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**UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS DURING THE PERIOD
OF THE UNR DIRECTORY: BASED ON THE INFORMATION
ON THE TOWNS OF RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research – to elucidate the positive and negative aspects of the relationship between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities of the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine during the period of the Ukrainian People's Republic Directory. The elucidation of this issue is based on the works of historians-predecessors and the available source base. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of a definite concrete historical approach or historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness and integrity, systematicity, as well as the use of the following methods: analysis and synthesis, historical genetic, historical comparative, historical typological, problem chronological. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time in historiography, on the one hand, vivid examples of cooperation between the Ukrainians and the Jews in the Right-Bank towns have*

been elucidated, on the other hand, – there have been elucidated the anti-Jewish excesses, associated with the pogroms of the Jewish communities in 1919 – 1920; there have been highlighted the causes of the pogrom actions by the Ukrainian army, insurgents and peasants. **The Conclusions.** The era of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic is marked by both positive and negative events in the life of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in the Right-Bank towns. On the one hand, the Jews welcomed the restoration of the UPR, and the Ukrainians helped them prepare for Jewish national holidays. Together, these ethnic groups conducted activities of their educational societies. Some Jews helped the Ukrainian people in the struggle for the state independence. The Jews materially supported the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and fought in the Ukrainian army. On the other hand, the period under study is marked by anti-Jewish excesses, which, to a large extent, were provoked by the commitment of the Jews to the Bolsheviks, the Jews ignored the mobilization measures of the Ukrainian government. The result of this inconsistency of the Jewish minority was the pogroms with human casualties committed by certain units of the UPR Army, as well as the insurgent atamans. There were at least 131 such pogroms. The urban peasants-Ukrainians were also “noted” for the pogroms, for whom the Jews, with whom they coexisted within one settlement were, first of all, exploiters, speculators, and only then the Bolsheviks. Such cases of pogroms were recorded in 26 towns. A number of sources indicate that the Ukrainian authorities tried to provide all possible material and legal assistance to the Jews, who suffered from the pogroms.

Key words: town, the Jews, community, army, pogroms.

УКРАЇНСЬКО-ЄВРЕЙСЬКІ ВІДНОСИНИ У ДОБУ ДИРЕКТОРІЇ УНР: НА МАТЕРІАЛАХ МІСТЕЧОК ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – спираючись на доробок попередників, наявну джерельну базу показати позитивні і негативні сторони взаємин української та єврейської громад містечок Правобережної України у добу Директорії УНР. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи конкретно-історичного підходу або історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності і цілісності, системності, а також на використання методів – аналізу та синтезу, історико-генетичного, історико-порівняльного, історико-типологічного, проблемно-хронологічного. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії показано, з одного боку, яскраві приклади співпраці українців та євреїв у правобережних містечках, з іншого боку, протиеврейські ексцеси, пов'язані з погромами єврейських громад у 1919 – 1920 рр., висвітлено причини погромницьких дій української армії, повстанців і селян. **Висновки.** Доба Директорії УНР позначена як позитивними, так і негативними подіями у житті української та єврейської громад правобережних містечок. З одного боку, євреї вітали відновлення УНР, а українці допомагали їм у підготовці національних свят. Спільно ці етнічні групи вирішували питання діяльності своїх просвітянських товариств. Частина євреїв допомагала українському народу у боротьбі за державну незалежність, матеріально підтримувала Армію УНР, воювали у складі українського війська. З іншого боку, досліджуваний нами період позначений і протиеврейськими ексцесами, які, значною мірою, були спровоковані прихильністю євреїв до більшовиків, ігноруванням ними мобілізаційних заходів української влади. Наслідком такої непослідовності єврейської меншини стали погроми із людськими жертвами, які здійснили окремі частини Армії УНР, а також повстанські отамани. Таких погромів відбулося не менше 131. Погромницькими діями “відзначилися” і містечкові селяни-українці, для яких євреї, з якими вони співіснували в межах одного населеного пункту, були, насамперед, експлуататорами, спекулянтами, а вже потім більшовиками. Такі випадки зафіксовано у 26 містечках. Низка джерел свідчить, що українська влада намагалася надавати посильну матеріальну та юридичну допомогу містечковим євреям, які потерпіли від погромів.

