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ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE USSR (1945S–1950S)

Annotation. The publication analyzes anti-Soviet activities of Jewish religious communities in UkrSSR during the post-war period. The negative influence of the Soviet State Security on limitation the religious life of Jewish communities in Ukraine in the defined time was examined. It was proved that the anti-Soviet activity of Jewish religious communities was based on combining religious and national aspects, defending the original culture of the Jewish people, involving both internal and external influences in the struggle against the Soviet ideological system.

Key words: Ukrainian SSR, NKDB of the UkrSSR(MDB of the UkrSSR), Jews, Jewish religious communities, synagogues, minyans, arrests, repressions.

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АНТИРАДЯНСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЄВРЕЙСЬКИХ РЕЛІГІЙНИХ ГРОМАД В УРСР (1945–1950-ТІ РР.)

Анотація. У статті аналізується антирадянська діяльність єврейських релігійних громад в УРСР у повоєнний період. Єврейські релігійні громади, як і інші релігійні структури в Україні окресленого періоду, одними із перших зазнали на собі негативного впливу радянської системи і сталінського диктаторського режиму, які переслідували цілі, пов'язані із ліквідацією не лише їх релігійної самобутності, але й «стирання» національної пам'яті.

Мета статті – дослідити антирадянську діяльність єврейських релігійних громад у повоєнний період.

Основу джерельної бази статті складають архівні матеріали Центрального державного архіву громадських об'єднань України та Галузевого державного архіву Служби Безпеки України.

У другій половині 1940-х рр. вцілілі українські євреї здебільшого повернулися на місця свого проживання; почалося відновлення єврейського життя. Налагоджувалися контакти між громадами, відроджувалися традиційні промисли єврейського населення, які опинилися вкрай необхідними в роки повоєнної розрухи. Аналіз численних архівно-кримінальних справ, опублікованих документів, спогадів, наукових розвідок дозволив виявити формальні та неформальні мотиви, обтяжуючі обставини для переслідувань за релігійною ознакою. Формальний мотив позначався у статті Кримінального кодексу радянської України. Загальним неформальним мотивом була віра. Однак, аналіз неформальних мотивів надає дослідникам можливість визначити коло небезпечної діяльності для більшовицької влади, що проводили духовенство та віруючі.

Антисемітська політика в УРСР особливо посилилася після того, як влада у грудні 1949 р. перейшла до рук першого секретаря ЦК КП(б)У Л. Мельникова. Культивуючи в українському суспільстві антиєврейський психоз, він розпочав нову ідеологічну атаку на євреїв, яких республіканська преса таврувала не лише як «безродних космополітів», «єврейських буржуазних націоналістів», а і як спекулянтів і махінаторів в економічній сфері.

Важливий висновок ґрунтується на тому, що антирадянська діяльність єврейських релігійних громад, в умовах радянської України повоєнного періоду, незважаючи на заборони, переслідування та обмеження функціонування з боку союзних та республіканських органів НКДБ(МДБ) та їх структурних управлінь в областях, ґрунтувалася на поєднанні релігійних і національних аспектів, відстоюванні самобутньої культури єврейського народу, залученні як внутрішніх, так і зовнішніх впливів у боротьбі з радянською ідеологічною системою.

Перспективи подальших досліджень антирадянської діяльності єврейських релігійних громад в умовах радянської України повоєнного періоду ґрунтуються на аналізі й синтезі співіснування цих общин з іншими громадами, залученні до джерельної бази спогадів безпосередніх учасників тих подій.

Ключові слова: УРСР, НКДБ(МДБ), євреї, єврейські релігійні громади, репресії.

INTRODUCTION. The relevance of the studied scientific issue is undoubtedly important and essential for the contemporary understanding of religious identity complex processes of Jewish religious communities in Ukrainian SSR and total control by People's Commissariat of State Security of the UkrSSR (Ministry of State Security) (hereinafter referred to as «NKDB of the UkrSSR» (MDB of the UkrSSR)) for their activities in the post-war period.

