
Krakiwski visti and the Jews, 1943: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Second World War

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The history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during World War II is one of those subjects that has generated much more heat than light.¹ This is strikingly evident when one compares Philip Friedman's pioneering article on the subject, originally published in 1959,² with two later interpretations, both published in the late 1980s, by Taras Hunczak and Aharon Weiss.³ Although a generation had passed since the publication

1. Earlier, Ukrainian-language versions of this article were presented at conferences on Ukrainian-Jewish relations held in Kyiv (1991) and Jerusalem (1993). I would like to thank the Central Research Fund at the University of Alberta for the grant to travel to Jerusalem. I would also like to thank my wife, Chrystia Chomiak, for reading this text; as is often the case, her critical insights resulted in a number of improvements and clarifications. Other readers to whom I am in debt for pointing out problems and suggesting improvements are Natalia Chomiak, Chrystia Freeland, and Alan Rutkowski. In the case of this particular article, I would like to say explicitly what should go without saying: that I alone am responsible for the views expressed herein.

2. Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation," his *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada June Friedman (New York and Philadelphia: Conference on Jewish Social Studies, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), 176–208. The article first appeared in the *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 12 (1958–9).

3. Taras Hunczak, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations," in *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath. A Symposium*, ed. Yury Boshyk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986), 39–57; Aharon Weiss, "Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Howard Aster and Peter J. Potichnyj (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988, 1990), 409–20.

of Friedman's article, both Hunczak and Weiss relied on essentially the same source material as Friedman; the most substantive addition to their source base was Raul Hilberg's monumental study of the destruction of the European Jews.⁴ To Friedman's and Hilberg's materials Hunczak and Weiss primarily added their own interpretive spin, defensive in the case of Hunczak and accusatory in the case of Weiss. I do not wish even to suggest that interpretation is not a primary task of scholarship; but I do want to point out how little hard research has been conducted. The history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the last world war remains relatively uninvestigated, disproportionately so when one considers the stereotypes and passions that surround the issue. It is this anomalous, and indeed unhealthy, situation that has induced me to offer the present study of a concrete incident in the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during World War II—the appearance in the spring and summer of 1943 of a series of anti-Jewish articles in the flagship of Ukrainian journalism under Nazi occupation, *Krakivski visti*.

The primary sources for this study, aside from the articles themselves, are the editorial correspondence and records of *Krakivski visti*, which were acquired by the Provincial Archives of Alberta in 1985, a year after the death of the newspaper's chief editor, Mykhailo Khomiak (Michael Chomiak).⁵ It is worth noting that this collection seems to constitute the fullest set of editorial documentation of any of the legal newspapers published in Nazi-occupied Poland (the *Generalgouvernement*).⁶ The papers in the Provincial Archives of Alberta make it possible to identify the authors of the anti-Jewish articles, none of whom signed their real names to these contributions, to ascertain at whose initiative the articles appeared, and to acquire more insight into Ukrainian attitudes to

4. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, revised, definitive ed., 3 vols. (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1985). The first edition appeared in 1961.

5. Michael Chomiak Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, accession no. 85.191. For this study I have relied on: item no. 32 (lists of authors and honoraria, June 1940–June 1944); item no. 40 (general editorial correspondence, April 1943–30 June 1943, and undated); and item no. 41 (general editorial correspondence, 1 July–31 December 1943 and undated).

6. A description of the other surviving documentation can be found in Lucjan Dobroszycki, *Die legale polnische Presse im Generalgouvernement, 1939–1945* (Munich: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 1977), 8–9. Dobroszycki's book was recently published in English translation under the title *Reptile Journalism: The Official Polish-Language Press under the Nazis, 1939–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

the fate of the Jews under Nazi rule—not just the attitudes of the authors and editors, but also those of wider circles of Ukrainian public opinion.

