

**MY MEETINGS  
AND  
DISCUSSIONS IN ISRAEL**

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**(Are Ukrainians “traditionally anti-Semites”?)**

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**UKRAINIAN SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST  
New York — London — Toronto . . . . . 1982**

## **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**



Petro Mirchuk was born in 1913 in Western Ukraine, which was occupied by Poland between World War I and World War II. After receiving his High School diploma, he studied law and political science at a Polish J. K. University in Lviv, and at the German and Ukrainian Free University in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He received his J.D. degree in 1941 from the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. In 1959 he added an MLS from Drexel University in Philadelphia, Pa., and in 1969 a Ph.D. from the U.F. University in Munich, Germany.

He has been a member of the Ukrainian underground liberation movement, since he was seventeen, and as such was imprisoned six times by the Polish occupation authorities. In 1939, when Russia occupied Western Ukraine, he fled West. He returned in 1941 when the German army entered the USSR and took part in the attempted restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian nation, but was caught by the Gestapo in September, 1941. As one of the leaders of the Ukrainian anti-Nazi movement, he was sent to and held in several concentration camps until May 6, 1945 ( in Auschwitz from July 1942 till



*The author on arriving in the concentration camp at Auschwitz, July 1942*

January 19, 1945). His experience in the Nazi concentration camps he describes in his *IN THE GERMAN MILLS OF DEATH* (Vantage Press, 1976).

Liberated by the American Army, in 1952 he immigrated to the United States and was naturalized as a citizen in 1957. In the U.S., he worked at several Universities as librarian and teacher of political science. Now he is retired.

He married in 1946, and has three sons. One of them is a Ukrainian Catholic priest.

Petro Mirchuk has authored over twenty books in Ukrainian, among them the first history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA (1953, 320 pp.), the first history of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, OUN (1968, 639 pp.) and a socio-political study of a Ukrainian uprising in 1768, called Haidamaks (*KOLIIVSCHYNA*, 1973, 319 pp.).

He is a member of many scientific and social organizations. He is also a member of the *Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Collaboration*, and an honorary member of the *Jewish Identity Center*, and *The Chapel of Four Chaplains*.



## **THE PROBLEM OF JEWISH-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS**

Jews have lived on Ukrainian soil for over a thousand years if one considers the Khazars Jews. Jews from Palestine came to Ukraine via Western Europe about six centuries ago. In any event, there has been ample time for good neighborly relations to develop between the indigenous population and the Jewish immigrants.

Relations between the enslaved nation and the immigrant oppressors, as in the case of the Poles and Russians, is entirely different from the relations between the indigenous population and peaceful immigrants such as the Greeks, the Serbs and Bulgarians along the Black Sea strip or the Czechs, Germans and Byelorussians in the northwest. These peaceful immigrants either slowly became "ukrainianized" or preserved their ethnic heritage without causing conflict with the autochthonous Ukrainian population.

Neither in ancient times, in Kievan Rus nor in the fourteenth century nor thereafter did Jews come to Ukraine as conquerors or occupiers. They came to seek shelter, fleeing from Western Europe's savage persecution. They should have quickly established good-neighborly relations with the Ukrainian population, and earned its respect, as did the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Czechs and Germans who emigrated to Ukraine.

It turned out quite differently, however. Why? Who was at fault? Was it the landlords, who could not and cannot please uninvited guests or was it perhaps the "guests", who behaved in such a fashion that the hosts' patience was sorely tried?

Professor Stefan Possony, a researcher at the Hoover Institute in Stanford, California, in his work on "plural relations" focused on the problem of Jews in Ukraine and came to this conclusion:

“Insofar as the Jews are concerned, they seem to be persuaded, in an overwhelming majority, that the Ukrainians are incurably anti-Semitic. Hence Jewish organizations have repeatedly engaged in strong anti-Ukrainian propaganda. Thus, the traditional roles are reversed: the Jews who usually are targets of hostile propaganda are cast in the role of persecutors of the Ukrainians. This is not to say that Jewish propaganda against Czarist and Communist Russian anti-Semitism and against German Nazism was weak or non-existent. The difference is that the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis was an indisputable fact, while that of anti-Semitic persecution by Ukrainian governments is not; and that Communist Russian anti-Semitism which is real enough has been acknowledged only after much hesitation and delay, and somehow is but rarely taken seriously.” (*Ukrainian Quarterly*, Summer 1975, p. 139-140.)

As to the accusations of Jewish “pogroms” by Ukrainians during the period of Khmelnytsky, Professor Possony affirms in his thesis:

“Massacres were frequent during the period, which is that of the Thirty Years War. The massacres and sack of Magdeburg in 1631 was most terrible. The outrage was perpetrated by troops under the command of Jan Tilly who is not blamed for the crime but is regarded as innocent”.

Professor Possony also remembers, that in the times of Khmelnytsky's battles, the most terrible pogrom of the Jews was caused in Lublin by the Polish Army. But the Jews stubbornly reserve antagonistic blame for anti-Semitism and pogroms for Ukrainians.

In 1961 a distinguished Jewish journalist, in a thesis, “Ukrainians and Jews”, wrote:

“On June 18, 1961, Israel's President Issac Ben-Zvi received 150 representatives of Ukrainian Jewry now resident in the Jewish State. Himself born in Ukraine, where he organized the first Jewish self-defense unit at Poltava to protect the local Jewish community from a wave of Russian anti-Semitic pogroms, in 1905, the President was proud to see top Israeli Cabinet ministers, scientists, poets, writers, educators, statesmen,





parliamentary leaders and army generals among the 150 Ukrainian Jews invited to his residence in Jerusalem.

Mr. Ben-Zvi stressed again and again that the contribution of Ukrainian Jewry to Israel's growth and development cannot be overestimated. The Ukrainian Jewry, the President declared, was the spearhead of modern Zionism which redeemed the Holy Land from twenty centuries of neglect and oppression and gave the dispersed and persecuted Jews firm soil under their feet." (*Ukrainian Quarterly*, v. XVII, No. 2, 1961 p. 107).

It would seem that if those 150 leading Jewish intellectuals, who were born and raised in Ukraine, couldn't have freely nurtured and developed their culture and preserved their traditions in any other country in the world, then out of gratitude for the hospitality of Ukraine they would defend the good honor of the Ukrainian nation against the malicious and hostile blame for "traditional anti-Semitism" and pogroms.

But — vain expectations!

With the exception of an exemplary few, who initiated joint relations with Ukrainians in the free world, this new wave of Jews from the Ukraine continued to fanatically blame Ukrainians for traditional anti-Semitism, and were still preoccupied with Jewish pogroms.

Within the past two years, Ukrainian-Jewish relations have been evolving in two opposite directions. On the one hand, Ukrainian-Jewish and Jewish-Ukrainian associations such as the Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation societies in Israel and in the U.S. have been established. On the other hand, Jewish anti-Ukrainian activities have proliferated especially in the U.S. Hostile Jewish authors in their articles, pamphlets and books represent Ukrainians as "historical and unrelenting" anti-Semites. The United States Special Investigation Commission of the Department of Justice, created for uncovering and prosecuting "war criminals", has under pressure of Jewish extremists groups taken on a character of a Jewish "Holy Inquisition" bent on a witch hunt among the Ukrainian immigrants in the United States.

Ukrainians, especially those with a higher education, who settled in the United States after World War II accepted Jewish-

Ukrainian cooperation with enthusiasm. Dr. Stern, who came from Israel to visit and lecture within Ukrainian communities in the U.S., was better received than, for example, the Ukrainian political prisoner Karavansky and his wife. Dr. Stern, however, had lived in the USSR, but had in no way associated himself with the Ukrainian national struggle and national rights movement. One of the Ukrainian insurance organizations immediately assigned him several thousand dollars as a gift. He was paid for each lecture appearance and, in addition, a book about him was published and sold for him. Almost all Ukrainian ethnic "centers" try for the most part to establish contact with Jewish-Ukrainian societies. There was even no lack of Ukrainian "politicians" and "scholars" who were ready to publicly accept as truth the Jewish accusations of the Ukrainian nation's "traditional anti-Semitism", to publicly beat their breast and to beg forgiveness...

What was the Jewish response? Did at least one Jewish-Ukrainian society in the U.S.A., or at least one Jewish intellectual or political activist, dare to publicly come forward in the media against Jewish attacks on Ukrainians? In light of the judicial proceedings against Ukrainians for "war crimes" (because, supposedly, they were antisemitic and forty years ago were in the Ukrainian police), the largely Jewish-dominated American media was frenzied by the attacks on Ukrainians. Young Jewish Nazis noisily demonstrated against suspected (not convicted, merely suspected!) forty-year-old wrongs inflicted on any of the Jews, stressed that the accused was Ukrainian! Even the first in a series of trials for "war crimes", that of Fedorenko, was incessantly designated as Ukrainian, even though he is a "Soviet" man, and has never revealed anywhere that he was Ukrainian. He was taken prisoner as a soldier of the Soviet army, volunteered for service in the German police at the appeal of Russian General Vlasov, came to the U.S. as a Russian through the efforts of the Tolstoy Foundation, belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church, and, finally, after the conviction, volunteered to return to the U.S.S.R., since earlier he had traveled from the U.S.A. to the U.S.S.R. But for anti-Ukrainian propaganda he was Ukrainian.

The Jewish journalist, Davidovich, moreover, published an anti-Ukrainian diatribe in the New York Times, in the same, exact style as the Hitlerian Schturmer once wrote against the Jews. Yet there was not one public voice on the part of the Jews in defense of Ukrainians, against the unprovoked Jewish attacks. Nonetheless, an old-country mocking Jewish proverb unintentionally comes to mind: "Ivan is mad for Sally, And at her feet he'll lay, But Sally will not deign to give him a "Good Day"...

Surprised by this state of Jewish-Ukrainian relations, Ukrainians are attempting to explain that this is an implacable anti-Ukrainian tendency of the Jews in the U.S. In Israel, however, the Jews have sobered up in their treatment of Ukrainians, and are seeking contact with Ukrainians for collaboration against a mutual enemy — Moscow. Proof of this, so to speak appearance of societies for Jewish-Ukrainian team-work. As proof of this resolution, the Ukrainian press stated as fact, that "this is the first time in the history of modern Ukrainian-Jewish mutual relations that the government of Israel invited three Ukrainians from Chicago as guests of Israel, and they were met there with a very warm reception."

Is this actually so? The right answer could be given only by a private trip to Israel in order to verify this in person, through meetings and conversations with various people.

## **THE MATTER OF THE METROPOLITAN OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ANDRIJ SHEPTYTSKY**

Another matter to be clarified by a trip to Israel was that of Andrij Sheptytsky. Specifically, the question arises as to why have the moving forces behind Israel not yet acknowledged — and do not wish to acknowledge — Metropolitan Sheptytsky's title of "righteous" in order to officially express the gratitude of the entire Jewish nation for the fact that, in Europe during the time of the German occupation, the Ukrainian Metropolitan alone wrote separate letters to Hitler and Himmler, protesting the savage persecution and destruction of the Jews. Following this, at his residence in Lviv, in the underground of St. George's Cathedral, he saved the lives of over ten rabbis and their families and entrusted all Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns to help Jews and to save their lives.

The heroic stand of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and his humanitarian actions on the behalf of the Jews is widely known even among the Jews themselves. The Jewish scholar, Leo Heiman, in his article published by the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Winter, 1961, p. 325, draws on the evidence of Rabbi Dr. David Kahana:

"I am willing to swear on the Bible that Count Sheptytsky was one of the greatest humanitarians in the history of mankind, certainly the best friend the Jews ever had. And I am saying this not only because he saved my wife, my child and myself, and not only because he was instrumental in rescuing other Jews from certain death. Please understand me and examine not only Count Sheptytsky's deeds, but also his motives. When I met him, he was already an old man, broken in body but not in spirit. Well over 80 years old, paralyzed and on the verge of death, he certainly did not seek any "respectability insurance" or political gain. He

was well past that. If the Nazis found Jews hiding in a church or monastery, they shot all the priests and monks and either burned the building or turned it into a barracks for their troops. And if the Metropolitan was willing to risk his priests, nuns and churches, he was moved by true undiluted Christianity, by love of our Jewish people, and by a sense of national responsibility.”

The actions of Andrij Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, are attested to by another Rabbi, Dr. Curt Levin, who also owes his life to the Ukrainian Metropolitan.

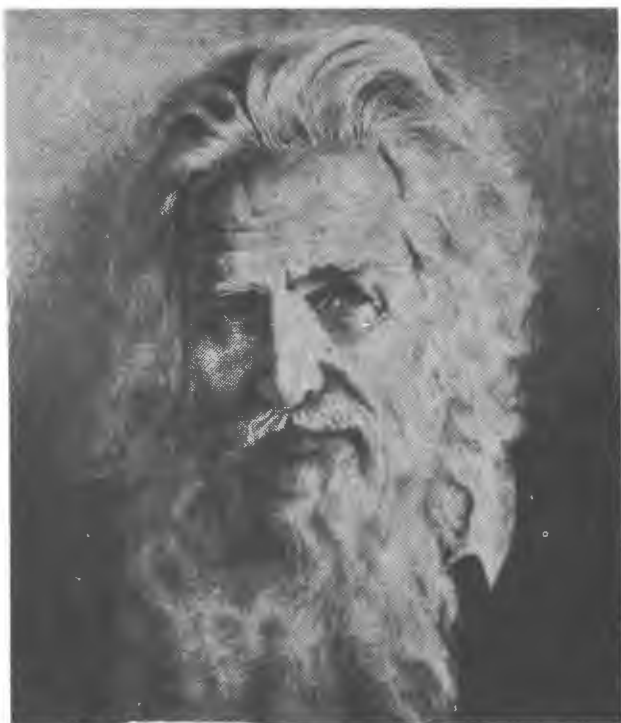
“Israel had few friends in its hour of need. The local people were indifferent to the fate of the Jews. Few showed any compassion, and even fewer made an attempt to help. But in their hour of need, the Jews did find a friend in His Excellency, the Metropolitan Andrea Sheptytsky...”

“The Metropolitan’s residence was a small baroque palace, opposite the Cathedral... The door was always open to anyone who cared to enter... Occasionally a Jewish delegation sent by one of the communities located near the Metropolitan’s estates, sat waiting to ask for a donation to a Jewish charity. In fact the synagogues of some of these little towns were built with lumber donated by the Metropolitan...”

“The Jews responded with respect and deep affection. Whenever the Metropolitan visited a township or village, he was met by the Ukrainian community led by its priest and by the rabbi and the elders of the Jewish community...”

“Throughout the German occupation he helped and sheltered Jews, restrained members of his Church in the name of Christ. He published a pastoral letter pertaining to Jews, entitled appropriately “Thou shalt not kill”... The Metropolitan Andrea went so far as to send a letter of protest to the “Hangman of Europe” Heinrich Himmler...”

“But most important of all, he gave moral support to those whom they (Metropolitan, Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns) hid, and hunted Jews deprived of every human right and stripped of any sort of protection, were made to feel wanted and thus allowed to regain faith in humanity. And those monks, nuns and priests kept faith by their silence. For two long years no outsider



**Andrew Count Sheptytskyj (1865-1944)  
Metropolitan of Halychyna (Galicia) from 1900 till 1944.**

*Of all the church leaders in Nazi-occupied Europe, only Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytskyj openly spoke out in defense of the Jews. As the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, he sent an official letter to Hitler and Himmler protesting the destruction of the Jews. In a special Pastoral Letter addressed to his Ukrainian faithful, he strongly forbade them — under pain of excommunication — from participating or helping in the destruction of Jews. At the same time, he issued secret instructions to his secular and monastic clergy, ordering them to help the Jews by hiding them, feeding them and smuggling them out of the country. One of the rabbis whose life was saved by Metropolitan Sheptytskyj, himself stated: "Andrew Sheptytskyj deserves the undying gratitude of the Jews and the honorific title 'Prince of the Righteous'." But....*

knew about the Jews who were hidden in each and every cloister and even in the Metropolitan's private residence."

On the basis of such testimonies given by the Jewish rabbis themselves about the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Andrew Sheptytsky, it would seem that when the Museum of the Holocaust, "Yad Vashem", was created in Jerusalem, and began to designate by name those "righteous" who saved Jewish lives during Hitlerian Germany's destruction of Jews, one of the first to be acknowledged would have been Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, and those Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns, who, due to the charge of their great Metropolitan, saved the lives of hundreds of Jews, at the risk of death on the gallows for their aid.

Astonishingly enough, this has not happened. Although hundreds of saplings have already been planted in the "Garden of the Righteous" in Yad Vashem and many are planted daily, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky and the countless Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns in his charge have neither received the title of "righteous" nor have any trees been planted in their honor. On the contrary, a majority of Yad Vashem Commission members oppose this.

Why?

The answer to this question could be obtained only by a direct, personal meeting and exhaustive conversations with the Yad Vashem Committee members in Jerusalem. That is why I set out there on October 13, 1981, for three weeks.

### **BEFORE THE JOURNEY**

I talked about my travel plans to Israel with the head of the Society of Jewish-Ukrainian Collaboration, Mr. Yacob Suslensky, during the time of his stay in the U.S. His association had already accepted me as a member earlier, but with certain reservations. These he expressed in his lectures in the U.S. At a private meeting he personally explained to me that he neither cared for my appearances in U.S. trials of suspected collaborators nor for my article in the press in defense of tried Ukrainians. The article clearly elucidates that it was not Ukrainians, but

actually Jews, who collaborated with German Nazis in the destruction of Jews. Jewish “Judenrats”, Jewish police, Jewish informers, and the “Sonder-kommando” composed of just young Jews in concentration camps.

“Why speak of this?” he inquired with dissatisfaction. “The Israeli press, which does not wish to present anything good about Ukrainians, presented this straightaway as evidence of Ukrainian anti-Semitism.”

“But did I really say something that is untrue? Was this not indeed as I testified? Where is there any anti-Semitism?”

“It’s true, but better not mentioned, in order not to provoke the Jews.”

“Why do the Jews, then, not just verbally but in the press, attack Ukrainians, and, in addition, take advantage of their influence in the U.S.A. to make sacrificial goats of Ukrainians as “war criminals”, in order to show America again and again how Jews were destroyed in wartime Europe? For Ukrainians did not do this.”

“Well, these are isolated incidents, and don’t pay any attention to them.”

“How so? When Jews are attacking Ukrainians and provocatively defaming them, then Ukrainians should not pay attention to this — and when Ukrainians defend themselves and reveal the unpleasant truth to the Jews, then this is anti-Semitism, this irritated the Jews and must not be done. This attitude eliminates cooperation with Jews as “equal to equal” but actually gathers “Sabathgoys” for exploitation by the Jews for their purposes. I regard a clearing up of the atmosphere as a prerequisite for sincere cooperation by way of a candid discussion of the conflictory situation. This is my stand and only in accordance with it will I be active for the betterment of Jewish-Ukrainian relations. If this is agreeable to you, I will remain a member of the Association, and if not, then cross me out immediately from your list of members.”

“I respect your stand,” answered J. Suslensky, “and I repeat the invitation to come to us in Israel. There will be a better chance to mutually understand each other.”



## I S R A E L

By way of introduction, I will briefly give the general characteristics of modern Israel as a government and nation.

Foreign tourists — including Ukrainians — who visit Israel today in large numbers are mainly pilgrims who tour the “Holy Land”; that is, old Jerusalem, Calvary and several other well-known sites of the New Testament. Descriptions of these places have frequently appeared in the press and other publications; therefore, that part will be omitted in my report.

The modern State of Israel was formed in 1948. Before the first World War, Palestine, which in ancient times existed as the Jewish state of “Israel”, was under Turkish domination. In 1917, when England was at war with Turkey, it announced the so-called “Declaration of Balfour”: Palestine, upon its recovery from Turkey, would become a Jewish nation. The League of Nations supported this declaration in 1922, and in 1923, a League of Nations mandate turned Palestine over to England for a 25-year administration.

During those 25 years, however, the Jews had no chance to turn Palestine into a Jewish state. Their plans met with strong Arab opposition and the British desired no conflict with the Arabs. In May of 1948, Britain’s mandate ended and on May 14 of the same year, the Jews announced the creation of an independent Jewish state of Israel. This resulted in the first Jewish-Arab war, which was ended by the intervention of the United Nations. By UN decision, Palestine was divided into a Jewish section under the name of Israel, and an Arab section became a part of Trans-Jordania — under the new name Jordan.

The city of Jerusalem was divided into "East" (Arab) and "West", or new Jerusalem (Jewish). In accordance with the UN decision, all Jerusalem should have been international territory but, at the proclamation of Israel's independence, the Jews announced Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Actually, the capital city was Tel Aviv but after the 1967 seizure of eastern Jerusalem, the Israeli government proclaimed all Jerusalem as the indivisible capital of Israel.

Israel's territory occupies an area of 8,000 square miles, approximately the same as the state of New Jersey; of this, more than half is occupied by the near-desolate Negev Desert. The northern part — (the fundamental part of Israel) is also arid, with calciferous mountains and hills, which even today turn green primarily during the rainy season. There are few mineral deposits and no oil springs at all. Up until the time of Israel's formation, only small areas near Nazareth, Bethlehem, and by the sea, lent themselves to productive agriculture; the rest was utilized for sheepherding. But Israel, the Jews say with pride, worked three wonders: they built up an exemplary agriculture, organized the best army in the world, and returned national pride to the Jews, along with a belief in their own power.

The rich waters of the Sea of Galilee, which for eons had calmly flowed to the Dead Sea, must work for the nation's agriculture: by way of concrete, iron and plastic pipes. The lake waters are dispersed throughout all of Israel. The amount for each household is regulated automatically by computers. Thanks to this, the entire ocean shoreline is abloom with fruit trees, mainly grape and orange orchards and agricultural fields. Through the latest technology, the land is covered with modern roads and wonderfully spacious cities.

Industry is expanding. For example, the diamond industry which cuts and facets imported South African diamonds is the largest in the world. Atomic reactors have been built for producing electricity.

This imposing expansion is due largely to the strong financial assistance of the Jewish communities in the U.S., and the U.S.

Government.<sup>1)</sup>

In spite of this, however, the country is in economic trouble. Taxes are high, and the currency is falling in value at an annual rate of 130 percent (which is why, at first, there were "Israeli pounds", then "liras", and now "shekels"). The social welfare system is outstanding, but it is also a burden on government finances. The national debt — five billion dollars (proportionate to the population is identical to that of Poland).

The population of Israel itself is about four million. Of this there are two million eight hundred thousand Jews, and a million, two hundred thousand Arabs. According to the constitution, the Arabs are fully privileged and equal to the Jewish citizens of Israel. Arabic is Israel's second language.

In the 1967 War, Israel occupied the Gaza Strip and the sub-Jordanian section of Jordan which the Jews call Galilee and Samaria. From Syria, Israel captured the Golland Heights. Although this seizure of parts of Old Palestine enlarged Israel's territory and more importantly established its borders along the Jordan River and safeguarded the Golland Heights, it also added 1.3 million to Israel's Arab population.

The seizure of Trans-Jordania on the western shores of Jordan was accepted by the Jews as a liberation of the ancestral

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<sup>1)</sup> Mr. Dan Morgan, from *Washington Post Service*, gives the following facts: "This year the Israeli government will spend \$5.5 billion on defense. One out of three dollars will come from the U.S. Treasury... Without spare parts, Israel's military machine would grind to a halt. It gets \$500 million worth of those parts from 15,000 U.S. companies... Theoretically, Israel's budget of \$20 billion — which includes \$5.5 billion in defense expenditures — is balanced. But that balanced budget is possible only because of American aid (which includes \$785 million in economic assistance in addition to \$1.8 billion in military grants... If all the U.S. aid was divided among the four million Israelis, each would get about \$600..." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 23, 1982, p. 15-A). And, reporting the Israel's reaction on the Reagan's peace plan, the American journalist recalls: "The United States provides Israel with nearly \$1 billion a year in economic aid, without which the Israeli economy would collapse." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 3, 1982, p. 15-A). And in his edition of Oct. 9, 1982, The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that for 1983 Israel requested From the U.S. "\$1.96 billion in military aid, and \$1.22 billion in economic aid."

Jewish land, given to them by Jehovah. For this reason, the Jewish attitude is without exception, never to surrender it to the Arabs.

This has, however, created difficult external and internal political problems. Even Israel's best ally, the U.S., refuses to acknowledge this interpretation and supports the Arab demand, that this territory be returned to the Arabs. On this basis, a widening conflict has arisen between Israel and the U.S. Now the question of this territory has become an especially painful problem for Israel and is passionately discussed in the Israeli press, in politics and privately. On one hand, the Jews are all in agreement not to surrender, and on the other, they fear a rift with the U.S., without whose assistance the Israeli economy would collapse.

A burning question in Israel today is what to do with the Arab population of this territory. If there is official recognition of Galilee and Samaria as integral Israeli territory, then they would be Israeli citizens with full civil rights. In terms of numbers, together with the Arab population of Israel proper (1.2 million) they would constitute an Arab minority of 2.5 million which is almost equal to the Jewish population of 2.8 million. To the latter we should add the 300,000 Jews who reside permanently in the U.S. and hold dual U.S. and Israeli citizenship.

The Arab population increase is twice that of the Jewish. Furthermore, the flow of Jews to Israel has dwindled: in the past five years, twice as many emigrate from Israel, as immigrate. Of those who come from the U.S.S.R., less than a third remain in Israel. The rest speedily depart for the U.S. or elsewhere. At this rate, Jews will soon be a minority in Israel.

What can be done?

What if Israel had to allow the return to its territories of even a fraction of the three million Arabs who were expelled upon the formation of a new Israeli state?

The New York Rabbi Dr. Kahane — who holds dual, U.S. and Israeli, citizenship and is the founder of the JDL (Jewish Defense League) has a simple solution. He proposes to banish all the Arabs. Dr. Kahane feels the world would raise a fuss and then

get used to it. This is appealing to Jews but in the current situation it is not only impossible to realize or to even covertly discuss, since it is not in Israel's interests. This is why Dr. Kahane asked the Israeli government for a timely reunion with the U.S.

This problem is becoming more acute and continues to be ardently discussed, all the more in that the Jews are fully aware that even those Arabs who have been citizens since 1948 evidence visible hostility toward the Jews.

The following is an episode that serves as an illustration of the Arab stance: I was sitting in a restaurant, wearing a short-sleeved shirt, when one of the Arabs who was present noticed a number from Auschwitz on my arm.

"Are you a Jew?" — he asked me, astonished that I was speaking neither Hebrew nor English with my wife and son.

"No," I said, "I'm Ukrainian. In German concentration camps there were Ukrainians and other Christians. Do you know anything of all this?"

"I do," said the young Arab. "During the Second World War Hitler destroyed six million Jews and we, the Arabs, will now destroy 12 million of them."

I smiled in surprise. "Isn't that too many? In all the world there are 12 million Jews and here in Israel only three."

"We know this. That's why I said we'd destroy 12 million, so that not one would be left alive in the entire world!"

Another burning issue is the peace with Egypt.

Egypt's President Sadat, through the brilliant maneuver of a peace proposition, took Israeli politicians, including Begin, by surprise. The U.S., however, intervened in the matter, and before Begin realized what was happening, in spite of his heroic stubbornness in Camp David, he was forced to agree to surrender the Sinai to Egypt in exchange for Egypt signing the treaty with Israel.

In view of Israel's difficult situation, that of being surrounded by the hostile Arab world, the peace treaty with a recognition of Israel by Egypt seemed at first glance to be a success for Israel and a breakdown of the united Arab front. However, the Jews eventually began to critically analyze this step.

To seize all of the Sinai and retain it forever as a part of Israel was a Jewish dream. Strategically, the Sinai is an ideal buffer for Israel against Egypt. Given the opportunity and holding the Canal's western shores, Israel could have eventually become co-owner of the Suez Canal and taken advantage of the revenue derived from it.

It was revealed, moreover, that the Sinai has considerable deposits of naphtha, which are much needed by Israel. All this would be lost when the Sinai returned to Egypt. At what price a peace treaty? What significance do treaties have in today's world? Egypt wants peace until it gets all of the Sinai back. When it does, it can break the treaty.

It is difficult to return the last of the Sinai now that it has two of the most modern Jewish military airports. Must they be returned untouched? The general idea is to take everything that can be taken, destroy the rest, and return only bare cliffs. As an incentive, the U.S. promised Israel two billion dollars for the building of similar airports on Israel's territory on the condition that the Sinai airfields were turned over untouched to Egypt.

In addition, U.S.-Israeli relations have recently become an excruciating problem for Israel. Israel has grown economically, politically and militarily, thanks to the colossal assistance of the United States. American presidents have often reiterated that the U.S. has a "special obligation toward Israel". An Israeli politician expressed it thus: "Israel is unconquerable because it has a colony that is the travail of the world and is called the United States of America."

The decisive influence of the Jewish-American community in the U.S. is considerable. Currently, however, this influence has begun to fade. At the time of my stay in Israel, a significant test of power was occurring between those proposing unquestioned support for Israel and President Reagan. At issue was the sale of sophisticated jets to Saudi Arabia. In this test of strength, the Jewish lobby lost a significant round.

Israel accepted this with alarm and as a formidable warning that the United States and more specifically the Reagan Administration would in the case of U.S. national interest ignore Israeli

and Jewish-American demands especially with regard to the Arabs. This has thrown a menacing shadow over any future Arab-Israeli armed conflict. The question that is now being asked is: would the U.S. unconditionally support Israel against its Arab neighbors?

Israel has the best army in the world. It is the best-trained, thanks to a system which requires that every male between 18 and 21 years of age undergo a three-year army training and that every female undergo two-year training. Thanks also to the passionate patriotism of the entire Jewish youth. Thanks to gargantuan U.S. assistance, the Israeli Army is the best equipped.

In the Yom Kippur war, if it were not for the colossal, incredibly swift U.S. aid in modern tanks, airplanes and ammunition, the very existence of Israel would have been questionable. Such assistance to Israel by the United States is essential in every future war with the Arabs. Therefore, Israel could not afford an irate U.S. administration refusing it aid.

In Israel there are twenty-odd parties. They all disagree with one another in internal Jewish affairs. With regard to foreign affairs, however, they are all united. Small differences emerge only in questions of tactics.

All sides of the above-mentioned problems are presented in detail by the Israeli press, especially in the very well-edited, English-language daily, the "Jerusalem Post".

This overview gives a clear picture of the problems facing the Israeli state and touch on the very existence of Israel. Therefore, it is no wonder that among them there is no place for an interest in Ukrainian matters. The Israelis are a practical nation. They deal only with present powers. What can Ukrainians give them today? Actually, nothing. Anti-Ukrainian attitudes and actions, however, will certainly meet with the approval of the Russians, the Poles, and even the Hungarians and Rumanians. Ukrainians can also be used as a commodity of trade with the Kremlin.

Is Ukraine's position as a free nation in the future important? Undoubtedly, but when a free Ukrainian state should arise in the world arena, then, if it is within Israel's national

interest, Israel can then establish friendly relations.

The Ukrainians, on the other hand, would respond in kind, forgiving the past Israeli anti-Ukrainian stance. Afterall, didn't they forget, several days after the defeat of Hitler's Germany, all the wrong-doings and brutalities inflicted on Ukrainians by the Germans? The Ukrainians today would be glad to give back the Crimea to the Tartars, who for centuries pillaged Ukraine. Would they not search out the Tatars dispersed in Siberia in order to bring them back to the Crimea?...

Currently, however, Ukrainian affairs are not a priority in Israeli politics.

For clarity, I must refute the information given last year in the Ukrainian press in the United States that: "for the first time in the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations" the government of Israel invited three Ukrainians from Chicago to visit Israel. There was no such invitation for Ukrainian representatives from the government of Israel. The division of Israeli propaganda, in cooperation with the Jewish association in Chicago, organized a trip to Israel for 15 residents of Chicago, among whom there happened to be three Ukrainians. This is why they did not meet as Ukrainian "representatives" with anyone from the Israeli government.



## **“YAD VASHEM”**

In English, I would name this the “Museum of Martyrs”. So it is called by the Jews when they are asked about the literal meaning of “Yad Vashem”.

A rabbi, a professor of Hebrew Theology, explained to me that this is not so. Literally, it must be translated thus: “Yad”: arm, “Va”: and, “Shem”: name. Hence, the entire title is “Arm and Name”. These two words are taken from an Old Testament psalm, which tells how the Jews fell into hard Babylonian captivity and Jehovah cheered them: “You will lose, O Israel, both sons and daughters. But I will give you an arm (strength) and a name (glory) and your arm and your glory will be more important than sons and daughters.”

Therefore, these two words, incomprehensible to those who are unfamiliar with the psalm, are an involuntary remembrance that although millions of Israel’s sons and daughters died, the Jews still have the strong arm and name of the chosen people.

Yad Vashem occupies several hectares on the forefront of Jerusalem. The earlier-disused, rocky terrain has been smoothed out and transformed into a large plaza with several buildings which house the administration, museum, library, archives, mausoleum, a large obelisk and monuments on the spacious plaza, and the “Garden of the Righteous”. The latter is a row of saplings, planted for those who, at the risk of their own lives in Europe occupied by Hitler’s Germany, saved Jews. Beside each sapling is a plate with the name and surname of the “Righteous”, and his nationality or country. School children from all over Israel are brought to see “Yad Vashem”. The main, open rooms of the museum are filled with paintings and statistics of the holocaust in Hitler’s Germany.

While I was observing this section of “Yad Vashem”, two young students drew everyone’s attention. One was crying hysterically, and the other attempted to calm her.

I approached them and asked why she was crying.

"How can I look calmly at this? It was there, in Auschwitz, that my grandmother died, my grandfather, aunt, my uncles on both my father's and mother's side... This is terrible barbarism! Horror! For you perhaps, it's hard to believe this!... You can't imagine..."

"Not only can I imagine it, but I saw it with my own eyes, I personally experienced it," I said, and showed her the concentration camp number on my arm. She jumped up, threw herself on my neck and began to kiss me passionately.

"You were there? You're one of them? You yourself endured that hell?!..."

"Yes, but I'm not a Jew, I'm a Ukrainian."

She froze, not believing her ears. She recoiled; her arms fell.

"How so, Ukrainian? You were a prisoner, you have a number on your arm, and Ukrainians were with the S.S., helping the Gestapo murder Jews!"

She, her companion and others gazed at me with an expression of the utmost wonder and disbelief.

"You are, possibly, a Ukrainian-Jew; or your father or mother were Jewish..."

"No," — I said. "I am a full-blooded Ukrainian and all my ancestors from the time of Moses were full-blooded Ukrainians. You are the victims of anti-Ukrainian propaganda. Hitlerians conducted propaganda to the effect that the Jews murder a Christian boy every year, to use his blood for 'matzah'. And Russians and other Nazis conduct similar propaganda against Ukrainians, as if Ukrainians helped to murder Jews. I myself was in Hitlerite prisons and concentration camps for four years. There were thousands of Ukrainians like me and thousands of them died. The Germans destroyed, as you read here, six million Jews. Also three million Ukrainians. They shot Jews by hundreds and gassed them in concentration camps. They worked Ukrainians to death in the prison camps, shot them, publicly hung them in all the towns and cities of Ukraine..."

"I know that this is hard for you to believe. In America there are many who don't believe in the existence of a Jewish

“holocaust”. In California there is a so-called scientific American organization, which claims that the Germans never gassed nor shot a single Jew...”

I saw by the faces of everyone who was listening that truly they found it hard to accept as truth that which I told them. They looked at me as upon a creature from Mars. A Ukrainian — a four year-prisoner of Hitler’s prisons and concentration camps, with the brand of Auschwitz on his arm?... And there were thousands like him — **Ukrainians?**

The garden of the “Righteous” consists of rows of trees alongside and behind the main building. With my wife I carefully looked at the plates beside each tree, searching for Ukrainian names. We found only one inscription: “Ukraine”: name — Olena Viter. We analyzed the last name of those who are designated as being from “Poland” or the “USSR”. We noted names which appeared to be Ukrainian: Maria Babych, Olena Hryhoryshyn, Mychajlo Yatsuk, Theodor Kalinchuk, Domka Semeniuk, Ochrim Syrotchuk, Andrij Stanko, Wasyl Swystun, Isidor and Jaroslava Volosyanski, Bohdan Zahajkevich and family, Katerina Shevchenko. We also noted names, on the secretary’s list, of those nominated for having a tree planted: Lyachovich from Los Angeles, who saved the Jewish Dr. Yosi-povich, and Kachmar.

The director of the Secretariat’s office, Vera Pravsnitz, welcomed us very graciously, having seen the Auschwitz number on my arm. Upon hearing that I’m Ukrainian, she was startled and shook her head in disbelief. I explained briefly. She listened politely, and expressed a desire to help me. Ukrainians among the “Righteous”? No one had ever broached such a question to her, and she never thought about it. There is no separate heading for “Ukrainians”, since there was no need for it. Olena Viter clearly submitted “Ukraine”, and so it was written for her. Other than that no one else posed this question. She knew about the problem of the nomination of Metropolitan Sheptytsky as one of the “Righteous”, for several times there was talk of this in the Committee and the secretary saw active correspondence regarding this matter. She knew that Metropolitan Sheptytsky saved many

Jewish lives. But why he had not been named "Righteous" until now, she didn't know. Perhaps the director of the Eastern European Division, Dr. Livia Rotkirchen, would know.