Jewish religious communities, like other religious structures in Ukraine during this period, were among the first to experience the negative influence of the Soviet system and Stalin's dictatorship. Both the system and a dictatorial regime were pursuing goals related to not only the elimination of their religious identity, but also the «obliteration» of national memory.

The scientific novelty of the research problem is based on analysis of both the historiographic collection of scientists and archives that are introduced for scientific purposes and aren't new. These materials allow us to assess the total influence of the violent actions by the NKDB (MDB) of the Ukrainian SSR on the Jewish religious communities during the post-war period.

Research analysis. To some extent, some aspects of the studied issue have already been analyzed by scientists. G. Kostyuchenko's works [Костырченко, 1994; Костырченко, 2010], which analyze the reason both Soviet policy in attitude towards the Jews and its dependence on external factors, play an important role in the understanding of state and socio-political processes in relation to the Jewish national minority and in the study of Soviet Jews history in the post-war period. M. Kupovetskyi, who studies demographic processes of the Jews in the USSR, states the main reasons of the Jewish depopulation in the republics such as russification, assimilation, mixed marriages, migration into other regions of the USSR and abroad [Куповецький, 1994]. I. Kreizman directly studied the repression of Soviet power towards Jewish religious community in Lviv during the post-war period [Крейзман, 1994]. V. Voinalovych analyzed the negative influence of Sovietization

on denominational centers in Ukraine (the second half of the 1940's and 1950's) [Войналович, 1997].

M. Mitsel examines the attitude of Soviet power towards Judaism between 1944 and 1981. According to the author, the synagogue was actually the only legal institution that represented the Jewish national minority. That is why Judaism and the synagogue became the object of constant pressure and total control [Мицель, 1998]. Ch. Hoffman, analyzing the Jewish towns of Podillia, claims that the Jewish population of Shargorod escaped the total destruction during the war years and survived from full assimilation and departure from Judaism in the post-war years of Soviet power. First of all, the community traditions were preserved as a result of cooperation between local economic administration, where mostly the Jews worked, and the Soviet authorities, even though the town felt anti-Semitic campaigns, the struggle against religion and Zionism and other ways of solving the «Jewish question» [Hoffman, 2002].

V. Nikolskyi did a historical and statistical research on the repressive activity of the State Security of the USSR in Ukraine (1920s-1950s) [Нікольський, 2003]. O. Bazhan highlighted the repressive policy of the Soviet State Security in the Kyiv region in the 1940s – early 1950's [Бажан, 2008].

The aforementioned issue is quite generalized in the monograph «Jews in Ukraine: History and Modernity» [Євреї в Україні, 2009]. Historical and philosophical development aspects of the Jewish national community in the modern Ukrainian society and Ukraine, its state and level in the context of integration into the conditions of the Ukrainian society and other issues are presented in a collective monograph [Єврейська національна спільнота, 2014].

J. Veidlinger, using the memories of 400 Jews, wrote that despite the Stalinist repressions, the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, the Jewish life in the Ukrainian villages, settlements and cities, where Jews traditionally lived, existed during the post-war period [Veidlinger, 2013]. Ways of struggle against religious structures and its «chekist» segment in the 1920-1950's were investigated by L. Babenko [Бабенко, 2014].

Certain facts about the Jewish life of the city of Lviv during the post-war period, as well as the situation of Jews in Soviet Ukraine during 1945-1991, are concentrated in Internet sources [Казеяк; Україна].

The main archives of the article are from the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as «TsDAHO of Ukraine») and the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as «HDA SBU»).

Analyzing historiographic works and the source of scientific issues, we make a logical conclusion that the topics under study haven't become the object of comprehensive study by scientists yet.

Presenting main material. In the second half of the 1940s, survived Ukrainian Jews mostly returned to their residency; the Jewish life restoration began. Contacts were established between communities, the traditional crafts of the Jewish

population were revived, which appeared to be extremely necessary during post-war devastation. Craftsmen united in the artels, the ateliers were opened, other forms of small mono-ethnic groups appeared, where it was easier to solve issues related to the respecting Jewish traditions [Казеяк].