I must emphasize at the outset that my sources do not provide a complete picture. At least one letter from a potential contributor of an anti-Jewish article seems to have been destroyed by the editorial board because the author of the letter refused to write against the Jews and presumably explained the grounds for this refusal. The retention of such a letter could have constituted a grave risk for its author, and the editorial board prudently did not retain it in their files.⁷ In fact, there is no letter of refusal in the editorial files, although it is clear that several individuals who were approached to write anti-Jewish articles declined to do so. What else had never been included in the editorial records that would shed a different light on the incident under investigation can only be a matter of speculation. Moreover, a daughter of the chief editor, who interviewed her father about his wartime experiences, has informed me that Mykhailo Khomiak and the editorial board as a whole worked to some extent with the anti-Nazi resistance; in particular, they issued false papers for members of the underground.⁸ Such activities, of course, are not directly reflected in the official editorial records. The sources, then, are fragmentary and one-sided, and this must be kept in mind by readers of this study. The sources do cast light on the problem of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the war, but they leave many shadows. Fuller illumination can only be the result of sustained scholarly research into a wide range of individual problems and incidents relating to the interaction between Ukrainians and Jews during the Second World War. Only then will it be possible to construct meaningful scholarly syntheses of the overall problem.

***Krakivski visti*: Background**

Krakivski visti first appeared in Cracow on 7 January 1940, and for the duration of the war it played an important and, generally, positive role in Ukrainian life. When the Soviets occupied Lviv, the capital of Ukrainian Galicia, in 1939, many Ukrainian intellectuals and political

7. Marian Kozak, of the editorial board of *Krakivski visti*, wrote to Iurii Lypa on 15 May 1943 to solicit an anti-Jewish article from him. In a subsequent letter, dated 26 May 1943, Kozak thanked Lypa for his "long letter" in reply. From the tone of Kozak's second letter and from the absence of an anti-Jewish article by Lypa, it is evident that Lypa had responded that he would not write the desired article. Usually the editors scrupulously filed letters and even postcards from contributors, but Lypa's reply is missing.

8. Personal communication from Natalia Chomiak.

activists fled to Cracow in the German zone of occupation, both to avoid eventual arrest by Soviet security organs and to maintain some Ukrainian institutions independent of Soviet control and censorship. *Krakovski visti* was able to publish, even within the limits imposed by the German occupation authorities, many excellent articles on Ukrainian history and culture that are still worth reading a half-century later. Volodymyr Kubijovyč described it thus: "*Krakovski visti* was not a German paper in the Ukrainian language, but was a Ukrainian paper edited within the German reality."⁹ The paper was closely associated with the Ukrainian Central Committee (UTsK), which Kubijovyč headed, and, like the Utsk, it served as a buffer between the German occupation authorities and the population of the Generalgouvernement.

Aside from an educational and opinion-forming function, the newspaper served the Ukrainian community by providing a source of income for the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the difficult years of the war. This was a particularly valuable service to the nation, because the Ukrainian intelligentsia, relatively young and small in number to begin with, had suffered tremendous blows in the interwar years as a result of physical liquidation in Stalin's Soviet Union and discrimination and exclusion from employment under Poland and Romania. The contributors to *Krakovski visti* represented all regions of Ukraine, including, after 1941, what had been Soviet Ukraine. Writing for the newspaper were some of Ukraine's most prominent intellectuals—poets, novelists, art historians, literary critics, linguists, theologians, politicians, historians, and physicians. The list of contributors reads like a *Who's Who* of Ukrainian intellectual and public life. Among them were Dmytro Doroshenko, Panas Fedenko, Damian Horniatkevych, Myron Korduba, Iurii Kosach, Father Havryil Kostelnyk, Hryhorii Kostiuk, Ivan Kryp'iakevych, Zenon Kuzelia, Bohdan Lepky, Denys Lukiianovych, Iurii Lypa, Evhen Malaniuk, Vasyl Mudry, Oleksander Ohloblyn, Evhen Onatsky, Sofiia Parfanovych, Iuliian Revai, Lev Shankovsky, Iurii (George Y.) Shevelov, Mykhailo Vozniak, and Andrii Zhuk.

