

of the noted events opens for us both sharp points and really special components of Ukrainian nation's development. Why does the Jewish participation in the Revolution so important for understanding of the essence of Ukrainian political nation? From the very beginning of protest movement in Kiev accusations of anti-Semitism had been brought against the main forces of revolution. So the question of Jews' participation in protest actions appears important for understanding of what has been happened actually with Ukrainian nation.

During the winter of 2013-2014 we had been the witnesses of many dramatic events. In November 2013 - January 2014 we the so called Revolution of Dignity occurred. Ukrainian people denied swallowing the smack in the face, realized by the President Yankovitch. His refusal to subscribe the agreement on Association with EU raised thousands of Ukrainian Students. The cruel crackdown of students' camp at Maydan raised millions of Ukrainians against the criminal power. In January Maydan opened the armed protest. After the February massacres at Maydan the former president Janukovich fled in Russia. From March 2014 Russian intervention changed the way of development of Ukraine. On each stage of the events the new side of Ukrainian political nation revealed itself. And the Jewish reflection of the events makes this Political nation's revelation more clear.

The Fear on Anti-Semitism in Ukrainian Rebellion

The Ukrainian Revolution was started under Ukrainian National flag and the flag of Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Appearance of the former flags entailed the propagandistic attack at Maydan - revolution was accused in fascist orientation. The wide spread opinion associates Ukrainian Insurgent Army with fascist occupation of Ukraine - during the World War II this military force situationally cooperated with German army as a part of SS Division Galitchina. Information of Jewish pogroms in Lvov in 1941 and Anti-Jewish activities of Ukrainian Insurgent Army widely spread in Media. The Anti-Maydan forces frightened people with escalation of ultra-nationalist aggression, connected with the name of the leader of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Stepan Bandera (1909-1959). From the first days of Maydan the mottos of Ukrainian Insurgent Army sounded widely - Glory to Ukraine! - To heroes glory!» (Слава Україні! - Героям слава!)

Due to this symbolic presence of old-school» Ukrainian nationalism the fears of anti-Semitic activity of Maydan appeared. Ukrainian State was created, when the epoch of National States was in past, hence Ukrainian National Idea was formed in XIX century, contemporaneously

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THE JEWISH LINE IN BUILDING OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL NATION

The process of building of Ukrainian political nation was long and complicated. In 2013-2014 we saw an immediate movement towards the new understanding of Nation due to the Revolutionary events in Kiev and later in South and West Ukraine. We propose here a glimpse at the Ukrainian nation's contemporary situation through the reflections of Jewish participation in Revolution of 2013-2014. We suppose that such optics

with other European Nationalisms. At the base of this idea was placed the ethnic factor; The long absence of statehood conserved the Ukrainian⁶ National idea in ethnic context, blocking its political constituent.³⁰ Speaking about the Ukrainian nationalism, we must acknowledge that the relations between Ukrainian and Jewish people had never been calm. During the war with Poland, which was launched by Bogdan Khmelnytsky in 1648, the dreadful Jewish pogroms had been organized «The politics of cleaning of the earth», fulfilled by Khmelnytsky, appeared catastrophic for Polish and Jewish people. After these pogroms the Jewish population of the Ukrainian territory had been changed absolutely. The drastic pogroms appeared in Lviv in 1941, before the appearance of German troops. So the danger of Jewish pogroms in context of the tide of Ukrainian Nationalism seemed to be absolutely real.

The additional hesitations appeared in context of absence of common historical memory of Ukrainians and Jews. It is a serious problem of Ukrainian historical memory.

Comparing, for example the exposition of the Museum of History of Budapest and Museum of History of Odessa Region, I noticed the difference in demonstration of the Jewish component. In the first museum the Jewish districts of Budapest is represented by many artifacts, placed according to real role of Jews in the life of the city. In the exposition of Museum of History of Odessa Region the Jewish component is absent. Taking in consideration that Odessa was the third city in the world by the number of Jewish population at the beginning of XX century, this fact appears surprising. At the same time one can see here, for example, artifacts devoted to the Greek secret organization Filiki Eteria (Φιλική Εταιρεία), which was created in Odessa in XIX century for preparation of the Greek rebellion against the Ottoman Empire. So not only Russian or Ukrainian People are represented in museum. One will not see the Jewish part also in the Odessa Museum of Literature. As an answer for such disproportion the Museum of the Jews of Odessa was created by Michael Rozhkovetsky.

