

ANTISEMITISM IN UKRAINE

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From Early Modern Times through World War I

In 1569 much of the territory that today constitutes Ukraine came under Polish rule, while almost all the rest was under Ottoman suzerainty. The inhabitants of the Ukrainian lands were mainly Ukrainians (or Ruthenians), Poles, Germans, Tatars, and Jews.

Polish colonization of Ukraine and the imposition of serfdom on the population led to the formation of Cossack bands in the steppe and to outbreaks of social unrest. The simmering discontent exploded in 1648 into a massive Cossack uprising led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The uprising and the wars it provoked marked a major turning point in East European history. Until then, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been the most powerful state in Eastern Europe; but as a result of the Cossack uprising, whose leaders sought the protection of the Tsar of Muscovy, Russia became the ascendant power in that part of the world and eventually, by the end of the eighteenth century, partitioned Poland into nonexistence and destroyed the Tatar khanate that had ruled the southern steppe and Black Sea coast. War and civil war raged over Ukraine from 1648 until the land was divided between Poland and Russia in 1667 by the treaty of Andrusovo and more definitively by the Eternal Peace of 1686. In this violent period, the Jewish population suffered terribly. The Cossacks killed nearly half of the Jewish population that lived on the territory encompassed by the uprising, probably about 18,000 people of a prewar population of about 40,000. Jews were targeted primarily as the agents of the great landlords - managers of their estates, leaseholders, and toll collectors. Of course, the desire for plunder played a part in this as well. There was also a religious undertone to the slaughter. The Cossack uprising was partly a confessional conflict: the Cossacks were defending the Orthodox Christian faith against Catholicism and Uniatism, and religious intolerance was running high.

After the trauma of the Khmelnytsky massacres, many Jews tried to make sense of the catastrophe by viewing it as the prelude to the coming of the Messiah. A young rabbi in the Ottoman empire, Sabbatai Zevi, had already announced himself as such in 1648; the Sabbataean movement swept across Ukraine in the mid-seventeenth century, surviving even Sabbatai's conversion to Islam in 1666. The commotion in Ukraine's Jewish communities drew the attention of the prominent Ukrainian churchman and writer Ioannyykii Galiatovsky. He visited several Jewish communities in Ukraine to find out about the messianic movement. In 1669 he published *Mesja prcwdy!ji* (The True Messiah), directed against the Sabbataeans in particular, but also against Judaism more generally. The book borrowed antisemitic tales from Western authors and accepted as true the blood libel. In fact, Jews in Poland had been tried for ritual murder beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. Such trials took place also on Ukrainian lands under Polish rule, for example, in Iziaslav in 1747, in Zhytomyr in 1753, and in Yampilin 1756.

In the Counter-Reformation era, Jews in Polish-ruled Ukraine endured restrictions imposed by Roman Catholic Church authorities, such as a prohibition on keeping Christian servants and an injunction to keep off the streets on certain Catholic feast days. Occasionally there were urban riots directed against the Jewish population. In Lviv, the Jesuits sued the Jewish community in a dispute over real estate. The conflict became violent in 1664 when students from the Jesuit college went on a rampage in the Jewish quarter of the city and the soldiers who should have been defending the Jews decided to join in on the side of the students. Other anti-Jewish disturbances in Lviv erupted in 1718, 1732, 1751, and 1762.

Much more traumatic for the Jewish communities of Right-Bank Ukraine² were the Haidamak uprisings that started in the 1720s and culminated in the murder of several thousand Jews in 1768, notably and notoriously in the town of Uman. The context for the Haidamak uprisings was similar to that which produced the Khmelnytsky uprising: social conflict between landlords and peasants and religious conflict between Orthodox Christians and Catholics, both Roman Catholics and Uniates. The uprisings were also influenced by Russian interventions into Poland and Polish politics throughout the eighteenth century. In essence, Cossacks and peasants slaughtered landlords, Catholics, Uniates, and Jews.

Russian policies to weaken Poland eventually led to the partitions of Poland in 1772-1795. With the partitions, Russia acquired Lithuania, Belarus, and Right-Bank Ukraine and also a large Jewish population. Prior to the partitions, Jews had been forbidden to settle in Russia, and after the partitions, Empress Catherine II had to decide whether to accept them into the realm or expel them. She came up with a "compromise solution, allowing Jews to remain in the empire, but with many restrictions on where they could live. This was the origin of the Pale of Settlement. Most of Russian-ruled Ukraine fell within the Pale. The conquest of the Black Sea region in the same period brought additional Jews into the empire.