I stopped in to see Dr. Rotkirchen. My reception was identical to that in the Secretariat's office: an affable smile and sympathetic courtesy, when she heard that I am a former "Auschwitzer", and saw the "number" on my arm — and consternation, when I told her I am Ukrainian.

"A Ukrainian? Well, then, we're neighbors, you're Ukrainian and I'm Rumanian, and both of us — Jews."

"No," I corrected her. "You are a Rumanian Jew but I am a Ukrainian Ukrainian. Possibly, you know a great deal about Ukrainians."

"Yes, I do, but unfortunately, nothing good. You know, I'm a Jew, and Khmelnytsky, the 'Hajdamaky', Petlura... and recently, the Ukrainian Police... I was born in Rumania and am now preparing a thesis about the destruction of Jews in Rumania; and I consistently encounter reported avowals of how the Ukrainian police helped German Nazis destroy the Jews."

"In Rumania? Ukrainian police in Rumania? How did the Ukrainian Police get there?"

"Well, you know that in Rumania, in Bukovina and Bessarabia, there are many Ukrainians: it was said, more than a million."

"And they always lived there? They always had their own government, their own police?"

"Well, no, it was Rumanian — Rumanian government and Rumanian police."

"And you didn't hear that Rumanians persecuted the Ukrainians, placed them in prisons?"

"Yes, I heard. You know, some Ukrainians were Nationalists, others Communists, some wanted to take back Bukovina and Bessarabia in order to attach it to an independent Ukraine, and others — to the U.S.S.R. So the Rumanians persecuted them. They trusted none of the Ukrainians."

"Interesting: they didn't trust them, didn't like them, persecuted them, but at the start of the German-Russian war, they imme-

diately created a Rumanian police from those very same Ukrainians, which they even called 'Ukrainian Police'? Didn't they fear that the Ukrainian police, now being armed with weapons, would avenge themselves on the Rumanians for their persecution?"

"Hmm... I never thought about that very deeply. I guess they weren't afraid, because the officials in the police were always Germans and Rumanians and the Ukrainians were only 'rank-and-file'."

"How in the world did they communicate? Ordinary Ukrainians knew neither the German nor Rumanian languages. And how is it that ordinary rankers, Ukrainians from the Ukrainian Police in Rumania, organized ghettos on Rumanian territory and exterminated Jews, while the Rumanian government allowed them to do this?"

"I have never been confronted with such questions before. But, you know, all Ukrainians are anti-Semitic. They always beat Jews in Galitsya, in Ukraine."

"For what? How can it be: Jews always liked Ukrainians, and Ukrainians beat them for that? Why?"

"I don't know. They taught us so in Jewish schools, they write thus in our books."

"And have you heard of the Ukrainian Metropolitan Sheptytsky?"

"Yes, I know, he saved many Jewish families from death at the hands of the Germans and he saved over ten rabbis."

"You have studied the matter of Jews in Rumania during the Second World War. Did the Rumanian Orthodox patriarch, the Rumanian Catholic Metropolitan, the bishop or at least one of the Rumanian priests compose written protests against the destruction of Jews by the Germans and Rumanians? Did they actively help the Jews, save their lives, risking their own lives as well as the existence of Rumanian churches?"

"No, I never heard of this, I never saw any documents that would verify this. On the contrary, we have documents to the effect that the Rumanian government and especially the Rumanian party, the "Iron Guard", helped Germans destroy Jews.

There, you see! And all the same, you say that it was not the Rumanian government nor the Rumanian 'Iron Guard' who hated the Ukrainians even more than the Jews, but the Ukrainians who, 'worse than the Germans', destroyed Jews. Why such Ukrainophobia.?"

"I don't know. I'm only repeating that which all Jews think and say of Ukrainians. I myself see before me, for the first time in my life, a Ukrainian who was a prisoner of Auschwitz. I believe you, when you say that there were thousands of Ukrainians such as yourself. It's just that I have never heard about it before.

"But you heard of Metropolitan Sheptytsky? Why don't the Jews talk about him. And here in Yad Vashem, you don't even want to thank him properly and acknowledge him as one of the "Righteous". His portrait should be here, in the first room of the museum, with the clear inscription that he, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was the only one in Europe who made written protests to Hitler and Himmler against the Jews' destruction; that he himself, and in his charge, hundreds of Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns saved Jewish lives at the risk of their own. Why isn't that here?!"

"I don't know. Talk about the matter of Sheptytsky with the Holocaust Committee, the director of Yad Vashem and his assistant director."

The director of Yad Vashem, Dr. Itzak Arad, and his assistant, Dr. Gideon Hausner, had a more clearly-defined anti-Ukrainian stance. Yet they were polite and restrained. The Auschwitz "disclosure" on my arm is a surprise to every Jew and stops anti-Ukrainian assailment. They do not differentiate — they say — among those who saved Jews, with regard to their nationality. If someone presented himself or herself as being Ukrainian, upon application for the title of "Righteous", then so it was inscribed on the plate beside the sapling.

Both of them remember, that on Olena Viter's plate, "Ukraine" is clearly stated, since she submitted it thus.

"Help us find those Ukrainians who saved Jewish lives, let

the rescued submit an announcement to acknowledge their saviors as 'righteous', and let those nominated clearly present themselves as Ukrainians. Demand that he or she be marked on their plate as 'Ukrainian' and so they will be. It will be good for all Ukrainians when here, in Yad Vashem, visitors will read how many Ukrainians actually saved Jews," I pleaded.

Both men, moreover, are familiar with the affair of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. This matter was already reviewed seven times by the Commission, but there never was any positive decision made. The reasons for this are best known by the head of the Commission, Dr. Moshe Beysky and his assistant, the head of Eastern European Affairs, Head Rabbi of Tel Aviv, Dr. David Kahana, but chiefly Rabbi Kahana.

### **ABOUT POLITICS, RELIGION AND SOME HISTORY**

David Kahana, Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv, met me in his modest but lovely villa on the outskirts of Tel Aviv. (The majority of countries, including the U.S. do not recognize the transfer of Israel's capital to Jerusalem. They still consider Tel Aviv the capital and maintain their embassies there). For half a day we had a lively discussion about politics, religion, history, and a few other topics. As a former Chief Rabbi of the Jews in the Polish Army, with the rank of Colonel, Rabbi Kahana speaks fluent Polish. Therefore, we conducted our conversation in Polish. He once knew the Ukrainian language but had forgotten it after forty years of not practicing it.

Already at the start he requested me to clearly pronounce and write his surname "Kahana", in order not to confuse it with the surname of New York Rabbi Kahane, vociferous both in the U.S. and in Israel:

"These are two different surnames, two different families, two different persons with very different characters, as well as political and religious views."

The purpose and goal of my visit were already known to him.

"Count Sheptytsky?" — The Rabbi stroked his beard with

visible emotion. "He was the noblest person that I have ever met in my entire life. If I were to believe in Christian saints, then the saint I'd believe in would be Count Andriy Sheptytsky. I wrote about this in my memoirs, published in the Hebrew language. He saved my life, the lives of over ten other rabbis and their families, and hundreds of Jews — from purely idealistic motives, humanitarian ones, from a love for man although he was Christian and the ones he saved at the risk of his own life, were — Jewish. One can importune that everyone was doing it for money, a reward of some sort, or the hope of capitalizing on this if the situation changed. But nothing like this can even be thought about Count Sheptytsky. In the declining years of his noble life he needed nothing for himself anymore: neither rewards, nor money, nor fame, nor speculations 'in case everything changed'. Such spiritually ethical giants appear in the history of mankind once in a thousand years. From the Jews, he deserves not only the title of 'Righteous' but, 'Prince of the 'Righteous'. He deserves not just one tree in Yad Vashem but a whole park in Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv and in all the holy cities of Israel. No one denies this. But —" The Rabbi stopped in his stream of honors and praises and rubbed his beard thoughtfully. — "But..." — he repeated . "

"I want to hear from you about this "But", I urged.

"The point is, that Count Andrej Sheptytsky was the Metropolitan, Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and you want us to give our highest honor not to **Count** Andrej Sheptytsky but to **Metropolitan** Andrej, Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, is that correct?"

"Yes, Rabbi! Did he not write protests against the Jews' destruction to Hitler, Himmler and others, not as 'Count Sheptytsky', but as the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church? He did not hide rabbis and other Jews as a 'count' in his noble estates but in the catacombs of St. George's Church and other Ukrainian monasteries; it was not as a 'count' that he commissioned Ukrainian priests, Ukrainian monks and nuns to save Jews, their wives and children, but as the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, their shepherd — and they gave their



allegiance to him only as their churchly leader, and not as a 'count', and followed him, ready to give up their lives on the German gallows."

"I know, and this is the gist of the matter: we cannot acknowledge that the Ukrainian Catholic Church helped Jews. It helped the Germans. All the Ukrainians collaborated, even your own Metropolitan. He wrote pastoral letters with appeals for Ukrainians to give up their contingents of food and wheat to the Germans, to go work in Germany and thus help Hitler win the war. Your Metropolitan commissioned his assistants, the then-rector J. Slipyj, to greet Governor Frank with bread and salt, when he came to Lviv with orders for the extermination of the Jews. This is why we can never give the title of 'righteous' to the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Andrej Sheptytsky, and we can never plant a tree in Yad Vashem. Never, never, never!" The Rabbi stood abruptly, overcome with emotion.

"Rabbi", I reminded him, "in this touchy question we must separate two issues: first, the thanks of the Jews to Metropolitan Sheptytsky for the rescue of hundreds of Jews, rabbis, men, women, children from death at the hands of the German Nazis; second — the question, of whether the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its Head, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, really 'collaborated' with the Nazis. Let us look calmly at the first question. To you, the Jews, it might seem that by bestowing the title of 'Righteous' on someone and planting a tree in Yad Vashem, you are doing him a favor and are granting him some kind of personal honor. But it seems to me, that it's a totally simple matter: do the Jews know how to thank someone, who at the risk of his own life saved the lives of Jews in terrible times? You, yourself, Rabbi, avowed at the beginning of our conversation that Sheptytsky saved Jews without regard for praises, honors, medals, diplomas.

"Yes, I said that, and say it again!"

"There, you see, he doesn't even need your 'Thank You'. But we, the Ukrainians, who obligated ourselves by the commission of our great Metropolitan, to respect a human being

even when he is a Jew, and therefore saved Jews from their terrible danger — we want to know, if the Jews can tell him, 'Thank You'".

"What do you mean, 'even if that person is a Jew'? What do you mean to say by that?"

"Only this: You as a rabbi know very well, that in accordance with your religion, Jews are 'God's children', whom Jehovah created and with whom He made various agreements. And non-Jews, 'Goyem', are something less.

The rabbi flinched and wanted to say something, but I stopped him.

"Rabbi! I am very familiar with this question, thanks to those Jews with whom I awaited our turn to die in Auschwitz. And you as a rabbi know this even better than I, so let's not try to fool one another. So that is your attitude to the idea of a 'human being'. The German Nazis reversed this: They were 'Urbarmenschen', and Jews were 'Untermenschen' of the lowest category, who ought to be destroyed. And our great Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky taught us, that all people are equal before God. All are his children alike and even the Jew, who was underrated and dishonored by the Germans, is also a person, whom he entrusted to our protection.

"I've already said it twice, and I say it a third time: Count Sheptytsky is the greatest humanitarian, for whom I have the highest praises and acknowledgements."

"And I tell you for the third time, that it was no Count, but the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who revealed unsurpassed heroism in the salvation of the Jews. In Europe, as you know, there is an overflowing abundance of counts, barons, princes. Can you name at least one among them, who selflessly, at the risk of his own life, saved Jews? However, let us return to our second question: In your opinion, how did the Ukrainian Catholic Church collaborate with German Nazis?"

"I already told you. The Metropolitan, and following him the priests, enjoined all Ukrainians to obey German commands, surrender contingents, go into slave labor..."

"And didn't you, the rabbis, call upon all Jews to obediently

perform the commissions of the German officials? Hitler, Himmler or Eichmann told you to create ghettos and you, the rabbis, called upon all Jews to obediently accomplish this. They commissioned you to herd all the Jews into the ghetto and you called upon all Jews to obediently go to the ghettos. They told you to create 'Judenrats' and a Jewish Police, you created them. The rabbis enjoined all Jews to obediently perform all the commands of the Judenrat and Jewish police even when it meant going to the gas chamber or facing firing squads."

The rabbi shifted uneasily in his chair:

"Oh, oh, and what were we supposed to do? We had to! Those were dreadful times. Death, everywhere death, what were we supposed to do?"

"And didn't death threaten Ukrainians for not obeying German commands? Ukrainians gave up contingents of wheat and went into slave labor to save themselves, other Ukrainians, and their own families from the gallows, and from firing squads. Who did you, the Jews, think to save by collaborating with the Nazis in the destruction of Jews? You knew very well that they would destroy even you, the rabbis. They weren't then yet destroying Ukrainians en masse".

"But they were destroying the Jews. All of them! Murdering them!"

"And you would have wanted Ukrainians to save you, and stand, unarmed, against German tanks, quick-fire, airplanes, exposing their families, themselves, the entire Ukrainian nation to death? Let the Ukrainians all die, just to save the Jews? We, the Ukrainians, created insurrectionary detachments who took up arms against the Germans. Why didn't you, the Jews, seize weapons to protect yourselves? From six million Jews in Europe, a Jewish army of a half-million could have been formed, and if Jewish girls were included, an army of a million."

"Where were we to get weaponry?"

"Where did the Ukrainians get it, then? At the outset, to take them from the Germans, as we did. And then the rest would be parachuted down by the English, Americans and Soviets. No one wanted to help us but the Jews would have received arms,

ammunition and money. Jewish commanders would have come from America, for in America there were then five million Jews and many of them were colonels, generals in the American army..."

The rabbi grasped his head.

"Oh, oh, oh, don't talk like that! Nobody helped us, nobody wanted to. Nobody! Everyone was against us! In Europe all are Christians and every Christian wanted the Jews to perish..."

### **"CHRISTIANITY IS AT FAULT..."**

"Rabbi," I wondered, "not only Ukrainians, but all Christians hate the Jews and are guilty of your misfortune?"

"Yes, all Christians. Christians from the very beginning of their existence became terrible anti-Semites. The apostle Paul incited and preached against Jews and desired our destruction."

"I read such a reproach in the book, "Destruction of the European Jews", by the Jew Ravel Gilberg, in which, at the beginning of the book, he compared excerpts from the writings of Luther and the decisions of the Catholic Church with the anti-Jewish decrees of Hitlerite Germany, with the conclusion that Hitlerite wrongs to the Jews were a continuance of the Christians' actions. But I thought that this was the imagining of a Jewish super-patriot. Now I hear the same from you, Rabbi! It seems that all of you think this."

"Apparently — because it's the holy truth! Christianity is guilty of the misfortunes of the Jewish nation!"

"Excuse me, Rabbi, but Christianity has existed for only two thousand years, and Jews were beaten and destroyed since the beginning of their existence. Ancient Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, the Philistines, Romans..."

"No, that was all the result of historical incidents: the land of Israel lies on the path between Mesopotamia and Egypt; therefore, the empires that existed in ancient times wanted to rule this land and demanded obedience from the Jews. The Jews revolted and bore the consequences. But neither the Romans, nor Babylonians, nor Assyrians nor Egyptians were anti-Semitic, they

didn't desire the Jews' destruction. But then the Christians proclaimed us Christ-killers, as the damned who should be destroyed because we, say the Christians, killed God. If we could kill God, how is God immortal?"

"Here, Rabbi, is a vital detail: The Christians say that the Jews 'killed God', or 'crucified Christ'.

"Isn't that the same thing? The Christians claim that Christ is God. And there is one God, correct?"

"Obviously! Every intelligent person believes that there is one God. But it is very interesting to hear this affirmation from a Jewish rabbi."

"Oh? And why is that?" The rabbi was greatly puzzled. "Everyone knows that the Jews were the first to start believing in one God."

"Not quite, Rabbi! Ancient Egyptian history teaches that the first acknowledger of an only and single God was the Egyptian pharaoh Akhnaton. Already for over a hundred years before Moses he introduced a binding faith in one God Aton, or Adon. It was from him that Moses acquired, a hundred years later, faith in one God and even inculcated the name 'Aton' into the Jewish religion as Adonai."

"So you're contradicting the Old Testament of the Holy Writ?"

"I've already told you, at the beginning of our conversation, that religion is one matter and science, knowledge — is another. As historians, we have to approach a given question from a scientific perspective. But let us return to the question of the Jews' faith in one God."

"Well, you probably can't deny that now!"

"Yes — and I have deep misgivings regarding that."

"Misgivings? Even now, you have misgivings?"

"You, the Jews, are constantly talking about your God, Adonai, Jehovah, or whatever you call him. Why? Isn't He the God of all nations? Does every nation have its own God? If you, the Jews, acknowledge such a faith, then this means that you don't believe in one God, but in as many Gods as there are nations in the world. If you truly believe in one God, then you

must believe that he is the God, Creator and Father of each nation and every single person. Every nation has only its own word, its own name for God and its understanding of God: who He is, what He is and what He demands from us. This, and only this, is believed by those who believe in one God.”<sup>1)</sup>

“We, the Jews, also believe this. Except that this one God personally conceived a liking for the Jews and selected them as his children, as his chosen nation.”

“That’s absurd. God is the Father of all nations, all people. How can a good father place one son above all others? Why?

The Rabbi was lost.

“This is a very complex theological question. In any case, I repeat: the Jews never killed any God, as the Christians claim.”

“But they crucified Christ, founder of the Christian religion.”

“That’s untrue! It wasn’t the Jews who crucified him, but the Romans, because Christ proclaimed himself the King of Judea, and Judea and the rest of the Jewish land was under Rome’s jurisdiction. The Roman Caesar appointed deputies for Judea. Roman law and Roman government decided everything. No one asked the Jews.”

“But the Roman deputy Pilate washed his hands and swore that he did not find Jesus guilty and the Jews cried: “Crucify him, crucify him, let his blood fall on us and on our children!”

“No, no!”, the rabbi denied passionately. “All this is Christian imagination. This became the source of anti-Semitism. It’s high time that the Pope threw out these imaginings from Christian books, because anti-Semitism started from this. To punish the Jews who rose against Rome, the Romans only drove them from Palestine. It wasn’t until three hundred

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<sup>1)</sup> U.S. Senator Jack B. Tenny in his Report on the Zionist Network “Israelites believed that Jehovah was the God of Israel. This was the essence and the substance of the national faith... The relationship between Jehovah and Israel was that of father and son... Jehovah existed for Israel, and everything — including Jehovah, — depended upon the existence of Israel.” (Zionist Network, by Senator Jack B. Tenny. Tujunda, Ca., 1953, p. 22)

years after the death of Christ, when Constantine made Christianity the lawful religion of the Roman empire, that anti-Semitism began, the demand to destroy all Jews, the Holy Inquisition, anti-Semitic Nazism..."

"It seems, then, that all Christianity and every Christian is at fault for your calamities."

"Yes, Christianity is the source of anti-Semitism, the holocausts..."

"It means that, for the good of the Jews, Christianity should be destroyed to its very foundations."

"I'm not saying that."

"But you're thinking it, because that's the logical conclusion."

The rabbi became deeply thoughtful and made no reply.

### **Ukrainian-Jewish relations throughout the ages.**

"But let us return, Rabbi, to our Ukrainian-Jewish affairs," I woke him from his reveries. "According to your affirmations, Ukrainians are anti-Semitic not because they're Ukrainians but simply because they're Christians, right?"

"Not quite — because Christianity made them like that and, in general, the Ukrainians are traditionally anti-Semitic. Besides a doctorate in Jewish Theology, I also have a doctorate in History. And you, I'm aware, besides having a law doctorate, also have a doctorate in history. Therefore, we can talk about these matters as historians, can't we?"

"Not quite. Because my historical outlook leans inadvertently on legal principles and demands, facts, dates and ciphers. And you unintentionally reveal a theological-religious attitude: a belief in the illogical, the acceptance of 'manifestations' as incontrovertible truth, the transformation of legends into historical facts."

"What do you mean by that?"

"We'll see in a moment, in our discussion. According to you, the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations begins with the

terrible Khmelnytsky, who destroyed more innocent Jews than the biblical Haman. And he tormented them, more than Haman, right?"

"Yes, Khmelnytsky destroyed half a million Jews — men, women, children..."

"You see, we've already touched on our respective educations, mine — legal, and yours, theological. In the Pentateuch it is written that when Moses, at Jehovah's command, transported the first community of Jews who fled from Egypt, it turned out that there were over six hundred thousand men over twenty years of age who were fit for army service. Add to this as many girls and women of that age, as well as everyone under twenty, and the old, unfit for service — it comes out to over two million. That is what Moses reports in the Pentateuch. As a rabbi, you probably believe that these numbers are real. But I'm asking you as a historian: Is it possible for two million people to wander through the Sinai desert? Don't you think that, logically speaking, it couldn't have been more than twenty thousand?"

"Hmm... possibly, the number is symbolic, hence exaggerated..."

"I have no doubts that it's exaggerated, and a hundredfold at that: twenty thousand became two million. So wrote Rabbi Hannover in his memoirs about Khmelnytsky and you repeat it, accepting as truth everything which is presented in Jewish books. But, I ask: What scientifically statistical proofs and sources are given? And I find that there were no more than fifty thousand Jews in Ukraine in Khmelnytsky's time. So logically, it seems that the Cossaks beat every Jew to death ten times over, and also: at least half of them remained alive, because one hundred years later in Ukraine there were again fifty thousand of them."

The rabbi grasped his beard in pure astonishment: "And where did you get such a number?"

"Read your 'Universal Jewish Encyclopedia' and you'll find that according to the census taken in 1578 in Poland there were 75 thousand Jews. In the Lithuanian territory to which Ukraine belonged there were 27 thousand Jews; therefore, on Ukraine's



own territory there were about twenty thousand. And seventy years later there should have been twice as many, that is, no more than fifty thousand Jews in Ukraine in Khmelnytsky's time. I admit that during wartime activity half of them died — thus about twenty-five thousand. In addition, don't forget that, according to the Jews' own testimonies, the then Polish "Hetman" Czarnecky massacred Jews, more than Khmelnytsky: therefore, fifteen thousand Jewish sacrifices of war in Ukraine must be attributed — in conformance with the truth — to the Poles. And to the Tartars."

"To Tartars? How and why to the Tartars?"

"Well, you know that during the Khmelnytsky's war against the Polish invaders Tartars had been Khmelnytsky's allies and took part in fighting in Ukraine."

"Yes, that's correct."

"Tartars in that time were interested not in killing Poles and Jews but in taking as many prisoners as possible. They took them to Crimea and sold them to Turkish slave traders. In Turkey lived many rich Jewish businessmen who purchased the Jewish slaves in order to free them. All Jews in Ukraine knew this very well. Therefore, in critical situations, in order to escape death at the Cossack's hands, the Jews voluntarily surrendered to the Tartars."

"Hm... 'might be. Do you think something like that happened often then?"

"No doubt about that. I would guess that at least five thousand Jews saved their lives in this way during the Khmelnytsky's wars. Accordingly, I would say that of the twenty-five thousand Jews who perished in Ukraine during the Khmelnytsky's wars ten thousand fell victim to the Polish massacres, and five thousand were captured by Tartars.

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<sup>1)</sup> Jews fled to the Tartar camps and surrendered. As a rule the Tartars refrained from killing them but rather sold them into slavery in Turkey where there was an excellent chance of being purchased by their Turkish coreligionists." (P.E. Grooser. "Anti-Semitism". Syracuse, 1979, p. 180. Also S.M. Dubnow, "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland". Philadelphia, 1920, p. 145). "The Jews of Pohrelische, Zotov and Bozowka, about 3,000 in number, were more fortunate; for they gave themselves up to Tartars." (Jewish Enc., v. IV, p. 285).

To the account of Ukrainians and Khmelnytsky was left a total of ten thousand Jews. Not half-a-million, but ten thousand. Over three hundred thousand Ukrainians perished then."

The rabbi lost countenance.

"But, nevertheless, that brutality, the killing of women, children... And the fact that the killing was accompanied by barbarous tortures."

"That's according to the Jewish sources. As you know, there are many memories about all those events written by the Polish contemporaries. None have any good words for Ukrainians, especially for Khmelnytsky. And yet, not one of the Polish contemporaries reports about any barbarous tortures of Jews by Cossacks. Does this not puzzle you an unbiased historian?"

"Why, then does Hannover report all this so vividly?"

"Even here, Rabbi Hannover exaggerated; that is, he simply attributed to Ukrainians that which he read in the Pentateuch about what the Jews did at the time. Incidentally, I have excerpts on this from the Pentateuch, The Five Books of Moses, so for recollection's sake allow me to read them."

The rabbi nodded his head as a sign of consent and I read:

*'PENTATEUCH'. Book of Numbers.*

*Chapter 31. Extermination of the Medianites. (1) The Lord said to Moses, (2) "Avenge the Israelites on Medianites... (7) They waged war against the Medianites, as the Lord had commanded Moses, and killed every male among them. (8) Besides those killed in battle, they also killed the five Medianite kings... (9) But the Israelites kept the women of the Medianites with their little ones as captives, and all their herds and flocks and wealth as spoil, (10) while they set on fire all the towns where they had settled and all their encampments... (14) Moses became angry with the officers of the army, the clan and company commanders, who were returning from combat... (17) 'Slay every male child and every woman who has had intercourse with a man. (18) But you may spare and keep for yourselves all girls who had no intercourse with a man.'*

*The Book of Deuteronomy.*

*Chapter 2. (32) So Sehon and all his people advanced against us to join battle at Jahas, (33) but since the Lord, our God, had delivered him to us, we defeated him and his sons and all his people. (34) At the time we seized all his cities and doomed them all, with their men, women and children; we left no survivor.*

*Chapter 3. Defeat of Og. (3) And thus the Lord, our God, delivered into our hands Og, King of Basan, with all his people. We defeated him so completely that we left him no survivor. (4) At that time we captured all his cities... (6) As we had done to Sehon, King of Hesebon, so also here we doomed all the cities, with their men, women and children; (7) but all the livestock and the loot of each city we took as booty for ourselves.*

*Chapter 7. (2) And when the Lord, your God, delivers them up to you and you defeat them, you shall doom them. Make no covenants with them and show them no mercy. You shall not intermarry with them, neither giving your daughters to their sons, nor taking their daughters for your sons.*

*The Book of Josue.*

*Chapter 6. (2) And to Josue the Lord said, 'I have delivered Jericho and its kings into your power'... (20) The wall collapsed, and the people stormed the city in a frontal attack and took it. (21) They observed the ban by putting to the sword all living creatures in the city; men and women, young and old, as well as oxen, sheep and asses.*

*Chapter 8. Capture of Hai. (24) All the inhabitants of Hai who had pursued the Israelites into the desert were slain by the sword there in the open down to the last man. Then all Israel returned and put to the sword those inside the city. There fell that day a total of twelve thousand men and women, the entire population of Hai... (29) He had the king of Hai hanged on a tree until evening.*

*Chapter 10. (22) Then Josue said: 'Open the mouth of the cave and bring those five kings to me.' (24) When they had done so, Josue summoned all the men of Israel and said to the commanders of the soldiers who had marched with him, 'Come forward and put your feet on their necks.' (26) Thereupon Josue*

*struck and killed them, and hanged them on five trees, where they remained hanging until evening.*

*Chapter 11. (10) At the time Josue, turning back, captured Hasor and slew its king with the sword; for Hasor formerly was the chief of all those kingdoms. (11) He also fulfilled the doom by putting every person there to the sword, till none was left alive."*

"Rabbi! Is that written in the Pentateuch? Here on your shelf is the original in the Hebrew language; we can check immediately — maybe something is improperly translated."

"I'm not denying it. So it is written in our books."

"You see, then. Everything that Israel did to the Medianites and other inhabitants of ancient Palestine was attributed by Rabbi Hannover, the Jewish chronicler of Khmelnytsky's times, to Ukrainians and Khmelnytsky. If Moses or his successor Josue were in the Ukrainians' place, they would probably have done the same with the Jews in Ukraine that Israel did at their command to the Medianites, Philistines and others. But in reality, Khmelnytsky didn't give such commands, didn't refer to the Jehovah's orders, and Ukrainians didn't do such things, because the Ukrainian 'Jehovah' is merciful, man-loving, and not as bloodthirsty as the Jewish one, who regards only the Jews as his children and demands that others be destroyed without mercy — even the old, women and children."

"So, according to you, the Chronicler Rabbi Hannover made things up and exaggerated?" Rabbi Kahana wondered thoughtfully.

"Absolutely. You'll come to this conclusion yourself, when you critically analyze everything he wrote — not as a rabbi but as a doctor of historical studies — and confront this with other sources and facts. To put it nicely, the Jewish chronicler of Khmelnytsky's times, Rabbi Hannover, wrote in the biblical style, the style of the Pentateuch. Allow me one illustration as to the trustworthiness of Hannover's testimony. In your literature, there is a very popular tale of Hannover's about the heroism of the young Jewess from Nemirov. He wrote that in the time of Khmelnytsky a Cossack wanted to marry a beautiful Jewess. She

told him she was willing but she wanted the marriage to take place in a church behind the bridge where she used to walk as a child. The Cossack agreed, and when they were riding there past the bridge, the Jewess jumped in her bridal dress into the river and drowned, so as not to become a Christian.

“Oh, yes, I know the story! Are you questioning the authenticity of the reported fact?”

“Rabbi, please take a map and see if there was ever any kind of river by Nemirov. It is ten miles to the Boh river, a day’s ride by wagon on which wedding guests always rode in Ukraine. Hannover, you see, knew the then very popular Cossack ‘Duma’ (Ballad) about the church warden’s daughter from Nemirov, Tytarivna-Nemyrivna, who, when courted by a Polish nobleman, ‘turned her white little hand and gave it to him in the mug’ and fled on her horse. When the Polish “pan” with his henchmen caught up with her by the river, she jumped into the water and drowned. Your Hannover redid this ballad and replaced the Ukrainian girl, daughter of a church warden from Nemirov, with a Jewess. The same way that the ancient Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Assyrian legends and tales were redone in the books of Moses, the Pentateuch, into ‘facts of Jewish history’”.<sup>1)</sup>

“So, your’re probably going to say that Khmelnytsky didn’t kill one Jew?”

“I think that Khmelnytsky actually did not kill a single Jew. I’ve already said, that in the wake of the bloody battles during Khmelnytsky’s times, in addition to around three hundred thousand Ukrainians and approximately the same number of Poles, ten thousand Jews also died in Ukraine. No one of the

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<sup>1)</sup> Ukrainian historian M. Hrushewsky in his *ISTORIA RUSY-UKRAINY*, v. VIII, 3, p. 38, cites the following instance of Hannover’s “credibility”: Describing the battle in Tulchyn, Hannover reports a macabre torture and brutal killing of Count Czetwertynski by Cossacks, and insists that the Cossacks raped the count’s wife and daughters, and took them for themselves. Hrushewsky checked public and private archives, and other sources, and found out that Count Czetwertynski was killed in battle in Tulchyn, he had no children, and his wife was at the time outside of Ukraine and after her husband’s death she married Polish nobleman Kozakowski.

objective witnesses attested to the Cossack's sadism. Only the Poles gained renown for sadism that — so wrote Polish historians — overtook even the sadism of the American Indians. They impaled rebels, who died in terrible agonies for hours. Of the Cossack officers, only Colonel Kryvonis, of Scottish descent, ordered the impaling of Polish gentlemen. Cossacks shot their enemies, chopped them with swords or pierced them with lances and spikes."

"And from where, then come all these descriptions of the Cossacks' terrible persecution of Jews: the gouging-out of eyes, disembowelment of pregnant Jewish women, throwing Jewish infants to the dogs, which the historian Rabbi Hannover mentioned so often?"

"All this is a figment of his imagination. Scared to death that the Cossacks might catch him, he imagined what could happen if they did. Before his eyes all those wrongs, done by the Jews to Ukrainian serfs, all the contempt, humiliation and dishonors that the Jews poured on Ukrainian serfs — became a method of retribution. As you know, Jews are very vengeful and savage. Even their 'kosher' slaying of calves, which Jews' witness from childhood, is so savage! So Rabbi Hannover imagined what he, Hannover would have done, to the Jews, if he were a Ukrainian serf who had an opportunity for revenge. In his fantasies he saw his victims symbolically as the kosher-slain calves and he attributed the results of these fantasies to the Ukrainian Cossacks and rebels and wrote them down in his chronicles as facts.'" )

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<sup>1)</sup> The Ukrainian historian, M. Hrushevsky, illustrates the Jews' macabre passion for vengeance with a passage from a travel account by Mayer: "In paying taxes to the Polish king, the Jews asked him to deliver Khmelnytsky to them, should he be captured alive. Asked what they would do to him, they replied that they will skin an ox and sew the naked Khmelnytsky into the skin so that his head would protrude. They would keep him in a warm place, serve him good meals and drinks, and let worms into the sack. The worms would then eat Khmelnytsky and multiply until he was eaten alive. That he should not die quickly from pain and malodor, they would administer the best medications to him. And when he finally dies, they will burn the sack and its contents, mix them with wine and serve to the captive Cossacks". ("Archiv Juzhno-Zapadnoy Rossyi", III, VI, pp. 33-34.)

It is widely believed that the author of such a Jewish plan for revenge on Khmelnytsky was none other than the Jewish chronicler, Rabbi Hannover. This explains whence Rabbi Hannover produced such macabre fabrications about the Cossacks' and the Ukrainian insurgents' revenge on the Jews.

The rabbi leaned nervously on the edge of his chair and was silent.

“Well”, he said after a while, “maybe they didn’t persecute them, only chopped them with swords. But they did hack all Jews!”

“No, Rabbi, not all. Only those who deserved punishment, for vengeance, or who fought with the Poles against the Cossacks. Do you know, Rabbi, who was Khmelnytsky’s minister of finance?”

“Who?”

“Hertzik. Did you ever hear that surname? Isn’t it a Ukrainianized version of ‘Herzog’?”

“I assume you’ll say he was a Jew?”

“I won’t say it. It was his father and mother who told him repeatedly that he’s Jewish because they were both full-blooded Jews. His ancestors were wealthy merchants in that part of Wallachia that was then settled by Ukrainians. Even before the uprising he became familiar with Khmelnytsky and conducted a ‘business’ with him. Then, when the uprising began, Herzog became the financial consultant to Khmelnytsky and oversaw the buying of weapons in Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary and Germany, and soon became Khmelnytsky’s Minister of Finance, Ukrainianizing his surname to Hertsik. Another was Samuel, Son of Mark, who joined the Ukrainian insurgents of Chmelnytsky as Samiylo Markovich. His son was a Cossack colonel.”

“So what does this mean?”

“It means that, first, there was no major destruction of Jews in Khmelnytsky’s times. Hertsik and Markovich were both full-blooded Jews. But as good, honest merchants, they did no wrong to the Ukrainians, didn’t suck the blood of the common man. So nobody murdered them; on the contrary, Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks accepted them into their group. Secondly, if Khmelnytsky had, indeed, murdered Jews, would Hertsik and Markovich, upon seeing this, have faithfully continued to serve Khmelnytsky? Wouldn’t they have taken advantage of the first journey for merchant affairs to Wallachia in order not to return to Ukraine? Yet they never did this.”

"Even so, if only ten thousand Jews were annihilated, it's terrible; they were also women, children..."

"Rabbi, every war is horrible and savage. What do you, the Israelis, do today not in wartime, but in times of peace? How many of your 'retributory actions' against the Arabs kill defenseless women and children? In one bombing of Iraq three hundred defenseless women and children were killed." <sup>1)</sup>

"But we must defend ourselves, avenge ourselves."

"Avenge yourselves for what, Rabbi? Did those women and children that you killed in 'retributory actions' do any wrong?"

"They, themselves — no — but the Arabs in general. Everyone must pay for it."

"Therefore, it's 'a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye', no?"

"If someone has wronged the Jews, then, yes. Jehovah ordered vengeance for wrongs done to the children of God."

"So it is said in that excerpt from the Pentateuch which I read to you. You know, Rabbi, it was precisely from this book, and not Christian decrees, that Eichmann's plan was born, to utterly destroy all Jews. Eichmann carefully studied your Torah and Talmud and other books; he read how Jehovah told Moses to destroy **completely**, so that no one would be left alive — Medianites and whoever else lived then in Palestine and he came to a blasphemous conclusion: 'Now Jehovah has told me that Jews are guilty before me and must be destroyed to the last one.' Here is the core of the 'Holocaust'".

"So we, the Jews, are guilty of the Holocaust?"

"Rabbi, the problems of Jewish-German dealings is a separate theme, which I don't wish to discuss here. I only wanted to opportunely straighten out your affirmation, fondly repeated in Jewish publicistic and scientific works, that the Christian Church — Catholic and Protestant — engendered anti-Semitism and provoked the Hitlerite ideology of Jewish destruction. This is

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<sup>1)</sup> According to the International Red Cross' reports, during Israel's invasion in Lebanon in June—August 1982, Israel's army annihilated more than twenty thousand innocent Lebanese civilians, women and children, — twice as many as all Jews who died in Ukraine during the wars of Khmelnytsky from Cossack's hands.



why I told you, that it was exactly from the Pentateuch, The Books of Moses, where Jehovah commands the annihilation of other nations, that Eichmann's plan was created to turn this 'Jehovah's command' against the Jews. Let's return to our question of Ukrainian-Jewish relations."

