Igor SHCHUPAK [ID] [*]

THE RESCUE OF JEWS FROM THE NAZI GENOCIDE BY THE INHABITANTS OF EASTERN GALICIA

Abstract. The rescue of Jews during the Second World War is one of the least studied issues in the historiography of the Holocaust. The Galicia Region, one of the areas where a total Nazi extermination of Jews occurred, became a region from where a large number of Righteous Among the Nations came – Ukrainians and Poles.

The article includes an analysis of the motivations that became the basis for people's decision to help Jews under the extreme conditions which threatened their lives and the lives of their close ones. It highlights the response of the occupation authorities to rescue actions taken by the non-Jewish population. Despite the unambiguity of the Nazi orders to punish severely those who helped Jews, the real implementation of such sanctions varied.

Finally, the article analyses the main determinants (of social, economic, and religious nature) that played an important role in making the decision whether to join the rescue process.

The article concludes that no political which could had saved Jews, did lead to any systematic rescue efforts directed at Western Ukrainian Jews, yet the survival of those Jews who were hunter was possible for the deeds of some Polish and Ukrainian people.

Key words: Righteous Among the Nations, Jew rescuers, the Holocaust, ghetto, auxiliary police, Andrey Sheptytsky.

[*] Igor SHCHUPAK, "Tkuma" Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies, Museum "Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine", 4, Sholom-Aleichem St., Dnipro, Ukraine, 49000, Ukraine; e-mail: garryigor@yahoo.ca, ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6877-6740

1. "RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS" AND "JEW RESCUERS": PROBLEMS WITH DEFINTIONS

The issue of the rescue of Jews from extermination by Nazis is the least explored topic among the various aspects of Holocaust history. One of the reasons is the complexity of the search for documents which could verify such rescue efforts. Another indication of the insufficient level of the study of the rescue of Jews is a definition problem. At present the following terms are used: "Righteous Among the Nations" (or "Righteous Gentile" being the arbitrary reduction of the official name); "Righteous Among Ukrainians"; and "Babi Yar Righteous".

Yad Vashem uses the term "Righteous Among the Nations": non-Jews who risked their lives and often the lives of their children and relatives to save Jews during the Holocaust (Pravedniki narodov mira, 2020). According to specific criteria (Pravedniki narodov mira, 2020), the Public Commission has awarded this distinguished title to people from 51 countries. Today, Ukraine ranks fourth globally in terms of the number of such heroes (behind Poland, the Netherlands, and France). As of 1 January 2020, data was collected about more than 2,659 Ukrainian Righteous Among the Nations (Names and Numbers of Righteous Among the Nations, 2020; Righteous Among the Nations Honored by Yad Vashem, 2020).

In Ukraine the title "Righteous Among Ukrainians" appeared as per a non-government initiative of the All-Ukrainian Jewish Council and the Remembrance of the Victims of Fascism in Ukraine Foundation in 1989. This title was given to those who were known as the rescuers of Jews from Nazi genocide in Ukraine, but the available evidence was not sufficient for the Yad Vashem Commission. According to the All-Ukrainian Jewish Council, more than 3,000 Ukrainian citizens received the "Righteous Among Ukrainians" title and 1,625 of them were "Righteous Among the Nations". In those projects card and photograph catalogues of the killed and rescued Jews and their rescuers were created. The documents of "Righteous Among Ukrainians" are sent to the Yad Vashem Institute (Jerusalem) to award them the "Righteous Among the Nations" title (All-Ukrainian Jewish Council, 2018). Illia Levitas (1931–2014), a famous public figure, President of the Jewish Council of Ukraine, Chairman of Babi Yar Memorial Fund and the "Remembrance of the Victims of Fascism in Ukraine" Foundation, was the main proponent of establishing the "Righteous Among Ukrainians" title. He initiated the "Babi Yar Righteous" title, which was approved in April 1989. However, Vitalii Nakhmanovych, a researcher of the Babi Yar tragedy, Executive Secretary of the Public Committee for Babi Yar Victims Memory Honouring, stated that "since the criteria for bestowing Babi Yar Righteous title were not specified and the title was awarded, in fact, based on the final decision of Illia Levitas, even in Ukraine a lot of scholars and public figures do not recognise such a title and oppose the legitimacy of any official

perpetuation of those names" (Nakhmanovych, 2016, p. 327). The same is true for the "Righteous Among Ukrainians" title.

It is worth mentioning that solid research of the rescue of Jews by Ukrainians during the Holocaust started only after 1991 when there were fewer living witnesses and survivors than in the postwar years (Shchupak, 2016, pp. 9–11). Additionally, for a number of people some evidence of the rescue of Jews rescue was not approved by the Yad Vashem Commission for a certain reason, or materials on the rescue were not transferred to Yad Vashem at all. This category of people remains unknown to researchers.

Thus, to avoid ambiguity in definitions, we consider it necessary to introduce a broader concept of "Ukrainian Jews Rescuer during the Holocaust" into the academic discourse. This definition includes both "Righteous Among the Nations" and those who have solid evidence of rescuing Jews to be recognised by historical research.

2. THE ATTITUDE OF EASTERN GALICIA LOCALS TO "THE FINAL SOLUTION TO THE JEWISH QUESTION" AND THE PREREQUISITES FOR THE RESCUE OF JEWS

The attitude of the locals to the Nazi genocide of Jews played a major role in Holocaust history. Based to the viewpoint of the locals on the Holocaust, they can be conditionally divided into several groups:
– Bystanders to Nazi crimes;
– Murderers and their accomplices; and
– Rescuers of Jews, the "Righteous Among the Nations".

It seems clear that the deeds of the rescuers of Jews in Ukraine in general and in Eastern Galicia in particular should be analysed in this context.

This refers both to those European countries which were invaded or controlled by Nazi Germany, and the occupied territory of Ukraine with various peculiarities in different regions, in particular in Western Ukraine.

The differences in the Holocaust historical scenarios in European countries appeared due to the operation of Hitler's 'extermination machine'. By far, these differences depended on the established methods of administrative management of individual territories, social and cultural traditions, the level of the influence of Jewish communities on the society, the attitude of Nazis to the population of occupied countries, and, finally, on the level of threat faced by Jew rescuers. The mentioned factors as well as some other ones affected the attitudes of the locals to the genocide of Jews and the attempts to rescue them.