Jews in Ukraine were subject to the same restrictions that dogged all Russian Jews, but violent episodes were virtually absent for nearly a century (an exception was the pogrom in Odessa in 1821 perpetrated mainly by local Greeks). But just as Ukrainian Jews suffered during the unraveling of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the collapse of the Russian empire under the impact of revolutionaries also visited violence upon them. After the revolutionary group Narodnaia Volia (People's Will) assassinated Tsar Alexander I in 1881, anti-Jewish pogroms broke out in Ukraine and the Kingdom of Poland. The pogromists organized attacks on Jews in cities along the railroads of the empire's southwest. The motivation of the pogromists seems to have been an identification of the revolutionaries with Jews, although there was little empirical basis for this. Major pogroms occurred in Kyiv and Odessa as well as in Warsaw. For the most part, the pogromists raped, robbed, and beat Jews, although dozens of Jews were also murdered.

Much more intense pogrom activity broke out during the 1905 revolution in Russia. Russian society was polarized between the forces of reaction and revolution. The former included the imperial authorities, Russian nationalists (the so-called Black Hundreds), and clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church (notably Bishop Antonii [Khrapovitsky] in Zhytomyr). On the side of the revolution was a large coalition of liberals, revolutionaries, the Ukrainian national movement, and Jewish leaders and organizations. The Jews were in favor of a constitution and the introduction of civil liberties. But their presence on the side of the revolution made them a target of the reaction. Over 600 pogroms broke out in the empire, especially after the promulgation of the October Manifesto changing the tsarist autocracy into a constitutional monarchy. Of course, many of the pogroms occurred in Ukraine, notably in Odessa and Kyiv. The Black Hundreds had a strong base in Kyiv and

Right-Bank Ukraine. A notorious incident of antisemitism was the trial of Mendel Beilis in Kyiv in 1911-1913; he was accused of the ritual murder of a Christian child.

World War I added to the Jewish grief as the front moved back and forth across Ukraine. But the true tragedy was yet to come, during the civil war that followed the Great War.

Anti-Jewish Violence in the Civil War of 1917-1921

The internally weakest of the great powers of World War I, the Russian empire, collapsed under the impact of total war. Popular discontent forced the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in February 1917 (Old Style), and the provisional government that replaced him was in turn overthrown by the much more radical Bolsheviks in October. This initiated a civil war across the former empire from 1917 to 1921 with numerous participants, creating a situation of revolutionary chaos costing massive loss of life.³

An estimated 100,000 Jews in Ukraine fell victim to lethal pogroms, which occurred mainly in 1919. Over half the murders were committed by forces of the Ukrainian National Republic headed by Symon Petliura. About a quarter were the responsibility of various independent leaders, or *otamany*, especially Nykyfor Hryhoriiv, who at various times had allied with Petliura or the Bolsheviks, while less than a fifth were by anti-Bolshevik Whites led by General Anton Denikin. Finally, a small percentage was due to other forces, including the Red Army and Polish troops under Jozef Pilsudski.

A complex of factors precipitated this vortex of violence. By 1919 there had already been many pogroms across Ukraine associated with the World War. Whenever power changed hands, which it did many times throughout Ukrainian territories, mobs and antisemites could take advantage of the power vacuum to rob Jewish neighborhoods and assault Jews. The looters in the urban crowds were Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians. Usually these pogroms had few fatalities, though beatings and rapes were frequent. Such anti-Jewish disturbances were not limited to the Russian empire, but also reached into Lviv in the Habsburg crownland of Galicia and, of course, into towns elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Fatalities increased when soldiers were involved. Soldiers of the Russian imperial army, particularly Cossacks, raped and pillaged throughout eastern Galicia when they took that region in 1914. It is impossible to know how many Jews were killed there, but it was at least in the hundreds. After the war between Poles and Ukrainians for control of the city of Lviv in November 1918, Polish soldiers killed about 150 Jews as retaliation for what they perceived as the Jews' support for the Ukrainians. The pogroms of 1919 were so deadly because the chief perpetrators were well armed and, most often, undisciplined soldiers.