The analysis of numerous archival-criminal cases, published documents, memoirs, and scientific explorations allowed to reveal formal and informal motives, aggravating circumstances for religion-based persecution. The formal motive was mentioned in the article of the Criminal Code of Soviet Ukraine. The general informal motive was faith. However, the analysis of informal motives gives researchers the opportunity to define a range of dangerous activities which were conducted by clergy and believers [Бабенко, 2014, С. 284], for the Bolshevik authorities.

The state anti-Semitic policy, anti-Semitism, that swept through the territory of Ukraine, encouraged the formation of the Jewish national minority representatives of nationalistic views. Increasingly, thoughts about the need to restore Jewish education, culture, and religion were heard among the Jews. Particularly radical representatives of this national minority are advocating for the creation of their own national state as the only possible prerequisite for the fulfillment of these tasks. According to many of them, the restoration of national life will be only possible if their historical homeland is returned – Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel – a note by the authors) or the creation of a true national autonomy, either in the Crimea or in Birobidzhan [Клейнер, 1995, С. 138].

In 1947 M. Khrushchov was removed from the position of the first secretary of the Central Committee of KP(b)U (Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine) and replaced by L. Kahanovych. That gave hopes to many Ukrainian Jews for change for the better. However, the Jews situation was the same, and in a few months L. Kahanovych was recalled to Moscow, M. Khrushchev returned to the former position and continued the state anti-Semitism policy [Нікольський, 2003]. The policy regarding Jews in the USSR was focused on restriction of their rights and intensifying assimilation [Казеяк].

V. Kostyrchenko noted that in the letter of the demobilized front-line Jews of the city of Kyiv, which arrived in the autumn of 1945 to the Central Committee of the VKP(b) (All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks) addressed to J. Stalin, L. Beriia and the editor of «Pravda» P. Pospelov. The letter said that «... the German influence is strongly felt. There is no struggle with the political consequences of their political sabotage. There are various nationalists, sometimes with a party membership ticket in their pockets ... Anti-Semitism, which is still unseen in our Soviet reality, is raging here. The word «Yid» or «Beat the Yids» ... is loudly sounding on the streets of the capital of Ukraine, in trams, in trolley buses, in shops, on bazaars, and even in some Soviet institutions» [Костырченко, 2010, С. 138].

The anti-Semitic policy in the Ukrainian SSR was particularly intensified after the first secretary of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U L. Melnykov assumed the power in December 1949. Spreading anti-Jewish psychosis in Ukrainian society, he began a new ideological attack on Jews, who were branded not only as «homeless

cosmopolitans», «Jewish bourgeois nationalists», but also as speculators and schemers in the economic sphere by the republican press [Бажан, 2008, С. 40].

«Studying of the inner life of Jewish religious communities», – P. Vilkhovyi the commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR, reported to the Central Committee of the KP(b)U in April 1949, – says that many of these communities are used by non-church element, which sneaks into the leadership of the community, deals with the functions of an entirely unproven religious community, often turning synagogues into nests of nationalistic manifestations» [ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 23. Спр. 5667. Арк. 93].

The «Undercover-operational work with Jewish religious organizations report» by People's Commissar of the UkrSSR, Lieutenant-General S. Savchenko, dated November 15, 1946 [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 33–43] stated that people in a number of the republic cities of Jewish religious organizations activated during the post-war period. This activity led to the creation of so-called «twenties», which initiated the organization of synagogues, houses of worship, etc. [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 33]. According to the State Security bodies, Jewish religious activists, who are usually nationalistic believers, were leading this movement. Some of them lived in Palestine in the past, were supporters of the Zionism movement and were active in restoring Jewish religious organizations [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 33].

The opening of synagogues in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Kherson, and other regions and districts of Ukraine, which on February 1, 1946 numbered 60 was the result of the active work of the Jewish religious communities [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 33]. There were 20 synagogues, 6 of them functioned officially and the rest – unofficially in Chernivtsi region [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 33]. According to other sources, during the 1944-1945, there were 65 synagogues and houses of worship in Ukraine, but officially only 5% of the total number were accepted by the authority [Казеяк].