It is true that the prerequisites for rescuing Jews in Ukraine were a far cry from those in Western Europe. Nechama Tec, a researcher, wrote that in Denmark "Nazis

were tolerant to Danes even after the start of Jew rescue operations. Punitive measures resulted in arrests and were usually directed only against those who organised mass escapes of Jews" (Pravedniki narodov mira, 2008, pp. 490–491). Israel Gutman and Naama Galil noted that in the Netherlands and France a Jew rescuer "faced deportation to a concentration camp, while in Poland and the occupied territories of the USSR such a person was executed together with the Jews he or she was hiding" (Gutman, Galil', [n.d.], p. 237). Many historians have advanced the idea that in Western Europe "neighbours usually did not report a person whom they had found to be hiding Jews. In Eastern Europe the situation was different" (Paldiel).

Obviously, the level of democracy in a society and the level of humanism in its basic values affects human relations and the willingness to help one another. The Ukrainian territory was under the rule of totalitarian regimes even during the Second World War. Tacit approval of violence could be based on the Soviet legacy of an 'unanimous' condemnation of "the enemies of the people", as well as the "secondary" value assigned to human life.

Soviet troops invaded Eastern Galicia and annexed it for the USSR in 1939. Prior to the Nazi invasion the locals had less than two years of experience living under the Soviet totalitarian regime. However, the pace and forms of the disruption of social relations, the pervading "communist morality", and accelerated "socialist transformations" in economics, education, and culture, as well as large-scale repressions during the 'Sovietisation' of Western Ukraine inflicted a major setback on the society. As a result, Polish-Ukrainian relations got complicated due to the Soviet policy of 'Depolonisation'. Anti-Semitic sentiments grew stronger, even though 'communist internationalism', declared in the USSR and "supported" by the totalitarian regime, tried to conceal them. It was based on the fact that a large number of local Jews, as well as Galician Ukrainians, unlike most local Poles, welcomed the Soviet rule. Eventually, the Sovietisation of Western Ukraine changed the sentiment of the multinational society of Eastern Galicia considerably. Eastern Ukrainians, including some Jews, were relocated to 'new Soviet territories' and became important Soviet policy supporters there. Jews joined the Red Army and became political officials. This perpetuated the myth about the "Jewish nature" of the Soviet regime. After the German invasion of Western Ukraine and the decline of the Soviet rule on its territory, the anti-Semitic myths, as well as newly-formed false stereotypes and "old" biases among a certain part of Ukrainian locals, led to their participation in anti-Jewish pogroms and persecution initiated by the Nazi occupation authorities.

The Stalinist regime left a deep scar on the public consciousness of the citizens. The total demoralisation due to the defeat of the Red Army in the first stage of the war and the rapid advance and invasion of vast territories by Hitler's troops deepened this scar even further.

Timothy D. Snyder, a renowned historian, has qualified the territory of Ukraine as "bloodlands" (Snyder, 2011). Here the killing of a huge number of people was

not a big deal since the "banality of evil" was common. The last term became known and was spread by the works of Hannah Arendt (Arendt, 2013). Under such conditions human feelings often yielded to pragmatic considerations. The atmosphere of violence and encouragement of killings enhanced by anti-Semitism, inherent for some locals, as well as other factors created the relevant public mood which enabled people to perceive the mass extermination of Jews as a "norm" under the Nazi "new order".

The reasons behind the "bystander attitude" to killing neighbours varied: a passive stand, avoiding endangerment to one's own life, a hope for benefiting financially from the property of the victims, etc. (Hon, 2010).

Under the inhumane conditions of war, human feelings often yield to pragmatic considerations. Shimon Redlich, a well-known historian and a Holocaust survivor, noted that "interethnic indifference and outright hostility increased during the German occupation" (Redlikh, 2007, pp. 197–198). When the war started, the atmosphere of perceiving violence and killings as a "norm" became common. "The killings [...] were viewed by some Poles and Ukrainians with empathy. For others it was just a show. Nobody was able to understand Jewish helplessness. The motives for those who helped and rescued Jews were largely a mixture of greed and compassion. The unprecedented wartime circumstances and the brutality of life under both Soviets and Germans brought out the worst in human nature" (Redlikh, 2007, p. 242). Redlich also recalled that "Ukrainians cursed Germans for murdering innocent people" (Redlikh, 2007, pp. 197–198), but the number of rescued Jews was not and, probably, could not be high. To resist invaders one must poses courage and a readiness to sacrifice themselves confronting the repressive system. Heroism is an extraordinary phenomenon, it cannot be 'common'.

According to some evidence, "apart from a small group of noble people, Christian residents took part in shameful German hunts for Jews, with zest" (Shchodennyk Lvivskoho hetto, 2009, p. 200). Professor M. Koval aptly noted that later on, Ukrainians changed their attitude while witnessing the horrific crimes of Nazi executioners – such as the shootings in Babi Yar in 1941 (Koval, 1992, p. 27).

At certain times, Nazi authorities encouraged locals to inform on Jewish "strangers" or those who had not been living in the locality on or before a certain date (for example, the date when a relevant order, instruction or announcement went into effect). Nazis delegated the responsibility of informing on Jews first and foremost to burgomasters and the heads (starostas) of villages. "Ordinary residents" were warned against hiding Jews under the penalty of death. The "Announcement" of Gebietskommissar, who headed Berdychiv, stated the following: "In any case, if it turns out that a Jewish person is staying without permission, the entire family hiding such a person will be executed" (Oholoshennia Hebitskomisaru). Nazis also encouraged locals to report Jews hiding from the occupiers. An informer whose report would help catch a Jew was promised a reward, "at the rate defined by the SS and the Police Commander" (Oholoshennia Hubernatora Halytskoi Oblasti, 1943).

The documents regarding the extermination of the Jews from the village of Lenindorf, also inhabited by Ukrainians and Russians, state that before the war "Jews and non-Jews worked together. There were no «ethnic issues». So it was terrifying to find out that a German officer with some vodka treat managed to persuade several healthy young men to execute their yesterday's teachers, friends and good neighbours with great pleasure… Everything went as planned: Jews dug ditches, Germans shot them in the back of their heads, their neighbours levelled the «contents» of those ditches in the most primitive way: they jumped in and trampled down these «contents»… The blood squished in the workers' boots, splashed out of them, and got into boots back again…" (Iz svidetel'stva M. Burshtejn ob unichtozhenii evreev poselka Lenindorf, 2003, p. 227).