"You're saying, that we, the Jews, are guilty of our persecution and destruction by Ukrainians?"

"That they persecuted you is a fantasy of propaganda. That you, yourselves, are at fault — yes. In Ukrainian it is said, 'The pig tears the sack; and squeals while tearing it.' In Jewish, it is called 'chutzpah'. Obviously, you know the meaning of this Jewish word."

"Well?"

"A rabbi explained this word to me: if someone kills his father and mother and pleads mercy before the jury because he's an orphan, then he's got 'chutzpah' to say something like that. Therefore, if the Jews call Ukrainians 'traditional anti-Semites', and blame them for terrible wrong-doings to the Jews, then this is that special nerve for saying these things, which in Jewish you call 'chutzpah'.

"How so?"

"First of all, remember that Ukrainians didn't come to Israel and wrong you there, but Jews came to Ukraine. When you're in an other's house, you must behave in such a way that will earn you the respect and love of the hosts."

"What did we ever do to the Ukrainians? Ukrainians always beat us..."

"A Ukrainian proverb says: 'The boy complained that he was beaten but did not say why he was beaten.' We will talk candidly about the 'why'. You're a doctor of historical research; you're familiar with the history of Ukraine, right?"

"Yes, I am."

"So you know that the history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations does not begin with Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks. Already when our Scythian ancestors were changing their name to 'Rus', a nation of Khazars existed by the Caspian Sea, of which the leading stratum was Jewish."

"Oh, no, they weren't Jews, they were only of the Jewish faith."

"No one can verify this today. It is written that they were Jews.<sup>1)</sup> They were the scourge of our ancestors. The Khazar hordes attacked Rus and demanded that Rus pay them tribute. They enslaved the men and sold them to the Muslims and Romans; girls were sold into harems. Obviously, one day the patience of these ancient Rus-Ukrainians snapped; under the leadership of King Svyatoslav they destroyed the Khazar nation of predators. Was this, according to you, the 'beginning of Ukrainian anti-Semitism'? After the destruction of the Khazar nation, the Ukrainian kings allowed the Jews to resettle from Khazaria to Ukraine and occupy themselves with trade, no?"

"Historically, yes; however, I repeat, they were not Jews."

"Why, then, are they chronicled as 'Jews'? At any rate, they eventually merged with the other Jews, who came to Ukraine from the West. Their blood became mixed, even if they weren't full-blooded Jews. Our ancestors, the 'Rus', regarded them as Jews. But did they destroy them?"

"In the chronicles it is written that there was a pogrom on the Jews in 11th century Kiev."

"Yes, something to that effect is in the chronicles, but that was the revolt of the Kievan poor against the merchants who cheated the buyers, charged high interest for loans and, thanks to this, wrong-doing and fraud."

"But these are distant times. We're not speaking of them."

"Yet they're worth mentioning, just to remind one, that on the one hand, even then the Jews plagued Ukrainians, and on the other, that Ukrainians did not seek revenge but gave the Khazar Jews shelter for over 500 years. During the entire existence of the Kievan-Rus nation, Jews had it immeasurably better than in any other medieval or ancient nation. This basically changed when the

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<sup>1)</sup> E. J. Byng in his *"The World of the Arabs"*, (Boston, 1944, p. 38) explains: "The Jews of Poland and Russia descend from the Khazars of the lower Volga and other Mongol and Mongoloid peoples converted to Judaism in the eighth and ninth century A.D."

Mongolian hordes in the 13th century destroyed Rus-Ukraine and Ukraine fell into Polish enslavement.”

“I am familiar with the story of the Polish King Casimir. At the urging of his mistress Esterka, a Jewish beauty, the king allowed a large migration of Jews to Poland from central and western Europe, where they were terribly persecuted, and hid in forests.”

“Yes, and then the Jews — as you say — came to the Ukrainian land under Polish rule. That was the beginning. The Poles, having seized Ukraine, confiscated Ukrainian lands and turned entire Ukrainian villages into serfdom for their nobility. The Jews became the executors of the Polish lords’ predatory exploitation of Ukrainians. Every lord had his own Jew — a tax collector, lease holder and money lender. A Ukrainian peasant worked for his lord from sunrise to sunset and, in addition, paid various huge taxes. The Jewish tax collector seized these taxes. To the lordly plunder he also laid an additional, ample, tax for himself. The nobleman made whiskey and allotted the amount that each peasant had to drink, because that was yet another desired method of stripping the peasants. The Jew introduced his own standards to the nobleman’s: he added water to the whiskey obtained from the lord and seasoned it with tobacco. If the peasant could not pay, the Jewish money lender lent him money but took 100 percent interest. At every step he exploited mercilessly. Even Rabbi Hannover admits this in his memoirs.\*

“Yes, it’s true that the Polish nobility exploited Jews for

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\*The Jew-money lender is not a figment of Ukrainian imagination. He was notorious all over Europe and appeared in European literature. European writers of renown, including Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott, have drawn vivid portraits of this character. He was not always sympathetically depicted. Ukrainian chroniclers (e.g. Samovydyets) and Ukrainian “Dumas” (folksongs) report that the Jewish executor of Polish land in Ukraine asked the enslaved Ukrainian peasants to pay him taxes for their home, for the road when passing the Jew’s house, for their bee-hives, for each dove and pig, for each chicken, for each case of fishing or hunting, for whatever they brought to sell at market. The Jews requested that every Ukrainian peasant or Cossack bow deeply when meeting the Jew and call him “Your Honor” (“Velmozhnyj Pane”) or, otherwise, face a danger of being reported to the Polish lord as a rebel. (M. Hrushewsky “ISTORIA RUSY-UKRAINY”, v. VIII, 2, p. 123-125).

such unpleasant work. But the Jews had to do this in order to live.”

“They had to fleece Ukrainians for the acquisition of wealth? The Jew came to the village utterly poor, and in twenty years, he was lending thousands of thalers to the king himself?”

“Well, there were all kinds of...”

“But that’s not all. The Jew-tax-collector even rented the church from the nobleman — because the Polish nobleman-predator considered the church, built by Ukrainian peasants, to be his own property. And the Jew-tax collector/money lender used the church as a means of barter. If the Ukrainian people wanted to pray in church, they had to pay the Jewish lessee to open the church. To this day, Ukrainians sing a song(‘hahilka’) at Easter, about the Jew-tax-collector ‘Here comes Zelman a ‘riding, a riding’ to open the church for Easter after everyone has paid. Even the Hitlerites didn’t do such things with Jewish places of worship. Tell me, Rabbi, was there anything for which Ukrainians could love the Jews?”

“I’m not talking about love. We know that no one loves us.”

“You know that but don’t want to say why. And I haven’t finished saying everything yet. The Jewish innkeepers carried out one more task. In the inn, or public-house, they eavesdropped on what the peasants or Cossacks said about the Polish oppressors and immediately informed the Polish landlord. If the lord decided that a given peasant or Cossack was an ‘insurgent’ on the basis of such information, then the lordly henchmen seized him, tortured him and impaled him, so that he would die in terrible agony before the eyes of an assemblage of peasants, to their intimidation. Often, the Jewish lessee-taxholder would inform the lord that a certain peasant was a ‘rebel’ if that peasant had failed to bow properly to the Jew or had dared to say something that contradicted the Jew-taxcollector. The nobleman punished savagely, whether someone was guilty or not, as ‘an example’ — as the Poles said — that is, to terrorize all the peasants.”

The rabbi started. “Well, there could have been such Jews...”

“You can say that as a rabbi. But as a historian, a doctor of historical studies, you must say: ‘Perhaps there was Jews who didn’t do this.’ Because these terrible sores had to be borne by the Ukrainian peasants, bound in serfdom to the Polish “aristocracy” in every village throughout Ukraine. This fate met even Bohdan Khmelnytsky, whom the Jews supposedly had espied conspiring with the Cossack officers to organize a new uprising. The Polish henchmen seized Khmelnytsky and imprisoned him and, if not for Colonel Krychevsky’s secret assistance in the flight from prison, Khmelnytsky would have been impaled or hung. So what do you think, Rabbi: When the uprising occurred, should Khmelnytsky have rewarded the Jews with gold medals for all this, and the peasants had to reward the Jews with gold, taken from the Polish bloodsuckers?”

“I’m not saying that. But, nonetheless, your Cossack chronicles clearly state that Khmelnytsky ‘cleaned out’ all Ukraine of Poles and Jews.”

“Yes, except ‘cleaned out’ does not necessarily mean ‘murdered’ or ‘exterminated’. When the fires of the revolution flared in Ukraine, and Khmelnytsky decimated the Polish army above the ‘Zhovti Vody’ and by Korsun, Poles, and with them Jews, began fleeing en masse to Poland. I believe that half the Jews fled, and later, when the Poles again seized Ukraine, they returned to where — as you say — they were perpetually beaten.”

“That they were beaten is true: And what did the ‘Hajdamaky’ do to the Jews? Especially in the time of ‘Kolyivshchyna’. How many Jews were butchered, in 1768, in Uman alone?”

“I don’t understand, Rabbi, how the ‘Hajdamaky’ could have butchered Jews, when you, yourself, have just stated that 120 years earlier, in 1648, Khmelnytsky had slain every one of them. Comparing the Jewish statistics of the Jews then murdered with the actual numbers of Jews then living in Ukraine, it turns out that Khmelnytsky murdered each Jew ten times over. From where did hundreds of thousands of Jews appear again in Ukraine, after Khmelnytsky?”

“You said they returned, after having fled to Poland.”



**Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1593-1657), Hetman of Ukraine, 1648-1657.**

*As leader of the Ukrainian national revolution, Bohdan Khmel'nytskyj freed Ukraine from Polish occupation and created a new independent Ukrainian State. Because, in addition to some three hundred thousand Ukrainians and as many Poles, about ten thousand Jews perished in the bloody battles brought on by the revolution — either as armed soldiers in the Polish Army, or at the hands of avengers for their part in the oppression of Ukrainian serfs — the Jews hate Khmel'nytskyj with a passion. In their histories, they label him one of the worst 'pogromists' and 'anti-Semites' of the past, despite the fact that a Jew, Herzog, was his financial minister and another Jew, Markowitz (Markowycz), was an officer in the Kozak army.*

"You see, Rabbi, you have understood and acknowledged that Khmelnytsky did not decimate all of the Jews. But tell me, did those who fled to Poland fare better there?"

"Fare better? Well, nobody likes the Jews, including the Poles, but they didn't destroy the Jews in Poland, like the Cossacks."

"So why did they leave beautiful, safe Poland and hustle back to anti-Semitic Ukraine, where the Cossacks, and later the 'Haidamaky', persecuted them?"

"Well, you know that the Jews like business, 'handeles', and Ukraine was better suited for this."

"There, you see, they returned and continued doing the same things they had done until Khmelnytsky's time. They even did the same thing to one of the leaders of Kolyiwshchyna, Ivan Honta, that they had once done to Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Honta was the lieutenant of the court Cossacks of Lord Potocki. Prior to the Kolyiw insurrection, the Jews informed the Poles that they had eavesdropped on Honta, who was conspiring with the messengers of Zaliznyak to cross over with all the court Cossacks to the insurrectionists' side. Honta was arrested, tortured under interrogation and brought to the gallows to be publicly hung. Potocki dearly loved the educated Cossack lieutenant, so he personally came to investigate the matter. Honta denied the charges. At Potocki's demand Honta swore, under the gallows, that he would never betray his homeland and would fight to the death for it. Satisfied, Potocki bade Honta be freed from the gallows. Obviously, Honta outfoxed Potocki and the Jews because, while swearing loyalty to his motherland, his thoughts were on his actual homeland — Ukraine — for which he indeed died — and not for Poland, as Potocki thought. So once again the same question arises as before, with regard to Khmelnytsky and the Jews. Having seized Uman, should Honta have paid those who had done him this 'service' in gold and given an order that they not be touched, because they were the 'sons' of the chosen nation?"

"Be that as it may, but then again the Ukrainians in Uman itself destroyed tens of thousands of defenseless Jews."

“You, Dr. Kahana, are again shifting from being a doctor of history to a doctor of Jewish religion, and are exaggerating tenfold, old-Testament style. There is quite accurate statistical data about the era of Kolyivshchyna. I personally researched and published a work on Kolyivshchyna and I advise you to read it. Polish statistics have it that on the right bank of Ukraine where Kolyivshchyna was located, there lived then over two million Ukrainians, two hundred thousand Poles and over a hundred thousand Jews. On Ukraine’s entire territory there lived six million Ukrainians. Kindly explain to me logically, Rabbi: How did it come about that, from Khmelnytsky’s time, when there was a total of three million Ukrainians, to the time of Kolyivshchyna, that is, after a span of 120 years’ time, the number of Ukrainians merely doubled, while the number of Jews multiplied ten times — granted, that after Khmelnytsky’s wars, there were indeed ten thousand Jews remaining in Ukraine?”

“Well, you know that the Jews were then fleeing from western Europe.”

“Why fleeing? And why running to Ukraine? Because there, under the protection of the Polish usurpers — “aristocracy” it was most convenient to suck the blood of the defenseless Ukrainian serfs?”

“The Poles must answer for serfdom. It was the Poles who nourished such a bestial system and the unfortunate Jews had to bear the brunt of the Cossacks’ and Hajdamaky’s rage for this. Butchery in Uman was terrible. It is thus written in our books.”

“I think, Rabbi, that the Israelites’ butchery of innocent nations, under the leadership of Moses, as is written in your holy books, was even more terrible. The Jews really carved everyone up, then; it is so written. And for what? And in Uman, around five thousand Jews died along with seven thousand Poles in an all out battle of life and death, because — besides everything else — the Poles armed all the Jews, and the Jews warred against the Kolyis. When the siege of Uman began, Honta called upon all Poles and Jews to leave Ukraine and assured them that nothing would befall them during their exodus. Why didn’t the Jews leave — desiring instead, along with the Poles, to decimate all the



Kolyis. When a Jew killed a Ukrainian insurgent in that bloody battle, that was 'heroism'; when a Ukrainian killed a Jew, this was 'a terrible butchery of defenseless Jews', since 'what wrong did a Jew ever commit, to be thus beaten?'"

"You say this because you don't like Jews."

"That I don't like Jews, Rabbi, is propaganda. We have to clear the atmosphere and in order to do so it's absolutely necessary that we overtly tell the truth straight to your face, and you to ours. Do you agree, Rabbi?"

"I agree, Doctor. But weren't there pogroms in Ukraine in the time of czarist Russia? Is this also only anti-Ukrainian propaganda?"

"You tell the honest truth, Rabbi, when you say it's anti-Ukrainian propaganda! But allow me to again quote a few statistics. I mentioned that, in the time of Kolyivshchyna, there were six million Ukrainians in Ukraine and about a hundred thousand Jews. A century and a half later, there were already 30 million Ukrainians, therefore, five times as many; there were over two million Jews, that is, twenty times as many as before. And this was after the Kolyis supposedly, as you say, massacred almost all of them. Is this not a miracle?"

The rabbi stroked his beard with dissatisfaction:

"Well, let's leave statistics alone. Tell me about the pogroms in Ukraine during czarist Russia."

"Everyone knows that in czarist Russia there were pogroms on the Jews. Obviously, this was in Ukraine, as the Jews were forbidden to live in Russia. Only in exceptional instances did the czar allow certain Jews to live in Moscow or Petrograd. The Jews lived in Ukraine; therefore, the pogroms were possible only there. Except for one thing: who instigated them?"

"Who instigated them, indeed! The Cossacks and civilians!"

"Rabbi! As a doctor of historical studies you must know that the Czarist 'Cossacks' had nothing in common with the real Ukrainian Cossacks, other than their name, which the sly Muscovites had willfully appropriated to compromise latter-day Ukrainian Cossacks. The Ukrainian Cossacks, 'Zaporoztsi', were Ukrainians, fighters for freedom, for the equality of all people,

for the respect of human dignity. The Russian government savagely destroyed them, having ruined the 'Sitch', once at the command of Czar Peter in 1709 and a second time at the order of Czarina Catherine in 1775.

"Rather, the Czarist 'Cossacks', in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, were the czarist mounted police, assembled from all the Russian nations, with the least number of Ukrainians in it. They blindly obeyed the orders of the Russian government, and the Czar; this is why everything they did should be attributed to the Russian government and nation. The relation of Ukrainians to this is the same as was the relation of the Jews to the Roman legions and Romans in Palestine during the time of their occupation there."

"What about that which the civilians did? The pogroms on Jews in Ukraine?"

"If you ever met anyone who saw these pogroms, what did they say was the cry of the pogromists: 'Beat the Jews, save Ukraine', (uttered in Ukrainian) or 'Beat the Jews, save Russia', (uttered in Russian)?"

"Well, they said the cry was 'Bej zhydov, spassaj Rassyu' ('Beat the Jews, save Russia') in Russian. But that **was** Russia!"

"Ukraine, Rabbi, not Russia. Ukraine was enslaved. The Russian government announced that 'Ukrayiny nye bylo, nyet i byt nye mozhet!' ('Ukraine never was, is not and cannot be!') and clamped the death penalty on the Ukrainian language and culture. So the Ukrainians beat the Jews for this and shouted 'Beat Jews, save Russia', right? Had you never heard of the 'Black Hundred' of the Russian Nazis, who were pogromists in czarist times, naturally, where else but in Ukraine, with the covert support of the Russian government? Isn't it known to you, a historian, with what extreme enmity the Russian czars and the entire Russian nation regarded the Jews? I believe that you know all this very well but it's inconvenient for you to voice it because the Russians even today have an empire. This is why you selected the Ukrainians as scapegoats, in order to credit all this, and the pogroms, to them, since nobody will rise in defense of the

Ukrainians — and the Ukrainians themselves are defenseless today.”

“I’m not referring to Ukrainian pogroms on the Jews for the purpose of conducting anti-Ukrainian propaganda. I’m referring to facts. At least, as they are written in history by historians.”

“No, Rabbi. You’re not controlling your reproaches toward the Ukrainians — even with those facts which are presented by your Jewish historians.”

“For example?”

“For example, even that which is given by your distinguished Jewish historian, Semion Dubnov. Of him I will speak separately, but first about what Dubnov states regarding the pogroms in czarist Russia. Describing the pogroms on the Jews in Russia in 1905, Dubnov clearly states — and reiterates — that all the pogroms were organized and led by a Russian Nazi organization which was called the ‘Black Hundred’, and that for this purpose the ‘Black Hundred’ especially transported ‘katsaps’, from Russia to Ukraine.”

“‘Katsaps’?” the Rabbi wondered.

“Yes, precisely — ‘katsaps’. You must have Dubnov’s work, ‘The History of Jews in Russia and Poland’ in the Russian, German or English language. Please take it and carefully read the chapter on the Revolution in 1905. Therein Dubnov stresses that, for the pogroms on Jews in Zhytomyr, Troyaniv and other Ukrainian cities, the pogromists — Russian patriots — brought in the ‘katsaps’, that is, Great Russian workers. Dubnov cites the testimony of a Jew who survived a pogrom in Zhytomyr, in which over ten Jews were killed, and this witness also constantly affirms that the ‘katsaps’ massacred Jews. And everyone knows that Ukrainians called Russians ‘katsaps’ and Russians called Ukrainians ‘khakhly’. Not one of the witnesses, not even Dubnov himself, ever once mentioned that the Ukrainians (or, as they were called ‘khakhly’ or ‘mahlorossy’ (Little Russians), instigated any pogroms on the Jews.”

“And how do you come to know Dubnov’s work so well?”, wondered the rabbi, astonished.

“I mentioned that in my memoirs about Auschwitz. At the

time when I, a prisoner, worked there in the laundry, one of the Jews brought all three volumes of Dubnov's work in the German language. During the night shift I carefully read the entire work. Recently, when Judeo-Nazis had begun an assault on the Ukrainians, reviling them as anti-Semites, I once again reviewed Dubnov in the English translation. That self-taught person does not have an inkling of the history of the Ukrainian nation, and at every mention of the Ukrainians refers to them insultingly, as about half-savage Africans. Yet never once does he blame them for the pogroms. On the contrary, time after time he blames the Russian (or Great Russian, as he calls it) government for anti-Semitism and the organization of pogroms, as well as the Russian intelligentsia and the entire Russian nation. He states that the Russians organized similar pogroms in Belorussia, Lithuania and Poland (then under Russian occupation). "

"It's possible that during czarism, pogroms in Ukraine weren't made by Ukrainians but by the czarist mounted police, called 'Cossacks' and the Russian Nazis, the 'Black Hundred.' But Petlura was the Ukrainian commander-in-chief and all the army units which he commanded were also composed of Ukrainians only. Is this not true? What about his and his detachments' terrible pogroms on the Jews in 1917-1920?"

"You, Rabbi, have formulated the truth inaccurately. You should have phrased it thus: 'What sort of horrible pogroms did the Jews expect at that time from Petlura and the Ukrainians?'"

The rabbi startled nervously.

"What do you mean, 'did expect'? What are you trying to say?"

"The same thing I was saying about other eras: how did the Jews conduct themselves toward Ukrainians in this era of our history? A contemporary Jewish historian, M. Franklin, in his recent work, 'The Nationalist Freedom Movement in Russia during the February Revolution of 1917', — excerpts of which appeared in the Ukrainian periodical 'Sutchasnist' ('The Present (Times)') — testifies, with documentary support, as to the attitude of Jewish-Communists toward Ukraine's demand for freedom. I have, here with me, that edition of 'Sutchasnist': *Pyatakov, Horowitz,*

*Obolyensky, Bosch and others (Jews) took a 'Great Powers' position. As a political argument against a Ukrainian national freedom movement, they advanced the notion that Russia could not exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry, coal and wheat.' They 'flatly opposed Ukraine's separation'. Living in Ukraine, off the Ukrainian people, the Jews were already on the eve of the revolution firmly opposed to Ukraine's independence thereby strengthening the Russian imperialists in the Communist party."*

"Eh, all sorts of things were babbled there..."

"No, not just babbled. Already in the first days of the revolution, the Jewess Eugenia Bosch led a bolshevized regiment of Russians on Kiev! Ukrainian General Skoropadsky disarmed that regiment, steered the Russians back to their Russia and did not shoot Eugenia Bosch, as he should have done, but set her free. And she? She went to Kiev, organized a red Russian-Jewish detachment there and, when the Ukrainian Supreme Council 'Tsentralna Rada', proclaimed Ukraine's independence through the Fourth Universal Declaration of Independence, that detachment revolted, seized the arsenal, and if not for Colonel Eugene Konowaletz and his 'Sitchovi Striltsi' (musketeers), furthermore, the restoration of Ukrainian independence would have been drowned in a sea of blood at the hands of the bolsheviks. The war of bolshevik Russia against Ukraine was begun by the 'National Commissioner of War, Leo Trotsky' — the Jew Leyba Bronstein."

All the while, we had been touching upon 'controversial' questions and Dr. Kahana nervously kneaded his beard from time to time. Now he became particularly agitated, arising, interrupting me, passionately contradicting.

"These are all anti-Jewish fabrications. Actually, all this was caused by the Russians and the Ukrainians themselves. Ukrainians themselves wanted Communism and they themselves liquidated the Ukrainian National Republic. The Jews took no part in it!"

"Can you name those Ukrainian leaders? I mentioned Jews: Pyatakov, Horowitz, Eugenia Bosch, Bronstein-Trotsky, further: the Kaganowiches, Zinovyev-Apfelbaum, Kamyenyev-Rosenfeld,

Litvinov and hundreds of commissars. But who were the Ukrainians?"

"I cannot recall their surnames — I forgot."

"No, Rabbi, you didn't forget: you never even heard them. So don't try to recall what never was. Every detachment of bolsheviks in Ukraine was steered by a 'politruk', ('political instructor' — the real commander), almost always a Jew. The commissars of the militia, particularly of the bloody G.P.U. in Ukraine, were mainly Jews. These 'political instructors', or 'politruks', led the wars against the Ukrainian army and the commissars of the G.P.U. tortured and shot wounded Ukrainian soldiers who had fallen into captivity; they conducted massacres of the civilian Ukrainian population."

"I've heard all this — the Ukrainians all talk like that — but it's anti-Jewish propaganda."

"No, Rabbi, it's the bitter truth. Jews willingly became the bulwark of the red Russian occupation of Ukraine, the bloody bolshevik terrorism. And very often they also became the organizers: overt and covert leaders."

"These are hollow accusations. Stick to facts!"

"Very well, Rabbi! Here's one horrendous example from those tragic times, as incontestable proof. In the history of the emancipatory competition of the Ukrainian nation in 1917-23, these events are called 'Zymovj Pokhid' ('Winter Crusade'). Let us recall: In the beginning of November, 1921, twelve squadrons of U.N.R. soldiers broke through the Polish-Bolshevik cordon in the region of Korosten, in order to unite with the 'Povstantsi'(insurgents) for the purpose of driving out the Russian bolshevik hordes from Ukraine. But the red hordes, having the superior advantage, completely devastated the Ukrainian troops in heavy battle. Approximately 500 soldiers of the Ukrainian army were captured. In civilized nations, prisoners of war rely on protection in accordance with international laws. But not with the blood-thirsty bolsheviks. All their Ukrainian prisoners were turned over for interrogation under the bestial torturing of the inglorious Cheka. They were questioned and condemned to death by the Cheka fivesome — comprised of

whom? — one Russian and four Jews. Understandably, I don't remember their names but, upon my return home to the United States, I will research them in documents and send them to you.<sup>1)</sup> The verdict: Turn over approximately forty commissioned officers for further questioning and condemn to death 359 fighters who survived the interrogations. They were ordered to dig their own communal grave outside the small village of Bazar, and then were mowed down by a firing squad. The tragic destruction at Bazar of 359 Ukrainian fighters is known to every Ukrainian, as their memory is honored every year. This barbarian crime against the Ukrainians fighting for the right to be free on their own soil is added to Red Moscow's tally. But documents affirm that, of the six wartime criminals — members of the dreadful Cheka Commission — five, including the president — were Jews!"

"That Cheka was Russian. It wasn't Jewish. When a Jew became a member of the Cheka, he ceased to be a Jew. He became Russian."

"But when such a 'Russian', a Cheka executioner who murdered Ukrainian patriots, was condemned to death by the Ukrainians, then this, according to you, was 'anti-Semitism' and 'pogroms on the Jews.'"

The Rabbi nervously tugged at his beard.

"You're probably going to say, then that even Lenin was Jewish."

"No, he was half-Jewish: a Russian father and a Jewish mother. And Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg: you won't deny, Rabbi, that they were one hundred percent Jewish."

"Oi! What kind of Jews are they: that they were born Jews? They renounced their Jewishness!"

"'Then may they burn!' as our Poltavtsi say. Let us return to our topic. Here, Rabbi, is the reality of that revolutionary time:

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<sup>1)</sup> Having returned, I discovered detailed facts about this in the memoirs of Col. Roman Sushko. The names of the members of the CheKa Commission are as follows: President: Harkavyj, a Jew; Members: Livshitz — Jew, Ivanov — Russian, Katovsky — Jew, Frinovsky — Jew, Litvinov — Jew; one Russian, five Jews. "Bazar", *The Almanac "Chervona Kalyna" of 1930*. pp. 104-123.

the blood-stained commissars were Jews; the G.P.U. executioners — Jews; the commanders of the Red Militia — Jews; ‘politruks’ — Jews. Upon the entrance of Ukrainian military, or insurgent detachments into Ukrainian towns, Jews with red armbands would shoot at them from windows. Is it any wonder that Ukrainian fighters, enraged beyond endurance, saw to it that not only the armbands of those ‘militiamen’ were red, but their entire heads became red? And this retribution against these Russian bolshevik regiments you call pogroms on Jews? Why don’t you admit, Rabbi, that these were Jewish-Russian pogroms on Ukrainians, on Ukrainian soil?”

“Well, I wasn’t there — I didn’t see any of it.”

“So don’t repeat unfounded accusations, after those who turn the truth inside out, that the Ukrainian anti-Semites instigated pogroms on the Jews. Ask any ordinary Ukrainians, from any part of eastern or central Ukraine, who lived there at the time, and every one of them will re-affirm the same thing, that the Jews mocked them by saying: ‘Now we have all of you in a sack and we’ll tie you up so that you won’t even be able to squeak!’ And tie us up they did!...”

“I simply can’t believe any of this! All of this Ukrainians did themselves! Perhaps a few Jews were mixed up in it somewhere...”

“No — there were a few respectable ones: a group of intelligentsia who cooperated with Ukrainians. And this group was enough for Ukrainians to give Jews in Ukraine a broad personal autonomy, which the Jews have never had beyond Ukraine; they were accepted into the government of an independent Ukraine two as Ukrainian citizens, and one was selected as a special representative of the Jews. You, the Jews, don’t even have this in America, even though you say that the United States is a Jewish colony.”

“It’s true that Jews were ministers in Ukraine’s government, that there was a special Jewish representative and personal autonomy for Jews in the U.N.R.’s constitution, that there were Jewish signatures on U.N.R. money; but there were also pogroms in Petlura’s time. Who was behind them?”



“The same ones who were behind it during czarism: Denikin’s army. Earlier, the Russian ‘Black Hundred’ members, with their cry of ‘Bej zhydov, spassaj Rassiyu!’ (Beat the Jews, Save Russia), did indeed merely beat Jews, but in the uniforms of Denikin’s czarist-Russian army they beat them to death, and robbed them. How could the U.N.R. government have conducted pogroms on the Jews when the very head of that government — Vynnychenko — was married to a Jewess? Who ravaged her: Petlura or Vynnychenko himself?

“So you’re saying that between 1918 and 1920 there were no pogroms on the Jews in Ukraine?”

“I said no such thing and am not saying it. I only clearly confirmed the fact of Jewish pogroms, widely and systematically led by units of the ‘white’ Russian army of Gen. Denikin. There were also other pogroms. That was a war of life and death among three main powers: the Ukrainian National Republic, bolshevik Moscow and White Russian followers of Denikin; and in addition, various kinds of outlaw military groups. The only point being: when Ukrainians fell in battle as victims, then they were ‘sacrifices of war’. The sacrificed Russian bolsheviks and ‘Denikinians’ were also described thus. But when Jews perished, this was a ‘Jewish pogrom’, attributed, obviously, to the Ukrainians, regardless of who actually caused their death in the particular circumstance, and however they may have died. It was absolutely vital for bolshevik propaganda to disgrace and discredit the Ukrainians and Petlura, therefore — to drumbeats — the bolsheviks spread the ignominy: ‘Ukrainians are anti-Semites, pogromists! Petlura is anti-Semitic and a pogromist! The same was done by the White Russian Nazis, the Denikinians, even though they knew quite well that they themselves were those anti-Semites who led pogroms in Ukraine. The Jews, as I’ve already told you, were engaged en masse on the side of the red Russian imperialists, and were — and continue to be — the loudest chanters of the deceitful chant, that the Ukrainians and Petlura likewise are anti-Semites, pogromists. This anti-Ukrainian work in the service of red Russia was sealed by the Jews with the murder of Simon Petlura, who was killed by



**Chief Otaman Simon Petlura (1880-1926)**

*Simeon (Simon) Petlura is the victim of a double murder. The first was physical, in that he was shot to death in Paris by a Bolshevik agent, the Jew Szwartzbart, who supposedly acted in the role of avenger for "crimes against the Jewish people". The second is murder by defamation, since till this very day the Jews besmirch Petlura as a "bloody murderer of Jews". And yet, there is no concrete evidence that Petlura participated in, directed or instigated any pogroms against the Jews. On the contrary, as Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, he issued a special directive to all soldiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, ordering them to refrain from any pogroms and to avoid provocations to pogroms against Jews. What is more, he was responsible for the adoption of a clause into the Ukrainian Constitution, granting widespread autonomy to the Jewish minority of Ukraine — something Jews enjoyed nowhere else in the world.*

the Jew-Communist Schwarzbart, thus throwing an uneradicated brand of infamy on the Jews.”

“You’re talking like a prosecutor who is blaming the Jews in the dock [of the defendants].”

“Well, something within me states that the one who accuses someone must reveal the entire truth, no matter how unpleasant it is for the accused. And you constantly have the rabbi in you responding, who believes that only Jews are the chosen people, the children of God, therefore innocent, never having caused anyone any harm. Instead, all ‘goyem’, particularly Ukrainians, are anti-Semites who all their lives have thought only about how to persecute the innocent, defenseless ‘God’s children’. Even when a Jew was choking a Ukrainian villager, sucking his blood as a nobleman’s tax collector, or innkeeper, or torturing him in the basements of the Cheka, G.P.U., N.K.V.D., K.G.B., or as a bolshevik commissar — this was alright, honorable and just, in accordance with the commands of your Jehovah. And yet when that Ukrainian defended himself, then this was already criminal ‘anti-Semitic’ and a ‘pogrom on the innocent, defenseless Jews.’ But returning to history and facts: what was further happening in Ukraine?”

“What was happening? Weren’t Jews, naturally, everywhere?”

“You see, the new name of the Russian empire became ‘U.S.S.R.’ [SSSR in Russian] after the revolution. Are you aware of how the ‘goyem’ within the empire read that?: ‘Three Sruls<sup>1)</sup> and one Russian.’ And why? A week before I traveled to Israel, I was one of the defense witnesses in the trial of a Ukrainian in Florida, whom the Jewish ‘Holy Inquisition’ had selected for themselves as a victim. There, in the witness stand I directed the jury’s attention to a book, *The Rulers of Russia*, by Rev. Denis Fahey. The author is a university professor of theology and history. I have this book with me. Look! On pages 9 to 12 there is a name-by-name list of the **First Council of National**

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<sup>1)</sup> Srul, an abbreviation for “Israel”, is a derogatory term for Jew, as ‘Ivan’ for Russian.

**Commissars** and their respective nationalities: three Russians, one Georgian, one **Armenian** and **seventeen** Jews. A list of names of the **First Central Executive Committee** and respective nationalities: 5 Russians, 6 Latvians, 1 German, 2 Armenians, 1 Czechoslovakian, 1 Ukrainian (Suryupa) and **41** Jews. Central Command of Cheka: 1 Pole, 1 German, 1 Armenian, 2 Russians, 8 Latvians and **23** Jews. Here on page 36 is a list of U.S.S.R. Ambassadors: 3 Russians and **13** Jews. And so on throughout the entire book: facts, names..."

"No, no, no! That is all anti-Semitic propaganda! There were no Jews in the government of the U.S.S.R.! Jews were victims of the Bolshevik Russian anti-Semitism. Everyone who insists to the contrary is a criminal anti-Semite!"

"Rabbi, did you read Solzhenitsyn's **THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO**? I am positive you did, since the work is presently extremely popular. Do you think that Solzhenitsyn is an anti-Semite too?"

"No, I wouldn't say that. But why?"

"Because Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, in his **THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO**, v. 2, presents on one page pictures of six men who created the system of the Soviet concentration camps called "The Gulags", invented for destruction of prisoners, and their names indicating very clearly that all six were — Jews.<sup>1)</sup> Would you deny that the chief of the bloody GPU, commissar Genrich Yagoda, was a Jew? And his successor Yezhov? And Lavrentiy Beria?"

"It's propaganda! It's all anti-Semitic propaganda! There is an abundance of this type of anti-Semitic literature. And you are repeating it on the basis that some Jews served in the Soviet administration, thus blaming all Jews in the formation of bolshevik rule in Ukraine! That's anti-Semitism!"

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<sup>1)</sup> The pictures in question are presented on page 79 (first paper back edition, Harper & Row, New York): are of Aron Solts, Nataly Frenkel, Yakov Rappaport, Matvei Berman, Lazar Kogan and Genrich Yezhov. Solzhenitsyn explains (p. 99): "Six principal lieutenants of Stalin and Yagoda; six hired murderers each of whom accounted for thirty thousand lives — Firin — Berman — Frenkel — Kogan — Rappaport — Zhuk. Yes, and the Curator of the Canal — Solts."

“Rabbi! Why do you brand every word of truth which is unpleasant to you with ‘anti-Semitism’? At the very beginning of our dialogue, I told you that I desire harmonious collaboration between Ukrainians and Jews, but collaboration based not on our acceptance of your unsubstantiated blame for the ‘traditional anti-Semitism of Ukrainians’, the pogroms during the time of Khmelnytsky, the ‘hajdamaky’, Petlura, the Second World War — but on the peaceful clarification of historical truth. Every Ukrainian manifestation which you call a ‘pogrom’, was only a reaction to the Jews’ own deeds in Ukraine. You’d like Ukrainians to forever remain submissive rabbits on which Jews can experiment. For every action there is a reaction, correct? Every wrong action must result in a reaction painful to the one who performed such an action. You, the Jews, must have the courage to admit your guilt toward Ukrainians, and also admit that there was no ‘a priori’ Ukrainian anti-Semitism; that in the period of the Ukrainian people’s bloody settlement with Polish oppressors during the time of Khmelnytsky and the ‘Hajdamaky’ a considerable number of Jews died at the hands of Ukrainians, because of their actions in the service of the Polish predators, — a merciless economic stranglehold, their mockery of religion, their role as informers . They enraged Ukrainians to the utmost limit. At the time of the revolution and the Ukrainian-Russian war between 1918-20, many Jews also died, not because they were Jews, but because they fought as Communists in the Russian empire’s service, against Ukraine’s independence. Never in history did the Ukrainians do to the Jews what the Jews did in 1948 to the Arabs in Deir Jassin.<sup>1)</sup> Yes, Rabbi, there, in Deir Jassin, it was a real sadistic **pogrom** on innocent, defenseless people!”