There were certain topics the paper had to avoid, and about other topics the paper could only write from a pro-German perspective. At times the editors had to publish material that they knew to be false and pained them to print. For example, the editorial board was well aware that Ukrainian forced labourers in work camps in Germany were treated

9. Volodymyr Kubiiiovych [Kubijovyč], *Ukrainci v Heneralnii hubernii, 1939–1941: Istoriia Ukrainskoho tsentralnoho komitetu* (Chicago: Vydavnytstvo Mykoly Denysiuka, 1975), 276.

as slaves, but nonetheless they had to publish enthusiastic reports about the workers and the conditions in which they lived. The editors went ahead and printed the false reports because the German authorities had made it clear that disobedience would result in the appointment of a German as editor of the paper.¹⁰ In that case offensive materials would appear more frequently and the precious Ukrainian cultural work carried on by the paper would be undermined. The relative autonomy that *Krakivski visti* enjoyed by having a Ukrainian editor was an unusual privilege, since from fall of 1939 until the spring of 1944 all the editors of Polish periodicals in the Generalgouvernement were German.¹¹

Motivations of the Anti-Jewish Articles

In May 1943, as the editorial correspondence establishes beyond a doubt, the German press chief, Emil Gassner, demanded that the paper print a series of anti-Jewish articles.¹² It is not clear from the sources why the German authorities demanded such a series at this particular time. One of the editors, Marian Kozak, speculated that the order was issued "in the first place in order to divert attention from other matters."¹³ I understand this to mean that the Germans were seeking to distract attention from their brutal treatment of the Ukrainian population in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. But the Germans may have had other

10. "The publication in January 1940 of information on the Soviet-Finnish War, information based on German sources and published without editorial commentary, resulted in a warning by the press chief [Emil Gassner] to the editor-in-chief [at that time], Borys Levytsky, and later to his removal from the position of editor. For reprinting an obituary of Mykhailo Konovalts, Evhen's father, from the daily *Krakivski visti* in the weekly, the latter's editor, Vasyl Kochmar, had to leave; for a lead article that made reference to the inimical attitude towards the Ukrainian people of Ukraine's western neighbours, editor Vasyl Mudry lost his job in *Krakivski visti*. Editor-in-chief Khomiak was being threatened that he would be sent, along with the other editors, for 're-education' and that his place would be taken by a German." Kubiiovych, *Ukrainci v Heneralnii hubernii*, 274. The editorial correspondence in the Provincial Archives confirms that the Germans kept the editorial board in a state of anxiety about various alleged lapses that had occurred.

11. Dobroszycki, *Die legale polnische Presse*, 100.

12. From Marian Kozak's letter to Iurii Lypa, 15 May: "For your information, we received an order to publish a series of anti-Jewish articles." Kozak to X [the addressee is still living], 22 May: "We have an order to conduct an anti-Jewish campaign." Kozak to Oleksander Mokh, 15 May: "All these [anti-Jewish] articles will be published, for such is the desire expressed by the 'Pressechef der Regierung.'"

13. Marian Kozak's letter to Iurii Lypa, 26 May.

reasons for wanting anti-Jewish articles to appear. In the spring of 1943 they were suppressing the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Perhaps they feared (correctly, as it turned out) that an uprising would also break out in the Lviv ghetto, which they were about to "clear" completely, and the articles were intended as a prophylactic against possible Ukrainian sympathy for the insurgent Jews. Or possibly the articles were connected with the changes in German policy towards occupied populations that began to take place after the defeat at Stalingrad. Perhaps the articles were intended to foster a more positive attitude to the Germans. This was also roughly the time when the Germans exhumed or permitted to be exhumed the mass graves of victims of Stalinism in Katyn and Vinnytsia.

Although the editors of *Krakovski visti* did not initiate the anti-Jewish series, they thought that they could turn it to the advantage of the Ukrainian cause. Marian Kozak wrote to Iurii Lypa on 15 May: "We received an order to publish a series of anti-Jewish articles. Now it is a matter of making use of this opportunity from our standpoint." On 26 May he wrote to Lypa again: "When there is an opportunity to remind people of the harmfulness of Jewish influences, we have to do it so that the understanding will not be lost that the Jews continue to be an important factor in international life. They might still have more than one chance to do us harm."