On the other extreme, according to Nazi racial policy, Ukrainian rescuers of Jews had to be punished in the most severe way: the extermination of rescuers themselves and their families. Even sheltering Jews was punished by death.

The announcement signed by Governor-General Frank and Stadthauptmann Höhler stated that even "instigators and help-mates are subject to the same punishment as those who acted. An intention will be punished as an act" (Oholoshennia heneral-hubernatora Franka ta shtadhauptmana Kholera, 1942). We know of Ukrainians executed for sheltering Jews in many towns and villages of the Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Lviv, and Kharkiv regions (Ubili odnosel'chan, prjatavshih evreev, 1996, p. 55); and there were very many such cases in Western Ukraine.

The Attitude of Ukrainian nationalist organisations, the OUN and the UPA, to Nazi "Final Solution to the Jewish question" requires special analysis. It is best to start with the prerequisites of their attitude (Djukov, 2008; Kovba, 2009; Litopys UPA, 1992; Viatrovych, 2006; *et al.*). Unfortunately, the issue cannot be covered in this material, so let us briefly discuss only some important points.

In the early 1940s, the OUN ideology had an obvious hidden anti-Semitic agenda. The OUN(b)'s programme, written during the Second World War, contained anti-Moscow appeals. It also briefly discussed the issue of national revolution "in the Moscow Empire of the USSR along with the liberation war of the enslaved peoples" under the motto "Freedom to Peoples and Human Being." At the same time, Jews were defined as the "supporters of the Moscow-Bolshevik regime" (Kasianov, 2004, p. 36). Instructions for OUN(b) members stated that "in times of chaos… liquidation of unwelcome Poles, Moscovites, and Jews may be permitted, especially the defenders of Bolshevik-Moscow imperialism" (Patryliak, 2004, p. 322); "National minorities are divided into several groups: a) friends, i.e. enslaved nations; b) enemies, Moscovites, Poles, Jews. […] Assimilation of Jews is inadmissible" (Patryliak, 2004, pp. 322–323). Patryliak, a researcher of OUN history, aptly noted that such statements "can hardly be interpreted other than instructions to direct and reckless extermination of national minorities… With a great deal of confidence it can be said that some members of the OUN took part in the extermination operations, and also instigated ordinary people to do so" (Patryliak, 2004, pp. 323–324).

Fig. 1. Announcement of "Galicia Region Governor, SS and Police Commander" prohibiting people from hosting Jews in dwellings of the non-Jewish population and from protecting Jews. Lviv, 15 August 1942

Source: phot. by I. Shchupak.

In 1942–1944, the OUN's attitude to the 'Jewish question' underwent some changes. In 1942, the initial definition of the Soviet regime as "Jewish Bolshevism" and "Moscow-Jewish Commune" transformed into the term "Moscow Bolshevism" (Viatrovych, 2006, pp. 70–71); the Instructions of the UPA Main Team to propaganda units dated 1 November 1943 stated that the OUN is tolerant to all ethnic groups, including "Jews, working for the benefit of the Ukrainian state" (Viatrovych, 2006, pp. 72–73). Even though in August 1943, the 3rd Congress of the OUN(b) defined future Ukraine as a state of all ethnic groups and it recognised the fact of the "solution to the Jewish question", this tendency to stop anti-Semitic rhetoric in 1943–1944 did not appear so much as a manifestation of the movement's liberalisation, but rather as a result of a pragmatic analysis of the situation. At that time, a vast majority of Ukrainian Jews were virtually exterminated, therefore, the 'Jewish question' was no longer on the table. Additionally, there is some evidence of OUN and UPA anti-Jewish actions that occurred after 1943.

Nonetheless, sometimes UPA squadrons took Jewish family camps in the woods under their protection (Viatrovych, 2006, pp 75–76). Many Jewish health care professionals served in UPA units. Ivan Flanga, a resident of Shybalyn (near Berezhany), testified that "numerous Jews served in the UPA as doctors, nurses,

and dentists. Many Jews were hiding even in our own village" (Redlikh, 2007, p. 198). Moysey Fishbeyn, Ukrainian poet and researcher of UPA history, wrote: "I knew Jews who served in the UPA […] there was a doctor Abraham Shtertser, he lived in Israel after the war. Samuel Noiman, his code name was Maxymovych, Shai Varma (code name Skrypal (Violinist)), Roman Vynnytskyi, his code name was Sam…" (Poet M. Fishbein: dlia mene UPA – tse sviate).

The members of the OUN and UPA fighters issue counterfeit documents to help Jews. The Vinnytsia State Archive has a report of SD investigators on a printing house counterfeiting documents and printing the literature of Ukrainian Bandera nationalists. According to the report, "Ukrainian nationalists provided not only their members, but also Jews with fake passports" (Gogun and Ginda, 2011, p. 116).

As noted above, the attitude of the Ukrainian nationalist movement to Jews during the Second World War requires further research and impartial analysis. At the same time, we should underline once again that at the period when the most mass Nazi exterminations of Ukrainian Jews were conducted, the policy and practical actions of Ukrainian nationalist organisations regarding the 'Jewish question' were anti-Semitic. Ukrainians rescued Jews mainly for their own reasons, which are going to be analysed below.

Fig. 2. Lviv. Local guards escorting a Jewish convoy

Source: Yad Vashem the World Holocaust Remembrance Center, https://www.yadvashem.org/education/other-languages/ukrainian/educational-materials/lvov.html [accessed on: 17.11.2020].

3. SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE RESCUE OF JEWS IN WESTERN UKRAINE AND OTHER UKRAINIAN REGIONS

Today, the data about the number of cases of Jews rescued in Ukraine is based mainly on Yad Vashem statistics regarding the Righteous Among the Nations. Below we will mention the other rescuers who have not been included in the Righteous group.

We have decided to analyse the regional aspect of the rescue efforts specifying the number of Ukrainian Righteous Among the Nations by territory and regions of Ukraine (according to the modern administrative and territorial division of the country). We have identified the Vinnytsia region to occupy a special place in the "regional representation" of rescue efforts. The following table was compiled according to our calculations.

