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**PRACTICAL REALIZATION OF THE ETHNONATIONAL POLICY IN
THE CARPATHIAN AREA OF OUN (1944–1954): JEWS IN THE
UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

- Abstract -

In the article, on the basis of unknown and little-known documents, the problem of activity of representatives of the Jewish nationalities in the structures of the OUN and UPA on the territory of the Carpathian area of the OUN alias Karpatskyi Krai is revealed. As has been established, the realisation of the ethnonational policy, on the whole, had a special significance. It has been proved, that the replenishment of the ranks of the Ukrainian liberation movement was stimulated by the accurately planned ideological platform and properly thought over concept of construction of the common front of the enslaved peoples which promoted the attraction of representatives of different nationalities: Jews, Russians, Karaites, Romanians, Serbs, Hungarians, Uzbeks, Belgians, Italians, and others.

Keywords: Jews; the Carpathian area of the OUN; the Ukrainian liberation movement; cooperation; doctors.

The problem of the relations of the Ukrainian liberation movement with representatives of other nationalities is constantly discussed both in scientific and in public milieus, therefore, it still remains topical. This question belongs to the thorniest ones, inasmuch as it has been constantly politized by various parties. Access opening to the previously classified documents makes it possible to shed light on this issue.

Separate aspects of the participation of people of other ethnic origin in the ranks of Ukrainian liberation movement have been considered in the generalizing

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works by A. Kentiy, Yu. Kyrychuk, I. Patryliak, and A. Rusnachenko¹. With special accent this question has been viewed by H. Starodubets². In the context of studying of the nationalists' official ethnonational policy concerning the attitude towards representatives of other nationalities the collection compiled by V. Panibudlaska's is relevant³. The researches by Vasyl Derevynsky⁴ and Oleh Stetsyshyn⁵ make use of the newest approaches to studying of the problem of mutual relations of Ukrainian nationalists with representatives of different nationalities and refute the myths about anti-Semitism on behalf of the former, which were created by Soviet propaganda and added to the arsenal of modern Russian authors. Separately the question of relations of the Jews with the Ukrainian liberation movement has been investigated by V. Viatrovych⁶. Partially this theme has been elucidated by the author of this sketch⁷.

The publication's purpose is to expand the basic forms of participation of the Jews in the Ukrainian liberation movement of the Carpathian area of OUN (1944–1954).

The realization of the ethnonational policy acquired a great significance. In this respect, the task was set only to contradict the myths extended by Soviet propaganda, but also to create a common front of struggle against totalitarianism and for the restoration of the independent national states and, accordingly, to involve the inhabitants of all regions of Ukraine and representatives of others nationalities into

¹ А. Кентій, *Нарис боротьби ОУН–УПА в Україні (1946–1956 рр.)*, Інститут історії України НАН України, Київ, 1999; Ю. Киричук, *Український національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ століття: ідеологія та практика*, Добра справа, Львів, 2003; А. Русначенко, *Народ збурений: Національно-визвольний рух в Україні й національні рухи опору в Білорусії, Литві, Латвії, Естонії у 1940 – 50-х роках*, Університетське видавництво “Пульсари”, Київ, 2002; І. Патриляк, *“Встань і борись! Слухай і вір...”: українське націоналістичне підпілля та повстанський рух (1939–1960 рр.)*, Часопис, Львів, 2012.

² Г. Стародубець, *Генега українського повстанського запілля*, Підручники і посібники, Тернопіль, 2008.

³ *Національні процеси в Україні: історія і сучасність. Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. І. О. Кресіна (керівник), О. В. Кресів, В. П. Ляхоцький, В. П. Панібудьласка, Вища школа, Київ, 1997, ч. 1; *Національні процеси в Україні: історія і сучасність. Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. І. О. Кресіна (керівник), О. В. Кресів, В. П. Ляхоцький, В. П. Панібудьласка, Вища школа, Київ, 1997, ч. 2.