The Articles and Their Authors

The anti-Jewish series started off with an article by Oleksander Mokh entitled "At the Sources of the Universal Conspiracy," which appeared in the 25 May issue. Mokh was a Catholic publicist, editor, and publisher; his publishing house, *Dobra knyzhka*, was based in Lviv, and after the war it was re-established in Toronto. On 15 May Editor Kozak had written to him: "We need serious articles that would reveal the harmful and disintegrative role of the Jewish element in literature, the press, art, and philosophy... You are the only one who knows these matters well and you feel strongly about them." Mokh accepted the invitation and wrote a whole series of articles under such titles as "A Nation of Desperados," "The Jews are Depraving Europe" and "How They Helped the Bolsheviks."¹⁴ Taken together, his articles constituted a fairly

14. M. L., "U dzherel vsesvitnoi zmovy," *Krakovski visti*, 25 May 1943; M. L., "Taina vplyviv i uspikhiv," *Krakovski visti*, 30 May 1943; M. L., "Za dushu inteligenta," *Krakovski visti*, 3 June 1943; "Natsiia desperadiv," *Krakovski visti*, 4 June 1943; M. L., "Zhydy depravuiut Evropu," *Krakovski visti*, 5 June 1943; M. L., "Idealy i nosii rozkladu," *Krakovski visti*, 8 June 1943; M. L., "Iak spomahaly bol'shevykiv," *Krakovski visti*, 9 June 1943; M. L., "Spravedlyvyi u Sodomi,"

comprehensive exposition of anti-Semitic doctrine. They mainly focused on what Mokh saw as the secret but powerful and corrupting influences of the Jews and their loyal collaborators, the Masons. Mokh's articles were general and theoretical in character, since the editors asked him to refrain from dealing with the specifics of the Ukrainian case. He cited a varied corpus of anti-Semitic literature—West European and Polish—and frequently referred to "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

Kost Kuzyk, an editor of a local paper in Sambir, contributed two articles to the series. The content of the first of them is clear from the title: "Ivan Franko and the Jewish Question."¹⁵ The selection of Franko's texts and their interpretation in the article were, of course, quite one-sided. Kuzyk's second article concentrated on economic problems, specifically exploitation of the peasantry of the Boiko region by Jewish taverners, merchants, leaseholders, and Drohobych mineowners, as well as unscrupulous lawyers and physicians. The article also stated that the Jews "always took the side of our enemies," especially in the years of the first Soviet occupation of Galicia (1939–41), when they "penetrated into all Bolshevik institutions, not excluding the NKVD."¹⁶

Luka Lutsiv, a literary critic and later, for many years, an editor of the newspaper *Svoboda* in Jersey City, also contributed two articles: on Jews as agents of demoralization, and cosmopolitanism in the realm of literature.¹⁷

One longish article, published in two parts, was contributed by Olena Kysilevska. Kysilevska was a well-known activist in the Ukrainian women's movement, the editor and publisher of the women's fortnightly *Zhinocha dolia* in Kolomyia, and a former Polish senator associated with the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance; after the war she continued her activities as a leader of the émigré Ukrainian women's movement in the West. Her article, entitled "Who Ruined the Hutsul Region?"¹⁸ concentrated on Jewish economic activities in the Carpathians, but also mentioned the role of the Jews in propagating Communism.¹⁹

Krakivski visti, 10 June 1943; M. L., "Pered naizdom Dzhingiskhana," *Krakivski visti*, 11 June 1943.

15. K. K., "Ivan Franko i zhydivske pytannia," *Krakivski visti*, 28 May 1943.

16. Boiko, "Tin Ahasfera nad Boikivshchynoiu," *Krakivski visti*, 29 May 1943.

17. L. Hranychka, "Pro smikh, zhydiv, radnyka Shchypku i Makolondru Miska (Nashym humorystam pid uvahu)," *Krakivski visti*, 1 June 1943; L. Hranychka, "Deshcho pro roliu zhydivskykh pysmennykiv," *Krakivski visti*, 27 June 1943.