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<sup>1)</sup>“Philadelphia Inquirer”, Aug. 8, 1982, p. 10-A, reports: “A 1948 letter to the New York Times that denounced Begin, is now getting wide circulation in Washington, including the White House... Signed by such prominent Jewish intellectuals as Albert Einstein and the late philosopher Hannah Arendt, the letter went to describe how Begin’s terrorist organization the Irgun, had attacked the Arab village of **Deir Jassin** on April 9, 1948. The terrorists killed 240 men, women and children, and then they displayed the bodies and the few captive survivors for the press.”

“ Beat your own chests, because we’ve no cause to beat ours! It’s **your** religion that teaches ‘An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!’ Do you take this to mean that only a Jew must take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and a Ukrainian — upon having his eye taken by a Jew — must smile happily and say, ‘Sir, Jew, I still have another eye, take that one out also?’ Why are you so angered at the facts of truth?”

“Well, because the Ukrainians indeed do not like the Jews and persecute them. Tell the truth, about how it was in Poland — in Eastern ‘Little Poland’ — between the First and Second Wars? You remember as well as I do. Didn’t the Ukrainian nationalists lead a campaign against Jews, so that Ukrainians would not buy anything from the Jews? And in Ukrainian villages — didn’t the villagers, under the influence of this anti-Semitic propaganda, chase the Jews from the villages, and burn Jewish houses?”

“The question you have broached is worth a calm analysis, because it is a means of plainly viewing what the Jews meant by ‘Ukrainian anti-Semitism’. But first, a more accurate definition: speaking of the ‘Malopolska Vschodnya’ (‘Little Poland’) and the ‘Polske Zemye Vschodnye’ (‘Polish Eastern Land’) you, Rabbi, have the Western Ukrainian land in mind, right?”

“Yes. Presently it’s called, ‘Western Ukraine’, because it’s a part of the U.S.S.R., but then it was called ‘Malopolska Vschodnya’. But is this important?”

“Oh, very important, because it characterizes the attitude of Jews toward Ukrainians. As a historian, you know that Galitsya and Volyn, together with Polissya, were a part of Ukraine from time immemorial. In the middle of the 14th century, the Poles seized Galitsya, and then the rest of Ukraine, laid waste by the Mongols. But, however they may have called this territory and its inhabitants, it didn’t alter the fact that it was still Ukraine, and it’s legal owner was the Ukrainian nation. After the first World War, the Poles again seized western Ukraine and named it ‘Malopolska Vschodnya, and its inhabitants, ‘Rusini’. We — Ukrainians — the rightful owners of this land, explained that it

wasn't 'Malo-Polaka' as much as it was '*Vtsalye-nye-Polska*' (*Not-at-all Poland*'), because it was western Ukraine. All that time there was heavy battling of the Ukrainian nation against Polish occupancy. Whose side were you on — you, the Jews, who lived on that Ukrainian soil, and off the Ukrainian people? You, the Jews, became the bulwark — as once before — of the Polish occupancy. You are always on the side of those who have power. This is the reason why the indigenous, enslaved population did not like you."

"Jews didn't meddle in the politics of Polish government. They busied themselves with mercantile affairs, conducted 'handeles' — that is, in English, 'business' — and thus made their living. What's wrong with that? Is anyone in America against businessmen?"

"Clearly not — although mainly when they're honest businessmen."

"So why, then, were Ukrainians against Jewish businessmen? Why were they always urging 'Don't buy from a Jew' — if not because they were born anti-Semites?"

"It's hard for me to believe, Rabbi, that you, an intelligent person, didn't understand what was happening in the Ukrainian lands under Poland, and between the first and second World Wars; that you didn't observe that the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation absorbed all aspects of life, therefore, it absorbed that of trade. As you know, up until that time, trade in Poland — thereby including the Ukrainian land occupied by Poland — was almost entirely in the hands of Jews. Why, then, couldn't trade (businesses) be taken over by the indigenous Ukrainian people on Ukrainian soil? All the more since many Ukrainians completed higher education, and the Poles would not permit them to enter professional work. What were they supposed to do: carry water for the Jews? They took to business. They organized Ukrainian cooperatives. The holy obligation of every Ukrainian person was to support his merchants, his brothers, his children. This is why the Ukrainian cry was: 'Sviy doh svoho poh svoye!' ('Each to his own for his own'). So what does anti-Semitism have to do with that?"

“What indeed! If a Ukrainian went to his own Ukrainian merchant or Ukrainian cooperatives — then he did not go to the Jewish merchant. He consciously boycotted the Jewish merchant because he was told, ‘Don’t go to a Jew?’”

“Yes, clearly, ‘Idy [eedyh] doh svoho’ (‘go to your own’) means ‘Ne idy doh tchuzhoho’ (‘don’t go to a stranger’). And because all the ‘strangers’ were Jews, it became a slogan, ‘Don’t go to a Jew!’ Only, not because he was a Jew, but because he was foreign, and one must support one’s own. Therefore, had these been Chinese merchants in some village or town, then they would have said, ‘Don’t go to the Chinaman, but to your own!’ Would this have been ‘anti-Chinese’? Rabbi: if you are carrying bread to your chickens, which a strange dog is eyeing very greedily, and if you throw that bread to your chickens instead of giving it to the stray dog, does this mean that you’re ‘anti-canine’, that you hate dogs? You, the Jews, drive your attacking notions of ‘anti-Semite’, ‘anti-Semitism’ to the bounds of absurdity.”

“But didn’t you drive the Jews from the villages of Galitsya? Didn’t you burn their houses?”

“No! It was the Jewish tavern keepers who fled from Ukrainian villages. These taverns (korshmas) were a curse to the Ukrainian villager. The tavern turned an honest, hard-working person into a drunkard, and drained him of his blood. Wives and children went hungry, they lacked even a piece of bread, because the alcoholic villager brought his last ‘sotyky’ (penny) to the tavern for whiskey. The tavern-keeper, naturally, rejoiced, because swiftly and unobtrusively the villagers’ property became his. We carried on successful anti-alcoholic actions! Villagers stopped drinking. The tavern keeper had nothing more to do in the village, so he left the town complaining that the ‘Ukrainian nationalist anti-Semites’ had driven him out of the Ukrainian village.”

“But why did they burn the Jewish businesses?”

“You think, Rabbi, that the taverns were burned? This was certainly not done by ‘Ukrainian anti-Semites’. When the innkeeper decided to leave the village for the town, and had insured his tavern and house well, it was then that the tavern



burned 'by itself', and the poor victim was 'forced' to accept a nice little insurance settlement. Such 'anti-Semitic actions' against bankrupt 'businessmen' in America are an everyday occurrence. Except in this case, it's clear to everyone what's going on, and nobody calls them 'acts of anti-Semitism'."

"You have just said that almost all Jews in Ukraine, as well as in Poland, occupied themselves with trade. To express it another way: almost all Jews made their living by trade. Therefore, wasn't it a planned anti-Jewish action, when Ukrainians took trade right out of the Jews' hands in Ukraine?"

"It's true that the Jews were terribly displeased with the development of Ukrainian commerce and industry and, instead of a sincere cooperation, they raised a hue and cry that Ukrainians are anti-Semites, and consequently conduct anti-Jewish actions by wiping out Jewish merchants. Would you, the Jews, want Ukrainians to labor like oxen on their land, without a protesting word, for little pay, in order to feed with their sweat and blood the Polish lord and Jewish merchant, without even daring to dream about more profitable work for themselves? But — did Ukrainians in western Ukraine conduct pogroms of any kind on the Jews?"

"Absolutely not. God spared us from that".

"Have you forgotten about the Polish pogroms on Jews? Forgotten, how Polish students drove Jews from Polish universities, announced 'dzyen bez zhyduf' ('the day without Jews'), how they seated Jewish students in the university separately, on the left side, the 'ghetto'? Do you recall how many Jewish students died at the hands of Polish chauvinists? You're not raising a hue and cry about this, nor calling it 'anti-Semitism'. In your eyes only Ukrainians were anti-Semites because they took to business."

"We're not praising Polish chauvinism."

"So, you see, how aptly you have expressed it: You're not condemning Polish anti-Semitism, even though it existed; but you consistently condemn Ukrainian anti-Semitism, though it's a figment of your imagination."

“Maybe you’ll say that Ukrainians always conducted themselves best of all toward the Jews?”

“You’ve just spoken the holy truth, Rabbi! This is why, in spite of everything, even today more Jews live in Ukraine than anywhere else outside of Israel and America!”

“But why, then, did the Ukrainians avenge themselves on the Jews when the Germans occupied Ukraine in 1941?”

“Pardon me, but among your books I see Raoul Hilberg’s ‘Destruction of the European Jews’. May I take it and use it to answer your question? I saw this book during the trial procedures in America, when Jews unfoundedly blamed Ukrainians for ‘war crimes against Jews’.”

Dr. Kahana, astonished, handed me the book: “Be my guest!”

I opened the book to page 330 and translated into Polish: “In September 1943, a French collaborator of the Gestapo, who operated under the name of Dr. Frederick, had a discussion with Monsignor Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church in Lviv. The Metropolitan blamed the Germans for the inhuman actions against Jews... Dr. Frederick replied that in accordance with his sources of information, Ukrainians also participated in the rise of opposition against Jews, but in the face of facts — that in Lviv alone and nearby were found 18 thousand massacred Ukrainian political prisoners — this was a natural reaction. In addition, almost all the NKVD members were Jews.’”

The rabbi listened to my translation and carefully read it himself, since he understands the English language.

“Here, Rabbi, is the reply of a Jewish witness. After the Red Army’s flight and the opening of the prison gates, the Ukrainian masses saw 18 thousand horribly massacred corpses of their sons, daughters, fathers in the cells, corridors and yards. Is it any wonder that they were ready to tear every degenerate sadist who was a member of the NKVD into shreds for this? Why are you calling this act of agonized revenge an ‘anti-Semitic pogrom’ caused by Ukrainians? Because — as testified in the documentation of the Jewish historian’s book — almost all those monstrous

sadists of the NKVD were Jews? Are Ukrainians at fault in this?"

The rabbi nervously stroked his beard and remained silent.

"You, Rabbi, were also there in Lviv at the time. Tell me, were those 'pogroms', as you say, perpetually led by Ukrainians?"

"No, that happened on the day the Germans entered Lviv. After that it quieted down. Persecution, the ghetto, firing squads, and deportations began in the Fall of 1941, when the Gestapo strengthened their forces in Lviv."

"You recall that on June 30, 1941, the Ukrainians announced a resurgence of the Ukrainian nation and created a Ukrainian government?"

"Yes, I remember."

"The Ukrainian militia was created then. Did that Ukrainian militia persecute Jews, kill and destroy them?"

"I'm not saying that, because it did not happen."

"I remember that the Ukrainian mayor of the city of Lviv immediately issued a special order that Jews were not to be removed to the end of the food lines. During the Ukrainian regime in Lviv, did you ever see the Ukrainian militia, who kept order, draw any Jews out of line and place them at the end of the line?"

"No, I never saw or heard about any such thing."

"Did you hear, then, what happened to the Ukrainian government?"

"I heard — they said that Hitler ordered the liquidation of the Ukrainian government; Bandera, Stetsko and others were promptly arrested and imprisoned. The Jews knew at that time that all the prisons in Lviv were overflowing with 'Banderivtsi' (followers of Bandera), who from there were taken to concentration camps. I remember that this was in August and September of 1941."

"Therefore, you yourself are stating that 'banderivtsi', Ukrainian independents, not Jews, were the first sacrifices of Hitler's reign of terror in western Ukraine in 1941."

"I'm not denying it, but not all Ukrainians were

‘banderivtsi’, there were also ‘melnykivtsi’, the UUC<sup>1)</sup>, Ukrainian police...”

“Wait a moment, Rabbi! Weren’t the Jews then subject to some Ukrainian organization — ‘melnykivtsi’, UUC members, Ukrainian police or their own Jewish Council, called the ‘Judenrat’?”

“Obviously, not to the Ukrainians. Of course, there was the German government. But what was the Judenrat? They were German collaborators, they did only that what the Germans ordered them to do.”

“But the Jews voted for the ‘Judenrat’, obeyed it, went to the ghettos at its command, as well as to forced labor, fusillades, and gas chambers.”

“What else should we have done? What **could** we do? We were beaten by everyone, death was everywhere!”

“We’ve already discussed that. I am only reminding you not to find fault with Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Central Committee and Ukrainian police, but with your own Jewish Council, the ‘Judenrat’, which obediently carried out the commands of Eichmann, and which all Jews that I met in Auschwitz cursed more than they did the German Gestapo. Jewish informants,<sup>2)</sup> for ‘Judas’ money, searched out and delivered those Jews who attempted to hide somewhere, to the Gestapo. Concentrate on those who really were to be blamed. Are you aware that in Auschwitz the executioner who always hung prisoners was a Jew, Jacob? I don’t know his last name”.

“Then I’ll tell you what it was — his name was Jacob Kozelchuk. We tried him in Israel, since he survived and moved to Israel. And the jury in Israel freed him.”

“They freed him?!”

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<sup>1)</sup> Ukrainian Central Committee

<sup>2)</sup> The Jewish author, L. Gross in his “The Last Jews in Berlin” (Readers’ Digest, Sept. 1982, pp. 202-3), reports about two of the most notorious Jewish Gestapo informers in Germany, called “catchers”, Rolf Isaaksohn and Stella Kubler: “They were said to have accounted for the arrest of 2300 Jews, hundreds of whom were later murdered in concentration camps.” Such Jewish informers, called “catchers”, who voluntarily helped Nazis to annihilate Jews, were active in every city and town in German-occupied territory.

Now it was my turn to be amazed.

"Yes, because many former Polish prisoners of Auschwitz testified that he collaborated with a secret Polish organization, and at the time of execution he secretly conveyed letters from those condemned to death to the members of the Polish organization in Auschwitz. He did the same thing for Jews but he had to hang them. If he hadn't, somebody else would have hung them. That's why they absolved him from all guilt and punishment."

I must admit that, until my conversation with Rabbi Kahana, I had never heard of the fate of the Auschwitz executioner Jacob, and now I was astonished.

"Rabbi," I said, "How can anyone know whether he didn't first show all those secret letters, which he conveyed from those condemned for hanging, to the Gestapo in the 'Political Division' of Auschwitz, and inform the Gestapo from whom and to whom he was conveying them?"

This question was an unexpected one for the Rabbi.

"Hmm... Nobody brought this suspicion up at the trial. But why do you suspect this, Doctor?"

"Because in Israel during the trial of the Jew for hanging prisoners in the Auschwitz concentration camp, there was enough testimony — that he helped convey secret letters but had to do the hanging since if he didn't, some one else would — for you to free him from all guilt and blame. But when in Philadelphia they accused the Ukrainian, W. Osidach, of working as a translator in the police force — as if he had been committing a crime against Jews — the judge did not take into consideration at all that the accused — as sworn by his wife — sheltered a Jewess and her child in his apartment. And for this not only was he in danger of death, but his wife and small son also. American judges, arbitrators — primarily the U. S. Office of Special Investigations, which truly appears to be a Jewish 'holy inquisition' — never takes into consideration that in some instances where there was some collaboration of the Ukrainian police with the Gestapo authorities, then those Ukrainians were forced to obey the commands of the Germans since failure to do so meant the

treat of the gallows or the firing squad, and 'if they had not done this, someone else would have.' Why, Rabbi, do you have such unequal measures, when you, the rabbis, called upon Jews to heed and obey all the orders of the German masters, to go with their wives and children to the ghettos, firing squads, gas chambers, and your Jewish police carried out all this at Eichmann's command, then you say, 'But what could we have done? We had to do it!' But when Ukrainian priests exhorted subjugation to the German masters, hard labor, and the surrender of wheat contingents — then this was criminal collaboration with Nazis? Why aren't you seeking those who issued these orders to shoot Jews and hang Ukrainians: the former sergeant majors of the German Gestapo, who are now living peacefully in Germany? Thousands of them are there."

"We are searching for them, as well as for those who assisted them. Because every crime against the Jews must be avenged!"

"Rabbi, it's horrifying for me to listen to this. To me this sounds like the cries of some festering disease that breeds and spreads anti-Semitism. Having the opportunity, you are avenging yourselves blindly and savagely, and thereby engendering a renewed loathing in us. Vengeance breeds vengeance for vengeance. And how long will this last? Isn't it time to forget all that? Your assaults and unhealthy desire for revenge turns your friends into your enemies — and you desperately need to seek friends, not new enemies. Are you really unaware that you have no friends anywhere in the world?"

"We know that, Doctor. We all know that very well. We know that everyone hates us."

"But why, Rabbi, why? Just a few days ago, your Prime Minister Begin called even the American President Reagan and Haig, and Weinberger anti-Semites. Anyone who doesn't want to be a puppet in your hands is an anti-Semite. In the U.S. there has already occurred even this wonder: when the heads of the forty American-Jewish organizations judged Begin's unyielding attitude in the talks with Egypt as being harmful to Jewish interests, then

the Jewish newspaper named even them — the Jewish leaders — anti-Semites.”

“Because here in Israel we know better than any Americanized Jews in America what is good for the Jews.”

“But, Rabbi, you haven’t fully recovered from one terrible holocaust — the German Nazi one — when already a second Arab one is hanging over your heads; and you are laying the foundations for yet a third, transforming your friends in America forcibly into anti-Semites. You really can’t see the menacing black cloud that is hovering over you?”

“We’ve lived through much, and Jehovah saved us. For three thousand years we’ve survived. We’ll survive now, too.”

“And what if in the event of a new Israeli-Arab war the American nation and government will say that ‘it’s none of our business’! It’s a war between Jehovah and Allah, and it won’t do for Christian America to intervene. Then Israel won’t get any weapons, tanks, planes, ammunition, or even ten dollars — let alone billions’ — worth of help. What then?”

“This will never happen — never! This has never happened and never will!”

“I don’t know — it’s not my affair. In conclusion, I want to underscore once again that I never was, and am not, an anti-Semite. The Ukrainian nation never was and is not ‘traditionally anti-Semitic’. Don’t take it upon yourselves to make it anti-Semitic.”

The rabbi sat deeply in thought.

“So what concrete advice and suggestions do you have?” he asked.

“First of all — that, which I have mentioned several times. I’m convinced that the primary reason why no one in the world likes Jews — and many despise them — is Jewish Nazism; that is, the idea of the Jewish nation’s superiority with a marked condescension toward all non-Jews as ‘goys’ created for the purpose of serving Jews; the idea of the ‘chosen people’, ‘Urbarmenschen’, the only true ‘children of God’.”

“Doctor! What are you saying?” asked the rabbi, startled.

“How can you call our faith ‘Nazism’ because we believe that we

are God's chosen people? This is our religion. The Jews have believed this since Abraham, Isaac, Moses — and they must believe it until the end of the world!"

"Rabbi! I know that this is an unusually delicate subject. But it's vital to discuss it and think calmly and courageously. Yes, you must have courage to comprehend the consequences of such a decision. It makes no difference whether this is the consequence of religion, faith, or a coldly calculated political, moral, or immoral attitude. The fact is that every proclamation of one nation's superiority above all others always bring a reaction of hostility against that nation, and the degradations by the 'superior', 'chosen' nation of others breeds an unvanquished desire for vengeance against these unprovoked humiliations. In order to preserve the pride and faith of your people, you must announce that Jews are not superior to, but are equal with the rest of the world's people."

"That's absurd! This would be a suicide worse, even, than Hitler's holocaust! The unshakable conviction that we, the Jews, are the chosen people, the true children of God, who are under the special protection of Jehovah — is the basis of Judaism. Destroy this and Judaism is destroyed at the core. Tell me: Why would a Jew in any nation of the world stubbornly hold to his religion — and be persecuted for it — if he stopped believing that he is a member of the chosen people, with whose ancestors Jehovah Himself spoke and made agreements? Even your apostle Paul always wrote: 'First of all[ he spoke] to the Hebrews, then finally to the Greeks and all others'. The Hebrews before all others!"

"If so, then you must constantly be aware that the reason no one likes you lies not with them, but with you, the Jews."

"We know this. And it must remain thus. And what next? Anything else that we, the Jews, are ourselves guilty of?"

"Yes, in the political area. Your fatherland is Israel. In all other nations of the world you are guests and should conduct yourselves accordingly. But you want to reign supreme over all. Everywhere, you want to be the secret leaders of power. First of all in the area of economics, then: in the press, radio, television



and even in politics. This angers every landlord. It is especially aggravating when it concerns an enslaved nation, in which you, the Jews, stand in the service of the occupier against the native settlement. This does not pertain to the behavior of the Jews only in Ukraine, as we had discussed previously.

“Where else, then?”

“Everywhere, Here’s an example. Yesterday, Mr. Suslensky gave me a pamphlet you published to glance over. *World Zionist Organization. Jewish Heroism in Modern Times*. Jerusalem, Hanuka, 5726. In it, I found very characteristic information on pages 122-123. Let’s read it:

“THE KIELCE POGROM. —

“It was the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946, that served as the turning point in the Briha movement. After millions of Polish Jews perished during the Nazi occupation, it seemed as though the slaughter was still not over. The Kielce pogrom took the lives of 42 Jews, after 351 had died in the roiting that had occurred prior to November 1945. The massacre was mainly planned and perpetuated by elements who opposed the new regime, and their incitement bore all the classic overtones of Polish anti-Semitism, with blood-libel charges of taunts of “Jewish Communism”. The distressing novelty was that even the organized factory workers joined in the bloodshed. The attitude of the Polish Church was scandalous, both during the pogrom itself (as evidenced by the Bishop of Kielce) and subsequently (on the part of Cardinal Hlond, the Polish Primate). The utterances of these church dignitaries made it quite clear — to put it mildly — that the Church would not lift a finger to prevent such attacks on the Jews from recurring. What Hlond said was most illuminating: “The Jews fill too crucial roles in the life of Poland — they are playing with fire!”

“So, what do you want to say by that?”

“First,” I continued, “I would like to show you that the Jews ceaselessly blame Ukrainians for pogroms, and here we see that even in recent times the Poles led bloody pogroms on the Jews. Second: shouldn’t these new manifestations of ‘anti-Semitism’ make you, the Jews, wonder why this is recurring in

Poland, where just recently the Germans had destroyed millions of Jews? 'You're taking Cardinal Hlond's statement as a clear revelation of anti-Semitism coming from the highest hierarchy of Catholic Poland. Perhaps it is so, but doesn't it show you the reasons for the pogroms: the provocative meddling of Jews in local politics, in the service of the occupiers? Bolshevik Moscow bred its own Bolshevik-Russian rule in 'liberated' Poland and the handful of Jews who were redeemed from the German pogrom immediately went to serve Moscow against the Poles, at the very summit of the national administration. Exactly the way it had been in 1917 to 1923 and later, in Ukraine.'

"So you're justifying those Polish pogroms, praising them and making the Jews themselves responsible for them?"

"No, nothing remotely like that! I only wanted to direct your attention to the warning words of Cardinal Hlond that the Jews go into service of the occupier against the native population and play with fire. In Poland, in Ukraine, everywhere. And when they create a conflagration and get burned, they lament throughout the entire world that the Jews never harmed anyone, that the blood-thirsty anti-Semites of a given nation create those bestial pogroms."

"So, in your opinion, Jews should not have any political rights in the country where they have settled?"

"Equal rights for the Jews in any free country are one thing, Rabbi, and the Jews in the service of the occupiers to the detriment of an enslaved nation, is another. We have already discussed that the government of the Ukrainian National Republic had given the same rights in its constitution to the Jews as to the Ukrainians. Consequently, as citizens of Ukraine, all the Jews should have stood in the ranks of the Ukrainian army against the Russian invaders, since having equal rights, the Jews also had equal responsibilities toward Ukraine. However, they went en masse into the service of red Moscow against the Ukrainian nation."

"I have already heard that. Continue with your suggestions for the future."

"For the future — let the Jews in Ukraine stop serving

Bolshevik Moscow, chiefly the KGB, against Ukrainians; and beyond Ukraine, beginning with Israel, let them curb their Ukraine-devouring campaign, their filthy accusations regarding the pogroms during Khmelnytsky's time, during the Hajdamaky period, Petlura's time, during the Second World War. Show the Jews honestly that the fault lay entirely on the side of the Jews themselves. Stand in the defense of truth!

"W-h-a-a-t?" the rabbi shuddered. "You demand that we change and correct our textbooks of the Jewish nation's history, our national attitude?"

"Rabbi: Aren't the Jews, demanding from the Pope and the entire Catholic Church that they correct all that is not agreeable to the Jews in the New Testament, namely, all references to their blame in Christ's crucifixion? Didn't you, the Jews, demand that even the Germans in Oberammergau delete everything that displeases the Jews from their famous Passion Play because it's 'anti-Semitism'? Well, we demand the same from you because it's anti-Ukrainism. In addition, you demand that we not speak the unpleasant truth to you and we request that the Jews stop gouging us."

A moment of prolonged silence descended. At length the rabbi spoke:

"So you would want us, the Jews, to revise and correct all our school textbooks in Israel, and not only in Israel, but correct all our scientific works about the history of the Jewish people in Ukraine from the earliest times until today, and even our religious writings?"

"Yes, Rabbi. Even your prayers, in which you curse all our national heroes, Hetman Khmelnytsky and Simon Petlura — in the name of historical truth, in the name of scientific objectivity, and in the name of good relations between our nations, between Jews and Ukrainians."

"This is similar to your wanting to turn Mount Sinai upside down! For hundreds of years the wrongdoings against Jews by Ukrainians have been written and recorded in our history, and you want to turn it around: that Jews were wronging Ukrainians?"

“Because it’s already time, Rabbi, to tell the Jews the truth. It will be unpleasant for them, and they will grimace — but it will be the truth, nevertheless. For hundreds of years untruths have been written. Christians, as you know, recorded for almost two thousand years that Jews, during Christ’s trial, shouted: ‘Crucify, crucify him! May his blood fall on us and on our children!’ And all Christians believe that it was indeed so. And you, the Jews, now demand that this be erased from Christian books, from the Gospel and prayers. So why then can’t you throw out and correct in your books all those defamations and contempts against Ukrainians — when all honest Jews know that they are fanciful and intentional distortions of the truth? Obviously, this can’t be done all at once, but step-by-step. First of all, stop all new defamations; next, clarify the old ones.”

The Rabbi grew deeply thoughtful. At last he replied:

“Our conversation was extremely interesting!”

“And, I believe, beneficial. We’ve exchanged much food for thought. Let us think it all over once more, and yet again, so that we could sincerely wish each other well, unlike the two Jewish neighbors from one of your Jewish anecdotes.”

“Oh? What was it? Try to remember!”

“Two neighbors, Itsyk and Moshko, were constantly quarreling and wishing each other ill. But on Judgement Day Itsyk says to Moshko: ‘Neighbor, why do we always have to fight? We are neighbors, let us forget everything and live in harmony.’

“ ‘Very well, Itsyk!’ ”

“ ‘So, now I wish you...well, I wish you... well, the same thing you wish me!’ ”

And Moshko jumped up:

‘Itsyk, are you starting that again?!’ ”

“In jest, I’ll relate one of our own Jewish jokes pertaining to our discussion. Christ was a Jew, was he not? So what concern is it of anybody’s what Jews did to a Jew? It’s our own Jewish affair, you understand?”

“I don’t wish to broach on theological matters but, I’ll reply to that with another of your Jewish witticisms. A Jew prays: ‘Jehovah, I know that we are your chosen nation. But I beg you,

at least for a while, choose someone else: so that when the chosen nation is once again beaten, it will not be me and my children!"

### **"THE UKRAINIAN GENERAL VLASOV"**

With the head of the Committee of the Righteous of Yad Vashem, Dr. Moshe Beysky, judge of the supreme court in Jerusalem, we led a two-hour discussion in his office in the Supreme Court building of Israel. He was hospitable, but he seemed immediately hostile towards Ukrainians. He spoke freely in English. Also present were Mr. Suslensky and Dr. Kleiner. He had already been informed of the purpose of my visit, as well as about myself. The context of my discussion with Rabbi Kahana had also been relayed to him by the Rabbi himself.

"The matter of Sheptytsky? I and all the other sixteen members of the Committee are quite familiar with it. It first came up around 1964. Since then it has been discussed in at least seven conferences, the last being in October 1981, when the Association of Hebrew-Ukrainian Cooperation intervened in this matter, adding many signatures of Jews in Israel and America."

"And the result?"

"After your intervention we will return to the subject at our next meeting. But Rabbi Kahana has explained to you exhaustively. In fact, he always mediates on this matter. I know what the results of the vote will be this time, but personally I agree with Dr. Kahana. For the acknowledgement of **Count Andrej Sheptytsky** as one of the 'Righteous', I vote with both hands raised; to acknowledge **Metropolitan Sheptytsky**, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as 'Righteous' — never, never, never! And I'll never introduce such a motion myself!"

"Why?"

"First of all, from the legal aspect: we assign this honor only to individuals, never to establishments or organizations. We had a case where a faction of Polish partisans had saved a group of Jews and now want us to bestow this merit to the entire partisan division. We dismissed that and we recognized only the commander. In this instance, giving merit to Sheptytsky as a

Metropolitan and head of the Ukrainian Church, we would be acknowledging that the entire Ukrainian Church rescued Jews — and this never occurred. On the contrary, the Ukrainian Church helped Germans against Jews. And even Sheptytsky himself greeted the German governor Frank with bread-and-salt, when the latter came to Lviv to commission the destruction of Jews.”

“And you believe that Metropolitan Sheptytsky himself actually greeted Frank with bread-and-salt?”

“Yes, I do. Why should I have doubts, when there are witnesses who saw it?”

“Who are these witnesses — Frank, the Ukrainians, Germans?”

“No, Jews.”

“I am amazed, Doctor, at your trust in Jewish witnesses. How could the Metropolitan have presented the governor with a plate of bread-and-salt, when he was paralyzed, and could not maneuver one hand at all? Didn’t you put this question to the eye-witnesses? You are the Supreme Court Justice in Israel, and thus obligated to examine each witness very critically. Who were these eyewitnesses? How could a Jew have been present at the reception of the German governor? The Gestapo checked every little nook and cranny in the vicinity where General-Governor Frank was to be.”

“I don’t remember details. It was Dr. Kahana who researched everything.”

“In his conversation with me two days ago he said that it was not ‘Metropolitan Sheptytsky himself, but the then-rector Slipyj at his commission.’ Dr. Beysky, I have to scream ‘gewalt’ in Jewish for this manner of retracing the truth about Ukrainians. Your Rabbi says that Metropolitan Sheptytsky had entrusted the rector of the Theological Academy to greet Frank, and you — Israeli Supreme Court Justice — on the basis of this are claiming as an incontrovertible fact that it was the Metropolitan himself at the reception. Here you have proof how your ‘truth’ about Ukrainians is created.”

Dr. Beysky became extremely confused.

“Well, however it may have been, but it’s a fact that

Ukrainians greeted the Germans with flowers, especially Governor Frank...”

“I didn’t see that because at the time I wasn’t receiving Germans, but the German sadists received me and my companions in Auschwitz with rubber sticks. And as for the greeting, aren’t you aware that when the Russian-Bolshevik army occupied western Ukraine in September of 1939, a Jewish delegation greeted them in every town and village of western Ukraine? And not only greeted — it immediately announced to the NKVD command its willingness to actively help in the searching out and destruction of Ukrainian nationalists? The Jews also tried to greet the Germans with delegations, but they stopped that immediately when they saw that the Germans, having learned it was a Jewish delegation, herded these delegations into cars and trucks, drove them out of the city and shot them.”

“What? The Jews greeted the Hitlerian criminals?!?”

“Yes, Dr. Beysky. More accurately — they wanted to, and attempted to greet them. If this discussion were not taking place today but twenty years earlier, I’d give you dozens of eyewitnesses who saw this tragi-comedy occur. It’s a shame that these witnesses, after forty years, are no longer alive.”

“No! This is something inconceivable!”

“Today, yes. But then, as I myself recall from conversations with Jews in Lviv, Jews didn’t believe in the possibility of that which later occurred. On the contrary, they believed that the Germans would need Jews now, as once the Polish aristocracy that occupied Ukraine had needed them because all Jews knew the Ukrainian and German, as well as the Polish, languages. In the first days, many Jews announced themselves to the Germans as translators. And in many cases when the Gestapo arrested Ukrainians, the Jews benefited from being translators. Not too long ago the Soviet Journal gave out — supposedly on the basis of discovered Gestapo documents — that such a collaborator of the Gestapo was Dr. Wiesenthal. You must have heard about that.”

“I heard — it’s Bolshevik provocation! The KGB falsifies documents! Nobody intelligent can believe them. They’re specia-

lists in falsifying documents and providing false witnesses!”

“In this I agree with you. Except why is it that where the anti-Jewish testimony of the KGB against Wiesenthal is concerned, no Jew has any doubt that it’s all a KGB fabrication? But when Jews in America, on the basis of these same ‘testimonies’, blame Ukrainians for collaboration with the Nazis, then the Jewish investigators, as well as the judges, accept this as truth, while they accept the falsified KGB ‘documents’ as the original, true documents? Why isn’t Dr. Wiesenthal placed in the defendant’s chair alongside Fedorenko, in the U.S.?”

“How can you say such things? Who isn’t aware that all Jews were marked by the Germans for physical destruction? And Ukrainians are notorious anti-Semites. It was not only in Ukraine that they helped Germans destroy Jews. In May 1945, Hitler no longer was alive, Germany had capitulated — and the Ukrainian General Vlasov, with his Ukrainian henchmen, shot those Jews in Prague who had been saved from the Germans.”

I froze.

“Ukrainian General Vlasov? With his henchmen?”

“Yes, isn’t that the truth? What will you say to that?”

“And what will you say, Dr. Beysky, when, as an example of Jewish hate toward Christians, I’ll give you a ‘fact’: that today, in peaceful times, the Jewish General Arafat with his followers, whom he calls the PLO, mercilessly destroys Christians in Lebanon?”

Dr. Beysky stared at me in astonishment.

“I don’t understand what you’re trying to say.”

“Very simple — General Vlasov was a Ukrainian as Arafat is Jewish. General Vlasov’s henchmen were composed of Ukrainians in the same manner that Arafat’s PLO is composed of Jews. Vlasov — Russian chauvinist and imperialist, loved Ukrainians like Arafat loves Jews. Is that clear?”

“Well, possibly I fell prey to false information. But everyone said that General Vlasov was a Ukrainian, that all his soldiers were Ukrainians, and that’s why even in Czechoslovakia they murdered Jews.”

“I’m surprised that as yet you haven’t declared Eichmann a



Ukrainian. Perhaps it's out of fear that, in reply, Ukrainians would start searching for documents to the effect that Adolf Hitler's father was a Jew converted to Christianity, as they said in Germany?"

"Yes, but the Ukrainian police nonetheless took part in the liquidation of the ghetto in Warsaw! Or will you deny that?"

"The Ukrainian police under the command of Colonel Kaminsky?"

"Yes."

"It's the same with General Vlasov and his Ukrainians. Col. Kaminsky was a Polish or a Russian 'Volksdeutsch'. But that particular police division was indeed called, for some reason, the 'Ukrainian police'. I mention it in my Auschwitz memoirs. At one point, it [that division] was in Babice near Auschwitz, and one day they were all brought in for taking their pictures for identity cards. The photo workshop was in the building where I was then working in the disinfecting sector. A Pole who worked with me told me: 'Pyotrush [Peter], look, they've brought the Ukrainian police in to be photographed.' They were all standing in a row in the corridor waiting for their turn. On the pretext of going with papers and paraphernalia from one end of the building to the other, I slowly passed by them and asked each one who he was. Out of three hundred, only three said that they were Ukrainian. The rest were 'Kavkaztsi' — the people of the Caucasus region, and Russians. They all spoke in Russian. This, then, was the 'Ukrainian police' that participated in the liquidation of Jewish ghetto in Warsaw."

I had deliberately quoted the words of the Polish prisoner in the Polish language. Dr. Beysky caught it up:

"Oh, so you speak Polish — then I'd prefer to speak it also."

The rest of the conversation took place in the Polish language.

"So you're undoubtedly saying that there was no Ukrainian police during the German regime, correct?"

