed the Jewish inhabitants, and from time to time launched bold forays on large cities. The whole country was for the larger part at their mercy.⁴⁶

In the stormy sea of violence and unrest that Ukraine was in, in 1919, no one was safe. Professor Oleksander Shulhyn described it as one gigantic pogrom of the entire Ukraine.⁴⁷ The only effective recourse left to Jews and Gentiles alike was to organize military units of self-defense.⁴⁸ Petliura realized that his small army was not equal to the task of fighting on three different fronts and keeping order in the country as well. He, therefore, favored the organization of Jewish self-defense units. Unfortunately, the parties of the Jewish left, particularly the powerful Bund, opposed such arrangements, thus leaving many Jewish communities completely defenseless.⁴⁹

The general deterioration of the social and political fabric, accompanied by the defeat and demoralization of the Ukrainian

Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 105-08.

⁴⁶ Pipes, Richard, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 137. See also Krasny, Pinkhas, *Tragedia Ukrainskogo Yevreistva [The Tragedy of Ukrainian Jewry]* (Kharkov, 1928), pp. 2-3. (R).

⁴⁷ *Tryzub*, October 25, 1927, no. 5, p. 2. (U).

⁴⁸ Mazepa, Isaak, *Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii [Ukraine in the Fire and Storm of a Revolution]* (Munich, 1950), vol. ii, p. 224. (U).

⁴⁹ Ivanyts, Vasyl, *Symon Petliura – Prezydent Ukrainy, 1879-1926* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 155-7. (U). The Bundists also opposed the creation of Jewish self-defense units on ideological grounds. One of them, for example, suggested that the Jewish soldiers, who would take upon themselves the role of defense of the Jewish communities, might eventually become "a Jewish military aristocracy." See Tcherikower, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 87, 213, 217, 230.

army, released an undercurrent of resentment and prejudice against the Jewish population. Jews became the scapegoats for the suffering of all the people. This, in reality, forms the background for the genesis of Jewish pogroms in Ukraine during the period of the Revolution and Civil War.

In many ways the tragedy that befell the Jews of Ukraine was the fruit of past Russian policy. Particularly from the early 1880's, anti-Semitism had been a hallmark of the Imperial internal administration. To take the wind out of the sails of the revolutionary movement, the tsarist government maintained that the agitation and clandestine activity was the work of the Jews. With the support of the Russian Imperial government, various organizations waged a campaign of hatred against the Jewish population.⁵⁰ The tsarist Judeophobia reached its zenith during the reign of Nicholas II. The tsar not only accepted an honorary membership for himself and his son in the "Soiuz Ruskogo Naroda" (the League of the Russian people), popularly known as "The Black Hundreds," but also contributed 12,239,000 rubles from his private purse for the publication and dissemination of anti-Semitic literature.⁵¹

This literature was distributed primarily in the Pale of Settlement, that is, in Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Lithuania. The efforts of the Black Hundreds bore fruit since there were always peasants who resented the city people (who for the most part were either Russians or Jews), for their monopoly of power and property in Ukraine.⁵²

The rural-urban antipathy emerged with a new intensity in 1918-1920. The socio-economic alienation, a determining factor in the previous outbursts of violence, was further aggravated by the change in the political situation in the East.⁵³ During their struggle for independence, especially from the fall of 1918, the Ukrainians, who drew their support predominantly from the villages, found most of the cities hostile to their cause. Therefore, when the village, taking advantage of the existing chaos, asserted itself, it sought out the proverbial scapegoat – the Jew – who allegedly was responsible for the misfortunes of their

⁵⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 31 ff.

⁵¹ Baron, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 74.

⁵² Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. Statistical data can also be found in Dushnyck, Walter, ed., *Ukrainians and Jews: A Symposium* (New York, 1966), pp. 48-50.

⁵³ Tcherikower, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

country. Traditionally, the Jew was characterized as an exploiter and speculator. Now, more timely and more dangerous accusations were added. Now, Jews were identified with communism.⁵⁴

In his excellent study on the Ukrainian turmoil, Professor Adams, analyzing the attitude of the peasants toward the Jews, concluded that:

Urban Jewish Communists sent to the villages excited vicious passions of anti-Semitism, and all in a moment hatred of the city and the Jew became hatred of communism. In the peasant brain, Jew and city man and Communist coalesced into an image of a hook-nosed commissar who deprived peasants of land rightfully theirs, enforced grain requisitioning, confiscated movable property and weapons, and carried out the *Cheka's* execution.⁵⁵

Under these circumstances, fighting and murdering Jews became synonymous with the anti-Bolshevik struggle.⁵⁶

To be sure equating Jews with Bolshevism was not only unfair, but a gross oversimplification of a complex problem. After all, there were Jews in Denikin's ranks who fought against the Bolsheviks, while some of the most distinguished Jews supported Petliura in his fight for Ukrainian independence. There was also a large block of Ukrainian Jewry that chose to remain neutral.

Nevertheless, great numbers of politically active Jews, especially the youth, joined the Bolsheviks, whose determination, revolutionary zeal, and internationalism they found particularly attractive. Professor Leonard Schapiro, who has studied the role of the Jews in the revolutionary movement, concluded that Jewish participation on all levels of party organization was very significant. Of the twenty-one full members of the Central Committee, five were Jews – among them Trotsky and Sverdlov. What was perhaps even more significant was the heavy participation of Jews in the lower echelons of the organization.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁵ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁵⁶ For a good account of how the various "Bat'ky" (band chieftains) used antisemitic propaganda to justify their acts of banditry see Heifetz, Elias, *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919* (New York, 1921), pp. 57-83. The book as a whole could have been more useful had the author been able to restrain the strong anti-Ukrainian prejudice which dominates most of this work.

According to Schapiro, "Jews abounded at the lower levels of the party machinery – especially in the *Cheka*," and if anyone "had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the *Cheka* he stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with and possibly shot by a Jewish investigator."⁵⁷

Taken together, the historical, social, economic, and political sources of animosity between the Ukrainian and Jewish populations of Ukraine, augmented by the Bolshevik agitation, created an explosive situation, which expressed itself in tragic pogroms.⁵⁸ The unscrupulous "otamans" and "bat'ky" exploited the situation for their own ends, catering to the base instincts of their followers and encouraging them in their criminal activity. In the chaos they helped to create, these peasant leaders established themselves as absolute masters reminiscent of Chinese warlords, with all the concomitant evils of their regimes.⁵⁹

The position of the Directory was desperate. In addition to the internal turmoil, it was forced to fight against three armies converging from different directions, each of which was larger and better equipped than the army of Petliura. Because of the fluid military situation, the government moved frequently from one place to another, often carrying out its functions from railroad cars.⁶⁰ Its authority extended but a few miles from army headquarters; elsewhere the government exercised only nominal jurisdiction.⁶¹

In the face of what appeared to be imminent disaster, Petliura continued the struggle for independence without, however, abandoning the ideals of democracy. After Vynnychenko's resignation as the head of the Directory and Petliura's election to that post on May 9, 1919, he had a free hand in pursuing his objectives.⁶²

⁵⁷ Schapiro, Leonard, "The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. xi (December 1961), pp. 164-165.

⁵⁸ The Bolsheviks were interested in spreading anarchy and expended great efforts in infiltrating the army of Petliura. See Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶⁰ See Reshetar, John S. Jr., *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920* (Princeton, 1952), p.267.

⁶¹ Fedenko, Panas, *Ukrainskyi rukh u XX stolitti [Ukrainian Movements in the Twentieth Century]* (London, 1959), p. 183. (U).

⁶² Yakovliv, Andrii, *Osnovy Konstytutsii U.N.R. [The Fundamentals of the Constitution of the U.N.T.]* (New York, 1964), pp. 26-7. (U).

As was noted earlier, almost as soon as it came into existence, the Directory took a positive stand on Jewish participation in the political life of Ukraine. Aside from granting a privileged status to the Jewish community, the Directory also gave the Jews an equal opportunity to serve in the Ukrainian Government. As a result, we find Jews occupying several ministerial posts, some held important positions in the Ukrainian foreign service, and over two hundred others held lesser posts.⁶³ In accordance with the principle of social equality, Petliura ordered that Jews be admitted to the officer candidate school.⁶⁴

Equally enlightened was the attitude of the Directory towards Jewish educational needs. At the suggestion of Abraham Revutsky [Revusky], the Minister of Jewish Affairs, the Government passed a law placing all Jewish schools and educational establishments under his jurisdiction. The law also provided that the Government designate one-ninth of its educational budget specifically for Jewish education.⁶⁵

Professor Mark Wischnitzer, a distinguished Jewish historian and journalist who observed Jewish life in Ukraine at firsthand, declared:

The Jews in Ukraine have the most extended national rights. The Jewish language is officially recognized, a Jewish ministry has been able to develop its activity, Jewish congregations have been able to thrive in freedom, and new Jewish schools have grown up. In the newly founded University of Kamenets-Podolsk, the government has established a professor's chair for Jewish history and literature, and hereby the national rights of the Jewish people have been still more emphasized.⁶⁶

The Judeophile policy of the Directory, which included an active struggle against the anti-Jewish pogroms, was unpopular. However, Petliura, Vynnychenko, and other prominent Ukrai-

⁶³ See Goldelman, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3, 98; also Margolin, Arnold *Ukraina i polityka Antanty: zapiski yevreia i grazhdanina [The Ukraine and the Politics of the Entente: Notes of a Jewish Citizen]* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 105-7. (R).

⁶⁴ *Dokument sudovoi pomylky [Document of Judicial Error]* (Paris, 1958), p. 53; also *Tryzub* (October, 1927), no. 4, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Goldelman, *ZNA*, p. 91.

⁶⁶ Batchinsky, Julian, Margolin, Dr. Arnold, Wischnitzer, Dr. Mark, Zangwill, Israel; *The Jewish Pogroms in the Ukraine* (Washington, D.C., 1919), pp. 22-23.

nian revolutionary leaders refused to abandon their principles for the sake of popularity. They continued to fight against the anti-Jewish excesses. Unfortunately, due to the limited resources of the Directory, their efforts were not successful. Consequently, the looting, raping, and murder of the Jewish population continued unabated throughout the spring of 1919. The Government appeared helpless. After the particularly brutal pogrom at Proskuriv carried out by the troops of the Directory, the Deputy foreign Minister, Arnold Margolin, resigned his post in protest.⁶⁷ In his letter of March 11, 1919, to Kost Matsievich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Margolin explained the Government's inability to cope with the forces unleashed by the revolution:

The heavy, responsible task, which rests on all members of the government is now further complicated by the tragic fact that the Jewish pogroms do not cease, and by the realization that the administration has proved powerless to check the terrible violence and murders which took place in Proskuriv, Ananiev, etc. I know well that the government does all that is in its power to fight the pogroms. I also know the helplessness of all its members. ... My own sufferings as a Jew, however, are further intensified by the realization that the results of the anarchy from which the other elements of the population suffer in the main only economically, prove dangerous and fatal to the very existence of the Jewish people.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The Proskuriv pogrom of February 15, 1919 was provoked by the Bolsheviks, who with the support of the Jewish population, started an uprising against the troops loyal to the Directory. After the insurrection was put down, the self-appointed commandant of Proskuriv, Otaman Semesenko, ordered a general pogrom against the entire Jewish population of the city. For this crime he was arrested and executed in May, 1920. See *Tragediia dvokh narodiv [The Tragedy of Two Nations]* (Zakordonna Delegatsiia USDR: Prague, 1928), pp. 55-6. (U). For a comprehensive report on the origins of the Proskuriv pogrom and the role of the Bolsheviks see Heifetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff, 202; Gusev-Orenburgskii, S.I., *Bagrovaia kniga: pogromy 1919-20 g.g. na Ukraine [The Red Book: Pogroms in the Ukraine 1919-1920]* (Kharkov, 1922), pp. 7, 42; Alekseev (Nebutev), Iv., *Iz vospominanii levogo esera; podpolnaia rabota na Ukraine [Memories of a Leftist Social Revolutionary: Underground Activity in the Ukraine 1919-1920]* (Moscow, 1922). (R); Lysiuk, Kalenyk, *V oboroni Ukrainskoi pravdy [In Defense of Ukrainian Truth]* (Ontario, Canada, 1964), pp. 21-27. (U).

⁶⁸ Margolin, A., *The Jews of Eastern Europe*, p. 143.

Two months later, Margolin reaffirmed the statements of his letter of resignation. In an interview with the representative of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, he stated emphatically that "the Ukrainian Government has steadfastly set its face against the pogroms, and it has had no part in, or responsibility for them."⁶⁹ A similar view was expressed by Tcherikower, who thought that the Ukrainian Government fought against the anti-Jewish wave of violence with all the means at its disposal. However, he thought it was well beyond the capacity of the Directory to master the stormy situation.⁷⁰

As the Ukrainian-Bolshevik front stabilized, the position of the new government of Premier Borys Martos became more tenable.⁷¹ Under the changed conditions the government undertook a series of measures, which provided some security for the population, particularly the Jews, in the territory that the Directory controlled.

The first vital act of the Government, which was aimed at protecting the Jewish population against violence, was its proclamation of April 12, 1919. It stated:

The Ukrainian Government will fight with all its power against violations of public order, will strike the brigands and pogrom instigators with the severest punishment and expose them publicly. Above all the Government will not tolerate any pogroms against the Jewish population in the Ukraine, and will employ every available means for the purpose of combating these abject criminals.⁷²

The following day, the High Command strengthened the Government's stand by ordering that all troops involved in pogrom agitation among the Cossacks be arrested and immediately turned over to an extraordinary court.⁷³

It should be noted that the ultimate responsibility for the anti-pogrom orders rested with Petliura. His detractors maintain that his anti-pogrom legislation was only intended to create a favorable impression in the West. This position is completely untenable and unjustifiable in view of the available evidence.

⁶⁹ *The Jewish Chronicle* (London), May 16, 1919, p. 16.

⁷⁰ See Tcherikower, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.

⁷¹ Petliura instructed Borys Martos to form a cabinet with the participation of the Socialist Parties. This signaled the return of the Social Democratic Party to a position of power. See Reshetar, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267.

⁷² *Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, p. 52.

⁷³ Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, pp. 389-390.

There is but one way in which we can evaluate anybody's behavior and motivation, and that is by following the Aristotelian principle of *agere sequitur esse*, (the action follows upon being) or the biblical "by their fruits ye shall know them." What other yardstick is there to measure the true motives of a man besides his acts?

The fight of the Directory against pogroms and various forms of excesses proceeded along several lines. Petliura realized that the rank and file of his army included elements of the old Black Hundreds, as well as others more recently infected with anti-Semitism.⁷⁴ Therefore, it became obvious to Petliura that in order to provide security for the Jewish population, he had to reform the army. He accomplished this important objective in the course of May and June, 1919. During that time, when Petliura's army was in relative security in Galicia, various unreliable volunteer units were disbanded while others were integrated into the regular army.⁷⁵ As a result of these measures, the army was diminished in numbers, but it became more dependable and effective.

To help complete the reorganization of the army and to re-educate it, ensure discipline, and stop pogromist propaganda as well as actual pogroms, Petliura created a State Military Inspectorate with Colonel Volodymyr Kedrovskiy at its head.⁷⁶ The new institutions justified Petliura's expectations. Through the network of the Inspectorate, the Government was able to achieve some success against the anti-Semitic outbreaks. The Ministry of Jewish Affairs was particularly impressed by the dedication of Kedrovskiy in discharging his duties as Chief Inspector.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Goldelman, Solomon, *Lysty zhydivskoho sotsial-demokrata pro Ukrainu: Materiialy do Istorii Ukrainsko-Zhydivskykh Vidnosyn za chas Revoliutsii* [Letters of a Jewish Social-Democrat Concerning Ukraine: Material for the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Affairs During the Revolution] (Vienna, 1921), pp. 20, 40. (U).

⁷⁵ *Tragediia dvokh narodiv*, p. 57; *Zbirnyk pamiaty Symona Petliury* [Symposium in Memory of Simon Petliura] (Prague, 1930), pp. 74, 93, 140-1.

⁷⁶ The Inspectorate was formally introduced into the Ukrainian Army by the division of the government on May 13, 1919. The author was fortunate to work in the personal archives of Col. Kedrovskiy who lives in Metuchen, New Jersey. These archives offer the best sources for the organization and work of the Inspectorate.

⁷⁷ Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, p. 288; Goldelman, *ZNA*, p. 97.

The Directory took another significant step in combating violence and anarchy when, on May 27, 1919, it approved the law concerning the establishment of an Extraordinary Commission for investigating anti-Jewish pogroms. The law empowered the Commission to investigate the pogroms that had occurred as well as the anti-Semitic propaganda in Ukraine. It was also empowered to turn over to a special Military Court those found guilty of participation in pogroms. Of particular significance was the provision that the Jewish population would be directly represented in the Commission.⁷⁸

Simultaneously the Government sought to render assistance to the victims of the pogroms. Although short of funds for the conduct of state business, its army ill-equipped, poorly-clothed, and hungry, the Directory spent millions in aiding the Jewish population in areas where pogroms had taken place.⁷⁹

Since sporadic excesses continued to occur even after these measures were taken, Petliura persisted in combating them with all the means available to him. In his circular telegram of early July, 1919, which appeared in the official *Journal of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic*, he tried to convince the Ukrainian population and his army that the Jews were not only sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause, but were in fact actively fighting for it. He also encouraged the Cossacks to organize special units for the defense of Jewish life and property.⁸⁰ His intention was obvious: Petliura wanted to counter the propaganda that the Jews were enemies of Ukrainian statehood.

Even more important was Petliura's order to his troops of August 26, 1919:

... Officers and Cossacks! It is time to know that the Jews, like the greater part of the other members of our Ukrainian population, have suffered from the horrors of the bolshevist-communist invasion and follow the way to the truth. The best Jewish groups such as the Bund, the United, the Poalei Zion and the Folks Party have willingly placed themselves at the disposal of the sovereign and independent

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 273; Goldelman, *Lysty pro Ukrainu*, p. 54; *Tragediia dvokh narodiv*, pp. 57-58.