⁴ В. Деревінський, *Ставлення ОУН (б) і УПА до сусідніх народів та національних меншин*, Інститут історії України НАН України, Київ, 2006.

⁵ О. Стецишин, *УПА інтернаціональна*, Часопис, Львів, 2015.

⁶ В. В'ятрович, *Ставлення ОУН до євреїв: формування позиції на тлі катастрофи*, Видавництво “Мс”, Львів, 2006.

⁷ В. Ільницький, *Карпатський край ОУН в українському визвольному русі (1945–1954)*, Посвіт, Дрогобич, 2016.

the ranks of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The appropriately adjusted and thought over strategy of informing of wide social strata about the Ukrainian liberation movement was not a vain business, but – on the contrary – assisted the transition of soldiers and officers from eastern Ukraine from the Soviet army into the nationalists's ranks and the replenishment of the strength of insurgents with skilled, well trained fighters.

Of the many widespread Soviet myths one concerned the negative attitude of the nationalists towards the representatives of other nationalities. However, the presence of a considerable amount of documents gives grounds to pronounce against such an inaccurate conclusion. The main principle of relationship with representatives of others nationalities, as is apparent, was the recognition of the Ukrainian people's aspiration to restore the independence of their state. In their turn, the Ukrainian nationalists supported the aspirations of other enslaved nations to reestablish their national states.

The ethno-national policy was based on the principle of tolerant relations with representatives of all nationalities: they were considered allies and, therefore, the attempts were made to build the relations with them on the same bases as were among the Ukrainians themselves, to set before them the same tasks as before the Ukrainian people, and to render them assistance in formation of the activists of their political organisations⁸. On the other hand, the nationalists urged to destroy the imperialists-aggressors as, in fact, enemies of the people and wreckers⁹. Accordingly, it was forbidden to conduct any combat operations against other – allied – armies, to go into action with the Red army, but – at the same time – not to welcome its arrival. The necessity was underlined to visually demonstrate the scale of the resistance movement of the Ukrainian people. In general, it was recommended to treat the Red Army men benevolently, to help the deserters and arrested persons, to spread literature and leaflets among the Red Army soldiers, to prepare editions, and to write slogans and to place them on foregrounds¹⁰. The tacticians of the Ukrainian liberation movement underlined: “Of the allied peoples to create armies, to form small military subunits and to prepare them for struggle. To check their combat and moral spirit and reliability, inasmuch as among them there are Bolshevist provocateurs”¹¹.

⁸ В. Деревінський, *Ставлення ОУН (б) і УПА до сусідніх народів та національних меншин*, Інститут історії України НАН України, Київ, 2006, pp. 101–102.

⁹ Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України (далі – ГДА СБУ), ф. 13, спр. 372, т. 13, арк. 143.

¹⁰ ГДА СБУ, ф. 13, спр. 372, т. 13, арк. 145.

¹¹ ГДА СБУ, ф. 13, спр. 372, т. 13, арк. 147.

During the Nazi occupation, in Galicia's territory the subunits formed of representatives of different nationalities were disposed. The attitude of the local Hitlerite command to such subunits of different nationalities was, usually, scornful, and that influenced the transition of their militants, in due moment, into the ranks of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Without doubt, that was also promoted by an effective propaganda activity of the OUN members¹².

The well thought over concept of a common front of the enslaved people of East of Europe and Asia made for to the attraction of representatives of different nationalities to the Ukrainian liberation movement. Not infrequently both individual and group forms of participation of foreigners in the ranks of the Ukrainian liberation movement took place, and for that the participants suffered repressions (their relatives were either lost, imprisoned, or repressed). In particular, notwithstanding insignificant representation, there are facts testifying to the participation of Belgians, Italians, Kazakhs, Germans, Russians, Romanians, and Hungarians in the ranks of the underground of the OUN's Carpathian area¹³.