Jewish population of Ukraine was numerous not only in Odessa, but in Western Ukraine also. The numerous Jewish little cities (so called shtetls) existed in Galicia before the World War II. Regrettably, these cities had not been renewed after the war. The big Jewish communities existed in the most part of Galician cities, such as Lviv. The absence of common historical memory of the Ukrainian territory one can see in the local politics of the defense of historical memorials. For example, in the Galician city of Zhovkva one can see the remnants of XVI century's Syn-

agogue. It is a very special specimen of medieval Jewish architecture. But the renewal of this unique Synagogue is impossible due to the absence of Jewish community in contemporary Zhovkva. The local authorities do not see the necessity to spend money for the Jewish temple. It is not our history, it is THEIR history. But THEY are absent.

There are many Jewish organizations in Ukraine now. We can visit the museums of Jewish history and of Holocaust. But Jewish memory days appear separated from the Ukrainian system of Memory days. Few centers of Jewish Studies had been created in Ukraine during last years, but they stay at the margins of Ukrainian Academic life. It seems natural for many representatives of academician space that History of Jews is the matter only of Jews.

The Ukrainian State tried to keep silence on the vulnerable moments of Ukrainian History. In comparison with the neighboring Poland, where the problem of Jewish pogroms and after-war anti-Semitism is widely discussed and represented in national memory, Ukraine keeps its memory in nearly absolute neglecting of Jewish theme. Trying to hush up the theme of conflict between nations, official position spat the historical memory of Ukraine. The famous Ukrainian writer and historian of Philosophy Oksana Zabuzhko told about the guilt of Ukraine in face of Jews. It is guilt of forgetting and silence. In Zabuzhko's novel «The Museum of the Abandoned Secrets» author draws the image of Rachel, the example of such the forgotten historical personage.

Ukrainian national history was constructed as a History of Ukrainian ethnos. The colonial past played an evil joke with the Ukrainian history. The desire of National History's creation led into the space, where the notion of other people looks strange (we were so long deprived of history, that we need our special history, we must tell about it to the whole world!), With the notions about drastic episodes of Ukrainian-Jewish relations had been thrown out the memory of common fight for freedom in different historical moments and very close relations between several leaders of Ukrainian and Jewish Nationalism. Such grim jokes can play the desire to write the Glorious History - keeping silence on vulnerable moments (on which everybody remember, but hold their tongues) we push out of memory the positive moments (which are conceived as a flat attempt to create a good picture).

Ukrainian Historical science knows the project of creation of the peoples' of Ukraine history. Kiev historian Natalja Jakovenko gathered a group for creation of the new text-book on Ukrainian history for secondary school. This group declared the plans to create a multi-level narrative,

including regional and national peculiarities. This project started its work in 2009 but was closed a year later by Janukovich's Minister of Education D. Tabachnik. Regrettably, most Ukrainian political parties always used in their agitation the «splitting» rhetoric. The project of multinational history was especially inconvenient for the ruling president's Party of Regions. In context of actively propagandized conflict» between Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking citizens the relation between Ukrainians and Jews was conceived as anachronism.

To the beginning of Maydan Ukraine was a country with quite low level of Anti-Semitism and with the stable belief that Jewish History is a matter of Jewish people exclusively.

Maydan

Maybe it is the question of Jewish participation in Maydan which shows the real direction of Ukrainian national conscience development. Ukrainian revolution was Conservative by form, but absolutely democratic by content. I watched the activities of few very important Jewish persons in Maydan to understand — is Maydan really aggressively nationalistic, or it is a place of new Ukrainian nation appearance. These persons are famous Ukrainian painter Alexander Roytburd (born in Odessa), leader of Ukrainian Jewish Communities Josef Zissels, one of the most popular Ukrainian journalist Vitaliy Portnikov, one of active participants of armed confrontation on Maydan Natan Hazin and the head of informational department of the Right Sector (the fighting organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) Borislav Bereza.

The peaceful stage of Maydan and the Jews

The peaceful» stage of Revolution was devoted to European choose of Ukraine. And the presence of Jews was absolutely normal in this situation. But regrettably Russian propaganda created the image of Maydan as a place of radical nationalism under the mottos «Ukraine for Ukrainians», «Nation is above all» etc. From that time Jewish leaders constantly spoke at Maydan and in media, describing the real situation. At the stage of Maydan spoke Vitaliy Portnikov, Alexander Roytburd and Josef Zissels.

Josef Zissels as a leader of Ukrainian Jewish Communities fought for creation of the right image of Maydan at the international level - one can find the texts of his reports on different international summits and in media. J. Zissels has a rich biography of dissident of Soviet times. As activist of Jewish national movement he was imprisoned and spent six years in Soviet correction colonies». Zissels' support of the Ukrainian Revolution was not occasional. In 1989 in interview for the Israel journal

Krug he told about his meetings with prisoners, condemned for Ukrainian nationalism, and asserted that his self-understanding as Ukrainian Jew emerged during these meetings.