⁷⁹ For a detailed record of the Directory's contribution to the Jewish communities see *Documents sur les Pogromes en Ukraine et l'Assassinat de Simon Petliura á Paris* (Paris, 1927), pp. 173-182.

⁸⁰ Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, pp. 273-274.

Ukraine and cooperate with us.

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

The chivalrous troops who bring fraternity, equality, and liberty to all the nations of Ukraina [sic] must not listen to the invaders and the provocateurs, who hunger for human blood. Neither can they remain indifferent in the 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. ...

... 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 penalties of the law will be inflicted on all those found guilty.⁸¹

According to reliable contemporary testimony, the numerous appeals and orders of Petliura and his government were not a mere smoke screen behind which the criminal elements were free to ply their trade. On the contrary, they reflected the real policy and actions of the Directory. Colonel Oleksander Dotsenko, who was Petliura's adjutant, reported that four Ukrainians were executed near Kiev for their part in pogroms. Similarly, an officer named Mishchuk and several Cossacks were executed after the pogrom at Rajhorod. The Colonel also confirmed the execution of the notorious Otaman Semesenko.⁸²

Colonel Kedrovskyi, who was in a position to know, informs

⁸¹ For the full text of Petliura's Order no. 131, see *Eastern Europe* (Paris, November 1919), pp. 149-50; Khrystiuk, vol. iv, pp. 167-8; also Committee of the Jewish Delegations, *The Pogroms in the Ukraine under the Ukrainian Government 1917-1920* (London, 1927), pp. 214-5. In his appeal to the Ukrainian Army issued on August 27th, Petliura again tried to convey the idea that the basis of Ukrainian statehood should be the cooperation of the democratic forces of all nationalities of Ukraine. He also reminded his soldiers that pogrom agitators would be punished by death. See Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, p. 276. For all the subsequent orders of Petliura, including the execution orders of those guilty of pogroms without the usual court procedure, see *Ibid.* 285-6, 289-93.

⁸² *Tryzub*, October 26, 1927, p. 2; *Dokumenty sudovoi pomylyky*, pp. 52, 88.

us that in Smotrych (Volhynia) alone, fourteen Cossacks were executed for participating in a pogrom.⁸³ Elsewhere, for example in Orynyn and Kytajhorod, and in Talny and Vakhnivka, others found guilty of violence suffered the same fate.⁸⁴

Arnold Margolin also reports numerous executions for participation in pogroms. Particularly instructive is the following testimony:

Finally, there is in my hands an officially attested copy of the sentence passed by a special military court on August 22, 1920 in the case of Varyvan Vynnyk who was accused of inflicting wounds upon Yossel Aster in the village of Zalukivtsi (near Stanislau, Galicia), which endangered his life. The case was tried behind closed doors. The court condemned Vynnyk's action as "inhuman" and sentenced him to death by shooting. The same day the sentence was executed.⁸⁵

The active and resolute struggle of the Directory against pogroms and all kinds of inflammatory agitation was partially effective. Notable results in combating anarchy were achieved in the period of June-October 1919.⁸⁶ This led Solomon Goldelman to conclude that the situation had improved to the point where "Otaman Petliura will be the real military authority which will determine the behavior of the subordinate commanders and the army, and not vice versa."⁸⁷

The efforts of the Directory in combating violence against the Jewish population were recognized and acclaimed by Jews and Gentiles alike. In recognition thereof the meeting of the Podolian Province and the City Committees of the Poalei Zion, held on August 26, 1919, in Kamenets-Podolski adopted

⁸³ Kedrovskiy, V., "Borot'ba z pohromamy," *Svoboda*, 1933, no. 11, p. 2.

⁸⁴ *Tragediia dvokh narodiv*, p. 58. In an interview for the *London Jewish Chronicle*, Dr. Jacole Bernstein-Cohen alluded to the execution of thirteen officers and the arrest of five others who were involved in organizing massacres. Cf. American Jewish Congress, *The Massacres and Other Atrocities Committed Against the Jews in Southern Russia* (New York, 1920), p. 61.

⁸⁵ *Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, p. 38. For details concerning other executions and punishments see Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, pp. 280, 286-288.

⁸⁶ Goldelman, *Lysty pro Ukrainu*, p. 7.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

a unanimous resolution favoring Jewish participation in the Ukrainian Government, which asserted that "the Government and the Supreme Command fight resolutely against pogroms."⁸⁸

The general amelioration of conditions was followed by a progressive Jewish-Ukrainian *rapprochement*. Since the summer of 1919, numerous delegations of the Jewish communities and representatives of various political parties met with Petliura and expressed their solidarity with and their support for the Ukrainian cause. Perhaps, the most impressive was the delegation of Kamenets-Podolski, which visited Petliura on July 17, 1919. Its members, representing the Jewish community (Dr. Meier Kleiderman), the rabbis (Gutman), the Zionists (Altman), the artisans (Jakob Kreis), the United Socialist Parties (Elias Bohrad), and the Poalei Zion (Drachler), told Petliura "that all circles of the Jewish population were ready to defend, together with Ukrainian people, the independent Ukrainian State, strongly believing that only the Democratic Ukrainian Government can guarantee equality to the Jewish people."⁸⁹

Encouraged by this show of good faith by the Jewish community and anxious to secure the success of its efforts in combating pogroms, the Directory also took preventive measures. An outstanding example of this is the story of Reverend Volodymyr Klodnycky, who in 1962 received the Torch of Liberty Award from the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League for preventing a pogrom in Chmielnik in 1919.⁹⁰ According to Klodnycky, he was given a command consisting of one infantry battalion, a unit of cavalry, a company of field *gendarmierie*, and a battery of artillery, which was to perform garrison duty in Chmielnik. He was particularly charged with the responsibility for preventing the pogrom threatening the town, which had a Jewish population of fifteen thousand.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53; *Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, p. 36.

⁸⁹ For details see Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, pp. 281-3; also Lewitzkyi, Wladimir and Specht, Gustav, ed., *Die Lage der Juden in der Ukraine: Eine Dokumentensammlung* (Berlin, 1920), p. 60.

⁹⁰ The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Klodnycky who assisted him with his personal archive and invaluable insights into Ukrainian-Jewish relations.

⁹¹ The tension Major Klodnycky found upon entering Chmielnik was brought about, oddly enough, by the love of a peasant boy for a Jewish girl. The girl

Klodnycky, at that time a major in the Ukrainian Army, succeeded admirably in preventing the imminent bloodshed and in pacifying the entire county of Lityn.⁹²

Petliura's efforts in combating pogroms produced a significant improvement in the position of Ukrainian Jewry. For this they rewarded him with their confidence, and some became his loyal and active supporters in the fight for an independent Ukraine.⁹³ It was ironic that precisely at the time Petliura was lauded for his constructive work by numerous Jewish delegations, he was depicted abroad as an anti-Semite who stained his hands with Jewish blood. This was not accidental. The enemies of the Ukrainian state hoped to discredit the Ukrainian struggle for independence by tarnishing the good name of Petliura, the man who personified Ukrainian political ideals and aspirations.⁹⁴

eloped with the boy to his village where she converted to Christianity and got married. The girl's father, to vent his anger, secretly came to the house of his son-in-law and set it on fire. A breeze carried the sparks to other houses and soon the entire village of straw-thatched houses burned to the ground. Since the peasants did not know exactly who was responsible for their misfortune, they accused the Jews of Chmielnik of the crime and threatened them with a pogrom.

⁹² For details see *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 88th Congress, First Session*. Remarks by Senator Clifford P. Case and Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher; also Klodnycky, Volodymyr, "My Service in the Ukrainian Galician Army," *Za Derzhavnist: Materialy do Istorii Viiska Ukrainskoho [For Statehood: Materials for the History of the Ukrainian Army]* (Toronto, 1966), vol. xi, pp. 73-91.

⁹³ Goldelman thinks that the suffering the Jews endured during the few weeks of Bolshevik rule was also a factor in causing the Jews to shift to a pro-Ukrainian position. See his *ZNA*, p. 97.

⁹⁴ According to Margolin, "the people abroad know much more about the pogroms of the Petliurovtsy than they do about those of Denikin's army, although the latter were both more numerous and more terrible than the former. This can be explained not only by the propaganda of the reactionary 'United Russia' groups, who availed themselves of old connections and of their great resources in America and Western Europe, but also by the indubitable fact that the first series of pogroms was bound to attract the most attention." See *The Jews of Eastern Europe*, p. 131. For figures confirming Margolin's statement, see "The Tenth Anniversary of Denikin's Pogrom," *Zbirnyk prats Yevreiskoi Istorychno-Arkheohrafichnoi Komisii [Collection of Works of the Jewish Historical-Archaeological Commission]* (Kiev, 1929), vol. ii, p. 388. (U).

Hoping to put an end to this offensive smear campaign, Petliura suggested through the Ukraine's representatives in Paris, that the various Jewish organizations appoint their members to a commission for the investigation of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine. The objective of the proposed commission would be to establish responsibility for criminal acts against the Jewish population.⁹⁵ Unfortunately the efforts of the Ukrainian Government remained unrewarded. The Committee of Jewish Delegations in Paris decided not to accept the invitation of the Ukrainian Government because, according to the Committee, "the anarchistic conditions, in which Ukraine finds herself, preclude the possibility of examining on the spot and recreating the true picture of the pogroms." Dr. Margolin decried the Jewish refusal to take the opportunity offered to them by Petliura to sit in moral judgment over those responsible for the Jewish tragedy.⁹⁶

The only consolation to the Directory resulting from its efforts to form the commission came on October 20, 1919, in a letter from Israel Zangwill, the founder of the Jewish Territorial Organization. Although unable to represent his organization in the proposed commission because of ill-health, the distinguished Jewish leader expressed his confidence in the good intentions of the Ukrainian Government. He wrote in part:

I take the opportunity of saying ... that it needed not this step, nor even your honest admission of the deplorable facts as regards the towns, to convince me that your Government is working hard, if not perhaps its hardest, to stop massacres for which the unsettled state of Russia is largely responsible. The national rights you have given to the Jews are a manifestation of true statesmanship and in shining contrast with the Jewish policy of Poland, and I can only hope that your Republic will be preserved to give the rest of the world an example of the strength and the exalted patriotism that comes from the cordial cooperation and mutual respect of all the varied racial and religious elements that make up a modern state.⁹⁷

Petliura continued to evince lively interest in the plight of

⁹⁵ It should be noted that Petliura took the initiative in suggesting that a commission composed of Jews be organized; this suggests that he had nothing to fear or hide.

⁹⁶ For details see Margolin, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, pp. 296-300.

⁹⁷ "The Jewish Question in Ukraina," *Eastern Europe* (Nov. 1, 1919), p. 160.

Ukrainian Jewry even after the Bolshevik forces compelled him to retreat into Poland. Aware of the existing state of lawlessness, which was particularly deleterious to the Jewish population, Petliura called upon the Ukrainians not to become involved in any anti-Jewish acts. His 1921 proclamation to the Ukrainian people, had the familiar ring of his orders of the earlier period. "I order you," commanded Petliura, "to punish without mercy the Bolsheviks, communists, and other bandits who perpetrate Jewish pogroms and slaughter the population." Petliura concluded the proclamation with the promise that upon his return to Ukraine he would punish all those found guilty.⁹⁸

Anticipating a popular anti-Bolshevik uprising, which would have facilitated his return to Ukraine, Petliura undertook measures to effectively guarantee the safety of the Jewish population. Taking advantage of the Twelfth Zionist congress held in Carlsbad, Petliura sent there his representatives (Roman Smal-Stotskyi and Maxym Slavinsky) with the proposal that the Jews agree to form their own corps of *gendarmarie* financed by the Ukrainian state.⁹⁹ The discussions of Petliura's proposal by Slavinsky and Jabotinsky ended successfully. On September 4, 1921, they signed an Agreement which provided that a properly trained and equipped Jewish *gendarmarie* would be attached to the Ukrainian Army in order to ensure the safety of the Jewish population in the areas which might be occupied by the Ukrainian Army.¹⁰⁰

The Jabotinsky-Slavinsky Agreement was never implemented because no large-scale operation against the Bolsheviks proved possible. It remains, nevertheless, important evidence of Petliura's preoccupation with the well being of Ukrainian Jewry.

In view of the evidence presented, the frequently repeated charge that Petliura was anti-Semitic is absurd. Vladimir

⁹⁸ *Symon Petliura: statti, lysty, dokumenly*, pp. 287-289.

⁹⁹ Smal-Stotskyi, Roman, "Symon Petliura," *The Slavonic Review*, vol. v (London, 1926-27), p. 156; also *Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn [International Life]* (Moscow, 1922), p.42.

¹⁰⁰ For a complete text of the agreement, see *Documents sur les Pogrommes en Ukraine*, pp. 168-9; for its background and the reaction of the Jews, see Schechtman, Joseph B., *Rebel and Statesman: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story* (New York, 1956), pp. 399-415; also "The Project of a Note of October 17, 1921," in the Archive of Professor Evhen Onatskyi, Document no. 50, pp. 2-3 in the Ukrainian Museum-Archive, South Bound Brook, New Jersey.

Jabotinsky, perhaps one of the greatest Jews of the twentieth century – a man well versed in the problems of East European Jewry – categorically rejected the idea of Petliura's animosity towards the Jews. He wrote:

It is a fact that neither Petlyura, nor Vynnychenko, nor any other prominent member of the Ukrainian government were pogrom makers. I have grown up with them, and I have fought together with them against anti-Semitism; no one will ever succeed in convincing any Zionist of Southern Russia, or myself, that people of such type can be qualified as anti-Semites.¹⁰¹

Equally absurd is the attempt on the part of some scholars to establish Petliura's complicity in the pogroms against Ukrainian Jewry. Particularly disturbing is the recent attempt by Hannah Arendt to draw a parallel between the case of Petliura and Adolf Eichmann, Hitler's notorious henchman.¹⁰²

A critical and balanced examination of the complex issue of the pogroms is not only desirable, but necessary. One should pursue it, however, with objectivity and care, lest one feed the insatiable appetites of the Judeophobes, the Ukrainophobes, or both, by indulging in unfounded, one-sided generalizations.

Doctor Joseph Lichten, the National Director of Inter-cultural Affairs of the Anti-Defamation League, deplored the situation which results from a biased and oversimplified approach to the existing complex problems. He wrote:

It is unfortunate that in the non-Ukrainian world, his name [Petliura's] became almost a symbol of an enemy of the Jewish people. How Petliura could do more than he did in combating pogroms during a period of anarchy, when he did not have full control over his own army, remains to be answered, and such an answer will be of great importance to future harmonious Ukrianian-Jewish relations. One thing is certain. We must consider it an act of great historical injustice to blame Petliura personally for crimes committed by various *otamani* like Makhno, Hryhoryiv, Semesenko, or individuals

¹⁰¹ *Materials Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, p. 16; also *En Notre Ame et Conscience: La Verité Sur Simon Petliura* (Edité par le Comité pour la defense de la memoire de Simon Petliura: Paris, n.d.), p. 77.

¹⁰² Hannah Arendt, usually a fair-minded and careful scholar, grossly overstated the case in an attempt to prove her point. See her *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York, 1963), pp. 243-245.

close to the Hetmanite.¹⁰³

The question of Petliura's culpability in the anti-Jewish pogroms seems to be only academic in view of the then prevailing conditions and in light of all the measures he took to stop or prevent them. The contention that Petliura did not exercise enough determination or that he could have done more to prevent the pogroms is a matter for speculation. This area of conjecture should not, however, be exploited in order to promote an emotional atmosphere which contributes to the development of visceral attitudes.

In view of the evidence presented in this paper, to convict Petliura for the tragedy that befell Ukrainian Jewry is to condemn an innocent man and to distort the record of Ukrainian-Jewish relations.

¹⁰³ Lichten, Joseph L. "A Study of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* (New York, 1956), vol. v, pp. 1167-1168.

Communications: Letter to the Editors

Letter to the Editors:

As I read Mr. Szajkowski's "rebuttal" it became evident that his interest and argument transcended history and historical evidence. It has a psychological quality, which may help to explain his zeal and compelling need to find a symbol incarnate guilty of the terrible deeds against the Jewish people. Such a symbol Szajkowski obviously found in Symon Petliura.

The embarrassing pose of know-it-all creates a situation, which makes a scholarly dialogue with Mr. Szajkowski extremely difficult. Yet, I feel I owe it to the readers of my article to correct his errors and tendentious statements.

To make his theses more convincing and to create the impression of being in possession of hidden truth, Mr. Szajkowski resorted to a most unorthodox method. He secured a verbal promise from me not to use, that is, to cite Tcherikower's *Di Ukrainer Pogromen in Yor 1919 (The Pogroms in Ukraine in 1919)* as one of my sources. The importance of Tcherikower as a decisive source and an authority for Szajkowski is quite obvious.¹ His position was further strengthened when I was denied access to the Tcherikower archive and the other materials dealing with the pogroms at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.² However, while I deplore the fact that I was not permitted to study the Tcherikower archive, upon examining Szajkowski's evidence based on it, I came to the conclusion that I probably did not miss much and that Mr. Szajkowski mistook fiction and hearsay for factual information. Two examples may suffice to illustrate my contention:

¹ While I kept my word, I must confess that I had pertinent portions of Tcherikower's book translated for me in order to find out whether it contained any decisive evidence. From these translations, I concluded that the case against Petliura in Tcherikower's book was based on pure conjecture.

² My inability to read Yiddish was the reason given for the rejection of my request to do research at the YIVO Institute. That would, I was told, prevent me from using "most of the items in the Tcherikower's archives." Shmuel Lapin to Hunczak, Jan. 20, 1969.

- 1) On page 212 of his article Mr. Szajkowski invokes Tcherikower's authority to prove that Petliura promoted Otaman Yakiv Shepel, who operated in the Lityn-Chmielnik area, to the rank of general. This was Tcherikower's testimony at the Paris trial. In fact it was Volodymyr Shepel, a native of Zolotonosha and no relative of Yakiv, who was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and placed in command of a cavalry division.³
- 2) On page 193 Mr. Szajkowski commits a gross error. Perhaps, more than anything else, it can help us explain the myth of Petliura's anti-Jewish acts. Let me quote Szajkowski:

... On August 30, 1918, when the Bolsheviks evacuated Kiev, its city council organized a voluntary militia. On the next day, Petliura's men occupied the city; they arrested and massacred thirty-seven Jewish militiamen. Jacob Safran, the father of one of the victims, tried for many years to do what Schwartzbard was able to accomplish in 1926.