Ключові слова: містечко, євреї, громада, армія, погроми.

The Problem Statement. The problem of the Ukrainian-Jewish relations remains topical, despite a number of works by both domestic and foreign scholars, who “saw the light” during the 1990s of the previous century – at the beginning of this century. This is due

to the fact that for centuries the relationship between the Jews and the Ukrainians had not been easy. They lived in the same area for a long time, but at the same time, being different in mentality, religion, culture, language, customs, which left the mark on the relations of these peoples. There were both positive and negative moments in the relations of the Jews and the Ukrainians. There were the facts of hostility, which led to the stereotypes formation of Ukrainophobia and Judaophobia. In this respect, the Ukrainian-Jewish relations in the Ukrainian town during the first decades of the XXth century were quite significant, and a quantitative parity between these two ethnic groups was mostly preserved. This was the most visible on the Right Bank, which was the part of the “Jewish settlement zone”, which, in its turn, caused the compactness of the Jewish population living there.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Our research is mainly based on the archival sources from the Central State Archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine (8 funds), the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (2 funds), the State Archives of Vinnytsia (1 fund) and Khmelnytsky regions (4 funds). A significant factual material contains the periodicals of that time, as well as the works of contemporaries of the events, which are described by the author of this article. Numerous scientific literature has been analyzed, which is directly or indirectly related to the Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the first decades of the XXth century, in particular, during the period of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Directory. Thorough researches on this issue are the works of emigration historians: O. Bryk (Bryk, 1961), T. Hunchak (Hunchak, 1993), S. Yekelchyk (Yekelchyk, 1995). We also single out the works of modern Ukrainian scientists E. Bevziuk and M. Doroshko (Bevziuk, Doroshko, 2019), M. Haliv (Haliv, 2018), V. Horak (Horak, 1998), O. Dudnyk (Dudnyk, 2018), A. Kryskov (Kryskov, 2000), F. Levitas (Levitas, 2011), V. Lozovyi (Lozovyi, 1997, 1998), S. Oliinyk (Oliinyk, 1995), A. Pyzhyk (Pyzhyk, 1998), V. Serhiichuk (Serhiichuk, 1998, 1999). Together with Professor O. Zavalniuk (Zavalniuk, Komarnitskyi, 2005), as well as one author (Komarnitskyi, 2009) we published the monographic studies that trace some aspects of the chosen issue. Despite the powerful array of scientific literature, the problem identified in the topic of the article has not been comprehensively studied.

The purpose of the article is to show the positive and negative aspects of the relations between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities of the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine during the period of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Directory. The study is based on the work of predecessors and the available source base.

The Basic Material Statement. At the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century the towns of Right-Bank of Ukraine were characterized by dynamic ethno-national changes. Taking into consideration the materials of the First All-Russian Census of 1897, in which there was recorded the confessional affiliation of the inhabitants (Localities of the Russian Empire, 1905, pp. 17–29, 78–89, 158–170 (підр. нами), and also based on the fact that in the Right Bank 98,6% of the Jews professed Judaism (Pasmannik, 1917, p. 110), and according to the Census of 1920 in the towns of Kyiv province, the Ukrainians comprised 92,4% of the Orthodox burghers (and according to the Census of 1923 in Podilsk province, this figure was 81%, in Volyn – 95,3%) (The population of the Kyiv province, 1922, pp. 24–25; Population in the cities of Ukraine, 1925, pp. 106–107, 124–125), and we found out that in the towns of Kyiv region there were approximately 54,9% of the Ukrainians, 36,0% of the Jews, 4,5% of the Russians, and 4,6% of other nationalities; in Podillya – 38,5% of the Ukrainians, 43,7% of the Jews; 9% of the Russians, 8,8% of other nationalities; in Volyn – 43,2% of the Ukrainians, 47,9% of the Jews, 2,1% of the Russians, 6,8% of other