18. Kh., "Khto ruinuvav Hutsulshchynu?" *Krakivski visti*, 16–17 June 1943.

19. After the war, as an émigré, Kysilevska wrote the article "Za dobre im'ia ukrainskoho narodu" (For the Good Name of the Ukrainian People), originally

The well-known economist, former minister of internal affairs under the UNR Directory, and professor of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy and the Ukrainian Free University, Oleksander Mytsiuk, contributed a lengthy article entitled simply "The Jews in Ukraine." Devoted to examining the negative role of the Jews in the economic life of Ukraine, it was serialized in six issues of the paper, with rather long intervals between them.²⁰ The first part came out in the Pentecost issue (mid-June), and the last in the issue of 11 September; with this last instalment, the anti-Jewish series came formally to a close.

There was, however, one other author. (He is still living, and I will refrain from naming him.) The editors did not print his contribution. Editor Kozak wrote to him on 18 June: "The article on Jews could not appear because you touched upon too many issues in it. Furthermore, it's hard to maintain the position that the Jews alone are responsible for everything."

The editorial board of *Krakovski visti* felt that it had been able to remain objective in publishing the anti-Jewish series. Having it specifically in mind, the editor-in-chief wrote to Volodymyr Levynsky on 10 July, as the series was drawing to a close: "It seems to us that we approach every issue in the most objective manner and try to shed light on the problems that life itself suggests or forces upon us. We try to do this *sine ira et studio*."

The Negative Reception of the Anti-Jewish Articles

The editorial board of *Krakovski visti* and the authors of the anti-Jewish articles were aware that at least some Ukrainian circles would disapprove of the publication of the articles. It is telling that all the articles were signed with pseudonyms or initials, while the normal practice of the paper was to publish articles signed with real names. When the editors informed Oleksander Mokh that they were not going to print what he had written "about our [i.e., Ukrainian] Jews and Masons," Mokh responded, in his letter of 28 May: "You want to put off the examples for another time, but it will never come. If you sincerely

entitled "Do spravy zhydivsko-ukrainskykh vidnosyn" (On the Issue of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations). In it she stated that the Jews were the enemies of the Ukrainians in Galicia—they exploited them and got them drunk, and they actively collaborated with their oppressors; nonetheless, Ukrainian peasants helped and fed Jews during the war. Copy in the Olena Kysilevska Collection, National Archives (Ottawa), MG 31, H42, vol. 4, file 37.

20. O. M., "Zhydy v Ukraini," *Krakovski visti*, Pentecost (*zeleni sviata*, June), 29 June, 7 July, 12 August, 13 August, and 11 September 1943.

want to open the eyes of society, then you can only do it right now—later you will have to write the way Dr. Mykhailo Rudnytsky and other ‘Europeans’ tell you. Being polite in these matters will no longer help you, because the publication of anti-Semitic theory has decided your fate as an ‘uncultured’ editor; a person who dared to publish this cannot occupy a prominent place in democratic Europe.”

A negative attitude to the anti-Jewish series probably explains why some potential authors did not accept the invitation to participate in it. Among those who refused to write were: the prominent National Democratic politician Stepan Baran; the writer and physician Iurii Lypa, who a year later died as a physician in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); the editor and economist Levko Lukasevych, who, at the very time he was asked to write against the Jews, was himself hiding a Jew in Warsaw;²¹ and the leading poet of the nationalist camp, Evhen Malaniuk. In fact, the editors had difficulty getting a sufficient number of anti-Jewish articles. As Marian Kozak wrote in a letter on 22 May: “We have an order to conduct an anti-Jewish campaign, but there’s not enough material.”