V. Romantsov writes that according to the population census 1939, the proportion of the Jewish population in Ukraine decreased by 0.5%, but Jews remained an influential ethnos, and even in such areas as Kyiv, Vinnytsya and Kamyanets-Podilsky prevailed over the number of Russians and were the second after Ukrainians, and the number of Jews, who were urban residents, increased to 85.4% [Романцов, 2008, С. 23].

According to V. Kononenko, before the Second World War, Ukrainian Jews were the members of VKP(b), Soviet and party authorities, intellectuals, the leading personnel of enterprises, institutions and organizations. The strong desire of the Jewish national minority to education, the traditional system of public education, was the main reason of their actions [Кононенко, 2012, С. 204].

The facts of «active social activity» by Soviet state security bodies were noticed among the Jewish religious communities of Chernivtsi, Zhytomyr, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and other Ukrainian cities, as being contrary to the current

legislation. They have often been the only arguments in favor of the closure of synagogues during the general campaign on reducing the network of existing religious buildings. Thus, in Chernivtsi, out of 17 synagogues operating in the first postwar days, in April 1949, only 3 of them continued their functioning. During 1948-1956, 18 constructions of the Jewish cult have ceased to exist in Ukraine [ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 23. Спр. 5667. Арк. 94].

The newly created «Board of Jewish Religious Communities» contributed to their founding, sometimes even requiring this from the authorities in an ultimate form. In particular, the activists of the Jewish community in Kyiv, after the opening of the synagogue in Podol, in a letter addressed to the authorized representative of the Council for Religious Affairs at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, stated that «... Delaying the issue of the opening of a synagogue in the center is unfair and in the future intolerant ...» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 34].

The community leadership in the city of Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk region, using communications, sent a telegram to the chairman of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, urging the permission to open the synagogue. The Chernivtsi Rabbinate appealed to the regional executive committee with the requirement to legalize special Jewish schools for the training of religious servants and for establishing ties with the Rabbinate of Moscow city [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 34].

Although the removal of the Jewish educational infrastructure in Soviet Ukraine in the late 1930's turned to be final [Єврейська національна спільнота, 2014, С. 188], however, «... the elimination of all parts of the Jewish cultural infrastructure in Soviet Ukraine can be understood as the manifestation of certain political changes without a radical rejection of the fundamental values of the Soviet ideology» [Єврейська національна спільнота, 2014, С. 188].

Similar requirements concerning the synagogues opening have also been received from other Ukrainian settlements [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 34]. In addition to the number of synagogues mentioned, Jewish religious communities illegally opened houses of worship – so-called «minyans», 11 of which were found in the capital of Ukraine, the city of Kyiv. They also functioned in Zhytomyr, Zaporizhzhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolaiv, Vinnytsia, Lviv and other regions of Ukraine [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 34].

The representative of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults in the Vinnytsia region reported in 1947 that when visiting Bershad, he discovered, in addition to the synagogue, two minyans, one of which consisted only of the shoemakers, and the other were tailors [Україна]. Naturally, the synagogues of the time were not enough to meet the religious needs of believing Jews. Under such circumstances, the republic acted dozens of minyans that gathered in private homes and sometimes accounted for up to 60 people. Officially, they were not recognized by state authorities, since the control over their semi-legal activities was much more complicated, and managers and homeowners were constantly

persecuted, taxed heavily, and even subjected to administrative eviction into other settlements [Войналович, 1997, С. 207–226].

The Soviet state security bodies conducted an active struggle with them, sometimes being unsuccessful, as the agents reported on a permanent change of their residence and that their leadership, under the cover of religious activity, actually carried out an aimed nationalist work, established ties with the Zionist organizations in the United States, the United Kingdom and Palestine, illegally conveyed information about the supposedly difficult situation of Jews in the USSR abroad [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 34–35].