The myths about mass destructions by participants of national-liberation movement of representatives of other nationalities, in particular, the Jews, have not ever been documented; they are based either on sources of doubtful origin or on excerpts from evidence of separate figures of the Organization which do not display a real official position. Actually, it was the principle of the right of each nation to self-determination and of equality of all nationalities in the future Ukrainian state that lay at the heart of the attitude to the Jewry. Without doubt, one is to differentiate between repressive actions concerning separate representatives of a certain nation (the party figures, Soviet administration workers, agents of special services, a. o.)

¹² О. Стецишин, *УПА інтернаціональна*, Часопис, Львів, 2015, р. 73.

¹³ *Реабілітовані історією. Івано-Франківська область*, ред. кол. Б. Томенчук, В. Лук'ян, Я. Дорошенко та ін., Лілея-НВ, Івано-Франківськ, 2001, т. 2, р. 147; В. Мороз, *Ще про казаха "Колю" – вояка УПА*, Шлях перемоги. Ч. 48. 2 грудня, 2015, р. 6; С. Федорівський, *Нотатки повстанця*, Прометей, Нью-Йорк, 1962, рр. 65–66, 192, 201; Г. Дем'ян, "Повстанський мартиролог", Сколівщина, Львів, 1996, р. 468; І. Патриляк, О. Пагіря, "Спроби українського націоналістичного підпілля нав'язати контакти із сербським і литовським антикомуністичними рухами (1943–1950 рр.)" *Сторінки воєнної історії України* 14, 2011, рр. 127–150; *Реабілітовані історією. Івано-Франківська область*, ред. кол. Б. Томенчук, В. Лук'ян, Я. Дорошенко та ін., Лілея-НВ, Івано-Франківськ, 2000, т. 1, р. 150; Архів Управління Служби безпеки України у Львівській області (далі – АУСБУ ЛО), спр. П-21803, арк. 65–67; спр. П-27863, арк. 163в.; спр. П-30046, арк. 3, 13, 17, 36; спр. П-26783, арк. 15; ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-н, оп. 54 (1953), спр. 3, т. 1, арк. 138–139; оп. 65 (1953), спр. 4, арк. 57; оп. 28 (1960) спр. 2, арк. 311; оп. 32 (1960), спр. 11, арк. 147; ф. 16, спр. 783, арк. 232; ф. 5, спр. 67616, т. 5, арк. 335; ф. 13, спр. 372, т. 19, арк. 78.

and not to transfer the matter automatically upon the whatever nation on the whole (Russian, Polish, Jewish, etc.).

The instruction of the Supreme Command of the UPA (dd. 1 November, 1943) ran: “To inform, that we tolerantly concern all nationalities, including the Jews who work for the advance of the Ukrainian state. They will be considered citizens of Ukraine enjoying full rights. This should be imparted to doctors-Jews and other experts of which we endure a difficult shortage”¹⁴.

The nationalists prepared and extended leaflets with appeals to different nationalities – “Jews”, “Russians”, “Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmans”, “Poles”, “Romanians”, etc. An appeal in March, 1950 ran as follows: “Like whoever else, you, Jews, should be faithfully and sympathy concerned in this national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. You should be so concerned, because you yourselves have felt on your own back what it means to be a stateless nation, to struggle for your own liberation. More than two thousands years the Jewish people was made to carry all consequences of dependent life on their shoulders. [...] You, Jews, perfectly well know, who Bolsheviks are and what their attitude to the enslaved peoples is. You see very well, what a “paradise” has been created by Stalin and its clique of Moscow- Bolshevik cannibals. Of this dozens of thousands of your brethren and sisters by nationality, whom the executioners from the MVD-MGB tortured in the cellars of Stalin’s prisons and in exile, could have told you better. And thus, similarly to the Jewish revolutionaries who stood up with arms in hands for the protection of the human rights of the Jewish people and eventually conquered these rights, we, the Ukrainian revolutionaries-Banderites, stepped on the way of the national liberation struggle”¹⁵.