There were strong economic factors behind these pogroms. Given the precarious food situation during war, the looting of shops and merchant stalls was a way to acquire supplies. Even in World War II, when the Germans invaded the USSR, the Soviet population of all nationalities looted state stores in order to stock provisions. But during World War I and the civil war in Ukraine, many shops were owned by Jews, hence the propensity for this looting to take on an antisemitic coloration. The pogroms of 1919 were a major source of supplies and income for the Ukrainian national and independent forces, a violent surrogate for taxation in a situation where normal state authority had disappeared. Very often these pogroms began with a "contribution" imposed on the Jewish population. Robbing the Jews would not alienate the national and peasant base of the Ukrainian armies, and the merchandise in the Jewish neighborhoods in towns and cities was much more concentrated and accessible than the goods and food dispersed through many peasant households in many villages.

Although the pogromists embellished these robberies and murders with ideological justifications, neither the weak Ukrainian government nor Petliura himself promoted antisemitism. When the Ukrainian National Republic formed in June 1917, it invited Jewish representatives into the government and established a vice-secretariat for Jewish affairs. In January 1918, it introduced a law of national personal autonomy that granted the Jewish population of Ukraine a large measure of self-government under a ministry of Jewish affairs, which was headed by Moshe Zilberfarb of the United Jewish Socialist Workers Party, known as the *Fareynikte*. By 1919 the government was in complete disarray and Petliura had little control over his troops. He turned a blind eye to the pogroms, intervening much too little and too late to stop them.⁴

Ideological antisemitism was certainly part of the picture as well. Before the war, antisemitic ideas had been spread by the nationalist organization, Union of the Russian People, which was supported by the Orthodox Church hierarchy and established in many Ukrainian villages by pastors. There were two main thrusts of this antisemitism: that Jews had economically exploited the Christian population and that Jews were revolutionaries. The accusation of exploitation played a part in pogroms since it seemed to justify the robbery of Jewish goods as getting one's own back. The charge of revolutionism evolved into the identification of Jews with communism. This gross stereotype proved more deadly and figured later during the Holocaust. Anti-Bolshevik forces, such as Petliura's Ukrainians or Denikin's Whites, considered Jews to be communist sympathizers and killed them en masse.

The Breakdown of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Ukrainian Territories in Poland, 1918-1939

As a result of the post-World War I peace settlement and borders established by the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-1919 and the Polish-Soviet war of 1919-1921, two regions that had been largely inhabited by Ukrainians ended up in the revived Polish state: eastern Galicia (with its center in Lviv), which had been part of the Habsburg monarchy before the war, and western Volhynia (with its major cities of Lutsk and Rivne), which had been part of the Russian empire. In eastern Galicia, Jewish-Ukrainian relations had been rather good in the early twentieth century; notably, Ukrainian national democrats and Zionists formed an electoral alliance in 1907. Galician Ukrainians boycotted the 1922 Polish elections, but Volhynian Ukrainians made an electoral alliance with the Zionists. During the Polish-Ukrainian war, Ukrainian forces did perpetrate some pogroms, but they paled in comparison to those that had occurred in central Ukraine. There was even a Jewish unit fighting on the side of the Ukrainians in conflicts against the Poles.

Relations between Ukrainians and Jews deteriorated after 1926, when Sholom Schwartzbard assassinated Petliura on the streets of Paris. After a much-publicized trial, Schwartzbard was acquitted the following year claiming it was legitimate to take revenge on Petliura for the tremendous loss of life in the pogroms. Not long thereafter, political movements emerged that promoted antisemitism, namely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), founded in 1929, and the Front of National Unity, founded in 1933. An antisemitic weekly, *Frontom*, came out in 1937 until Polish authorities banned it in 1938.

