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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO MR. LEBED IN CONNECTION WITH CLEARING  
HIS NAME WITH IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE [8 APRIL 1952]

[18 May 52 = response]

I. BIOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Date and Place of Birth

(A) I was born on 23 November 1909 (baptised on 11 December) in a little town Strilyska Novi, now known as Strilychi Novi, the rayon center of Drohobych Oblast.

2. Family Background -- Give Details Regarding Age, Education, Occupation, Political Activities, Socio-Economic Status, Etc.

a. Father: (A) Mykhaylo, about 67 years old. Arrested in 1947 in the Rohatyn district at his friends' farmstead. His fate is not known. My father completed four years of primary school and three years of vocational school. Occupation: farmer-beekeeper; also tailor in his free time. Not a party member; a nationally-conscious Ukrainian. His socio-economic level, given the economic conditions in Western Ukraine--a mid-level peasant.

b. Mother: (A) Kateryna nee Mazovsky, died in 1944 immediately after the arrest by the Gestapo of my wife, daughter,

(A) = Mr. Lebed's answers to the Questionnaire  
[ ] = Editor's explanatory terms.

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and family. She was about 55 years old. By birth, on her father's side, my mother was of Polish descent. Her father was a Roman Catholic and was descended from the Polish yeomanry [nobility]; he was Ukrainianized. Education -- public school. Not a party member.

c. Brothers and Sisters: (A) Brother, Vasyl', born in 1912. Completed seven years of public school and four years of trade school. He was a butcher; had his own business; unmarried. Did not belong to the party; OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) sympathizer. In 1943, he joined the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and was killed in the summer of 1945 in a battle with the troops of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR (MGB) along with five other UPA members in an ambush set up by the Bolsheviks.

Sister Ol'ha, born in 1922, completed a secondary education in Lviv; presently lives in America. Married; non-party.

d. Other Close Relatives: (A) My father's brother [uncle] Mykola Lebed. Completed secondary education. In 1914, he voluntarily joined the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS) and was killed in World War I fighting the Russians near Semykivtsi in Western Ukraine (ZUZ). I don't remember him personally, only from recollections of others.

My father's sister [aunt] Kateryna; married to a farmer, died in 1942.

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Two of my mother's sisters were married; they were farmers. I don't know their fate.

My [other] uncle, Mykola Lebed (the son of my grandfather's brother) lives in Brooklyn. From his childhood until he was 29 years old, he lived and was brought up in my parent's home. In 1931 his father, who lived in America, brought him here.

3. Education (Give Dates and Places of Primary, Secondary, and any Specialized Education Received):

(A) I completed primary school at Strilychi Novi; eight years of high school in Lviv, a branch of the State High School where teaching was done in Ukrainian.

4. Marital Status:

a. Wife's Name, Date and Place of Birth: (A) My wife, Daria nee Hnatkivs'ky, was born on 22 October 1912 in Sokal in West Ukraine; she was the only daughter of a Catholic (Eastern Rite) priest, Omelyan Hnatkivs'ky. He died on 17 April 1943. Marriage date: 19 May 1936 [in prison].

b. Wife's Political Affiliation Before and After Marriage:

(A) During her senior years of high school, my wife belonged to the youth section of the OUN, and after completing high school, she became a member of the OUN.

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c. Names and Ages of Children: (A) Daughter, Zoryana, Ustya, Motrya (three names) is nine years old.

## II. POLITICAL

1. Describe in Detail the Influence on your Political Beliefs Exercised by your Family, School, Social Contacts, Etc. Indicate Time When Such Influence Existed:

(A) The influence on my upbringing and on my subsequent political convictions began in my childhood years. As a nine or ten-year-old boy, I remember in particular the Ukrainian-Polish war (1918-1919), the stationing of the Ukrainian army units in my native region, and later Polish units, and the behavior of the former and the latter. Especially then I lived through an impressive funeral of a local Ukrainian Sitch rifleman who was killed in a battle with the Poles during the defense of Lviv. Another event which is fixed in my mind is the raid on Strilychi, Novi by a small Bolshevik detachment (from the Budyonny's army), these were hours of plundering terror, especially with respect to the Jewish population, their escape, and the refuge given to the Jewish people by Ukrainian peasants. I also remember my father's return from Russian captivity, and his immediate departure for the Ukrainian national army.

A deep influence on me while I was growing up was exerted by my grandfather's recollections about my uncle Mykola

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(my father's brother) who died as a volunteer in the Ukrainian Sitch Rifleman (USS); recollections about his character, his personality, and about the books and notes he left behind. As a 16-year-old high school student in Lviv, I joined the Ukrainian library "Prosvita" [Enlightenment], and during the following two years I read hundreds of volumes of literature in Ukrainian and in translation. I was especially drawn to Ukrainian historical themes and the struggle for national and social liberation, the heroica of historical and literary personae, and the liberation struggles of other nations -- Ireland, Bulgaria, Poland. The influence of the school, and life in the State Gymnasium in particular, had almost a negative character. The reason was Polish chauvinism that attempted to force on us, Ukrainian students, a foreign, Polish spirit of education, and at the same time a disrespect of the Polish teachers for Ukrainian history, the most recent liberation struggle, and Ukrainian national symbols. Because of this, in me -- as in my other friends in the higher grades of the gymnasium -- there was born a protest and a struggle against the official line and methods of education, and a desire to protect and help the few Ukrainian teachers who still had the courage to present their ideas independent of the official course.

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2. Give Details of your relationship with UVO and OUN:

a. Date and Description of Initial Contact: (A) My initial contact with the OUN was in 1928. I had practically no contact with UVO [Ukrainian Military Organization] although then the founding members of the OUN were probably all former members of the UVO. At that time, one of my school friends asked me wanted to attend lectures given by Ukrainian university students. The subject of the lectures was to broaden our knowledge of Ukrainian history, the analysis of the liberation struggle, and increase knowledge in areas not provided by the gymnasium (high school). I agreed. The participants of this circle were students from other gymnasiums, and probably also seminary students. I and my friends did not find these lectures very useful because we were unable to understand the themes presented by the lecturers. In addition, I was convinced that some of the students, including the one who proposed the lectures to me, attended them in order to meet female students.

b. Summarize the Ideals Within the Organization Which Were the Most Appealing to You: (A) Basic ideas of the Organization which were the most appealing to me were: (1) The struggle for the restoration of the Ukrainian State -- an active struggle by revolutionary means; (2) Active protest against the Polish government's and Polish administration's attempt to take away various rights of the Ukrainian people on their own land; against their disrespect for Ukrainian national sentiment, the

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liberation struggle, holidays and the language; (3) Enlarging the struggle by spreading it to the broadest spheres of the Ukrainian population, and in particular, to the village, and to assist in the national and cultural education of the people.

c. Describe your Activity Within the Organization, Including Positions Held With Dates: (A) In 1928, in an arrangement with Ivan Gabrusevych, UVO-OUN member, who gave lectures in the above-mentioned students circle, I established in the gymnasium (high school) the Self-Education Circle ("Samoosvitnyy Hurtok") which was legalized by the high school administration and with the Ukrainian language teacher, Bilen'kyi, as the circle's guardian. The circle's goal was to hold weekly meetings and offer lectures on the Ukrainian literature and education in the presence of the guardian-teacher, and to lead a discussion after the lecture. The second goal was to attract upperclassmen to the Self-Education Circle and draw their interest to the subject in order to identify potential candidates for establishing an illegal OUN Youth Circle. The Self-Education Circle lasted to the end of the school year and then the school administration closed it down. In the meantime, the Initiative Youth Circle was formed with me as its head. With the new school year (1928-29), our Initiative Circle established other circles (five members each) in other classes of the school whose total membership in time was numbering up to 50. In 1929, on the initiative of the Youth Circles, demonstrations against

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mandatory observation of Polish national holidays were carried out, and in particular the Pilsudski's birthday. The investigation conducted by the school administration and the police did not find the guilty ones, only suspects. I remained the leader of the high school OUN Youth to the end of my stay in the school, and had constant contacts with the OUN liaison appointed to our school. He frequently attended our meetings (the Leading Youth Circle), where we discussed the subject of youth training, preparation for holding demonstrations against the mandatory celebration of Polish holidays, reading and disseminating illegal OUN literature, and discussion of the political trials reported in the press.