nationalities. In total, in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine, there were 46,1% representatives of the titular nation, the Jews – 41,9%, the Russians – 5,4%, other nationalities – 6,6%. The Jewish population constituted more than 50% in the urban settlements in 11 of 36 districts of Right Bank Ukraine. A significant Jewish presence in the towns gave rise to some researchers (M. Kipper (Kipper, 1930), a modern Ukrainian researcher I. Ivanova (Ivanova, 2003), the Russian scientists V. Lukyn, A. Sokolova, B. Haymovich (Lukyn, Khaimovych, 1997; Lukyn, Sokolova, Haymovich, 2000)) in our opinion, to consider them Jewish wrongly. Podilsk local historian Yu. Sitsinsky interpreted the concept of «town» quite original, understanding it as a “city”. Describing the town of Smotrych (calling it a “city”), he noted that “the settlement is divided mainly into two groups: the Ukrainian village and the Jewish town” (The State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Region, f. s. 3333, d. 1, c. 28, p. 1b.).

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, it should be noted that in the national plan town settlements differed significantly from other categories of settlements, in particular, from villages where the Ukrainians predominated and the cities where the percentage of the Russians was higher than in towns (at the same time, the percentage of the Jews was higher in towns than in cities). In fact, this circumstance explains why the Ukrainian-Jewish relations were so acute in the towns. In addition, the Ukrainian community saw in the Jewish masses, first of all, an isolated closed part of the population, which seized all trades, owned large capitals, did not produce anything, but only exploited the others.

During the dramatic 1919 – 1920s the Ukrainian-Jewish relations were ambiguous. A number of archival documents and materials of that time periodicals illustrate vivid examples of cooperation between the Ukrainians and the Jews. Thus, in Zhvanets, the Jews, imitating the Ukrainians, welcomed the restoration of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (Holiday – a manifestation, p. 4). The Bund Committee of the town of Makariv praised the elimination of Hetman from power (Central State Archives of Public Unions of Ukraine – CSAPU of Ukraine, f. 41, d. 1, c. 19, p. 5).

We managed to find facts about how the Ukrainians helped the Jews prepare for their national holidays. In particular, on May 25, 1920, in Dunaiivtsi the celebrations were held on the occasion of the recognition of Palestine as the national and political center of the world Jewry (Local life, c. 2; From the province, p. 2). Local Jews participated in the meetings of the Society “Prosvita”. Lectures on the relations of the Ukrainians with national minorities were popular (Pyzhyk, 1998, p. 31). For instance, in Polonne, the audience listened to the lecture “The Jews and the Ukrainians” conducted by M. Nyrchuk, an employee of the provincial department. At the same time, the Jewish community of Zinkiv, positively assessing the role of “Prosvita”, donated 25 thousand rubles for the needs of the Ukrainian educators (Central State Archives of Supreme Authorities and Governments of Ukraine – CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 71, p. 1; f. 3301, d. 2, c. 67, p. 9; A gift for the army, p. 2; Chronicle, p. 2). At the same time, Ladyzhyn’s Ukrainian educators provided their premises to the Jewish educators, who, in particular, staged plays (From the life of “Prosvita”, pp. 23–24). A similar situation was observed in Mynkivtsi and Smotrych (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 2060, d. 1, c. 24, pp. 12, 17).