Hitler's rise to power and his successes in international politics heightened antisemitism among radical Ukrainian nationalists. Antisemitic articles regularly appeared in the OUN-controlled weekly for peasants *Nove selo*, especially between 1937 and 1938. Discussions on "the Jewish question" appeared in the official organ of OUN, *Rozbudova natsii*. In 1930, a

leading OUN theoretician could still suggest working together with Jews to create a viable Ukrainian state. By the mid-1930s, the Jews were identified as economic, political, cultural, and even genetic enemies. The prevalent opinion in OUN in the late 1930s was that Jews were an unassimilable minority on Ukrainian lands, and the way to deal with them was to introduce a strict separation. Volodymyr Martynets wrote in 1938:

Let the Jews live, but let them live for themselves, and - more importantly from themselves, and not off of us.... Do they want to live among us? Let them, but not in symbiosis with us. Do they want to engage in trade? Let them, but only among themselves. Do they want to study? Let them, but in their own schools.⁵

There were also some in OUN who favored more radical solutions. Mykhailo Kolodzinsky, looking forward to the national revolution that would lead to statehood, wrote: "The more Jews who die during the insurrection the better it will be for the Ukrainian state."⁶

Some Polish political parties, notably the National Democrats (*Endeja*), promoted antisemitic views and, after the death of Marshal Pilsudski in 1935, these also became the views of the Polish state. Both Polish and Ukrainian nationalists urged the boycott of Jewish businesses and instead patronage of the businesses of their own co-nationals.

Soviet Rule in Western Ukraine, 1939-1941

In September 1939, as a result of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, the Polish state was destroyed, and the Soviets came into possession of eastern Galicia and western Volhynia, which they referred to as Western Ukraine. Strict control of the press and public life under Soviet rule precluded the further dissemination of antisemitic propaganda, but developments in this period influenced relations between Jews, on the one hand, and Poles and Ukrainians, on the other hand, after Germany turned on its Soviet ally and invaded it in June 1941.

Poles suffered the most from Soviet repressions. Their state institutions were dismantled and many tens of thousands were deported into the interior of the Soviet Union. Ukrainians made some gains. The language of education at all levels changed from Polish to Ukrainian and their lands were joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but they also suffered from repressions, particularly the nationalists. The Soviets formally dissolved all Ukrainian political parties. OUN managed to survive because it went underground and into exile in Krakow in the German sector of former Poland. Jews, particularly Zionists and refugees from the German sector, also experienced repressions, and the expropriation of private businesses hurt them economically. But there was also a positive side to Soviet rule for young Jews who were interested in higher education and social mobility: because all the official and unofficial antisemitic barriers that had existed in Poland were eliminated, they could enter the university and polytechnic schools, and be employed by the state.

This shuffling of the ethnic hierarchy caused resentments. In both the Polish and Ukrainian political imagination, it seemed that "the Jews" had welcomed the Red Army as it entered Western Ukraine, joined the communist youth organization (*Komsomol*) en masse, and denounced Poles and Ukrainians to the Soviet secret police (*MTKVD*). This perception both originated in and seemed to confirm the pre-existing stereotype of Jewish communism (*Zydokomuna*). Moreover, the experiences of 1939-1941 exacerbated the geopolitical polarization of Ukrainians and Jews. Ukrainian nationalists had aligned themselves with Germany already in the 1930s, but the Soviet interlude tightened that connection. Jews in

the former Poland had not been particularly pro-Soviet before 1939, but now they saw their part of the world divided between Nazis and communists, and many were realizing that the former were more dangerous to them than the latter. The Soviets' expropriation of private shops and businesses, combined with a general and sharp economic decline as a result of communist mismanagement, also meant that the Jews in these territories were to enter the Holocaust period with too few economic resources.

The Nazi Occupation, 1941-1944

As a result of Nazi policy, about one and a half million Jews were murdered on the territories that constitute modern Ukraine. German mobile killing units, the *Einsatzgruppen*, were responsible for most of the murders. They rounded up Jews with the help of local police forces in German service, but they did most of the shooting themselves. In most of Ukraine the executions took place in ravines, tank ditches, or specially dug mass graves not far from where the Jews lived. Some Jews from eastern Galicia were deported to the death camp in Bdzec, however, which was just to the north. To facilitate cooperation in this genocidal project, the Germans unleashed a torrent of antisemitic propaganda, including films, traveling exhibitions, posters, and articles in the occupation press. Sometimes persons prominent in Ukrainian cultural and political life wrote antisemitic articles under pseudonyms.⁷