Explaining an attention paid by Ukrainian State to the memory of Holocaust, Zissels said: What is the cause of this apparently unexpected attitude toward the Jews in Ukraine? There are many ways to explain its reasons, the most important of which is that the leadership of the Ukrainian national democratic movement has long included educated and intelligent people. They are Viacheslav Chornovil, Levko Lukianenko, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Oles Shevchenko, Serhii Naboka. Prisoners of Zion,» imprisoned in the correction colonies for political convictions in Mordovia and Ural, would confirm the benevolent attitude towards Jews from the side of these and many other Ukrainian political inmates» (*Krug* journal, no. 602, February, 1989).

So the close ties between Ukrainian nationalists and Jewish religious dissidents had been created in Soviet times. As a step out of the main theme of this essay I want to remind the numerous common protest actions of Ukrainian and Jewish dissidents in Soviet epoch. Hence Ukrainian nationalist movement had two wings - anti-Semitic (starting from Dmitry Dontsov) and philosemitic (launched by Vjacheslav Lipinsky) - from 50th the line of Lipinsky became dominant. In Ukrainian diaspora spoke about similarity of the nature of anti-Semitism and anti-Ukrainian movement. Such the thoughts was declared by Diaspora thinker Bahrianyi. Another theorist Denys Kwitkows'kyi (1909-1979) supported the creation of Israel and said in his essay «Jews and Us» that Ukrainian conscience is absolutely free from anti-Semitism. Ivan Lysiak-Rudnyts'kyi (Rudnytsky), a prominent Ukrainian Diaspora political historian spoke about *ukraino-iudaika*. The serious note of philo-Semitism one can find in works of Omelian Pritsak (the founder of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, the director of the Oriental Institute at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Roman Rakhmannyi (Diaspora Journalist). One can find a detailed analysis of this side of Ukrainian nationalism's development in article of Y. Petrovsky-Shtern *Reconceptualizing the Alien: Jews in modern Ukrainian thought* (In: *Ab Imperio*, 4/2003, p. 519-580).

As a dramatic moment in relations of Ukrainian and Jewish memory we can remind the speech of Ukrainian dissident Ivan Dziuba proclaimed in 1967 at Baby Yar (the place of massacre of Jews by fascist power in Ukraine). Baby Yar in soviet official ideology was a place of memory of killed Soviet people, without notion of nationality of victims. Jew-

ish memorial actions appeared anti-Soviet in this context. Ivan Dziuba proclaimed at Baby Yar that this place is a place of common tragedy of Jewish and Ukrainian peoples. It was a speech of Ukrainian about Jews and about the necessity of mutual overcoming of the tragedy.

The grim experience of common rush for freedom get Ukrainian and Jewish dissidents in Soviet camps of Ural. Y. Petrovsky-Shtern tells in details about the revolt in Ural camp Perm-35, started by Ukrainian nationalists and supported by imprisoned Zionists. Here in Ural camps J. Zissels closely cooperated with Ukrainian dissidents Nadia Svitlychna, Opanas Zalyvakha, VasyT Romaniuk and Mykhailo Horyn (Petrovsky-Shtem, p. 559). Due to this experience J. Zissels maintained Ukrainian revolution. He had no fear of the red-black flag of banderians».

In his report in Toronto in May 2014 Zissels asked Canadian Jews not to believe Russian propaganda about anti-Semitism in contemporary Ukraine. Ukraine's dark» history with anti-Semitism is now in past. Ukraine has changed significantly. The changes happened not only since the Soviet Union broke up, but the changes began in the '50s and '60s,» Zissels said, adding that it's hard for people who have not lived in Ukraine for the past 30 or 40 years to understand that» (Ukrainian Jewish leader says Russia is the threat, <http://cjnews.com/canada/ukrainian-jewish-leader-says-russia-threat>).

The common anxiety about the possibility of anti-Semitism at Maydan caused the special attention of these lines' author to all information on Jewish participation in protest activities. Near J. Zissels's name for me stayed the names of the painter Alexander Roytburd and journalist Vitaliy Portnikov.

Alexander Roytburd is a specially Jewish painter. Not far ago he created series of pictures of different famous people as Jews (Alexander Pushkin, Beatles, Fedor Dostoevsky etc.). For what purpose? As an intellectual joke. When he was asked about his feelings as Jew at Maydan, under the black-red flags, Roytburd answered, that he feels himself Jew not only here, but everywhere. He feels no something special here. Had you seen anti-Semitism at Maydan, asked journalist? The painter answered that anti-Semitism is omnipresent, but if you want to present Maydan as anti-Semitic place it would be absolutely wrong. At Maydan the level of anti-Semitism is not higher than at any other place.