The appearance of the anti-Jewish articles provoked indignation among a part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. I cite from the letter of the editor-in-chief to Volodymyr Levynsky, 10 July: “I have to confess that we have written enough on the Jewish question, and we have heard our fill of accusations from many people that we are conducting or, rather, justifying the action against the Jews, [and] also that we are acting in bad conscience and thinking only of our own backyard and that we are running away from reality and responsibility.” And from another letter, to Oleksander Mytsiuk, 20 August: “Many people are upset that we are touching upon this sensitive theme in such conditions as we are now ourselves forced to live in. It is also true that very many people express their approval of the good manner in which the authors approach this painful problem.”

Some Reflections on the Material

What is probably most striking to the modern reader of *Krakivski visti*’s articles against the Jews and related editorial correspondence is the callous indifference displayed to the great tragedy that struck the Jewish population of Ukraine under Nazi occupation. That the editors solicited and published articles against the Jews does not of itself indicate lack of

21. Levko Lukasevych, *Rozdumy na skhylku zhyttia* (New York: Ukrainske pravoslavne vydavnytstvo sv. Sofii, 1982), 243.

sympathy with the Jews' plight or a willing complicity in the Nazi crimes. Had they refused to assemble the required series, the only relatively autonomous Ukrainian newspaper would have lost its autonomy and they personally would have been exposed to severe punishment, probably dispatch to a concentration camp. And these consequences would have been precipitated by a gesture that was symbolic rather than effective, since their own refusal to prepare the series would not actually have prevented its appearance. This is not to deny that they could have taken a stand anyway, consequences be damned; one should be aware, however, that the impediments to such conduct were formidable. Yet, that more than submission to coercion came into play in the preparation of the anti-Jewish series is suggested by the conviction on the part of the editors that they could use the series to promote the Ukrainian cause.

Indifference to the fate of the Jews on the part of the authors of the anti-Jewish articles is more readily apparent: they were under no compulsion to accept the proposal to write these articles (as the number of refusals demonstrates), although it cannot be excluded that not all of the authors realised this. There were also certain passages in some of the articles that expressed approval of what the Nazis were doing to the Jews. Olena Kysilevska ended her account of Jewish exploitation in the Hutsul region on what for her was an optimistic note: "Today there are no more Jews in the mountains," and the Hutsuls appear to be on the verge of economic revival.²² Oleksander Mytsiuk, after describing the economic ruin of Transcarpathia through the agency of Jewish usurers, quoted with approval what Transcarpathian peasants had told him in 1938: "If only Adolf Hitler would come to them, to their Jewry, even for a month!"²³

What were the sources of this indifference to and even approval of the destruction of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis? From this specialised study it is impossible to formulate generalizations with any certainty, and what are offered here are no more than reflections intended to move the analysis of the problem forward. These reflections were suggested in part by a close reading of the sources to this study, but in part they also stem from a more general consideration of the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship during the war. It seems to me that three broad causes primarily lay behind the lack of sympathy exhibited by some

22. Kh., "Khto ruinuvav Hutsulshchynu?" *Krakovski visti*, 17 June 1943.

23. O. M., "Zhydy v Ukraini," *Krakovski visti*, 13 August 1943.

Ukrainians with respect to the suffering of the Jewish people in their midst:

1. deep-seated animosity towards the Jews on the part of some Ukrainian circles, exacerbated by the pervasiveness of the nationalist world-view and by the penetration of modern anti-Semitic ideology;

2. the abnormality of the moral-political universe in which the Ukrainians found themselves; and

3. the inability to assimilate the magnitude of the crime that was being perpetrated.

This list could be expanded, but I will limit myself here to a brief consideration of these three factors.