In the immediate aftermath of the German invasion, pogroms broke out in about 150 localities in eastern Galicia and western Volhynia.⁸ During the anti-Jewish violence of the summer of 1941 about 10,000 Jewish people were killed in Galicia and at least 500 in Volhynia. Again, the high number of victims was due to the participation of soldiers in the violence. One German unit, *Waffen-SS Wiking*, was responsible for over half the murders in Galicia. Members of *Einsatzgruppen* killed at least a thousand. The OUN militia killed hundreds themselves and assisted in the murder of thousands. The Wehrmacht and German police units also killed many. In some localities, such as Lviv, Zolochiv, and Boryslav, the violence was a public spectacle in which the local population participated. In other places, Jews were executed discreetly, such as in woods outside a village or small town.⁹ As the German forces moved eastward across Ukraine they began killing Jews in ever greater numbers. In Kamianets-Podilskyi they killed over 20,000 Jews at the end of August, and in Kyiv, in Babyn Yar, they killed almost 34,000.¹⁰

By the end of 1941, the Germans had become determined to kill all of Europe's Jews, as became clear at the Wannsee Conference of January 1942. Death camps were established to kill the Jewish population west of Soviet territory. In Ukraine, only a small percentage of Jewish victims perished in the death camp at Be-lzec. Most Jews in Ukraine were systematically executed by gunfire by the *Einsatzgruppen*, who moved from locality to locality across Ukraine in 1942 and the first half of 1943. The huge machinery of the systematic mass killings of 1942-1943 drew in large numbers from the population of Ukraine. About 120,000 local police provided indispensable support for the murders. But in addition, the Germans impressed people at each killing site for various tasks, including cooking for the shooters, washing and sorting the victims' belongings, stamping down the earth above the mass graves, guarding victims for execution, and so forth.¹¹ Sometimes the local population denounced Jews in hiding to the police, but aid and rescue efforts also took place. The Polish underground and Soviet partisans often protected Jews, but Jewish survivor testimony also records many instances of non-Jewish individuals or families offering accommodation, food, and information to Jews.

Antisemitism in Soviet Ukraine

Although proscribed from public discourse in the Soviet Union, antisemitic attitudes were not erased. An ethnic Russian who went to teach in Western Ukraine between 1939 and 1941 complained, for example: "Wherever you go, the Russian people is suffering in prisons, while the Jews are everywhere in charge."¹² On the official level, Stalin purged Jews from the security organs in 1937-1938. In 1936, Jews constituted 39 percent of the top leadership of the NKVD, but by 1941 they constituted only five percent. And although Jews had been dominant among the NKVD cadres in Ukraine for most of the 1930s, they only constituted four percent of them by 1945. During the period of the German-Soviet alliance, the Soviet press stopped denouncing Nazi racism and antisemitism. Probably in connection with the alliance, Maksim Litvinov, who was ethnically Jewish, was replaced as foreign minister by the Russian Viacheslav Molotov in 1939.

After the war and the Holocaust, antisemitism increased in Soviet Ukraine, on both the popular and state levels. Jews who had been evacuated to the east from Kyiv or who had survived the war at the front or elsewhere returned to the city. They encountered Russians and Ukrainians who had occupied their apartments and properties, and who were reluctant to return them. In addition, false rumors flourished that Jews had been exempt from serving in the war and had lived comfortably in Tashkent. This provided context for the violent antisemitic riot that broke out in Kyiv in September 1945. There were also antisemitic disturbances in other localities, notably in Dnipro (then known as Dnipropetrovsk), and in Lviv, where a rumor that Jews were making sausages out of Christian children almost led to a pogrom in June 1945. The authorities interpreted these incidents as the Jews' fault. The head of the Ukrainian security services wrote the Ukrainian party chief Nikita Khrushchev on 18 September 1944 that "expressions of antisemitism" were due to "a recent increase in the number of provocations by individuals of Jewish nationality."¹³

Anti-Zionism became more important in Soviet thinking after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, despite initial support for the Jewish state. Soviet security services became increasingly concerned about Zionist activity, even imagining the existence of an armed Zionist underground, and the following five years were marked by flagrant anti-Jewish actions on the part of the authorities. Members of the Jewish Anti-fascist Committee were arrested in 1948, including prominent Yiddish-language writers from Ukraine. Five of the latter were executed in 1952. The Soviet mass media launched a campaign against "rootless cosmopolitanism" in 1948-1949, which was mainly directed against Jewish cultural figures. In communist Eastern Europe in these years, Jews were purged from the leadership in public show trials. Another major anti-Jewish campaign occurred in 1952-1953, in connection with the so-called "doctors' plot," an alleged conspiracy by Zionist doctors to kill Soviet leaders.