I can state with complete certainty that except for Safran's vile intentions, nothing of the above quoted statement is true. It was a well-known fact that following the German-organized coup d'etat of April 28, 1918, which placed Pavlo Skoropadskyi as Hetman of the Ukraine, Petliura retired to private life. Because of his popularity, however, he was soon elected head of the Zemstvo of the Kiev Province, a position Petliura held until his arrest on July 12, 1918.⁴ He was kept in jail for four months during which time he had long discussions with Moisej Rafes about the possibility of Ukrainian-Jewish collaboration.⁵ To speak of Bolshevik evacuation of Kiev on August 30, 1918, and of Petliura's men occupying the city on the following day, is to display an utter ignorance of the political realities in the Ukraine; any basic book on the Ukrainian revolution will

³ Oleksander Dotsenko, *Litopys ukrainskoi revoliutsii [A Chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution]* (Lviv, 1923), vol. ii, Book 4, p. 260. (U). I also have a picture of Volodymyr Shepel in uniform. It might be interesting to note that Szajkowski constantly confuses Hetman with otaman. There is a basic difference between the two titles.

⁴ K. Matsievich, "Na zemskii roboti," *Zbirnyk pamyati Petliury [Symposium in Memory of Symon Petliura]* (Prague, 1930), pp. 195-202. (U).

⁵ Moisej Rafes, *Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukrainie, [Two Years of Revolution in Ukraine]* (Moscow, 1920), p. 133. (R).

confirm this.⁶

Mr. Szajkowski is also guilty of misreading and quoting out of context. The treatment of Schwartzbard and the discussion surrounding the Fourth Universal are cases in point. Nowhere in my article did I make the categorical statement that Schwartzbard was a Bolshevik agent. On the basis of the evidence, which I presented in footnote no. 5, I simply stated that "viewed as an avenger by some, and as a Bolshevik agent or at least a tool of a Communist conspiracy by others, Schwartzbard may well remain an eternal enigma. Whatever the truth may have been. ..." (p. 164). This statement hardly amounts to a judgment. Yet Szajkowski read it as an "accusation that Schwartzbard was a Bolshevik agent. ..." (p. 184). It might be interesting to note that while I merely mentioned Schwartzbard in passing, Szajkowski makes an issue of it. The reason for his preoccupation becomes obvious when Szajkowski confesses to have known Schwartzbard for many years (p. 203). It seems that even a suggestion of the possibility that Schwartzbard acted as a Bolshevik agent in assassinating Petliura opens some old wounds for Mr. Szajkowski. However, the evidence is of such a nature that a historian cannot simply dismiss it.

In his discussion of the Fourth Universal of January 22, which proclaimed Ukraine as an independent and sovereign republic, Mr. Szajkowski makes two rather serious mistakes. First, he falls prey to the outdated propaganda of the enemies of Ukrainian statehood, who, bent on discrediting the Ukrainian aspirations in the eyes of the Allied powers, maintained that everything the Ukrainian government did was inspired and supported by the Germans.⁷ Nothing could be further from the

⁶ On page 188 Szajkowski makes another fantastic revelation that "on October 16, 1918, the day after Petliura's arrival in Kiev, the *Ukrainskaya Stavka* (Ukrainian Headquarters) carried an attack against the Jewish bourgeoisie. ..." Again the reader should be reminded that from July 12 to November 12, 1918, Petliura was in jail and therefore could not have led an army.

⁷ An example of such a home-grown truth prepared for the gullible may be found in the report of the British Charge d'Affaires to Bucharest (Rumania) of May 2, 1919. In it he informs his government of a conversation with the Russian Minister Mr. Poklewski who "... was very bitter about French infatuation with [the] Ukraine. He said the very constitution of this state was a German idea, the population being mostly German Jews. ..." See P.O.

truth. In fact, it was the inimical attitude of the Russian Provisional Government and later, the open hostility of the Soviets, that convinced the Ukrainians that nothing short of national independence would secure their political aspirations. The proclamation of the Fourth Universal was, in effect, the final step in the realization of that basic premise. The Germans had nothing whatsoever to do with the entire matter! Perhaps Mr. Szajkowski is confusing the Fourth Universal with one of the provisions of the second Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which in effect forced Soviet Russia to recognize Ukrainian independence.⁸

An even more serious matter is Mr. Szajkowski's quoting material out of context. In my discussion (pp. 168-69) of the attitude of the Jewish representatives in the Central *Rada* toward the Fourth Universal I paraphrased Solomon Goldelman to the effect that "the representatives of the Bund and the 'Russians' who for the most part were Russified Jews, voted against the Universal, while the representatives of the other Jewish parties abstained from voting altogether."⁹

Mr. Szajkowski lifts one part of the statement (the "Russians" were for the most part "Russified Jews") (p. 189) out of the context of the voting procedure concerning the Fourth Universal, disregards the source, (Goldelman), and applies it to an entirely unrelated context. This methodology of purported scholarly discussion is completely new to me, and I would seriously question its validity, unless, of course, the purpose is to confuse. I also have serious reservations regarding Szajkowski's presentation of the unsupported prejudiced opinion of Mr. Heifetz (pp. 188, 190) as reliable

371/3979 Doc. no. 72130, Public Record Office, London.

⁸ The First Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian Republic on February 9, 1918. On March 3, 1918 a treaty of peace was signed between Soviet Russia and the Central Powers. For details of the two treaties see John W. Wheeler-Bennet, *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace* (London, 1956), pp. 392-408.

⁹ Solomon Goldelman, *Zhydivska natsionalna avtonomiia na Ukraini [Jewish National Autonomy in the Ukraine]* (Munich, 1963), p. 35. (U). In 1968 Professor Goldelman's book was translated into English and published in Chicago. The corresponding reference can be found on p. 50. For the names of those who opposed the Fourth Universal or abstained from voting see Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoria Ukrainy 1917-1923* (New York, 1954), vol. i, p. 268.

testimony.

Of the several problems I wish to discuss in my reply to Mr. Szajkowski's "rebuttal," the question of Bolshevism and the extent of Jewish involvement in the Bolshevik movement occupies a prominent position. With his usual self-assurance Szajkowski accuses me of failing "to discuss the fact that the Ukrainian independence movement was basically a local Bolshevik effort." Moreover he charges that I ignore "the fact that the pogroms were responsible for the rise of Bolshevism and anti-independence feeling among the Jews" (p. 184). Further on he reassures the reader that "it would be easy to repeat the many proofs that Bolshevism was stronger proportionally among Ukrainians and Russians than among the Jews" (p. 190).

Is it really true that the pogroms won Jewish converts to Bolshevism, that there were proportionally more Ukrainians and Russians in the Bolshevik movement than Jews, and that the Bolsheviks represented the Ukrainian movement for independence? The first part of the question cannot be answered one way or the other simply because no study has ever been made of the motivation for joining the Communist movement. This is not to deny, of course, that some Jews might have been pushed into the Communist camp in the wake of the pogroms. However, any assertion to that effect must be considered at best, an educated guess and therefore should not be couched in categorical terms.

That Jews were significantly involved in the radical movements is a matter of record. At the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, which was held in London in 1907, the Jewish delegation was the second largest, having twelve representatives or 11.4% of the total delegation. By contrast, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks were represented by one delegate, which was equivalent to 0.95% of the total Bolshevik delegation.¹⁰ During the fall of 1917, when many Mensheviks went over to the Bolsheviks, and later when the Bund did likewise, Jewish participation in Bolshevik activities became significant. Jews were prominently represented both in upper and lower echelon positions of the Bolshevik Party.¹¹ Jewish participation on the

¹⁰ *Londonskii syezd Rossiiskoi Soc.-Demokr. Rab. Partii: polnyi tekst protokolov [The London Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party: A Full Text of Minutes]* (Paris, 1909), p. 449. (R).

¹¹ Leonard Schapiro, "The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary

local level is perhaps best illustrated by a report forwarded from the British commanding admiral of the Black Sea area to the Admiralty on June 6, 1919. It reads:

... Bolshevism in the Ukraine is rapidly losing ground. ... The [peasants and workmen] found that their own local Soviets were formed, for the most part, by the hated Jews; that these Soviets carried out their requisitions on the workers and peasants as well as the landowners; and that the Bolshevik reign was even more tyrannical than any Government they had ever suffered from. Rightly the blame is apportioned to the Jews. And there are signs of a violent anti-Jewish movement spreading all over the South of Russia. ... This anti-Jewish movement is, in effect, an anti-Bolshevik one [as] practically all the regimental Commissars are Jews, and Jews largely predominate in nearly all the Soviets.¹² The Admiralty report is supported and corroborated by other contemporary sources. It is therefore, a reliable source.¹³

Mr. Szajkowski completely misrepresents the role of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks in the Ukrainian fight for independence. At no time during the period from 1917 to 1921 was the Communist Party in Ukraine a majority party, nor, even more significantly, did it represent the Ukrainian fight for independence. The Soviet sources indicate that in March of 1917 the Bolshevik organization of Kiev had only about 200 members.¹⁴ This relative powerlessness of the Bolsheviks in the capital of Ukraine manifested itself very clearly during the elections to the Kiev City Council held on August 7, 1917, in which the Bolsheviks

Movement," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. xi (Dec. 1961), pp. 164-165.

¹² For the details of the report see P.O. 371/3965 Doc. no. 96522, Public Record Office, London.

¹³ For details see "Political Report from the Ukraine of 3.3.20," F.O. 371/3966 Doc. no. 187175; *Secret Report of the War Office on the British Military Mission*, South Russia, Oct. 8, 1919; pp. 50-51. F.O. 371/3979 Doc. no. 157024; Report of Major H. B. Mockett of the British Military Mission in Poland on operations against the Bolsheviks in the neighborhood of Lida (Sept. 29, 1920), F.O. 371/5398 Doc. no. 196/196/55; Reprt of the British Military Mission, South Russia (Ekaterinodar, July 4, 1919) W.O. 196/1190 Dec. no. 3591.

¹⁴ I. Kulyk, "Kievskaiia organizatsiia ot fevralia do oktiabria 1917 goda," *Letopis revolutsii [A Chronicle of Revolution]* (Kharkiv) no. 1, 1924, p. 189. (R).

received only six of the total of ninety-eight seats. The situation did not change much even after the Bolshevik victory in Russia. Thus, for example, when the Bolsheviks of Ukraine convened the All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies on December 17, 1917, they discovered that only sixty of the 2,500 deputies supported the Bolshevik program.¹⁵ The lack of strength of the Bolsheviks in Ukrainian political life was further demonstrated in the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly held in November-December, 1917, when the Bolsheviks received 10% of the 8,201,065 votes cast, while the Ukrainian parties received 53% of the total vote.¹⁶

Even more critical to the issue was the national composition of the Bolshevik Party of Ukraine and its relevance to the Ukrainian political aspirations. Unfortunately, prior to 1922 there are no reliable statistics on the ethnic composition of the Communist Party of Ukraine. From various sources we can infer, however, that it was non-Ukrainian in spirit and composition. The national makeup of the CPU in 1922 was: Russians (53.6%), Ukrainians (23.3%), Jews (13.6%), and others (9.5%). Only in 1926 could the CPU boast of having attained 43.9% Ukrainian membership in the party organization.¹⁷ Prior to that time, the Ukrainians were a distinct minority in the CPU rank and file. The non-Ukrainian character of the CPU can be seen in microcosm when we consider the membership of the Bolshevik City Committee of Kiev elected at a conference held in May 1917. Of the fifteen members elected, only one, Volodymyr Zatonyskyi, was of Ukrainian origin. The other members of the committee were: G. Piatakov, A. Horvits, M. Zarnitsyn, E. Bosh, I. Kreisberg, R. Farbman, M. Kugel, a Mr. Liber, a Mr. Nusbaum, V. Primakov, a Mr. Loginov (Pavel), S. Shreiber, M. Reut, and a Mr. Dovnar-Zapolskii.¹⁸

The same political anomaly that we find in the Ukrainian capital was further reflected in the predominantly non-Ukrainian composition of the Central Committee of the CPU as

¹⁵ Pavlo Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materialy do istorii Ukrainskoi Revolutsii, 1918-1920 rr.* [Notes and Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920] (Vienna, 1921), vol. ii, p. 69. (U).

¹⁶ For details see O. H. Radkey, *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 161.

¹⁷ Jurij Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 155.

¹⁸ Kulyk, *op. cit.* p. 191.

well as in the fact that Piatakov, Kviring, Molotov, Kossior, Kaganovich, and Postyshev, the First Secretaries of the CPU, were also non-Ukrainian.¹⁹

In view of the non-Ukrainian ethnic make-up of the leadership and members of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and the centralist orientation of the Russian Communist Party, the indifference and even hostility toward the Ukrainian national movement becomes more readily understandable. Serhii Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, two leading Ukrainian Bolsheviks, have most graphically portrayed the allegedly "Ukrainian character" of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.²⁰

Mr. Szajkowski's blatant attack upon Rev. Klodnycky, equating him with otamans, known for their anti-Jewish excesses, is both unfair and unjustified. Certainly, his imposition of a contribution upon the civilian (Jewish) population was an extra-legal act. As a representative of the army he had no right to do it, yet he felt compelled to do so in order to help the needy Jews who were suffering from all kinds of privations. His noble motivation and the equitable distribution of funds for the various needs of the Jewish population, a fact Szajkowski himself recounts (pp. 209-210), could not possibly place Rev. Klodnycky in the ranks of bandits and extortionists, as Mr. Szajkowski suggests.

The evidence that we have from the Jews of Chmielnik contradicts completely Mr. Szajkowski's assertion. In a document of May 13, 1920 signed by over one hundred Jews, Rev. Klodnycky is praised for his concern for the well-being of the people, "regardless of their nationality."²¹ This testimony has been supported by Mrs. Golda Liebeskind, an inhabitant of Chmielnik until 1921, who wrote that Rev. Klodnycky always "displayed a profound concern for all people, regardless of their nationality or religion. ... For his concern for the Jewish people and his efforts to improve their lot," continued Mrs. Liebeskind, "Rev. Klodnycky gained [the] respect and genuine confidence of the Jewish community of Chmielnik and Lityn." Mrs. Liebeskind ends her letter by praising the B'nai B'rith

¹⁹ Borys, *op. cit.*, p. 142-153.

²⁰ See Sherhij Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, *Do Khvyli: Shcho dietsia na Ukraini i z Ukrainoiu [On the Current Situation: What is Happening in and to Ukraine]* (Saratov, 1919; 2nd ed., New York, 1967) particularly pp. 97-99, 107, 162, 165, 168, 191-192, 242. (U).

²¹ Rev. Klodnycky has the original document.

Anti-Defamation League for giving Rev. Klodnycky the Torch of Liberty Award as "a well deserved reward, for in a time of crisis he proved himself a truly good human being."²²

Important corroborating testimony on behalf of Rev. Klodnycky has been rendered by a most unimpeachable source, Chief Rabbi Bilik of Chmielnik. As spiritual leader of his community, Rabbi Bilik expressed the sentiments of his people when he referred to Klodnycky as a man "who distinguished himself for his great spirit, love of truth, and love for the Jewish people." As a representative of the Ukrainian military authority in the county of Lityn, Rev. Klodnycky not only "saved all the Jews of the area from the sword and looting," but also "organized hospitals, homes for the aged, took care of the poor and provided bread and firewood for them." Rabbi Bilik paid the ultimate compliment to Klodnycky's humanity when he said that Klodnycky could be entrusted with "the leadership of the sons of Jakob in their pilgrimage to God's mountain."²³

Certainly Mr. Szajkowski should have considered Rabbi Bilik's testimony before embarking upon a campaign of unjust accusation and character assassination. But then, the method employed by Szajkowski is not confined to his treatment of Rev. Klodnycky alone. Relying on the unfair judgment of Vladimir Tiomkin, Mr. Szajkowski denigrates Arnold Margolin, a noble man and a lifetime servant of the Jewish community, as a "weakling." In the days of severe tsarist reaction, Margolin courageously acted as defense counsel in many anti-Jewish trials. The most spectacular of these was the Mendel Beiliss trial in which Arnold Margolin alone challenged the tsarist machinery of persecution. For this he was disbarred, but Beiliss was acquitted and the good name of the Jews was vindicated before the whole world.²⁴

Mr. Szajkowski in general seems rather fond of hasty judgments. Thus B'nai B'rith committed an act of "sheer

²² Liebeskind to Hunczak, Nov. 19, 1969. The author is in possession of a copy of the letter – the original was sent to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League in New York City to complete their file on the subject.

²³ For the complete text of the certificate see *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 19th Congress, Second Session* (Washington, July 13, 1966), no. iii, pp. A3654-A3655.

²⁴ For the details of the Beiliss case see Arnold Margolin, *The Jews of Eastern Europe* (New York, 1926), pp. 155-247, and Maurice Samuel, *Blood Accusation* (Philadelphia, 1966).

stupidity" by presenting the Torch of Liberty Award to Rev. Klodnycki, the Jews engaged in the Ukrainian-Jewish dialogue "represent only themselves," and, besides, are not of "Schechtman's stature." Does Mr. Szajkowski feel that he is called upon and qualified to pronounce such cavalier opinions?

It seems to me that Mr. Szajkowski's criticism of Arnold Margolin and Dr. Joseph Lichten, Director of the Department of Intercultural Affairs of B'nai B'rith, is directly related to what Szajkowski may consider to be the "danger" of a Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue. He conveys unmistakably his preoccupation with the Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue assuring us that a Ukrainian *mea culpa* and an open condemnation of Petliura are a *sine qua non* for any discussions. Dr. Lichten, in contrast to Mr. Szajkowski, always favored and actively participated in the Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue, which he considered to be a necessary precondition for a lasting understanding. To be sure, his interest in the Ukrainian-Jewish understanding is but one aspect of his many-sided activities whose goal is a better relationship between the gentiles and the Jews in the Diaspora.