Table 1. Number of Righteous Among the Nations from Ukraine by Area and Region. Calculations are based on the official Yad Vashem statistics as of 1 January 2020 (Righteous Among the Nations Honored by Yad Vashem, 2020)

Zakar-pattia and Bukovyna	Western Ukraine	Northern and Central Ukraine	Vinnytsia Region	Southern Ukraine	Eastern Ukraine	*Other territories*
Zakarpattia region: 24	Volyn region: 117	Dnipropetrovsk region: 70	520	AR of Crimea: 27	Donetsk region: 57	Belarus: 2
Chernivtsi region: 9	Ivano--Frankivsk region: 76	Zhytomyr region: 221		Zaporizhzhia region: 22	Luhansk region: 9	Moldova: 2
	Lviv region: 119	Kirovohrad region: 52		Mykolaiv region: 82	Kharkiv region: 93	Germany: 2
	Rivne region: 217	Kyiv region and Kyiv city: 221		Odessa region: 167		Poland: 24
	Ternopil region: 173	Poltava region: 36		Kherson region: 28		Russia 5
	Khmelnytskyi region: 179	Sumy region: 21				Ukraine – undefined region: 5
		Cherkasy region: 63				
		Chernihiv region: 16				
Sub-Total						
33	881	700	520	326	159	40
Total: 2659						

Source: own work.

Based on the table, one can see that a significant number of cases of the rescue of Jews was registered in the territories with considerable numbers of Polish residents – both on the territory of modern Poland and in the Volyn, Lutsk, Khmelnytskyi, and Zhytomyr regions.
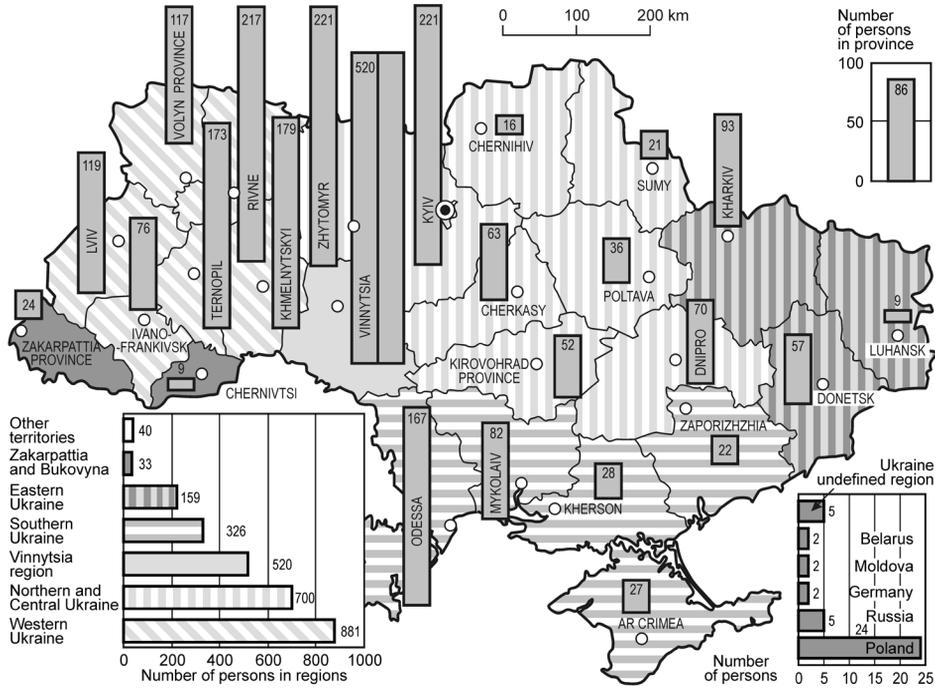

Fig. 3. Number of Righteous Among the Nations from Ukraine by Area and Region
Source: own work based on official Yad Your statistics as of 2020.

We can also see that, regardless of the region, the biggest number of the Righteous has been registered in those communities where the proportion of the Jewish population was relatively high (Vinnytsia and other western Ukrainian cities, towns and villages, as well as Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Odessa, etc.). Therefore, the help of neighbours who had the experience of pre-war coexistence played a significant role in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust.

The contemporary region of Vinnytsia is an absolute champion in the number of the Righteous Among the Nations of Ukraine. Here, their number constitutes almost one-fifth of all Ukrainian Righteous (19.6%). For example, in 8 contemporary regions of southern and eastern Ukraine (including the Odessa region) and the Crimea, the number of Righteous Among the Nations is 17.1% in total. This fact requires an explanation. In addition to the above factors, in the Vinnytsia region the transfer of Jews from the German to the Romanian zone of

occupation became a common method of helping. In the Romanian zone they had a higher chance for survival.

When researching Yad Vashem data (the locations of villages and other settlements, their administrative-territorial subordination, etc.), one can define the number of Righteous by territory according to an administrative-territorial division into zones of occupation. It is also important to do so in relation to the high proportion of Jews among the local population, while considering Jewish refugees from the Western territories, and indicating the period of the occupation of a certain region or city, etc.

The extent of the rescue of Jews by the residents of Ukraine who did not receive the "Righteous Among the Nations" title is even greater. Even the official Yad Vashem website says that "The number of Righteous is not necessarily an indication of the actual number of rescuers in each country, but it indicates the cases known to Yad Vashem" (Pravedniki narodov mira. Statistika).

An ample number of such cases, little known to Israeli and other historians, occurred in Western Ukraine where the specificity of the 'mechanism' of the extermination of Jews, as well as the conditions and opportunities enabled rescue efforts (Shchupak, 2018).

The State Archive of the Lviv Region (herein after referred to as DALO) provides a unique opportunity to research this issue since it stores materials of particular importance for the subject matter, i.e. the documents of the Special Court affiliated with Galicia District German Court in Lviv (Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivskoi oblasti, FR-77. Inventory 1[1]). It should be noted that to date Ukrainian historians have hardly conducted any special study of the materials regarding the Holocaust history in this region. One exception is V. Zilinskyi's dissertation revealing peculiarities of the materials available for Holocaust research in the Galicia District (Zilinskyi, 2019).

While in the territory of Reichskommissariat Ukraine Ukrainian rescuers of Jews were often shot on the spot, in the Galicia District the cases of rescue operations were reviewed by the above-mentioned Nazi court.

Among the documents for 1941−1944 we found about 40 cases in which residents of the region were accused of "hiding Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 309; 366; 504; 592; 654; 661; 735; 758; 759; 791; 800, *et al*.), "sheltering them" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1111), or "helping Jews escape from the Lviv ghetto" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1358). Such a large volume of materials on people who rescued Jews (or who tried to do so), but were not awarded the "Righteous Among the Nations" title and were not even reviewed by the Yad Vashem Commission, is another argument for the need to study the phenomenon of the rescuers of Jews since this concept is broader than the "Righteous Among the Nations".