Probably, the greatest number of Jews of the underground worked as doctors. In particular, the activity of four Jews in the structure of military district MD – 4 “Hoverlia” is ascertained, namely, of Samuel Noiman-“Maksymovych”, Antin Kolman-“Vuhliar” (“Coal miner”), “Kum” and “Amicus”¹⁶. By the way, the latter perished in the underground, and of S. Noiman’s destiny only inconsistent information is available. According to the secret data of special services, which have been verified, “Maksymovych” became legal, instigated by the decision of the leadership, and started to work in one of polyclinics of the town of Stryi. Continuing

¹⁴ Ю. Киричук, *Український національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ століття: ідеологія та практика*, Добра справа, Львів, 2003, р. 145.

¹⁵ ГДА СБУ, ф. 13, спр. 376, т. 65, арк. 291–292.

¹⁶ В. В’ятрович, *Ставлення ОУН до євреїв: формування позиції на тлі катастрофи*, Видавництво “Мс”, Львів, 2006, р. 80, 82.

to co-operate with the nationalists, he supplied them with medicaments¹⁷. The other version says that S. Noiman perished in July, 1945 in the Black Forest during the fight with Soviet militaries¹⁸. Lev Stefanovych in his evidence (on September 8th, 1944) presented the detailed descriptions of the following doctors who worked in Colonel Ye. Konovalts Officer School in the Kolomyia land: 1. “Maksymovych” (who thitherto worked as a doctor in Stryi): “About 42 years of age, short, a dark brunette, a bit bald-headed, of small constitution, the front teeth are damaged and are of slight black colour”; 2. “Vovko” (about 30 years, of medium height, of robust constitution, the hair is of light reddish color, the nose is big, the face has an oval form); 3. “Amicus” (about 45 years, tall, of healthy constitution, the hair is dark, brunette, the nose is long); 4. “Diuidiu” (about 32 years, a native of Hungary, of medium height, of strong constitution, the hair is black, curly, the eyes are blue, the face is regular)¹⁹.

Thus, the specified doctors carried out not only special medical functions, but also, for example, conducted military training. For instance, Romana-Mariia Symkiv in her evidence in July, 23rd, 1951 asserted that in the summer of 1944 in the village of Luzhky the courses of preparation of medical workers for the UPA units had been carried in the village of Luzhky (later they were transferred in the village of Lypa, Bolekhiv district alias *raion*), which were supervised by Halyna Moroka-“Stepanivna”. The courses were conducted by doctor “Amicus” (a Jew by nationality)²⁰.

Mariia Skrentovych informs in her evidence (in November 17th, 1945) about the existence in April-May, 1944 of a hospital in the wood near the village of Poroxy, which functioned until July (there were up to 13 patients in it) and then was transferred in the village of Huta (the patients were lodge in the houses of the local residents), accenting at that, that for its medical supply she and a doctor-Jew were responsible²¹.

In his evidence (July 3-7, 1947) Vasyl Dukhovych informed about the officer courses which were organized in October, 1944 in the mountains of Bolekhiv *raion* (the area of mountain Javoryna). At the same time, he recollected about his severe wound in a fight with Soviet militaries and his long stay on treatment (till January,

¹⁷ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 58 (1953), спр. 11, арк. 220–221.

¹⁸ *Літопис УПА. Т. 23. Медична опіка в УПА, Літопис УПА, Торонто-Львів, 1992, р. 351.*

¹⁹ АУСБУ ЛО, спр. П-30768, арк. 65.

²⁰ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 98 (1954), спр. 18, т. 3, арк. 206.

²¹ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 56 (1953), спр. 6, т. 4, арк. 37–38.

30th, 1945) in the mountains of Bolekhiv *raion*. “Kum” (“Godfather”), a Jew by nationality, was his doctor²².