I would like to assuage Mr. Szajkowski's anxiety as to the purpose of my article. My principal, indeed my sole objective in undertaking the study of this controversial topic, was not to affect a change in Jewish attitudes through my findings, but rather to discover the truth and to disseminate it. My role as a historian is different from that of a publicist or a political partisan. Although it is one of my most cherished hopes that Jews and Ukrainians, who shared a common history for one thousand years, would finally seek and achieve a much-needed understanding. However, as a historian, I cannot change the past to fit the exigency of the situation, that is, I shall not sacrifice Petliura, or any other individual, whom I know to be innocent, or for that matter my own intellectual integrity, on the altar of a Jewish-Ukrainian understanding, as Mr. Szajkowski demands.

To conclude, one may well ask, "What, if anything, has Mr. Szajkowski proven?" An unsubstantiated harangue cannot be taken seriously. I stated in my article that there were pogroms for which Petliura's army was responsible.²⁵ What is crucial

²⁵ Throughout history one can discover, even in the most disciplined armies, some units whose activities did not represent the social and political ideals of the army. Such is the nature of violence. The reported American atrocity at Song My in March 1968 may well be a case in point. See *Newsweek*. Dec. 1,

for the entire issue is the fact that no positive evidence was found that would establish Petliura's responsibility. Mr. Szajkowski stated himself that the evidence against Petliura was "not sufficient for a criminal court of law" (p. 195).²⁶ Under these circumstances, to disregard Petliura's proclamation against the pogroms and all of the positive measures he took against their perpetrators, and to base the thesis of Petliura's culpability on prejudiced *opinion*, is to do violence to history.

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1969, pp. 35-37.

²⁶ Mr. Szajkowski feels, however, that the evidence "was sufficient for a political trial." This double standard is completely artificial and juridically untenable, for without reliable evidence the question of innocence or guilt cannot possibly be resolved.

Addendum: Symon Petliura and the Ukrainian-Jewish Relations

Since my publications on Symon Petliura in *The Jewish Social Studies* in 1969 and in 1970 there appeared many new publications reflecting new research and even new approaches to the rather complex and controversial topic. Many researchers hoped that with the opening of the Soviet archives we would be able to solve some of the controversies or, at least, gain a better perspective of the crucial events of 1917-1917. Indeed, some of our expectations were fulfilled.

The first, very thoughtful publications that appeared in 1983, were two essays which characterize the problem of two nations, Jews and Ukrainians, who do not hear each other, or even worse, one side does not want to hear what the other has to say. The authors of the two essays are convinced that reading history on Jewish-Ukrainian relations *reveals for us the fact that we are dealing with two different perspectives. It may be that there is a "common history" but that "common history" is not read in the same manner, or that "common history" does not speak with the same voice to Jews and Ukrainians.* The authors argue that if we are unable to resolve a scholarly dispute on the basis of historical evidence then *we all are the victims of preconceptions [stereotypes] or public knowledge which deeply affects the way in which we view others and the world.*¹

A very interesting book appeared in 1988 as a result of a Conference on Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective. The Conference took place in October 1983 at McMaster University in Hamilton. The four-day conference covered various topics of the Ukrainian-Jewish relations from the period of the Kyivan Rus to 1983. The topics relevant for our study were discussed in the section "The Revolution and After" by such outstanding individuals as Mattityahu Minc, Jonathan Frankel, Geoff Eley and Mordechai Altshuler. Particularly interesting is the chapter by Mattityahu Minc "Kiev

¹ Howard Aster and Peter J. Potichnyj, *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes*. Mosaic Press, 1983, p. 20.

Zionists and the Ukrainian National Movement". On the basis of Jewish sources the author explained that *the political-instrumentalist trend strove to turn the Jewish people in Russia into one of the country's state nationalities alongside the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, etc; each of which was organized into its own ex-territorial national association. In this way the Seimist [Jewish Socialist Labor Party] platform avoided the issue of Jewish dual subjection, which could have arisen had the liberal Russian constitution granted local autonomy to territorial minorities.*²

The Zionists did not believe that the rights of the Jewish people would be guaranteed by local national constitutions. Their position rested on the resolutions of the Third Congress of Russian Zionists held at Helsingfors in November 1906 and later reinforced by the Petrograd Congress in May 1917. The section 1c of the resolution stated: *The national rights of the Jewish population are determined and guaranteed by the all – inclusive constitutional authority for the entire Russian territory, and individual local legislation cannot alter them.*³ As a result of that resolution the Zionists joined the Jewish political and social objectives with the goal of the Provisional Government to keep Russia united preventing any acts of Ukrainian separatism, which could lead to her national independence. Thus, according to Professor Minc, *the Russian Zionist organization (including the Kiev wings) therefore preferred a course of events that would avoid splitting Russia and with it Russian Jewry.*⁴

Analyzing the political situation, particularly the emerging problem of Ukrainian-Russian relations, the author suggests that *the Provisional Government strove to create a situation whereby the question of national minorities would be an obstacle in the path of Ukrainian separatism, on the assumption that the minorities would do their utmost to hamper such a development.*

The Ukrainian authorities for their part, being forced to respond to the challenge, desired to blunt the anti-Ukrainian edge as much as possible and were prepared to direct their considerations to any plan that would transform the problem of

² Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, Eds. *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*. Edmonton, Canada, 1988, p. 250.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

*national minorities into an internal Ukrainian Matter. That is, having taken steps to recognize minority rights, they wished to make the most of it and willingly sought ways to legitimize and define them in the framework of Ukrainian autonomy.*⁵

While the Ukrainian Government, the Central Rada, was pursuing a positive policy toward the Jewish population in Ukraine, which was the largest among the former states of the Russian Empire, the Zionists remained true to their all-Russian orientation.⁶

It should be noted that the idea of national-personal autonomy, based in part or in entirety on a **non-territorial basis** was not only championed by the Zionists, but it became a part of the program of nearly all Jewish parties reflecting, however, some variations.⁷ This all-Russian orientation of the Jewish parties faced serious complications when Ukrainians moved independently of Russia in establishing the principles of national-personal autonomy in the emerging Ukrainian state system and in the process members of the Jewish parties joined the Ukrainian government – Bundist M. Rafes took the post of controller while Moyshe Zilberfarb, of the United Jewish Socialist Labor Party (the "Fareynikte") was appointed vice-secretary for Jewish affairs and, after Ukraine declared herself by the Third Universal (7/20 November, 1917) the Ukrainian People's Republic, he became secretary general, a de-facto minister of Jewish affairs.⁸ After that proclamation the Ukrainian government, representing a sovereign state, decided to issue its own currency, which was designed, particularly the 100 karbovanets notes, by the distinguished artist Hryhoriy Narbut. What was unique about those 100 notes, which went into circulation on January 6, 1918, was the fact that they bore inscriptions in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and Yiddish. The Ukrainian money reflected, as it were, the attitude of the Ukrainian government toward the national minorities as did the Third Universal, which was published in four languages – Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and Yiddish.

The evolving political reality brought the Ukrainian and the Jewish leaders together. Reflecting on these developments, a

⁵ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁷ See Jonathan Frankel, "Dilemmas of Jewish National Autonomism," *op. cit.*, pp.263-264.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 265.

Bundist leader said the following in June 1917: *We shall be asked: "What are you: Russians or Ukrainians?" And [we]...shall reply: "We are Jews"...*The struggle for Yiddish, the struggle for the rights of national minority, means that the right of national majority must be recognized. Only if we recognize the rights of the Ukrainian people can we demand that our rights be recognized.⁹

The moment of truth, as far as Ukrainian-Jewish relations were concerned, arrived in 1918 on January 9th (January 22, according to the Gregorian calendar) – a date set for the convocation of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly. Since the Constituent Assembly failed to be elected, the Central Rada began its deliberations on the Fourth Universal. The deliberations were postponed when, at the request of the representatives of national minorities of Ukraine, a discussion on legislation on national-personal autonomy was started on January 10th. It was completed on January 11th when, by a unanimous vote, the law on national-personal autonomy was passed. This was a unique moment, according to Moses Silberfarb, who participated in this historical process, because, for the first time in history, the Law on National-Personal Autonomy, was adopted by the representatives of the entire population. The joy, however, did not last very long, for, when the vote was taken after midnight of the next day establishing Ukraine's Independence, none of the minority parties (except the revolutionary faction of the Polish Socialist Party) voted for the Fourth Universal. *This, wrote Silberfarb, led to a significant aggravation of the relations between the Ukrainian and the non-Ukrainian parties...*¹⁰

The Jewish vote in opposition to the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence left a deep scar in the Jewish-Ukrainian relations during those critical and stormy years and, despite the law on national-personal autonomy, in reality the Jews and Ukrainians constituted "Two Solitudes". Symon Petliura, who is the principal character of our discussion, came to power amidst the revolutionary chaos when the new Ukrainian government, called the Directory, hoped to reestablish an orderly Ukrainian

⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹⁰ Moses Silberfarb, *The Jewish Ministry and Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine*. Translated by David H. Lincoln, Aleph Press 1993, p. 76. As far as the Jewish parties were concerned, they all abstained from voting except for the Bund representatives who voted against the Fourth Universal.

democratic republic. However, the developments since April of 1918 proved that it was an impossible task. In the course of the rebellion against Hetman Skoropadskyi and the Germans some hundred thousand men joined the Army of the Directory, but by January 1919 only 21,000 had not deserted. Given the chaotic situation and the small army under his command, one could ask: was Petliura in position to exercise control over the vast territories of Ukraine with an army that would have difficulty controlling even a large city?

As for the Jewish community in Ukraine, it also passed through significant changes, particularly its political leadership. In the process of political radicalization the Bund, already in the fall of 1918, was debating its future alliance and in February of 1919, the party split with the larger faction forming a branch of the Communist Party known as "Kombund". Subsequently the leftist Fareynikte united with Bund factions creating the Jewish Communist Union, which was joined also by the Communist faction of Poale-Tsion with a large number of their members joining not only the Red Army, but also the *Cheka*.¹¹ The numbers of Jews in the Red Army and in the *Cheka* are unknown, but their participation in the fight against the Ukrainian forces on the side of Communists reinforced anti-Semitic attitudes among the Ukrainians. Particularly the high percentage of Jews in *Cheka*, which is illustrated by 75 percent of Jews in the Kyiv *Cheka* in 1919,¹² created an image of Jews, which the people equated with Bolshevism.

The hostile relations, which developed during the Revolution, were exacerbated by the assassination of Symon Petliura in Paris on the 25th of May, 1926 by Samuel Schwartzbard, allegedly, as an act of revenge for the pogroms that Petliura allegedly orchestrated. The trial, which lasted for more than a year, found the victim – Petliura – guilty while the assassin – Schwartzbard – was declared innocent. A British representative in Paris reported on the trial stating that it resulted in a *complete miscarriage of justice... The prosecution attempted to diminish the impression created on the jury by these stories by allegations that Schwartzbard was an agent of the Cheka and that in killing Petliura he acted under the orders of the*

¹¹ For details see Henry Abramson, *A Prayer for the Government: Ukrainians and Jews in the Revolutionary Times, 1917-1920*. Harvard University, 1999, pp. 149-150.

¹² *Ibid.*, 151.

*Soviet government. This argument did not, however, carry the same weight as the horrors of the pogrom, and when the presiding judge asked the jury to give their verdict on the question of whether or not Schwartzbard was guilty of inflicting wounds and injuries on Petliura, the answer was "Not guilty".*¹³

The verdict of the court was obvious – Petliura was responsible for the crimes committed against the Jewish people. In reality, as the British representative stated, it was *a complete miscarriage of justice*. Henry Abramson, whose book is one of the best researched and authoritative studies on the subject, unequivocally states that *all available evidence indicates that he [Petliura] was in no way the "architect" of the pogroms. On the other hand, as the head of the state he must be held accountable for the actions of his army, despite his relative lack of control over them.*¹⁴

The answer to the crucial question of accountability would depend on the quality of the army and the level of its discipline. As far as the army is concerned we should note that, between January 1919 and June of the same year, the army of the UNR declined by 75% reaching the level of twenty thousand soldiers with 400 machine-guns and 120 cannons.¹⁵ The only reasonable conclusion is that only during anarchy and chaos can so many men desert from their army. One should, therefore, judge Petliura's performance within the context of the conditions in which he performed his duties.

The Ukrainian publications about Symon Petliura that appeared in Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union, for the most part tried to provide information, which would inform the society about the problems of the Revolution of 1917-1921 and the role of Petliura within that highly complex period. The book edited by L.V. Holota belongs to that category.¹⁶ Much more useful is the book edited by V. Mykhalchuk, which contains some new research. Particularly the chapter written by Serhiy Yekelchuk "Tragichna storinka Ukrainskoi Revoliutsii: Symon Petliura ta Yevreyski Pohromy v Ukraini (1917-1920)"

¹³ "Trial of Schwartzbard, murderer of General Petliura", Public Record Office, FO 341/12600, N 4448.

¹⁴ Henry Abramson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹⁵ See V. Prokhoda, "Vozhd ta viysko" in *Zbirnyk pamyaty Symona Petliury*. Ed. L. V. Lazarenko, Kyiv, 1992, p. 141.

¹⁶ L.V. Holota, ed., *Symon Petliura: vybrani tvory ta dokumenty*. Kyiv, 1994.

is well researched reflecting the Jewish-Ukrainian tragedy and dilemma.¹⁷

In 1999 there appeared a book on Ukrainian-Jewish relations entitled *Symon Petliura i Yevreystvo*, which provides the reader with hitherto unknown references from Ukrainian and Polish archives. There are archival references to the Jewish participation in the Communist movement on pages 28-29, 36-39, the violence against the Jewish people on pages 30-31, the Jewish stand against the Ukrainian independence on pages 33-35, Petliura's contact with Jewish political and community leaders on page 43, and his helping the Jews organize their self-defense, pages 48-49. As a response to the high tide of pogroms the Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic (UNR) passed a law on May 27, 1919 about the creation of Special Commission to Investigate the Jewish Pogroms.¹⁸

The most thorough studies on Symon Petliura were written by Serhiy Lytvyn, who not only used an enormous amount of secondary literature, but did a significant amount of research in the archives of Ukraine. The result is a significant contribution to the Ukrainian historical scholarship. The controversial aspects of the period are dealt with thoroughness and objectivity.¹⁹ A year later, that volume, with some changes and additions, appeared in a better and more elegant format making it a more enjoyable reading.²⁰

Volodymyr Serhiychuk, who devoted many years of research not only in the archives of Ukraine, but also in other countries, wrote a biography of Symon Petliura, which remains a good source of information for scholars and general readers.²¹ Two years later he published an updated second edition of his book *Symon Petliura i Yevreystvo*. One might also mention that Petliura's letters to various distinguished individuals were found in the archives of Ukraine and published in 2001. Those letters, written in 1925 reflect Petliura's concern with the mobilization of Ukrainians in the Diaspora in order to promote

¹⁷ Vasyl Mykhalchuk, ed. *Symon Petliura ta Ukrainska Natsionalna Revoliutsia*. Kyiv, 1995, pp. 165-217.

¹⁸ For details see Volodymyr Serhiychuk, *Symon Petliura i Evreystvo*. Kyiv, 1999, pp. 87-91.

¹⁹ Serhiy Lytvyn, *Symon Petliura u 1917-1926 rokakh*. Kyiv, 2000.

²⁰ Serhiy Lytvyn, *Sud Istorii*. Vydavnytsvo imeni Oleny Telihy. Kyiv, 2001.

²¹ V.I. Serhiychuk, *Symon Petliura*. Kyiv, 2004.

the Ukrainian political objectives in foreign countries.²²

The question of concern for the Soviet leadership over the assassination of Symon Petliura and the trial of Schwartzbard in Paris has been dealt with by Yuriy Shapoval who found a document in the Central State Archive dealing with the problem.²³ The document is a secret letter from O.H. Shlikhter, a member of the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to Lazar Kaganovich, who, at that time, was the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine.²⁴ In his letter Shlikhter expresses concern that during the Court Process in Paris Petliura may be depicted as a national hero, who became a victim because of his dedication to the idea of national liberation. To prevent this from happening he suggests that all efforts should be made to provide all kinds of documentation against Petliura and also to send appropriate witnesses. On February 18, 1927 the Politburo decided to send to Paris Mykola Popov, an experienced party activist, providing him with 2,500 karbovanets. The Party also provided other instructions concerning the defense of Schwartzbard.²⁵

Among the books dealing with Symon Petliura, which appeared after the publication of my article in the *Jewish Social Studies*, I should mention the scholarly work by Rudolf A. Mark whose study is an attempt to portray Petliura against the background of the turbulent civil war, foreign interventions, and struggle for survival of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.²⁶ The author, in a very craftsman-like fashion, re-creates the biography of Petliura demonstrating who he was as person and as political leader. Mark's account of the re-establishment of the UNR in December 1918 and the numerous problems facing that government is pursued in great detail, providing the reader with meticulous documentation of the various issues and personalities involved. Certainly the two most urgent and central problems, which the UNR could not

²² *Symon Petliura: Nevidomi lysty z Paryzha*. Kyiv, 2001.

²³ See Yuri I. Shapoval, *Liudyna i systema: shtrykhy do portretu totalitarnoi doby v Ukraini*. Kyiv, 1994, p. 96.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104. See also Taras Hunczak. *Symon Petliura ta Evreyi*. Kyiv, 1993, pp. 45-46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-107.

²⁶ For details see Rudolf A. Mark, "Symon Petljura und die UNR. Vom Sturz des Hetmans Skoropadskyj bis zum Exil in Polen", in: *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*. Vol. 40 (1988).

solve, were the Bosheviks invasion along a 1000 km front and the Ukrainian peasant jacquerie. The author touches upon the crux of the problem when he says that the Ukrainian masses were looking for the satisfactioin of their immediate concerns, which, as it seemed to them, they could secure from a variety of peasant adventurers, while the UNR tried to convince the politically inarticulate masses of the primary need to establish a sovereign national state, promising to deal with the social and economic problems at a later date.²⁷

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Documentation

The Ukrainian texts that served as the basis for the translation were taken from *Velyka ukrainska revoliutsiia: kalendar istorychnykh podii za liutyi 1917 roku – berezen 1918 roku* (2nd ed. Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, New York, 1967). These are reliable texts. The translators have tried to adhere as closely as possible to the originals in both style and tone. Translated by M. Bohachevsky-Chomiak and R. L. Chomiak. The texts of the Four Universals of Central Rada can be found in: Taras Hunczak, editor, *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977, pp. 382-395.