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[1] Documents were in Polish and German, some pages were in Ukrainian.

These archival materials enable one to reconstruct the attitude of German occupational authorities not only towards Jews who were subject to registration, complete isolation, and later extermination, but also to Ukrainians, Poles and other locals of non-Jewish origin.

The story of Jan Petryszyn, a Pole, paints a detailed picture of the attitude of Nazis to Poles and Ukrainians, and even to the supporters of the Hitler regime (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 502, 574). According to the court materials: "On 28 May 1943, when he heard a conversation of three soldiers he did not know, he found out that the ghetto in Brody was allegedly liquidated and some of the ghetto dwellings were on fire in various places. When the soldiers agreed to go and watch the fire in the ghetto, he joined them. When they came to the ghetto, he and those soldiers got instructed by a police officer who was on duty there to search the houses that were not on fire to find hiding Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 1 back). In one of the apartments, they encountered a Jewish woman who was screaming in fear. Jan Petryszyn killed her with a dagger as he thought that "there was no punishment for killing Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 502: 7 back). "Two days later, the alleged offender was detained by a Wehrmacht squad" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 1 back).

The Nazi court document stated that "by killing a Jew, he apparently wanted to support the authorities and considered his actions as justified" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 2); "by all means he wanted to prevent her from avoiding Jewish actions carried out at that time, i.e. to support government efforts" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 2 back). Despite these and other "mitigating circumstances", the German court also indicated aggravating circumstances, "the alleged offender had been convicted several times". But the following court order is of particular interest: "…Aggravating circumstances here means that safety and security in the area requires no private individuals unauthorised messing with the state efforts, such as actions against Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 3). Finally, Jan Petryszyn was sentenced "to 7 years of hard labour in exile for the murder of a Jew" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 1).

Thus, the mass killings of Jews by Nazis were defined as "state efforts" that did not allow locals to commit "unauthorised messing" (the well-known practice of provocations by Nazis and the involvement of locals in anti-Jewish pogroms and the killings of Jews should be analysed separately).

The following statement from "The Case on Legality of Detention" regarding Jan Petryszyn is of interest as well: "The criminal and the murderer, maliciously and brutally killed a person out of a desire to kill" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 574: 1 back).

The hypocrisy of these "moral assessments" of the Nazi government is obvious. It arrogated the inhuman "right" to take lives of millions of people, and convicted, at its discretion, those who "interfered" with its "business".

Hunted Jews sought refuge in various ways. Some "slept in the field, or in the buildings outside the town, or even in an old barn", like Max Ringer (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1258: 8 back), others "stayed in Lviv, in the bombed outhouses on Teodora and Shpytalna streets, hiding from the police", like Edel Zygmund (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1227: 3 back). But it is clear that without the help of non-Jewish locals there would have been no chance for their survival.

Below we will highlight the motivations for providing aid to Jews, an action which entailed much hazard. But it should be noted here that, in one form or another, the common interest was a part of almost every case of Jews rescue.

The intention of a rescuer to gain financial benefits for rescuing Jews during the Holocaust contradicts Yad Vashem's principles when it comes awarding the "Righteous Among the Nations" title. Often rescuers did, of course, help hunted Jews expecting nothing in return. Yet it is important to note that hiding people for a long period, many months and sometimes years, always included an "economic component", associated primarily with the need to buy food. Yaroslav Hrytsak noted: "As it became clear from the memoirs, only those Jews who had money could survive, because you need to have resources for yourself and to pay those who hid you" (Hrytsak, 2017).

Existing documents (herein we review the materials of the State Archive of the Lviv Region) provide information about the different conditions of material and financial "deals" between Jews and their Polish and Ukrainian rescuers.

"Tomruk Khved confessed that he was hiding a Jew for almost a whole week…, he gave her something to eat and she gave him 2 meters of [*illegible*] in exchange and made two shirts for the family of Tomruk Khved" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 759: 6 back). According to court records "Tomruk Khved with these 2 meters of [*illegible*] was taken to German Gendarmerie in Radekhiv" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 759: 6 back).

Ihnat Barabach and Mykola Lutii, both Ukrainian, were hiding Solomon Helfer in Zolochiv. During an interrogation Lutii said: "Helfer gave me 4 meters of fabric for making clothes, one big headrail, and 90 zlotys. In April 1944, this Jew gave me 500 zlotys. Given the fact that, as I have already confessed, I was very poor and had a family of my wife and 3 children, in April 1944, I had nothing to eat for my family or for this Jew. I told him that he had to do something. This Jew went to my neighbour Ihnat Barabash from Krasnoselets and brought 25 kilos of barley and 5 kilos of buckwheat from him. Later, in June 1944, this Jew went to Barabash again and brought 25 kilos of barley and 25 kilos of potatoes. Since at that time some houses were searched for partisans, I was afraid that the Jew might be caught in my house. So, I went to the gmina [commune office] myself and confessed that a Jew was staying with me. The army came and took the Jew, Solomon Helfer, from the cellar in my barn. I was left at home. Later I found out that the Jew fled. The next day the army arrested me and took to Zolochiv. A few days later

the Jew was caught again and he admitted the fact that I was hiding him" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 791: 20 back).

In addition to these extensive materials we should specify that they were compiled on 20−22 June 1944, only a month before Nazi troops left Lviv (on 27 July 1944).

Michalina Merska, a Polish woman, "was hiding 2 Jewish women and 3 Jewish men in her apartment in Lviv on 12 Paderevskoho street from 2 June 1943 till 3 Feb 1944, making them pay for shelter 3,000 zlotys per month. I would like to explain that I kept those Jews not in the apartment, but in my basement. I did this because I had nothing to live on" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 851: 26 back).
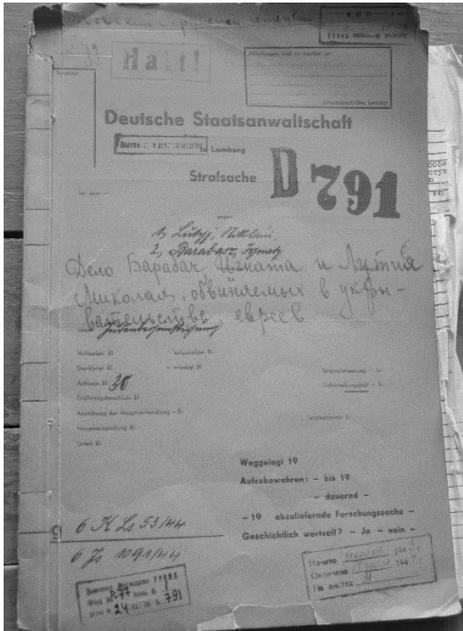