Such facts laid the basis for strengthening friendly relations between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities. On August 19, 1919, in Liubar, at a meeting attended by at least 400 local Jews, a representative of the Buzhda Chyzhda called to unite with the Ukrainian people, to help them in the struggle for the state independence, to support the UPR Army financially (In Volyn, p. 4). The part of the Jewish community responded to such appeals and helped the Ukrainian authorities and army. This support was openly stated at one of the

meetings with the Jewish delegation by S. Petliura, the Chief Ataman of the UPR troops (“the Jews always supported Ukraine’s independence”) (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 2060, d. 1, c. 18a, p. 5b.). The Jews of at least 4 towns welcomed “their liberator from the Bolshevik yoke” hospitably (Chief Ataman Petliura, p. 2; Posts, p. 2; From the life, p. 2; My enemies, p. 4; Serhiichuk, 1999, p. 124). A. Margolin, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (a Jew by nationality) said that “the Jews helped sick and wounded Ukrainian soldiers, set up hospitals near the front line, the Jewish children washed the blood from the bodies of the Ukrainian soldiers in these hospitals” (Margolin, 1921, p. 274). One of such hospitals worked in Mykolaiv (In Podillya, p. 4). Mykolayiv resident, a Ukrainian, stated with optimism that “now ... the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples are convinced that the path of a national liberation and self-determination converge ... and we all will build jointly the free life of all nations living at the territory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic” (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3301, d. 2, c. 113, pp. 1–1b.). There were cases when the Jewish population met the Cossacks with bread and salt, in particular, in Frampol (Jews help, p. 8; Lozovyi, 1998, p. 87) and Dunaiivtsi (War, p. 4). The Jewish community of Dunaiivtsi bought underwear and presented it to the Ukrainian soldiers (Kryskov, 2000, p. 273). The Jews of Zinkiv donated 61 790 krb for the needs of the UPR Army (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3301, d. 1, c. 10, p. 1; d. 2, c. 67, p. 9; Chronicle, p. 2). The Jews in at least 15 other towns supported or expressed their readiness to help the authorities and the Ukrainian army with food, fodder and uniforms (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 116, p. 7b.; c. 171, p. 45–45b.; f. 1092, d. 2, c. 73, p. 41, 43; c. 185, p. 7b.; f. 2060, d. 1, c. 27, p. 8; c. 31, p. 3; f. 3301, d. 2, c. 83, p. 3; c. 85, p. 5, 7; The State Archives of Vinnytsia Region, f. p. 255, d. 1, c. 144, p. 37; Across Ukraine, p. 2; Hurtovyi, 2003, p. 39; Oliinyk, 1995, p. 245; Lukyn, Sokolova, Haymovich, 2000, p. 522). Some local Jews served in the UPR Army (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 11, p. 163; Kremenets, p. 1; Lukyn, Haymovich, 1997, p. 203).

The Jewish communities of the towns provided all possible assistance to the Ukrainian Galician Army, often being ahead of the Ukrainians even. The newspaper “Trudova Hromada” reported that during the battle with the Red Army units in July 1919, the Jews brought water and sour milk to the Galicians outside the town of Smotrych, and expressed regret over the temporary withdrawal of the Ukrainian troops. The local pharmacist and paramedics provided the first aid to the wounded (Help of the Jewish population, p. 3). The same newspaper soon published a letter in which Captain Greenberg addressed to the Jewish community of the town with the words of gratitude: “On behalf of our government, I sincerely thank the Jews of Smotrych for their sympathy and desire always to help me and maintain order ... I hope that with such an attitude of the Jews, the differences and antagonism that still prevailed between the nations of Greater Ukraine will soon disappear” (From Jewish life. Captain Greenberg, p. 7).

The Galician army consisted of the Jewish unit led by S. Lianberg. The unit managed to liberate the town of Mykhalpil from the Bolsheviks (D., M., p. 257). On August 25, 1919, owing to the Galicians, the pogrom in Fastiv was stopped (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3299, d. 1, c. 45, p. 41), and the very next day the Jews of the town welcomed the Galicians with bread and salt, assuring them that “they would do their best to help build the Independent Republic, so that there would be peace” (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 73, p. 6).