Analytic articles of Vitaliy Portnikov showed the situation of creation of new nation, based on political, not ethnical unity. During the winter months Portnikov published the several texts on history of Ukrainian Jews and the contemporary situation with anti-Semitism at Maydan and Ukraine at all.

The absence of troubling situation with anti-Semitism in Ukraine acknowledged the main rabbi of Ukraine and the representatives of international organizations.

The armed stage of Maydan and Jews

When the situation became sharp in January (due to the adoption the notorious laws on prohibition of protests), many voices raised, that it is time for the horrors of radical nationalism. In January the fighting organization for the defense of Maydan - Right Sector - declared about its existence. Now you shall see the real Ukrainian nationalism with its fascist face! - said numerous adversaries of Mайдan.

But the names of first killed at Mайдan showed that the Ukrainian national idea does not exist now in exclusively ethnic context. On January 22, 2014 were killed three persons of different nationalities - Ukrainian Jury Verbitsky, Armenian Sergey Nigoyan and Belorussian Mikhail Zhiznevsky. After this any idea like Ukraine for Ukrainians» appeared false and offensive. These events answered clearly to those critics, who prophesied the dreadful scenario of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolt with expulsion and killing of all non-Ukrainians. It is, productive to observe the activities of Jewish participants of armed confrontation in Kiev to understand that Ukrainian nationalism transformed into the understanding of the mutual destiny of political nation, which we create all together.

After the beginning of armed confrontation Mайдan was rearranged on the principle, using the pattern of historical military organization of Ukrainian Cossacks - Zaporizhian Sich. The Cossaks' Army was divided into squadrons (so called sotnja»). Maydan was divided into squadrons too-and one of them was Jewish. Natan Hazin, the leader of this squadron, was born in Odessa and then came to Israel. He served in Israeli Army and got his education as rabbi. Not long before Ukrainian Revolution he returned in Ukraine for business affairs. Appeared at Mайдan, he took part in peaceful protests and after started to help the Mайдan fighters with his war experience. He told about his first meeting with warriors of Mайдan - I understood, said Natan Hazin, - that these people came here to die for their Motherland. I understand this very well in Israel». Later he became the leader of the 9th sotnja of Mайдan local defense. From the very beginning Natan Hazin have not advertise his origin, but later decided to verify the understanding of nationalist mottos at Mайдan and told that he is Jew to representatives of nationalist Svoboda» party and of Right Sector. Both organizations in anti-mайдan propaganda were determined as anti-Semitic. Natan told that when he said about his origin to leaders of these organizations, he listened Brother» in answer. From the very

beginning of Jewish Sotnja existence the alone difference in attitude to its members was that the girls, who brought food to fighters, brought them no pork, (the most popular Ukrainian food is lard).

The most surprising is even not an existence of Jewish squadron of Maydan local defense but the person of Borislav Bereza, the head of informational department of the noted Right Sector. He is Jew and few years lived in Israel. Many years B. Bereza lives in two countries. He participated in Maydan actions from the first day. With the representatives of Right Sector he met on February 18, at the most tragic moment of Maydan. Later he spoke with Dmitry Jarosh, the head of Right Sector and said that he is Jew. By the word of B. Bereza, D. Jarosh surprised: And what?» When understand that a person who fight for interests of Ukraine is closer for Jarosh than ethnical Ukrainian like Petro Simonenko (the leader of Ukrainian communists with strict pro-Moscow orientation), Bereza decided that he can be a working member of Right Sector.

Interesting that at this moment a lot of materials about the common fight of Ukrainians and Jews appeared at different internet sites. In 2014 appeared widely known the initiative of the group of public activists, who work on creation of the monument of Solomon Leinberg in the city of Temopil. Leinberg was a head of the Jewish Squadron of 6th squad of the 1st corps of Galicia Army in 1918-1919. Borislav Bereza asserts that the idea of monument belongs to Dmitry Jarosh. The members of initiative group said that the alone nation which maintained Ukrainians in their desire to create national state at the first quarter of XX c. In plans had been creation of Jewish autonomic republic inside West Ukrainian People's Republic. The plans had not been fulfilled due to defeat of WUPR. But the memory of Jewish Squadron became demanded at the time of creation of Natan Hazin's sotnja. By the way we can remind the Jewish squadron of Zaporizhian Sich. The memory of Solomon Leinberg appeared more demanded due to strong accusations for Galician Ukrainians of anti-Semitism. The memory of Zaporizhian Sich is more neutral and not connected with specific Ukrainian nationalism.