No. 1.

Four Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada

The First Universal¹ of the Ukrainian Central Rada² to all
Ukrainian People whether residing in Ukraine or beyond its
borders

Ukrainian people! Nation of peasants, workers, toilers!

By your will you have placed us, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, to guard the rights and freedoms of the Ukrainian land.

Your finest sons, those who represent villages, factories, military barracks, all Ukrainian communities and associations, have elected us, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, and ordered us to stand firm and defend these rights and freedoms.

Your elected representatives, nation, have expressed their will thus:

Let Ukraine be free! Without separating from all of Russia, without breaking with the Russian state, let the Ukrainian

¹ The Universals were not numbered, but in broadsides they have always been referred to as the First, Second, etc.

² The Ukrainian term *Rada*, meaning council, has been retained in this translation. All italicizing and capitalizing follows the original.

people have the right to manage their own life on their own soil. Let a National Ukrainian Assembly (*Soim*), elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret balloting, establish order and harmony in Ukraine. Only our *Ukrainian Assembly* has the right to establish all laws, which can provide order among us here in Ukraine. The laws, which would govern the entire Russian state should be promulgated in the All-Russian Parliament.

No one can know better than we do what we need and which laws are best for us.

No one can know better than our peasants how to manage their own land, therefore, we desire that after all the lands throughout Russia, held by the nobility, the state, the monasteries, and the tsar, have been confiscated and have become the property of the people, and after a law concerning this has been enacted by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the right to administer the Ukrainian lands shall belong to us, to our Ukrainian Assembly (*Soim*).

Thus spoke the electors from the entire Ukrainian land.

Having so resolved, they elected us, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, from among their midst and commanded us to be at the head of our people, to stand for their rights, and to create a new order in a free *autonomous Ukraine*.

And so, we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, have fulfilled the will of our people, we took upon ourselves the heavy burden of building a new life, and have now begun this great task.

We thought that the Central Russian Government would extend its hand to us in this task, that in agreement with it, we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, would be able to provide order for our land.

But the Provisional Russian Government rejected all our demands; it pushed aside the outstretched hand of the Ukrainian people. We have sent our delegates (envoys) to Petrograd so that they might present our demands to the Russian Provisional Government.

Our major demands were the following:

That the Russian government publicly, by a special act, declare that it does not oppose the national will of Ukraine, the right of our people to *autonomy*.

That the Central Russian Government accredit our *Commissar on Ukrainian affairs* for all matters concerning Ukraine.

That local power in Ukraine be united under one representative from the Central Russian Government, that is, by a *Commissar in Ukraine* chosen by us.

That a definite *portion of the monies*, which are collected from our people for the Central Treasury be turned over to us, the representatives of our people for our own national-cultural needs.

Yet, the Central Russian Government *rejected* all of these demands. It was not willing to say whether or not it recognizes the right of our people to autonomy and the right to manage our own life. It evaded an answer, and referred us to the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

The Russian Central Government did not wish to include our Commissar; *it did not want to join us in the establishment of a new order*. Likewise, *it did not wish to recognize a Commissar for all Ukraine* with whom we might bring our land to order and accord.

It also refused to return the monies collected from our own land for the needs of our schools, education and organizations.

And now, Ukrainian people, we are forced to *create our own destiny*. We cannot permit our land to fall into lawlessness and decline. Since the Russian Provisional Government *cannot* provide order for us, since it does *not want* to join us in this great task, then we must take it upon ourselves. This is our duty to our land and to the peoples who live on our land.

That is why we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, issue this Universal to our entire nation and proclaim: from this day forth we shall build our life.

Therefore, let each member of our nation, each citizen of a village or city know that the time has come for a great undertaking.

Hereafter, each village, each *volost*, each city or *zemstvo* governing board which upholds the interests of the Ukrainian Nation should have *the closest of organizational ties with the Central Rada*.

In places where for some reason administrative authority remains in the hands of people hostile to the Ukrainian cause, we prescribe that our citizens carry out a broad, vigorous organizational effort of enlightenment of the people and then *elect an administration*.

In cities and those areas where the Ukrainian population is intermingled with other nationalities, we prescribe that our

citizens immediately *come to an agreement and understanding with the democratic elements of these nationalities*, and jointly begin preparations for a new orderly existence.

The Central Rada hopes that the non-Ukrainian peoples living on our territory will also care for order and peace in our land, and that in this difficult time of disorder in the entire state, they join us in a united and friendly fashion to work for the organization of an *autonomous Ukraine*.

And when we complete this preparatory organizational work, we will call together representatives from all nations of the Ukrainian Land and will establish laws for it. These laws, this entire order which we shall prepare, the All-Russian Constituent Assembly must ratify by its own law.

Ukrainian people! Before your elected leadership – *the Ukrainian Central Rada* – stands a great, high wall, which it must topple in order to lead its people to the open road.

Strength is needed for this. Strong, courageous hands are needed. The people's hard work is needed. But above all, for the success of this work, great means (monies) are needed. Until this time, the Ukrainian nation had relinquished all its means to the All-Russian Treasury, and it has not, nor does it now receive that which is its due.

Consequently, we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, order all the organized citizenry of our villages and towns and all Ukrainian community executive boards and organizations to institute a special tax on the population for our native cause, effective the first day of the month of July, to be transmitted accurately, immediately and regularly to *the treasury of the Ukrainian Central Rada*.

Ukrainian people! Your fate lies in your own hands. In this difficult time of universal disorder and ruin, prove by your unity and your statesmanship that you, a nation of workers, a nation of tillers of the soil, can proudly and with dignity take your place beside any organized nation-state, as an equal among equals.

Enacted in Kyiv in the year 1917, in the month of June, on the tenth.

The Ukrainian Central Rada

The Second Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada

Citizens of the Ukrainian Land!

The representatives of the Provisional Government have informed us of the measures which the Provisional Government will use in governing Ukraine until [the convocation of] the Constituent Assembly.

While standing guard over the freedom won by the revolutionary people, recognizing each nation's right to self-determination, and deferring the establishment of the final form of this [right] to the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government extends its hand to the representatives of the Ukrainian democracy – to the Central Rada – and calls upon it to create, in agreement with it, a new life in Ukraine for the benefit of the entire revolutionary Russia.

We, the Central Rada, having always stood for Ukraine's non-separation from Russia, in order that we and all her peoples might jointly strive toward the development and welfare of all Russia and toward the unity of her democratic forces, accept with satisfaction this call of the [Russian Provisional] Government to common action and declare the following to *all citizens of Ukraine*:

The Ukrainian Central Rada, elected by the Ukrainian people through their revolutionary organizations, will soon be expanded on a just basis by representatives of the revolutionary organizations of other peoples who live in Ukraine: subsequently, it will become a single supreme body of revolutionary democracy in Ukraine which will represent the interests of the entire population of our land.

From its own midst, the expanded Central Rada will select a new separate body – the General Secretariat – which will be responsible to the Rada and which will be subject to confirmation by the Provisional Government as the repository of the highest regional authority of the Provisional Government in Ukraine.

All rights and means [of governance] will merge in this body, so that, as the representative of Democracy in all Ukraine and as, at the same time, the supreme governing body in the land, it may be empowered to fulfill the complex task of organization and to establish order throughout the land, in accord with the entire revolutionary Russia.

In harmony with other nationalities of Ukraine, and acting as an organ of the Provisional Government in the sphere of state administration, the General Secretariat of the Central Rada will follow steadfastly the road of strengthening the new order created by the revolution.

Striving toward an autonomous order for Ukraine, the Central Rada, in agreement with the national minorities of Ukraine, will prepare drafts of legislation for Ukraine's autonomous structure, which will then be submitted for confirmation to the Constituent Assembly.

Considering that the establishment of a territorial branch of the Provisional Government in Ukraine assures, within a plausible framework, the desired closeness of the administration of the Land (Ukraine) to the needs of the local population prior to the Constituent Assembly and recognizing that the fate of all the peoples of Russia is closely tied to the overall achievements of the revolution, we emphatically oppose any plans to establish autonomy arbitrarily in Ukraine before [the convocation of] the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

As for the formation of Ukrainian military units, the Central Rada will have its representatives attached to the offices of the Minister of War, the General Staff, and the Supreme Commander, who will take part in the formation of separate units composed exclusively of Ukrainians insofar as such formation will be deemed technically feasible by the Minister of War, and will not jeopardize the fighting capacity of the army.

In making this known to the citizens of Ukraine, we firmly believe that the Ukrainian democracy, which transferred to us its will, together with the revolutionary democracy of all Russia and her revolutionary government, will exert all its strength to lead the entire state, and particularly Ukraine, to the full triumph of the revolution.

Kyiv, in the year 1917, 3 July

The Ukrainian Central Rada

The Third Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada

Ukrainian people and all peoples of Ukraine!

A heavy and difficult hour has fallen upon the land of the Russian Republic. In the capitals to the north a bloody civil struggle is raging; the Central Government has collapsed, and anarchy, lawlessness and ruin are spreading throughout the country.

Our land is also in danger. Without a single, strong national authority, Ukraine may also fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter and ruin.

Ukrainian people! You, together with the other fraternal peoples of Ukraine, have placed us to guard the rights acquired through your struggles, [empowered us] to create order and to build new life on our land; and, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, and in the name of establishing order in our country in the name of saving all of Russia, do now proclaim:

From this day forth, Ukraine becomes the Ukrainian People's Republic.³

Without separating ourselves from the Russian Republic and maintaining its unity, we shall stand firmly on our own soil, in order that our strength may aid all of Russia, so that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of equal and free peoples.

Until [the convocation of] the Constituent Assembly of Ukraine, all power to establish order in our country, to promul-

³ The name of the Ukrainian state established by the Third Universal was *Ukrainska Narodna Respublika* – literally, the Ukrainian People's Republic; hence, this form is used in the present translation. For various reasons – one of them being the connotation of "people's republic" as a communist state – the name "Ukrainian National Republic" has been accepted in publications and in everyday use. There are also those who favor the name "Ukrainian Democratic Republic" because, on the one hand, the word "democratic" does mean "of the people," and, on the other, some diplomatic representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic used the term "Ukrainian Democratic Republic" on documents that they issued in languages other than Ukrainian. Since the purpose of this translation is to render as closely as possible the spirit and the letter of the four Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada, it was deemed necessary to use the proper rather than the fashionable term for the Ukrainian state.

gate laws, and to govern belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our government – the General Secretariat of Ukraine.

With power and authority in our native land, we shall use this power and authority to stand guard over freedom and the revolution, not only in our land, but also throughout all of Russia.

Therefore, we proclaim:

To the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic belong regions inhabited for the most part by Ukrainians: the provinces of Kyiv, Podillia, Volhynia, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Taurus (excluding Crimea). The final demarcation of the borders of the Ukrainian People's Republic as well as the annexation of parts of the Kursk, Kholm, Voronezh provinces and the neighboring gubernias and areas where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, will be determined in agreement with the organized will of the peoples.

We declare the following to all citizens of these lands:

Henceforth, on the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the existing property rights on lands of the nobility and on agricultural lands of other non-toiling ownership, including deeded lands, [lands owned by] monasteries and ministries, and church lands, are abolished.

In asserting that these lands are the property of the entire working people, and that they be recognized as such without compensation [to former proprietors], the Ukrainian Central Rada entrusts the Secretary General for Land Affairs to prepare immediately legislation to regulate the manner in which land committees, elected by the people, should manage these lands until [the convocation of] the Constituent Assembly.

The labor of the workers in the Ukrainian People's Republic must be placed on an orderly basis immediately. Now, we proclaim: *from this day forth, an eight-hour workday is instituted in all enterprises on the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic.*

The difficult and terrible time which all of Russia and, with her, our Ukraine is experiencing, demands a proper organization of production, steady distribution of consumer products and a better organization of labor. Therefore, we charge the General Secretariat for Labor, together with the representatives of the workers, with the immediate

establishment of *state control over production in Ukraine*, guarding the interests of both Ukraine and all of Russia.

For the fourth year blood is being spilt on the battlefields; and the strength of the peoples of the world is destroyed in vain. In the name of the Ukrainian Republic and in expression of its will, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, shall firmly insist that *peace be instituted quickly. To this end, we shall use resolute means to force through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to begin peace negotiations at once.*

Likewise, we shall see to it that the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia are not infringed upon by the peace treaty [that is negotiated] at the Peace Conference. However, until the beginning of peace, each citizen of the Republic of Ukraine, together with the citizens of all other nations of the Russian Republic, should stand fast at his post, both at the battlefield and at home.

Recently, the bright achievements of the revolution have been dimmed by the reinstatement of the death penalty. We proclaim:

Henceforth, on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic, the death penalty is abolished.

All prisoners, all those detained for political activity committed prior to this date, including those sentenced and those not yet sentenced or charged, are hereby granted full amnesty. A law will be promulgated, to that effect immediately. The court in Ukraine should be just [and] in conformity with the spirit of the people. With that goal in view, we direct the General Secretariat for Justice to take all measures necessary to bring order to the judicial system and to assure its compliance with the legal conceptions of the people.

We direct the General Secretariat for Internal Affairs [as follows]:

To use all means to strengthen and broaden the rights of the local bodies of self-government which serve as organs of the higher administrative authorities in the localities, and to establish its closest ties and cooperation with the organs of revolutionary democracy which should constitute the best basis for a free, democratic life.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian People's Republic shall secure all freedoms won by the All-Russian revolution: freedom of speech, press, worship, assembly, association, strikes, inviolability of person and residence, and the right and

opportunity to use the native language in dealings with all administrative agencies.

The Ukrainian people, who have fought long years for their national freedom and have won it today, shall firmly defend the free national development of all nationalities residing in Ukraine; therefore, we proclaim: *The Great-Russian, Jewish, Polish and other peoples in Ukraine are granted national-personal autonomy* to guarantee their own self-government in all matters of their national life; and we charge our general Secretariat for National Affairs to present to us, within the shortest possible time, legislative drafts for [guaranteeing this] national-personal autonomy.

The matter of provisions is the root of the power of government in this difficult and responsible time. The Ukrainian People's Republic should strain all its powers to save not only itself, but also the front and those parts of the Russian Republic, which need our aid.

Citizens! In the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic within a federated Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, call upon all, to struggle decisively against all anarchy and destruction and to work towards the great fraternal construction of new governmental forms which will grant the great and weakened Republic of Russia health, strength, and a new future. The determination of these forms shall be made at the Ukrainian and All-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly shall be December 27, 1917; the day of its convocation shall be January 9, 1918.

A law regulating the convocation of this Ukrainian Constituent Assembly shall be promulgated immediately.

Kyiv, November 7, the year 1917

The Ukrainian Central Rada

The Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada

People of Ukraine!

By your efforts, your will, and your word, a Free Ukrainian People's Republic has been created on Ukrainian soil. The ancient dreams of your ancestors – fighters for the freedom and rights of workers – have been fulfilled. But, Ukraine's freedom has been reborn in a difficult hour. Four years of a ferocious war have weakened our Country and population, factories do not produce goods, industry has slowed down, railroads are in disarray, money continues to fall in value; there is less bread, famine looms [before us]. Mobs of robbers and thieves have multiplied throughout the countryside, especially during the times when the army has swarmed from the front, causing slaughter, disorder and ruin on our land. Due to all this, the elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly could not be held on the date set by our previous Universal, and this assembly, which had been scheduled to convene today, could not meet to accept from our hands the temporary, supreme revolutionary authority in Ukraine, institute order in our People's Republic, and form a new Government. Meanwhile, the Petrograd Government of the People's Commissars, in an attempt to bring back the Free Ukrainian Republic under its rule, has declared war against Ukraine and is sending into our lands its armies of Red Guards and Bolsheviki, who rob the bread of our peasants, not even sparing the grain set aside for seed, and without any compensation carry it off to Russia; they kill innocent people and spread anarchy, thievery and apathy everywhere.

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, have done everything to prevent the outbreak of this fratricidal war of two neighboring peoples, but the Petrograd Government has not chosen to meet our efforts, and continues to wage a bloody struggle with our People and [our] Republic; moreover, this same Petrograd Government of People's Commissars has begun delaying the peace and is calling for a new war, which it characterizes as holy [war]. Blood will flow again, again the ill-fated working people shall be forced to lay down their lives.

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, elected by the congresses of peasants, workers, and soldiers of Ukraine, cannot agree to this at all, we will not support any wars, for the Ukrainian People

want peace; and a democratic peace must come about promptly. Moreover, in order to ensure that neither the Russian nor any other government shall obstruct Ukraine's efforts to institute this desired peace, to be able to lead our country to order, to creative work, to the strengthening of the revolution and of our freedom, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaim to all citizens of Ukraine:

From this day forth, the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes independent, subject to no one, a Free, Sovereign State of the Ukrainian People.

We want to live in harmony and friendship with all neighboring states: Russia, Poland, Austria, Rumania, Turkey, and others, but none of these may interfere in the life of the Independent Ukrainian Republic – power in it shall belong only to the People of Ukraine, in whose name, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, the representatives of the toiling people of peasants, workers, and soldiers and our executive arm, henceforth called "the Council of People's Ministers," shall govern until the convocation of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

First of all, we direct the government of our Republic, the Council of People's Ministers, to continue on an independent basis the peace negotiations already begun with the Central Powers, to carry them through to conclusion without regard for the interference by any other part of the former Russian Empire, and to establish peace, so that our Country may begin its economic life in tranquility and harmony.

As to the so-called Bolsheviks and other aggressors who destroy and ruin our Country, we direct the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic to take up a firm and determined struggle against them, and we call upon all citizens of our Republic to defend their welfare and liberty without sparing their lives. Our Ukrainian People's State must be cleared of the violent intruders sent from Petrograd, who trample the rights of the Ukrainian Republic.