The Ukrainians and the Jews also found a mutual understanding in functioning of their educational institutions. Thus, the Jewish community of Medvedivka provided a material support to the local school (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3304, d. 1, c. 17, p. 15). They gave their helping hand when the primary school in Orynin, where the Jews made up 1/3 of all

pupils, was in a difficult situation. The financial burden of the school maintenance was on the Ukrainian community. When the issue arose of increasing the number of pupils, the Jews gave their support (The State Archives of Khmelnytskyi Region, f. s. 260, d. 1, c. 54, p. 16). In Haisyn region, the Ukrainian authorities already provided 150 thousand krb. for the maintenance of the Jewish educational institutions in 11 towns (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 27, p. 277b.; c. 29, p. 140). A number of former private educational institutions were included into the network of public schools, such as Murovano-Kurylovetska “Talmud-Tora” (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 32, p. 11b), Katerynopil Jewish public school (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 2060, d. 1, c. 41, p. 20b), Ladyzhyn Jewish folk school (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 27, pp. 253–253b).

There were a number of other examples of cooperation between the Ukrainian and the Jewish urban communities. At the same time, the era of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Directory is marked by the anti-Jewish excesses. In one of his works Professor V. Lozovy notes that Judaophobia in Ukraine did not have any ideological colour and was not the state policy. We share his point of view. Anti-semitism in the Ukrainian society at that time was explained, primarily, by the commitment of the Jewish minority to the Bolsheviks (Lozovy, 1997, p. 109). I. Cherykover, the Jewish historian argued that “the cities and towns of Ukraine became the main support of the Bolsheviks” (Bryk, p. 168). The archival documents shed light on the fact that the Jews, especially, young people, responded to the calls to join the Red Army willingly (SAKhr, f. s. 3251, d. 1, c. 6, pp. 18, 31), and therefore supported the mobilization measures of the Ukrainian authorities reluctantly. For instance, there are the lists of those, who ignored these appeals in the towns of Kupel, Krasyliv, Teofipol (SAKhr, f. s. 296, d. 4, c. 5, p. 1, 3, 5, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 28, 48, 138, 146, 155, 159) and these lists were rich in the Jewish surnames. The Jews of Shatava falsified the documents and it turned out that they were all sick, so they had to be dismissed (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 71, p. 69b). The above-mentioned I. Cherykover wrote: “Having given a certain number of volunteers to the Red Guard, the Jewish workers did not give a single volunteer to the Ukrainians” (Bryk, p. 170). There were cases when the Jews shot at the rear of the Ukrainian army, particularly, in Horodok (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 89, p. 44; c. 177, p. 21b), Pohrebyshche (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 71, p. 104), Orynyn (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1065, d. 1, c. 14, p. 162). Provocations by the Jews against the Ukrainian authorities were recorded in 5 towns (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 71, p. 328b; f. 3299, d. 1, c. 40, p. 9; c. 67, p. 2; f. 3301, d. 2, c. 35, p. 1).

We should admit that some Ukrainians resorted to shameful pogroms against the Jewish population. In particular, pogroms with human casualties were committed by the UPR Army. According to our data, such actions took place in Kyiv region (in 2 towns), 15 in Podilsk region (in 15 towns), in Volyn region (in 3 towns). During the pogroms houses, shops were robbed, contributions were imposed (Zavalniuk, Komarnitskyi, 2005, pp. 299–305; Komarnitskyi, 2009, pp. 289–294). Such pogroms were committed by hungry, demoralized soldiers mainly. Thus, when the Jewish delegation of Kytaihorod town came to the commandant complaining about the looting by the Galician Cossacks, he stated: “The Cossacks are hungry and nothing can be done with it” (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 55, p. 42). At the same time, we do not agree to the opinion of the historians R. Koval and K. Zavalniuk, who stated that “the requisitions were expedient and justified: there was the war for the right of the Ukrainian nation to live on its land and the time for ceremonies did not come yet” (Koval & Zavalniuk, 2002, p. 49).