It must first be understood that there was a history of genuine Ukrainian-Jewish conflict in Galicia that had nothing to do with ideological anti-Semitism.²⁴ It was a conflict in many ways similar to, and indeed related to, the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. The feeling of many Ukrainians towards the Jews was akin to, if not identical with, an anticolonial rancour, the main grievance being socio-economic. Although the articles by Kuzyk, Kysilevska, and Mytsiuk painted the picture in the darkest colours, the general outline that emerges from their depictions is a recognizable likeness of reality. Many Ukrainian peasants, and their spokesmen in the leadership of the national movement, felt that Jewish usurers, taverners, merchants, and leaseholders were responsible for the economic ruin of the Galician countryside. And although they did not understand the problem from the standpoint of the larger economic processes at work, they were certainly correct in their analysis that the economic interests of large sectors of the Jewish population were antithetical to the interests of even larger sections of the Ukrainian population. This socio-economic antagonism had its roots deep in the feudal era, but was profoundly exacerbated after the abolition of serfdom and the penetration of a money economy into the Galician village. *Mutatis mutandis*, a similar antagonism existed in other regions of Ukraine.

In the nineteenth century a political dimension was grafted on to this essentially economic conflict. Leaders of the Ukrainian national movement resented the fact that the Jews tended to assimilate culturally to the politically dominant nationality—to the Polish in Galicia, to the Russian in Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine, to the German and later the Romanian

24. By no means, however, was the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations marked exclusively by antagonism. For a useful corrective, see Ia. R. Dashkevych, "Vzaiemovidnosyny mizh ukrainskym ta ievreiskym naseleнням u Skhidnii Halychyni (kinets XIX-pochatok XX st.)," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1990, no. 10: 63-73.

in Bukovyna, and to the Magyar in Transcarpathia. Political antipathies were particularly pronounced in Galicia in the period after 1873 and before 1907, when Jews as a group supported Polish candidates against Ukrainian candidates to the Austrian parliament and Galician diet; and again in the 1930s, when many Ukrainians placed their hopes on Hitler's Germany (for reasons that had nothing to do with anti-Semitism) and Jews, of course, opposed Hitler (precisely because of his anti-Semitism). From this background of genuine national conflict, stemming from legitimate grievances and differences, it was perhaps inevitable that national hatred would emerge.

But one must add to this the peculiar distortion of vision that resulted from the permeation of Galician-Ukrainian society by the nationalist worldview. An aspect of nationalism that had a particularly deleterious effect on the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship was the tendency to equate the actions of individual Jews or particular sectors of Jewish society with the Jewish nation as a whole. This tendency infuses all the anti-Jewish articles in *Krakovski visti*, but it stands out very clearly in one passage from Kysilevska: "Although all of the Hutsul region was dotted with taverns and little Jewish stores, the Jews were unable to wait for the Hutsul to come to them. They collected all sorts of petty merchandise in a sack and wandered over the mountains, pushing their wares almost by force."²⁵ What is remarkable about these sentences is Kysilevska's equation of the Jewish taverner with the Jewish pedlar as if they were just different organs of the same body, although in reality the social and economic distance between them was great. Perhaps the combination of these two factors—the genuine antagonism and the nationalist vision—were sufficient to produce the kind of enmity that would permit indifference or even *Schadenfreude* when the enemy suffered.

And yet one more exacerbating factor must be included in this complex cause: the influence of modern anti-Semitic ideology, i.e., the set of views, with strong irrationalist underpinnings, that demonizes and ultimately dehumanizes Jews. Galicia was receptive terrain for this ideology to take root, given the animosities and nationalist mind-set already described. It was also a territory with prolonged exposure to political cultures in which anti-Semitism formed an important component, namely the political cultures of old Austria, where Hitler himself learned anti-Semitism, and interwar Poland. The military success of Nazi Germany and its occupation of Galicia must have had the effect of confirming, to some, that anti-Semitism was a force to take seriously. The

25. Kh., "Khto ruinuvav Hutsulshchynu?" *Krakovski visti*, 17 June 1943.

influence of modern anti-Semitism can be felt in all the anti-Jewish articles in *Krakivski visti*, although Mokh's contributions stand out for their exposition of the pure doctrine.