Fig. 4. Barabach Ihnat and Lutii Mykola who were accused of hiding Jews

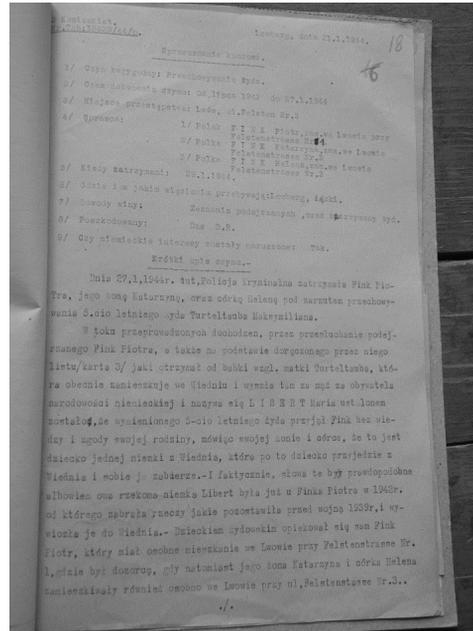Source: The State Archive of the Lviv Region, phot. by I. Shchupak.

Fig. 5. Page from Piotr Fink's case who was accused of hiding Jews

Source: The State Archive of the Lviv Region, phot. by I. Shchupak.

Rosalia Surma (from the village of Verkhody, near Hrabiv, Kamianka Strumilova), an illiterate woman, confessed to "keeping four Jews in the backyard till 23 October 1943… These Jews promised to give me 50 zlotys if I provide them with shelter for two weeks. I agreed to do so, but I had the intention to report to the Ukrainian police in Hrabiv if more of them came to my place" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 735: 5 back). The German court found this intention 'doubtful', and the woman was convicted (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 735: 6).

Stefania Ciepik, Stanisłava Biłyk and Zofia Pakiet, all Polish, were hiding a Jew, Zygmund Edel, in Lviv "for 400 zlotys per month" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1227: 13). It is clear that this money was needed to cover the cost of food.

It was often the case that rescuers did not demand any specific amount of money, but asked Jews how much they had. With this money people bought food for themselves and those they were hiding (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 504: 25–26).

Finally, the archival materials contain information about cases when Jews were rescued for nothing. On 16 June 1944, Alter Safro, a Jew, testified that "he, being a Jew, escaped from the Jewish ghetto in May 1943, and was hiding at Catholics until now" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 847: 14). "I… went to Roman Dąbrowski, in Lviv at 19 Lychakivska street. I knew him because we worked together in the oil mill. I was helping him during the famine, because I was richer than he. I used to give him food and money. I asked Dąbrowski to hide me and he graciously agreed, since I no longer had any funds. He gave me food and shelter" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 847: 14). Mania Hodzhin, Alter Safro's daughter, who also found shelter at Dąbrowski's residence, stated: "Leaving bunker we had no money. My husband and I did not pay Dąbrowski for shelter, because he already gave shelter to my father, so he hid us as well" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 847: 21 back).

German court documents include some cases when Poles and Ukrainians accused of hiding Jews were acquitted with the help of lawyers.

One argument was the "lack of information" about the Jewish origins of those who were being hidden. During the hearing of the case on M. Ringer, a Jew, who was found in the apartment of Irena Baryliak, a Pole, the court concluded that "Irena Baryliak did not really know that she had met a Jew and had no idea that Ringer was a Jew. Ringer deliberately deceived Baryliak, pretending to be Piotr Rohush, trying to get his own personal Jewish benefit" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 1258: 15).

In another case, Piotr Fink, a yard-keeper, was detained on 28 January 1944, for hiding a child, Maksymillian Turteltaub, the grandson of a Jewish woman from Vienna. Fink testified that he "had no doubt that there are no provisions in German law for the persecution of Jews of German origin. If I knew it was prohibited, I would have never taken a Jewish child into my apartment" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 904: 8). A German court convicted Piotr but stated that the "investigation failed to prove the guilt of his wife Katarzyna Fink and daughter Helena Fink and their involvement in hiding a Jew" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 904: 18).

Some of the lawyers' pleas for mercy seem comical at first glance, but in fact, they contained rather derogatory characteristics of the accused. Thus, on 15 July 1944, Adolf Fida, a lawyer, wrote to Governor-General in Krakow: "On behalf of Ganczar Maria and Nahatsch Wasyl, sentenced to death. Notwithstanding the sinless life and guilty plea with deep regret expressed by all the possible means, I ask to take into account the very low educational level of the convicts. They were born and raised in a remote farm, unable to get any school education. They both are illiterate, Nahatsch learned how to put his signature during military service in

the World War. They have a very primitive worldview and way of thinking being typical Galician rural illiterates who have a limited spiritual life" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 366: 68). "Your Honor, they had no idea that it was prohibited to hide Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 366, pp. 68–69).

Of course, Ukrainians and Poles accused of hiding Jews were rarely acquitted. Both do-gooders, seeking no profit, and those seeking financial gains, paid with their lives for rescuing Jews. In one "Order of the Security Police and the SD court of the Galicia Region to counter the attacks on German reconstruction in the Governorate General dated 2 October 1943 (Visnyk rozporiadzhen dlia heneralhubernatorstva p. 82 p. 589)" ten people were sentenced to death "for hiding Jews,… Maria Krushkovska, nee Bobekova, from Lemberg, Mikhal Piastun from Lemberg, Kazimezh Skompkyi from Lemberg, Zdislav Kovalchyk from Lemberg, Nastia Sush, nee Diachenko, from Rudanetsk, Yuliia Izhek from Lemberg, Halyna Sliadovska, nee Klymenievska, from Lemberg, Viktoria Maliavska, nee Vilchynska, from Lemberg, Bronislav Yozefek from Lemberd, Maria Yozefek, nee Sliovich, from Lemberg..." (Kovba, 2009, pp. 200–201).