There also happened not infrequent cases of perishing of the Jews-participants of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the combats with Soviet repressive units. For example, as a result of a 18 hour combat between the insurgents of a frontier unit with with the fighters of the 87th operative stuff of Solotvyno and Bohorodchany *raion* units of NKVD (People’s Commissariat for the Internal Affairs) on September, 20th, 1944, 133 men were killed (in accordance with the version of the Soviet side) and 15 were arrested, one of whom was a Hungarian and one was a Jew (a doctor). The following trophies were captured: 6 light machine guns, 4 machine carbines, 11 rifles, 20 hand grenade, 3000 cartridges, 1 periscope, 4 sewing machines, and 1 radio receiver. Also, 15 horses, 13 pieces of cattle and 9 saddles were captured. During the fight 1 medium machine gun, 7 light machine guns, 9 machine carbines, 44 rifles, three warehouses – two with foodstuffs and one with ammunition, 30 various tubs, 20 cauldrons, 100 tents and other property were destroyed²³.

One more case. On January, 24th, 1946 the forces of the operative stuff of Bolekhiv *raion* department of NKVD and its military department subunits found out a hospital in the forest, 4 km from the village of Luzhky, Bolekhiv *raion*. At that time in it there were 37 patients and wounded men, and, also, a small guard and the personnel. The hospital’s director was the Jew with the nom de guerre “Kum” (“Godfather”) (a native of Drohobych), who thitherto supervised the health service of the Officer School “Oleni” (“Deer”). The insurgents, who were in the hospital, made an armed resistance. In the result of the fight the hospital was completely destroyed, 13 persons were killed and three were detained. First lieutenant of UPA Yakiv Dub-“Klymenko”, doctor “Kum” (“Godfather”), the county’s pharmacist, the hospital’s pharmaceutical chemist Halyna Plisak-“Khrystia”, hospital nurse “Zenka”, and the hospital attendant “Lan” of the battalion “Zhuravel” (“Crane”) were among those killed in the fight. The enemy captured the first-aid set with various medicines, several sets of hospital uniform, and documents with records of the patients and the wounded²⁴.

²² ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 58 (1953), спр. 1, т. 1, арк. 86–87.

²³ ГДА СБУ, ф. 13, спр. 372, т. 91, арк. 17–18.

²⁴ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 56 (1953), спр. 6, т. 1, арк. 26–27; Л. Шанковський, УПА на Стрийщині, *Стрийщина. Історико-мемуарний збірник Стрийщини, Скільщини, Болахівщини, Долинщини, Рожнівщини, Журавенщини, Жидачівщини і Миколаївщини*, Нью-Йорк-Торонто-Париж-Сидней, 1990, т. 1, р. 212; Г. Дем’ян, *Повстанський рух ОУН і УПА в 1940–1960-х, Сколівщина*, Львів, 1996, р. 159.

The power services constantly monitored and fixed the facts of the participation of the Jews – even in previous years – in the Ukrainian liberation movement. So, Vasyl Lialiuik (Vasl Pavliuk) in his evidence of June, 27th, 1946 told about doctor “Andriy” (the inhabitant of small town of Novi Strilyshcha of Zhydachiv *raion*, Lviv region), a Jew by nationality, who had worked in UPA departments and – after the arrival of the Soviet administration – began to work as a doctor in Novi Strilyshcha regional military commissariat²⁵.

Along with their medical functions, there is the information on the Jewry’s participation in propaganda activity in the Carpathian area of the OUN. Thus, on January 17th, 1948 in the hamlet Bystryi of Dobrohostiv village council, Drohobych *raion*, the propagandist of Drohobych county leadership of OUN Illia Maier-“Horobets” (“Sparrow”), a Jew by nationality, lost his life²⁶.

The Jewry’s help to the Ukrainian liberation movement in Stanislaviv land manifested itself, practically, through all kinds of purchases, namely, of typewriters, typographic fonts, paper, and other spending materials, which were carried out through the local Jews living in Chernivtsi. As a matter of fact, it was just on it that the report “On the results of the agentura-operational work of MGB (Ministry of State Security) units in Stanislaviv oblast on the liquidation of OUN banditism” expanded²⁷.