A number of archival documents contain the calls by the Ukrainian authorities for the mass extermination of the Jews. For instance, in the town of Rozhysche, the deputy head of the commandant's company stated: "We stand for Ukraine, beat all the Jews and the Liakhs". The county commissioner wanted to interfere in and protect the Jews, but he was arrested (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 21, p. 22b). At the village meeting the commandant of Kytaihorod made the speech and shouted that "the cursed Jews should be killed, cut to the last one and no one would be punished for that" (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1401, d. 1, c. 22, p. 10). The commandant and the chief of the local police, imposed contributions on Liantkorun and Hannopil Jewish communities to be collected by military units (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 13, p. 62; c. 57, p. 23b). In Hoshcha, the Cossacks terrorized the local Jews, promising to destroy the whole town if they did not make contributions (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1092, d. 2, c. 54, p. 69).

Most of the pogroms were carried out by insurgent atamans, who headed detachments, which had "their own policies, their own plans, their own methods of war», and were well trained, did not recognize anyone superior, had no programmes for the future" (Liutyi-Liutenko, 1986, p. 20). They often ignored and disobeyed orders from the central Ukrainian authorities, and exercised arbitrariness at the territories under their control. Taking into account this fact, the Ukrainian government could not be responsible for the pogrom activities of the insurgent atamans. We have found out that insurgents had committed more than 65 pogroms in the towns (Zavalniuk & Komarnitskyi, 2005, pp. 299–304; Komarnitskyi, 2009, pp. 289–293).

Among the pogrom makers there were insurgent groups, who killed the Jews deliberately because they were convinced of the Jews' hostility to the Ukrainian national movement. Among them there was Ataman Samosenko. In the town of Felshtyn from 485 to 600 people were killed by the Cossacks, headed by Ataman Samosenko (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 76, p. 1; Gusev-Orenburzkiy, b.h., p. 16; Ostrovskyi, 1926, p. 32). The pogroms, headed by Ataman Grygoriev, were brutal. The Cossaks headed by Grygoriev sold certificates to men for the right to live. The certificates were bought at the price of honour of young women and girls (Гопак, 1998, p. 151). 183 Jews were killed in Smila (Horak, 1998, pp. 150–151; Ostrovskyi, 1926, p. 36; Serhiichuk, 1998, p. 447; Skorobohatov, 1976, p. 29), in Kodyma – 115 (Serhiichuk, 1998, p. 453), in Bilozerya – 78, in Medvedivtsi – 62 (Horak, 1998, pp. 150–151), in Tahancha – 16 (CDAGO of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 20, c. 126, p. 69) and etc.

Series of pogroms were committed by the Ukrainian urban peasants who, before the events we described, coexisted peacefully with the Jews. The peasants, taking advantage of the general anarchy and chaos, tried to revenge, because the Jews were exploiters and entrepreneurs in the mentality of peasants. In addition, the Jews began to be associated with communism. On May 28, 1919 I. Kulyk, the Soviet activist, visiting Uman County, reported with anxiety: No work in the village is possible in our country now, because no worker will risk going to the village after the Ukrainian and Russian comrades were shot dead as "Jewish hires" by the insurgents (CSAPU of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 20, c. 20, p. 20). In June 1919, Cherviakov, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs noted that «peasants and as well as insurgents (from Kremenets) with the Red Army soldiers say that we are fighting, and the Jews in the rear, in the party and the institutions go to the front, then get sick (CSAPU of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 20, c. 48, pp. 24–24b.). In addition, the Ukrainian peasants were extremely dissatisfied with the Jewish speculation on the consumer goods of the basic necessity (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 538, d. 1, c. 90, pp. 3, 151b). That is why, the peasants began to use the method of combating the Jewish abuse – a boycott. Thus, from the town of Bohuslav it

was reported that “the peasants of the surrounding villages ... refuse to take food to the town at all. The Jews are afraid to go to the village ...” (CSAPU of Ukraine, f. 41, d. 1, c. 35, p. 15).