The leadership of Jewish religious communities attracted intellectuals and youth to their activities and raised them in a religious and nationalist spirit. In particular, the religious Jewish community in Kyiv were rather active regarding this issue, thus cultivating nationalist ideas and conveying information on violations of their religious rights. Members of the board of this community had close contacts with Jewish committees from the United States and Palestine, from where they were sent both legal and illegal parcels through Twersky, a son of one of the prominent Tzadiks [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 19, 35]. This became the basis for the establishment by the State Security bodies of the case called «Taliskunty» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 35], which included five persons [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 35–36]. They were mostly Jews, natives of Kyiv, Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions, some of them in the past lived in Palestine and belonged to the Zionist movement, had higher religious education [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 36].

The Taliskunty intelligence case was instituted on the individuals of the ruling Jewish religious community of Kyiv, which, in the opinion of the NKDB (MDB) of the Ukrainian SSR, was carrying out «nationalist and provocative activities» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 19]. The most active were Shvariman Lazar Osherovych, its leader, and Shekhtman Itsko Gorshkovychthe, the rabbi of the synagogue [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 19]. The research proved that they had established contacts with Jewish committees in the United States and Palestine, using both legal and illegal opportunities [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 19].

For the active development of the Taliskunty intelligence case plan, the State Security bodies recruited the agents «Spinoza» and «Upornyi», who, having personal ties to nationalist Jewish religious structures, provided valuable materials about members of the Kyiv religious communities [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 36].

Since Jewish religious communities functioned not only in Kyiv but also in other regionals of the Ukrainian SSR, therefore the State Security bodies began scheduled secret operations with the involvement of proven agents in the regions in order to identify an organized Jewish religious movement. The bodies of the NKDB (MDB) of the Ukrainian SSR focused its attention in Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, Lviv, Vinnytsia and Voroshylovhrad regions. Thus, the administration of the NKDB

(UMDB) of the Ukrainian SSR in the Kharkiv region, on the basis of confidential human sources, instituted an intelligence case called «Displaced Persons», which included four people, Jews, native of Ukraine, including two students of the Kharkiv State University [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 36].

One of the active leaders of the religious Jewish community in Kharkiv was Professor of Architecture Aleksandr Markovich Ginzburg, whom the Soviet government accused of espionage in favor of Germany [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 111]. Not knowing that he was communicating with his close surroundings who actually were State Security agents, he stated that «... the community must exist as a purely religious one, it must necessarily include elderly people, who should pray, and «between the rows» in the activities of the community should take place a national question», «...We need to organize circles, that is, student centers and approach the Jewish youth from a psychological point of view ... inspire young people to love their nation and involve them in studying the Jewish language, but to do so is completely secret» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 37].

Embodying this idea in practical life, O. M. Ginzburg instructed Goldenberg, a student of the Kharkiv State University, to organize a circle for the study of the Hebrew language and Jewish literature [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 111]. Besides studying these subjects, the members of the circle promoted the idea of an independent Jewish state, anti-Semitism in the USSR, possible further Jewish pogroms in the Ukrainian SSR, the establishment of an organization that would protect the rights of Jews, informing the United States and Great Britain about the difficult situation of Jews etc. [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 37]. One of the associate of Ginzburg O. M. – Kohan Mariia aired these views and tried to spread them among the general public [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 111]. Luffman Veniamyn, a member of the circle, an expert of the prosecutor's office in the city of Kharkiv [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 111], stated that «... such a power will not exist for a long time», while expressing negative and offensive expressions against the leaders of the party and the Soviet government [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 37].

Of course, the State Security bodies paid attention to it and began to study the surroundings of these individuals, their connections abroad with the identification of a possible organized underground. Active participation in this process was given to «Voronina» and «Openhe M», the agents of the state security, which enjoyed trust among members of the circle [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 38].

Trying to find an organized underground among Jewish religious communities, the NKDB (UMDB) of the Ukrainian SSR administration in Zhytomyr oblast developed an intelligence case called «Seekers», which included four people – Jews, natives of the city of Malyn [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 38]. In particular, Radomyshl'skyi Moishe-Avrum Yosyfovych, Cherniakhov'skyi Zus Leibovych, Polonskyi Mordukh, Grabar David-Yankel Gershkovych and others [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 112].