"No, there ~~was~~ a Ukrainian police at the time. But not in

Prague, or wherever, and not under the command of the Russian General Vlasov, nor in Warsaw under the Polish 'Volksdeutsch' Kaminsky's command — but in Ukraine. And not everywhere in Ukraine because Ukraine's territory was torn apart by the German occupiers: Halychyna was assigned to the Polish general-governor as the 'District of Galitsien'; Carpathian Ukraine was given to the Hungarians for their collaboration with Hitler's Germany; for the same reason, Rumania was given Bukovyna, Bessarabia and part of the territory along the eastern bank of the Dnistr River, which the Rumanians called 'Transdnistria' — and from the rest they created the 'Reichs-Kommisariat of Ukraine'. The Ukrainian police was organized in the Autumn of 1941, after the Germans' liquidation of the Ukrainian administration, when Ukraine had renewed its independence on June 30, 1941. Its members numbered six thousand. There was no central command. Its functions were administrative, such as those of the American police in the U.S. It worked among the Ukrainian population. The Poles had their own police. The Jews had their own Jewish police. Ask Rabbi Kahana as an eyewitness, and he will affirm — as a Jew to a Jew — that everything which is attributed to the Ukrainians in their treatment of Jews was in fact done by the Jewish police. But then again, you don't have to ask Dr. Kahana. It was here, in Israel that you tried many of those Judenrat members and, chiefly, the Jewish police. You know how ruthless they were in their relations with the Jew, and how persistent in carrying out the orders of the Gestapo. Is that not so?"

Dr. Beysky was silent.

"It was here that I also heard that many of them fled to America in the face of trials in Israel, because of their responsibility in collaborating with the Nazis in the Jews' destruction. Shouldn't they, in fact, be ferreted out and tried by the U. S. Office of Special Investigations in the U.S. as war criminals, instead of innocent Ukrainians such as Osidach and Koziy?"

Dr. Beysky shuddered.

"But in Babyn Yar near Kiev the Ukrainian police, along

with the German, indeed shot down Jews?"

"No, in Babyn Yar the German police shot Ukrainians and Jews, but Ukrainians were shot first. Until the seizure of Kiev the Gestapo carefully tracked the 'Banderivtsi', who were preparing to proclaim the renewal of the Ukrainian independence in Kiev. As members of marching groups who entered Kiev, they were rounded up from the start by the Gestapo and shot in Babyn Yar. Later, the Jews' turn came, and other Ukrainians'... Not Jews but Ukrainians were the first victims of the German reign of terror in Lviv and Kiev. You are a judge, and responsible for testifying to the truth. As a judge, you demand from each witness that he speak the truth and nothing but the truth. Shouldn't you, before all others, be faithful to this vow in your sentencing of Ukrainians?"

"But in our archives I saw a photograph of the Ukrainian police with their machine guns, which they used by the Jewish graves."

"I'm not contradicting you; it's possible that you saw such a picture. But where did it come from? Did the accommodating KGB give it to you? When we talked about the KGB documents that related to Dr. Wiesenthal's collaboration with the Gestapo in the Jew's destruction, you affirmed decisively that the KGB is known for its falsification of various documents. Does this mean that the photo, in which supposedly the Ukrainian police is gunning down the Jews by order of the Germans — is also a KGB deception? If you like, the KGB will give you the 'original' photo of the Jews crucifying Christ, or the Jews holding a Christian boy's feet, his throat cut, and collecting his blood into an urn for 'matzoh'."

"How so? Are you excluding the possibility that the Ukrainian police, either by itself or under Gestapo command, gunned down Jews?"

"I'm not the only one who is excluding this possibility. Everyone who is familiar with the events in Ukraine under German occupation, and who has common sense will shrug off such an accusation as being absurd. The Ukrainian police couldn't even arrest Jews without the permission or command of

the German police — let alone shoot them. There were German police divisions for this, which were assisted by the **Jewish** police. Even if it had happened that the Ukrainian police, at the command of the Germans, helped transport Jews to be shoot, the Germans would never have given machine guns into the hands of Ukrainians because the Germans didn't trust them. A Ukrainian policeman, having acquired a machine gun, would have been able to utilize it and before the Germans could realize it, he would have sprayed them with gunfire so that in a few moments not one German would have remained alive. The Gestapo knew that in each section of the Ukrainian police, there was a deliberately planted 'Banderivets', and almost all the rest sympathized with the 'Banderivtsi'. Therefore, considerable portions of the Ukrainian police went over to the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), having seized weapons from the Germans and liquidated the Gestapo members. The execution of Jews by firing squads was a strictly guarded privilege of the German police divisions. The Ukrainian policemen had one rifle for every two policemen and two bullets for each rifle."

"But if the Germans had given the Ukrainians machine guns and ordered them to shoot Jews, wouldn't they have carried out this command with pleasure?"

"I don't attempt to guess 'what would have been'. But I read the following account in the memoirs of one German, who was a member of the 'Einsatzkommando' police: The Germans brought a group of Jews and a division of the Ukrainian police to a pit. The German commander ordered the Jews to undress and line up before the pit. He gave the Ukrainians machine guns with blanks in them — which the Ukrainians were not aware of — and gave the order to shoot the Jews. All the Ukrainian policemen refused to obey this command. Then the Germans ordered the Jews to dress and gave them the guns. The Ukrainians were told to undress and queue up in front of the pit. The Jews were then given orders to 'fire', and the Ukrainians were promptly sprayed with a round of blanks. 'Did this teach you something?', the Germans asked the Ukrainians and sent them back to their stations. During the night all the Ukrainian police fled into the woods to the

UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army.”

“Incredible! Difficult to believe. I’ve heard so many heavy accusations from Jews that the Ukrainians helped Germans destroy Jews! Very often I heard that Ukrainians were worse, more terrible even, than the Germans. Why is that?”

“Because ‘fear has wide eyes.’ Jews in Ukraine knew the truth so well about themselves and their actions that they measured the Ukrainians’ desire for revenge with their own, expecting the worst from them. Frightened to death, they set forth as factual that which they were frightened of and which was a terrible apparition in their imagination. But the reality was entirely different, because hunger for vengeance is repulsive to the Ukrainian soul. You yourself, when looking into the affair of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, heard the testimony of Jews themselves: how as ‘repayment’ for the Jews’ helping the NKVD in annihilation of Ukrainian nationalists the Metropolitan, the entire Ukrainian clergy, as well as lay people, saved Jewish lives, risking their own and their families’ lives. In your archives you probably have German documents as to how many Ukrainians died on the gallows for rescuing Jews. Jews were then expecting a terrible vengeance from the Ukrainians — who repaid them by saving them from death. And afterwards — the Ukrainians expected some sort of thanks from you, but you stubbornly and steadfastly brand them, before the world, as some sort of bloodthirsty ‘traditional anti-Semites’. You don’t even want to be grateful to Metropolitan Sheptytsky.”

“Well, after your intervention we will take your plea into consideration, and we will look over the matter at our next committee conference.”

“Excuse me, but I’m not putting forth a plea. I have already explained to Dr. Kahana, and to you, that this is not a question of granting favors. Metropolitan Sheptytsky has no need of your title of ‘Righteous’, nor of a tree in Yad Vashem. For in Ukraine, in the Carpathian mountains, there grow numerous trees ‘planted’ so to speak by God in honor of our great Metropolitan and watered by the blood of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA, fighters. This is not a question of a formal request on our part, for neither

I, nor any other Ukrainian will ever ask you to publicly thank the Metropolitan for saving the lives of hundreds, or thousands of Jews. We will never do that. Never, never, never! It is a question of you, of your own will, out of a sense of moral obligation doing this as an expression of your gratitude to one who saved your people by risking his own life and the lives of hundreds of Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns. This is the question of y o u r culture and morality.”

Dr. Beysky remained silent.

“Sir” — I started again. — “May I ask you a question: Did you learn of the ‘collaboration’ of the Metropolitan and other Ukrainian priests with the Nazis now, or did the Jews know of it earlier?”

“All Jews knew it even then.”

“And all ten or so of those rabbis, including Rabbi Kahana, whose lives the Metropolitan saved also knew about this ‘collaboration’?”

“What do you mean — did they know? Of course they did. I just told you!”

“And yet, not one of them stopped and said: ‘You, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and all of your priests, monks and nuns are Nazi collaborators and I, the honest Jew, don’t want your help. I don’t want any of you rescuing me, a faithful and observant Jew?’”

“What are you getting at!” — exclaimed Dr. Beysky in surprise. — “They could not say that. They had to think of themselves and their wives and children!”

“But weren’t they afraid that this ‘collaborator’ Metropolitan Sheptytsky would betray them to the Gestapo?”

“Such a suspicion would have never have crossed their mind. They all knew that Count Sheptytsky was one of the most noble people on earth, and that he would rather deliver himself over to imprisonment and death, than betray one Jew into the hands of the Nazis!”

“And yet, till this very day, you will not express publicly your gratitude to such a noble and humane person!”

Dr. Beysky had no answer, no remark.

"Doctor," I said, breaking the unpleasant silence. "May I ask you two more questions?"

"Of course. Go ahead."

"First of all, isn't it true that the Jews insist Ukrainians are traditionally the worst and most incorrigible of all anti-Semites?"

"Yes, that's the opinion of most Jews."

"Next, isn't it also true that, while 90% of all Jews living in Europe perished during the German occupation, that number was only 50% in Ukraine?"<sup>1)</sup>

"Yes, that's true also."

"Well then, how do you explain this difference in figures? Please take into consideration that in June, 1941, large numbers of Jews from Ukraine were drafted into the Red Army; that casualties were very high during the war years between 1941-1945; and that this could account for another 10%. But still — how is it that in 'traditionally anti-Semitic Ukraine', only 50% of the Jews disappeared during the terrible years of Nazi occupation, while in the other European nations, where there was little or no anti-Semitism, 90% of the Jews were annihilated? In Poland, for instance, of the 3,000,000 Jews registered in 1939, only 10,000 were still alive in 1945, but in Ukraine, half of the two million pre-war Jews survived?"

"I readily admit it's a puzzle. I never tried to analyze it and I have no explanation for this. Do you?"

"I would like to propose two possibilities. The first is that, since the Jews in Ukraine served in large numbers in the administration of the NKVD and the Soviet regime, they and their families either fled or were evacuated by the Red Army into the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. There they survived and after the war, they returned to Ukraine."

"And what was wrong with saving their necks in that way? Do you disapprove?"

"No. But it does shed light on something else. The outbreak of war produced chaos in Soviet ranks. Everybody tried to flee,

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<sup>1)</sup> "Encyclopedia Americana" (1981, v. 16, p. 129) informs that in Ukraine in 1941-45, perished 44.3% — i.e. survived 55.7% of all Jews. In Poland survived about 10,000, or less than one percent.

yet space on trains and other evacuation convoys was very limited, and reserved only for those who belonged to the ruling echelons of the Soviet administration or the Party. So, if in that chaos and shortage of transportation, hundreds of thousands of Jews from Ukraine were able to be evacuated and saved, then this is proof of their importance in the Soviet hierarchy and their cooperation with the Soviet regime — with everything that implies.”

“Well.... And what is the other possible explanation?”

“The other possibility is that hundreds of thousands of Jews were saved by... Ukrainians. I was told by the director of archives at Yad Vashem, that you have copies of all the documents of the Nazi administration in Ukraine. Check them, and you will be astonished to see how many Ukrainians, both men and women, were publicly hanged by the Gestapo for trying to save Jewish lives. But at least ten times as many were successful in saving Jews. In every Ukrainian village, at least one Jewish family was saved by Ukrainian villagers. Thousands of them now live in Israel. The problem is that Jewish leaders are not interested in finding them and recording their cases. Rather, they are terrorized into never mentioning anything because ‘it is not in their interests to admit that Ukrainians saved so many Jews.’”

“Hm, very interesting. And which of the two do you accept as true?”

“Both. Of the roughly one-million Jews in Ukraine who survived the Nazi holocaust, I think about half did so by fleeing to other parts of the U.S.S.R., which they were able to do because of the prominent positions they occupied in the Soviet administration; but I’m sure the other half were saved by your ‘traditionally anti-Semitic’ Ukrainians, who did this risking their own lives and the lives of their families.”

Dr. Beysky said nothing.

“One more question; if I may.”

“Certainly.”

“Could you give me one instance when a Jew saved the life of a Ukrainian, at the risk of his own life? I’m sure the



Ukrainians would accord him the highest honors and plant not one tree, but a whole park in the town where he performed this noble deed.”

“A Jew who saved the life of a Ukrainian?” exclaimed Dr. Beysky in disbelief. “How could a Jew save the life of a Ukrainian, when the Jew was never in such a position, being always persecuted, oppressed, hunted, exterminated.”

“Ah, but you forget the period of the latest Russian or Soviet, if you wish, occupation of Ukraine. During this period, the Jews in Ukraine constituted a privileged class, holding high and responsible positions both in the civil administration and the Secret Police, be it called the CheKa, GPU, NKVD, or KGB. And yet, did you ever hear of one of these Jews saving the life of a Ukrainian by warning him in advance of his arrest, by sparing him tortures, by releasing him from imprisonment, by giving him an opportunity to escape? During the period between 1941-1944, German Nazis destroyed one million Jews in Ukraine. In the period from 1920 till 1950, Russians annihilated more than ten million Ukrainians. Did at least one Jew raise his hand or at least his voice to help Ukrainians?”

“I never thought about this. ....”

“Well, it’s high time you did. Do some research, some checking and then let me know about your findings, so that I can convey them to other Ukrainians.”

## **HOLOCAUST ARCHIVES and DOCUMENTS**

Dr. Schmucl Krakovsky, the director of the archives and documents of Yad Vashem, was born in northern Poland. We met in his office in Yad Vashem. He was friendly, composed, with an attitude similar to the others’, and full of accusations against Ukrainians as traditional anti-Semites and willing participants in the destruction of Jews. But a difference could be observed, immediately, between him and Rabbi Kahana and Dr. Beysky. The latter two stubbornly and passionately defended their accusations, while Dr. Krakovsky was willing to listen to the

other side; he accepted all of my information with interest, as something new, and thought about it, comparing it with what he had been told about Ukrainians. The conversation with him, therefore, was freer and easier. We touched on almost all the questions which I had discussed earlier with Rabbi Kahana and Dr. Beysky. He carefully scrutinized each of my explanations and accepted them only with grave reservations.

“We have copies of documents here seized from the Germans by the Soviet and American government organs, which belie your arguments. The originals are now either in Soviet or American archives. For example, we have very detailed lists of the personnel of the Ukrainian administration of Halychyna. We also have reports of various actions against Jews, initiated or done by Ukrainians.

“And you believe everything that any given German stated in his report? You know that the Germans didn’t have enough qualified people to rule Europe, since everyone was drafted into the army and set to the front. That’s why they accepted into the police even semi-literates, who then became dedicated party members. And such as these wrote in their reports, not what was actually happening, but what they thought would appeal to their superiors.”

“Yes, I’m aware of that. That’s why I’m interested in hearing your explanation about Ukrainians. I’m comparing your statements with those which, until now, I have based entirely on Jewish and German testimonies, and now I have a completely different view.”

He was especially interested in my explanation of the role played by the Jews in Polish occupied Ukraine, during the time of Poland’s rule of the “aristocracy”, the era of Chmelnitsky, the revolt of the “Hajdamaky” and the Soviet occupation.

“This is all a revelation to me. I had never heard about this before. Ukrainians were also held in German concentration camps? You’re the first one I’ve seen with an Auschwitz number on his arm, and now I hear that there are thousands like you. I’ve heard about the OUN, UPA, Bandera — but always as the dedicated assistants of German Nazis, who helped destroy the

Jews. You say Ukrainians rescued many Jews and for this they perished on the German gallows? You're the first one I've heard this from."

He rose and showed me his shelves, lined with sundry books.

"Look! Here are several shelves of Polish books about how the Poles fought against the Germans, how they rescued Jews. Books, documents, photographs, underground literature, wartime press items, post-war clippings on this theme. And here is the Ukrainian shelf — totally bare. I believe that everything you've said is true, at least from the Ukrainian point of view. But if I repeat this to other Jews, then I will immediately be asked for proof of my statements. This one conversation between us is insufficient. Where are your publications on these subjects, documents, war-time underground literature? You must have such materials. Let us have at least one copy of each for our archives, so that everyone who is interested in Ukrainian-Jewish affairs can immediately find not only sources with a Jewish perspective, but also Ukrainian materials with your own interpretations."

I explained that it is not as easy for Ukrainians to have all this as it is for Jews in their own country.

"You have funds for this," I told him, "and easy access to all archives: American, German, Soviet. Everyone is happy to give you photocopies of everything you need. Also, the six million Jews in America can easily collect several million dollars for this goal. Ukrainians, however, are in an immeasurably worse situation. All the archives in Ukraine were thoroughly searched by the Russian NKVD and KGB, and cleared of everything that testified on our behalf. Worse, the special committees of the NKVD and KGB published many false documents against the Ukrainians, particularly against the Ukrainian nationalists, and not only filled the archives in the USSR with these 'originals', but also those in Germany, America and elsewhere."

"That's all clear to me, but, nevertheless, in America and West Germany you have scientific associations, academies, archives, libraries, Ukrainian Universities in Munich and Rome.

These should yield much documentary material concerning Ukrainian-Jewish relations.”

“They should; unfortunately, there is a lack of sufficient funds. Economically, the Ukrainians in America belong mainly to the middle and lower classes, and only a few to the upper. And the various causes needing their financial support are numerous: churches, schools, cultural centers, camps for the young, publications...”

“I understand all that. Nevertheless, you have something; send what you have. Fill the Ukrainian shelf, and I will add two more new shelves for Ukrainian materials.”

“And in exchange?” I asked. “Will you give us something from your archives?”

“Gladly. Come back here not only for a few hours, but for several weeks; study and look through everything we have and choose what interests you; we will gladly give you copies of these documents. Don’t be afraid that I want to make “business” and exploit you. Payment for the copies will be the equivalent to that in America. Then analyze all those documents and write your explanations. We have one document here which asserts that one Ukrainian leader consistently accepted payment from the Gestapo. You’ll say that it’s a falsification, but we believe that it’s the original document. Prove that it’s a falsification. You are familiar with people, names, situations. You say that you were amazed that Dr. Beysky regarded General Vlasov as a Ukrainian general, and all the members of his army as Ukrainians. Dr. Beysky isn’t the only one who believes this, for there are never any rebuttals of this view. In every Jew’s conversation you will hear that he was persecuted, beaten, shot — and by whom else than the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian police, be it in Ukraine, Auschwitz, Majdanek, Warsaw, and even in Rumania and Hungary. Why are you silent? Where are your documented rebuttals, clarifications, expositions of this slander and criminal distortion of the truth? You’re the first from whom I’ve heard something entirely different about the Ukrainian police, than what I’ve read and heard from the Jews.”

We talked further with Dr. Krakovsky about the Ukrainian

police, and the legions and divisions of the DUN.<sup>1)</sup>

"You firmly deny," said Dr. Krakovsky, "that the Ukrainian police took part in the destruction of Jews? What is your evidence?"

"First of all, let us logically analyze the possibility of such a thing. You Jews boast about your Jewish 'kepele' (head, brain) and we Ukrainians of our 'healthy peasant logic'. So let's put the two to work: you with your 'kepele' and I with my 'sound peasant logic'. I mentioned my participation as a witness in the trial procedure of the Philadelphian W. Osidach, who was accused of murdering fourteen thousand Jews in Rava. The document presented by the accusers stated that Ukrainian police were operating in the little town of Rava, which had a total of 14,000 residents, half of whom were Jews, a third Ukrainians, and the rest Poles. There were eight members in the police in the period of 1941—1943. In 1944, when the Russian partisans appeared in the area, the number swelled to 16. In the second half of 1943 there were no more Jews. Therefore, during the time of the liquidation of the Jews there were eight policemen for 14,000 residents. Like everyone else, they worked in three shifts. Divide eight by three and you'll find that there were three policemen at work during the daytime shifts and two during the night shift. One should have always been in the office. And the duty of this police was to keep law and order in the city; guard the bank, wheat and food warehouses; check incidents of thefts, misunderstandings and fights; write reports, etc. All this was supposed to have been done within one shift by... no more than three policemen! Is it possible, then, that they also had a chance to check 14,000 Jews at work, search for them throughout the city, transport them to the concentration camps and shoot them? My peasant logic tells me that this is impossible. And what does your 'kepele' tell you?"

"I agree that anyone who claims something like that must be 'mishigene' (crazy). But — who did it, then? Who arrested the Jews, watched them at work, transported them to the concentration camps, shot them?"

<sup>1)</sup> Druzhyny Ukrainskykh Nationalistiv — the Ukrainian Military legion.

“The German ‘Einsatzkommando’ — assisted by the Jewish ‘Judenrat’ and the Jewish police. There was ten times more of the Jewish police force than of the Ukrainian. They didn’t guard the warehouses, keep order on the streets, but dealt exclusively with Jews. At work they were ‘Aufseher’, — that is, overseers, working under the command of one or two German policemen. They had rubber or wooden sticks and beat the Jews no less than the Germans did. They helped Germans herd Jews into ghettos and transport them out of ghettos. They turned into special ‘informants’ who, for a special reward, feigned that they were hiding, and underhandedly searched out and handed over to the Gestapo those Jews, who were really hiding. Composed exclusively of Jews, the ‘Sonderkommando’ on orders from the Germans herded the Jews into the concentration camps, into the gas chambers and later transferred the corpses of the gassed to the crematoriums for burning. You’re still searching world-wide for the leading German Nazi, Dr. Mengele, who conducted various medical experiments in Auschwitz. All twelve of his assistants and doctors were Jews and his secretary was a young Jewess.”

Dr. Krakovsky thoughtfully listened to me, with a bemused gaze. It seemed to me that he and many other Jews were quite aware of all this but were faint-heartedly hiding the truth. Now it was unpleasant to hear this truth from me, a non-Jew.

“And the ‘Nachtigal’, which destroyed the Jews in Lviv?” he asked.

“The name ‘Nachtigal’ was given to one of the Ukrainian legion of the DUN, that is, of the Detachment of Ukrainian Nationalists. It was not a police, but army division under the command of Lieutenant Roman Shukhevych. Back in February of 1918, the government of Ukraine had signed a treaty with the Germans in Berest Litovsky (Brest-Litovsk) whereby Germany acknowledged Ukraine as an independent state. The officers of the ‘Wehrmacht’ (German army), like Gen. Brauchitsch, Adm. Canaris, et al. respected this treaty. On the basis of it, the OUN under the leadership of Stephan Bandera, organized secretly, without the knowledge of the Gestapo, two legions, which were

to become the nucleus of the Ukrainian army in the future independent Ukrainian state. After the outbreak of war against the USSR, the 'Nachtigal' legion was in Lviv for only one day and immediately headed eastward, to be in liberated Kiev at the planned proclamation of an independent Ukrainian government. The Germans, however, learned of this; they disarmed and arrested it; and eventually turned it over to do battle against the Soviet partisans in Belorussia. So when could they possibly have taken part in the decimation of Jews? This matter was reviewed by the German courts, who acknowledged that the criminal accusations against Shukhevych's DUN legion, persistently spread by the NKVD, KGB and their agents, were unfounded."

"What about the SS-Halychyna division?"

"This was also a purely military division, even though it was organized in a different situation and form — it bore no relation to the Jews at all."

"For the sake of clarification — you say that the Ukrainian police never took part in anti-Jewish activities?"

"What do you mean by 'took part'? I've explained that the duty of the Ukrainian police was, among other things, the regulation of street activity. If the Jews were being transported somewhere, it was necessary to implement the so-called 'Absperung' — that is, to halt traffic in a given city for the necessary time. The Ukrainian police, chiefly at crossroads, halted traffic of non-Jews and steered them into other streets. Are you calling this 'participation in actions against the Jews'? Let us take, for example, the above mentioned town of Rava. If all eight of the Ukrainian policemen were mobilized in this case, what could possibly have been the extent of their 'participation in anti-Jewish actions'? Standing at eight different crossroads?"

"Your arguments are certainly logical and convincing."

"One more thing. During the trial procedures, the entire American press under Jewish pressure repeated constantly their accusations of the destruction of 14,000 Jews in Rava. But where did they all come from if the entire population of Rava was less than 14,000? Were they brought in from other cities? No — because nearby was the concentration camp 'Belsetz', and if the

Jews were being taken anywhere it was to Beletz, and not to Rava. But for the 'Ukrainophobes', it was enough merely to see the number '14,000' listed alongside the name of Rava and utilize it as a basis for their accusations of the destruction of '14,000 Jews.' And it was self-understood that the Ukrainians did this, namely the eight Ukrainian policemen, who altogether had four rifles, each with two bullets."

"I say once again that everyone assaults the defenseless. Why don't you defend yourselves against these accusations?"

"Everyone fears that he/she will immediately be called an 'anti-Semite.'"

"But you aren't afraid of that. I have not called you an anti-Semite — nor will I. I'm certain that we will meet again."

## **THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM**

The Holocaust Museum is very similiar in name and purpose to Yad Vashem. But it is an entirely separate establishment, with no ties at all to Yad Vashem and with a different location in Jerusalem. It is found on Mt. Sion, not far from the tomb of David and the Room of the Last Supper. In Christ's time, this place was part of Jerusalem; now it is outside the walls of the old city. Several ancient buildings belong to the museum, with a courtyard in the middle, between the walls. The museum is in the first stages of development. A library about the holocaust is being organized, and a museum with various exhibits of the Holocaust. Around the courtyard, there are plaques set into the walls, averaging two feet by three, in memory of the holocaust victims from the districts of Ukraine, Poland or other European counties and even cities.

The museum's Director, Dr. Itsak Tattelbaum, was immensely pleased when he discovered that I, a prisoner of Auschwitz, for four years, was not Jewish. This is why: The museum was originally conceived of as a museum of the Jewish holocaust and was operated as such. But the present director, Tattelbaum, who was born and raised in the U.S. and had only recently transferred to Israel and become an Israeli citizen had



views on the museum's goals which were not exactly "kosher". He considers that the museum of the Jewish Holocaust should be in Yad Vashem, while this Holocaust Museum ('Chamber of the Holocaust') should become international — a museum of the Nazi-German holocaust of all nations', in fact, a museum of all holocausts. Therefore, he was extremely glad to have ties with Ukrainians, Poles and other peoples (nationalities) interested in the organization and support of such an international Holocaust Museum. But, are the Ukrainians ready for such mutual cooperation?

We examined the courtyard. Across from the entrance, the wall was only partially covered by plaques.

"Look," I said, "the middle of the wall is still empty. Would you be agreeable to letting the Ukrainians set up their own plaque in three languages — Jewish, Ukrainian and English — with a 'Tryzub' emblem over the Ukrainian text, in memory of the three million Ukrainians — victims of the German-Nazi holocaust — and the over-ten million Ukrainians who were victims of the Bolshevik-Russian holocaust?"

"Why not? You Ukrainians will be the first and other non-Jews will certainly follow your example. That is precisely our goal: that there be non-Jewish plaques here, also."

"What is the cost of setting up such a plaque?"

"Approximately three thousand dollars, for a plaque two-by-three feet. If you are thinking of this, submit the desired size and text, and we will calculate the cost exactly and send it to your organization."

"You understand that the text must be decided by our organization?"

"Obviously. We are only too happy to attract all non-Jews to this sort of cooperation, in order to develop this Holocaust museum. The location is ideal in that every day there are many visitors from all corners of the world; right across the street in the Room of the Last Supper and David's grave; nearby is the 'Wailing Wall', and a bit further, is the renowned Mosque of Aman and the cliff, from which Muhammed ascended into heaven on a camel. So everyone will incidentally view this

museum also, if we build it together. Naturally, there wouldn't be just plaques, but a library pertaining to the holocaust, and various memorabilia. Provide the plans, let's raise the funds."

## **A MEETING WITH THE 'DVAZHDI GEROY' (twice-over hero) of Israel**

The now-sixty-year-old Idel Cogan is an interesting person. He presently owns his own butchery in Tel Aviv. He was born and spent his youth, in Volyn, among Ukrainians. Living in a Ukrainian village, he met almost no Jews. He was always a part of the Ukrainian children, attending the same school, as well as various other village activities, the 'kolyada' (Christmas caroling), and even — when his father wasn't looking — attending church with his Ukrainian friends. Reminiscing about all that, he recited with reverence the 'Our Father' and 'Hail Mary' and sang 'Nova Radist' ('A New Joy' — a Ukrainian Christmas carol).

He was eighteen or nineteen years old when the German entered Volyn, in 1941. Somehow they discovered that he was a Jew. Did one of the Ukrainians disclose it? No — no one alleges such a thing; everyone in the village liked him and was ready to shelter him. They must have discovered it through the registers, because in school and in the community office, he was clearly designated as 'Jew', under the Polish regime and by the Soviet regime, as 'Hebrew'. The mayor during the German regime was a 'Volksdeutsh', a descendant of the Volyn German colonists. He informed Idel that all Jews must leave for the city ghettos and he went. One day a group was brought out for shooting. The young, well-built and hardened Idel quickly oriented himself as to the situation and upon entering the forest, he jumped off the truck and fled.

"Who guarded the ghetto?", I queried.

"Everything was directed by the Jewish Council, the 'Judenrat'. Order was kept by the Jewish police — and, oh!, was it mean! It even kept watch at work and spurred everyone on

with sticks. Transportation to the firing squads was handled by the Ukrainian police.”

“Ukrainian police? Hmm — how were they dressed?”

“In black uniforms. Everyone called them ‘The Black Ones’ and said that they were the Ukrainian police. They never entered the ghettos, so there was no opportunity to inspect them from close”

Don’t you know that black uniforms were worn by a faction of the notorious German police, known as the ‘Einsatzgruppe’, while its divisions were called the ‘Einsatzkommando’? It was that particular division which carried out Eichmann’s plan, the ‘final solution’ to the Jewish question — that is, the complete physical liquidation of all Jews. It was composed of tried, blood-thirsty Germans, but on occupied territory it included the ‘Volksdeutsch’ from a given area, who knew the local language and situation well. These ‘Volksdeutsch’, the descendants of former German colonists, gave the impression that among ‘The Black Ones’ there were also non-Germans. In Ukraine they were regarded as Ukrainians, in Poland as Poles, and in France as Frenchmen. There were around seven hundred thousand of them living on Ukrainian soil at the start of the Second World War, so there were plenty to choose from to fill the quota for the ‘Black Ones’, as the bloody faction of the German police the ‘Einsatzgruppe’, was known. True Ukrainians were not accepted. Do you mean to tell me that you really were not aware of this?”

“No! As yet I’ve never heard such an explanation. Everyone said it was the Ukrainian police, and I never doubted it was true.”

“I’ll show you some facts. Recently in Chicago, a series of court trials took place against two supposed ‘war criminals’ accused of taking part in the mass shootings of Jews in Ukraine as members of the ‘Einsatzkommando’ in 1941-43. The very fact that this action occurred in Ukraine sufficed for the American press, controlled by Jews, to begin a drumbeat refrain that the accused twosome were Ukrainians; and incidentally, that all Ukrainians were traditionally known anti-Semites. The names of the defendants: Albert Deutscher and Alex Lehman, both Protes-

tants. Place of birth: Worms, in Ukraine. You were born and raised in Ukraine, and are familiar with Ukrainian surnames. So please tell me: could these names be Ukrainian?"

"Well, not exactly, they sound perfectly German or Jewish."

"Right, these are typical German names, and both of the accused were Germans, born and raised, in the German colony of Worms, in Ukraine. The name of the colony is also typically German, isn't it?"

"Without a doubt. Ukrainians would never have given their village such a name."

"There, you see. The defendants themselves revealed that they were 'Volksdeutsch', of German descent and therefore were accepted into the 'Einsatzkommando'. As Germans, they had the Gestapo's complete trust, and their knowledge of the Ukrainian language gave them the means, as members of the 'Einsatzkommando', to communicate with all those in Ukraine who spoke no German. These, 'Ukrainians', then, [only one or two, at that, for every hundred Germans from Germany] were the ones who transported Jews to be shot. Do you see that? The Ukrainian auxiliary police had light-blue uniforms, and served as a traffic-regulating police for Ukrainians."

"Yes, now everything is clear to me. I never saw Ukrainian policemen in blue uniforms either at the ghettos, overseeing the Jews at work, or at the shootings."

"And when you fled from the shootings, where did you flee? To whom?"

"Straight to the village, among Ukrainians."

"And then what happened — the Ukrainians caught you and handed you over to the Germans? You recall, it had been publicly announced that the gallows awaited those who dared shelter Jews."

"I remembered, that, but there were people who knew me. They hid me, fed me, and sheltered me. The Ukrainian police were very good. I only reviled those Ukrainians who were in the German police, the 'Black Ones', and regarded them as Ukrainian renegades, because I believed that they really were Ukrainians. Now it's clear to me that they were German

colonists, 'Volksdeutsch', who united with their own bloodthirsty criminals from Germany."

Hiding out was very dangerous. So, as soon as Bolshevik partisans appeared in the area, Idel joined them, and then went over to the regular army. He knew the German language, so they put him in a division that was to occupy Berlin. And how he repaid the Germans there! When the Germans had already capitulated, he induced his division to cross the Elbe River into the English zone, and before the English army came, he had a hundred German farmers shot. Later, he received recognition for this from Israel. He then left the Soviet army to train Jewish partisans; and finally he went with them to Palestine. There he commanded guerillas in their battles against the Arabs, and for this also he was accorded highest honors from the government of Israel.

"A hero twice over! ". Mr. Suslensky joked.

"Well, did you want me to be like yourself and hide in a mouse hole, and only play the hero?" Idel retorted.

"In 1963 he 'got a yen' to go to the U.S.S.R. But as soon as he arrived in Kiev and approached people in order to converse with them, he saw that the KGB was already awaiting him. He was arrested as an 'Izmyennik rodiny' (traitor to the fatherland ) and a 'Zionist spy', and sentenced to ten years in prison and concentration camps. There he met the 'Banderivtsi'.

"Oh, and were there plenty of them! It was said that half the political prisoners in all Siberia were 'Banderivtsi'..."

"You know, the Soviets call every Ukrainian who is anti-Russian, or as they say , 'for an Independent Ukraine', a 'Banderivets'. In fact, everyone, who in any way did not approve of the Soviet regime was a 'Banderivets'. Immediately after the war there were hundreds of thousands of them in bolshevik concentration camps: those who actually were in the UPA or Bandera's organization, those who helped them in some way, and even those who could have become 'banderivtsi' simply because of their natural political inclinations. A great many of them perished there. After Stalin's death, the 'minor criminals' were freed, leaving only those who were sentenced to twenty or twenty-five

years. United, strong, belligerent, the 'Banderivtsi' had a good name in Soviet prisons and concentration camps. There was a large criminal element, the 'blatni', that terrorized the other prisoners. They tried to 'make short shrift' of the 'banderivtsi', but instead received a good thrashing. The battle was a bloody one, but the 'blatni' soon learned that 'yesli eto bandyerovets, nye trogaj yego' (if it's a banderivets, don't touch him!). It was the same with female prisoners. 'Banderivets' or 'Banderivka' (a female follower of Bandera) is a name pronounced with respect by every prisoner of the Soviet concentration camps."

Idel Cogan, during his ten-year stay in Soviet prisons and camps, was lengthily confined with Dr. Volodymyr Horbowyj, Evhen Pryshlak, Vasyl Dyshkant, Marchak, Mykhaylo Soroka, and other leading "Banderivtsi". He has an immense respect for the first five and is in the process of writing a book about them.

"May even the Jews, God-willing, have people like them and hundreds of other 'Banderivtsi'!"

He especially idolizes Dr. Volodymyr Horbowyj.

"Horbowyj (he often pronounced it 'officially' in Russian, as 'Garbavoy') is a unique individual, joining a profound knowledge of things with an insurmountable inner strength. I have to date never met such a walking encyclopedia. Whatever you may ask him, he knows the answer and replies immediately. He even speaks Hebrew and knows everything there is to know about the Jews. I would make him Supreme Rabbi of Israel. And how tough he is! He survived twenty-eight years of prisons and concentration camps without breaking. He was persistently being induced to 'repent' and condemn Ukrainian nationalism, in which case he would immediately be pardoned, freed and placed in a high position. But he stubbornly refused with his 'No!'. Emissaries of the NKVD and KGB came especially from Moscow to persuade me to influence him to 'repent'. But I told them: 'What can I do? You know that 'Garbavoy' is a 'banderivets', a rock. You won't crack it.'"

"The other five served their sentences and went free," — I said. — "Except for Mykhaylo Soroka, who died in 1971."

"I know! In 1973, I finished serving my sentence, and,

though released, I still maintain ties with them. I have no kin, or children, since the inhuman Nazis sterilized my wife in Auschwitz. So from time to time I send them parcels."

He approached the shelf, took a letter from Dr. Volodymyr Horbowyj and showed it to me.

"See, he thanks me for the package. He lives in poverty... Tell me, are there many Ukrainians in America?"

"It's difficult to be precise. Some say there are two million, others — only a half-million."

"And are they doing something to help those in Ukraine? Take Scharansky for example. Well, what is he exactly? A fool! Did he fight, or direct some organization? Far from it! When the 'dissidents' appeared, foreign journalists began seeking them out for interviews. But the Soviet government warned everyone, 'Nyelza!' Well, then, 'Zaj nysht ah Koydym!' (Don't play the hero!) But not Scharansky — no, he went for a discussion with the Americans. So he was caught and sentenced. I would have given him a twenty-year sentence. Once they said, 'nyelza', then 'nyelza'. Take any newspaper in Israel or America: Nothing but 'Scharansky' and 'Scharansky': protests, letters, interventions in the U.S. Congress. And the Ukrainians? Did they do, or are they doing, anything similar in Dr. Horbowyj's defense, Pryshlak's, Marchak's, Dyshkant's and thousands of others', who actually fought and voluntarily gave their lives?"