The inestimably difficult war, begun by the bourgeois government, has greatly wearied our People; it has already destroyed our Country, ruined the economy. An end must come to this now. While the army is being demobilized, we order that some [members of the armed forces] be released; after the ratification of the peace, the army is to be disbanded completely. Later, instead of a standing army, a people's militia is to

be formed, so that our fighting forces may serve as defenders of the working people, and not at the pleasure of the ruling strata.

Localities destroyed by war and demobilization are to be rebuilt with the aid and through the initiative of our State Treasury. When our soldiers return home, new elections to the people's councils, district, county and city dumas will be called at a time which will be prescribed, so that our soldiers may have a voice in them: meanwhile, such local administration should be established which can be trusted and which will be based on all revolutionary-democratic strata of the people. The government should encourage the cooperation of the councils of peasants', workers' and soldiers' deputies elected from among the local population.

On the matter of land [reform], the commission elected at our last session has already worked out legislation concerning the transfer of the land without compensation to the working people, taking as its base our resolution on the abolition of property and the socialization of the land, which was passed at the eighth session. In a few days the whole Central Rada will study this legislation.

The Council of People's Ministers will use all means to ensure that the transfer of land from the land committees to the working people take place without fail before the beginning of spring tilling.

Forests, waters and all mineral resources – the wealth of the Ukrainian working people – are transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The war has also taken all the manpower resources of our country. Most of the factories, enterprises and shops have been producing only that which was necessary for the war, and the nation has been left completely without goods. Now the war has ended. We direct the Council of People's Ministers to begin immediately the change-over of all factories and enterprises to peacetime production of goods most needed first and foremost by the toiling masses.

This same war has proliferated hundreds of thousands of unemployed and invalids. In the Independent People's Republic of Ukraine no workingman should suffer. The government should increase the industry of the State, it should begin creative work in all areas in which the unemployed may find work and to which they may apply their strength and –

[the government] should use all means to ensure [the welfare of] the maimed and of those who have suffered from the war.

During the old order, merchants and all sorts of middlemen gained huge capital from the poor oppressed classes. Henceforth, the Ukrainian People's Republic takes into its hands the most important branches of commerce, and all profit derived from them shall be used for the benefit of the people. Our State itself will supervise goods imported and exported so as to prevent the high prices [set] by speculators, which are [such a] hardship to the poorest classes. To achieve this aim, we direct the Government of the Republic to prepare and present for approval legislation on this [matter], as well as on the establishment of monopolies in iron, leather, tobacco and other products and merchandise on which the greatest profit has been drawn from the working classes for the benefit of the non-toilers.

Likewise, we order the establishment of state-people's control over all banks whose credits and loans to the non-working masses aided in the exploitation of the toiling classes. Henceforth, bank loans are to be granted primarily to support the working population and the economic development of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and not for speculation and various exploitations by the banks or for profiteering.

Because of anarchy, anxiety in life, and shortage of goods, discontent is growing in a certain segment of the population. Various dark forces are using this discontent and trying to attract unenlightened people to the old system. These dark forces want to put back all free peoples under the unified tsarist yoke of Russia. The Council of People's Ministers should struggle firmly against all counterrevolutionary forces. Anyone who calls for an uprising against the independent Ukrainian Republic, for a return to the old order, must be punished for treason of the state.

All democratic freedoms proclaimed by the Third Universal are reaffirmed by the Ukrainian People's Republic, which particularly proclaims: in the Independent Ukrainian People's Republic all nations enjoy the right of national-personal autonomy, granted to them by the law of January 9.⁴

⁴ January 9 (according to the Julian calendar) or January 22, 1918, by present-day reckoning, has gone down in history as the date of Ukraine's independence, i.e., the proclamation of the Fourth Universal. In fact, the third reading of the Fourth Universal was presented as a bill of the Ukrainian

Whatever matters enumerated in this Universal which we, the Central Rada, will not have time to accomplish will be completed, rectified, and brought to a final order by the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly. We order all our citizens to conduct the elections most assiduously, to use all means to ensure the fastest tabulation of votes possible, in order that our Constituent Assembly – the highest ruler and administrator in our Land – may convene within a few weeks to establish freedom, harmony, and welfare by a constitution of the Independent Ukrainian People’s Republic for the benefit of the whole toiling people, now and in the future.

This our Highest body will decide on the federative ties with the people’s republics of the former Russian state.

Until that time we call upon all citizens of the Independent Ukrainian People’s Republic to stand relentlessly on guard of the freedom and rights won by our People and to defend their destiny with all their might from all enemies of the peasants’-workers’ Independent Ukrainian Republic.

Kyiv, 9th January 1918.
Ukrainian Central Rada

Central Rada, and the vote on it was taken shortly after midnight on January 12 (January 25), 1917.

It seems that the Founding Fathers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic were attached to the January 9 (January 22) date because it had been the date set for the convocation of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly. Since the Constituent Assembly failed to be elected, the Central Rada began its deliberation on the Fourth Universal on that date. Work on this legislation was held up when, on January 10 (January 23) – not January 9, as stated in the Fourth Universal – representatives of national minorities in the Rada demanded that the draft legislation on national-personal autonomy should be passed before the final vote on the Fourth Universal. The law on national-personal autonomy was passed the next day (January 11), and the second reading of the Fourth Universal followed. By then it was almost midnight, and a short recess was called. Before the third reading, Mykhailo Hrushevskiy, president of the Central Rada, made a brief introduction in which he informed the galleries that work on the Fourth Universal had begun on January 9 (January 22). This was also the date that appeared on the document when it was published.

No. 2.

The Personal-National Autonomy of the National Minorities in Ukraine *

Art. 1 – Each nation living in Ukraine has the right to national-personal autonomy, within the limits of the Ukrainian National Republic, that is to say, the right to arrange its national life independently which is implemented by the organs of the National Union "whose power extends to all its members, wherever they may reside, but within the limits of the Ukrainian National Republic." It is an undeniable right of each national minority and none of them can be deprived of their rights or limited in their application.

Art. 2 – The Great Russians, Jews and Poles residing within the territories of the Ukrainian National Republic have the right to national-personal autonomy by the act of this law. The White Ruthenians, Czechs, Moldavians (Romanians), Germans, Tartars, Greeks and the Bulgarians can take advantage of the right to national-personal autonomy on condition that the Supreme Court receives a special petition from each nationality signed by a least 10,000 citizens of the U.N.R. without distinction of sex and creed, who have no influence on these civic rights, and declaring that they belong to one of these nations. The Supreme Court must examine this petition at its public session within a period of six months from the date of its receipt and advise the General Secretary (Government of the State) of its decision and bring it to the notice of the people. The nationalities, which are not mentioned in this article, can present their petitions to the Parliament of the U.N.R. which will examine them.

Art. 3 – For the execution of the right mentioned in Article 1 the citizens of the U.N.R. who belong to any of these nationalities in question organize on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic a National Union. For all the members of each National Union, personal lists will be made which will form a National Register published after its composition in

* Reprinted from *Ukrainians and Jews. A Symposium*. New York, N.Y., 1966, pp. 154-156. Ukrainian text was published in Yakiv Zozulia, ed. *Velyka ukrainska Revolutsia: Kalendar istorychnykh podii za liutyi 1917 roku – berezen 1918 roku*. New York, 1967, pp. 85-86.

order that all and every citizen has the right to demand his inscription in the National Register of such a nationality, as well as his exclusion, by making the declaration that he does not belong to such and such a nationality.

Art. 4 – The National Union enjoys the legislative right and privilege within the limits of the departments established specifically in the order mentioned in Article 7 of this law. The National Union enjoys the exclusive right to represent the members of its nationality residing within the territories of the U.N.R. before the governmental and public institutions of the State. The laws enacted by the National Congress within the limits of the competence of each National Union (Article 9) must be published by the method generally adopted for laws.

Art. 5 – Out of the general receipts of the U.N.R., as well as the autonomous local organs, a certain sum will be taken out of the budget, which the state places at the disposal of the National Union for the affairs, which it directs and proportionately to the number of members of each National Union.

Art. 6 – Each National Union will establish its annual budget and has the right to impose taxes on its members on the basis established for the taxation by the State in general. Each National Union has the right to raise loans on its own responsibility and to effect any other financial operations indispensable to assure its normal activity.

Art. 7 – The domain of the affairs belonging to each National Union, its departments as well as the statutes of its administration, is determined by the Constituent Assemblies of each nation which at the same time defines the conditions whereby changes (modifications) can be effected. The resolutions adopted relative to the domain of the departments of the National Union are under the jurisdiction of the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or of its Parliament.

Remark – The dissensions, which may arise from this act between the National Constituent Assembly and the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or its Parliament, are solved by a special commission which is composed of an equal number of representatives of these two institutions. The decisions come to by this Conciliatory Commission go before the Constituent Assembly of the U.N.R. or to its Parliament for definite confirmation.

Art. 8 – The Constituent National Assembly is composed of

members elected by universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret, with the application of a proportional principle for the representation of sex or of creed. The citizens of the U.N.R. belonging to the said nation who are aged 20 years or over have a vote.

Art. 9 – The organs of each National Union are the organs of the State, the Supreme representative organ in each National Union is the National Assembly which is elected by the members of the said Union following the conditions fixed by Article 8 of this law. The Supreme Executive organ in each Union is the National *Rada*, which is elected by the National Assembly and is responsible to it.

Art. 10 – All discussions concerning the departments, which can emerge among the organs of each National Union on the one hand, and the Government organs, the local autonomous organs as well as the other National Union, on the other hand, will be solved by an administrative Court.

Signed: Michael Hrushevsky, President of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Evhen Onatsky, Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Ivan Myrny, General Secretary of State.

January 22, 1918

No. 3.

**From a Government Proclamation to the People of Ukraine*
(April, 1919)**

Rivne,
April 12, 1919.

To preserve the peace and to maintain public law and order – as the first condition of a free life for all citizens of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic – the Ukrainian Government will fight with all its power against violations of public order, will strike the brigands and pogrom instigators with the severest punishment and expose them publicly. Above all the Government will not tolerate any pogroms against the Jewish population in Ukraine, and will employ every available means for the purpose of combating these abject criminals, dangerous to the State, who are disgracing our nation in the eyes of all the civilized nations of the world.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic is certain that the Ukrainian people – who themselves have suffered national slavery through many years and are conscious of the worth of national freedom and therefore proclaimed before all things the national-personal autonomy of the minorities in Ukraine – will support the Ukrainian Government in eliminating these evil-doers who are the scum of humanity.

(signed) Martos,
President of the Cabinet Council of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

* This document and others that follow, unless otherwise indicated, come from *Materials Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the years of the Revolution (1917-1921)*. The Ukrainian Information Bureau, Munich, 1956.

No. 4.

**Law Concerning Jewish Community Self-Government
(July 11, 1919)**

Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv (Journal of State Laws),
July 17, 1919.

In the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic

Approved: April 17, 1919.

Chairman of the Directorate: S. Petliura.

Member of the Directorate: A. Makarenko.

Secretary of the Directorate: F. Shvets.

Attested by the deputy-Secretary of State: Ivan Lyzanivsky.

*LAW CONCERNING JEWISH COMMUNITY SELF-
GOVERNMENT accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers*

- I. The enclosed Statute of Jewish Community Self-Government, which changes, supplements or annuls the laws in question, has been approved.
- II. The Jewish Community Councils, existing at present on the basis of the Law of December 2, 1917, continue their work by virtue of this Law until election of new Jewish Community Councils, which shall take place within two months from the day of promulgation of this Law.
- III. Within two months from the day of the publication of this Law, the following institutions shall pass over to the jurisdiction of the respective Jewish Community Self-Government Organs:
 1. All Jewish educational, welfare, sick-nursing, and sanitary institutions which do not belong to private persons, societies or associations, and which function on the basis of special Statutes or without any Statutes; likewise, the Jewish institutions which on the basis of general or special laws are being managed by, or in whose management are participating city or provincial administrative organs, or the autonomous organs of the provinces,

districts or villages.

Note: All state Jewish educational and scientific establishments together with their property and inventory that belong to them or are entrusted to them as well as the Jewish State schools, teachers' colleges and other educational institutions are to be given to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs for administration.

2. All capital and all inventory that have been and are at the disposal of, or have been assigned to, the Jewish institutions mentioned in Art. III, 1.
3. Jewish cemeteries.

Note 1: Fund needed for the organization and maintenance for institutions mentioned in Article III shall be appropriated by State Treasury and by city organs, and shall be transmitted to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs or to the respective Jewish Community Councils for their disposal.

Note 2: The fixed property of the institutions that have been mentioned in Art. III 1 and 2 of this decree pass over to the management of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs or of the respective Jewish community self-government authorities on the strength of this law without other additional laws being required, taking into consideration the Agrarian Laws of January 8, 1919.

- IV. Within two months from the day of the publication of this Law, the balance of the income from collections and candle sales shall be submitted to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs, which shall deposit it in its account in the State Treasury for the purpose of remitting it to the Community Councils. For the purpose of liquidation of contracts with the lessees of collections, the Jewish Community Councils by agreement with respective City Governments shall appoint special Liquidation Committees on the principle of parity. The decisions of these committees are subject to the approval of the Jewish Community Councils and of the City Councils.
Note: In case there is no agreement between the Liquidation Committees and Community Councils or City Councils, the whole matter shall be put – with the consent of the Minister for Interior Affairs and the Minister of Justice – before the Minister for Jewish

Affairs who in agreement with the Minister for Interior Affairs, and of Justice shall make the final decision.

- V. On the ground of corresponding changes in the respective statutes, the right of the Jewish Community Self-Government Organs is to be acknowledged to, or to participation in, the management of various Jewish community establishments and property, which are not mentioned in Art. III of this Law, and whose special by-laws grant the right of management to the following persons:
1. An assembly of resident well-to-do Jews.
 2. The management of synagogues and Jewish elementary schools.
 3. City, district, county and village self-government organs.
 4. Other organs and establishments.
- Note: The property of Jewish synagogues and Jewish elementary schools, which is set aside for religious purposes, shall also for the future remain as an exclusive management of the said institutions.
- VI. The obligations of city administrative organs, which have been provided for in Art. 771, 794 (Para. 1, Part I, and Para. a and b of Part II) and in Art. 918 of the Law on Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths (viz. The General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, of 1890), are to be transferred to the respective Jewish Community Councils and Committees which are subordinate to those organs, and at the same time the City Communal authorities, Citizens' Boards and other institutions are bound to remit to the respective Jewish Community Administrative Organs within two months from the day of the promulgation of this Law the register of families and the alphabetical list of Jews as well as the originals of the Jewish birth certificates together with all transaction documents and archives that belong to them.
- VII. The obligations of rabbis concerning keeping of Jewish birth records, which have been provided for in Arts. 913, 915, 919 of the Law on Registration (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, of 1899), and in Paras. 1-4 of Art. 1327 as well as in Art. 1328 of the Statute on Spiritual Matters of Alien Faiths (General Body of Laws, Vol. XI, Part I, ed. 1896), are to be transferred

to the Jewish Community Self-Governments. The rabbis are obliged to transmit within two months from the day of the promulgation of this Law all their transaction documents, birth certificates, private documents and archives to the respective Jewish Community administrations.

Note 1: The rabbis of localities where there is no Jewish Community Self-Government shall transfer birth certificates and other documents as well as archives to the nearest Jewish Community Administration in their District; these Community Administrations can empower some particular persons, on the strength of this Statute of Community Administration, to keep birth records in the said communities until Community Administrations are installed there.

Note 2: The obligations of the Province Administrations concerning preparation and remittance of birth records, which have been provided for in Art. 438, para. 8 (General Body of Laws, Vol. II, 1892) and Art. 914 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, 1899) pass over to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs.

- VIII. The effective range of Part. 1, Art. 63 of the Stamp Tax Law (General Body of Laws, Vol. V, 1903) is to be extended to include all cases which are sent to the Court by the Jewish Community Administration.
- IX. The effective range of the Law of Administrative Courts (Code of Laws and Decrees of the Government, 1917, no. 127, Art. 692) is to be extended to include grievance and protests against unlawful decisions, orders, actions and negligence of establishments and officials of the Jewish Community Self-Government.
- X. In Art. 438 Para. 33 of the General Province Statute (General Body of Laws, Vol. II, 1892, together with the continuation of 1912) the words: "money collections by Jews" are to be cancelled.
- XI. In Art. 794 Para. 2 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, 1899) the words "collection proceeds etc.," and in Para. 4 of the same Article the words "of prayer-houses" are to be cancelled.
- XII. Art. 913, Para. 1 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, 1899) is to be supplemented as follows: "the names of each male and female child with the dates of their birth

and names of their parents."

- XIII. Art. 1445 of the Penal Law (General Body of Laws, Vol. XV, 1885) is to be supplemented as follows: "for negligence in keeping Jewish birth records the respective officials of the Jewish Community Administration are Responsible. They are subject for each negligence to the penalty provided for in Art. 1444." Part 2 of Art. 1445 as well as the note thereto are to be annulled.
- XIV. Part II of Art. 1579 of the Penal Code (General Body of Laws, Vol. XV, 1885) is to be supplemented as follows: "The officials who are guilty of having twice violated the law shall be punished by sending them for four years to the Prisoners' Corrective Department."
- XV. Arts. 739 and 711 (General Body of Laws, Vol. L, Part 2, 1892); Art. 95, Note 2 to the Decree concerning city communal administration, 1915 (General Body of Laws, Vol. II); Art. 794, Para. 8, letter D and SH, further Art. 816 together with the supplement, Arts. 916, 917, 919 beginning with the words "And is certified....," 920 and 921 of the Laws of Personal Status (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, 1899); Arts. 1306, 1310, 1321-1326, 1329-1341 and Arts. 1-23 of the Supplement to Art. 1336 of the Status of Spiritual Matters of Alien Faiths (General Body of Laws, Vol. XL, Part. 1, 1896); Art. 1053, Part 1 and Art. 1057 of the Penal Code (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, 1885); likewise the judgment of the Russian Imperial Council, which was approved Dec. 31, 1851 (Second Full Code of Laws, no. 25 865) are to be annulled.

Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers: (signed)

Tchopivsky.

Minister for Jewish Affairs: (signed) P. Krasny.

No. 5.

**A Declaration of a Zionist leader, Mr. M. Sigal.
(July 7, 1919)**

M. Sigal, a representative of the Zionist organization in Kamenets-Podolsk, expressed himself concerning the attitude of the Ukrainian Jews toward the Ukrainian movement for national independence, among other things, as follows:

Today, on the second anniversary of the proclamation of the First Decree I should like to inform you what the attitude of the Jews was toward that first action of the Ukrainian people, how the Jewish masses reacted to this Decree, and especially the Zionist organization which is at the head of the Jewish people, having received at the elections for the Constitutional Assembly and for municipal councils from 70% to 80% of the Jewish vote. I have in mind at this moment the Zionist national Congress in Kiev. At that time there was no unity among Jews as to their attitude toward the Ukrainian national movement. But the late leader of Ukrainian Zionism, N. S. Syrkin, was able to defeat his opponents by his youthful and passionate appeal; he said he could not believe that the reborn Ukrainian people would build their happiness upon the misfortune of other peoples. He would not believe that a nation which itself had been oppressed for hundreds of years would oppress other nations. The national Zionist Congress took Syrkin's position and expressed in a resolution its heartiest congratulations to the Ukrainian people on their reawakening to a new life.

Indeed, the national-personal autonomy is the bright side in the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. We believe that the Jews and Ukrainians will soon find a common voice, and that they will help each other in building a national life.

("Podolsky Krai," July 7, 1919).

No. 6.

**Law Concerning the Establishing of an Extraordinary
Commission for the Investigation of Anti-Jewish Pogroms.
(July 17, 1919)**

Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv (Journal of State Laws),
July 17, 1919.

1. For the purpose of investigating anti-Jewish pogroms an Extraordinary Investigating Commission with vast powers is to be instituted.
2. All cases in which the Commission verified the guilt of the persons shall be handed over to a special military court.
3. The Extraordinary Investigating Commission has the following obligation:
 - a. All-embracing investigation of the anti-Jewish pogroms and of the criminal agitation against the Jewish population on the territory of Ukraine;
 - b. Establishing of the guilt of the persons and summoning them before a court.
4. The Commission brings a lawsuit at the suggestion of the Minister of Justice with the understanding of the Minister for Jewish Affairs.
5. The Commission consists of: the Chairman who is to be appointed by the Directorate in accordance with the proposal of the Minister of Justice, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers; five members who shall be nominated by responsible Ministers, one from each of the Ministry of Labor, Justice, War, Exterior Affairs, and Jewish Affairs.
6. For the legality of the decisions of the Commission, the participation of the Chairman of the Commission, or of his deputy is necessary – the representative of the Minister of Justice serving as the deputy, likewise of not fewer than two members of the Commission, and of its secretary or of his assistant.
7. The decisions of the Commission are not subject to any appeal. However, notice of an appeal may be given against orders and actions of individual members of the Commission or persons who carry out the instructions of the members; the making of an appeal does not further action on the case.
8. The Commission shall, be assigned a secretary, his assistants, and three officials appointed by the Chairman of

the Commission.

9. The Commission and its individual member who work by order of the Commission, likewise those persons who are at the disposal of the Commission in conducting investigations have full rights of examining magistrates functioning at regular or military courts and they fulfill their duty according to Penal and Military Court Statutes.
10. The Commission is empowered to assign to examining magistrates serving at military or regular courts, the members of District courts, the members of Courts of Appeal, or of Military Courts, the obligation of carrying out investigations according to some special or general instructions, and these persons count as having been put at the disposal of the Investigating Commission.
11. The Commission, its individual members, and the persons who have been put at its disposal have the right to enter into direct communication with all magistrates and authorities, to seize directly the correspondence relative to the confiscate cash and other valuables, to forbid disposal of property belonging to persons involved in the investigation, to search houses and make arrests; they also have the right to demand help and cooperation from all individual persons as from state, communal and private institutions.
12. The Commission has the right to institute criminal proceedings directly against officials of all grades for a general offense or for a misdemeanor in office, which is connected with the pogrom events. This order shall not include magistrates of civil and military courts.
13. The Commission has the right to remove temporarily from their posts all officials who are involved in the investigation, with the exception of the persons mentioned in Paragraph 12 of this law. The instructions on the dismissal shall be submitted to the proper superior authorities for their execution. The officers of the first three grades may be removed temporarily from their posts on the basis of a motion by the Investigating Commission, which has been supported by the Minister of Justice and approved by the Cabinet of Ministers.
14. The prosecution shall be instituted on the basis of a commission's order in the presence of a member of a public prosecuting authority.
15. The Commission submits the examined case, together with its decision made in accordance with the instructions of Art.

520 of the penal proceedings, to the proper military chief having the rank of a corps commandant, who shall set up a military court for the purpose of trying this case according to the law of January 26, 1919.

Note: If the Ministries of Justice, War, and for Jewish Affairs declare it necessary, the Members of the Extraordinary Military Court shall be appointed by the Directorate on the basis of a joint proposal of the three said Ministers.

16. The Commission has the right, without waiting until the end of the whole investigation, to hand over the completed case of individual accused persons to a regular court.
17. The costs for sustaining the Extraordinary Investigating Commission shall be borne by the State Treasury, and the necessary sums shall be remitted to the Minister of Justice in accordance with the stipulations of the Ordinance about advance-payment.
18. In addition to fixed salaries – including here all extra pay, for instance, a moving allowance, which is paid to persons in State offices where they are permanently occupied, the chairman and members of the Commission, as well as the persons attached to the Commission for permanent cooperation shall receive for their work on the Commission 50 hryvnas daily, and this money shall be paid them each week.
19. The chairman and members of the Commission who have no public officers' posts receive for their work on the Commission, 150 hryvnas, and 120 hryvnas a day respectively the money being paid each week.
20. The office employees who have been sent to work for the Commission from their State posts, besides their salary and all extra payments, including a moving allowance, which is due them at their permanent posts, receive for their work on the Commission 30 hryvnas a day, the money being paid weekly.
21. The office workers who have no State officials' posts receive salaries for their work on the Commission according to the decision of the Chairman of the Commission: the Secretary not more than 100 hryvnas, the other workers not more than 80 hryvnas a day.
22. The Chairman of the Commission possesses the privileges of a third grade magistrate, and the members of the Commission – of fourth grade magistrates.

23. An advance payment of 200000 hryvnas shall be assigned to the Minister of Justice from the State Treasury for the purpose of covering the expenses of organizing the Extraordinary Investigating Commission, and carrying out this Law.
24. This Law goes into effect immediately after its announcement by telegraph.

For the President of the Cabinet Ministers:

(signed) Andrey Livitsky. Minister for Jewish Affairs: (signed)
p. Krasny.

The above Law was accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers under no. 322 on May 27, 1919, endorsed by the Directorate in the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and signed by the Head of the Directorate, S. Petliura,⁵ by its members A. Makarenko, and by the Secretary F. Shvets; it was attested by the deputy State Secretary Ivan Lyzanivsky.

⁵ It should be noted that in the Appendix section of the book there are different spellings of names and geographic places, as for example Petliura instead of Petlura. We left them the way they were transliterated and published in the original.

No. 7.

**Reception of a delegation of Jewish citizens by Petliura.
(July 18, 1919)**

On July 17 of this year the Commander-in-Chief Petliura received a delegation of Jewish citizens at the Office of the Directorate in Kamenets-Podolsk. The Delegation included: Dr. Meier Kleiderman, the representative of the Jewish community; Alterman, the representative of the Zionist organization; Gutman, the representative of the rabbis; Kreis, the representative of artisans; Bograd, the representative of the United Socialists (*Obednantsi*), an Blachles, the representative of the Poale Zion Party.

Petliura addressed the Delegation with a short speech in which he declared that he himself as well as the government were always standing on the side of the Jewish people, and were waging war against those elements, who incited the unenlightened masses to various excesses against Jews. The Commander-in-Chief invited the representatives of the Jewish people to a closer cooperation of both peoples for the good of the Ukrainian State, for, only with united forces would it be possible to look after the interests of both peoples, which had always been identical.

The Jewish delegation assured the Supreme Commander that all strata of the Jewish people, hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian people, would defend the independent Ukraine, because only a Ukrainian democratic government could guarantee full rights to the Jews. The delegation asked for granting of an opportunity to Jewish intellectuals to work toward strengthening Ukrainian statehood, and for protection of the Jewish population against the excesses which have taken place as the result of provocation on the part of various Russian reactionaries and Polish imperialists who thus wish to discredit the whole Ukrainian cause in the eyes of Europe.

Petlura pledged himself to apply the severest measures in suppressing the crimes of the anti-Jewish agitators, and asked the delegation in particular to exert their influence also upon the Jewish population behind the battlefield that they should support the Ukrainian Army in its struggle against the Bolsheviks.

(Trudowa Hromada, July 18, 1919).

No. 8.

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 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, making the military and civil authorities responsible for carrying out his orders. The special Military

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

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, Poale-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 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; they were perpetrated by various Bolshevik troops. And the farther 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 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. 9.

**Decree of the Cabinet Council of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic
(August 18, 1919)**

Record of the Proceedings no. 171

The Cabinet Council, after hearing the report of the Minister for Jewish Affairs, Mr. P. A. Krasny, on the situation as it appeared in connection with the anti-Jewish pogroms in Ukraine – particularly in Kiev – and in connection with the reaction of public opinion abroad, resolve as follows:

The Ukrainian and Jewish peoples, both of whom work at the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, find themselves in the face of the common enemies who are trying to sow discord and anarchy in order to destroy the Ukrainian Republic, which they hate. For this purpose your enemies organize pogroms, spin provocative news about pogroms in Ukraine so as to exploit them for their imperialistic objectives and to attain mastery over the Ukrainian people – with the help of the Polish ruling classes, or of the Denikin reactionaries. In deliberately lying and provocative reports they are changing arbitrarily the places of the pogroms which are arranged in Ukraine by the Bolsheviks and by the reactionary clique who are in close connection with Denikin's and Polish reactionary circles' secret plans. In mendacious publications and in public letters addressed to the leading representatives of European countries, all these happenings are charged to the account of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, although its aim is to suppress vigorously all pogroms.

In view of the fact that such provocations and aims of the Polish and Denikin reactionaries endanger the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian Republic as well as the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Ukraine, the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic has set itself the most urgent task of doing away with all possibility of provocations, pogroms or other excesses, and is calling to account all persons hostile to the Ukrainian State, who are doing the treacherous pogrom work in Ukraine.

The Government has decided:

1. To make at once a proposal to the Commander-in-Chief,

Petlura that he issue an order by which all commanders of the respective bodies of troops, from the lowest to the highest ones, would be called to account for negligence and tolerating pogrom excesses, and that they would be immediately arrested as traitors and handed over to a special court-martial which would impose upon them the severest penalty, *including the death sentence*.

2. To issue an order in the name of the Government and in the name of the Commander-in-Chief to the Ukrainian partisans on the other side of the battlefield that they also 1). Should take a vigorous action against the instigators of pogroms, 2). Fight against particular treacherous pogrom bands and annihilate them – always remembering that the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic does not tolerate pogroms on its victorious march and inflicts the severe punishment upon all the guilty ones.
3. To appoint immediately a special government commission with extensive powers of investigating pogroms and of combating them; the said commission to be composed of one representative from the following offices: The Commander-in-Chief, the Inspector General, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the Minister for Jewish Affairs. The Commission should proceed at once to the frontline to the area of liberated cities and other places of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Commander-in-Chief should be advised to order an authorization with full powers to the Commission.
4. Through inspections, the bodies of troops and the commissioners of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic should be informed about the foreign provocative work of the enemies of the Ukrainian Republic, who exploit the pogrom excesses for their own purposes.
5. By means of a special report from the Prime Minister, to inform the Directorate of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic of this Decree, and to manifest the Government's firm determination and effort in the direction of removing completely any possibility of pogroms in Ukraine.
6. To issue an appropriate proclamation of the government to the people.
7. The Minister for Press and Information should initiate an

intensive campaign against pogrom arrangers; inform the foreign press and foreign public about the actual state of affairs, and protest against the outrageous slandering of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

8. The Minister of Justice should at once take steps that all those who are guilty of pogrom excesses, i.e. those who already have been arrested as well as those who may be arrested, should be handed over to a special court.
9. This Decree is to be made public.

(Ukraina, August 21, 1919).

No. 10.

**Daily Order by the Supreme Commander of the Troops of
the Ukrainian Democratic Republic*, Order no. 131
(August 26, 1919)**

Officers and Soldiers!

It is time for you to realize that the Jews – together with the majority of the Ukrainian population – have recognized the evil of the Bolshevik-Communist invasion, and know where the truth lies. The most important Jewish parties, such as: "Bund," "United Jewish Socialists," "Poalei-Zion" and "People's Party," have decidedly placed themselves on the side of the Ukrainian independent state and are working together for its good.

It is time for you to understand that the peaceful Jewish population, their children and women have been oppressed and deprived of national freedom, just as we have. They cannot be alienated from us, they have always been with us, and they have shared with us their joys and sorrows.

The gallant army, which brings brotherhood, equality, and freedom to all peoples of Ukraine should not lend an ear to various adventurers and provocateurs who long for human blood. Likewise, the Army should not be a party to causing hardship for the Jews. Whoever is guilty of permitting such a heavy crime, is a traitor and enemy of the country and must be cast out of human society.

Officers and soldiers! The whole world cannot but admire our heroic deeds in the struggle for freedom. Do not stain those deeds – not even accidentally – by disgraceful actions; do not bring down burning shame upon our state in the face of the whole world. Our many enemies, external as well as internal, are already profiting by the pogroms; they are pointing their fingers at us and inciting others against us, saying that we are not worthy of an independent national existence and that we deserve to be forcefully harnessed to the yoke of slavery.

I, your Commander-in-Chief, tell you that at this very

* Reprinted from *Materials concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of the Revolution (1917-1921)*. Munich, 1956, pp. 68-69. Slightly different stylistic version was published in *Eastern Europe* (Paris), Vol. 1, no. 5, 1919, pp. 144-150. The Ukrainian text was published in *Symon Petliura: Articles, Correspondence, Documents*. Vol. 1. New York, 1956, pp. 228-230.

moment the question of "to be or not to be" for our independent existence is being decided before the International Tribunal.

Officers and soldiers! The judgment on this question rests in your hands, so decide it by showing an armed fist against our enemies, remembering always that a clean cause demands clean hands. You may be sure that a severe and lawful punishment by the people's court will overtake all enemies of our country; but remember also that vengeance – often the result of lack of careful consideration – is not the way of the Ukrainian Cossacks. I most positively order that all those who are instigating pogroms be expelled from the army, and – as traitors to the fatherhood – be handed over to the court. Let the court punish them according to their crimes by giving them the severest lawful penalty.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic recognizing the harm done to the state by the pogroms has issued an appeal to the whole population of Ukraine to withstand all attempts of the enemies who might arouse it to anti-Jewish pogroms.

I command the whole army to obey this appeal and to provide for its widest dissemination among comrades-in-arms and among the population.

This Army Order is to be read to all divisions, brigades, regiments, garrisons and squadrons of the Dnieper and Dniester armies as well as the partisan detachments.

Petliura
Commander-in-Chief

Yunakiv
Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander

No. 11.

**Appeal of the Commander-in-Chief, Petliura, to the
Ukrainian Army.**

(August 27, 1919)

Soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

The Ukrainian Republican People's Army of the Dnieper and Dniester territories, now united into one army, is advancing victoriously, is crushing the enemy, gaining each day new territories of Ukraine to liberate them from the Bolshevist brigands, bringing with them freedom to the Ukrainian people as well as the certainty of happy days of living in a peaceful and orderly state.

The Bolshevist anarchy and maladministration, the horrible Red terror, the tyranny of the Extraordinary Inquiry Commission and of other criminals for whom there is nothing sacred in life – have sapped our people's strength to the utmost and have flooded our steppes with human tears and with streams of blood of the innocent.

Amidst a peal of church bells, with bread and salt, with flowers and tears of joy the weary, oppressed and pillaged Ukrainian people are greeting you, their valiant warriors, as liberators from the yoke and from the Bolshevist atrocities, as flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood.

A mighty national enthusiasm has seized our people at your entry into villages and towns, and everywhere a festive reception is awaiting you – and all this has been brought about by you, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

You are living now through glorious and never to be forgotten moments of your life, and together with you all peoples inhabiting the Ukrainian territory are experiencing the same enthusiasm.

The holy crusade for the liberation of the oppressed, regardless of their nationality, for the rule of law and order under freedom and democracy and the independence of our republic – these are the ideals in this struggle.

The union of all democratic forces of all nationalities in Ukraine, standing for the independence of our Republic, and their participation in the reconstruction of the state will warrant our victory over our enemies, and will guarantee to us an

independent life subject to no one.

Our enemies, however, are not sleeping but only watching our every step in order to sow discord among us in one way or another, and thus to frustrate the immediate realization of our people's efforts.

The Bolsheviks themselves consider Ukraine Moscow's inheritance – with the difference that formerly it was the heritage of black Moscow, now of a Red one.

They see that the end of their rule in Ukraine is already approaching because the Ukrainian people themselves have risen against them: but they do not give up yet their hope of subjugating the Ukrainian masses. By provocations for which they are spending enormous sums of money they want to divide us from within, hiring criminal elements who are inciting our soldiers to all sorts of outrages and pogroms against the innocent Jewish population; in this way they want to stamp our soldiers as pogrom-mongers, although these soldiers are bringing liberty to all peoples of Ukraine.

Our enemies intend thus to split the Ukrainian and Jewish laboring masses whose ways, in fact, have been bound together by three hundred years of Russian tsarist yoke.

Our national army must bring equality, brotherhood and freedom to the Ukrainian as well as the Jewish citizens who are also supporting actively the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. All their parties, i. e.: Bund, Obyednantsi, Poale Zion and People's Party are standing on the principles of the independence of Ukraine, and are participating in the reconstruction of the republic.

I know myself how the representatives of the Jewish population have helped our army and supported our legal republican government.