Some stories were particularly tragic, which is clear even in German court documents. One such story is that of Wladimir Korbecki. From November 1942 to May 1943 he was hiding "Jewish women Rosa and Kraus as well as a three-year-old child of the latter in his house. Almost immediately after they found shelter in his house they gave him 1700 zlotys ..." (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 504: 16 back). The court passed a terrible sentence: the "Alleged offender, who has never been convicted before, according to § 4 b of the specified resolution has to be punished by the only envisaged punishment – execution" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 504, p. 40). The sentence was enforced, "Wladimir Korbecki was shot on 7 March 1944..." (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 504, p. 20).

Thus, the rescue of Jews for a fee (reimbursement, or "for profit") had several consequences.

1) Sometimes when Jews exhausted their financial resources, "selfish rescuers" surrendered them to Nazis or the police for execution and certain death.

2) Sometimes when selfish motivations drove people to start "rescue operations", but when later Jews exhausted their funds, the rescuers showed better human qualities and continued to help for free.

3) Even if a Jew (or a group of Jews) was rescued for money, it did not mean less risk for the rescuers, who were punished by Nazis in the same way as the selfless Righteous Among the Nations. For some people, hiding Jews became a kind of a business and they tried to make money in the difficult time of war. However, Nazis rewarded people for reports about Jews and their rescuers, so this "way of earning money" was much safer. Hrytsak noted that given the existence of these two opposite "ways of earning money off of Jews, human fear and envy played their roles, «she» hides the Jews and earns on it, but «we» may suffer if, God forbid, the Germans find out that we knew and did not report" (Hrytsak, 2017).

Another thing is also worth noting: the fact of reporting Jews became not only a "manifestation of loyalty" to the Nazi's regime, but it was also required under Nazi laws and decrees, as well as praised by Goebbels propaganda, as a "virtue" for the society and a "moral duty" of its members. Under the conditions when public consciousness was distorted and morality was ruined by totalitarian systems, this factor made the rescue of Jews even more dangerous.

It is clear that joint analytical work of historians and psychologists is required to study the phenomenon of the rescue of Jews to determine the motivation for it that existed among various parts of the population, the followers of different religions and faiths, the supporters of different political views, living in various regions of Ukraine, and in various zones of occupation. Nechama Tec, Samuel and Pearl Oliner, well-known researchers, have made different conclusions about the social statuses and self-awareness of the Righteous Among the Nations in society, but they have been unanimous in their appreciation of the most important moral, universal component of the feat of the people who helped those doomed to total extermination (O Pravednikah, 2018).

4. WHO AND WHY RESCUED JEWS: THE QUESTION OF MOTIVATION

The various examples of the rescue of Jews in the occupied territory of Ukraine require clarification as to the motivations of those who risked not only their own lives, but also the lives of their relatives and their children, by helping the persecuted Jews.

Many people tried to rescue Jews – the members of their families or loved ones. For example, the Ukrainian wife of Isaak Shymovych, a Jew, (the woman's name is not specified in the documents), who lived in the village of Mykhailivka, the Zaporizhzhia region, when Nazis began the occupation of their land in October 1941, said to policemen that "she did not hand over the child to be murdered". She finally saved the child of a mixed marriage (Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zaporizkoi oblasti. FR-1849. Inventory 1. File 1). Antonia Chomczinska, a Polish woman, from Lviv "was hiding four Jews for several months" in the apartment where she lived (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 661, p. 3). When police caught three Jews in June 1943, "one of these Jews managed to escape from the apartment with the help of Chomczinska. She probably had an affair with one of them. This can be seen in the Chomczinska's letter found earlier" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 661, p. 3). (NB, the investigation failed to "prove the guilt of the Polish woman Antonia Chomczinska for sheltering Jews" (DALO. FR-77. Inventory 1. File 661, p. 37).

More and more examples of the rescue of Jews by not only Ukrainian individuals but also by groups of people, sometimes quite large ones, have emerged recently.

Altman wrote about several Ukrainian villages where locals managed to shelter all Jews: in the village of Yaruga, Podillia, people managed to hide not only local Jews, but also refugees; in the village of Rakovets, the Lviv region, peasants were hiding 33 Jewish families; in the village of Blagodatne, the Dnipropetrovsk region, 30 Jews were rescued. The researcher emphasised that it was possible to rescue them only by dint of the joint support of the rest of the villagers (Altman, 2002).

It is worth mentioning that such examples were not uncommon. In his memoirs, Aharon Weiss wrote that Yulia Matchyshyn, a Ukrainian woman, a resident of the city of Boryslav in western Ukrainian, asked another neighbour, a Polish woman, Ms. Potenzhna, for support to organise the rescue of the Weiss family (author's personal archive).

In occupied Zaporizhzhia, Yevdokiia Kupa, a Ukrainian, was sheltering a girl, Maria Chapata, whose mother was shot dead by Nazis. To protect the child from arrest and extermination, neighbours petitioned the Nazi authorities to issue her a passport proving Ukrainian nationality; four people testified as official witnesses (two of them were interrogated) even though they knew what would happen to them if Nazis uncovered their plan. In general, almost all the residents of the street knew about the Jewish girl who was hiding from Nazis – it was a few dozen people. None of them betrayed Maria, and many helped (Shchupak, 1997, pp. 120–121).

In general, the issue of the social composition of the rescuers of Jews needs further clarification. Most of them were people who did not belong to the upper crust of the Ukrainian society, its intellectual elite. We know some cases when city officials, as well as German officers, Hungarian soldiers, and even German soldiers and local police officers who took part in the executions of Jews, helped others under critical conditions (Shchupak, 1997, p. 15). But, of course, such cases were unpopular. It is clear that any official orders or certain actions were implemented by certain people with their own life experience and personal sympathies, whether they were municipal employees, soldiers, Ukrainian policemen, or others. Of course, sometimes Jews were rescued based on emotional, human impulses, the urge to help the victims of the inhuman cruelty of Nazis. Spurred by their initial impulse, people often later felt forced to continue the dangerous practice.

In fact, the rescue of Jews by Ukrainians because one's religious beliefs, i.e. the Christian approach to the persecuted, were quite common. Berkhoff stated that among Ukrainians, Baptists and Evangelical Christians helped Jews the most. The historian wrote that "In Volyn they apparently rescued hundreds of people. Those Protestants thought that their Christian faith could not allow them to do otherwise." Additionally, using the bonds between Protestant communities, they "could quickly transfer Jews from one area to another" (Berkhof, 2011, p. 95).