In previous conversations with Rabbi Kahana, Dr. Beysky and others, they said I spoke like a prosecutor in court, driving them into the defendant's dock. Now a simple fighter without scientific degrees reversed everything: I perceived that suddenly he had become the prosecutor and I — the accused. What could I say to him?

I was saved by his garrulousness.

"Tell me, did you smack at least one KGB dog for the hundreds of thousands which those dogs killed in Ukraine?... And there are plenty of them floating around New York."

I again began stroking my 'beard'.

Fortunately, Idel didn't notice my confusion and continued talking.

“You must absolutely come and visit me in Tel Aviv for an entire weekend. You and I, are the same people. We’ll have a heart-to-heart talk and remember our Ukraine. We’ll sing ‘Oi, ne Chody, Hrytsiu’, (Oh, Do not go, Hryt siu’) and ‘Myh Ukrainski partyzany’ (We are Ukrainian partisans’)...”

### **“THE GRASS IS GREENER ON THE OTHER SIDE”**

Ephem Wolf is the youngest member of the Association for Hebrew-Ukrainian Cooperation. He was born in Ukraine in 1932. During the German-Bolshevik war he lived, as a Jew, in the ghetto in Zhmerynka, under Rumanian occupation. After the return of the Bolsheviks he became a member of the illegal organization of Zionist youth, ‘Einigkeit’ and for this served five years (1949-1954) in the Siberian concentration camps. In 1973, he left for Israel, where he teaches mathematics in a high school.

Ephem Wolf is grateful to the Ukrainians for much. Life in the ghetto was very hard, and if it were not for the Ukrainians, his mother’s friends, and their secret assistance of provisions, then not only his mother but he himself would have died of starvation. Did the Ukrainians covertly supply food for “business” money, or in exchange for something else?

For what money? That which Ephem’s mother had been able to take with herself to the ghetto, quickly went in exchange for food. Ukrainian acquaintances, chiefly Ukrainian women, brought them groceries to the ghetto out of mercy, even though they themselves had little, since the Rumanians had imposed strict contingencies on the Ukrainians.

“Were the Ukrainians and the Rumanians allowed to deliver provisions to the Jews in the Ghetto? Wasn’t it forbidden?”

“Oh, yes, it was strictly forbidden. If a non-Jew were caught supplying food to the Jews, he was usually publicly hung, although with Rumanians it wasn’t quite like that. But the Rumanian police gladly hung Ukrainians for this.”

“Did you meet Ukrainians during your stay in the Soviet concentration camps?”

“Did I meet them?! Was it possible to be in Soviet concen-



tration camps and not meet them? The concentration camp administration scattered Ukrainian political prisoners throughout all the Siberian concentration camps. In fact, more than half of all political prisoners were Ukrainian. The Soviet concentration camp administration even calls non-Ukrainian political prisoners 'Banderivtsi'. Once someone protests against the Soviet regime, then he is — a 'Banderivets', even though he is Lithuanian, Lettish or Georgian."

"Where did you first meet Ukrainian political prisoners?"

"When I was sentenced to five years in a rehabilitation camp and taken there, I met a group of Ukrainian priests from Carpathian Ukraine. It consisted of a Ukrainian-Catholic canon — I can't recall his name — and twenty other priests who refused to "convert" to Orthodoxy and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Russian patriarch."

"So these were religious prisoners."

"Both religious and political. They didn't want to yield to the Russian patriarch, an agent of the NKVD; therefore, they were also(at least indirectly) political prisoners."

"What was their attitude towards you?"

"Unexpectedly friendly. They would have become the unfortunate victims at the hands of the 'blyatny' criminals if it had not been for the 'Banderivtsi'. From the reports of old prisoners I know that immediately after the war, the 'blyatny' wanted to pacify the 'Banderivtsi'. Instead, they received a very painful lesson from them, and by the time I was brought to the concentration camp, the 'blyatny' feared to provoke them. The genuine 'Banderivtsi' immediately accepted the Ukrainian priests into their midst. They even took me under their protection as a 'Ukrainian Jew-Nationalist'."

"Do you remember any of them?"

"I'll never forget two of them: Alexander Khira and Stepan Harasymiv. I owe my life to them. Stepan Harasymiv, especially, was , as the Ukrainians say, my guardian angel, who saved my life."

"How did that come about?"

"My very affiliation with the 'Banderivtsi' protected me

from the venomous outrages of the 'blyatny'. Khira and Harasymiv often helped me with food, sharing their meager portions with me, especially at those times when I received almost nothing for not fulfilling the 'work quota'. But Stepan Harasymiv helped even more. You see, I was ill and almost blind as a result of malnourishment and unsanitary conditions. The Soviet overseers are less merciful to sick prisoners than a normal person is toward a sick dog. Being led to work, I couldn't see the road, or rather, the path very well, nor could I see clearly at work. The savage overseers would have pitilessly crushed me, a blind man, to death. But Stepan Harasymiv protected me like his own brother. He led me by the hand to and from work and assisted me at work. Although he and Khira were both worn out themselves, they would finish their own 'quota' a bit sooner, and then work on mine."

"I see that you have great respect for Ukrainian political prisoners, not without reason. Do you respect all of them? Do you have any negative feelings or thoughts about them?"

"Well, the 'Banderivtsi' impressed everyone with their bearing in the Soviet concentration camps, especially me, and I have explained why. Yet, I was jarred by the harsh chauvinism of the 'true Banderivtsi', former members of the UPA and OUN, in relation to the Russian nation."

"Can you explain this somewhat?"

"Well, take this, for example. The 'Banderivtsi' never used the terms 'Russian nation' or 'Russia', but scornfully said 'Muscovy' and the 'Muscovites'.

"Why do you say 'scornfully'? Those are terms proper to that area, and used at the very beginning of that state and its people."

Wolf startled.

"I see that you are also a 'Banderivets'. How can you speak so disrespectfully about the great Russian nation? Have you never heard of the principality of Rus', that was the mightiest and most civilized nation of Europe a thousand years ago? Or about their kings, Oleg, Igor, Sviatoslav, Vladimir, Jaroslav?"

"Of course I heard about them, but... Tell me, what was

the capital of ancient Rus'?

"Why, Kiev, the 'mother of Russian cities'."

"Does that Kiev still exist? Of which country is it the capital today?"

"Of Ukraine, naturally!"

"It would seem, then, that at some point in time all the Russians emigrated from Kiev and the Ukrainians moved in and settled there, somewhat as the Romans did when they expelled all the Jews from Jerusalem. When did this happen?"

Wolf floundered.

"Hmm... I've never thought about it along those lines. But, it's common knowledge that ancient Rus' was destroyed by the Mongols, i.e., the Tartars, and those who survived this onslaught, emigrated from Kiev to Moscow, which, along with the surrounding territory, had been a part of ancient Rus'."

"Yes, Muscovy was a part of Kievan Rus', but in the same way that Judea and the other Jewish lands were once part of the Roman Empire. Does any Jew today maintain that the Roman Empire was a Jewish state?"

"Don't be ridiculous!. The Jews were a Roman colony and had no influence on Roman culture and politics."

"The situation was exactly the same with the tribes that eventually created the Russian nation. They were subject to Kievan Rus', but took absolutely no part in the creation of the culture and politics of the Rus' ('Rusychi') who were the dominant people of Kievan Rus'. Their only relation to Kievan Rus' was that of paying tribute. They paid, acknowledged the supremacy of Kievan Rus' and lived their own lives, hating the Rus'."

"I don't understand. It was all one nation — Russian — which later subdivided into 'Great Russian', 'Little Russian', and 'Belorussian' peoples."

"You're repeating the myths of Karamzyn. Kievan Rus' was a continuation of ancient Scythia. Since time immemorial only one people has lived on the territory on which today's Ukraine is situated — a people having various names at different times: Scythians, Antes, Alans, Sarmatians, Rus' and today,

Ukrainians. Different names — but one and the same people. To the north of Scythia-Rus' lived racially different tribes — Finnish, Chudish, Mongols, who were related to the Scythians or Rus' in the same way that Jews were to the Romans or the Greeks. After the fall of the Kievan-Rus' centralized state, the aforementioned tribes, which had earlier been under the rule of Kievan, but were now under Tartar domination, were united by Prince Ivan Kalyta into one, Muscovite principality. This is the origin of 'Muscovy'.

"How can you say that? What about the languages: Didn't languages evolve from one common Russian language from which evolved the Great Russian, or simply, the Russian language, the Belorussian, and 'Malorussian' — or Ukrainian."

"What was true about the state is also true about the language. The Ukrainian people never spoke a common language with the Russians. The Ukrainian language is that spoken by the Rus', and earlier by the Scythians. With the introduction of Christianity into Kievan Rus', however, the language used by the saintly brothers Cyril and Methodius in translating Sacred Scriptures and the Greek Liturgy began to be used more and more in Ukraine, especially in the areas of church, school and government. This language is called 'Staro-Bolharska' (Old-Bulgarian), or 'Church-Slavonic', and was a mixture of the old Bulgarian language, since Cyril and Methodius grew up in Macedonia, where this dialect was widely spoken, and old-Czech, since they were doing this translation for the Czechs. Granted, that language was easier for Ukrainians to understand than Latin was for the Poles or Germans. Nevertheless, the ancient Ukrainians — the Rus' and the Scythians — never spoke this language."

"From where, then, did the Russian language evolve?"

"As you know, the kings of Kievan Rus' converted the tribes inhabiting the territory subsequently known as Muscovy. With Christianity came the Church-Slavonic language, and from it in time evolved Russian, after having incorporated a great quantity of Mongolian, Finnish and Chudish words."

"Why, then, were the 'Muscovites' always called 'Russki', and their country, 'Russia'?"

“Not always. Check the old manuscripts — English, German, French chronicles, and you will find that until 1709, the land to the north-east of Ukraine was called Muscovy and its inhabitants Muscovites. In that year, however, the Muscovite czar Peter the First decreed that hence forth Muscovy was to be called ‘Russia’, the perpetuation of ancient Kievan Rus’, and its people, ‘Russki’. This is somewhat akin to you, Jews, announcing that you are Romans, and that your present state is a successor state of the ancient Roman Empire. This is a shameless falsification of history a misappropriation of the Kievan-Rus’ period of Ukrainian history, and Ukrainian culture”.

“You’re denying that the high culture of Kievan Rus’ was the mutual culture of both the Russian and Ukrainian nations?”

“This ‘mutuality’ is contradicted by historical truth and reality. All foreigners who were in Muscovy and Ukraine, from Beauplan and Voltaire until the present, stress that the Russian and Ukrainian peoples were entirely different, culturally, in all aspects. Russian culture is essentially Mongol rather than Slavic. Why even politically, modern Russia’s practices at every step are a continuation of the methods of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.”

“But wasn’t all of Ukraine a part of Russia? Doesn’t the very name ‘Ukraine’ come from the fact that it was a border area of Russia?”

“That’s somewhat of a primitive explanation of a much more complicated issue — shared, to boot, by the Poles, who likewise claim that the name came from the fact that the land lay on the border lands of their state. But why apply the name only to one borderland? Why not call the others by the same name? And yet, have you ever heard of any other ‘Ukraine’s to the north, east, south or west of Poland or Russia?”

“No — but where does the name, ‘Ukraine’ come from, then?”

“This name is ancient and existed when there was no such country as Muscovy, and Poland never dreamed of occupying this territory. Originally, ‘Ukraine’ was used as a synonym to *‘Krayina’* which means ‘land’, ‘country’. Thus, ‘Krayina’ (land) referred to Rus’ Ukraine. And when Muscovy appropriated the name Rus’

through czar Peter's decree, then our people began using only 'Ukraine', instead of 'Rus-Ukraine'."

"Then how did it happen that the majority, or at least a very large part of the modern figures of Russian culture comes from 'Malo-russia, that is, Ukraine?'"

"Because while Ukraine was occupied by Muscovia, there was a considerable number of those who, for the sake of making a career, traveled to Moscow or Petrograd, and applied for service to Muscovy. Shevchenko calls them 'Dyadky otechestva chuzhoho' (uncles of other fatherlands, or uncles of strange lands). But tell me, why are there so many of these 'uncles' who are captivated by Russia's greatness and culture, and who toil for her, among yourselves, Jews, born and living in Ukraine?"

"Because all we were taught in schools in Ukraine was about the glory and greatness of Russia, Ukraine's 'older brother', and the need to serve her. In fact, this is the first time, I have heard such an explanation of ancient Rus' history — and I attended school in Ukraine."

"Don't you know that Ukraine is under the thumb of Russia and has no real schools of her own? All the schools are Russian, even if they use the Ukrainian language in some measure. From infancy, children are taught these Russian fabrications. But beyond school lies another reality. Didn't you notice that there were Ukrainians all around you? Didn't you hear the Ukrainian language spoken by them? Didn't you note at every step that there were two classes of people — the Russian oppressors and the oppressed Ukrainians? And why do you, Jews, so eagerly join this oppressor class?"

"Join?"

"Yes! How else can you explain the fact that, out of tens of thousands of Jews who presently emigrate from Ukraine to Israel or America, only a small number speaks Ukrainian, while the rest — mainly Russian? Why doesn't even the majority of the members of the Association for Hebrew-Ukrainian cooperation, including their leader, speak Ukrainian even though they lived in Ukraine all their lives? Why does the magazine for those who came from Ukraine to Israel and who do not know Hebrew, have

a circulation of 10,000 in Russian, but is not even published in Ukrainian? Why are books in the Russian language distributed by the thousands throughout Israel, while even ten pamphlets in Ukrainian are impossible to sell?"

"Wait a moment! Aren't you aware that there is currently in Ukraine an entire group of Jews who have become Ukrainian writers and poets: N. Rybak, D. Smilyansky, O. Kurylo, L. Pervomaysky, Kopstein, Katznelson and many others. Aren't they — Jews — working for the Ukrainian culture, for Ukrainians?"

"Unfortunately, it's just the reverse — they do Ukraine a disservice; they write in Ukrainian, but only to spread poisonous Russian propaganda. They're worse than those who openly write in Russian — because they fool many people into thinking that Ukrainians are writing this. Take, for example, Ludmila Shevchenko. Back in the 40's, she ranted and raved against Ukrainian nationalists. The Ukrainian underground tried to meet with her, to find out how she, a kin of the great Taras Shevchenko, could thus serve the Russian despots. It turned out ultimately that she was a pure-blooded Jewess. You're a poet — right?!"

As a matter of fact, Ephem Wolf is a poet and he brought me his newly-published collection of poems, 'Put' (The Way). He asked that it be circulated among Ukrainians.

I looked through the collection. It had two poems in Jewish (Yiddish), eleven poems in Ukrainian, and twenty-seven in Russian. Two in particular impressed me with their content. For example one of them, 'The Mother's Command', tells how early one morning, young insurgents set out into battle, following the beaten path into unknown distances. Cannons are booming in the Carpathian mountains, fires are spreading. A mother sends her only one, admonishing him to fight the enemy for a free Ukraine, so that they would no longer persecute or oppress the Ukrainian nation and language. She tells him to be brave, even unto death, and manly without measure, since he is fighting for his Motherland Ukraine. Her final words to him are: "If you betray us,

dearest son, then forget me, for the mother will curse her only child!"

I was particularly astonished by the date when the poem was written, which the collection gave as 1943. It would seem that Wolf wrote it when he was only eleven years old! So I asked outright:

"Did you really write this entirely by yourself or did you copy it from someone?"

"I wrote it myself, and ten more in Ukrainian."

Ephem Wolf speaks correct, literary Ukrainian.

"It's hard for me to understand you", I said, "This poem like the 'Partisan Song', is saturated with deep Ukrainian patriotism and a burning desire for the liberation of Ukraine. And yet, you are a fervent Russian, as well as Jewish, patriot."

"I wrote the Ukrainian verses during the German occupation when Ukrainian insurgents fought to liberate Ukraine from under the German yoke. In the 'Partisan', I clearly state: 'The German invaders are crucifying our Motherland, Ukraine.'"

"Didn't you hear from the Ukrainian political prisoners in the Russian concentration camps, or from the former members of the UPA and OUN how they fought both the Germans and the Russian invaders of Ukraine? You yourself state that more than half of the political prisoners in those camps all over Siberia are Ukrainians, who are fighting for a Ukraine free from Russian occupation. As a Zionist, tell me: Before the rise of Israel, would the Jews have been satisfied if the UN or the League of Nations had taken away England's mandate, and handed Palestine over to France, Germany or one of the Arab countries?"

"Clearly not. Jews in such a Palestine would still have been in the position of a colony, while transfer to the Arabs would have been tantamount to a complete destruction of Jews in Palestine."

"There, you see. And you, being born and bred in Ukraine, cannot understand that Ukraine, under Soviet Russia, is in exactly the same position, as the Jews in Palestine would have been under the Arabs. Russia is conducting genocide in occupied Ukraine. The Germans destroyed four million (you say six



million) Jews, and the Russians decimated over ten million Ukrainian villagers through an artificially induced famine and murdered thousands of activists of Ukrainian culture in the torture chambers of the CheKa, GPU, NKVD, KGB — and are persistently continuing these crimes. The Ukrainian nation faces a heavy battle for its existence.”

“It seems to me that the trouble lies with the Soviet regime. The party that controls everything in the USSR is at fault. The Russian nation is blameless. The Ukrainian nation, together with the Russian, should destroy the regime, establish democracy and live in brotherly peace.”

“Oh, that’s a familiar tune! It’s sung by the ‘Trojan horse’ in the U.S.A., sent there by the KGB strategists. But if you are advising Ukrainians to live in fraternal harmony with the Russians, why don’t you, the Jews, want brotherly peace with Palestinian Arabs? They’re also Semites, descendants of the same Abraham, as your people.”

“You see, in the USSR I was a Zionist, devoted to the cause of Israel. For this I served five years in the Siberian concentration camps. I didn’t meddle in local politics. And I don’t want to meddle in them now either.”

“You should. It’s your moral obligation. I heard this from one of the Jews who came from Ukraine— ‘How could we, Ukrainian Jews, have wronged the Ukrainians, when we are Ukrainians also?’ So, if you are Ukrainian; then help the Ukrainian nation in its battle for freedom. And you, in particular, should have a sense of obligation to do this. You yourself told me that members of the Ukrainian Liberation Underground — Stepan Harasymiv and Alexander Khira — saved your life, helped you in a perilous situation, and completed your ‘work quota’. Now, in gratitude, you should fulfill your ‘quota’ by at least informing Israel about the Ukrainian truth, i.e., the Ukrainian fight for liberation from the Russian tyrants. Write articles to Jewish magazines, give lectures to Israeli students about this. Dispel the malicious accusations that Ukrainians are ‘anti-Semites’ and that they cooperated with the German Nazis — propaganda conjured up by the Russians and supported by the

KGB's falsified 'documents'. This will be your finest 'thank you' to Harasymiv and Khira."

Wolf listened, lost in thought.

"We-e-ll, I told you that I don't get involved in politics. I am a poet."

"All right. Then do this as a poet: Praise the heroic fight of the Ukrainian nation, of the OUN and UPA, against the German and Soviet Russian Nazis, revealing at the same time the crimes of the occupiers of Ukraine. Translate Ukrainian literature into Hebrew, beginning with Shevchenko, the prophet of the national rebirth of the Ukrainian nation."

"Shevchenko?" Wolf grimaced. "Shevchenko was a known anti-Semite. Every Jew knows from his school textbooks that the Ukrainian 'Hajdamaky' massacred, tens of thousands of Jews in the most awful manner, and Shevchenko wrote his first great historico-political ballad about these 'Hajdamaky', praising them. He called for a Ukraine where there would be no tyrants and no Jews? That is anti-Semitism!"

"And would you want Shevchenko to call for a rebirth of Ukraine with Polish lords, Jewish money-lenders and Ukrainian serfs, as it was until Poland's fall? Read his poem, 'Hajdamaky', calmly, analyze it yourself and explain it to other Jews: for what reason did the Hajdamaky destroy Poles and Jews? Because they were Poles and Jews? Or because the Poles occupied Ukraine, turned free Ukrainian villagers into serfs and treated them with intolerable cruelty, while the Jewish tax-collectors/money lenders assisted them in various ways? As a poet who must have sympathy towards those unwarrantly persecuted and exploited, try to relive the fate of the orphan 'Yarema', hero of Shevchenko's epic poem, 'Hajdamaky'. A Jew buys the Cossack youth for serfdom from a Polish landlord, makes sport of him, calls him a boor, and then sells Yarema's fiance to some Polish soldiers. They rape her, rob and bestially kill her father, a church warden. Tell me: what did that Jew and those Polish degenerates expect from Yarema in return? Yarema's fate, and that of his fiance and her father, was often times the fate of all Ukrainians under Polish domination; what was done to them by the Poles

and the Jews was done to all Ukrainians. This is why 'Hajdamachyna' existed. The Hajdamaky didn't go into battle for the purpose of killing the tyrants and the Jews simply because of who they were, but to restore our national freedom and human dignity!"

"No, I'm not going to undertake explaining this to the Jews. It's not within my power..."

"Then translate Ivan Franko's epic 'Moses'. This is a poetic pearl about the creator of the Jewish nation."

"Even so, the problem is that Ivan Franko was an anti-Semite, also. Just look at his novels, 'Boa Constrictor', 'Hershko Goldmacher', 'Borislav Laughs', and even the poem, 'Lordly Jest'. There the Jews are presented as bloodsuckers who, with the help of whiskey and 'Lichva' (usury), drink the blood of Ukrainian serfs and even organize a band of robbers. And in the novel, 'For the Domestic Hearth', even the organizer of prostitution and an international trade in girls — is a Jew. This is acute anti-Semitic propaganda!"

"Why 'propaganda' — when every word in it is true? Your task is to show the Jews the truth about how they conducted themselves in Ukraine down through the ages, and what sort of repayment they could expect for this from the Ukrainians."

"It's not within my powers..."

"So begin with a translation of Lesia Ukrainka's works. No one can possibly put a tag of 'anti-Semitism' on her works. On the contrary, she readily took pages from the Old Testament as a theme in her dramatic works, such as 'On the Babylonian Rivers'. Translate her 'Forest Song' with its poetic rendition of the idealistic spirituality of the Ukrainian nation. Show the depth of thought in her dramatic poems. Interest the Israelis in Ukrainian literature. There are more Jewish poets who have recently come from Ukraine to Israel and the U.S. Why do all of you continue to be fascinated with Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, Russia, but there's not a peep out of you about Ukrainian authors or Ukraine?"

## THE TRIALS OF UKRAINIANS, OR THE 'WITCH-HUNT' IN THE U.S.

I talked with Rabbi Kahana, Dr. Beysky, Mr. Suslensky, and others about the trial procedures against Ukrainians who are accused of 'war crimes' against Jews by the prosecutors of the Office of Special Investigations. They knew very well what the matter was all about since the Jewish press in Israel writes frequently about this, obviously in the same way as the 'American' press in America, that is, with a constant refrain that the tried war criminals are 'Ukrainian anti-Semites', who helped the Nazis destroy Jews. Israelis have active ties with this department, because many of the 'witnesses' live in Israel.

"Well," everyone nodded their heads didactically during the conversation, "so it must be. Ukrainians and all other anti-Semites must be taught a good lesson and punished!"

"Who must be taught a good lesson?", I asked. "And punished for what? You know very well that all those who collaborated with and carried out Eichmann's orders to destroy Jews were Germans. So why aren't you seeking the guilty in Germany? The Germans are paying you billions of marks in damages and you're afraid that they'll get angry for your vengeance and stop their payments! That's why you're seeking victims to satisfy your thirst for revenge among the defenseless, the Ukrainians and other immigrants from Russian-occupied lands?"

"What do you mean, 'to satisfy our thirst for revenge'?"

"Let me put it to you in the words of one of your own kind, who wrote in the "Letters to the Editor" of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*: — in connection with the trial of one of the 'accused', Mr. Kowalchuk — 'The point of the (trial) procedure is symbolic. Kowalchuk may or may not be guilty. The main thing is, such a trial serves Jewish interests.' This means that you're not at all concerned about justice, guilt or innocence — what you need is victims, so you take whomever the KGB slips to you. It's somewhat like the pre-World War II times, when the Gestapo would choose this or that Jew, accuse him of all sorts of beastly crimes (even

though he might be totally innocent) and then proceed to punish him... and other Jews. Is this honest?"

"But who asked if it's honest and right to murder six million Jews?"

"I understand, so I will ask you something entirely different! Are you certain that this will pay off for you?"

"How so?"

"In that the results of your actions are such, that Arafat should award the highest honors to those who are behind them."

"What do you mean?"

"With these trials, demonstrations, and assaults on the innocent, you're not only mobilizing all Americans of Ukrainian descent against the Jews, but even the Anglo-Saxons who were completely indifferent to these problems. The basis of American justice is that every person is considered innocent until proven guilty. But as soon as an item appears in the newspaper that a new victim, a 'war criminal', is lined up, the Jews straightaway launch a hurricane assault, demonstrating against him, proclaiming his guilt in the murder of thousands of Jews, and demanding the death penalty for him. This terribly angers every American and he begins to hate you. Why don't the Jews see to it that this is stopped? It is the Jews themselves who engender the hatred of non-Jews with such provocative behavior. Therefore, the very Jews, themselves, and not some imaginary 'anti-Semites', are setting all non-Jews against Jews."

"You're exaggerating!"

"No, I'm not. During these trials Jews demonstrated in the courtrooms with the catchwords 'Jewish justice'! This angered the Americans unbelievably. Observing this, they asked 'one another— 'What is 'Jewish justice' doing in American courts? And why, 'Jewish' and not American justice? Are we a colony of theirs? It's not enough that our government gives Israel billions of our tax money each year for nothing, and now our American courts must yield to Jewish demands?' How can Jews not see and understand this? Maybe it seems to you that no American questions why there are no funds in the American budget for breakfast for American children, but there are billions of

dollars for Israel. You are evoking and arousing these questions in all Americans, who are looking irately at these Jewish demonstrations against innocent people in America."

"Innocent? In what way are they 'innocent'?"

"Which of the accused has ever been proven guilty of voluntary or any general participation in the destruction of Jews? In Chicago, eleven Jews testified under oath that they recognized Walus as definitely being one who had served in the German police and tortured Jews in concentration camps. The court pronounced him guilty. In fact, the judge was a Jew. Afterwards the Counsel for the Defense proved beyond all doubt, with documents and German witnesses, that this Walus worked in Germany during the entire war. This means, all eleven Jewish witnesses testified falsely. Can you imagine what terrible anger this caused among Americans against the Jews? Goebbels himself wouldn't have been able to turn the Americans against the Jews the way they did it themselves. You really can't see and understand that?"

"So you're against trying those who murdered Jews?"

"No! They should have been found and tried in the first years after the war, not forty years later. And if you want to continue searching them out, then look among the Germans and among the Jews themselves. Don't antagonize the non-Jews in America. Decide calmly: does this really benefit you, the Jews, or does it benefit your enemies?"

"And how is it that you yourself lived through the hell of Gestapo barbarism in concentration camps and now stand so passionately in defense of those who helped create that hell?"

"First, this question must be corrected. I have not stood, nor will I stand, in defense of those who actually served the Gestapo sadists. I'm defending those persecuted, who are innocent. In my memoirs about the concentration camps, I mention that my first confrontation with the German took place when, in the region of Belzets, I saw how the Germans drove Jews across the river to the U.S.S.R., beat them and set hounds upon them. I then went to the German command and attempted to protest against these inhumanities, which brought no honor or benefit to the Germans.

The Gestapo warned me that if I attempted to criticize the Germans once more and rise to the defense of Jews, I would find myself in the midst of the nearest group of Jews being transported to the firing squads. Then I was defending Jews before the German Nazis. Will you, too, warn me that if I continue to criticize Jews and defend Ukrainians, then you will do with me what the Gestapo did with Jews?"

"Why are you talking like that?"

"Because after I testified in court in defense of the accused Osidach in Philadelphia, and went out into the street, a young female activist of the Jewish Defense League jumped on me with the cry: 'We know you! We'll murder you!' and hit me in the eye, causing retinal detachment, for which I had to undergo a serious eye operation."

"That was a hysteric. We know that group. They cause considerable damage even to us, the Jews. The government of Israel threw their leader out of Israel. They're lunatics."

"I don't know. In fact in front of me you condemn them, and before them, you possibly praise them as heroes. I'm only puzzled by one thing: Where were they when the Germans were destroying the Jews? Why didn't they jump on the Gestapo and poke their eyes out? They had such a 'moira' (fear) at the time that they hid in a mousehole. And now in America they're 'koydym' (brave, courageous) in regard to innocent Ukrainians. I repeat again and again, not as an 'anti-Semite' but as your friend: the abuse of your influence in America for the purpose of persecuting innocent Ukrainians by accusing them of cooperation with the Germans — is merely 'sowing in the wind'. And everyone is familiar with the proverb: 'Who sows in the wind, reaps the storm!' Think this over carefully!

"What do you mean to say by that? Are you threatening us with new pogroms?"

"No, I'm not threatening you with pogroms, I'm only warning you. All of those who have come to America from Eastern European countries, occupied by the Bolsheviks, know a great deal about the role of Jews in the recent history of these lands — a role which, for your own good, it would be better to

cover-up before the American public. But with these trials of 'war criminals' — the so-called murderers of innocent Jews — you're provoking them to reveal everything incriminating against the Jews. Is this what you want? These East-European emigres have children and grandchildren, born and raised as American citizens. When you maliciously and groundlessly accuse their forebearers of imaginary crimes — and even generalize the accusation by claiming for example that all Ukrainians 'are anti-Semites' — then they in turn, seeking to know the truth, learn from their parents about the role of the Jews in the apparatus of the bloody CheKa, GPU, NKVD, KGB; and they pass on this information to all their American acquaintances, co-workers, professors, journalists, et al. Tell me, do you really want that? Isn't it better for the Jews not to rekindle hatred and a desire for revenge between the Jews and Ukrainians, and the Jews and other Eastern European immigrants — but to join with them against a common enemy: imperialist Moscow? For Moscow is the deadliest foe of Ukraine, America and Israel."

### EXACTLY WHAT IS ANTI-SEMITISM?

Mordel George, the editor of the Russian-language Israeli magazine, *Krug* (Circle), gladly accepted Mr. Suslensky's suggestion to meet with me and interview me for that journal. *Krug* is published in Tel Aviv, with a circulation of about ten thousand, for the Jewish emigres from the U.S.S.R., who are better versed in Russian than in Hebrew.

"A Ukrainian who spent four years in German concentration camps as a prisoner and not as one of the 'SS', who murdered Jews? It's a novelty to me — something like an extraterrestrial being. Of course, I am curious to see him and talk with him," he told Mr. Suslensky, "and print an interview with him. Let the readers hear the other side's story. In every court, the accused is allowed to take the stand, provide testimony, and provide witnesses on his behalf."

The interview itself was taped. From this an abridged version was printed. The translation of the interview is given at the end



of this book; therefore, I will only mention here our discussion about 'anti-Semitism', which was not included in the interview.

"It is hard for me to believe that you, a Ukrainian, are a member of the Association for Hebrew-Ukrainian Cooperation and came to Israel as their guest. How can this be? Ukrainians are known to be anti-Semites from ancient times until the present."

"First of all, Mr. George, please clarify the term 'anti-Semitism' for me. I'm accustomed to a discussion, where at the very beginning the theme is delineated and a definition is given of the term which is the objective of the discussion. So, please what is anti-Semitism?"

The editor became somewhat perplexed.

"Everyone knows what it is. Why does it need defining?"

"It is imperative, since — for example — the Jews regard Arabs as the most virulent anti-Semites. But they are themselves Semites because, like the Jews, they are descended not only from Sem, son of Noah, from whom comes the term 'Semites', but also from a common ancestor, Abraham. So how can Semites be anti-Semites? And don't the Arabs have the same right to call Jews 'anti-Semites', keeping in mind the fact that the Arabs' worst enemies are Jews?"

"The Arabs can't say that since everyone knows 'anti-Semitism' means hatred of the Jews, persecution of the Jews."

"And this, is wrong?"

"Very wrong and very uncivilized — it's savagery, it's a crime. All anti-Semites must be destroyed as the worst kind of criminals."

"But if the Jews don't like Ukrainians and attack them, then this is cultured, honest, praiseworthy? Isn't it also criminal to be 'anti-Ukrainian'? Isn't it necessary to destroy all 'anti-Ukrainians' as criminals? Aren't Russians and Poles 'anti-Ukrainians'?"

"That's different. That's warfare between nations. The Russians or Poles did something to you, and you're repaying them; you did something to them, and they're repaying you. But the Jews never did anything wrong to anyone, so why should they be hated and persecuted? That's why, when Jews are hated

and persecuted, it's anti-Semitism. Criminal anti-Semitism, worthy of punishment."

"When and where did this hideous anti-Semitism originate? In Ukraine, during the time of Khmelnytsky? Rabbi Kahana told me it originated with Christianity. But I think it started before that. The Egyptians bore no love for Jews and harassed them, as did also the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Romans. Isn't that so?"

"Yes. It has existed from the most ancient times."

"From the most ancient times and everywhere, where the Jews appeared, isn't that so? And it never occurred to you to analyze calmly, scientifically and deeply why it was that all the nations of the world, down through the ages, have hated and persecuted the Jews so brutally and criminally? Don't you think that the reason must lie within yourselves, in your behavior towards other people?"

"Oh, are you trying to say that there never was and there isn't any real anti-Semitism?"

"No, anti-Semitism exists everywhere, where there are Jews. Only, not as hatred and persecution of Jews, but as a sly and effective weapon in the hands of Jews, constantly wielded against every non-Jew." <sup>1)</sup>

"What do you mean — a weapon in the hands of Jews?"

"Yes — a weapon. As soon as somebody lifts a hand against a Jew, he begins to cry, 'Anti-Semitism! Help, an anti-Semite wants to murder me!' And he does this for any reason. Let's say you're walking down the street and inadvertently push someone. Should it happen to be a Jew whom you pushed, then before you have time to realize what you've done, he immediately begins to shout: 'You're an anti-Semite! You're pushing me because you're an anti-Semite!' When I came to America, one immigrant who had been here for many years warned me: 'Be careful — whatever you do, don't bother Jews because you'll immediately be

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<sup>1)</sup> Harvard's Dr. David Riesmann noted in the *Jewish Newsletter* (N.Y., Jan. 9, 1961): The Jews "can muster not merely the threat of the Jewish vote and no-less important Jewish financial and organizational skills, but also the blackmail of attacking anyone who opposes their aims, as anti-Semitic."

denounced as an anti-Semite. And in America, 'anti-Semitism' means the same thing as 'enemy of the people' does in the U.S.S.R.' In America you can criticize the President, publicly state that you don't like him because he's stupid, uninformed about politics and whatever else you wish to say. No one will persecute you for this. But as soon as you say you don't like Jews, you're labeled an 'anti-Semite', that is, an enemy of the people." <sup>1)</sup>

"You certainly are exaggerating!"

"No. Let me give you an example. I used to work at a college near Philadelphia called Ursinus College. On the main gates of the college this name could be seen in large, elaborate wrought-iron lettering. One night, three students played a practical joke and removed the first two and the last two letters, leaving only 'SIN COLLEGE'. At first this was dismissed as a silly student prank. But when it turned out that the new stylized letters would be three months in arriving, and the disrespectful 'SIN COLLEGE' would remain on the gate during all that time, the administration grew irate, discovered the culprits and expelled all three of them. Two of them were Christians and they accepted the punishment without protest, but the third was a Jew. On the following day a Jewish delegation consisting of three rabbis appeared before the college president, sharply protesting that the college was anti-Semitic, that it persecutes Jews, and that if the expelled student was not accepted back, a complaint would go to Washington to withdraw any assistance from the college since it fosters anti-Semitism. The president explained, but to no avail, that the three had been expelled because of a harmful prank; that no one was aware that one of the students was Jewish, while the other two Christians; that no Christian called the college 'anti-Christian', because of what had happened. 'Those two don't

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<sup>1)</sup> A. M. Lilienthal in his *The Zionist Connections* (N.Y., 1978) concludes: "Every incident everywhere in the world in which a Jew was victimized was being incessantly presented to the public as another example of Hitlerian anti-Semitism." (p. 415) "Jews too often have managed to take shelter under the exemption 'Don't dare incriminate a Jew lest you be taking Hitler's side'." (p. 416) "As a result, Zionism is a subject on which in the United States there is more effective suppression of freedom of speech than any other." (p. 407)

concern us', the delegation stubbornly insisted. 'Do what you will with them. But this one is a Jew and if he is expelled, then it's anti-Semitism. And we'll go all the way to Washington if we have to'. So the college administration decided it would be better not to risk the loss of Federal funds and accepted the expelled Jewish student back, but not the other two. Here, then, you see an example of 'anti-Semitism' as a weapon. That is why I avow that anti-Semitism is everywhere, where there are Jews. And I'm certain that you'll declare even me to be an 'anti-Semite' for what I've just told you. But I must warn you that this weapon is turning into a boomerang." <sup>1)</sup>

"How?"