According to our calculations, peasants took an active part in the pogroms in 9 towns of Kyiv, 16 towns in Podil, 1 town in Volyn provinces (Zavalniuk, Komarnitskyi, 2005, pp. 301–305; Komarnitskyi, 2009, pp. 290–294).

The Jewish town communities also defeated the Red Army units, Denikin and Polish legionnaires. This fact is mentioned in our monographs (Zavalniuk, Komarnitskyi, 2005, pp. 167–168, 299–305; Komarnitskyi, 2009, pp. 154–160, 289–294).

We managed to find a number of facts when the peasants of the towns, risking their lives, saved the Jews from pogroms (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3299, d. 1, c. 50, p. 22; Pogroms in Fastiv, pp. 1–2; Vynnychenko, 1992, p. 119; Lukyn, Sokolova, Haymovich, 2000, p. 511; Shafarenko, 2003, p. 97). In some period of time, the peasants began to realize that “the Jewish poor should not have been so insulted and humiliated” (O., S., p. 2), and if the Jews are guilty, “they should be dealt with the governmental law, not by people in a military uniform, which is unknown for anyone” (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 1401, d. 1, c. 22, p. 8).

In order to defend themselves, the Jews organized self-defense units. In the town of Khabno, the detachment was headed by a *feldfebel* (commander), to whom commanders, a clerk, a military training instructor and an accountant were subordinated. The staff of the self-defense units was divided into “real” (40–50 people) and “reserve” (100–150 people) fighters (Kipper, 1926, p. 42). In some towns, the Ukrainians were the members of self-defense units. Thus, in Horodyshche the self-defense detachment consisted of 50 Jews and 20 Ukrainians (Shtyf, 1922, p. 43), in Sataniv – 25 Jews and 5 Ukrainians (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3301, d. 2, c. 88, p. 5). On July 28, 1919, Shyshko, a peasant from the town of Teofipol organized a self-defense detachment consisting of 200 Ukrainian peasants and 100 Jews. The detachment became famous for fighting with the Bolsheviks near the village of Katorzhyntsi (CSASAG of Ukraine, f. 3301, d. 2, c. 31, pp. 1–1b.; *Z yevreiskoho zhyttia*. Borotba, p. 4). Kupel self-defense detachment provided effective assistance to the Ukrainian army during the liberation of its hometown from the Bolsheviks (In *Starokostiantyniv*, p. 2). Zinkiv potters-Christians appealed to the local Jews to give them protection provided by the Jewish self-defense (Lukyn, Haymovich, 1997, p. 106).

The Ukrainian government tried to provide material and legal assistance to the Jewish population, i.e., the pogroms casualties. (See in detail in the monographs: Zavalniuk, Komarnitskyi, 2005, pp. 170–172; Komarnitskyi, 2009, pp. 162–163).

The Conclusions. Thus, the period of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Directory is marked by both positive and negative events in the life of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in the Right-Bank towns. On the one hand, the Jews welcomed the restoration of the UPR, and Ukrainians helped them prepare for national holidays. Together, these ethnic groups conducted the activities of their educational societies. Some Jews helped the Ukrainian people in the struggle for the state independence, the Jews supported the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic financially, and fought in the Ukrainian Army. On the other hand, the period under study is also marked by the anti-Jewish excesses, which were largely provoked by the Jews’ commitment to the Bolsheviks and their disregard for the mobilization measures of the Ukrainian government. The result of this inconsistency of the Jewish minority was the pogroms with human casualties committed by certain units of the UPR Army, as well as the insurgent *atamans*. There were at least 131 such pogroms. The Ukrainian peasants also committed the pogroms, for whom the Jews, coexisting in the same settlement were,

first of all, exploiters, speculators, and only then the Bolsheviks. We recorded such cases in 26 towns. A number of sources indicate that the Ukrainian authorities tried to provide all possible material and legal assistance to the town's casualties of the pogroms.

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