The clergy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) constituted a significant number of rescuers. In this article we should also mention the "ordinary" priests of the UGCC. Those included Saint Omelyan Kovch, who paid with his life for rescuing Jews; and, of course, the majestic figure of Metropolitan Archibishop

Andrey Sheptytsky. He personally saved many Jews, including David Kahane, Lviv's rabbi, the sons of the deceased rabbis Levin Kurt (Isaac) and Natan (Budz, 2019; Skira, 2019). The role of Andrey Sheptytsky, the lead archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and Ukrainian Studite Monks in rescuing Lviv Jews during the Holocaust was analysed in the research papers by Voytuk (2019), O. Sikorska (2017), and Skira (2017, 2019). The latter, using a wide range of un-published material from state, foreign and church archives (interviews and written testimonies of Ukrainian Studite Monks, memoirs by survivors, letters, orders, and documents), analysed the reasons and process of hiding Jews by monks and nuns in 1942–1944.

The Metropolitan Archbishop persuaded some Ukrainian priests to join the ef-forts, including Klymentiy Sheptytsky, his brother and archimandrite of the Order of Studite monks (Blazhennyi arkhimandryt Klymentiy, 2017; Matkovskyi, 2019), as well as Rev. Marco Steck, abbot of the St. Joseph Studite monastery, and others. Andrey Sheptytsky rescued anyone he could help, with a main focus on children. They were given false certificates of baptism, Ukrainian names, and then sent to convents, monasteries, and orphanages. Studite monks helped some children cross the Romanian or Hungarian borders. In total, about 200 Jews were rescued with the help of Metropolitan Archibishop Andrey Sheptytsky (Shchupak, 2012, p. 419).

Fig. 6. Counterfeit document made to rescue Kurt Lewin
Source: phot. by I. Shchupak.

It should be noted that Sheptytsky has not been awarded the "Righteous Among the Nations" title since he welcomed the Nazi army during the first days of the Nazi attack on the USSR, and also due to his contacts with Nazi high-ranking officials (this issue has been analysed in many studies, e.g. Bociurkiw, 1989; Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2003; Redlikh, 2007. Moralnye printsipy v povsednevnoy deystvitelnosti, 2010, 2011; Marynovych, 2007; Shchupak, 2007; Chaika, 2007; Kovba, 2007, 2009. Ostannii rabyn Lvova Yezekiil Levin; Yeremieieva, Myropolskyi, 2019). We believe that the greatness of the deeds of people like Andrey Sheptytsky does not require any confirmation or approval even by the most prominent and respected institution. The fact of organising a comprehensive system of help for the victims of the Nazi genocide through churches, as well as pastoral instructions to church hierarchs to rescue hundreds of Jews doomed to death, makes Andrey Sheptytsky the personification of humanism in the fight against the mudrerous Nazi policy. Skira's research has emphasised that the lead archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was in constant contact with Lviv's Jewish community since he became the Metropolitan Archbishop of Galicia. Skira has asserted that Andrey Sheptytsky was revered in various strata of the Jewish society and even in the interwar period the Archbishop promoted a tolerant attitude towards Jews. When pastoral messages as a form of protest against the extermination of the Jewish population were ignored by the Nazi "new order", Andrey Sheptytsky started organising aid and rescue operations of Jews. Skira wrote that after the "August action" of 1942, when Jews from the Lviv ghetto asked Andrey Sheptytsky for help, he created a coordination group of proxies who collected and sent Jews to safe locations (Skira, 2019, pp. 31–61). Shevah Weiss, former Speaker of the Knesset (Parliament) of Israel and Ambassador of Israel to Poland, who was rescued with his family from the Shoah by Ukrainians and Poles, metaphorically called Sheptytsky a "Ukrainian Schindler" (Redlikh, 2011).

We understand that the information about the spiritual feat of Andrey Sheptytsky shall be made widespread. The permanent exhibition in the "Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine" Museum (Dnipro), dedicated to this great Ukrainian, helps reach that goal. The fact that such an exhibition was organised in the Jewish Museum for the first time in Ukraine proves the high level of spirituality and righteousness that Andrey Sheptytsky achieved during his lifetime and the impact on human and social consciousness after he passed.

In summary, people from different segments of the population and different communities guided by different motives helped Jews. Often the members of mixed families rescued Jews being their relatives. This group included Ukrainians, Poles and others who had romantic feelings and loved their chosen ones – who happened to be Jewish. Yet sometimes terrible things happened: mothers reported their "half-breed" children or spouses reported their Jewish husbands and wives. So here we have to discuss the moral virtues of the rescuers. Former

classmates or colleagues, as well as neighbours who lived and worked side by side with Jews before the Second World War, helped Jews because they had some relations with them. Some Ukrainians rescued those Jews who once helped them in difficult times. The members of the Ukrainian underground movement and partisans sometimes viewed helping Jews as one of the forms of resistance to the Nazi regime. Some people, who could be called non-conformists and who could not fit into society under the Nazi regime, tried to help the victims of this regime in order to resist violence and thus boost their own self-esteem. Christians rescued Jews because of their religious beliefs. There were also "incidental rescuers," i.e. people who tried to rescue Jews as they were driven by an emotional impulse to help the persecuted ones. Some people had selfish motivations to help Jews – they tried to earn money and to gain material benefits from those whom they rescued.

In general, it should be emphasised that not a single Ukrainian political organisation or military organisation made a stand to defend Jews during the Holocaust in the occupied territory of Ukraine. The Soviet government, having information about the extermination of Jews by Nazis, did not warn the Jewish population. Neither Ukrainian or Polish undergrounds, nor the Soviet government and its subordinate Soviet partisan units and underground groups made any declarations, statements or calls to the Ukrainian people to help Jews. This tragically resulted in the huge death toll of Ukrainian Jews which amounted to one and a half million out of the six million of all Holocaust victims.

At the same time, the history of the Second World War includes not only terrible pages of mass killings, but also examples of resistance to genocide and stories about rescue. None of the Jews rescued during the Holocaust could have hoped for being saved without the help of Ukrainians and other nations of our country who also suffered from Nazi occupation.

The study of the phenomenon of the rescue of Ukrainian Jews during the Holocaust is an important scholarly and moral goal since it provides positive examples of human behaviour in the inhumane conditions of war. This is especially important for Ukraine today when our country has become the object of military and information aggression that includes the use of false historical myths and stereotypes in anti-Ukrainian propaganda.

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