"You see, even the best medication, if used too often, becomes less potent or even harmful. Accusing everyone too frequently and too loudly of anti-Semitism diminishes the weapon's power; or else it backfires on those who use it. When Ukrainians were called anti-Semites, others accepted it as the truth. But when the Jews began to denounce the American President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense as anti-Semites, when ever any one of them dared to do something that displeased the Jews — then this angered the American public and they actually began to dislike Jews. The dagger of anti-Semitism turns against those who brandish it too frequently. In any case, I already know that I'm the same kind of 'anti-Semite' as the President of the United States, Mr. Reagan, as Secretary Haig, and Secretary Weinberger. And if I were to be crucified for anti-Semitism, then I would cry that I'm not the only one — let them crucify Mr. Haig to my right, and to my left Mr. Weinberger, as well, because they're as anti-Semitic as I am. Premier Begin himself called them that."

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<sup>1)</sup> The famed journalist Dorothy Thompson wrote in the *Jewish Newsletter* (N.Y., April 6, 1951): "I think continual emphasis should be put upon the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic. . . I am sure that anti-anti-Semitism can reach a point where it has exactly the opposite effect from the one which it has striven for."

## TO SPEAK THE TRUTH OR ACQUIESCE TO SLANDER

Mr. Suslensky was present during these conversations. Also present during my discussion with Dr. Beysky was Dr. Kleiner. Were they pleased with everything I talked about? Obviously not — especially Mr. Suslensky. I've already mentioned that during our initial meeting in America, and in our correspondence before my trip to Israel, we agreed that we can and should remain friends, if we sincerely desire a truce and cooperation between Jews and Ukrainians — even though the two of us have very different opinions on various questions. But now he began to have reservations.

"I understand that you passionately defend Ukrainians, especially those from your historical past: Khmelnytsky, the 'Hajdamaky', Petlura, the OUN, UPA. I won't argue with you on this because I'm not a historian; I learned about Ukrainians from Soviet teachers and from Jews here, and I listened with interest to your explanations of the facts. But you earnestly defend every Ukrainian. Do you really believe that all Ukrainians are angels? Why, we can provide you with numerous documents, showing how your own Ukrainians betrayed their fellow-Ukrainians the 'Banderivtsi', to the Gestapo; how they helped track them down, arrest them, even imprison them. Would you like to see proof of this?"

"No, I know this too well. I'm not denying that during the German occupation of Ukraine, there were individuals among the Ukrainians who deserved to be hanged. Individuals like that could be found among every people under the German occupation. But among Ukrainians, the number was very small. After the war, the French hung approximately three thousand Frenchmen for collaborating with the Germans against the French people, and thirty thousand were sentenced to life imprisonment. We Ukrainians had a hundred times less — they had three thousand, but we had thirty. And most of them can be found in the Free World, continuing their dirty work. In those years, they had denounced us as 'communists', while now they label us as totalitarians. But this is our own internal, Ukrainian affair. They

committed an offense against Ukrainians, and a Ukrainian court will try them. And if any of them were to be sentenced to death, then we would bring in from Israel, Jacob Kozelchuk, who was a hangman in Auschwitz, to perform the execution so it could not be said that we were committing 'fratricide'. I repeat: What Ukrainians did to other Ukrainians is our own affair. But you are not accusing or hunting Ukrainians because of this. The Jews are persistently screaming about 'Ukrainian anti-Semitism', about the supposed assistance given by Ukrainians in the eradication of Jews. But in this matter, I have always held and will continue to hold the firm belief that no Ukrainian organization, group or even individual cooperated with the Gestapo in destroying Jews. If anyone in Ukraine did join the 'Einsatzkommando', or the Gestapo, then it was a 'Volksdeutsch', that is, a resident of Ukraine who was of German descent."

"But were there such people, or not?"

"Certainly, and I am not defending them, since I don't consider them to be Ukrainians. In Chicago, as I had mentioned to Mr. Kogan, in our discussion, they're trying 'Ukrainians' who in reality are 'Volksdeutsch' — Deutscher and Lechmann. I am not protecting them, but why do you Jews insist on calling them Ukrainians? It is true, they were both born in Ukraine, but so were Chaim Weizman, the first President of Israel; David Ben-Gurion, first Premier of Israel; Itsak Ben-Tsvi, Israel's second President; Golda Meir, Premier of Israel, and many others. Why aren't you calling them Ukrainians also, and saying that the presidents and premiers of Israel are — Ukrainians? You don't even write that they were all born 'in Ukraine', but 'in Russia'. Golda Meir herself in her memoirs mentions on one page that she was born in Kiev, in Russia, but on another page she states that she saw pogroms against the Jews, which took place in ... Kiev, in Ukraine. And that's how the matter stands."

"But wouldn't it be better to admit that there were those among Ukrainians who served the Germans and murdered Jews, and let the American courts seek them out, sentence them and deport them? Nobody's accusing you or those like you of any crimes — but there are those among your people who are guilty and there are Ukrainians who will agree that they should be

brought to trial. In your conversation with Rabbi Kahana, you passionately defended the 'Hajdamaky'. But a Ukrainian professor from Harvard, in his review of your book, disputed this, admitting that Ukrainians butchered Jews during the time of Khmelnytsky and the 'Hajdamaky! And since the President of the Institute let this be published, then it must mean that he agreed with that view also."

"Not everything that is printed under the Harvard name is the actual truth. This is simply the opinion of someone who works there. Whether he believes it himself is another matter. Sometimes even among Ukrainians there are what you call 'Shabesgoys', who acquiesce to Jewish accusations against Ukrainians of having murdered Jews. By doing this, they hope to further their career. But what do you need more for establishing good relations between Jews and Ukrainians: Schabesgoys, who kow-tow to you in everything or Ukrainians with whom you can openly converse on an equal level about the truth?"

"Nevertheless, you are too severely critical of the Jews, and they dislike that."

"If somewhere along the way I have spoken an untruth, then by all means tell me and we will check it. I want cooperation between Ukrainians and Jews, but it must be based on the fact that the Jews understand and acknowledge that it is not the Ukrainians who must beg 'forgiveness' from the Jews for the past, but the Jews who must ask it of the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are not obligated to thank the Jews for saving their lives during the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine because this never happened — although it might have, since the Jews held positions in the Soviet administration and risked nothing. But the Jews are obligated to thank the Ukrainians for saving their lives during the Hitler regime because there were thousands of these instances, even though every Ukrainian faced the prospect of death for this and many Ukrainians died at the gallows."

"But I still think that Ukrainians dislike Jews. During my recent stay in America, I saw for myself how Ukrainians in Cleveland demonstrated against Jews with placards reading: 'Jews are Communists', 'Jews and the KGB are one and the same', 'Jews crucified Christ!'"

"I did not see that, so I do not know what sort of slogans there were, but did the Ukrainians simply demonstrate against the Jews for no reason?"

“No, it was in connection with the trial of Demianiuk.”

“You see, that was the reaction against which I constantly warn Jews. Imagine two young school friends going down the road in Ukraine, and Itsyk begins: ‘Your father is a stupid Ivan!’ And Michael retorts: ‘And your father is a nasty ‘Srul’. So which one of them is at fault: Michael, who in responding to the attack called Itsyk’s father a repulsive name, or Itsyk, who provoked this sweet conversation? Should Michael have ‘politely’ replied: ‘You, Itsyk, are always right, my father really is a ‘stupid Ivan’. And I, his son, am also stupid!?’”

Mr. Suslensky was displeased by my actions in defense of Ukrainians, whom the Office of Special Investigation accuses of participating with the Germans in the destruction of Jews — and particularly by my memorandum to the U.S. Government, and members of the United States Senate and Congress. He read the Memorandum and talked with members of that department. How could I have given such testimonies in the American courts; how could I have written the memorandum, directly accusing the Jews, the Judenrat and the Jewish police?

“I regard your trial testimonies, your public appearances and your memorandum as being saturated with an anti-Semitic spirit which merits our condemnation. I’m certain that in different circumstances ill-educated and inhumane Ukrainians — of which, unfortunately, there are still very many — would accept this as a signal for pogroms, and begin a mass destruction of Jews.”

“Thank you for being so frank. I expected your first answer to my truthful words in defense of Ukrainians to be: ‘You’re an anti-Semite, promoting anti-Semitism!’ Your attitude brings to mind a tale about a Ukrainian beekeeper. One day a Jewish acquaintance of his, who was involved with some sort of ‘handeles’, came looking for him among the hives. Failing to find the master of the house anywhere around, he decided to go alone to the hives and collect a bit of honey. The bees promptly attacked him and began stinging him. To make matters worse, the dog ran over and attacked attached himself to the man’s coat. The Jew began screaming: “Help, I’m being attacked by anti-



Semites!" The beekeeper hurried over to his aid, asking him: "What anti-Semites are you yelling about? Where are they?"

"What do you mean, **where**? Your bees are anti-Semites, and so is your dog and so are you; you turned them all into nasty anti-Semites!"

"But the bees and the dog attack anyone who comes here without me!, — the bee-keeper protested. But the Jew was insistent: 'It's not my business why they attack everyone else. I know they attacked me because I'm a Jew, and your bees, your dog and you — all hate Jews!'"

Suslensky frowned sourly. "This anecdote of yours is anti-Semitic! You're an innate anti-Semite!"

"Yes, just like one of those bees. But can't even an educated Jew, in a discussion about Jewish-Ukrainian relations, desist from this annoyingly persistent: 'Ukrainians are all traditional anti-Semites!?' Can't he converse calmly and to the point, subjecting every argument as well as every accusation on both sides to an objective analysis?"

"Very well. Tell me, how do you justify your actions and your memorandum?"

"First let me refer to your previous statement. You expressed the opinion that, in different circumstances, ill-educated and somewhat inhumane Ukrainians would have accepted my memorandum as a signal or a call for pogroms. This is merely your supposition. But we, Ukrainians are dealing not with suppositions, but with actual facts when we say that the Jews exploit their influence in the U.S. for the purpose of conducting moralistic pogroms against Ukrainians. In cooperation with the KGB, they select a victim for an inquest and trial. And then the American press, dominated by Jews, ceaselessly heaps accusations and insults on all Ukrainians for being 'traditional anti-Semites' who murdered Jews with more savagery and pleasure than did the German Nazis. Is that fair?"

"Then you're of the opinion that the U.S. Office of Special Investigations has turned into a Jewish 'Holy Inquisition', which is conducting 'witch-hunts' among Ukrainians. And do you state this in your memorandum."

“Unfortunately, it has turned out that way, to our and even to your detriment. You see, America is a super-democratic country. But even so, when a criminal who is black stands trial, it’s forbidden to stress that he’s black, or to suggest that all blacks are ‘innate’ criminals. Why didn’t the Jews in America honor this principle and simply write about the accused, Mr. Fedorenko, that he was **a former citizen of the U.S.S.R.**, and is now a U.S.A. citizen, instead of constantly harping that he’s a ‘**Ukrainian**’ and proclaiming, even before the start of the trial, that he was guilty of the massacres of thousands of unfortunate Jews, and that all Ukrainians are known pogromists’.”

“But, why the ‘Holy Inquisition’?”

“Because under the medieval Inquisition, one piece of information, one accusation, a single suspicion, was enough, for the accused to become a victim of savage inquests, tortures and trials. The same thing, for all practical purposes, is happening in this case also. In Philadelphia, what proof was given of Wolodymyr Osidach’s guilt, of his part in the decimation of Jews? None! But this led to his moral and financial ruin, and untimely death. What was proven in the accusation of Bohdan Koziy in Florida, concerning his participation in the destruction of Jews? The testimony of two ‘Soviet patriots’ who forty years ago, as children, supposedly had seen a Ukrainian policeman shoot a Jewish child and now, forty years later, recognized from a photo that the policeman was Bohdan Koziy. Aren’t these the methods similiar to those of the medieval Inquisition?”

“And why are you calling this American Office of Investigation a **Jewish** Holy Inquisition?”

“Because almost all the members of this Office are American Jews and all the accused non-Jews. Even in Roman times the rule “no one should be judge of his own case” was accepted judicially. The Office should consist of non-Jews and should have searched for the guilty among all nationalities, including Jews, who assisted either the Germans in destroying Jews, or the NKVD in destroying Ukrainians. But the Jews are merely seeking revenge.”

“Are you demanding that those to blame for helping

Germans be sought even among those Jews who survived the Holocaust and came to the United States? In your memorandum this is what you demand. Did the Ukrainians find any such Jews — even one?”

“Yes, they should, since it’s possible that former members of the Judenrat or Jewish police may have been among them. Or should they be left alone, not searched for and not punished simply because they are Jews? As to your second question, I don’t know if Ukrainians have found even one member of the Judenrat or Jewish police in the U.S.A. But if even half the money which the American government took from the pockets of American tax-payers and gave for the Office’s activities was turned over to that part of the Office which would be composed of Ukrainians searching for Judenrat and Jewish police members, then I’m sure not one, but several would have been found.

“So you want a special inquest of all Jews who came from Europe to the U.S. and of those who continue to arrive from the U.S.S.R.? Isn’t that anti-Semitic?”

“No, sir, not at all! This is the American principle of fighting against discrimination: either investigate everyone, Ukrainians as well as Jews, or no one. In the United States there should be no discrimination against citizens simply because of their nationality. No single ethnic or religious group should be permitted to seek revenge for itself against another.”

“To get back to the subject of accusations: how can the activities of the Judenrat and Jewish police be compared with the criminal actions of the Ukrainian police? The former were forced to carry out the German’s orders and then they were also all destroyed. But the Ukrainians volunteered for the Ukrainian police and murdered Jews simply because they were Jews.”

“What you’ve said contains too much demagoguery and too little truth. How can you pass over the fact that the Judenrat and the Jewish police were expressly organized by the Germans to assist them in destroying Jews, while the Ukrainian police were organized to perform among the Ukrainian people, such duties as the American police performs in America, and the Israeli police in Israel. So obviously it was not Ukrainians but Jews, who

actually volunteered to help the German executioners annihilate the Jews. The fact that after a certain time members of the Judenrat and the Jewish police were liquidated by the Germans does not justify, but rather damns those Jews. If they knew that they would die anyway, why didn't they do so decently, without staining their hands and their conscience, before dying, with the blood of their Jewish brothers?"

"But there are still some differences between the Ukrainian and the Jewish police."

"Not 'some', but basic and significant differences. I've been talking all along about just that and I will repeat it once more: The Ukrainian police was never created for the purpose of destroying Jews, hence, there were no volunteers for this task, because the Ukrainian police never had any such duty and never performed it. But the Jewish Judenrat and police were explicitly created to assist the Germans in destroying Jews. This was well-known in advance by every Jew who ever volunteered to become a Judenrat member. So, obviously, every member of the aforementioned consciously volunteered as an assistant to the 'Einsatzgruppe', and voluntarily carried out his hideous assignment... and how! During my four-year interment with Jews in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps, I heard how the Jews cursed and reviled this Jewish police and Judenrat. How can you defend them, simply because they're Jews?"

"Because I myself was in Soviet concentration camps, and I know how easy it is to lose one's moral strength in such difficult circumstances, in order to save oneself."

"If you're trying to justify the Jewish police and the Judenrat members because you sympathize with them, then that's understandable. But if you're trying to cover up their obvious guilt and despicability by diverting attention and conjuring up vicious accusations against the Ukrainian police and Ukrainians in general — then this is base and dishonest."

"What about yourself? In your memorandum, you write that 'Jewish witnesses can't be trusted' because they're Jews."

"Half of it is true, and half is a distortion of what I actually said. The first part of the sentence where I affirm that Jewish

witnesses are untrustworthy is true. But the second part, 'because they're Jews', is a willful distortion. In my testimony at the trial of Koziy in Florida, as well as in my memorandum, I explained this in detail: Jewish witnesses are not to be trusted because in the wake of the Holocaust horrors, a special psychopathic phenomenon has occurred. They suspect every non-Jew, especially a Ukrainian, of being a covert 'pogromist' who helped Germans destroy Jews. If the suspicion has even the smallest verisimilitude, they are immediately ready to swear that they recognize that person as being a Gestapo or Ukrainian police member who murdered Jews. For example: In the Osidach case, an older Jewish lady was called to the witness stand. She stated that before and during the war, she lived in Rava, Western Ukraine. When asked, it transpired that she couldn't remember when the war began, or in what year the Soviet-German war started; she wouldn't recall in what year the ghetto was created in Rava, or what color the patches were which Jews had to wear on their sleeves. But when showed a photo, she immediately 'recognized' Osidach as the Ukrainian policeman who arrested her brother. To the lawyer's cross-examination, she replied that she had seen Osidach only twice in her life: once before the war — she couldn't remember the year — when a friend introduced her to him on the street; and the second time when Osidach arrested her brother. In reply to the question what it was specifically about Osidach's face or bearing that enabled her to immediately recognize him, after seeing him for only a few minutes at her brother's arrest, she said: 'His little whiskers.' And yet, Wolodymyr Osidach never in his life had any sort of whiskers. Still the judge accepted her testimony as sufficient and valid. Well? Can a normal person believe such witnesses?"

"Didn't she, however, immediately recognize Osidach among ten others in the photograph?"

"Sure, because the others were all in white shirts and Osidach was the only one in a plaid one. Now do you understand?"

"You're entirely correct in that these trials in the U.S. are only for the benefit of Bolshevik Russia, since they stir up hatred

between Jews and Ukrainians. But why, do you in your memorandum, call this a conspiracy between Jewish and Russian Nazis?"

"Because decent Jews are condemning these trials. The American President Reagan, openly and publicly called Soviet Moscow a liar and forger of documents. Obviously, this refers primarily to the KGB — previously the NKVD — an unsurpassed expert in the fabrication of lies and simulated documents. And the Office of Special Investigation is working for all practical purposes, with these very 'experts' against American citizens of Ukrainian descent. On the basis of KGB, 'witnesses', and 'documents, the Office accuses and tries selected victims.'<sup>1)</sup>

"I talked with the members of the Office. They mentioned this charge of yours, and explained that the testimonies and documents from the U.S.S.R. are used only as corroboration of what was already affirmed by other witnesses and documents **not** from the U.S.S.R."

"The head of the Office also gave this 'explanation' to the delegation of Ukrainian survivors of the Holocaust. But this is not entirely true. The whole case against Koziy, for instance, was based solely on Soviet 'witnesses' and KGB 'documents'."

"If this really happened, then it must be regarded as an exception, since the chief witnesses are usually Israelis and Jews who lived in the West and whose conduct cannot be attributed to KGB instructions. To disbelieve them means to be a raw defender of every crime committed by a Ukrainian."

"Your last statement is a classic example of Marxist dialectics. The heart of the matter is an honest defense of a person who has been criminally accused. Why twist the basic gist of the matter? Western, and in particular, American, justice rests upon the principle that every person is innocent until proven guilty."

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<sup>1)</sup> In his report, published in the Soviet Russian journal "ZHOVTEN" (No. 9, Lvov, 1982) the chief of KGB B. Antonenko presents the members of two teams of the U.S. Special Commission who collaborating with the KGB visited Lvov in order to collect from KGB "documents" and "witnesses" depositions against selected American Ukrainians: Neal M. Sher, Norman Moskovitz, Bertram Felbaum in the case of W. Osidach, and Harri Rappaport N. Colman and B. Felbaum in the case of B. Koziy.

The duty of an honest person is to defend the innocent; and this is what I'm doing. How can an intelligent and honest person pass off the defense of innocence as the defense of crime? There are courts and entire trial procedures for the purpose of objectively assessing if the accused has actually perpetuated a crime. Only the Russian KGB (or its earlier counterparts, the CheKa, GPU, NKVD) proceeds on the assumption that once arrested, a person must necessarily be guilty, and anyone attempting to defend the arrested person is guilty of defending the supposed crime also. And I dread to think what would happen to anyone questioning whether there was any crime committed at all in the first place."

On several occasions, Mr. Suslensky expressed disenchantment with his trip to America. Dr. Stern — said Suslensky — had hundreds of listeners everywhere, Ukrainians paid him for every appearance and he earned fifty thousand dollars for his lectures to Ukrainians; whereas he, Suslensky, was not paid at all by any Ukrainians, and there were usually only a handful of listeners. For some reason, the 'Banderivtsi' were boycotting him.

"This statement is entirely insubstantiated and false", I explained to him. "There was no boycott, only a different set of circumstances. Dr. Stern was lucky. At the time, there was as yet no dissension among Ukrainians in America, and all Ukrainians were terribly eager to see and hear a non-communist from Ukraine. In this atmosphere, everyone was glad to hear and see Dr. Stern, who recently came from Ukraine. But he disillusioned everyone. He said he was from Ukraine and liked Ukrainian borsch<sup>1)</sup>, and nothing more. Then the 'dissidents' appeared: — Leonid Pliusch, Hryhorenko and others — and they also disillusioned and divided the Ukrainians. People became distrustful: What will another such as Dr. Stern tell us? Will he tell us he's from Ukraine and likes borsch? At the time of Dr. Stern's trip, Ukrainians in America were united, but now — they're divided."

"Yes, I noticed that."

"You probably did more than notice it. In meeting Ukrain-

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<sup>1)</sup> Borsch — Ukrainian popular beet soup.

ians, you must have become quite familiar with the situation.”

“But why is there such dissension and division?”

“Discord is a general phenomenon, it occurs everywhere. Ukrainians on their native soil, in the face of every occupation, were divided into patriots, revolutionaries, those who were neutral or non-committal, and those who collaborated with the occupying regime. In America there is no oppression. Here dissension evolved for the same reason as elsewhere in the world. There is a German national government in West Germany and a German Democratic Republic; a Korean National and a Korean Democratic Republic; there was a Vietnamese National and a Vietnamese Democratic Republic; as well as Yemen National and Yemen Democratic Republic. So it was that Ukrainians in the free world divided into a Ukrainian National and a Ukrainian ‘Democratic’ community. And there exists a great gap between the two. Over there, the boundaries are maintained with barbed wire and machine guns; among Ukrainians here, the dividing line is moral-psychological one. The two cannot agree nor unite. This is why you must give separate lectures for the Ukrainian National and for Ukrainian ‘Democratic’ communities, though obviously, you can maintain ties with both.”

### **The Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation**

During my stay in Israel, I had many an opportunity to meet with the members of the Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation individually; while at the end of my sojourn, I met with all the members of the Executive Board at a separate conference. Yakov Suslensky is the chief executive officer; he reported on the current condition and work of the Association, while I expressed my views on what the Association should do. Afterwards others who were present also took part in an informal discussion.

In the past, there were several attempts to organize a Jewish-Ukrainian association. But all failed. In the 1970's, the Committee for Jewish Ukrainian Cooperation was created with A. Feldman as president, and R. Palatnik as secretary. But in 1981, the organization split. J. Suslensky was accused of traveling to the U.S. as a representative of the Committee without authori-



zation and refusing to account for the donations collected in the U.S., and subsequently expelled. Suslensky accused the Committee of inertia, and created his Association for Hebrew-Ukrainian Cooperation.

Presently, the membership is small. Assistance from the government or some Israeli establishment is nil. Rather, the opposite is true, and there is open hostility towards it everywhere. The Association is relying on the help of Ukrainians. First of all, Suslensky insists, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America should offer some sort of financial support, and invite members of the Association to the U.S.A. for lectures, as it did in the case of Dr. Stern. Then also, as many Ukrainians in America as possible should join the Association, paying 40 dollars in annual dues, in order to create a financial base for the Association in Israel. American Ukrainians should, furthermore, organize an exhibit and sale of the paintings of Jewish artists who live in Israel; Ukrainian periodicals and scientific establishments should order various theses and scientific works from the Israeli members of the Association, etc. These plans were formed on the assumption that Ukrainians in America are a 'rich uncle' who will gladly help the Association financially.

In my remarks, I unfortunately had to shatter all these illusions and dreams. Ukrainians in America would themselves be glad to find some 'rich uncle' with bagfuls of dollars who would strengthen the half-empty coffers of the various Ukrainian organizations and establishments. Interest in Israeli lectures has failed, and there is no one to finance such deficient lectures. It could be possible to organize an exhibit of paintings by Israeli Jews in America, but if it were limited only to Ukrainians, there would be no chance of financial profit. There are already quite a few Ukrainian painters in America, who are looking for patrons, buyers, and their number is augmented by Ukrainian artists from Poland, Yugoslavia and South America who bring or send their paintings to the U.S. Such an exhibit in America could only be shown among Jews; many of them are wealthy, so they can buy all the artistic works sent from Israel even if it's only to support Israel and Israeli artists.

Of the Ukrainian institutions in America, only the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard has any real funds. The UCCA, the super-structure of all organizations and establishments in the U.S.A., collects for its annual budget three times less than the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard receives in interest from its invested funds. Therefore, ties should be established with this Institute. To find members among Ukrainians who annually would pay forty dollars as membership dues to the Association for Hebrew-Ukrainian Cooperation is likewise not so easy. Even the Ukrainian National and Providence Life Insurance Associations have difficulty finding new members among Ukrainians who would pay a modest sum for their own security.

My view of the Association's duties was entirely different. Most Ukrainians are ready for a sincere dialogue and for cooperation with Jews, but only on terms of equality and against a mutual enemy — imperialist Red Russia. The Ukrainians need no convincing; it is the Jews who must be convinced. This is why the Association should be active among Jews: organize the appearance of Jewish and Ukrainian lecturers for Jews in Israel and America; submit articles to the Jewish press in Israel and America with explanations of the unsubstantiated and harmful (even to the Jews themselves) accusations against Ukrainians of 'traditional anti-Semitism'; enlighten the Jews in America that their abuse of the U.S. Office of Special Investigation of War Criminals for the persecution of innocent Ukrainians — and consequently for besmirching all Ukrainians — is a disservice to the Jews themselves. What is more, articles should be submitted to the Israeli press about Ukraine and Ukrainians, showing them in a positive light. Anything pertaining to Ukraine in the Israeli press and magazines should be noted, and sundry slanderous or simply erroneous information and views should be clarified. In America, the Association should enlist as many members and sympathizers as possible from among the Jews. Jews are numerous in America, they are mostly affluent, and therefore they should give a financial base to the Association, as well as influence the government of Israel to stand in defense of Ukrainians.

Israel is a member of the various international organizations, such as the UN, where Soviet Moscow very frequently attacks Israel's imperialism. Why, in these instances, doesn't Israel reply with an attack on the brutal Russian imperialism, and the savage enslavement and destruction of Ukrainians? Why doesn't the government of Israel make the world consider the tragic position of Ukraine, and indicate that it is not in Africa, but in Eastern Europe that nations must be freed from a colonial yoke — the yoke of Moscow. A Ukrainian proverb says: 'Don't kiss my lips when they're sweet, but kiss them when they're bitter!' The Jews shouldn't wait to cooperate and make friends with Ukrainians until an independent Ukrainian government arises. Rather they, and particularly Israel should assist the Ukrainians now, when they are in need.

Scepticism, disbelief and bewilderment could be seen on the faces of my audience. It was expressed somewhat pointedly later by Mr. Suslensky in his conversation with me.

"These are all fantasies! Impossible dreams! Indeed — to go among the Jews and to tell them that Khmelnytsky, the 'Hajdamaky', Petlura are all Ukrainian national heroes: that they have been maliciously and falsely accused by the Jews of being pogromists? Why, even children in Israel are being taught that those eras were periods of the most brutal destruction of the Jews. To make a frontal attack against all Jews is beyond our capabilities. And the same holds true of influences in the government of Israel to raise the matter of Moscow's brutal enslavement of Ukraine in the UN and elsewhere. Why should it be Israel that does this? Why should Israel irritate Moscow and turn its rage against itself? Such an action would undoubtedly be extremely harmful to Israel's interests. Our work must begin with something simple, noncontroversial."

"True, you can play around with non-controversial topics and activities. But if your Association is to have any long-range influence, then it must devote itself to these tasks which I have listed. Only then will Ukrainians see the sense in belonging to the Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation."

**Interview  
for the Journal 'Krug' in Tel Aviv, Israel**

During my visit to Israel in the fall of 1981, I was interviewed by the editor of the Jewish journal, 'Krug'. This magazine is published in Russian for those citizens of Israel who recently have come to Israel from the U.S.S.R., and for whom it is still easier to understand Russian than Hebrew. The journal counts some eight thousand subscribers, while another one or two thousand are sold at the stands. The interview was published in its 233rd number, under the heading, 'Interview given by Dr. Petro Mirchuk, jurist and historian.'

A quotation from Hemingway, suggesting that it was better to know the unpleasant truth rather than live with sweet lies, was given instead of a preface or editor's comment.

"Were you in Lviv when the Germans occupied it?"

"No, I was in Vienna then, I returned to Lviv in August of 1941."

"Did the Ukrainians hope to take advantage of the opportunity by reestablishing their own independent state?"

"They not only hoped, but actually proclaimed the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, with a government being formed soon afterwards."

"Did this take place in Lviv?"

"Yes, though the proclamation was announced throughout Western Ukraine."

"Was there any intention of later transferring the capital to Kiev?"

"Yes, but this was never realized because the Gestapo arrested the members of the Ukrainian government. The German army had declared its respect for Ukrainians' treaty with Germany, signed in Berest Litovsk in February 1918, whereby Germany recognized Ukraine's full national independence. The staff of the German army expected the Nazi government to form an alliance with Ukraine in order to fight against Bolshevik Moscow, as had been the case in 1918. But things turned out differently, since

Hitler and his party wanted Ukraine as a colony. The German military command was of the opinion the Germans should recognize and respect the independence of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia and other nations, and maintain good-neighbor relations with them, but Hitler and his Nazis wanted these territories only as 'breathing space' for their citizens."

"And when the Nazis began pillaging Ukrainian villages and destroying the Ukrainian intelligentsia, were you among those thrown into prison?"

"Yes, I was incarcerated during the first wave of arrests. You see, the Ukrainian government existed for about five or six weeks, during July and August of 1941. Once the Nazis decided that an independent Ukraine wasn't part of their plan for the future Europe, the government was dissolved by force and its members incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps. Even Stephan Bandera, the motivating force behind the proclamation of independence was arrested at this time.

"The Germans arrested him?"

"Yes, though at first the Gestapo held him only under house arrest."

"Where was he living at the time?"

"In Krakow. He had been imprisoned in 1934, but when Poland fell in September of 1939, he was set free and found himself in Krakow just as the Bolsheviks were shooting Ukrainian nationalists in Lviv."

"What about yourself? Were you in prison under Poland?"

"Yes, I was in a Polish prison six times."

"For Ukrainian nationalism?"

"Yes. Between the First and Second World Wars, western Ukraine, with its capital Lviv, was under Polish occupation. We Ukrainian nationalists fought to drive out the Poles and to reestablish an independent Ukraine."

"Do you recognize that Ukraine which exists today and is a member of the UN as a Ukrainian state or do you consider it a legal fiction?"

"It's the same sort of legal fiction as the 'Reichskommis-

sariat Ukraina' was during the Germans' occupation."

"When were you thrown into the German prison?"

"September 15, 1941, during the first wave of mass arrests. At that time, several thousand Ukrainians were arrested in western Ukraine."

"Were you tried?"

"No. We were kept in Lviv for several days; then we were transferred to prisons in Krakow; and finally in June, 1942, the first group of Ukrainian nationalists, consisting of some 25 persons, was sent off to Auschwitz (in Polish, 'Oswiencim'). I was interned in German prisons and concentration camps a total of four years."

"The number 49734 is tattooed on your arm. Is this from Auschwitz? Were you kept separately from the other prisoners, or were you thrown in with the rest? What kind of 'Triangle' did you have; red, like that of the political prisoners?"

"Yes, the number was given to me in Auschwitz, and no, we were not kept separately, even though we wore the red triangle allotted to political prisoners. Being mixed with the other prisoners, we had to obey the appointed wardens. There were generally Poles and most were extremely hostile to us as Ukrainians, because of the long-standing animosity between our two peoples. They mistreated Ukrainians whenever they could. In the very first days, right before my eyes, they murdered Stephan Bandera's younger brother Wasyl in a barbarian manner. Two days later Bandera's older brother Oleksa was brought in, and the Polish wardens murdered him also in the same barbarian way."

"Did you know Stephan Bandera?"

"Yes, I knew him very well."

"While still in Lviv?"

"Yes."

"In postwar Bolshevik literature, Stephan Bandera is called the 'King of the Bandits', and all of his followers, the 'Banderivtsi' are called 'bandits' likewise. Why is that so?"

"The Bolsheviks call everyone who opposes Russian imperialism, 'bandits' and 'fascists'. They even use these same

labels when attacking those American presidents who oppose their aims and methods, such as President Reagan.”

“When the war ended and the Germans fled from Ukraine, the Ukrainian Nationalists remained in the forest and continued their fighting. What were you expecting, what were you hoping for?”

“We were hoping that America would realize who the Bolsheviks are and that there is no difference between the German Nazis and the Russian Nazis. We thought they knew that, while the former destroyed six million Jews, the latter annihilated ten million Ukrainians. On that basis, we were expecting a military confrontation between America and the U.S.S.R..”

“Is it true that Bandera himself was an anti-Semite?”

“No. He had nothing to do with Jews. We were fighting Poland and so all of his attention was directed against it. For this the Poles sentenced him to life imprisonment.”

“What did Bandera do during the German occupation?”

“He was incarcerated in a German concentration camp.”

“When Germany capitulated, did he return to Ukraine to lead the struggle for freedom?”

“No, he was freed at the end of 1944, and went into hiding until the end of the war. Then he lived in Bavaria under an assumed name.”

“So why were all those Ukrainians who fought the Bolsheviks always known as ‘Banderivtsi’?”

“Because he was one of the leading theorists and exponents of the Ukrainian Nationalist ideology, a leader in our struggle for national independence.”

“Is it true that the ‘Banderivtsi’ killed General Lutze in battle, and later ambushed the Soviet General, Vatutin?”

“Yes, it’s true. General Vatutin was liquidated by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, in Volyn. At about the same time, in the Carpathian mountains, the Ukrainian insurgents severely wounded another NKVD general, Moskalenko.”

“In Auschwitz you met with different nationalities: did you also meet Jews?”

“Yes, we lived amicably with them. I would like to meet again with those who were in Auschwitz. We were friends, because our nationalist motto was ‘Freedom for all peoples, freedom for each individual!’. In talking with them, I always explained that we are fighting for Ukraine’s independence, and that the Jews should similarly fight for their own independent state.”

“Now tell me honestly. We generally believe that Ukrainians are anti-Semites. Up until the war, under Poland’s domination, did you bear any grudges or ill-will against the Jews?”

“On the contrary, Ukrainians often times worked together with the Jews. During the Polish occupation political parties were permitted and so during elections, Ukrainians frequently formed a coalition with the various Jewish parties.”

“Is it true, as the Ukrainian emigre press claims, that many Jews were impressed or accepted into the NKVD when the Russians seized Lviv in 1939?”

“Yes, they accepted many. I was in a Polish prison in Lviv at the beginning of spring in 1939. When the Bolshevik army entered Lviv in September of 1939, the Polish prison guards fled, and we were freed. On the streets I saw many Jewish students that I knew from the university: they all wore the red armbands of the NKVD militia.”

“Why did they join?”

“I don’t know, but they were turning Ukrainian nationalists over to the NKVD.”

“Did you remain in Lviv at that time?”

“No. I escaped to German-occupied territory, and then to Prague, where I finished my studies and received a law degree. In Prague I studied at the Ukrainian Free University and simultaneously at the German Charles University. I returned to Lviv in August 1941.”

“And what did you see and learn there?”

“As soon as the Bolsheviks fled and the Germans came, the Ukrainians stormed the prisons, because the NKVD had jailed thousands of young Ukrainians. Here, however, they found the remains of a horrible massacre. The Jewish author Hilberg, in his



book 'The Destruction of the European Jews', discloses a document which proves that in the prisons of Lviv and the surrounding area, 18 thousand corpses of Ukrainian political prisoners were found. Parents hastened to identify their children. The NKVD executioners fled or hid; it was chiefly the Jewish militiamen who didn't succeed in escaping. And as soon as someone was recognized as being an NKVD member or militiaman, he was killed on the spot. It wasn't a question of whether someone was Jew or Gentile, but rather, whether one had been an NKVD member. The parents of the murdered avenged themselves for the death of their children."

"There were Germans in Prague when you studied there. Did they commit any savageries?"

"No, I saw no such thing. They behaved peaceably. This is why it never occurred to me that they would conduct themselves in an entirely different manner in Ukraine."

"But can the life of Jews in Ukraine during the past 500 or 600 years indeed be called a peaceful co-existence between two nations? First of all, there was the matter of a different religion and different customs; then, again the Jews could not own land, they were forced to occupy themselves with trade, tavern-keeping or peddling, and to live in small towns. Finally, one cannot forget that it was a point of politics of the Czarist regime to play one nation against the other. This could perhaps explain why, when the Germans said, 'It is permissible to beat Jews', the Ukrainians began to destroy them en masse."