The second major cause for this indifference, I believe, had less to do with the particular victims, i.e., the Jews, than with those whose attitude is under consideration, i.e., the Ukrainians. They had experienced so much national discrimination and political violence directed against themselves that they were somewhat desensitized to what was happening to the Jews around them during the Nazi occupation. In interwar Poland the Ukrainians were a persecuted minority. The Polish government used violence against them, although, for the most part, not of the deadly variety: largely mass beatings (the Pacification of 1930) and the destruction of property (particularly of Orthodox churches in Podlachia in the 1930s). However, over the border, in Soviet Ukraine, Ukrainians experienced systematic mass violence in the decade preceding the outbreak of the war. The Galicians were keenly aware of the dekulakization, the famine of 1932–33, and the mass arrests and execution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Then in 1939–41 the Soviet regime came to them and claimed thousands of victims. The Nazis too, particularly but not exclusively in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, killed many Ukrainian POWs and civilians. In short, Ukrainians inhabited a world in which mass murder was frightfully commonplace. From the perspective of their experiences, the Nazis' mass murder of Jews more closely approximated "normal" politics than it would have for people who had known more peace and security.

The third cause of the indifference was that the full magnitude of the unprecedented crime against the Jews, its exceptional character, was not comprehended. It is perhaps only with the passage of time and in historical perspective that we can begin to appreciate the meaning of Hitler's attempt to extinguish an entire people. Over the past half century we have become familiar with the memoirs and testimony of survivors, the tragedy has been interpreted in literature and cinema, and philosophers and historians have studied it; we have even given it (although we might argue about its appropriateness) a name—the Holocaust. We understand it and its place in human history better than we did before, and in the future we may come to understand it yet more fully. There was much less perspective in 1943. The enormity of what was happening often even escaped the victims, the Jews themselves.²⁶ I am not suggest-

26. "After information filtered into the ghettos about the mass shootings in the outdoors, about the operations of mobile death vans, about gassing installations

ing that the Ukrainians who published and wrote anti-Jewish articles in *Krakovski visti* were unaware that the Nazis were killing the Jews, but only that they were unable, perhaps also even unwilling, to think the matter through to the end.

Conclusions

Krakovski visti was an important institution in Ukraine under the Nazi occupation. In difficult circumstances it was able to preserve and develop Ukrainian cultural life and offer a source of income to the threatened Ukrainian intelligentsia. The newspaper could conduct this cultural work only under the condition that it was obedient to the directives of the occupational authorities. In May 1943 these authorities demanded from the editors of the paper a series of anti-Jewish articles. The editorial board agreed, hoping that it would be able to turn the anti-Jewish articles to the advantage of the Ukrainian cause. The editors believed that they had succeeded in maintaining their objectivity in preparing the series. The articles were written by figures prominent in Ukrainian cultural and political life, but under pseudonyms. Socio-economic themes dominated in the articles, but the articles also broached other themes, especially pro-Communist sympathies among Jews and the questioning of traditional morality in the works of Jewish writers. One author wrote a series of articles on anti-Semitic theory. The articles showed indifference to the tragic fate of the Jewish population of Ukraine during the war. The roots of this indifference lay perhaps in the long-standing, pre-eminently socio-economic conflict between Jews and Ukrainians, exacerbated by ideological factors; also in the abnormal, brutal moral-political environment in which the Ukrainians found themselves; and in the inability, resulting from the lack of distance, to comprehend the exceptional character and historical significance of the Hitlerite crime. Although these factors gave rise to indifference among some Ukrainians, others felt that, at a time when the Hitlerites were conducting their actions against the Jews, it was impermissible to publish anti-Jewish articles. Thus some prominent representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia refused to write anti-Jewish articles. Judging from the editorial correspondence ("we have heard our

in desolate camps, the first response everywhere was disbelief grounded in shock. Even the wanton and unconstrained killings and cruelties committed by the Germans had not prepared the Jews to grasp the facts of systematic mass murder.... The information about the death camps was rejected all over Europe, not only by the Jews, who, as the first targets and victims, would be expected to disbelieve most because the news threatened them most." Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), 349-50.

fill of accusations from many people"), the reaction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in general to the appearance of the anti-Jewish articles was more negative than not.