Although state antisemitism abated somewhat after the death of Stalin in 1953, the anti-Zionist campaign continued to be permeated by antisemitism. A notorious publication that embodied that tendency was published in Kyiv in 1963, Trokhym Kichko's *Iudaizm bez prikras* (Udaiism without Embellishment). Anti-Zionism also led to persecution of individuals who were interested in studying Hebrew or applying to emigrate to Israel. But in the late 1970s, Ukrainian party officials, notably propaganda chief Leonid Kravchuk (later president of independent Ukraine), attempted to mute the more antisemitic aspects of anti-Zionism.¹⁴ In a more moderate form, Soviet anti-Zionism continued until Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms of the late 1980s.

Antisemitism in Independent Ukraine

Communist censorship in Ukraine began to deteriorate because of the Gorbachev reforms. In 1989 a series of relatively peaceful revolutions ended communism in the former Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe, and in that same year, the Berlin wall was torn down. In 1991 Ukraine declared independence and the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

At the broadest level, as in other parts of post-communist Europe, Ukrainian ethnonationalist ideas reemerged after decades of suppression, and in the quarter century since independence, Ukraine has evolved into an ever more ethnonationalist state.¹⁵ Already in the early 1990s, there were calls for the rehabilitation of OUN. Full rehabilitation and even glorification of OUN came during the presidency of Victor Yushchenko (2005-2010), who posthumously named OUN leaders Heroes of Ukraine. The Security Service of Ukraine under Yushchenko also published an arbitrary but deliberately selective list of perpetrators of the manmade famine of 1932-1933, the Holodomor, which claimed millions of lives in Ukraine; over 40 percent of the perpetrators on the list were Jewish. Yushchenko's memory politics were reversed by the subsequent president, Viktor Yanukovich (2005-2014), but he was driven from office and out of the country by the Euromaidan revolution of February 2014. Soon thereafter Russia invaded and annexed Crimea and then played a crucial role in fomenting and supporting separatism in the eastern Donbas, a center of coal mining and metallurgy. The events of 2014 led to a more intense celebration of OUN and its armed force, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), in both government policy and public discourse. More streets were named after prominent OUN members, and the OUN's fascist-style slogan ("Glory to Ukraine!" "Glory to the Heroes") was used in state and public functions. The Ukrainian armed forces adopted the OUN hymn as its own anthem. Of course, this glorification of the wartime nationalists necessarily entailed concealing their antisemitism and participation in the Holocaust.

Full-blown antisemitism reemerged soon after the collapse of communism. Levko Lukianenko, a former dissident, Ukrainian ambassador to Canada (1992-1993), parliamentary deputy, and Hero of Ukraine (2005), accused the Jews of orchestrating the famine of 1932-1933. He also stated that Lenin and Stalin were Jews. Lukianenko took part in an "anti-Zionist" conference in Ukraine, in which the American antisemite David Duke was the guest of honor. The conference was sponsored by a large higher education chain, the Interregional Academy of Personnel Management, generally known by its Ukrainian initials as MAUP. In addition to sponsoring antisemitic conferences, MAUP has published antisemitic books and antisemitic articles in its journal *Personal Plus*.¹⁶ The political party Svoboda (formerly the Social-National Party of Ukraine) also has antisemitic tendencies.

Since the events of 2014, radical rightwing nationalist groups such as *Pravli Sektor* (Right Sector), the Azov battalion, O14, and the National Guards (*Natsional'ni druzhyny*) have enjoyed various degrees of government support. Some of their members are combat veterans from the war in the Donbas (an Azov battalion is a unit at the front), all have armed factions, and all have neofascist tendencies. In practice these groups are engaged primarily in fighting leftists and persecuting Roma and the LGBTQ community rather than the Jewish inhabitants of Ukraine, and the Azov battalion was under the patronage of a Jewish oligarch, Ihor Kolomoisky.