The Brand of Anti-Mydan Forces: so Called Judeo-Banderians

All said shows that anti-Semitism of Maydan was the invention of anti-maydan propaganda. And this propaganda created the idiotic construction, funny for everybody who understands the content of the notions. The main participant of Maidan (from point of view of propagandist) is Banderian - the disciple of Stepan Bandera, leader of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Banderians in optics of propagandist are anti-Semitic and anti-Russian. As they are anti-Russian, they are

looked like Judeo-Masons, the popular figure of Russian nationalist conscience. So this perverted propagandistic mind creates the notion Judeo-Banderians and Judean Fascism. So for the conscience of these people Jews, the main victim of fascist regime, become fascist themselves for their support of Ukrainian revolution. The perverted conscience of anti-Maydan propaganda have not seen the absence of logic in their own definitions - from one side, they accuse Maydan as anti-Semitic community, from other - define maydaners as Judeo-Banderians.

Ukrainian revolutionary conscience answered for the appearance of this label with humor - from this time Judeo-Banderians became the jocular self-determination of the supporters of Maidan.

Anti-Semitism was used not only during the Kiev opposition, but later, when the events went to the South-Eastern Ukraine. Propagandistic strike was directed towards Russian-speaking inhabitants of South-Eastern Ukraine, who were frightened with the possible rise of Ukrainian nationalism. The motto of anti-Semitism of Maidan was raised again. And the numerous provocations were organized here. For example, the anti-Semitic inscriptions, accompanied by the symbols of Right Sector, appeared at the walls of Odessa houses and on Jewish cemetery. In Odessa was immediately directed Valery Zavgorodnij, the representative of Right Sector, who commonly with the main rabbi of Odessa and of the South of Ukraine Abraham Volf painted out these inscriptions. Noting the Right Sector in this context, we ought to remind the episode of organized by Right Sector evacuation of Jewish family from Luhansk, where it was dangerous to stay after creating so called Luhansk Peoples Republic.

Not only the Jewish intellectuals and warriors are ready to stand at the defense of Ukrainian State, but big businessmen too. One of the most successful Ukrainian businessmen Igor Kolomoisky, the creator of the most powerful in Ukraine financial group Privat», became a head of Dnepropetrovsk Region government and stood strictly at the defense of Ukraine. Igor Kolomoisky is Jew and a head of United Jewish Community of Ukraine, Leader of European Council of Jewish Communities and the President of European Jewish Union. So he is Jew not only by origin but by the picture of the world. Funny that Putin in his speech about illegitimacy of Ukrainian system of governing spoke about anti-Semitic Junta in power and anti-Semite Kolomoisky, who deceived some Russian oligarch.

In answer Igor Kolomoisky dressed the T-shirt with the inscription Judeo-Bandera.

What I see inside Ukraine, Timothy Snyder sees from outside. In his interview to Guardian from 27 April 2014 American historian said, that

according to Russian propaganda, Ukrainian government was composed of antisemites, fascists, and Nazis. Russian intervention was required, went the argument, to rescue the Jews of Ukraine». T. Snyder noticed that this version was peddled to the west, where it had some effect, but interestingly it failed entirely in Ukraine itself. Putin seems to have believed that Jewish people in Ukraine would identify with Russia, especially in times of threat». Explaining the situation of Jews in Ukraine, Snyder pays a special attention for the public person of Jewish origin, especially for Kolomoisky By the words of Snyder, Kolomoisky returned from a perfectly secure life in Switzerland to take responsibility for an east Ukrainian territory at the edge of Russian aggression. He clearly relishes the challenge, deliberately adopting symbols of Ukrainian nationalism as his own, deriding Vladimir Putin as a schizophrenic of short stature», and offering a bounty for captured little green men» - who, thus far anyway, seem to be steering clear of his territory». American historian notes that one of the strongest anti-Maydan politician Michailo Dobkin has Jewish origin too, he is an active political figure in civil life, no victim and no symbol».

Regrettably the real anti-Semitic threat appeared in South-Eastern Ukraine due to the activities of pro-Russian organizations. I dare to speak only about Odessa in this case, because each case ought to be verified. So the Odessa synagogues worked in limited regime only after the tragic events in Odessa on May 2. Regrettably the level of anti-Semitism of pro- Russian organizations is obvious. The anti-Semitic inscriptions inside the burned House of Trade Unions show that the danger of pogroms is not in past.

We are now at the threshold of building of the new understanding of Ukrainian Nation - not at ethnic but at political base. We have no guaranties but have great hopes and will to realize our plans.