In December, 1950 the Cheka agents noticed that the heads of the OUN in Bucovina attracted the Jews for the communication with eastern areas of Ukraine, for the departure of nationalist literature into these regions and for gathering combat intelligence with their help²⁸. For example, a document from Bucovina contained a suggestion to seize some city with the help of the Jews: “Our program anticipates that the Jews should stay with us in contact. The Jews can well inform us and forward the literature to the east for money”²⁹.

In the outskirts of the town of Halych (mainly, in the village of Zalukva) there lived a small (some hundreds persons) community of the Karaites, one of the indigenous population of Ukraine. Its representative was Anna Leonovych-“Halia”, who was an orderly of the regional leadership of the OUN and who perished on February 19th, 1949 in the village of Kolodiiv, Halych *raion*. In the church the MGB agents found out a hide with insurgents who rejected the proposition to surrender

²⁵ АУСБУ ЛО, спр. П-29690, арк. 38.

²⁶ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 98 (1954), спр. 21, арк. 78; *Літопис УПА, Т. 36*. Книга полеглих членів ОУН і вояків УПА Львівщини, Літопис УПА, Торонто-Львів, 2002, р. 76.

²⁷ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 98 (1954), спр. 1, т. 3, арк. 182.

²⁸ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 99 (1954), спр. 15, арк. 1.

²⁹ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 99 (1954), спр. 15, арк. 30.

and out up armed resistance. In the result of exchange of fire the church burnt down, and the two underground activists, including A. Leonovych, committed suicide³⁰. Two more killed insurgents had Karaite ancestors, namely, the UPA staff sergeant (chotovyi) Bohdan Krysa-“Mukha” (“Fly”) from the village of Zalukva and his brother, a member of the regional leadership of the Kalush land Volodymyr Krysa-“Hordiienko”, of whom Magdalyna Lutsiv so recollected: ““Hordiienko’s” appearance gave out his non-Ukrainian origin: black hair, the eyes of the same colour, the nose with little hump”³¹.

In the basis of its ethnonational policy the OUN lay the principles of the tolerant attitude towards representatives of all nationalities, whom it considered as its allies and set the same tasks before them, as before the ethnic Ukrainians. The Ukrainians and the Jews who lived in the territory of the Carpathian area of OUN understood the necessity of mutual consent. The Jewry took a constructive position in relation to the Ukrainians themselves in general and to their liberation movement in particular. At the same time, the Ukrainian liberation movement accurately affirmed (in the program documents of the Second conference in April, 1942, in acts of the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN(B) in 1943 and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) (July, 1944) that it does not aspire to grasp foreign lands, declared the OUN’s upholding of the concepts of reorganisation of Europe on the basis of the free national states under the slogan “Freedom to peoples and to a person” that could be reached by the creation of a wide front of struggle of the enslaved peoples. A successfully thought over concept of a common front of the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia furthered the attraction of representatives of different nationalities – Jews, Russians, Karaites, Romanians, Serbs, Hungarians, Uzbeks, Belgians, Italians and others – to the Ukrainian liberation movement.

³⁰ ГДА СБУ, ф. 2-Н, оп. 28 (1960), спр. 10, арк. 135; П. Зіньковський, *Участь галицьких караїмів у визвольних змаганнях 40-х років ХХ століття*, *Караїми Галича: історія та культура*, Сполум, Львів-Галич, 2002, рр. 140–141; *Літопис УПА. Нова серія*, Т. 22. Станіславівська округа ОУН: документи і матеріали 1945 – 1951, Київ-Торонто, 2013, р. 114.

³¹ М. Когут, *Герої не вмирають...*, Калуш, 2007, кн. 8, р. 29–30; *Воля і доля: Книга пам’яті Галицького району*, за ред. І. Ковалю., Галич, 1997, р. 182.