The enemies of our state, the Bolsheviks, are shooting down not only the Ukrainian but also the Jewish people, depriving the others of the barest means of living.

I have the highest esteem for the sacrifices made during this war upon the altar of the fatherland by the Jewish population.

From the reports by the commanders of our brave divisions and corps as well from reports by State Inspectors I have already learned that the Jewish population brought help to our wounded and sick soldiers, in the hospitals, which had been built hastily 3-5 kilometers behind the battlefronts.

I have been touched deeply by tears of thankfulness in the

eyes of our soldiers for the loving care and human aid given them by Jews, and I have noted with satisfaction how the soldiers of our army were standing guard at the shops and stores of Jews in order to protect them against plunderers.

The restoration of a bridge at Starokonstantyniv – which had been destroyed by the Bolsheviks – by the Jewish population in an exceedingly short time, as well as their help with foodstuffs and underwear testify also to the loyal conduct of Jews in relation to our army.

I am convinced and I ardently hope that in the future such help on the part of Jews will occur ever more frequently and that they will continue to further the cause of peace in our country.

The Minister for Jewish Affairs has by a series of measures already exercised some influence upon the Bolshevik circles of Jews so that many of them no longer support Bolshevism, since they consider it now to be their ruin.

Together with you I call upon the Jewish citizens to go with us and to support wholeheartedly our army and our government; then we shall be able to affirm that the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and you, its army, will finish that great responsible work which you are now doing – destroying the power of the Bolsheviks and building up our independent republic in which each nationality enjoys full rights and a peaceful life.

Officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army! The Ukrainian-Jewish laboring masses see in you their liberation, and future generations will not forget your services rendered to them; history will with pride record on its pages your achievements in this struggle. Beware of provocations, and have no mercy on provocateurs or on those who execute pogroms, or incite the weakest among you to this action.

Let the death sentence overtake the perpetrators of pogroms and provocateurs. I demand the strictest discipline from you so that not even a hair of an innocent's head be touched.

Bear in mind that you are the elite sons of your great nation which wants to live its independent life and to be subjugated by no one, and therefore keep an unflinching watch on its interests as well as on the interests of all those who help you and are well-disposed to you and to the liberation of your people.

Those who are guilty before the Ukrainian people and before the republic, no matter what their nationality, shall suffer the

severest punishment according to law prevailing in the territory of the Ukrainian republic; to the innocent, however, you must bring liberation from the hated Bolshevist yoke.

The Republic's and my own cordial thanks to and high esteem for your martial bravery, devotion, and self-sacrifice which you offer upon the altar of the fatherland, while liberating our Ukraine and the nationalities living there – including the Jews – from the Bolshevists.

May God help us in the great and sacred cause of liberating the nations from the heavy yoke of the Bolshevists!

August 27, 1919

Commander-in-Chief – Petliura.

(Ukraina, September 2, 1919).

No. 12.

A Declaration by the Jewish Social-Democrats in Kamenets-Podolsk.

(September 3, 1919)

On August 26, 1919 at a common session of the Podolian District Committee and of the Kamenets-Podolsk City Committee of the Jewish Social-Democratic Party "Poale Zion," the following resolution concerning the immediate nomination of Party candidates for state positions was unanimously approved:

In view of the fact that the negative aspects in the situation which were brought up in April by Goldelman and Revutsky on the occasion of the negotiations with the representatives of the Government in Stanislav, now have been removed, viz.:

1. The Government and the Army Command are vigorously fighting against pogroms;
2. The agreement between the Ukrainian and Jewish democrats has assumed concrete forms and has already shown good results, whereby the Government wholly supports the Jewish Socialists and national democrats in the matter of national-personal autonomy as well as the policy of the present Ministry for Jewish Affairs;
3. The Government takes measures with a view to fully legalizing the Jewish socialist parties, and to making possible a parliamentary existence for the Communist political groups on condition they are loyal toward the Ukrainian Republic;
4. The Government is entirely socialist and is standing on a solid democratic basis;
5. The Ministry of Labor is in contact with trade union organizations and has expressed its willingness to reestablish workers' councils as the central representative organs of the proletariat with the right of consultation and inspection in labor and social-economic questions; in view of all these circumstances we deem it desirable that a member of our party take the post of a vice-minister with the right of sitting in the Cabinet-Council, this giving the only possibility to our party to assume the responsibility for the policy of the Government; further, that a member of our party take the post of a councilor in the Ministries of Labor and of State Economy; and finally, that the District

Committee be instructed to set up immediately a list of candidates for the state posts.

(Ukraine, September 3, 1919).

No. 13.

**Pronouncements by Dr. Mark Wischnitzer
(October 20, 1919)**

Dr. Mark Wischnitzer is a well-known Jewish historian. He was one of the organizers of the Jewish Association for History and Ethnography in St. Petersburg. In 1908-1913 he cooperated as editor of the historical section in publishing the Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia.

One cannot deny that pogroms have really occurred in Ukraine. As the result of the Russian Bolshevik invasion and of the temporary change of the seat of the government, anarchy prevails in the country. A complete loosening of discipline has the upper hand among the soldiers who are instigators of pogroms. Ukraine has suffered painfully by these horrible occurrences, and in all places where the successes of the National Army have restored the authority of the Ukrainian government, life and property are protected. By an order of the Ukrainian government, investigations have been set in operation and the guilty ones have been shot. Four Jewish representatives are taking part in the Pogrom Investigating Commission: Mr. Achad Haam, Mr. Ussischkin, Dr. Jochelman and Mr. Goldstein. Petlura, the head of the Ukrainian Directorate, has declared in his proclamation that he must call special attention to the assistance which is being rendered by the Jews in driving out the Bolsheviks and in supporting the Ukrainian Army as well as in aiding the wounded; he calls also upon the population to protect the Jews. Besides, the government has appropriated 20 million roubles for aiding the victims of pogroms.

Dr. Wischnitzer further denies that the Jews could expect much from Denikin or Koltchak. On the contrary, their victory and the reestablishing of the old regime would result in withdrawing the rights, which have been granted the Jews by the Ukrainian government. One ought not to trust Denikin's promises.

("The Jewish Chronicle," London, Sept. 12, 1919)

No. 14.

**Letter of Izrael Zangwill to the Ukrainian Government
(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

* *Eastern Europe* (Paris), Vol. 1, no. i, 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.

No. 15

**Excerpts from Solomon I. Goldelman's, *Zhydivs'ka Natsionalna Autonomia 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.⁶ During this military-political crisis

⁶ 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 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 –

a change of government also took place. Heading 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

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 Vinnytsia. SCR.

Jewish life like a brilliant comet and then disappeared without a 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 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.

Illustrations of Ukrainian Government's attitude toward its national minorities

ДЕРЖАВНИЙ КРЕДИТОВИЙ БІЛЕТ

ЛИЦЕВИЙ БІК



EMISSION 1917

100 KARBOVANTS NOTE

FACE

Випуск Української Центральної Ради в грудні 1917 р. Ориєнти оковані в стилі козацького барока. Художник: Г. Н. (Георгій Нарбут)

ДЕРЖАВНИЙ КРЕДИТОВИЙ БІЛЕТ

ЗВОРОТНИЙ БІК



EMISSION 1917

100 KARBOVANTS NOTE

BACK

Папір без водлих знаків. Серія випусків А. Д. 185. Друковано в Києві в літографії Кульженка. Особливості: 1) літографічний друк недосконалий, 2) помилка: „кредітовий” замість „кредитовий”, 3) зворотний бік надрукований низом вгору. Народня казка: „Горпинка”, „яєшня”, „жидівські гроші”.

Універсал Української Ради
Centralnej.

Українська Рада Української Центральної Ради, утворена 23 червня 1917 року, на захист українського народу, створена на захист українського народу, створена на захист українського народу...

Third Universal of the Central Rada, Broside, November 7, 1917 (old style) (left half: Ukrainian and Yiddish columns)

Third Universal of the Central Rada, Broside, November 7, 1917 (old style) (right half: Polish and Yiddish columns)

Універсал Української Центральної Ради.

Українська Рада Української Центральної Ради, утворена 23 червня 1917 року, на захист українського народу, створена на захист українського народу...

Універсал Української Центральної Ради.

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Third Universal of the Central Rada, Broside, November 7, 1917 (old style) (left half: Ukrainian and Russian columns)

Third Universal of the Central Rada, Broside, November 7, 1917 (old style) (right half: Polish and Yiddish columns)

ABSTRACTS

Книжка *Симон Петлюра і євреї* містить в собі статтю автора під цією назвою, що була опублікована в 1969 році в журналі *The Jewish Social Studies*, («Єврейські соціальні дослідження»), а також його «Лист до редакції» цього журналу, надрукований рік пізніше. Обидві публікації присвячені 1917-1921 рокам, складному періодові української історії, позначеному міжетнічними конфронтаціями, особливо між євреями та українцями. У висліді утворилися певні стереотипи, які не зникли по сьогоднішній день і які стоять на перешкоді до нормальних відносин між цими народами.

Найбільшим об'єктом і жертвою недокументованих обвинувачень у злочинних актах проти євреїв став Симон Петлюра, Голова українського уряду 1919-1921 років. У книжці наведено докази повної несправедливості таких обвинувачень. Навіть у свої юнацькі роки Петлюра підтримував євреїв, які боролися за свої права. Коли він став політичним діячем і почав брати участь в українських визвольних змаганнях, Петлюра не переставав захищати права меншин, зокрема євреїв, в Україні.

Документи, які наведені в другій частині книжки, показують, що не тільки Петлюра, але й увесь склад Центральної Ради демократично й гуманітарно ставився до всіх жителів України, незалежно від їхньої національності чи віросповідання. Найкращим прикладом такого ставлення може служити "Закон про національно-персональну автономію" національних меншин України, який був проголошений Центральною Радою 22 січня 1918 року.

У додатку подана інформація про найновіші дослідження та публікації про Петлюру, а також документація, знайдена в архівах колишнього Радянського Союзу, яка раніше була недоступна.

The book *Symon Petliura and the Jews* is based on the author's article of the same title which originally appeared in 1969 in *The Jewish Social Studies* as well as his "Letter to the Editors" published in the above journal a year later. Both works deal with the years 1917-1921, a complex period in the history of Ukraine intertwined with confrontations between various ethnic groups particularly the Jews and the Ukrainians. As a result there emerged certain stereotypes which to this day remain as obstacles to the normal relations between the two nations. The primary target of the undocumented accusations for alleged crimes against the Jewish people was Symon Petliura, the Head of the Ukrainian Government in 1919-1921. The book proves that nothing could be further from the truth. Even in his youth, Petliura was a supporter of the Jews who were fighting for their rights. When he became a

political leader fighting for the Ukrainian cause Petliura continued to support the rights of the minorities in Ukraine, particularly those of the Jewish people. The documents added to the second edition of the book demonstrate that not only Petliura but the entire Ukrainian Government had a democratic and humanitarian attitude toward the people of Ukraine, irrespective of their nationality or religion. The best example of this attitude is the "Law on National-Personal Autonomy" of the national minorities of Ukraine passed by the Central Council of Ukraine on January 22, 1918.

The Addendum contains the information on the latest research and publications on Petliura as well as the new documentation found in the archives of the former Soviet Union, hitherto inaccessible.

Le livre *Simon Petlura et les juifs* est basé sur un article de l'auteur du même titre qui paru pour la première fois en 1969 dans le journal *The Jewish Social Studies* ainsi que dans «Lettre aux Editeurs,» publiée dans le journal ci-dessus une année plus tard. Ces deux œuvres parlent des années 1917-1921, une période complexe dans l'histoire de l'Ukraine parsemée de conflits entre différents groupes ethniques, en particulier les juifs et les ukrainiens. En conséquence, certains préjugés ont émergé qui jusqu'à ce jour sont les obstacles à la normalization des relations entre ces deux nations.

La cible principale d'accusations non documentées d'actes criminels contre les juifs était Simon Petlura, le chef du gouvernement ukrainien dans les années 1919-1921. Le livre prouve que rien ne pourrait s'éloigner plus de la vérité. Même dans sa jeunesse, Petlura était un supporteur des juifs qui se battaient pour leurs droits. Quand il devint un leader politique combattant pour la cause ukrainienne, Petlura continua de supporter les droits des groupes minoritaires en Ukraine, en particulier ceux du peuple juif.

Les documents ajoutés à la seconde édition du livre démontrent que non seulement Petlura, mais en outre tout le reste du gouvernement ukrainien, avait une tendance humanitaire à l'égard des peuples d'Ukraine, quelles que furent leur nationalité ou leur religion. Le meilleur exemple de cette disposition se trouve dans «La loi d'autonomie nationale-personnelle» des minorités nationales d'Ukraine qui fut votée par le Conseil Centrale d'Ukraine le 22 Janvier 1918.

L'addendum contient des informations sur les plus récentes publications sur Petlura ainsi que les nouveaux documents trouvés dans les archives de l'ex-Union Soviétique, jusqu'à maintenant inaccessibles.

Das Buch, *Simon Petlura und die Juden*, basiert sich auf den gleichnamigen Aufsatz, der 1969 in der Zeitschrift *The Jewish Social Studies* veröffentlicht wurde, wie auch auf den Brief an die Herausgeber, der ein Jahr später in derselben Zeitschrift erschien. Beide Schriften behandeln die Jahre

1917-1921, die eine sehr komplexe Periode in der Geschichte der Ukraine darstellen, mit vielen Konflikten zwischen verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen, und besonders zwischen den Ukrainern und den Juden. Als Konsequenz davon haben sich einige Stereotypen entwickelt, welche bis heute Hindernisse zu normalen Beziehungen zwischen den zwei Nationen bilden.

Das Hauptziel dieser undokumentierten Anklagen and Vorwürfen von kriminellen Handlungen gegen die Juden war Simon Petlura, der Chef der ukrainischen Regierung in den Jahren 1919-1921. Dieses Buch beweist die Unwahrheit dieser Anklagen. Schon in seiner Jugend war Petlura ein Unterstützer der Juden, die um ihre Rechte kämpften. Als er zum politischen Leiter der ukrainischen Sache wurde, kämpfte er weiter für die Rechte der Minderheiten in der Ukraine, besonders für die des jüdischen Volkes.

Die Dokumente, die in die zweite Ausgabe des Buches eingegangen sind, beweisen, dass nicht nur Petlura sondern auch die ganze ukrainische Regierung eine demokratische und humanistische Einstellung gegenüber der Bevölkerung der Ukraine beibehielt, ohne jeglichen Bezug weder auf die Nationalität noch auf die Religion. Das beste Beispiel dafür ist "Das Recht der nationale-persönliche Autonomie der Minderheiten der Ukraine", das vom Zentralrat der Ukraine am 22. Januar 1918 verabschiedet wurde.

Das Addendum enthält Informationen über den letzten Stand der Petluraforschung und Publikationen wie auch neue Dokumente aus den Archiven der ehemaligen UdSSR, die bis jetzt dem Forscher unzugänglich waren.

El libro *Symon Petlura y los Judíos* está basado en el artículo del autor que lleva el mismo título, el cual apareció originalmente en 1969 en el libro *The Jewish Social Studies*, así como en su obra "Carta a los editores" publicada un año después en el libro recién mencionado. Ambos trabajos tratan de los años 1917-1921, un periodo complejo en la historia de Ucrania, entretejido con enfrentamientos entre varios grupos étnicos, particularmente entre los judíos y los ucranianos. Como resultado, emergieron ciertos estereotipos, los cuales permanecen hoy en día como obstáculos para mantener relaciones normales entre las dos naciones.

Symon Petlura, cabeza del gobierno ucraniano en el periodo 1919-1921, fue el blanco principal de las acusaciones indocumentadas de actos criminales cometidos contra los judíos. El libro prueba que nada podría estar más lejos de la verdad. Aún en su juventud, Petlura fue un defensor de los judíos que estaban luchando por sus derechos. Cuando él se convirtió en un líder político, defensor de la causa ucraniana, Petlura continuó apoyando los derechos de las minorías en Ucrania, en particular, los de la gente judía.

Los documentos agregados a la segunda edición del libro, demuestran que no sólo Petlura, sino también que el gobierno ucraniano entero tenía una

actitud democrática y humanitaria hacia la gente de Ucrania independientemente de su nacionalidad o de su religión. El mejor ejemplo de esta actitud es "La ley de autonomía nacional-personal" de las minorías nacionales de Ucrania aprobada por el Consejo Central de Ucrania el 22 de enero de 1918.

El addendum contiene información basada en la última investigación y publicaciones acerca de Petlura, así como la nueva documentación encontrada en los archivos de la antigua Unión Soviética hasta ahora inaccesibles.

Книга *Симон Петлюра и евреи* содержит статью автора под этим названием, опубликованную в 1969 году в журнале *The Jewish Social Studies* («Еврейские социальные исследования»), а также его «Письмо в редакцию» этого журнала, напечатанное в следующем году. Оба издания посвящены 1917-1921 годам, сложному периоду украинской истории, отмеченному междуэтническими конфронтациями, особенно между евреями и украинцами. В результате возникли определённые стереотипы, которые сохранились до сегодняшнего дня и мешают созданию нормальных отношений между этими народами.

Главным объектом и жертвой недокументированных обвинений в преступных действиях против евреев стал Симон Петлюра, глава украинского правительства 1919-1921 годов. В книге приведены доказательства полной несправедливости таких обвинений. Уже в свои юные годы Петлюра поддерживал евреев, боровшихся за свои социальные права. Когда он стал политическим деятелем и начал принимать участие в украинском освободительном движении, Петлюра не переставал защищать права национальных меньшинств, в частности евреев, на Украине.

Документы, представленные во второй части книги, свидетельствуют о том, что не только Петлюра, но и весь состав Центральной Рады демократически и гуманно относился ко всем жителям Украины, независимо от их национальности или вероисповедания. Наилучшим примером такого отношения может служить «Закон про национально-персональную автономию» национальных меньшинств Украины, принятый Центральной Радой 22 января 1918 года.

В приложении подана информация про новейшие исследования и публикации, связанные с Петлюрой, а также документация, найденная в архивах бывшего Советского Союза, ранее недоступная.

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