State security bodies reported that these individuals systematically gathered in minyans that functioned illegally, sought to organize a structure that would require a permit from the Soviet government for the Jews to move to Palestine. In addition, these individuals carried out a secret census, mainly among Jews who wanted to go to the United States, organized funds for poor Jews, set up correspondence with Jewish committees in the United States and Palestine, disseminated information on the difficult situation of Jews in the USSR, etc. [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 38]. The disclosure of this case was entrusted to such proven security agents as «Mistseva» and «Demchenko» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 38].

Instead, the NKDB (UMDB) of the Ukrainian SSR administration in the Lviv region tried to detect the leaders of the Jewish religious community, which consisted of three persons who were their greatest interest. This, Sobol David Bentsionovych, Raukh Ivan Arnoldovych, Zilberfarb Shmulia Moshkovych [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 113]. By the way, the Lviv Synagogue has restored its existence from the very first days of the city's liberation. In 1944-1945, up to 5 thousand Polish Jews prayed in it, those who returned from evacuation in the eastern regions of the country, and during 1945-1946 repatriated to Poland. Since 1946, the overwhelming majority of the Jewish community in Lviv was composed of those Jews who moved from the eastern regions to their permanent residence. At this time, special attention was paid to the activities of the synagogue and its leadership on the part of State Security bodies [Войналович, 1997, С. 207–226].

«Our Lviv community was then really very active, but the anti-Semitic campaign of 1948 led to severe repressions. That was a dual game: on the one hand, it was a big anti-Semitic campaign, on the other hand, an Israeli ambasada appeared in Moscow. The policy was directed against the state of Israel. In Soviet Russia, in the political sense, Israel was viewed very unfavorably – as a «bourgeois» state» [Казеяк].

According to the materials of the criminal case brought to the head of the community of D.B. Sobol found that he was suspected of «involvement in the agents of American intelligence», was a «regular Jewish nationalist» and belonged to the clerical sect of «Hasidism». In connection with his departure to Poland in October 1945, «Active Zionist» Lev Serebrianskyi was elected head of the Jewish community at the Lviv Synagogue [ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 23. Спр. 5667. Арк. 347].

The agency reported that its leader D. B. Sobol organized a voluntary association for the assistance of Jews «The Jewish Religious Community» by concluding the «Charter of the Community in Lviv», which, in particular, emphasized that its main purpose was a) a national-cultural and religious association of the those small number of the Jewish population who managed to protect themselves from the destruction of the German conquerors; b) increase of political, national and cultural consciousness of the Jewish population; c) implementation of various measures to improve the living conditions of the Jewish population; d) community management was carried out by a general assembly, and for a specific leadership and for solving

various issues concerning the Jewish population, a presidium of 11 persons was elected» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 39–40].

The community-based statute «Voluntary Society – Lviv Jewish Community» among its main tasks included the national-cultural and religious association of the Jewish population of the city and the region, the rise of its political, national and cultural consciousness, as well as the implementation of various measures to improve the living conditions. As it was noted in the charter, the community's savings should be formed at the expense of voluntary contributions and donations from its members and from abroad, revenues from charity concerts and lectures [ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 23. Спр. 4555. Арк. 317].

However, after analyzing the provisions of the statute, State Security bodies came to the conclusion that it has nothing to do with religious matters, since it has purely political goals [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 40].

«Faced with this kind of activity of the Lviv Jewish religious community, we were forced to take the most categorical measures aimed at stopping the illegal phenomena in the community and limiting its activities. In fact, we had to «lock up» its religious life within the limits of the synagogue, not allowing its other manifestations, – Petro Vilkhovyi reported to the governing bodies in the beginning of 1948. At the same time, gradually, but consistently and firmly, we are carrying out the purification of the ritual from everything that is not related to religion, and from harmful remnants of the extreme elements of Jewish religious dogma» [ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 23. Спр. 4555. Арк. 323].

However, there were no political goals set out in this statute, but instead, it was envisaged to increase the political, national and cultural consciousness of the Jews, to improve the material and living conditions. And it was quite reasonably, given the situation in which they were in the Ukrainian SSR in the post-war period.