"It's not a question of religion, because religion hardly entered into the picture. No — it was more a matter of politics. You see, Ukrainians first encountered Jews a thousand years ago, in the persons of the Khazars. At that time, the Kazars were a powerful state, and in it Jews held high administrative positions. The Khazars raided Ukraine, taking prisoners; these, if girls, were later sold into harems, and if young men, into slavery."

"Do you think that the enmity dates back from that time?"

"Yes. Nevertheless, when King Sviatoslav destroyed the Khazar state in the late 10th century, both he and his son, King Volodymyr, allowed the Jews to settle in Ukraine. They were not

persecuted at all.”

“That was ancient Rus’...”

“Yes, ancient Rus, homeland of the Ukrainians. The second wave of Jews came to Ukraine in the 14th century, during the reign of the Polish King Casimir. After the destruction of Rus’-Ukraine by the Tartars, Poland occupied western Ukraine in league with Hungary. The Poles then established a totally different regime in occupied Ukraine. Up until that time, Ukrainians had not practiced serfdom. Every person was free and equal. Now, however the Poles introduced serfdom. They took away land from Ukrainian farmers and made them feudal serfs, devoid of freedom. The Jews, however, were not made serfs. Every Polish nobleman made use of the Jews in the village administration. The Jews collected taxes and kept taverns and mercilessly exploited the peasants. Obviously, the people hated them for this. It was bad enough that they had to work six days a week for the landlord; but now the Jews, as tax collectors, also collected taxes of all sorts from them.

“Do you live in Philadelphia?”

“Yes.”

“Is your wife American or Ukrainian?”

“Ukrainian.”

“Do your children speak Ukrainian?”

“Yes. I have three sons who are Ukrainian-Americans.”

“Do you believe that Ukraine will one day be free?”

“All Ukrainians believe this, since it is impossible to destroy a nation of some 50 million people. We have survived Tartar invasions, the rule of feudal Poland, and we’ll survive Bolshevik Moscow. Our goal is to open the eyes of the world to who the Bolsheviks really are, and what they are doing.”

“You are a member of several Jewish organizations. Does this mean that you consider it time to put an end to the enmity between Ukrainians and Jews?”

“Yes, that’s my conviction. We must tell the Jews the truth about themselves, and hear out what they have to say against us.”

“The tens of thousands of Ukrainian policemen who served

the Germans — were they evil people?"

"You're phrasing the question wrong. I must remind you that Ukrainians were also Nazi victims. In Babyn Yar, for example, as many Ukrainians perished as Jews."

"How many could that have been?"

"We're working on the exact count of Ukrainian victims. The total number of victims in Babyn Yar was close to 100 thousand. In Anatolij Kuznyetsov's book it is stated that from 1941 to 1942, Jews were being shot there, while from 1943 to 1944, Ukrainians. After the proclamation of Ukraine's independence at Lviv in 1941, groups of OUN members went into eastern Ukraine; there were about eight thousand of them. The Germans captured and shot approximately six thousand of them, mostly in Babyn Yar."

"There is an Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation here in Israel. Did you come as a guest of this Association?"

"Not only as a guest; I am also a member of this organization."

"Being now in Israel, do you as a Ukrainian feel a difference in your attitudes towards Jews as such and the Israelis?"

"Yes, to a certain extent. Israel is a separate state with which Ukrainians desire to have friendly relations. After all, Ukraine is second to the United States in the number of Jews living there. It is in the interest of both sides to maintain friendly relations."

"What do you think: are there many people in Ukraine who oppose the Muscovites, as you call them?"

"We're certain that there are. Those who were in Soviet concentration camps — Germans, Jews, Frenchmen, et al. — all testify that the majority of prisoners in the U.S.S.R. are Ukrainians."

"Do you maintain relations with Jews in America, or do you rarely meet with them?"

"We try to establish good relations with them, but there is a strong Ukrainophobia existant among them."

"There are presently trials being held against Ukrainians in the U.S. What sort of trials are they?"

"They are so-called 'war criminal' trials. I personally was a

witness at two of these trials, and I saw how the KGB is able to incite Jews against Ukrainians, and vice versa. The Office of Special Investigation, which was created at the behest of Congresswoman Holtzman, received several million dollars from the Federal government, and with these funds the members of the Office travel to the U.S.S.R., where the KGB provides them with falsified 'documents' for such trials against innocent people. It's obvious that if someone actually had war crimes on his conscience, then immediately after the war he would have changed his name and fled to South America or Australia. Those who retained their real names have already shown by doing so that they are not guilty of anything. These trials merely serve to fan the hatred between Ukrainians and Jews."

"So you think that the KGB is behind these trials?"

"Obviously, Moscow is extremely apprehensive of the growing reapproachment between Ukrainians and Jews, chiefly in America. I'm afraid that these trials of Ukrainians will have a bad influence on Ukrainian-Jewish relations. At any rate, they will not engender love for Jews either into the Ukrainians (and there are three million of them in the USA and Canada), nor into the Americans."

"But even so, Ukrainians basically don't like Jews."

"Why don't you ask if the Jews basically like Ukrainians? This is why I became a member of the Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation: to spread trust and respect for one another. The enmity between our nations is convenient only to the Bolsheviks, who are equally a danger both to Ukraine and to Israel."

## **POSTSCRIPT**

In discussions about Metropolitan Sheptytsky, I constantly heard accusations that he 'collaborated' with the German Nazis. This was usually stated not as something in the realm of hypothesis, but as an affirmation of an undeniable fact. What is such a serious accusation based on? The answer was always: 'We know' or 'It's quite evident'. I have recently found a probable

answer to all this in the Bolshevik 'Visti z Ukrainy' (News from Ukraine), which is published by the propaganda division of the KGB for distribution among Ukrainians outside the U.S.S.R. In the January, 1982, No. 5 issue of this magazine, it is written:

'We should at this point pause to consider the aims and motives of a group of Judas' from the so-called: Association for Jewish -Ukrainian Cooperation who wish to push through a resolution proclaiming Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky as a 'Righteous man of peace' for having 'saved' Jews from destruction by the Nazis during the Second World War. Let us examine several archival documents, lest the traitor Suslensky's proposal mislead the community as to the relations of 'His Holiness' with the occupiers, and as to his attitude towards persons of Jewish descent.'

Here, then, is the answer to the question of what Jewish accusations against Metropolitan Andrij Sheptytsky are based on: 'documents' of the Russian KGB! What sort of documents are they? The KGB reports:

"Perhaps the first proof of the fact that A. Sheptytsky was not indifferent to the ideas of German Fascism, and even diligently encouraged and deepened the interest of his spiritual charges in Hitler's actions, is a photo of the 'Servant of God' during an audience with Ukrainian scouts — members of the 'Plast' Youth Organization. All of the participants of the gathering were decorated with badges which depicted the swastika 'Hakenkreuz', adopted by Hitler's National Socialists as their official party emblem. A swastika of larger dimensions gleams even on the cassock of 'His Holiness'. This emblem near the heart of this 'spiritual father' incontestably proclaims his political orientations, which in turn were adopted by the 'Plast' members as their own."

Here, then, is a Soviet 'document' and its explanation, a clear example of Russian-Bolshevik illiteracy mixed together with blatant demagoguery.

Even the initial remark about 'German Facism', attests to the pitiful political illiteracy of whomever wrote it. Even a moderately politically-literate person knows that Fascism is an

ideology and an Italian movement, and to speak of 'German Fascism' is the same as speaking of 'Mohammedan Marxism'!

But what is the photograph that is being talked about? In it, we see members standing at attention with the Metropolitan reviewing their ranks'. But can the picture have been taken in the 1940's? Hardly, 'Plast' was liquidated in September of 1930, that is, eleven years before the Nazi invasion of Ukraine. At the time when Nazi Germany occupied Ukraine, the Metropolitan was paralyzed and could not even stand, let alone pass in review before the ranks of 'Plast' members, which, as everyone knew, had ceased to exist years before.

And what about the swastika seen on these uniforms? In the Ukrainian 'Plast' organization, there had been an emblem similar to the 'swastika'. But this emblem, which every American encyclopedia defines as the symbol of movement, had been known to and used by ancient Indoeuropeans and by the American Indians, who had two different versions of it — one with the ends usually bent to the right and the other, much more frequently used in their paintings, with ends bent to the left. Hitler took this ancient 'swastika' symbol as an emblem for his party in 1933. But prior to that, the ancient 'swastika' was used by the international scouting movement, and from there it was accepted by the Ukrainian Plast movement. How could Plast, which ceased to exist in 1930, have taken the 'swastika' from the Nazis, who officially adopted for their own only in 1933?

With such twisting of facts, it's quite possible the Bolshevik liars may some day even ascribe the writings of Marx to Nazi influences. It's obvious to those who know that the photograph of Metropolitan Sheptytsky among the Plast members on the 'Sokol camping grounds' back in the 1920's. It would seem, then, that Met. Sheptytsky sympathized with the Nazis and spread their ideas among Ukrainians at least ten years before the actual arrival of the Nazi regime.

Another 'documentary proof' adduced by the KGB against Metropolitan Sheptytsky is the following:

'On July 1, 1941, after the invaders entered Lviv, Sheptytsky addressed his flock with a pastoral letter in which he called the

Nazi invasion a 'new epoch' in the history of Ukraine. He appealed for 'obedience to the new administration', and to the 'government' of Jaroslav Stetsko, who fought to introduce into Ukraine the German methods of exterminating Jews, thus forever eliminating the possibilities of their integration into the general populace.'

As proof of this 'article of truth' the Bolshevik propaganda piece produces the 'Pastoral Letter of the Prince of the Church', in which it is stated:

"By the will of the All-Mighty and All-Merciful God, One Indivisible, in the Holy Trinity, a new epoch has begun in the history of the National Independent Ukraine. The meeting of the National Council which took place yesterday affirmed and proclaimed this historic event. We offer our allegiance to the newly-established government, and acknowledge Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko as head of the National Administration of the western regions of Ukraine.'

From the text of this letter, it becomes abundantly clear to every normal person that Metropolitan Sheptytsky is referring to the 'new epoch' of a restored Independent and United Ukraine. What relevance is there to the praises of German occupation? This is an obvious contradiction of the legitimacy of the German occupation of Ukraine. The enjoinder to 'obey the newly-established regime' clearly refers to the Ukrainian government, the head of which became Jaroslav Stetsko. To every normal person this document undeniably affirms that Metropolitan Sheptytsky not only never issued enjoiners to cooperate with the occupiers of Ukraine, but — quite the reverse — steadfastly adhered to a declaration of the Ukrainian nation; that, in defiance of all Hitler's and Stalin's plans, he desired to live his own life in a free and independent Ukrainian state! The falsification and lies of the KGB 'interpretation' are supremely evident! As the second proof of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's collaboration with the Nazi occupiers of Ukraine, the author of this pamphlet, a KGB hireling, gives the fact that... 'Gestapo officers frequently visited Sheptytsky'. It is true that Gestapo commandos visited Metropolitan Sheptytsky, much in the same

manner that he, and latter his successor Metropolitan Slipyj, were visited by officials of the NKVD. The difference was that the Gestapo officials merely attempted to terrorize Metropolitan Sheptytsky whereas the NKVD officials, after initial attempts to intimidate Metropolitan Slipyj and persuade him to cross over to Russian orthodoxy, arrested him and took him, along with other bishops and hundreds of priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, to concentration camps, where the majority died a martyr's death. Are these 'visits' to Ukrainian archbishops by NKVD officials proof of their collaboration with the NKVD? The same author also considers, as a 'document' and proof of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's cooperation with the Hitlerite occupiers of Ukraine, that in his missle the Metropolitan urged Ukrainians in July 1941, to greet with sincere hearts the Ukrainian youth who in the Fall of 1939 were forced to flee from Ukraine, in order not to perish at the hands of the bloodthirsty NKVD executioners, and who returned to Ukraine in 1941 to fight for Ukraine's freedom from the Russian yoke. For the KGB writer it does not matter that the Ukrainian youth, having returned to Ukraine, fought equally against the Red Russians as against the German occupiers of Ukraine, and against the NKVD members as well as against the Gestapo sadists.

Such are the "documents" and "proofs" of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's collaboration with the Germans, which the KGB relays to Jews in Israel and beyond. On the basis of these "proofs" and "documents", the administration of Yad Vashem refuse to give thanks from the entire Israeli nation, before the world, to the great Metropolitan. He was the only one, in German-occupied Europe, who bravely protested to Hitler and Himmler against the inhuman destruction of Jews. Unlike anyone else in Europe, he personally saved thousands of Jews, as well as through the Ukrainian clergy he had commissioned, risking his own life, the lives of hundreds of Ukrainian clergy, and the continued existence of Ukrainian churches and monasteries, in which, at his instruction, Ukrainians sheltered Jews.

Clearly, with such a Jewish attitude toward Ukrainians, it is not possible to build a healthy and sincere mutual cooperation between Ukrainians and Jews.



## **The Position of Jewish Nazis Toward Ukrainians**

To begin with, I consider it imperative to define the terms 'Nationalist' and 'Nazi', which are purposely confused with each other by the enemies of nationalism, chiefly the Bolshevik agitators. The definition is vital, especially in the question of international relations.

In this aspect; Nationalists consider every nation as having the same God-given right to have its own free government, on territory settled by the given nation. No nation has a right to dominate another, take it under its "protection", or despoil the territory of another nation in whole or in part; all nations should work together on a voluntary basis, always respecting the full sovereignty of every other nation.

"Nazis" divide nations into two very unequal groups: one as their own nation of "Übermenschen" or "God's children", chosen by God or by Providence. The other group consists of all other nations, created as "Untermenschen" in order to serve the nation of "Übermenschen". Accordingly, "Nazis" seize the territories of other nations and transform them into their own colonies. Such Nazis were the German-Hitlerites (the name became widespread through them). Such Nazis are also the "Red" and "White" Russians who seize foreign territories in the guise of an "older brother", in order to turn them into Russian colonies. Such Nazis, are also the Jews, who regard the Jewish nation as the only "Children of God", and all others as "Goyem", created to serve the Jews without a word of dissent. A reminder that the Jewish nation is equal with all others and has the same God-given rights and obligations as all others, is considered by the Jewish Nazis to be an affront to the Jews, and is hysterically labeled "anti-Semitism", and an incitation for Jewish pogroms.

The German Nazis chose the Jews as the special object of their hysterical campaign to disgrace them. The Jewish Nazis chose for similar purpose the Ukrainians. Almost all Jews in Israel, as well as outside, are actually either Nationalists or Nazis. This pertains to Jewish Socialists and Jewish Communists as well. Every Jewish Socialist fights for his party program in

independent Israel. To every Jewish Socialist, it is absurd to think about a single, indivisible socialistic Palestine in conjunction with the Arabs of Palestine, Jordania and parts of Syria. In their dealings with other nations, Jewish Socialists are either Nationalists or Nazis. The same with Jewish Communists: they understand Communism as a social system which should exist in an independent Israeli state; and in relation to other nations, Communism, for them, is a means of politically disarming non-Jews. Every Jewish Communist regards the notion that Jews melt into one Communistic "Soviet" nation under the leadership of an "older Russian brother" as the hallucination of a political "mischigene", i.e. a lunatic.

In Israel and outside it, I had the opportunity to meet with Jews of both categories and discuss all kinds of political problems. I found that the influence of Jewish Nazism is unusually strong because it is rooted in religion. But the healthy Jewish Nationalism is strengthening, and there are growing numbers of Jewish patriots who renounce Jewish Nazism as being lethally dangerous to the Jewish nation itself. They realize that Israel, can in no way oppose the entire world because it will vanish from the face of the earth exactly as the German Nazis vanished. In order to exist, Israel must maintain friendly relations with other nations, and this is possible only on the basis of healthy Nationalism; that is, acknowledging the parity of Israel's and the Jewish nation's rights and duties with every other nation's. In Ukraine, mainly in Soviet prisons and concentration camps, Jewish Nationalists are collaborating with Ukrainian Nationalists. Jewish Nazis are working together with the Russian occupiers against Ukrainians.

The position of Jewish Nazis as to the question of Ukrainian-Jewish relations is very clearly, accurately and openly ascertained in a "Letter to the Ukrainian Intelligentsia" from an Israeli citizen who left Ukraine, Oleksander Volovyk; therefore, the text of this letter is presented in full. It is a remarkable fact that the author of the letter, a highly-educated person born and bred in Ukraine, is fluent in Russian, but not in Ukrainian.

## ***An Open Letter to the Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the West***

*Several reasons compelled me to write this letter. First and foremost, the theses and public addresses of Dr. Mirchuk, and several other publications in the Ukrainian press outside boundaries of Ukraine, in which the issue of Jewish-Ukrainian relations is touched upon in one way or another. The second reason carries a more personal character: the pit in Vinnitsya, filled with the remains of those close to me by blood and friendship.*

*I am not venturing to trace the status of the relations between our two nations in the course of historic events. I will only allow myself to express the thoughts which do not broach on the theme of Jewish-Ukrainian relations at all.*

*It seems to me that the primary reason, ascertaining the impossibility of establishing new and good relations between the two nations, appears to be fear or reluctance, or a misunderstanding by Ukrainians of the necessity of acknowledging the historical truth: the guilt of the Ukrainian nation before the Jews. The entire history of the relations between the two nations is a history of genocide, pogroms, persecution and hatred of one — the great Ukrainian — nation toward the other, small Jewish one. Personally, I allot a quantitative ratio, since to me the difference between two types of nationalism is presented as being principally weighty: the nationalism of a larger nation in relation to a smaller one, and the nationalism of a small nation in relation to a larger one. In order to be comprehensible to Ukrainians, I will allow myself to examine this position through the example of the relations between two other nations: the larger Russian and smaller Ukrainian. In these relations, Ukrainian nationalism is just and honest, and Russian nationalism is unfair and aggressive. So in the same manner it will be fair if we say that Ukrainian nationalism, as it pertains to Jews, is unjust and aggressive.*

*This argument is all the more plausible for Ukrainians understand one more argument: the majority of the Jewish nation today is not very familiar with the Ukrainian one, and for the greater portion of Jews today the problem of the relations*

*between the two nations is unknown and incomprehensible. This is just as true in the attitude toward Israeli Jews as toward those in the USA — and these are two great communities of the contemporary world.*

*Today the proper mutual relations between the two nations is of more significance to the Jews than to the Ukrainians. Jews today can understand the necessity of friendship and cooperation only on the basis of a clear explanation of the Ukrainians' stance toward their own past.*

*Analogy, like all analogy, is not full proof, but nonetheless still clarifies the truth. I will allow myself to herewith present an analogy with the German nation. Nowadays a young German, having been born after 1945 and by virtue thereof carrying no responsibility for the past, can read an account of this past in his school textbooks, or he can see a photograph of his counselor on his knees before a memorial to murdered Jews. He can read his government's declaration of the German nations' guilt toward the Jews. He can directly visit the historic places of the criminal past: Buchenwald, Ravensbrook, etc. Finally, he can read various fascistic inventions and ideas to the effect that none of this ever occurred, that the Jews were themselves to blame in their destruction, that there was no actual decimation... But one thing is clear, however: the flower of Germany, its wisdom, conscience and government, is on the side of historical truth.*

*Unfortunately, there is an entirely different position in the circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the West. You — the flower and wisdom, the conscience and leadership of a nation — do not stand in an open and honest position. I speak frequently about Dr. Mirchuk, whose declarations are suspiciously reminiscent of those of rampant fascists. And in other publications I see ceaseless exhortations to "even the score", to prove the unprovable: the Jewish nation's guilt toward Ukrainians. Everything is dragged out: Jewish tavern-keepers, Jewish CheKa members or Communists; as if there were no Ukrainian innkeepers, CheKa members of Communists, and as if the Russian nation cannot justify its tyranny over the Ukrainians with a similar argumentation.*

*And who is in the Polit-bureau, who are they all: the Sczerbytskys, the Chernenkos, the Kirilenkos... And other "friends" who do not enunciate the Russian letter "G". Who is assembling the frame of the party apparatus or army corps, particularly the commissioned officers?*

*And what about the KGB? Was Tsvihun a Tartar? And Semychasny? Bah, what is there to say, sirs?!*

*Except that this argument bears no criticism, neither in the case of Jews nor of the Ukrainians because the foundation of it is political and ideological, not national. And not once in history did the Jews ever oppress the Ukrainians, simply because they're Ukrainians. Unfortunately, the reverse cannot be proven.*

*I am an Israelite, pedagogue, poet, living in Israel. I represent myself as a member of the Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Relations. The Association's membership is as yet not numerous. And, I fear, it will remain thus if the Ukrainian side continues to pretend that "nothing happened."*

*But the situation, I believe, can change if the Ukrainian nation finally understands that blood is not washed off with blood, but with the tears of mutual suffering and penance.*

*And then in a free Ukraine, we will search for that pit on the soil of Vinnitsya, and write our Ukrainian-Jewish names above the graves, thereby turning history back to history.*

*With respect and hope,*

*Oleksander Volovyk  
Jerusalem, Israel*

*Translated from the Russian into Ukrainian by J. Menakir.*

From the given letter by O. Volovyk it is entirely clear that he regards Jews as the German Nazis regarded Germans: a special superior race created to dominate others throughout the world, with the same rights as the "Sacred Cow" has in India. He even writes it literally: "Not once in history did the Jews ever oppress Ukrainians!" If a Ukrainian ventures to say that the reality, alas, is far from this assertion of Mr. O. Volovyk, then this Ukrainian is an arrant anti-Semite and rampant fascist, and should promptly fall on his knees before the Jews, and beg forgiveness

for the terrible crimes committed against the "Sacred Cow". Volovyk stubbornly ignores the basic fact that the point is not about the Ukrainians' conduct toward Jews in Israel, but about the behavior of the Jews as guests in the Ukrainian land, toward Ukrainians, the rightful possessors of that land from time immemorial.

Every unbiased Jewish researcher of this question admits that this behavior of the Jews was always wretched, in the service of Polish and Russian occupiers of Ukraine: the savage economical drain upon the Ukrainian serfs, the taverns, the usury, the mockery of Ukrainian religion through the barter of Ukrainian churches, the taxes seized for the Polish noblemen, with heavy supplements for themselves, the malicious jeering at Ukrainian serfs, eavesdropping in the taverns to overhear what was said by inebriated serfs about the Polish lords and the Jews, and their subsequent denouncement as "rebels", whom the Polish henchmen tortured and impaled. And in more recent times: the unbelievably large numbers of "Ukrainian" Jews in leading and administrative posts in the Communist Party, the CheKa, GPU, NKVD, KGB and the Red militia serving Bolshevik Russia, which at the hands of the aforementioned terrors murdered more Ukrainians than Hitlerite Germany did Jews. Didn't Volovyk, an educated person who was born and reared in Ukraine, ever hear about all this, read it, see it?

Or, on the contrary, does he know all this very well, but as a Jew, considers it was all fair, morally justified and necessary because Jews, with the blessing of their Jehovah, are permitted to do what they will with Ukrainians, and Ukrainians must obediently assent to everything? If they should rebel, they must promptly fall on their knees before the Jews and beg forgiveness, as in the Ukrainian comic song "Forgive me, my beloved, for beating me"?

The public letter of Oleksander Volovyk, with his emphasis that he was writing it as a member of the Society for Judeo-Ukrainian Cooperation, forced Yakov Suslensky, as the head of that society, to take a stance on the issue of whether he condemned the Nazi views of Volovyk, or supported them as

representative of the entire membership.

The answer arrived quickly. First, Suslensky issued a Communique of The Society in which he condemned my defense of Ukrainians who the American "Jewish Holy Inquisition" accuse of participation in the mass liquidation of Jews. My explanation, which I stated often in my discussions with Suslensky, that a mere accusation does not establish guilt and that I am merely defending innocent people who have been accused without proof, had no effect on Suslensky. He will not be deterred from his opinion that once Jews accuse someone of complicity with Nazis, he must be guilty, and if I defend such a person I am guilty of anti-Semitism. My court testimony on behalf of these accused people, that not Ukrainians, but Jews, as members of the "Judenrat" and the Jewish police, themselves aided the Nazis in liquidating other Jews, he accused of being absurd and of being anti-Semitic provocations. Thus with his Communique, Suslensky affirmed that the Society, or at least it's head, entirely supported the Nazi views of Volovyk regarding Ukrainians.

Theoretically, the membership of this Society consists of both Ukrainians and Jews. Following the democratic process, the board of the Society should have laid its accusation against me before both the Jewish as well as the Ukrainian members. Their Communique should have reflected the opinion of the entire board, or at least the respective opinions of the Jewish and the Ukrainian members. At the very least I, as a member of the Society, should have received a copy of the accusation in advance and then should have been allowed to express my defense in the Communique. Suslensky, however, acted unilaterally and in totalitarian fashion, and issued the Communique in the name of the Society, and adjudged me an integral Nazi and as such a threat to the entire Jewish nation.

Upon returning from Israel, I published a few of my observations in the Ukrainian daily newspaper "America". In reply Suslensky wrote a shrill and hysterical article and submitted it to the newspaper. The chief editor of the newspaper became apprehensive that if he did not pub-

lish this calamitous letter he would become subject to Suslensky's ire and possibly become falsely accused of having also cooperated with the Nazis in their liquidation of Jews. Since defending himself and his newspaper from such an accusation would be financially disastrous, he published Suslensky's article in its entirety. The vulgar diatribe of Suslensky drew an outraged reaction from the newspapers readers. Simultaneously, it painted a clear portrait of a political and moral Jewish Nazi-type.

In about every other line of his letter Suslensky called me an anti-Semite: a born anti-Semite, a pathological anti-Semite, a hysterical anti-Semite, a Nazis' anti-Semite, etc. Therefore I, a person "incapable of logical thought", "unable to objectively evaluate events and facts of history", "have strayed very far from the truth with lies, nonsensical statements, and errors" and my writings contain "no more than 5% truth". Unfortunately, he does not bother to back his accusations with any evidence. He admits that he does not know the history of the Ukrainian nation, nor the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Ukraine through history. He only knows that Ukrainians carried out the first holocaust of Jews in history. He does not give specifics since, as he admits, he is not a historian. He does however, add, that Ukrainians generally aided the Germans in carrying out their holocaust of Jews during World War II. This, he states, is known by all Jews and Ukrainians must admit it. If any, like myself, don't accept this as undeniable truth, it is because they are trying to sway uninformed Ukrainians to another pogrom of innocent Jews. In conclusion, he agrees with Volovyk that Ukrainians should go to their knees and beg forgiveness for all the wrongs they have done to Jews through the ages.

He further states that it is in the interest of Ukrainians to do this since, unless they become friends with the Jewish people, they will never achieve an independent Ukraine. He states that Ukrainians lost their independent status in 1918 because "rural Ukraine" did not cooperate with the "Jewish cities". Meaning, of course, that Ukrainians must earn their independence for a government which must be rurally Ukrainian and urbanly Jewish. Furthermore, power obviously must rest in the urban centers.



This is how Jacob Suslensky finally spelled out his views on Ukrainian-Jewish relations, and how cooperation between the two nationalities must proceed.

In all of his discussions with me, Suslensky constantly brought up financial matters. He consistently mentioned the need to recruit more members to the society, members who would pay the forty dollar membership fee. Now and then he also mentioned his desire that the Ukrainians of the U.S. should invite and subsidize his trip to the U.S., and stage banquets where he could give his speeches. The proceeds would, of course, go to his Society. Conversely, he refused to consider any actions which would aid the cause of Ukrainians among Jews. This bothered me greatly and eventually I said to him, "Allow me to tell you an American joke about people like you."

He agreed to listen.

"There is a public school in the U.S. where a Catholic priest taught history. He once asked his students who they thought was the greatest, most important person in history. Their opinions varied — Washington, Lincoln, Franklin, Roosevelt.

'No', said the priest. 'To help you guess, I'll give ten dollars to the person who guesses correctly.'

A Jewish boy immediately raised his hand.

'Jesus Christ', he said.

'Very good', exclaimed the priest, giving him the ten dollars. 'Now tell us, why do you think so?'

'I don't, said the boy, 'but business is business'."

I asked him if he understood.

You must change your attitude! Ukrainians have heard that you are from Ukraine. They keep waiting to hear you explain what really happened in Ukraine to the Jews through the ages, to the Jewish press. Ukrainians are waiting to hear you explain how Jews acted toward Ukrainians, to hear you state that their constant unfair accusations regarding Ukrainians merely harm themselves.

"Maybe Jews owe Ukrainians something?" he haughtily inquired, "Why?"

"Because cooperation is a two-way street." I said. "Because

they should at least thank Metropolitan Sheptytsky for saving scores of rabbis and hundreds of Jewish children from the Nazis. Thanking him not by planting him a tree in his honor, but by donating funds for the building of a church in his honor in Israel. Ukrainians in Jerusalem already have land and plans for the project. They still lack funds. These funds should come from Jews, foremost those directly saved by him and those saved through his efforts and policies. Also, the funds should come from those Jews who understand the concept of gratitude."

"Jews should give money for a church?" He was astonished. "Israel is too poor to do that."

"Israel doesn't need to give out of its own treasury," I explained. "Every year it receives over \$2.5 billion in aid from the U.S. This is the taxpayers' money. Since Ukrainians comprise 1% of the population, about \$25 million of this aid comes from their taxes. It is from this money that Israel should donate the funds for the building of the Ukrainian church."

### **CONCLUSIONS: ARE UKRAINIANS "TRADITIONALLY ANTI-SEMITES"?**

Historical facts, facts which I mentioned during my various discussions in Israel, rather pointedly deny this accusation. Anti-Semitism is an antagonistic and hostile attitude toward Jews simply because they are Jewish. This attitude is found in history in Western Europe and in the ancient world. It did not, however, exist in Ukraine. Every political or military conflict between the two nationalities in Ukraine was seeded by the Jews. The Ukrainians reactions were reactions of revenge for wrongs inflicted on them by Jews in the service of the Russian or Polish occupiers of Ukraine.

Ukrainians seem to be the historical "scapegoats" for Ukrainian-born Jews and Jewish Ukraino-phobes in the world. These Jews constantly and stubbornly use Ukrainians as their examples of "historical anti-Semites", because the Ukrainian nation is still enslaved and cannot defend itself on the world scene. This attitude also seems intended to curry favor with the mighty Soviet empire.

These facts should be investigated and recognized by all Jews. Rather than base their opinions and attitudes on the emotionally-tainted "first-hand information" of the Jewish chronicler Nathan N. Hannover or C. N. Dubnov, but on the accounts of not only Ukrainian observers, but also French and German, and even the hostile accounts of the Polish and Russian sources.

A basic question does arise here. Is it worth the effort to try to convince the Jews when they basically don't want to listen? Can the truth break through this influence of this Jewish arrogance?

It is my belief that the effort is vital. In my dealings, I constantly emphasize that Ukrainians want to cooperate with Jews, but on the basis of a clear understanding of history. These facts must be shown to all who believe in the anti-Ukrainian propaganda.

I am conscious that the initial reaction to this book will be shrill cries that I am the worst kind of anti-Semite. The outstanding Jewish American journalist Richard Cohen reported the abnormal Jewish reaction to his criticism of Jews:

"The letters are vicious, some personal. One person ripped a page out of the Yellow Pages and sent me a listing of psychiatrists. The meaning is clear: I am sick... Non-Jewish critics of Jews get the flip side of this treatment. They are dismissed or denounced as anti-Semites."<sup>1</sup>)

But I believe that there are many intelligent and truth-seeking Jewish patriots, who understand that not all Jewish beliefs about Ukrainians are true and can stand up to historical scrutiny, and that disagreement with Jewish opinion is not anti-Semitism. The above mentioned Jewish journalist R. Cohen concluded his report with: "The Jewish community runs the risk of being ignored when it has only one response to the criticism of Jews — and that is to shout 'anti-Semite'!"

Truth, and respecting truth is vital to everyone.

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<sup>1</sup>) Philadelphia Inquirer, July 11, 1982.

## THE QUESTION OF THE NAME "JEW" IN UKRAINIAN: "ZHID", OR "YEVREY"?

In every conversation with Jews in the Ukrainian language, I first clarified the issue of what is the correct name of Jews in Ukrainian: "Zhid" (Jew) or "Yevrey" (Hebrew), especially when dealing with the new immigrants from the U.S.S.R. The problem is that in Russian the name "Yevrey" is acceptable, while "Zhid" carries a connotation of national insult and degradation. The Russians in occupied Ukraine assaulted the Ukrainian language with just such an approach. This is why the Jewish immigrants from the U.S.S.R. use the name "Yevrey" in the Ukrainian language as well, and quite a few Ukrainians are following their example in accepting this definition of the terms "Zhid" and "Yevrey". However, this approach is erroneous. "Yevrey" (Hebrew) is Russian. In the Ukrainian languages, as in other Slavic languages, since earliest times, the name "Zhid" (Jew) has been used, which was introduced to the Slavic countries from France and Germany by the Jews themselves. Neither the French with their "Juif" nor the Germans with their "Jude" regard it as an insult, and it does not occur to either the French or German, nor Polish or Czech Jews to change it to the Russian "Yevrey". So why corrupt the Ukrainian language with the Russian-ism of "Yevrey"? All the more because, by the "Jewish" language, Ukrainians have "Yiddish" in mind, which developed from German; and by the "Hebrew" language they mean that language spoken by Jews in ancient times, and today, in Israel. Even the English use "Jew" and not "Hebrew".

Ukrainian writers and historians clearly state that in Kiev during the principality of Rus', there was a "Jewish", not "Hebrew", district, and "Jewish", not "Hebrew" city gates.

Only in the translation of the Holy Writ is the name "Yevrey" - "Hebrew" used.

In the Ukrainian translation of the Scriptures, the name "Yevrey" is used to stress that it concerns Biblical times.

This is why, in my writings and conversations, I constantly employ the Ukrainian usage, from time immemorial of "Zhid" for "Jew", and not the Russian "Yevrey".



*Above) Russian Cossacks standing over the bodies of their victims. The outbreak of pogroms in the 1880's led to mass Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe.*



*"And they posed for the picture." On August 10, 1919, on the route from Bohuslav to Tarastcha, Ataman Zeliony's Cossacks unashamedly display the corpses of Jews they have murdered.*

## **"DOCUMENTS" OF "UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM"**

*Just to illustrate the type of "documents" used by Jewish Ukrainophobes to support their accusations of Ukrainian participation in the destruction of Jews during the so called "pogroms", we present the following two "original" and documentary photos. The first is taken from "The Generations of Israel", with a Foreword by Abba Eban, edited by Neal Kozodoy, page 7, the caption underneath the photo reads: "(Above) Russian Cossacks standing over the bodies of their victims. The outbreak of pogroms in the 1880's led to mass Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe. . . ." The second is taken from "My People", The Story of the Jews by Abba Eban, pg. 349, and the caption reads: "'And they posed for the pictures'. On August 10, 1919 on the route from Bohuslav to Tarastcha, Ataman Zeliony's Cossacks unashamedly display the corpses of Jews they have murdered."*

*Closely examine the two pictures. Can these be any shadow of a doubt that they are identical? This would mean that the authors of the book "My People" accused the Ukrainians of "pogroms" against the Jews in the period between 1918-1920, and as proof for their allegations, produced a photo of a pogrom conducted by Tsarist troops in 1880, changing the caption so it would state that this was a photo of a pogrom conducted by the Ukrainian insurgent leader Zelenyj on August 10, 1919. Can one not logically deduce from this that if the "documentary" proof was faked, a misrepresentation, then the pogrom itself, together with the date, place and perpetrators, were falsified likewise?*

*One must keep in mind, moreover, that the author of the second work, "My People", Abba Eban, a university graduate and former Israeli minister of Foreign Affairs, was also the co-author of the first book — which would imply that he knowingly and willingly, falsified documentary proof and represented facts simply to buttress his allegations against Ukrainians. Can he perhaps explain how an unashamed display of the corpses of*

*Jews Ataman Zeliony murdered in Ukraine on August 10, 1919 was photographed in 1880? Since then, I've learned that this same photograph of the Jewish pogrom by Tsarist Police in 1880 has appeared in other publications, with the caption changed to read "pogrom by Ukrainian nationalists collaborating with the Gestapo" in 1942 and 1943.*

*Such, then, are the "documentary proofs" backing Jewish allegations of Ukrainian anti-Semitism and pogroms of the Jews.*

\* \* \*

**A silent witness to "Ukrainian anti-Semitism":  
The Cathedral of St. George in L'viv, Western Ukraine. ➡**

*On orders of the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Andrew Count Sheptytskyj, several rabbis with their families and hundreds of Jewish children were hidden in the underground mazes of this medieval building and thus saved from death. Didn't Menachim Begin, the Israeli Premier, know this when he stated time and again that on territories occupied by the Nazis (which would include Ukraine), not a single Catholic priest spoke out in the defense of the Jews, helped them or saved them from deportation and death? Why don't the rabbis whose lives were saved by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, speak up and state the truth to their Premier and co-citizens.*

*Will there be a small replica of the Lviv's St. George Cathedral erected in Jerusalem by the Jews as a permanent manifestation of gratitude to Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and scores of Ukrainian priests, monks and nuns who during the reign of Nazi terror risked their own lives by saving hundreds of Jews?*

*There are some Jews who advocate that idea. But what about all the other Jews in Israel and in the U.S.?*





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