After completing high school, again on instruction from Ivan Gabrusevych (he was arrested in 1941 by the Gestapo and died in a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen), I assumed the post of the Chief of OUN Youth Section of the National OUN Executive Board ["Krayeva Ekzekutyva"] (I did not become a full member of the National OUN Executive Board perhaps because it was just reorganized after recent massive arrests, and in addition, I did not want to publicly expose myself prematurely, the more so, since work with the young people involved the education and preparation of new cadres for the OUN). I remained in this post until 1932, when, following new mass arrests, I was ordered to move illegally to Prague (Czechoslovakia) to liaison with members of the PUN-OUN ["Provid"--OUN Leadership Council]. I did not carry out the order.

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As the Chief of all OUN Youth, I tried to increase its ranks by establishing new circles in all high schools and seminaries. During school vacations, I organized and carried out the Carpathian Mountains youth training in the form of tourist hiking camps. The participants of this training were OUN Youth members who finished high school and were about to be advanced to the membership of the OUN. In practice, not all of them were moved to the OUN, only the best of them, the rest remained as so-called OUN sympathizers.

At this time (Autumn 1932), I am notified that the police are searching for me in connection with the spontaneous active village uprising in one of the Volhynia districts caused by socio-economic reasons. In order to find out the reasons for and conditions of that resistance, I sent out two OUN members, my friends, to the district and gave them two addresses where they were to send their findings. One of these addresses was that of a farmer in Strilychi Novi. The letter sent to him was censored by the police; the farmer himself was brought to Volhynia and under beatings he admitted that he was to deliver the letter to me and that the contents and purpose of the letter were and are unknown to him. After this, he was released and started to work for the police, but he informed us of the investigation and what he confessed. I switched then to the illegal phase of my life. After being sent to Prague by the OUN, I spent there a few months,

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and in the summer [1933] I returned to the Carpathian Mountains where I got myself involved again with training OUN members.

In the Autumn of 1933, I moved again to Czechoslovakia, and from there on orders from a PUN-OUN member, I entered Germany illegally. Having been stopped at the border for lack of any personal documents, I spent eight days in jail for crossing the border illegally, and after that I was sent back to the Czechoslovak border. Several days after that, I crossed the border again and arrived at the Organization's [OUN] station in Berlin. From here, I was sent to Italy with an assignment to a military training camp of the Croation revolutionary movement called "Ustashi." Having arrived at their station in Milan, I met our contact and learned from him that virtually no military training is being given there, and that there are only about 100 people in the camp, mostly escapees from Yugoslavia. At my request, he (OUN Contact) released me from my obligations at the camp, and I returned to Germany. And from there, in May 1934, on the advise of I. Gabrusevych who was already in Germany at that time, I returned through <sup>Gdansk</sup> Danzig to Lviv. Here, at friends' advice, I decided to go with my fiancée to Danzig or even farther, to Germany to continue my studies there. With that purpose in mind, I moved to Warsaw in order to take advantage of the so-called "Święto Morza" [Holiday of the Sea] and get to Gdynia <sup>Gdansk</sup> [port], and more precisely to Danzig. During this time, for all

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practical purposes, I did not hold any post in the Organization (OUN).

### III. DETAILS OF PIERACKI ASSASSINATION

1. Describe in Detail the Planning of the Assassination (Include Dates): (A) The plan of the assassination was not known to me.

a. Reasons for the Assassination: (A) During court proceedings I became acquainted with a document, an article of the National Executive Board of OUN, in which the OUN National Executive Board admitted that the attempt on Pieracki was executed by the OUN. I do not recall the broader argumentation of that article beyond that the assassination of Pieracki was done for political reasons, namely for the policies of Pieracki as Minister for Internal Affairs of Poland with respect to the Ukrainian people, namely: (1) widely planned and forcibly implemented colonization of Polish elements on the territory of Volhynia; (2) artificial support by Pieracki of the so-called "Katsaps" in West Ukraine (pro-Russian elements who with time ceased to exist politically); (3) constant continuation of so-called pacification in West Ukraine with the aid of organizing so-called "strzelcy" [rifleman] among the youth of Polish nationality, continuous police terror and killings of innocent people; (4) forcible polonization of schools, including elementary schools.

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b. Personalities Involved (Include Biographic Information): (A) Unknown to me.

c. Describe in Detail Your Own Part in the Planning of the Assassination: (A) None.

2. Describe in Detail the Implementation of the Assassination:

(A) From the investigation and trial, I learned that the assassin killed Minister Pieracki using an automatic pistol of the trademark probably "Hispan," 7.35 calibre. Moreover, according to the investigation data, the assassin had with him a petard, which was found by the police on the street, where the assassination took place; (it was) not damaged, (and was) of amateur construction. This petard reportedly consisted of a fuse and explosive material.

a. How Was it Accomplished (Include Dates, Places, and All Pertinent Descriptions Known to You): (A) On the basis of the indictment and the trial, the attempt was executed on 15 June 1934 in the cloak room of the "BB Club" [Nonparty Bloc Club, official Polish party] on dead-end Foksal Street, in the early afternoon hours (close to 3:00 p.m.). Foksal Street was a side street to the main street Nowy Swjat, on which, several hundred meters away from the Foksal Street, were buildings of the Main Police Headquarters and the Ministry for Internal Affairs.

The assassin reportedly entered the cloak room of the Club directly behind Pieracki and at the time when Pieracki began

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to undress, or gave his overcoat, the assassin fired three shots at him, two of which were fatal. Immediately after that, the assassin reportedly walked calmly out on the street. Only after he was noticed by the Club members, police and passersby, he began to run. During the escape, the assassin wounded in the hand one of the policemen, who fired a couple of shots at him, and disappeared.

On the street, the police, beside the already mentioned petard, reportedly found also the hat of the assassin, and in the next side street, in one of the residential buildings, his overcoat.

b. Personalities Involved (Include Biographic Information): (A) Unknown to me.

c. Give Complete Details Regarding Your Participation in the Actual Assassination, Including Your Whereabouts Before, During and Afterwards: (A) None.

3. Aftermath of the Assassination:

a. Who Were the People Arrested in Connection With the Assassination? (A) The number of people arrested in connection with the assassination is not known to me. I knew from the press and later from the trial that on the eve of the assassination, that is on the 14th of June, the police arrested more than 70 Ukrainians, predominantly university students in Lviv and Krakow. These arrests were conducted on a charge of suspicion of belonging to OUN. After the assassination, there were further mass arrests

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among Ukrainian students also in Warsaw. At the same time a concentration camp was established in Bereza Kartuzka, which was planned while Pieracki was still living. There were arrests also among Polish youth (so-called People's Radical Camp, or something in that sense) and of members of the opposition parties.

b. Give Complete Details Regarding Your Own Arrest and Extradition from Germany: (A) I was arrested perhaps on 23 June, in the morning, immediately after the arrival of the ship from Danzig and docking in <sup>Swinouyskie</sup> Swinemuende. I was arrested by the German Secret Police in the presence of a Polish Consul and a Polish police detective from Lviv. From the port I was taken to a police station, where my briefcase, containing toiletries and passport-document for travel from Danzig to Germany under the name of Yevhen Skyba, were taken away. That name I gave as my own during inquiries as to who I am, whence I came, and where I am going. In response to other questions I asked who was interrogating me, and received the answer that it was the Polish Consul. To my next question why was I arrested, I did not receive a direct reply and I refused to answer any more questions. In turn, attempts were made to interrogate me by a German policeman (who introduced himself as an inspector, I forgot his name), when Poles were not present, and who asked me if I was in Warsaw. But I asked him to give me the opportunity to get in touch with the Ukrainian station in Berlin and gave him their address.

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In a few hours this policeman took me with him to an automobile and we departed for Stettin, and from there by an airplane to Berlin (our car was being followed all the time by another car, but who was in it, I don't know).

In Berlin, perhaps in the building of police headquarters, I was called for a hearing by a high-ranking officer of the Gestapo in a black uniform. But after the initial two or three questions he was called to the telephone and the interrogation ended on that. In turn, the policeman from Swinemuende brought me to a secretary to make a list of items contained in my briefcase. He called to my attention, that my briefcase with its contents will be turned over to the Poles and that I may select from it anything that may compromise me. There was nothing of that kind.

In the evening, at about 8:00 p.m., the same policeman transferred me over to two other policemen dressed in civilian clothes, who handcuffed me and delivered me in a car to an airfield from which in a separate aircraft I was taken to Warsaw.

At the airfield in Warsaw a whole column of Polish secret and uniformed police, headed by the Inspector of Secret Police Sitkowski and the Minister of Justice, waited for us. Sitkowski introduced himself and took me under his charge. Transferred to the building of police headquarters, I was subjected in the presence of the two Gestapo men to a thorough inspection and description of all personal items and clothing.

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Following that, after initial questions pertaining to my personal data, I turned to the Gestapo officers with a question, whether I will remain in Poland. When they confirmed that, I declared that I refuse to give any evidence. After that, the procedure, beside the hints that I will be "singing yet," progressed in a calm manner.

Sometime after midnight, one group of Polish police officers went with the two Gestapo officers to a nightclub to entertain themselves, and I was taken to an underground cell in the same block of buildings; handcuffed and naked I was left in the cell.

c. Give Complete Details Regarding the Pre-Trial Arrest of Yourself and Others Known to You: (A) Sometime, after a week in this first cell, I was transferred to Cell Number 2 due to kidney ailment. (The first cell was without a window, humid. Having slept naked on the floor, and later dressed but without the underwear, my kidneys caught cold.)

In Cell Number 2, I remained until January 1935. This cell had a window and beside it a narrow channel [fissure] for ventilation, because the window could not be opened. From the corridor, the cell was separated by a small room with a stove, where constantly sat two policemen per shift (one detective and one uniformed). Their duty was observation, checking my handcuffs, supervision during meal times and telephone communication with the prison headquarters. My window gave on the building opposite,

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where chief inspector of the police performed his official duties and from where my cell was under observation through binoculars. With the exception of prosecutors, investigating judges, and chief inspector of police Sitkowski, it was strictly forbidden for anyone from the police to speak to me. The cells on the left and on the right of my cell were empty (total number of cells in this basement was about 14).

After several weeks of my stay there and my silence, they began to take me to the top of the same building for confrontations. There, I was in the company of my detectives along with nearly a hundred of different kinds of people and in the presence of investigative judges, prosecutors, and police officers, they all looked me over for weeks. Some of them examined me in detail and described under what circumstances and where they became acquainted with me; for others it was more difficult and they pointed at me with explanations, that this must be the one, because he is unshaven, dirty, without a shirt on and in chains.

Perhaps at the end of August, two women were brought for confrontation from whom I rented a room during my stay in Warsaw for a month. They could not recognize me and finally turned to me with a request that I tell them whether it was I, and then they burst into tears. They were two Jewish women, and I was sorry, that I would not grant them their request. For the next confrontation they brought a policeman from my native town,

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Strilychi Novi, who knew me personally. This one was equally vague, but in response to an order shouted by the police inspector, he pointed at me with a finger and said this must be him, Mykola Lebed. After that confrontation I acknowledged my last name.

In the month of September I began my first hunger strike, that lasted seven days. On the seventh day, the prosecutor consented that water be brought for me in the morning for washing and a comb (I still had hair). Until that time I was not given the opportunity to wash myself. For five minutes in the morning the handcuffs were removed so I could do gymnastics, I was shaved, given underwear, a straw mattress and a cot; they repaired my shoes and for my money permitted me to buy additional food once in two weeks and once a week a book for reading. [The prosecutor] did not consent to the issuance of toilet paper, a trip outside to a toilet and a walk. In practice, three days after the hunger strike, the gymnastics were denied (because "it exerts me physically"), I did not receive any books, and my shirt was without buttons and tattered. I wore it until February [1935].

During later confrontations after the hunger strike, I was helping them by pointing a finger at myself. As a result, my hands were handcuffed behind my back during confrontations and I could only nod my head. (From that mass of witnesses perhaps only five participated in the trial.)

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On 6 January 1935 (Ukrainian Christmas Eve), I began another hunger strike for the same reasons as before and with a demand that the investigation be ended and I be transferred to a prison. (There were severe frosts those days, through the fissure opening next to the window cold air was blowing, the cell was completely unheated and the type of handcuffs used were damaging my arms.) On the sixth day of my hunger strike I was taken out of the cell and transferred to the Mokotow Prison, where I remained to the end of the investigation and trial. I was not rid of my handcuffs, but the cell was heated, with a bed and a weekly change of underwear, and at the end of February I also received a book. As I learned later during the trial, all this was done for me owing to the fact that one of the accused, Yakiv Chorniy, went insane in those police basements.

During the month of September, after the hunger strike, I agreed to give my confession. During several days of hearings, I deposited the following confession:

-- In October 1932, the police got on the trail of a report about unrest in Volhynia, which was sent at my instruction to the address of a farmer in Strilychi Novi. This farmer compromised me with his confession, therefore I escaped to Czechoslovakia, taking residence near Prague until December 1933. At that time I wanted to get to Germany; however, German

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border guards caught me and punished me with an eight-day arrest, then sent me back to Czechoslovakia. In turn, I tried to get to Danzig and for that purpose returned back to Poland in April 1934. There I learned that the police were still looking for me and for that reason I stayed in hiding. My acquaintances advised me to wait with my departure to Danzig until the time of "Święto Morza" [Sea Holiday], when additional trains and cheaper fares will be available to Gdynja. I arrived in Warsaw on 15 May and a day later, my future wife arrived. In Warsaw I remained until 16 June, and on that day I left on a night train for Gdynja, together with my fiancée. I hastened my departure owing to the assassination of Pieracki, about which I learned from the press. From Gdynja to Danzig I crossed illegally and found there a man who obtained for me a document in the name of "Yevhen Skyba." What was the name of that man I can't remember, but it is possible that his last name was Fedyna, as the prosecutor asserts.

As for the living conditions of others in the investigative jail, this information I obtained mainly in the course of the trial. During the investigation period and until the first day of the trial, that is, until 18 November 1935, I had

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no opportunity to see anyone. During my stay in the mentioned police dungeon-cell, I guessed from the overheard conversation of Polish functionaries that besides me there were another 10-11 people. Moreover, when the meal was served and the detective unchained one of my hands, he did not know which of the little keys was the right one for my handcuffs, and he sometimes had three or four keys. From this I understood that besides me there were at times two or three other handcuffed (prisoners). During trial I learned that Yaroslav Karpynets' was also constantly handcuffed. He was on trial for the alleged manufacture of a petard. (He was a student at Krakow University.)

After my transfer to Mokotow Prison, during summer months of 1935, through the peep-hole of my cell (the peep-hole was always open, the light in the cell was on day and night, and I had a personal guard), I heard that they brought into the same ward Stepan Bandera, and later Bohdan Pidhayny.

d. Give Complete Description of the Trial:

- (1) Prosecution Attorneys: (A) Rudnicki and Zelenski.
- (2) Defense Attorneys: (A) Lev Hankevych, Oleksander Paventskyy, Horbovy, and Shlapak.
- (3) Witnesses: (A) High-ranking functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and lower ranking functionaries of police; two best Ukrainian lawyers -- Stepan Shukhevych and Volodymyr Starosol'skyy; prison guards; Ukrainian prisoners suspected of belonging to OUN; owner of the residence where I

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lived in Warsaw and others. As far as I can recall, there were many witnesses and perhaps all of them were on the side of the prosecution.

(4) Judges: (A) Presiding Judge of the Tribunal was Posemkewicz, President of the District Court and two others whose names I don't recall.

(5) Specific Accusations Against Yourself: (A) I was accused of belonging to the OUN (paragraph 58 -- separation of a part of the territory from the whole); moreover, that I had allegedly conducted observation to determine Pieracki's lifestyle; allegedly selected proper time for executing the assassination, allegedly gave an assassin the petard, and allegedly pointed out the person of Pieracki.

(6) Evidence Presented by the Prosecuting Attorney:  
(A) Main evidence for the prosecution were confessions given in the course of police investigation by the four accused during that trial and perhaps by other Ukrainian prisoners, suspected of belonging to OUN. Moreover, as incriminating material evidence presented to the court was the so-called laboratory of Ya. Karpynets' (laboratory of chemical explosive materiel) which was to serve as proof that the petard found by the police on the street on which the assassination took place was manufactured by Ya. Karpynets'.

From the police investigation confession data given by the four accused, it appeared that the assassin allegedly

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was Hryts' Matseyko, a printer from Lviv, who after the assassination departed for Lublin to the residence of a student, Yakiv Chorniy (one of the accused) and later to Lviv, from where, in turn, he was lead illegally over the Carpathian Mountains into Czechoslovakia, and there his trail disappeared.

This Matseyko was supposed to have told them (the four accused) how the assassination was accomplished. From their confessions, it appeared that the assassination was planned by the National Executive Board of the OUN with S. Bandera at the head, and that the latter allegedly sent Matseyko to Warsaw and gave him a pistol and money.

These confessions, obtained by police during the investigation, were not confirmed by the aforementioned accused during the trial and their confessions were read.

The prosecutor, in order to prove my guilt to the court, called on two witnesses from police investigation, namely the following: a waiter from one of the finest coffeehouses in Warsaw, "European Hotel" ("<sup>Europejski</sup>Evropeys'kyy Hotel"), who gave evidence that he saw me frequently in the coffeehouse at the same time when Pieracki was there; also a taxi driver, who gave evidence that I took his taxi in the neighborhood of Foksal Street (on which the assassination occurred), perhaps a few days before the assassination (presently, I cannot recall it with greater accuracy). Both of those witnesses were fakes, and gave as

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evidence absolute lies, for I never was in the mentioned coffeehouse simply because I had no money for that; and also, during my stay in Warsaw I never used a taxi.

(7) Evidence Presented by the Defense Attorney:

(A) The defense took the position, that the assassination was done not by the Ukrainian side and strove to prove that all accused had nothing to do with it.

(8) Give Your Own Evaluation of the Political Trends During the Trial: (A) During the investigation as well as during the trial apparently two conflicting political tendencies were evident. This cleavage, this dual separation ran from top to bottom, that is, through prosecuting attorneys, judges, the highest police officials and ended among police detectives and prison guards.

Thus, sometime in December 1934, on a Sunday, I was brought upstairs to a room, where I found Inspector of the Secret Police, Sitkowski, behind a desk. At his direction, I was left alone in his care. Sitkowski addressed me with a request that I "privately" give him information about cooperation of the OUN Leadership Council with the Germans, giving me assurances that should I, from my side, give him a satisfactory clarification of that question, he guaranteed that before a week would pass I would be freed. When I indicated to him that I don't know about this matter, he then began to explain to me that unfortunately, during the trial they will be constrained to keep quiet about the

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question of cooperation in view of the Ten Year Pact signed [by Poland] with Germany, even though he himself does not believe in the Pact. (With this he also confessed that he too was once a prisoner like me at the time of the Polish liberation struggle against Russia.) Then he told me how their investigation is progressing and with that he enumerated some of the names of the OUN members known to me and the name of Matseyko as a suspect in carrying out the assassination. (During the trial I became convinced that the inspector was telling the truth.)

After several hours, when I let him know that I had nothing else to add to the earlier deposition, he bid me goodbye with these words: "For the Ukrainian people you are a hero, as once we were for the Polish [people]. Regretfully, I cannot recognize this officially. We will see each other only at the trial." He gave me a handshake and on this our conversation ended. (I regarded this conversation as a police investigation technique, and only at the trial did I learn that he was in the opposition to the pro-Government Party).

A similar line was consistently assumed by the First Prosecutor, Rudnicki, former defense attorney at the trials of Polish revolutionary underground during the struggle against Russia; and he still belonged to the PPS (opposition Polish Socialist Party).

During the first days of the trial, in conversation with the mother of my [future] wife, he stated: "The

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verdict in this trial was determined long ago. Nothing can be done by the lawyers. Here, your politicians must act now." He also started a wide-ranging discussion with the witness for the prosecution, Dr. Volodymyr Starosolskyy, on the topic of Ukrainian people's struggle for a Ukrainian university, and his questioning of the witness was clearly positive to such a degree, that the Presiding Judge, Posemkewicz, tried to terminate that topic.

(Clarification: Dr. S. Lukhevyh and Dr. V. Starosolskyy were deliberately summoned by the prosecution as its witnesses in order to prevent them from defending the suspects, as they were the best defense lawyers in political trials. Dr. V. Starosolskyy was a Professor at the Secret Ukrainian University until the police, by the order of the Government, ultimately liquidated that University through arrests.)

The course of the trial was predetermined in advance. This became clear on the first day when the court took the position of not admitting depositions of the accused in the Ukrainian language, and for all practical purposes the trial was only a formal act of the 17-month long investigation. When finally one of the accused (broken by the investigation) consented to give evidence in Polish, the Presiding Judge interrupted him after five minutes, because the accused tried to express his political position.

To this day I don't know all the behind-the-scene actions of this trial, but it is a fact that Polish press together

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with the Government (excluding the so-called street press) took the position of neutrality, without any negative commentaries about the accused; the opposition press, however, took on the whole a positive position toward the accused. The basis for such attitude was probably the following: (a) dissatisfaction of Polish public opinion with the Ten Year German-Polish Pact; (b) among the Polish people, and especially among residents of Warsaw, the memories of Polish underground struggle against Russian occupation were still alive; (c) also, the whole deportment of the accused might have had a positive influence [on Polish public opinion].

As for the Judges, they had a pre-established tactic which they tried to carry through to the end. The goal was to prevent a public revelation of the political situation of the Ukrainian people. The main reason for such a tactic was probably the fact that this was a first political trial of the OUN members in which the Polish side, because of my extradition by the Germans, could not maintain its often used line that the Ukrainian political problem is just a German intrigue.

4. Result of Trial:

a. Verdict:

b. Sentence of Yourself and Others Involved:

(Answer to a & b) The court found all the accused guilty and all were sentenced. The sentences ranged from a death

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penalty to seven years in jail. On the basis, however, of the Amnesty decree issued a few days before the end of the trial, the punishment for all the accused was reduced--the death penalty resulted in life imprisonment, life imprisonment was reduced to 15 years, etc.

5. Describe the Events and Circumstances Leading to the Commuting of the Sentence:

a. Ukrainian Activities:

b. Activities of Interested Polish Groups:

(Answer to a & b) The Amnesty, probably, was prepared beforehand. According to the information provided by the Polish lawyers, who unofficially assisted the Ukrainian defendants, the Amnesty was supposed to have been proclaimed after the completion of the trial and pronouncement of the sentences. When it was realized during the trial, however, that the defendants may decline the Amnesty after their sentence, the Amnesty edict was passed in haste before the end of the trial.

Reasons for Amnesty: After the assassination of Pieracki, there came about a so-called normalization of Ukrainian-Polish relations. On the Ukrainian side this normalization policy was conducted by the UNDO [Ukrainian National-Democratic Union] as the strongest legal party, which had its representatives in the (Polish) Sejm and the Senate. (The beginning of this

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normalization is not known to me, as I was then under investigation and was completely isolated.)

From the Polish side, the normalization policy was conducted formally by the Government, but factually only by some of its members.

This normalization policy was influenced by the very fact of the assassination of the Minister of Internal Affairs, executed in the capital of Poland as an act against terror and policies of the Government of that time. This forced some (Polish) governing circles to revise their policies. It is quite possible that this change in the policies was related to the ongoing internal power struggle in the governing circles of Poland for the succession of leadership associated with the sickness and death of Pilsudski. All opposition parties of Poland whose members, and especially their leaders, the Polish Government began to incarcerate in the concentration camps on par with the Ukrainians, by the force of facts began to evaluate the Ukrainian question in a different light.

#### IV. ESCAPE FROM PRISON:

1. Describe the Conditions Existing While Serving Your Sentence:

(A) The living conditions in the jails were very harsh; Polish jails were divided not only into the light and harsh, but

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territorially as well. Practically, the jail regime was maintained similarly to what it was during the occupation of Poland before 1918. Thus, on the territories once occupied by Russia the jail regime was ala-Russian, the regime on the territories occupied formerly by the Germans remained German-like.

Immediately after sentencing, I along with four other comrades was transferred to the prison "Swety Krzyz" [Holy Cross]. This prison had its own characteristic regime and its own separate prison regulations. The prison was situated in the former 13th-century monastery. It was meant to hold 250 prisoners, but actually held on the average between 700 and 850 prisoners. A three-by-four meter cell held 15-17 prisoners. Each cell was isolated from each other, first of all by a system of appointed prisoner-orderlies, mostly mentally sick, who received double food rations. Any attempt to violate the isolation resulted in punishment of the prisoner by a seven-to-fourteen day solitary confinement in the so-called "karzer." These "karzer" cells were deep underground and were rebuilt from the former monks' tombs. After completing his term in such a cell, the prisoner came out either with a case of TB or completely twisted by rheumatism. Once in two months (sometimes more often), the prisoners were led by entire cells to so-called Russian baths, which was situated in a separate building inside the prison walls. The prisoners were shackled by two's on the legs with

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chains weighing 100 pounds. These were tsarist chains vintage 1860-1880.

With each passing year, the prison regime became harsher, thanks to the Minister of Justice Grabowski, who personally went for a course of study to Frank, Hitler's Minister of Justice, who was later hanged at Nuremberg.

In the summer of 1938, after a 15-day hunger strike, we were distributed individually to different prisons. I wound up in the Rawicz Prison near the German border. I received a separate single-occupant cell and was on orders of the Minister of Justice subjected to constant strict isolation. I still don't know what was the reason for it. I only know that the warden of the "Holy Cross" Prison made strong efforts to be rid of us. Already during the hunger strike he reminded me that we violate his prison customs and demoralize his prisoners (he used juicier words in reference to "his prisoners" which cannot be repeated here). He warned us that ten years ago, he liquidated an attempted hunger strike by sending 75 of his prisoners "to heaven." He does not want to punish us (none of us during the entire stay was punished), but prefers to be rid of us.

The Rawicz Prison had by far better sanitary conditions (bed, bed linen, weekly change of underwear, and in spite of the strict isolation, there was the possibility, through other prisoners, to communicate with our comrades who lived together in another prison building with the rights of political prisoners.)

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Sometime three weeks after my arrival in Rawicz, my comrades (there were more than 100 of them) informed me that they are beginning a hunger strike. I joined them. The hunger strike lasted 21 days, ended with the death of one of my comrades from the school days, and nothing was achieved by the prisoners.

In April 1939, I alone was transferred to the Siedlce Prison. It was a worse prison in all respects. I got a relatively large cell, which was intended for three inmates; it was damp, with a window high up and the size of 10 by 20 centimeters.

2. Give Time and Place of Your Escape:

(A) I did not escape from prison. Around the 10th or 11th of September 1939, they led me and 11 other Ukrainian prisoners to the prison yard, where a long column of prisoners stood. They handcuffed us in pairs (two's) and put us at the end of the column. A Polish army officer (lieutenant) gave the order before the march that during the march no one was to look to the side or behind him under penalty of death, and then gave the order to march outside the prison gates. We marched through a burning town, and then as it started to dawn, they led us into the nearest forest, divided us into groups and ordered us to take cover under the bushes. Here we remained until evening. Before we started to march again in the evening, the lieutenant shot the first prisoner who did not have the strength to march any further. Our group was

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led by some law student from Poznan (who was a cadet from the officer training corps). He told us that they were very likely leading us to another prison in the direction of Biala Podlaska. Furthermore, he said that the Bolsheviks [Soviet Union] had attacked Poland, and that the lieutenant did not have the right to shoot anyone. In our group there were several who were not Ukrainians and one Belorussian over 60 years old. The latter was starting to wear out. (We had had our last meal three days earlier.) He separated from the group and wandered about in the forest by himself. The lieutenant, who was leading the last group, caught up with him after a while, brought him before us and shot him. When it became dark, we went back out onto the highway, and then the shooting started for real. At first, they shot those who lagged behind from lack of strength, but afterward they began shooting indiscriminately. After shooting the whole rear column (over 40 prisoners), they finally reached our group, of which three fell and my comrade, Mykola Lemyk, who was handcuffed in the first rank with me, was wounded in the right shoulder. Further shooting stopped in view of the fact that Polish troops, who were retreating, thinking that it was the Germans who were shooting, started to panic; and after confirming who was doing the shooting, they gave orders to stop shooting. Then, those who still lagged behind because of exhaustion, were bayonnetted. When M. Lemyk started to fever from the loss of blood, and it became clear that he could go no farther in spite of our support, one of us asked a

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soldier, who stayed always close to us, to go and ask the sergeant for the keys, so that we could unlock Lemyk and leave him behind. The soldier hesitated, but finally went to the head of the column and got the keys. However, since each set of handcuffs had its own key, he couldn't manage to unlock them while on the march, and finally agreed to give me the keys on the condition that we continue to carry the unlocked handcuffs on our arms. We took off the handcuffs. There was a forest on both sides, and at the point where a bridge crossed a ditch, Lemyk with another prisoner who was to take care of him, slipped into the forest and hid.

About five of us remained in the rear of the column. The forest ended, and after consulting together, we decided we should all escape, and that I should be the first to attempt it; and if I succeed, the others should take off at the rate of one every five minutes. We should meet at the spot where Lemyk and his comrade escaped to. I left the column, passing by the soldier, who was looking ahead, listening to orders being given. I returned to the spot of the first escape, but no one answered the agreed-upon whistle signal. No one appeared either. (As I later found out, those who escaped from the column subsequently, hid themselves near the point of escape because of exhaustion.) By the eleventh day I made it to Rava Ruska, the first Ukrainian town. While on the road, I received a formal release from prison as a result of a law adopted and declared during the [Polish-German] war thanks to the efforts of UNDO representatives, who at the same time declared

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their loyal participation [on the Polish side] in the war against German aggression.

3. Give Details of Personalities Involved in Your Escape:

(A) The explanation for this item is given in paragraph 2 above.

V. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

1. Give Details of Your Activities Between Time of escape and the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence:

(A) The first three months after I left prison, I spent together with others in a resort hotel at Pescany, Slovakia. There, I learned from my comrades, members of the OUN, about the Organization's activity during the period of my incarceration, and at the same time about the lack of some basic policy position on the part of the OUN Leadership Council (PUN) with respect to the occupation of West Ukrainian lands (ZUZ) by the Bolsheviks. From Pescany I went together with others to Krakow, where I took part in the initial (OUN) deliberations concerning questions of new policy directions for continuing the struggle under the Bolshevik occupation and concerning disagreements with the then OUN Leadership Council (so-called PUN). Also taking part in these deliberations were representatives of the OUN National Executive

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Board, who came to Krakow from West Ukraine to deal with the development of some policy positions.

From Krakow, still on instructions from a PUN member, I went to another rest camp in Zakopane. Discovering on the spot that this "rest camp" was under the control of the German police, and that it was to be converted into a police school, I left it, freeing at the same time from camp control a group of people, using various pretexts.

In February 1940, I participated in a 40-member OUN council which passed a resolution on breaking away from the PUN. This resolution was not announced until one more attempt was made at resolving the conflict with Colonel Melnyk.

In May, by a mutual decision [of OUN], I prepared to depart to America (USA) together with my wife. With this goal, I went to Slovakia where with the help of some friends I bought a passport for myself and my wife using my own name. Finally, in the last days of June (1940), I left Vienna for Italy. In Italy, I met twice again with Colonel Melnyk in an attempt to reach an agreement (for this meeting I had the general agreement of the participants in the [OUN] deliberating council [see above] who agreed to my proposal). Both discussions [with Col. Melnyk], however, did not give any positive indications.

My departure to America was aborted, because a couple of days after my arrival, Mussolini declared war, and the American embassy was closed. Then I tried yet to get from Italy to

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Yugoslavia; I had a visa, but not enough money, so in September-October I returned back to Krakow.

During my stay in Italy, the conflict [within OUN] matured and ceased to be a secret.

Perhaps in February of 1941, after the [Second] OUN Congress, I was elected to the Leadership Council (Provid) of the OUN (Bandera) as an organizational referent and a Second Deputy to S. Bandera. My tasks -- supervision of OUN contact with [the underground in] Ukraine, preparation for the impending conflict between Hitler and Stalin, and organization of the so-called "Pokhidni Hrupy" [OUN Task Groups].

a. Describe the Break with Melnyk: (A) The basis for conflict with Col. Melnyk and his PUN was a political-conceptual divergence. After the fall of Poland and the arrival of the Bolsheviks in West Ukraine, the then PUN was in a state of quandary, and it issued instructions to OUN members in the Ukraine to leave Ukraine and go abroad, assuming that under the Soviets there would be no possibility for carrying on any political or revolutionary activity.

As I learned after my imprisonment, the conflict [within OUN] actually began much earlier, and existed between the PUN [abroad] and the National Executive Board [in the Ukraine], which had the support among those members of the Organization, who for various reasons had to go abroad earlier [1939].

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With the breakout of the conflict, as well as the debate surrounding it, a number of peripheral issues arose which actually obscured the basic reasons.

b. Describe the Stand of Bandera Supporters: (A) The OUN under the leadership of S. Bandera retained all active elements who were released from Polish prisons (with some exceptions), the complete staff of the National Executive Board in the Ukraine, and those members who in 1939 emigrated (from Ukraine).

#### VI. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (JUNE 1941)

1. Give Details Regarding the Negotiations with the Germans and the Part You Played in Such Negotiations:

(A) I arrived in Lviv at night, three days after the Germans occupied the city. That same night, I learned about the position of the Germans on the Declaration of Independence. The next day, on the street in front of the townhall, I ran across my acquaintance, a German, Professor Hans Koch, a lieutenant colonel in the Wehrmacht assigned to Ukrainian affairs. (He himself was in the Ukrainian Army during 1918-1921.) He let me know that I was here illegally and that officially he did not see me.

After the arrest of Ya. Stetsko, at the suggestion of Col. R. Yaryi I had a conversation with representatives of the Wehrmacht. Participating in the discussions on the German side were five German officers and on the Ukrainian side were R. Yaryi,

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myself, the late Col.-Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka, and perhaps Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, the Leader of the OUN [in the Ukraine] under Bolshevik occupation. The purpose of these discussions was an attempt (by the Germans) to improve cooperation on the basis of a transfer of administrative power to us on the territory occupied by the Wehrmacht, on the condition that we withdraw the Declaration of Independence. When I rejected that type of propositions, the discussion ended with a formal cessation of cooperation. One of the German representatives declared that we part as friends and enter the state of beligerence. He said he did not know how or when we would meet again, but he wished us well. During our parting, I was given a warning that eight hours from this moment the Wehrmacht would assume no responsibility for us.

2. Describe the Activities of the OUN and the Establishment of the SB:

(A) The activity of the OUN during this period is described in the book "UPA" by M. Lebed, and I cannot add anything new to it.

As concerns the founding of the SB [OUN Security Service], this referentura was created already in 1939/1940. The SB was created and headed the whole time by Mykola Arsenych-Mykhaylo who fell in the battle with the [Soviet] MVD-MGB [troops] in 1947. Thanks to the SB and even more to the person of the late

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Col. Arsenych-Mykhaylo, the OUN, and afterwards the whole liberation front were saved from serious enemy provocations and agent infiltration.

3. Give Details Regarding the Circumstances Around the German Reaction to the Declaration of Independence:

(A) The Germans were caught by surprise upon the Declaration of Independence. Of course, during the first days there were [in Lviv] only military units of the Wehrmacht present, and they accepted the Declaration of Independence as totally logical, thinking that it took place with the consent of the German political officials (or the Nazi Party); however, in a couple of days after the Declaration of Independence, a special unit of the SD [Sicherheitsdienst -- SS Security Service] came to Lviv and immediately began taking counteraction denying us access to the radio station, and let it be known that the Declaration took place not only without their approval, but on the contrary, against their will.

a. Events Leading to German Disapproval: (A) The basic and only reason for this sort of a German position was the Declaration of Independence itself. This became clear after a couple of months when Hitler annexed West Ukraine into his so-called Generalgouvernement [of Poland].

b. Manifestation of German Approval: (A) German dissatisfaction became known by the arrest of Bandera, Stetsko,

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and all known members, who remained behind in Krakow and by subsequent mass arrests on 15 September [1941]. They did not want to carry out those arrests immediately perhaps because they did not want to arouse the population, and because they wanted to collect as much information as possible about OUN members including their addresses.

4. Give Details Regarding the Issuance of "Dead or Alive"

Notices:

(A) I first received a copy of the "Warrant" for my arrest perhaps in November-December [1941]. A courier brought it from Lviv during the [OUN] Organization Conference called by me in the vicinity of Brody with a note from a leading [OUN] member known to me, warning me that I should not return to Lviv by automobile. (At that time I had a different auto, and the auto identified in the "Warrant" I used only once or twice right after the outbreak of the war.) The first original copy of the "Warrant" was given to a member of the OUN by a Ukrainian from Bukovyna, who was in the "Ferkers Polizei" of the German Army. Afterwards two more examples of the same "Warrant" came into the possession of the [OUN] Organization; and in addition, in 1943, again someone from Bukovyna, who worked for the Gestapo, handed over three copies of my photograph, which, according to him, every member of the SD and Gestapo carried with him.

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VII. PERIOD FROM 1941 TO PRESENT

1. Give Details of Capture of Bandera and Stetsko by the Germans and Your Escape from the Germans:

(A) S. Bandera was detained in Kholmshchyna (territory still within Poland before the outbreak of war with the Soviets, or in the so-called Generalgouvernement). I don't exactly remember right now whether they detained him in his automobile and invited him for an important meeting in Krakow, or they sent word that he come himself to that meeting. To the day of his arrest, S. Bandera did not cross the border between Germany and the USSR which was maintained until 22 June 1941.

Ya. Stetsko had perhaps several discussions in Lviv with SD representatives. I did not participate in these discussions, but Ya. Stetsko told me what the contents of these discussions were, and that he expected to be arrested. In these conversations they suggested to him the withdrawal of the Declaration of Independence. When he was invited to and appeared at a subsequent discussion, he never returned. He was taken to Berlin where he lived in private quarters together with S. Bandera, and both had some additional discussions [with German authorities]. On 15 September [1941], he was formally arrested.

From the day of Ya. Stetsko's arrest, I rarely appeared at the buildings occupied by the Organization. I lived privately and found a building in another part of town for meetings. At the

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end of August, I went to Kamyianets-Podolsk, Vynnytsia, and Kiev oblasts [region] in order to assess for myself the situation there and also to orient OUN members who were in these oblasts. I returned to Lviv through Volhynia on the night of 12/13 September. Here I learned that they were preparing arrests, and the next day at the urging of my wife and comrades, I spent the night in other quarters. In the morning around 10 o'clock on the 15th of September [1941], I received information about mass arrests, including that of my wife at our residence, my sister and cousin. In the afternoon, three leading members of the OUN, my friends, came to my quarters; they were arrested with others in Vasylkove near Kiev, and had just escaped from the prison train.

On that day, I went underground.

2. Describe Your Activities During World War II:

(A) On the day of Ya. Stetsko's arrest, I automatically took over the leadership of the OUN, as acting head in accordance with the "Provid" Decree and as the Second Deputy to S. Bandera. I began to use the name of Maksym Ruban. However, because of my trip to central oblasts of the Ukraine, and additionally because of mass arrests, I was able to convene the First Conference of the Leading OUN Members only in November [1941]. (There were practically no members of the Leadership Council (Provid) at liberty.) At this First Conference, we adopted new resolutions in view of the new situation, and directives on further activity;

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tried to make use of them, especially in the aftermath of mass arrests of 15 September [1941].

The fact is, that a full list of OUN members, with three private addresses, were given to the Gestapo by two OUN-M members. (The list contained over 150 names.) The lower ranks of the Organization reacted explosively, and it was necessary to issue special orders against any acts of violence.

It is also a fact that the Organization [OUN-B] sentenced one of the OUN-M members to death, one Yuriy Sokolovskyy, as an agent of the Gestapo, and issued a communique on this matter. Finally, I want to emphasize that during the period in which I exercised the duties of the Acting Leader of the Organization (OUN), discussions were being held between representatives of both OUN's with the goal of finding a common political platform. Unfortunately, this was not achieved, neither at that time nor afterwards.

(2) Against Bulba: (A) Concerning Bulba-Borovets, up to 1943, this group had no influence on the Ukrainian political life and the OUN-B had practically no interest in it. The group existed only in one region of Volhynia and had a closed group of sympathizers. My good friend Ivan Mitrynga, a former member of the OUN-B, belonged to it. He was the actual political leader of the Bulba faction, and I tried several times to make contact with him. In addition, I personally asked the [OUN-B] Leader in the

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Volhynia territory at that time to leave the [Bulba] group in peace.

In the spring of 1943, I sent two officers to Volhynia territory with the task of finding out what was the situation there, the reasons for the [Ukrainian] mass exodus to the forests, and to assist with the proper organization of the UPA. One of them, Sonar, returned and during his debriefing also brought up the matter of Bulba, who had also started a resistance movement in his area. Col. Sonar called attention to the fact, that this problem had to be resolved positively, and received directives to have a personal meeting with Bulba; and if Sonar should evaluate him positively, he should offer Bulba a position in the General Staff of UPA-Volhynia (at that time the UPA was active only in Volhynia). I never received an answer, because shortly afterward Col. Sonar together with a score of UPA members were killed in a German ambush. (His death along with the whole group has never been explained to this day.)

Finally, from an UPA communique and from members of the UPA General Staff, I found out that the Bulba group was disarmed and integrated into the UPA, and Bulba himself fled and disappeared with several others. Later I received news that in the region of Lyudvypil, Bolshevik partisans attacked the house in which Bulba lived, killing Ivan Mitrynga and several of his people, and Bulba himself escaped. While negotiating with the

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Germans, Bulba went to Warsaw where he was finally arrested by the Gestapo and sent to a concentration camp.

The reasons for disarming [Bulba faction] were the following: When Bulba rejected the proposal to unite with the UPA, the General Staff of UPA-North (Volhynia) demanded that Bulba's group disarm because Bulba's group (a) complicated communications between UPA units and their operations; (b) undertook actions which were not in the interest of the liberation movement; (c) twice intercepted UPA couriers, who then disappeared; (d) complicated UPA actions against Bolshevik partisans who were in the depths of Kremyanets forests.

In addition, the UPA-North Command knew in detail about Bulba's negotiations with the Germans and especially with a Bolshevik representative. Bulba turned to them for help with arms and supplies.

Personally, after 1941, I was never in Volhynia, and it is not true that I met with Bulba, whom up to this day I do not know personally.

b. Consolidation of UPA: (A) The fact is that with the disarming of Bulba's group, the consolidation of UPA took place, and no real separate armed group or unit ever existed after that.

c. Third Extraordinary Congress of the OUN (Explain Change in Philosophy as Reflected in Resolutions; Describe Your Part in the Congress): (A) III Extraordinary Congress of the OUN. The foundation for the III Extraordinary Congress of the OUN

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was the consumation of the democratization of the OUN, and a great emphasis on socio-economic questions as well as national. The socio-economic questions were introduced by members of the central and eastern provinces of the Ukraine and those members from the Western Ukraine who worked and lived in those Eastern provinces. At that time, for the OUN members and for the whole citizenry in West Ukraine it was enough only to struggle for a Ukrainian state; but in the central and eastern provinces, both the members and the people wanted to know for what kind of a free Ukraine, and specifically, for what kind of a sovereign state they were struggling.

As far as the political and in particular the socio-economic program is concerned, as a participant in the III Extraordinary Congress of the OUN, I voted for its adoption. My only disagreement was over the first point of the OUN Program, which in the original formulation of the resolution stated: "The OUN is struggling so that every nation can live a free life in its own independent state," (etc.). At my request, this point was changed to: "The OUN is struggling for a Ukrainian Independent State, and so that every people therein can live its own free life..."

The III Extraordinary Congress of the OUN took place under rather difficult conditions - with the Germans surrounding the region. It was necessary to change the location every night, and time was limited.

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(2) Your Position: (A) During the UHVR Congress, I gave a speech on the subject: "On the External Political Position." There were three speeches in all. During the election of the UHVR President and the Head of the General Secretariat, the latter turned to me with the request to take the post of General Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to which I gave my consent.

3. Give Details Concerning Your Mission Outside the Ukraine:

(A) My tasks outside Ukraine were as follows: (1) try as quickly as possible to make contact with the Allies (specifically with the official representatives of America and England or their Armies) with the goal of explaining the whole position of the Ukrainian liberation struggle on two fronts; (2) provide information about the goals and tasks of this struggle; and (3) obtain assistance.

a. When and By Whom Were You Sent: (A) I received my commission to leave directly from the Head of the General Secretariat [UHVR], R. Shukhevych AKA R. Lozovs'kyy, General Taras Chuprynka. I received this directive after the UHVR Congress ended, when we learned from radio reports about a new Bolshevik offensive in the direction of Lviv and the Carpathian Mountains. I was to supplement the staff of the Mission with people from the UHVR membership and members of the Ukrainian liberation movement (UPA, OUN), as well as non-party personalities. I received funds sufficient for 9-12 people for a period of one year.

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At the time of my departure together with the whole group, we held another consultation with the UHVR President at the western border of the Ukraine. The Head of the General Secretariat [UHVR], Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, was not present at this consultation, because he was already on the territory seized by the Bolsheviks. The UHVR President confirmed our departure at this meeting, and there we said goodbye.

b. What Were Your Specific Targets: (A) The goal of my trip was to get to Europe outside German control. To this end, I sent five couriers as well as a member of the UHVR, Yevhen Vretsiona. Of these five, one paid with his life in the vicinity of Trieste, having fallen into the hands of Tito's partisans, the second disappeared, and the third made contact with the Anglo-American Mission with the help of an Italian democratic partisan woman in southern Tyrol, but was treated by the Allied Mission as an "emissary of Stalin," and as such was tolerated. With the help of the same partisan woman, Yevhen Vretsiona made his way to Switzerland, called on the Allied consulates, but these particular representatives did not express any interest and finally Vretsiona ended his mission in a work camp.

Based on reports from the last courier who maintained firm contact with me, I decided to go to Italy, and through Rome to Bari, where the American Army was standing at that time. In the meantime, while staying in Slovakia, I got a link to an acquaintance of mine in Yugoslavia, or rather Croatia, in Zagreb.

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He assured me that he personally knew the resident on the Allied side, who gave assurances of help. I travelled across to Zagreb and stayed there until Tito's arrival, because, from the assurances of the aforementioned resident, the Allied Forces were to arrive at this location [Balkans]. Unfortunately this did not happen.

c. What is Your Present Position in the ZPUHVR and the UHVR: (A) My current position in the UHVR is to continue to discharge the responsibilities of the office of General Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As a member of the ZPUHVR (Foreign Representation of UHVR), I retain the post of General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR.

4. Give Details Concerning Your Present Circumstances and Future Plans:

(A) To write about my current circumstances is rather difficult. The current politics of the American Government and in particular of the so-called unofficial circles, indicate clearly a lack of any kind of interest in the Ukrainian problem, and particularly in the goals of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the aspirations of the Ukrainian people (as of any other captive nations, for that matter), -- i.e., in the goals at the heart of which lies the dismemberment of the USSR into national, independent states, and the ability of free peoples within today's USSR to decide freely future relations between them.

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Today, American political circles concerned try unmistakably to conceal under the "all-Russian tattered furcoat" the Ukrainian question, which exists as a factor of strength and potentially can play a great role. They have assigned to the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people the task to be the "breadbasket" for an imaginary future democratic Russian empire, a task against which the Ukrainian people have been struggling ever since the beginning of the USSR, which, having subjugated Ukraine, has been finally able to become a threat to the whole world, including America.

While the Bolshevik Party (Stalin and the Politburo), willy-nilly, makes concessions from time to time in favor of the Ukrainian question, if only for tactical or formal reasons, then the semi-official circles of America, in contrast, are categorically designating the Ukraine as an inseparable part of the Russian empire. At the same time, they argue openly that without the Ukraine, Russia could not be an empire and a military power, ignoring the will of the Ukrainian people as well as their contemporary and past struggle for freedom.

Up to this time, I have often met with reproaches from my American acquaintances about the free-wheeling state of the Ukrainian emigre political parties. Recently I came across a fact that, in the course of one night, American representatives in Germany brought to life six more new, so-called Ukrainian "parties" and they are creating from these parties a Ukrainian

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Liberation Council (why not the UHVR directly?). At the same time they gloss over the past history of these adventurers/blackmailers.

I consider equally that such an important question as the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (the UPA), which alone in the Soviet Union gave proof of the possibilities for existence of a liberation struggle based on expounded set of principles, and which alone provided invaluable documentation of that struggle, cannot be treated only from the point of view of acquisition of materials and information.

My Plans for the Future: First of all, I think that, for as long as I am able, I am obliged to carry out my mission, and particularly on the American soil. I think that the Ukrainian people are standing before their final and at the same time their only chance to obtain support in their struggle for liberation. They can get this support only from America, or the American people in the broader sense. And therefore, as long as any kind of possibility exists for explaining the Ukrainian question to the American people, I will consider it my duty to contribute to that end.

When I decided to provide these explanations to the questionnaire, the purpose of which was not explained to me, then I do that not for personal benefit or loss, but because of the obligations which I voluntarily accepted from those in the

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Fatherland, who for the most part have already fallen in the struggle.

Completed on May 18, 1952.

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Date of Questionnaire: 8 April 1952.

Date of Response: 18 May 1952 (in Ukrainian).

Date of Translation: 22 January 1986.

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