The problem which seriously disturbed the Ukrainian SSR State Security bodies was so-called «Zionism». The Jews declared not only national-cultural and religious autonomy, an increase in political, national and cultural consciousness, but also the improvement of material and living conditions. And that contradicted the Soviet doctrine, the imposition of a communist ideology, that is lifestyle of a «nonreligious» society.

The Soviet authorities regarded «Zionism» as a bourgeois phenomenon. First of all, the Zionists were strictly forbidden to have any contacts with people from abroad. From a legal point of view, organizations did not have any space for free activities [Казеяк].

The NKDB (MDB) of the USSR was making plans to combat the so-called «Zionism». One of its aspects was the «Zion» human intelligence, implemented by the NKDB administration in the Stalin Region. State Security bodies believed that they were combating with the active «Zionists-revisionists». The group included such individuals as: Rothstein Abram Srulovich, the head of the group who was held in a criminal case under the nickname «Ochkastyi», Mendelbaum Rubel Moiseyevich, a member of the group who was held in a criminal case under the nickname

«Kulhavyi», Nessel Semen Moiseyevich, a member of the group, which was held under the nickname «Khytryi» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 70–71].

This group was guided by the idea of Volodymyr Zhabotynskiy, the leader of the Zionist-Revisionist movement, a Jewish writer and publicist, a co-founder of the State of Israel and his armed forces [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 71]. Volodymyr Zhabotynskiy personally did not have any illusions about Soviet power. In fact, he emphasized that «... the Bolsheviks are always inclined to defy opponents in every possible way, forgetting about their own bloody actions. It seems they are raising their prestige in the countries of the European-American world in such way» [Клейнер, 1995, С. 194]. According to I. Melnychuk, Volodymyr Zhabotynskiy was an ardent defender primarily of «cultural nationalism», since he believed that every national culture and language are a precious and indispensable part of world culture. This point of view remained unchanged in his ideology throughout his life [Євреї в Україні, 2009, С. 117]. The members of the «Ochkastyi`s» group sought to organize a mass Zionist movement, held illegal gatherings, where they discussed in an anti-Soviet spirit the situation in the USSR and Poland, where they sought to go as repatriates. According to the human intelligence information, the group leader planned to publish a book «On the activities of the Communists in the USSR» in Poland. The content of book included spyware information [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 71]. Despite the fact that all documents for their departure to Poland were prepared, the NKDB (UMDB) administration in the Stalin Region requested sanctions on their arrest [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 72].

According to intelligence reports, the NKDB (UMDB) administration in Voroshilovgrad region arrested Pozin Hanan Abramovich, a non-partisan Jew, one of the active leaders of the local Jewish religious community, who cooperated with the Gestapo and helped to identify pro-Soviet-minded people during the German occupation. That citizen received the term of punishment that is 15 years of hard labor [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 42].

It was virtually impossible in the UkrSSR to secure the national-cultural and religious separation of Jews by law and to increase their political, national and cultural consciousness. So the community leadership tried to improve the material and living conditions of the Jewish population in Lviv through the American Society «Joint», which sent them 400 parcels [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 40]. The Office of the NKDB of UkrSSR (UMDB of the UkrSSR) in Lviv region was rereading all their correspondence. In particular, in one of the letters of the Lviv Jews, it was written that «The war has made its way, the streets were filled with Jewish blood, today we are disapproved. Nobody recognizes us, nobody needs us. We are torn up, barefoot and weary» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 40].

State security bodies found that responsible members of the Soviet authority were part of the Lviv Jewish religious community. In particular, two people were reported: Shtakelberg Isaac, the Communist, Deputy Director of restaurants and dining halls, and Serebrianskyi Lev, non-party man, a representative of the General

Office in the western regions of Ukraine and Moldavia [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 115].

The agents of the Soviet secret services also reported that Zilberfarb, the head of the synagogue, tried to turn it into a center of concentration of Jews who came from the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR for the further processing of documents for their departure to Poland and to the place of residence for this category of people [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 40]. According to the NKDB (UMDB) administration in Lviv region, community leaders were attracting Jewish youth to nationalistic work. Thus, one of its active members, Natan Limpel, a student of the Lviv State University [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 115], who organized a group of seven young people and preached the unity of the Jewish nation among them, stated that «... Jews do not have a motherland, but we do not need that one, where we live. At the front Jews were fighting not for the Soviet Union, but for international Jews» [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 41].

In response to the situation, the local district executive committee canceled the statute of the Jewish religious community and dissolved the presidium, and its active members fell under the «watchful eye» of the NKDB (UMDB) administration in the Lviv region. Since the connections of this community were international, the state security authorities involved in this case recruited an agent «Lev» who enjoyed their unlimited trust and had serious personal contacts with the leadership of the Joint Society in Tehran and the United States. Authorities also attracted the agent «Strunovich» and others [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 41].

The NKDB (UMDB) administration in the Vinnytsia region focused its attention on one of the local rabbis who lived in the city of Mohyliv-Podilsky during the German occupation and maintained links with Bronshtein, the resident of Bucharest, from whom he received money and things, which were transmitted by virtuous man Sharaga [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 41]. The Fifth Division of the Second Directorate of the NKDB (MDB) of the USSR was aware that the representatives of the Istanbul Office of the Palestine Relief Society to the Jews were trying to establish contacts with this rabbi. The NKDB (MDB) of the USSR tried to establish these connections for the disclosure of an organized underground Jewish movement and to find out sources of its support abroad [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 42].

The NKDB (MDB) of the USSR was working for ending the activities of Jewish religious communities and fighting anti-Soviet and nationalist sentiments in their surroundings. The NKDB was expanding the network of agents and identifying their links with foreign intelligence, primarily English [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 43].

At that time, the NKDB (MDB) of the USSR knew that most of the Jewish religious communities of the Ukrainian SSR were trying to establish not only the connection from abroad, but also to strengthen it within the republic. They were looking for ways to cooperate with the community of Kyiv, considering it to be the leading center of Jewish religious communities. Instead, the leadership of the Kyiv Jewish

religious community was making efforts to cooperate with similar communities in the cities of Kharkiv and Moscow [ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 5. Арк. 42].

In May 1948, in some cities of Ukraine Jews staged solemn worship because of the establishment of the state of Israel. During the worship there was a funeral prayer for the Jews who died in the Eretz-Israel. The apparatus of the authorized Council for Cults under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR considered «the organization of special prayer meetings on the establishment of the state of Israel as a kind of rallies organized by a nationalist element». According to the secret informants, the initiator of the celebrations was the activity of the Lviv religious community. In particular, at the end of May 1948 a public lecture «Events in Palestine» took place in Lviv; among the most typical questions of the students were the following: «Is it possible to emigrate from the USSR? Will Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality emigrate into the state of Israel for a joint struggle for the consolidation of democracy and peace? Will the Jewish Legion in the USSR be organized? Is there a real possibility of organizing military aid to the Jewish people of Israel and what is being done for this in the world and in the USSR?» and other [Україна].

In the end of 1948, Jewish religious communities in Ukraine began to receive letters from the Israel diplomatic mission in Moscow, which covered the international and internal situation of Israel, mass repatriation, support of Jews in many countries of the struggle of the Jewish state for independence. Jews were spontaneously gathering in many places, for example, in the apartment of Rabbi Shenkar in the city of Lviv. They were hotly discussing the prospects of national life. Attempts to organize donations in favor of Israel were made in the cities of Lviv and Chernihiv. All this caused the sharp discontent of Soviet authorities, the expression of which was the strengthening of repression [Нікольський, 2003].

CONCLUSIONS. Thus, despite the prohibition of NKDB (MDB), persecution and restriction of the functioning, the anti-Soviet activities of Jewish religious communities in the conditions of Soviet Ukraine of the postwar period were based on a combination of religious and national aspects, advocacy of the original culture of the Jewish people, the involvement of both internal and external influences in the struggle against the Soviet ideological system.

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