A study by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology showed a steady rise of antisemitism between 1994 and 2007, but in the ethnic preference hierarchy of the population of Ukraine in 2007, Jews came between Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians on the one hand, and Poles, Germans, and Romanians on the other. The most prejudice was against Americans, Canadians, Black people, and Roma.¹⁷ In 2019 Ukraine elected a Jewish president, Volodymyr Zelensky.

Notes

- 1 Shaul Stampfer, "What Actually Happened to the Jews of Ukraine in 1648?" *Jewish History* 17 (2003): 207-227.
- 2 Right-Bank Ukraine refers to the territories under Polish rule from 1667/1686 until the 1790s located west of the Dnipro River and east of Red Rus' (Galicia).
- 3 For a survey of modern Ukrainian history, see Serhy Yekelchuk, *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- 4 Henry Abramson, *A Prayer for the Government: Ukrainians and Jews in Revolutionary Times, 1917-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute and Center for Jewish Studies, Harvard University, 1999); for statistics on the victims and perpetrators of the pogroms, see 109-140. See also: Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Midst of Civilized Europe: The Pogroms of 1918-1921 and the Onset of the Holocaust* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2021).
- 5 V. Martynets', *Zhydiv's'ka problema v Ukraini* (London: Williams, Lea & Co., 1938), 14.
- 6 Mykhailo Kolodzinskiy, "Natsionalistyczne povstannia. Rozdil iz pratsi 'Voicna doktryna ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv,'" *Ukraina Moderna* 20 (2013): 290. See also Taras Kurylo, "The 'Jewish Question' in the Ukrainian Nationalist Discourse of the Inter-War Period," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 26 (2014): 233-258. Marco Carynnyk, "Foes of Our Rebirth: Ukrainian Nationalist Discussions about Jews, 1929-1947," *Nationalities Papers* 39, no. 3 (May 2011): 315-352.
- 7 John-Paul Himka, "Krakivski visti and the Jews, 1943: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainian Jewish Relations during the Second World War," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 21, no. 1-2 (Summer-Winter 1996): 81-95. On the Holocaust in Ukraine, see Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds. *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008).
- 8 Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, *Intimate Violence: Anti-Jewish Pogroms on the Eve of the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2018), 84-113.
- 9 Kai Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft, ukrainischer Nationalismus, antijüdische Gewalt: Der Sommer 1941 in der festsitzenden Ukraine* (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 668-671. Struve's fuller estimate for the number of victims in Galicia in the summer of 1941 is between 7295 and 11,309. On anti-Jewish violence in Volhynia and Bukovina in the same period, see John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry* (Hanover: ibidem-Verlag, 2021), 256-301.
- 10 Alexander Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941-1944," in Brandon and Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine*, 275.
- 11 Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- 12 John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian Memories of the Holocaust: The Destruction of Jews as Reflected in Memoirs Collected in 1947," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 54, no. 3-4 (September-December 2012): 435-436. Communist surveillance of the population of Moscow revealed widespread antisemitic responses to the German invasion in 1941. John Barber, "Popular Reactions in Moscow to the German Invasion of June 22, 1941," *Soviet Union/Union Sovietique* 18, no. 1-3 (1991): 13-14.
- 13 Vladimir Khanin, ed. *Documents on Ukrainian Jewish identity and Emigration 1944-1990*, The Cummings Center for Russian and East European Studies, The Cummings Center Series (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), 42.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 277, 306-314.
- 15 Aleksandr Burakovskiy, *Khronika evoliutsii "natsional'noi idei Ukraini" i evrei 1987-2016 goqy. Kniga dokumental'noi publitsistiki* (Boston, MA: M-Graphics, 2017).
- 16 Per Anders Rudling, "Organized Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Ukraine: Structure, Influence and Ideology," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 48, nos. 1-2 (March-June 2006): 81-119.
- 17 V. Paniotto, "Dynamika ksenofobii i antysemitizmu v Ukraini (1994-2007)," https://www.kiis.com.ua/materials/articles/xenophobia_antisemitism.pdf (accessed November 30, 2018).

THE ROUTLEDGE HISTORY OF ANTISEMITISM

Edited by
Mark Weitzman, Robert J. Williams,
and James Wald

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11 Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK