

THE THIRD  
REICH  
AND THE  
UKRAINIAN  
QUESTION

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Documents 1934—1944

Wolodymyr Kosyk

**THE THIRD REICH**  
**and**  
**THE UKRAINIAN**  
**QUESTION**

**Documents 1934-1944**

**by**  
**WOLODYMYR KOSYK**

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## THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION

A few hours before the attack on the Soviet Union, Hitler wrote to Mussolini informing him that one of the major aims of the German campaign in the East was the domination of Ukraine and her wealth. The Third Reich indeed needed Ukrainian agricultural resources and raw materials in order to realise its plans for expansion, and its struggle for hegemony in Europe and throughout the world.

For this reason, in order to have a complete picture of the Third Reich's Eastern policy, it is of capital importance to research the Reich's policy with regard to Ukraine, the Ukrainian question and the Ukrainian movement for independence and sovereignty.

Unfortunately, very little has been written on this matter. Particularly striking is the obvious lack of scholarly works based on documents, factual evidence, and knowledge of the true historical situation.

This collection of documents, which first appeared in German, is an attempt to fill these gaps, albeit partially. These documents reflect only one of many aspects of the Third Reich's policy regarding Ukraine — Nazi Germany's attitude towards the Ukrainian question and the Ukrainian liberation movement. All the other aspects — administration, economics, law, education and culture, or the question of forced deportation of manpower to Germany, the mass execution of hostages, and the destruction of millions of prisoners of war — have not been considered.

The aspect I have chosen concerns the question of the Ukrainian national resistance movement during the German occupation of Ukraine. So as not to stray from the subject matter and to provide the reader with a concise survey, I have limited myself to excerpts from various documents, concentrating on the true state of affairs and the permanent elements of the Ukrainian struggle for independence, undetermined by any external factors.

Ukraine declared her independence after the Russian Revolution of 1917. In the first place, the Ukrainian revolutionary parliament, the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council), proclaimed the autonomy of Ukraine, and then, on November 16, 1917, the Ukrainians took control of all their national territories. This was the beginning of an independent Ukrainian state. On November 20, the Central Rada proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, and on December 16, the newly-established Ukrainian Republic was recognised by Soviet Russia.

However, Soviet Russia issued Ukraine an ultimatum with various demands, which were rejected by the Ukrainian government. As a result, on December 20, 1917, Soviet Russia invaded Ukraine. On January 4, 1918,

during the war between Russia and Ukraine, the Ukrainian state was recognised *de facto* by France and later by England.

But the Soviet Russian invasion complicated the situation insofar that the Ukrainian government, which did not receive the expected aid from France, was compelled to look for a solution in the negotiations with Germany and Austria at Brest-Litovsk.

Germany exercised restraint with regard to Ukrainian independence. On December 20, 1917, Germany's Secretary of State, von Kühlmann, explained Berlin's position and stated that the German government would only be prepared to recognise the independence of Finland and Ukraine if they were recognised as independent states by the Bolshevik government of Russia.

The Ukrainians were recognised as an independent delegation in Brest-Litovsk by Germany and Austria only on January 12, 1918, two days after they had been formally recognised as such by the head of the Russian delegation, Leon Trotsky. In order to strengthen its international status and to emphasise the fact that Russia had no right to interfere in Ukraine's internal matters, the Ukrainian government formally declared the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918 (Document № 1).

On February 9, 1918, the Ukrainian government signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers. Nine days later, the Germans commenced their advance along the entire Eastern front. On March 2, Kyiv was liberated from the Soviet armed forces, which had occupied the city on February 9.

After the Germans had helped Hetman Skoropadskyi to seize power by a coup d'état on April 29, 1918, they established a tyrannical occupational regime which lasted until the end of the war. Hetman Skoropadskyi resigned on December 14, 1918, and a republican government was again restored in Ukraine. Despite its struggle against several hostile powers, the Ukrainian National Republic remained in existence until November 1920.

With the downfall of the Ukrainian state, Ukraine was divided between four powers. The largest territory came under the control of Soviet Russia in the form of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was incorporated into the USSR on December 30, 1922; the smaller western territory was annexed by Poland, Bukovyna by Rumania, and Carpathian Ukraine by Czechoslovakia. However, in every part of the country the Ukrainians continued the struggle for their national rights, although in different ways and with varying intensity. In the Ukrainian SSR, this struggle had its own specific character, while it assumed other forms on the territories under Polish rule, where, alongside the activity of the legal Ukrainian parties, an illegal struggle was being led by the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and later by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In the 1930s, the OUN, called into being in Vienna in 1929 during an assembly of delegates from Western Ukraine and the diaspora, developed into one of the most serious political and revolutionary forces on the territory of Western Ukraine. It established as its goal the penetration of the Central and Eastern areas under Soviet

Russian rule, and led an uncompromising revolutionary struggle for the restoration of the Ukrainian state in order to secure for Ukraine her due place among the nations of the world (Document № 2).

The OUN became the most important Ukrainian force which continued to lead the armed struggle for the independence and sovereignty of a united Ukraine. This aroused the hatred of both the Polish and the Soviet governments, the reason being that the struggle and programme of the OUN posed a direct threat to the territorial integrity of Poland and the Soviet Union (also Rumania and Czechoslovakia). In any case, neither the Soviet Union nor Poland were prepared to recognise the Ukrainian nation's right to its own state.

In these circumstances, all the Ukrainian forces (not only the OUN) turned their attention to those states, primarily England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States, which could assist the Ukrainians in the realisation of their political aspirations. The Ukrainians strived to inform the relevant political circles in these countries about the Ukrainian question, and convince them that Ukraine required their help in establishing her own independent and sovereign state, which would also be greatly beneficial to the balance of power and peace in Europe.

In other words, like any other nation which is struggling for liberation, the Ukrainians sought the assistance and support of all states and did not concentrate exclusively on the possibility of establishing a partnership with any one state, particularly Germany. This equally applied to the OUN. Even though some of the leading members of the OUN and the Ukrainian people in general pinned their hopes, to a greater or lesser extent, on Germany, it remains to be emphasised that neither the leader of the OUN, Evhen Konovalets, nor the OUN leadership in Ukraine or the organisation as a whole, ever had any desire to link their fate with Germany. They were not concerned about Germany's interests. They were concerned purely about the interests of the Ukrainian nation.

Numerous articles directed against Germany and Nazism appeared in the official OUN press. This was well known to the NSDAP, and Stabsleiter A. Schickendanz from the APA (Foreign Affairs Department of the NSDAP), informed the state, military and party authorities about this (Document № 3). He underlined the fact that Konovalets had left Germany after the Nazi take-over and that the OUN had begun an anti-German campaign, which markedly intensified after the Germans extradited several OUN members, suspected of taking part in the assassination of the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, Pieracki, to the Polish police (1934). On this occasion, the OUN press criticised Nazi racial theories and the adoration of success in Germany. It is interesting to note that, in connection with this, the APA (Rosenberg's bureau) pointed out through A. Schickendanz that the wives of several leading members of the OUN were of Jewish descent.



During the Czechoslovakian crisis of 1938-1939, Hitler's Germany assumed a negative stance vis-à-vis the Ukrainian question. It supported neither the autonomy nor the independence of Carpathian Ukraine, proclaimed on March 15, 1939. On the contrary, Hitler handed it over to Hungary. For this reason, the Ukrainian nationalist press described German policy as cynical speculation and trading with the territory of the subjugated Ukrainian people (Document № 6).

When, after the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Russia on August 23, 1939, Stalin proposed a toast to Hitler's health (Document № 4 and 5), the Ukrainian nationalist press, published in various countries of the free world (France and the USA), assumed a decisively negative position with regard to the new German policy. Furthermore, it should be noted that there is no indication either in German or Ukrainian sources that Konovalets, who was killed by a Soviet Russian bomb on May 23, 1938, or his successor had ever conversed with Hitler or proposed a toast to his health.

In the secret provisions of the Non-Aggression Pact, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia divided the spheres of influence in Eastern Europe between themselves. As a result, the Baltic countries and the western parts of Ukraine and Byelorussia became Soviet Russian spheres of influence. In practical terms this meant that, should the Polish state be liquidated, Soviet Russia would annex the areas of Ukraine (and Byelorussia), which were then under Polish rule.

With the autumn of 1939 came the realisation of the Russo-German agreement. Following the German attack on Poland, the Red Army invaded Polish territory on September 17, 1939, and occupied Ukrainian (and Byelorussian) territories. For this reason, the OUN newspaper *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) attacked Germany's policy of the "Drang nach Osten" (Drive towards the East), Hitler's imperialism and the Nazi theory of the "Herrenvolk". The article in question, which appeared on September 24, 1939, placed the two imperialisms — that of Hitler and that of Stalin — on an equal footing, and stated that the Ukrainian nation would survive both (Document № 6). Somewhat later, this same newspaper noted that Germany had assumed a negative position towards the Ukrainian question and that, consequently, its policy with regard to Ukrainians had become dangerous. Furthermore, it expressed surprise that the Western powers did not understand this and continued to believe that Germany wanted to establish an independent Ukraine. The newspaper urged Western powers to support the idea of an independent Ukraine, as the establishment of a truly independent Ukrainian state coincided with the interests of the Western countries. A Ukrainian state would resist both German and Russian hegemony in Europe (Document № 8).

The same nationalist newspaper also emphasised the fact that the Ukrainians did not desire anything from Germany, either independence or any kind

of aid, and that only war could improve the fate of the Ukrainian nation (Document № 7 and 9).

The NSDAP continued to follow the Ukrainian nationalist press. In September 1940, Stabsleiter Schickendanz pointed out to Hitler's Chancellery and to other government offices that the OUN press had assumed a "completely hostile attitude", and warned that this "purely terrorist" group should not be supported. In a letter to SD leader, Heydrich, Schickendanz proposed banning the OUN because its activity threatened German state security (Document № 10 and 11).

Alfred Rosenberg, to whom Hitler had delegated the task of studying the problems of Eastern Europe, did not have any clear or thought-out ideas regarding these issues or any plans for an independent Ukrainian state. He spoke only of different geographical units of the Soviet Union (Document № 13) from which kommissariats of the German Reich were eventually to be formed.

In the meantime, the OUN had split into two separate organisations: one under the leadership of Stepan Bandera; and the other under that of Andriy Melnyk. It is important to note that these were not "two branches of the OUN", as is often stated, but two completely separate and independent organisations. In December 1940, the OUN-Bandera issued a statement outlining the aims and principles of its struggle. In the first place, it was fighting not only for the independence of Ukraine, but also for the rights and liberty of the individual and of all subjugated nations (Document № 12). In April 1941, the OUN-Bandera issued a statement regarding its political goals. Among other things, the OUN-Bandera would "pursue the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation with all its might, regardless of all territorial and political changes which may take place on the territory of Eastern Europe", and, thus, also in the case of a German occupation of Ukraine (Document № 14).

In view of the imminent war between Germany and Soviet Russia, the OUN-Bandera laid down its political guidelines in May 1941, proclaiming that it would strive to prevent the territory of Ukraine from becoming a battleground for two hostile enemy powers. For this reason, the OUN-Bandera would proclaim the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state and form an independent Ukrainian government (Document № 15). In a memorandum, dated June 15, 1941, delivered to the Chancellery of the Third Reich on June 23, the OUN-Bandera pointed out that, although the Ukrainian people might initially greet the German armed forces as liberators, Ukrainians would very quickly change their attitude should Germany fail to consent to the establishment of a Ukrainian state.

The OUN-Bandera was convinced that a military occupation of Eastern Europe was, in the long run, impossible and that the existence of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state would effectively contribute to the solution of the problems of the East, as well as those of the whole of Europe.

But Ukraine had to be completely independent, economically as well as politically, and should have strong armed forces of its own. The OUN-Bandera rejected the solution which Berlin had conceived for Slovakia and Croatia and made exclusive demands for the sovereignty of Ukraine as a European power with equal rights (Document № 16 and 18).

Seven days after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, immediately after the occupation of Lviv by the German armed forces, the restoration of the Ukrainian state was proclaimed on the initiative of the OUN-Bandera, confronting the Germans with a *fait accompli* (Document № 17 and 20). Berlin was caught by surprise and ordered immediate countermeasures against the OUN-Bandera, and also, as a preventive measure, against several leading activists of the Ukrainian diaspora (Document № 19 and 20).

In Cracow, a special commission headed by the Under-Secretary of the Third Reich, Kundt, questioned the members of the Ukrainian National Committee. This Committee, composed of representatives of practically all political parties and groups in Ukraine (with the exception of the OUN-Melnyk), was set up on June 22, 1941, on the initiative of the OUN-Bandera. Stepan Bandera was also summoned to this enquiry. Kundt pointed out that the Germans were not allies of the Ukrainians, but rather "conquerors of the Soviet Russian regions", and that Hitler alone would have "the final say" regarding the future of Ukraine. Bandera took responsibility for the events upon himself and explained that there had been no agreement with the German authorities regarding the proclamation of the Ukrainian state. He also made clear that he did not appeal to German authorities for permission and acted purely in accordance with the mandate he had received from the Ukrainian people (Document № 21).

Bandera was arrested on July 5 and deported to Berlin (Document № 23 and 24). The same day, leading members of the Ukrainian National Committee (Horbovyi, Yaniv and others) were also arrested. Other Ukrainian politicians were placed under house arrest (Document № 24).

In the meantime, Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of the independent Ukrainian state, continued to form his government (Document № 22), while Kundt carried on his investigation. He questioned Prof. Hans Koch, a Captain in the Abwehr, who had participated for a short time in the National Assembly in Lviv. Koch explained that he had not approved the proclamation of the Ukrainian state, but rather warned the Ukrainians against this "irrational step" (Document № 26). The Germans initially hesitated in taking any measures against Stetsko and his government because they were expecting an uprising behind the Soviet lines (Document № 22). However, Stetsko was arrested on July 9 and deported to Berlin. (Roman Ilnytskyi was arrested with him).

In Berlin, pressure was put on Stetsko and Bandera to revoke the proclamation of the Ukrainian state and to dissolve the government. Stetsko, however, emphasised one more time that this proclamation had been made with-

out the prior knowledge or approval of the German authorities (Document № 28).

During a meeting with the leaders of the Third Reich on July 16, 1941, Hitler explained the basic principles of his Eastern policy. At that time, he was already considering the partition of Ukraine and the colonisation of parts of the country. In his opinion, Germany's goal in Eastern Europe was the domination, administration and exploitation of the whole territory, where the German occupational forces should not hesitate to employ such measures as mass executions and deportations. According to Hitler, Stalin's orders calling for a partisan campaign on the territory of the Soviet Union should serve the purpose of destroying everything directed against the Germans. The following principle: "Never allow anyone other than a German to carry weapons" became the basis of the Reich's security policy in the East. The German policy of destruction and colonisation of the Eastern regions was to have the external appearance of a policy of liberation and the preservation of the rights of the Ukrainian people. Hitler, however, ignored Rosenberg's warning about the need for a moderate policy in Ukraine, particularly in the field of culture, and appointed Erich Koch, the Gauleiter of Eastern Prussia, renowned for his cruelty, as the Reichskommissar for Ukraine (Document № 29).

In the meantime, the German occupational authorities had almost completely liquidated the Ukrainian press (Document № 30).

Berlin had finally established that the proclamation of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, had in fact been a "surprise coup by the Bandera people", and had taken place without the knowledge and against the will of the Germans (Document № 31 and 34). This was confirmed by the Political Bureau of the OUN-Bandera in a memorandum dated July 21, in which the OUN-Bandera stated that the proclamation was already a *fait accompli* and that its provisions would not be abrogated by anybody (Document № 32).

The Germans noted a great increase in the activities of the OUN-Bandera in all of the occupied territories of Ukraine, and emphasised the fact that this activity was "not without effect" (Document № 33). This extraordinary increase in the activities of the OUN-Bandera was also observed by the Russians. Soviet Russia decided to play an active part in the struggle for influence over the Ukrainian people in the occupied territories. Russia wanted to prevent the population from falling under the influence of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. Thus, on July 31, 1941, the Soviet Russian government launched a bitter campaign against Ukrainian nationalism in the newspaper *Za Radiansku Ukrainu* (For a Soviet Ukraine), designated for the occupied regions of Ukraine. Ukrainian nationalists were portrayed as traitors of the Ukrainian people in the service of Hitler and the Gestapo. Various articles claimed that Bandera and his government received their orders from Hitler, and the first issue of the above-mentioned newspaper prescribed only one answer to the Ukrainian nationalists — death! (Document № 35, 38, 39 and 46).

The Germans noted that the proclamation of the Ukrainian state and the activity of the OUN-Bandera did considerable harm to German interests and additional arrests of OUN members followed (Document № 34, 36 and 37).

In its memorandum of August 14, 1941, the OUN-Bandera made clear that it would not submit to pressure from Berlin to revoke the proclamation of the Ukrainian state and to dissolve the government (Document № 40). At that time the OUN-Bandera began to expand its scope of activity throughout Central and North-Western Ukraine (Document № 41-45, 47 and 48).

In the middle of August 1941, six weeks after the beginning of the occupation of Ukraine, the first armed nationalist unit came into being in the Pinsk region, which, according to a German report, harassed the surrounding areas with the slogan: "Down with the German administration! We want a free Ukraine without Germans, Poles and Russians!" (Document № 43). The idea of independence was supported with great enthusiasm throughout the towns and villages of Ukraine. According to *Report on Events in the USSR* № 78 of September 9, in Volyn and Galicia "Ukrainians swore a public oath to Bandera" — that is allegiance to the dissolved Ukrainian government (Document № 47).

The Reich Central Security Office (RSHA) devoted particular attention to the activity of the OUN-Bandera in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine and considered it "detrimental in every respect". It was due to the activity of the OUN-Bandera that the population began to mistrust the Germans (Document № 51). The Germans decided that all "Western Ukrainians" (namely members and sympathisers of the OUN) were to be deported from the Reichskommissariat as soon as the situation had become more stable (Document № 49). The NSDAP, the RSHA and Rosenberg's bureau believed, for whatever reasons, that only Ukrainians from the western regions, formerly under Polish rule, belonged to the OUN, and were under the impression that in Ukraine they would find only naive, uneducated and politically ignorant masses with whom they could do anything they pleased. It would be sufficient only to isolate Ukraine from "Western Ukrainians" who had, in any case, been incorporated into the General Government. (This General Government was formed out of the remaining Polish territory and was considered the Reich's "adjacent land"). In actual fact, youth from all regions occupied by the Germans joined the underground movement for an independent Ukraine, and new underground groups were formed everywhere.

The first mass-scale repressions against the OUN-Bandera were carried out on September 15, 1941 (Document № 50). Hundreds of people were arrested and imprisoned, and hundreds more were sent to concentration camps. That same day Bandera and Stetsko were transferred to the prison in Spandau and later brought to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

Hitler, who, according to a report, was opposed to the idea of an independent Ukraine and the establishment of a university in Kyiv, regarded Ukrai-

mians, and the other Slavic peoples, as a "Kaninchenfamilie" (rabbit family), a lower race which should be dominated. Reichskommissar Koch assured the Führer that he would be cruel from the very beginning. In Hitler's headquarters, Koch was regarded as a suitable man to carry out the task. Hitler felt only contempt towards the Ukrainians, did not differentiate them from the Russians, and believed that they could react only to force and the whip. For this reason, he praised Stalin and called him "one of the greatest men alive" because he knew how to form a state out of such people. Hitler considered the German settlements in the East as Europe's eastern border. Everything else, including the Slavs, was Asia as far as he was concerned (Document № 52).

The Germans continuously opposed the idea of an independent Ukraine. On every occasion they emphasised the fact that the OUN-Bandera had formed the government arbitrarily, against the wishes and without the approval of the German authorities (Document № 53). They noted that, as early as the middle of October 1941, the OUN-Bandera had held a meeting in Horodyshe, Cherkasy region (Central Ukraine), in order to win popular support for the proclamation of independence (Document № 55). Under the influence of the OUN-Bandera's propaganda the population, which had initially greeted the Germans with good will, began to express dissatisfaction (Document № 56). In German opinion, the OUN-Bandera had a well-functioning intelligence service (Document № 54). In October 1941, a despatch was sent out to all administrative departments in Ukraine demanding that "Bandera's activities be stopped" (Document № 56).

The RSHA knew that the OUN-Melnyk was also striving towards an independent Ukraine, but in its opinion these attempts had assumed a less drastic form than those of the OUN-Bandera. In *Report on Events in the USSR № 133* the following remark was made in this regard: "Due to the lack of initiative, characteristic of this OUN movement, the existence of the Melnyk-OUN does not present a serious danger at this time" (Document № 57).

In the north-western regions of the Reichskommissariat, in Volyn, where a concentration of nationalist forces was taking place, only the OUN-Bandera posed a serious threat. However, the RSHA believed that if the OUN-Melnyk were to be disregarded in the battle against the OUN-Bandera, then it too would become dangerous (Document № 57 and 60).

The rapid and extensive spread of the influence of the OUN-Bandera and the Ukrainian independence movement in general greatly disturbed the Soviet Union. At the beginning of November 1941, the Soviet authorities printed a leaflet in which they warned the population of the occupied regions against the Ukrainian nationalists, who were described as agents of German fascism jointly responsible for the "screaming and moaning of tortured and tormented old men, women and children". According to this leaflet, the nationalists, the archenemies of the Ukrainian nation, were posing as friends of the Ukrainian

people, and the Germans were using them to “divide the Ukrainian and Russian people” in order to turn the people of Ukraine into slaves of the German barons. The Soviet Russian government urged the population of Ukraine to fight against the Ukrainian nationalists (Document № 58).

On November 25, 1941, at the same time as the Soviet Russians had called for a struggle against the Ukrainian nationalists, the SD ordered the arrest of all the members of the OUN-Bandera. “After thorough interrogation, (they were) to be secretly liquidated as brigands” because they were preparing an uprising against the German occupational forces (Document № 59).

During meetings concerning the admission of Ukrainians to the University of Berlin, the RSHA demanded the liquidation of the Ukrainian liberation movement and stressed that Ukrainians should be treated in the same manner as the Poles and Russians (Document № 61).

For the Germans the situation deteriorated from day to day. The population realised the essence of Hitler’s policies and the fact that the Nazis considered Ukrainians racially inferior (Document № 62). The OUN-Bandera continued its anti-German activities and made every effort to place its people in influential positions. Its followers ignored all German instructions. Furthermore, the OUN-Bandera accumulated weapons for its partisan groups. Its leading elements did not believe in a German victory. They regarded the German Wehrmacht as the principal enemy, and believed that the war would weaken Germany and Russia to such an extent that neither would be in a position to oppose the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state (Document № 62 and 64).

*Activity and Situation Report № 8* from December 1941, stressed that, apart from the OUN-Bandera, no other resistance organisations, which could present a serious danger, existed in Ukraine. Therefore, the measures being taken against this organisation were greatly intensified (Document № 64).

Members of the OUN-Bandera were active in the Crimea and all other regions of Ukraine. Large numbers were constantly arrested. At times, up to 2,000 people attended meetings during which OUN-Bandera recruits were selected (Document № 65). On the basis of materials found in the possession of arrested OUN members and interrogations, the German authorities gained an insight into the structure of the OUN, its underground anti-German operations and its preparations for an uprising (Document № 66).

The Germans discovered that O. Kandyba was the head of the OUN-Melnyk in Central Ukraine and that it wanted to form a Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv. Its followers gained control of the press and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, and expanded their cultural and educational activities (Document № 67 and 68). *Report on Events in the USSR № 164*, from February 4, 1942, established that the fight against the communists in Kyiv had developed “more and more into a struggle against the national

Ukrainian formations". According to this report, since no cooperation with the OUN-Bandera was possible, the only alternative was the complete liquidation of this movement (Document № 68).

Further reports documented the continuous arrest of members of the OUN-Bandera in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (Document № 66-71). From March 1942, these reports also included the term "Ukrainian resistance movement". One report stated that the OUN-Bandera issued forged documents not only to their members, but also to Jews (Document № 71).

The underground activity of the OUN-Melnyk in Kyiv was also repressed. In Rivne, the entire edition of a legal Ukrainian-language newspaper was destroyed (Document № 68 and 71). Reports compared nationalist propaganda to that of the communists (Document № 72). In April 1942, as a result of the numerous arrests, the Germans discovered that the OUN-Bandera was engaged in the secret training of youth in preparation for the formation of a national revolutionary army. In connection with this, the Mayor of Poltava was arrested because he had held meetings with Bandera organisation members and had proposed the formation of a Ukrainian army to fight against the Wehrmacht. Based on intercepted correspondence between Ukrainians, the SD, even in Prague, warned Berlin that the outbreak of an uprising in Ukraine was imminent (Document № 74).

In the spring of 1942, the OUN-Bandera organised armed self-defence units in Volyn and continued secret military training. In addition to the preparations of the OUN-Bandera, Taras Bulba-Borovets organised his own partisan unit (Document № 75). In May 1942, the leadership of the OUN-Bandera ordered all hidden weapons to be prepared for combat (Document № 75 and 76).

Leaflets distributed by the OUN-Bandera urged the population of Ukraine to begin passive resistance against the occupational regime, to carry out acts of sabotage, to withhold food supplies from the Germans and to avoid sending manpower to the Reich (Document № 77, 79 and 81). *Report from the Occupied Eastern Regions № 14* from 31 July 1942 talks about the activation of the partisan groups in Volyn and Podillia within the framework of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement (Document № 79).

The OUN-Bandera continued its anti-German propaganda (Document № 80-83). In one of its underground newspapers it led a vigorous attack against Nazi, as well as Soviet Russian, totalitarianism (Document № 79). As time went by, increasing numbers of OUN-Bandera members were arrested (Document № 79, 83-86). Reichskommissar Koch was determined to realise all of Hitler's policies in Ukraine, namely, to export food to Germany, to retain a low level of education (grade three or four level schools only) and to decrease the high birth rate. Koch declared: "We did not liberate (the Ukrainian people) in order to please Ukraine, but rather to secure the necessary Lebensraum and source of essential food supplies for Germany (Document № 84).



*Report № 21 from the Occupied Eastern Regions* from September 18, 1942, again underlined the fact that the OUN-Bandera was the most radical organisation in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine, and pointed out that the position of the OUN-Bandera, which emphasised the need "to throw the Germans out of the country" in its publications, was extremely anti-German (Document № 86). In September and October 1942, the SD also arrested members of the OUN-Melnik (Document № 87-89). In mid-October 1942, the preparations of the OUN-Bandera were complete and its members were ready to begin an armed struggle for the liberation of Ukraine (Document № 90). According to the report of the W.BfH. Ukraine (Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht) from October 16, 1942, groups of Ukrainian nationalists had combined forces for the first time to form a larger unit (Document № 91). This report heralded the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The brutal "recruitment", or rather forced deportation, of manpower to Germany and the requisition of food supplies greatly contributed to the deterioration of the situation in Ukraine (Document № 92). The OUN-Bandera obtained secret instructions regarding Nazi policies in Ukraine (Document № 93).

Although arrests of nationalist activists continued, the Ukrainian national resistance movement was not weakened (Document № 94-96). It continued to grow (Document № 97 and 98). Already in December 1942, the Germans noted considerable setbacks in the requisition of grain in Volyn. A report from December 4, 1942, noted that, as a result of the "bandit activities", that is of the partisans, several districts were far behind expectation: Pinsk by 28%, Kostopil 32-35% and Sarny 25-30% (Document № 98). The Ukrainian partisan campaign began to inflict serious economic losses on Germany. (The above figures reflect the results of Ukrainian self-defence activities, as well as the activities of the Soviet partisans).

At the same time, the Ukrainian nationalists appealed to the Soviet partisans not to fight for foreign interests and to join in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine (Document № 96 and 112).

At the end of 1942, leading members of the OUN-Bandera, V. Lobay, Y. Starukh and I. Legenda were arrested (Document № 96 and 99). During an SD operation in Lviv, SS Sturmscharführer Gerhard Scharff, from the Reich Central Security Office in Berlin, was shot by a member of the OUN-Bandera (Document № 96). More arrests followed. Every month, hundreds of members and sympathisers of the OUN-Bandera were arrested both in and outside Ukraine, and also in Germany, where a great number of Ukrainian workers resided (Document № 100-103, 105 and 107). Many were shot and many died during interrogation or in German concentration camps.

In Ukraine the anti-German propaganda intensified (Document № 101 and 103), as did the attacks of the insurgents and partisans (Document № 104). During its Conference in February 1943, the OUN-Bandera pointed out

that the war was being fought by two imperialist powers for the domination of Ukraine. The Ukrainian people, therefore, had no option but to fight for their national independence against both imperialist powers. The basis for cooperation with other nations, those of the East or the West, would be their recognition of the right of Ukrainians to their own statehood. The OUN-Bandera condemned all forms of collaboration with the colonisers (Document № 106).

While the OUN-Bandera, which had enormous military potential, continued its underground revolutionary struggle stepping up its anti-German propaganda, particularly against German colonial policies (Document № 108), the UPA conducted a series of military operations, from March 1943, to oust the German administration and the Soviet partisans from parts of Volyn and Podillia. In a letter dated April 1, 1943, a German official from Rivne reported that the Ukrainian national revolutionaries attacked German trucks and other objectives even in broad daylight making journeys outside the urban centres dangerous. The economy suffered greatly as "there (was) no German administration left at all in many regions". The forestry and timber departments of the Mining and Steelworks Company in Rivne reported that around 400 of its officials and workers had already been killed during such attacks (Document № 110).

On April 4, 1943, the Reichskommissar for Ukraine also reported that the situation had markedly deteriorated in the regions of Volyn and Podillia. Only two districts in Volyn were "free of bandits". He also noted that "the appearance of the national Ukrainian bandits in the Kremianets-Dubno-Kostopil-Rivne districts (was) particularly dangerous". On the night of March 21-22, they attacked all the agricultural objectives in the Kremianets area completely destroying one of them and killing twelve Germans (Document № 111).

In his report from April 30, 1943, the Generalkommissar for Volyn and Podillia noted that the Ukrainian national insurgents predominated in the western and southern areas of Volyn, and that one now had to speak of a revolutionary movement (Document № 113). This movement also spread to Podillia (Document № 114). In May 1943, according to estimates of German economic losses on these territories, of the Reich's total procurement quotas 32% of arable land, 17% of corn fields, 33% of the cattle, 28% of the swine and 52% of the sheep had been lost. In actual fact, only 40% of the arable land, 51% of the corn fields, 36% of the cattle, 41% of the swine and 28% of all the sheep remained (Document № 116).

In March 1943, after the battle of Stalingrad, when the national insurgent movement in Ukraine was growing, the Nazi party continued, through Gauleiter Koch, to spread its idea of a master race and subhumans, and maintained that even "the lowest German worker (was) racially and biologically a thousand times more valuable than the local population" (Document № 109).

In the summer of 1943, when the UPA already had large areas of Volyn and Podillia under its control, the Germans launched a counter-attack, diverting a substantial part of their armed forces for this purpose. This counter-attack was unsuccessful. It is interesting to note, however, that the German propaganda which accompanied the operation coincided with the propaganda campaign of the Soviet Russian government whose armed forces had already reached the borders of Ukraine.

A German leaflet, dropped from aircraft over the areas controlled by the UPA, stated the following: "Moscow gives orders to the OUN", "the Kremlin Jews are in league with the OUN", "Moscow's agents. . . are at the head of the OUN", "the OUN is a tool of Jewish Bolshevism" and "the OUN is. . . a national Bolshevik fighting unit in disguise". This leaflet urged the Ukrainian people to refuse to obey the OUN and reminded the Ukrainians of Soviet Russian persecution and deportations to Siberia. The text of the leaflet concluded with these words: "The OUN can never represent the national interests of the Ukrainian people! The OUN and Bolshevism are one and the same — that is why both must be destroyed!" (Document № 117).

In another leaflet, the military commander responsible for the battle against the Ukrainian insurgents, SS-Obergruppenführer and General of the Police, vom dem Bach, maintained that, on the basis of an appeal by Marshal of the Soviet Army, Vasilevskiy, "the Ukrainian bandit leader, Bandera, will be solemnly appointed senior Bolshevik of Soviet Ukraine" in the name of "the mass murderer of Katyn and Vynnytsia, red comrade Stalin", and that this same Bandera, "with his bandits", will continue to fight against Europe. The great German Reich was, however, defending Europe and its ancient culture against the Asian attack, and "when the time is right, when Europe is victorious, he will be punished together with his saboteurs and the communist bandits" (Document № 119).

Yet what did the Soviet Russian government write in its leaflets? A bitter attack was made against the Ukrainian nationalists in a leaflet from June 25, 1943, alleging that they were not fighting for an independent Ukraine. In the same leaflet it was stated that the Red Army was not pursuing any imperialist goals, and did not desire new conquests and the subjugation of new nations. A leaflet disseminated in Ukraine by the Soviet partisans alleged that Bandera had entered Ukraine with the Germans, and paid a "solemn visit to the Germans". The leaflet said that it was only under the Soviet regime that the Ukrainians were the true masters of their country and no one forced a "foreign will" or "foreign interests" upon them. They had full rights and enjoyed "autonomy and independence" (Document № 118).

Threatened from two sides, the Ukrainian independence movement did not surrender its position. During its Extraordinary General Assembly in August 1943, the OUN-Bandera analysed its struggle against the German occupational forces during which it had lost thousands of its members. The conference resolutions maintained that the OUN-Bandera was not only defending "the

moral position of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian national revolution", but that it had also acquired the practical requirements in order to go over to the offensive and to achieve final victory. The defence of the Ukrainian people revolved around the successful battle against the forced deportations of Ukrainian manpower to Germany and the requisition of food supplies. Later this evolved into the successful military operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which spread from Polissia and Volyn to Podillia, the Kyiv region, Central Ukraine and Galicia (Document № 120).

At that time, the Ukrainian independence movement was already certain that the Soviet Russian reoccupation of Ukraine was inevitable and the OUN-Bandera knew that there could be no other alternative but to continue the struggle for the independence and liberation of the Ukrainian nation. On November 6, 1943, the Soviet army occupied Kyiv and within a short period of time had advanced to Zhytomyr and entered the UPA's area of operation. The front moved towards the west and the south, and divided the UPA-controlled regions in two. Thus some groups of the UPA began to fight against units of the NKVD and the Red Army, while others continued the armed struggle against the German occupational forces and the communist partisans. On the Soviet front, the Ukrainian nationalists explained to the population that German and Soviet Russian socialism were identical, and that the revolutionary struggle for an independent Ukraine remained the only viable alternative for the Ukrainian people (Document № 121).

At that time, the estimated strength of the armed forces of the Ukrainian national movement was at least 80,000 (Document № 123). Perturbed by the existence of this considerable anti-German and anti-Soviet national force in Ukraine, the Soviet government decided to deny, through propaganda, the participation of the Ukrainian nationalists in the struggle against German occupation. Moreover, Soviet Russia wanted to prevent the Ukrainian nationalists from becoming renowned in the war against Nazism and from receiving their share of the credit for the defeat of Germany. But, above all, the Russians wanted to prevent anyone, particularly the progressive Western powers, from supporting Ukraine's struggle for independence, or offering material aid to the Ukrainian resistance movement. With this aim in mind, Soviet propaganda persistently described the Ukrainian nationalists as German collaborators and enemies of the Ukrainian people.

On January 12, 1944, the Soviet government issued an appeal to the Ukrainian people signed by government officials of the Ukrainian SSR and Nikita Khrushchev. This appeal maintained that the enemies of the Ukrainian nation were not only the "German robbers", but also the "German-Ukrainian nationalists" — "national traitors" and "Hitler's accomplices", who pretended to be "fighting against the Germans". It further stated that people should not believe the Ukrainian nationalists for they had not killed a single German. These "Ukrainian-German nationalists" were "Hitler's accomplices", who

wanted to smash the blood-brotherhood of the Ukrainian and Russian nations and to surrender Ukraine to Hitler (Document № 122)\*.

At the same time, as documented in German reports, the UPA sustained additional losses in military operations against units of the SIPO (Security Police), the SD and the German occupational forces (Document № 124 and 125). The last military clashes between the UPA and the retreating units of the German army took place on September 1, 1944.

Shortly afterwards, the armed forces of the Third Reich, which had sought Lebensraum in Ukraine and dreamed of transforming this and other countries into its colonies, left Ukrainian territory never to return.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued its fight for the liberation of Ukraine against the Stalinist dictatorship and Soviet Russian occupation until 1953 (see Appendix № 2).

*Wolodymyr Kosyk*

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\* In connection with these accusations, it must be pointed out that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army also fought against the Soviet regime.

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For the sake of clarity, abbreviations are mostly written in brackets. Omissions are marked with the usual three periods. . . or ( . . . ). All the footnotes were made by the author.

*The "Fourth Universal" of the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv*

January 22, 1918

People of Ukraine!

By your efforts, your will, and your word, a Free Ukrainian National Republic has been created on Ukrainian soil. The ancient dreams of your ancestors — fighters for the freedom and rights of the workers — has been fulfilled.

(. . .)

Meanwhile, the Petrograd Government of People's Commissars, in an attempt to bring back the Free Ukrainian Republic under its rule, has declared war against Ukraine and is sending its armies into our lands. . .

(. . .)

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, have done everything to prevent the outbreak of this fratricidal war of the neighbouring peoples, but the Petrograd Government has not chosen to meet our efforts, and continues to wage a bloody struggle with our People and (our) Republic.

(. . .)

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, elected by the congresses of peasants, workers, and soldiers of Ukraine, cannot agree to this at all; we will not support any wars, for the Ukrainian People want peace; and a democratic peace must come about promptly.

(. . .)

From this day forth, the Ukrainian National Republic becomes independent, subject to no one, a Free, Sovereign State of the Ukrainian People.

(. . .)

Ukrainian Central Rada

(X, p. 21 f., 24)

*Resolutions of the General Assembly of the Organisation  
of Ukrainian Nationalists*

February 2, 1929

*I. General Considerations*

(. . .)

9. Only a sovereign state, that is a political organisation best corresponding to the interests of the life of the nation, constitutes a condition which can guarantee the nation active participation in international life (. . .)



13. The main priority for the subjugated Ukrainian nation is the creation of a politically just organisation called the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State (. . .)

### *IX. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

(. . .)

3. Basing itself on the creative elements of Ukrainian society and together with the ideals of the Ukrainian national state, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists intends to normalise the prevailing conditions within the nation, to activate creative political efforts among the Ukrainian people, to demonstrate Ukrainian national strength in all its dimensions, and, thus, to ensure for the great Ukrainian nation its due place among the other nations of the world.

(VI, p. 4, 5, 16)

№ 3

### *NSDAP Stabsleiter A. Schickendanz's Memorandum on the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

February 21, 1938

What is characteristic of this group is that during the Weimar Republic and its well-known Rapallo policies regarding Moscow, Konovalets<sup>1</sup> had maintained close relations with certain authorities and circles in Berlin, but, despite the fact that National Socialism had drawn up certain preconditions for a rapprochement between the Ukrainians and Germany, he left Germany during the second year of the Third Reich and adopted a decidedly anti-German policy of agitation among the Ukrainians.

The reason for this sudden volte-face was Germany's changing policies regarding Poland and this points only to the lack of state-political far-sightedness on the part of the leadership of the Konovalets group, as well as to its limited regional attitude.

The assassination of Pieracki<sup>2</sup>, the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, with its many consequences, shortly after the conclusion of the German-Polish Friendship Pact, requires no special comment. Due to this fact, as well as its journalistic consequences, the Konovalets group openly joined the ranks of the atrocity-propaganda front against the National Socialist Reich.

During the painstaking preparations for the German-Italian rapprochement, E. Onatskyi, Konovalets' representative in Rome, (. . .) published an article in the main newspaper of the Konovalets group (*Rozbudova Natsiyi*, № 5-6, Prague, May-June 1934) entitled "The ideological and tactical differences

between Fascism and National Socialism". It stated: "...there are vast fundamental differences between these two movements, although, at first, when placed before the necessity of competition in the global arena, these movements appear to be similar. . . the internal and external politics of Fascism are distinguished by great flexibility; National Socialism is distinguished by fanaticism, as well as intolerance. . . National Socialism identifies the nation as a race and builds its foundations on only one element — blood, i.e., on a purely materialistic biological element. . .".  
(. . .)

After the assassination of Pieracki and all its consequences, the same author expressed even more hatred in an article entitled "The Cult of Success" (*Rozbudova Natsiyyi*, № 7-8, Prague, July-August 1934):

"... Generally speaking, the Germans think that power is the only *pre-condition for success*. For this reason, there is no room for either generosity or mercy. A superior race (German) cannot be ruled either by *ethics* or *honour*. . . the *abuse* of power by the Germans during the war, their relentless *cruelty*, their denial of any kind of mercy to their enemy. . . We know (at least we have experienced on our own skins during the time of Ukrainian statehood in 1918) how little imperial Germany took into consideration the feelings of others. The racial theories of National Socialism corroborate clearly enough how little Hitler's Reich takes into consideration the feelings of others. . . The recent events in Austria (that is in the summer of 1934) are extensive proof of German tactlessness, which, regardless of the total success cult dominant in National Socialism, excludes the possibility of an *ultimate* success of any international action by Germany. . .".

The editor of the Konovalets newspaper added an even more biting note to this article:

"... *This particular tactlessness and brutality came to light in the recent extradition of Ukrainian political refugees to Poland, an act unheard-of in international affairs. . . This is not an isolated act of barbarism. . .*".

Three years later, this same tone appeared in the Konovalets press although it was differently expressed and used for other purposes. . .

It is only a logical consequence of the attitude of the Konovalets group that the first reports of the newly-founded Konovalets press office in New York published, among other things, an interview with the Englishman, *Davis*, who came to the United States to *spread* propaganda *against* "Fascism" and a second interview with his notorious fellow-countryman, *W. Steed*.

In order to find the reason for this anti-German attitude, one must bear in mind the fact that some of Konovalets' close *colleagues* have Jewish wives.

Yaryi — Jewish wife

Stsiborskyi — Jewish wife

General Kapustianskyi

(BA NS 43/41 p. 174-177)

## *The German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact*

(. . .)

### 8) Toasts

During the meeting, Stalin proposed an impromptu toast to the Führer saying: "I know how much the German people love their Führer and that is why I would like to drink to his health".

Molotov drank to the health of the Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs and Ambassador Count v. d. Schulenburg.

Then Molotov raised his glass to Herr Stalin and noted that it was Stalin who, in his speech from March of this year, well understood in Germany, initiated the change in political relations.

Molotov and Stalin repeatedly drank to the Non-Aggression Pact, to a new era in German-Russian relations and to the German nation.

The Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs raised a toast to Herr Stalin, to the Soviet government and to the opportune development in relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.

9) Prior to his departure, Stalin spoke the following words to the Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs:

The Soviet government considers the new pact seriously. He gave his word of honour that the Soviet Union will not deceive its partner.

Moscow, August 24, 1939.

Hencke

(IV, p. 88)

*KA 89/Chefs.*

## *Secret Command Matter Naval Warfare and the Build-up of the Campaign Against Russia*

(. . .)

The conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact and the Border and Friendship Treaty between Germany and Russia took place on 23.8.39, and 28.9.39, respectively. The main issues of these pacts were:

1) that both states are obliged not to attack one another and to live on peaceful terms;

2) that the German Reich renounces any influence on its spheres of interest in Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Bessarabia and that, at the request of Soviet Russia, the areas of the former Polish state up to the Narev-Buh-San Line are to be annexed. . .

\* \* \*

Excerpts from a speech by the Führer on 1.9.39:

. . . Therefore, we have decided to conclude a pact which excludes forever any acts of violence between us, which obliges us to consult one another on certain European issues, which enables economic cooperation and, above all, which guarantees that the forces of both of these great states will not be wasted against each other.

Every attempt by the West to alter anything in this regard will fail! And I would like to assure you of the following: this political decision marks an unprecedented and final turning point for the future!

(. . .)

Excerpt from Molotov's speech on 1.9.39:

. . . August 23 will go down in history as a great day. From this day on Germany and the Soviet Union are no longer enemies. . .

(IMT 170-C)

№ 6

### *"An Abominable Crime Against Ukraine"*

*Article from the Nationalist Ukrainian Newspaper*

*"Ukrainske Slovo", Paris, September 24, 1939*

. . . "And now the fall of Carpathian Ukraine threw light on the German game. The Germans raised the bids to get a better price. German policies of speculation and trade with the subjugated Ukrainian people were based on cynicism, treachery, contempt, lies and the exploitation of the confidence of others.

Exactly the same happened with the Ukrainian regions under Poland, the only difference being that they (the Germans) reckoned on selling them at the highest price to the Bolsheviks.

However, the abomination of the German crime does not stop here. If the fate of Carpathian Ukraine could leave some doubt as to Germany's actions, then the sale of the Western Ukrainian territories — the Ukrainian Piedmont and centre of Ukrainian aspirations for independence — reveals outright Germany's diabolical plan. What is this plan?

It is the "Drang nach Osten" and the intended conquest of "millions of square kilometres of territory in the East", as Hitler wrote in his book "Mein

Kampf", which has become the axiom of German imperialism. There is no doubt whatsoever that this imperialism will not be satisfied with the conquest of the Czechs and the Slovaks, and the destruction of Poland. The recent moves against Hungary and Rumania warrant the assumption that Germany will now, namely after the conquest of Poland, pursue its imperialist drive with even greater intensity, and that the Germans will aspire, one way or another, to turn these regions into the objects of German imperialism. It is much more important to us, however, that the German concept of the "Drang nach Osten" appeared long before the conquest of the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles, and before the Germans considered the aggression against Hungary and Rumania, and has always been connected with regions of Russia and other bordering nations. Hitler speaks of this in his "Mein Kampf", whereas other National Socialists (for example Rosenberg) refer explicitly to Ukraine. Yet Germany's plans regarding Ukraine do not originate from the National Socialist period. They date back to 1918. Hitler's statement that the "National Socialists are the soldiers of the German people and not the defenders of poor suppressed nations", or Rosenberg's claim that Germany could, at least, exploit such nations in order to fortify Germany, are proof that the Germans were not interested in the creation of an independent Ukrainian state, and even less interested in any abstract solutions in the form of the self-determination of nations. Therefore, Germany's main concern is Ukrainian territory, Ukrainian coal and iron, Ukrainian wheat. Ukraine is to become a German colony, inhabited by vassals — a nation of servants to work for the master-race — according to Hitler, and not for an independent national state with its own leading and governing class, its own cultural circles.

A typical statement by Hitler in his "Mein Kampf" is that God himself directed the Germans towards the East where the Bolsheviks had exterminated the intelligentsia. The significance of this is that as national consciousness is destroyed, the governing class and the intelligentsia is diminished, as are the attributes of independence, all of which is to the advantage of German imperialism. And if the nationally conscious population is exterminated as soon as possible by a foreign power, then all the better.

Germany's diabolical, yet completely revealing plan, is that, on the one hand, Germany poses as a protector and friend of the Ukrainian people, curbing its circumspection, while on the other, it forces up the price of the Ukrainian territories in order to sell them, as quickly as possible, to anyone who will exterminate all signs of Ukrainian life until the scheduled rule over the Ukrainian territories by Germany.

This happened in Carpathian Ukraine, where, in the course of a year, the Ukrainian élite was destroyed on the battlefields and in the prisons. Who was not destroyed was forced to emigrate. This is now supposed to happen to the Western Ukrainian territories — to the Ukrainian Piedmont, which Hitler

handed over to the Russian Molach to destroy. He is to exterminate the centuries-old achievements and the national rebirth. A review of German military operations shows that the Germans, in actual fact, conquered the Western Ukrainian territories for the Russians, which were then ready for them to take over. Hitler handed these Ukrainian territories over in the name of German glory and in order to find on them, when reconquered from Moscow, only dispossessed and nationally broken mercenaries and proletarians.

However, even if Germany's abominable crime results in a sea of blood and tears for Ukraine, it will never justify Germany's hopes. The Ukrainian nation will continue to exist regardless of Hitler's and Stalin's diabolical plans. It was none other than Hitler himself who stated that:

"If an idea is justifiable and begins a struggle on this earth armed with these justifications, then it is invincible. Every persecution leads to its internal strengthening".

The Ukrainian idea is and remains invincible and will not be destroyed either by the Bolsheviks or the Germans.

Let us repeat what we have already stated: "We have been living on our territory for thousands of years. The Germans invaded us more than once and left again. Neither the Mongols, the Huns, or the Tartars, nor aristocratic Poland or Tsarist Russia, succeeded in destroying us. On the contrary, we survived the collapse of all these powers which once terrorised Europe and some of them even the world.

Our nation will survive. It will most certainly survive Stalin's Asian Empire and Hitler's Empire, both of which are founded on violence, lies and pillage. History has proven that such empires never lasted long. We shall, and must, witness the collapse of Stalinist Russia and imperialist Germany, just as we witnessed how the German armies were driven in dishonour from Ukraine in 1918 by the Ukrainian peasants. For the spirit is more powerful than tanks and guns, and neither Hitler nor Stalin can destroy it".

(BA NS 43/42 p. 29-31)

## № 7

### *"The Peace of Death" or "The Victory Over the Rule of Lies and Violence"*

*Article from the Nationalist Ukrainian Newspaper  
"Ukrainske Slovo", Paris, October 8, 1939*

The author maintains that the peace desired by Hitler would be a "peace of death" for England and France and concludes his article with the following words: "Not only for England and France would there now be an end to

peace — a 'peace of death', which is what Hitler would like. It would, to a greater extent, be a 'peace of death' for us Ukrainians. As a result of Hitler's benevolence, the Western Ukrainian regions came under Moscow's rule, under the rule of Germany's present allies. Peace at this time would endorse the present situation with all its consequences for the entire world. A situation more detrimental to our affairs than a peace of this nature is unimaginable.

Therefore, any change in the present state of affairs can only lead to war, regardless of the duration or outcome of this war. On the contrary, the war will give us an opportunity to attain a final victory over the rule of lies and crime”.

(BA NS 43/42 p. 35)

## № 8

### *“The Purpose of War”*

*Article from the Nationalist Ukrainian Newspaper*

*“Ukrainske Slovo”, Paris, October 29, 1939*

The Germans occupied extensive areas of Ukraine and then turned them over to the Soviets as a reward for the aid they provided during the partition of Poland. This act, which followed the surrender of Carpathian Ukraine to Hungary, clearly shows what can be expected from the Germans. The Germans have introduced a direct system in which they trade with the Ukrainian regions. For them the Ukrainian people are slaves who can be traded for oil and coal, and the Ukrainian question is no longer a bomb with which enemy states can be eliminated. These facts and the pact with the Soviets make the Germans very dangerous to the Ukrainian question. It is surprising that the great powers did not realise this danger. On the contrary, they were afraid that the Germans supposedly wanted to create an independent Ukrainian state in order to have Ukraine as an ally and so the great powers were prepared to guarantee the inviolability of the Soviet borders.

However, Soviet methods began to open the eyes of the Western Europeans. . .

So it is our duty to ensure that the evolution of views should lead to the understanding of the fact that the creation of a Ukrainian state is a priority. Nothing promotes the domination of Eastern Europe by the Germans and the penetration of Russian Bolshevik influence in the West more than the absence of a Ukrainian state. A Ukraine, battered, deprived of her rights, unarmed, without the possibility of deciding her own fate, can easily whet the appetite of any thief for an easy booty. A weak Ukraine is not in a position

to offer resistance to foreigners who would take advantage of her natural resources and strategic position.

The creation of an independent Ukrainian state would correspond with the general goals of the Western states and would amount to the non-recognition of German or Russian supremacy in Europe.

(BA NS 43/42 p. 32-33)

№ 9

*“Our Interests Lie in the Prolongation of the War”*

*Article from the Nationalist Ukrainian Newspaper*

*“Ukrainske Slovo”, Paris, November 5, 1939*

“ . . . Having sold the Ukrainian territories to the Russians and opened all the doors for the Bolsheviks to contaminate Europe, Hitler is terrifying Europe and the world with the Bolshevik threat in order to fortify his superiority and enforce a peace, which would suit him.

We, Ukrainians, have no reason to fear these threats because, thanks to Hitler, we are already in danger. At best we can urge others not to yield to this danger (for this will neither prevent nor curtail it) but, on the contrary, to face the threat squarely.

In order to keep us quiet, or to urge us to call for peace, the German agents resorted to a very naive method. According to information from the “Havas”, in the occupied countries Hitler’s agents propagated the idea that if Germany destroys England and France in the spring, it will then throw itself against the Bolsheviks, drive them out of Poland and establish an independent Ukraine.

If the Germans want to frighten anyone with the Bolshevik threat, then they should frighten themselves, and should tell stories about the establishment of an independent Ukraine by Germany to someone else and not us.

“ . . . We can also clearly state: “We do not want anything from Germany, no ‘independence’, no aid, no interest and no speculation. Our sole desire is that the Germans stop worrying about us and completely forget about the existence of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian territory. We also need ‘Lebensraum’, but only for ourselves and not for the Germans”.

(BA NS 43/42 p. 34-35)



*Letter from Schickendanz to Von Stutterheim*

September 17, 1940

Secret

Schi./L. 5174/40

Herr v. Stutterheim  
Reich Cabinet Advisor  
Reich Chancellery

(. . .)

*Ukrainian Emigration*

(. . .)

. . . In the meantime, I have taken the liberty of sending you excerpts from the Ukrainian émigré press, which we regularly follow. It clearly shows the political attitude of each individual group, particularly the completely hostile attitude of the groups of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which reside outside Germany. As you may perhaps already know, this organisation has found particular support from the Abwehr (military intelligence) here in the Reich. This point was discussed during a meeting between Reichsleiter Rosenberg and Admiral Canaris.

We have repeatedly drawn Admiral Canaris's attention to the fact that the unilateral preferential treatment of the OUN, even in military matters, will, in practical terms, have political consequences in the future. At the same time, we also pointed out to the Admiral that the OUN cannot expect any political rating. The OUN is nothing but a small terrorist group with a specific local Galician colouring; it could be described as a national-Galician offshoot of the social-revolutionary Great Russian tree. After the occupation of Galicia by the Soviets, this group is actually losing almost all its political significance. . .

(BA NS 43/43 p. 5)

*Letter from Schickendanz to Heydrich*

September 18, 1940

Secret

Schi./L. 5172/40  
(. . .)

To  
the Chief of the Security Police  
Gruppenführer Heydrich

. . . Enclosed are the proclamations of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists which were sent to me. . .

. . . The evident discord within this group now shows that the nature of this group does not warrant our political support. We have always regarded it as a very limited, purely terrorist, organisation without political impact and significance. More precisely, it is nothing more than a national-Galician off-shoot of the felled tree of the Great Russian social-revolutionary movement. After the occupation of Galicia by the USSR, this group (OUN) lost the remainder of its political importance. At any rate, it is ill-advised to attach any importance to it and to keep it alive artificially. Therefore, the only right thing to do is to dissolve this political organisation. . .

(BA NS 43/43 p. 20)

*Manifesto of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

December 1940

. . . We are creating a new just world order and are laying the foundations for a new world political structure by dismantling the appalling prison of nations — the Russian empire.

I

We are fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation and of all nations enslaved by Moscow.

We are fighting against Russian imperialism in all its forms, in particular against Bolshevism, which has led to extreme national-political, religious, cultural and social oppression, and economic exploitation.

## II

We are the bearers of a new, just order in Eastern Europe and in Russian-dominated Asia.

We are the bearers of freedom for all the nations subjugated by Russia, so that they freely live in accordance with their own will.

We are the bearers of security for all peoples threatened by Russia.

## III

We call upon the revolutionaries of all nations subjugated by Russia to enter into a common front of struggle and cooperation with the Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionaries.

Only Ukraine is the true ally of all nations that are either subjugated or threatened by Russia in their struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.  
( . . )

## VI

We are fighting:  
against the extreme degradation of the individual at work and at home,  
against the deprivation of the individual's happiness in life,  
against the general impoverishment of the citizens,  
against the oppression of women, forced to do the most difficult physical labour under the pretence of "equal rights",  
against the criminal indoctrination of our children and youth with false Bolshevik "knowledge" through newspapers, theatre, radio, cinema, meetings and all other types of senseless agitation of the Stalinist regime.

We are fighting:  
for the dignity and freedom of the individual,  
for the right to freely express one's beliefs,  
for freedom of religion,  
for complete freedom of conscience.

## VII

We are fighting:  
against the tyranny and terror of the Bolshevik clique,  
against the brutal regime of the NKVD in the kolkhozes, the factories, the army, the navy, the party, the Komsomol, the schools and homes.

We are fighting:  
for the right of the workers to freely express their political beliefs in word and print,  
for the right to free assembly,  
for the right to form political, social and professional organisations.

## VIII

We are fighting:  
against the economic plunder of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia,  
against slavery in the kolkhozes, the sovkhoses and factories,  
against the plunder of the citizen's meagre earnings acquired through hard labour,  
against forced deportations from one's native land.

We are fighting so that every nation presently subjugated by Russia will be able to benefit completely from its own natural resources and its own achievements of daily labour in the future.

## IX

We know and believe that the time is imminent when the cherished dream of our forefathers will be fulfilled and the fire of national rage will flare up from the blood of our heroic generations.

Ukraine will rise and destroy the darkness of bondage!

Only through the complete dissolution of the Russian empire and through the Ukrainian National Revolution and revolutionary uprisings of all the subjugated nations shall we realise Ukrainian statehood and liberate the nations subjugated by Russia.

Ukrainians and all nations enslaved by Russia!

Rise up in a merciless struggle against Russian-Bolshevik slavery!

Destroy the Russian prison of nations!

Freedom for all subjugated nations!

(VI, p. 21-23)

## № 13

### *Memorandum № 1 From Rosenberg's Russia Files*

April 2, 1941

Copy

Re: USSR

Like tsarist Russia, Bolshevik Russia is a conglomerate of different nations created by the annexation of related or even completely foreign countries.

A military confrontation with the USSR would lead to an unusually rapid occupation of large important areas of the USSR. It is very likely that if we make a military move soon, the military collapse of the USSR will follow.

(. . .)

The Eastern expert is planning the following national and geographical regions on the basis of the population chart of Russia:

- a) Great Russia with Moscow as its centre,
- b) Byelorussia with Minsk or Smolensk as the capital city,
- c) Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania,
- d) Ukraine and the Crimea with Kyiv as its centre,
- e) the Don Region with Rostov as the capital city,
- f) the Caucasian Mountain Region,
- g) Russian Central Asia or Russian Turkestan. . .

(. . .)

D) Ukraine (Borderland)

Kyiv became the main centre of the dominant northern Varangian state. Thus, even after Tartar domination, Kyiv was for a long period of time the counter-pole of Moscow. Contrary to the allegations of Russian historiography, which dominated the whole of Europe, Kyiv's national sovereign existence was actually based on quite a strong tradition.

The political mission of this region, either alone or together with the Don region and the Caucasian Mountain region as the Black Sea alliance, would be to promote a national way of life until the eventual establishment of statehood, with the aim of keeping Moscow constantly under control, and to safeguard the great German "Lebensraum" from the East. Economically, however, the purpose of this region would be to create a powerful source of raw material and supplementary food supplies for the Great German Reich. . .

(. . .)

(IMT 1017 — PS)

№ 14

*Resolutions of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

April 1941

*Programmatic Resolutions*

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists declares that:

(. . .)

2. Only a completely sovereign Ukrainian state can ensure the Ukrainian people a free life and a general development of all its forces.

3. The Ukrainian people can only succeed in creating its own state by revolutionary means against the occupying forces.

(. . .)

7. The OUN is fighting against communist ideology, against internationalism and capitalism, as well as against all ideologies and movements that weaken the vitality of the people.

The OUN is fighting for the abolition of bondage, for the destruction of the Russian prison of nations, for the destruction of the entire communist system, for the abolition of all privileges and class differences, as well as all other common prejudices.

(. . .)

9. The OUN is striving to unite all Ukrainians in the liberation front of the Ukrainian National Revolution. It is organising and creating a political and military liberation force capable of staging an armed uprising to establish the Ukrainian state and govern it.

### *Political Resolutions*

1. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for a sovereign united Ukrainian state, for the liberation of the East European and Asian nations subjugated by Moscow, for a new just order established on the ruins of the Russian empire — the Soviet Union. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists will pursue the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation with all its might, regardless of all territorial and political changes which may take place on the territory of Eastern Europe.

(. . .)

3. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists is the vanguard of the revolutionary Ukrainian movements. . .

. . . The OUN regards as an ally of Ukraine any state, political group or force interested in the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the establishment of a completely independent, sovereign and united Ukrainian state. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 43/II 1500 p. 82-92)

№ 15

## *Political Guidelines of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

May 1941

### *Introduction*

The OUN will take advantage of the war against the USSR to intensify the struggle for a sovereign and united Ukrainian state and to accelerate its establishment.

## *II. Armed Uprising*

The scope of the revolution: to rouse the masses to fight against Moscow, to fight in every walk of life and, above all, to rouse the masses to armed combat.

The armed units of all Ukrainians able to fight, organised by the OUN, would operate mainly against the NKVD and those sections of the army which support the government. At the same time, our propaganda is directed towards demobilising enemy military units, convincing them to join our ranks, and, together with them, creating the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation army which accepts all Ukrainians and members of the nations subjugated by Moscow. We shall then proclaim the great aim of our struggle: revolution on one-sixth of the globe's territory based on the ideal: "Freedom to the people, freedom to the individual and social justice".

## *III. Invasion of Ukraine by Foreign Military Forces and the Establishment of Ukrainian Statehood*

1. If the front of a third state opposed to Moscow is shifting onto Ukrainian territory, then a military occupation of Ukraine by the victorious foreign military forces will be unavoidable.

2. In this situation, it is our duty: to prevent Ukraine from becoming a mere battle ground for foreign forces and those of our enemy and, in consequence, from becoming an object of foreign rule. Instead, through our struggle, our efforts to establish our own state and our initiative, we must fight for the right to act as subjects, partners, combatants and co-creators of a new order on the ruins of the Russian empire. We refuse to act as observers. We refuse to remain passive to the events taking place on Ukrainian territory, particularly as regards the war of other states against Moscow and the order they have created.

3. Consequently, we consider those states at war with Moscow and not hostile to Ukraine as our natural allies.

4. The main prerequisite is the recognition and respect of the sovereignty and unity of Ukraine by these states and a truly positive attitude regarding Ukrainian statehood.

5. Ukraine's relations with these states will be determined by their treatment of and regard towards the rights and vital interests of Ukraine.

#### *IV. The Establishment of the Ukrainian State*

(. . .)

2. The OUN will immediately proclaim the restoration of the Ukrainian state on the territories liberated from Bolshevik Russian occupation and will form a governing force which will organise and administer all aspects of national life.

3. Our mandate for the proclamation of Ukrainian statehood and the restoration of the government is derived from the long revolutionary fight for freedom, from the national uprising, from our political initiative and our actual strength.

(VI, p. 48-52)

№ 16

#### *Memorandum of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists on the Resolution of the Ukrainian Question*

June (15), 1941

I.

(. . .)

. . . It (*this memorandum*) is based on the firm belief that the whole complex of questions is of grave importance not only for Ukraine, but also for the German Reich. Only a solution which is in complete accordance with the historical and national interests of Ukraine can also benefit Germany, and a solution that is unfavourable for Ukraine would be equally detrimental to Germany. . .

Only the aspects concerning the German Reich will be taken into consideration. This does not mean, however, that the interests of Ukraine have to be neglected. For the Ukrainian nationalists protect, in the first place, the interests of their own nation. . .

(. . .)

III.

Even if the German troops would be welcomed as liberators upon their arrival in Ukraine, this attitude can soon change if Germany shows no intention of restoring the Ukrainian state and of making statements to this effect. . .

A new order in Europe is unthinkable without an independent Ukrainian state, particularly at a time when the opportunity arises to assist the Ukrainian nation in achieving its own statehood.

(. . .)



For the past twenty years, a politically hostile attitude has developed within the Ukrainian national spirit. This hostile attitude will assert itself in the face of any enforced foreign rule that will ignore the national demands of Ukraine. At the same time, we must always proceed from the assumption that, nationally and territorially speaking, Ukraine has great problems to resolve. The correct solution will be of decisive economic and strategic significance. Whether Ukraine becomes a supplementary sphere for the newly-organised Europe or a constant source of danger will depend solely on the attitude of the Ukrainian people. One must not forget that, in addition to German influence, Moscow and also England can influence Ukraine. For, in view of the present political situation, Ukraine is not situated between Germany and Moscow, geographically speaking, but rather between Germany and England as paradoxical as it might seem.

After twenty years of Bolshevik-enforced foreign rule, the Ukrainian people have become very sensitive to all questions concerning their freedom. Not only is this psychological attitude understandable, but it must also be taken into consideration if one wants the Ukrainians as friends and allies. This boundless love for freedom has prevailed within the Ukrainian people for three centuries and not only for the past 20 years.

This drive for independence, the will to fight and the constant readiness to protect oneself from foreign influence have created the contemporary Ukrainian who assumes a distrustful and disapproving attitude towards all foreigners. These characteristic traits manifested themselves particularly during the sabotage movements, as well as in the agriculture and industry of Soviet Ukraine. The social experiment of Bolshevism failed, particularly due to this attitude and not only as a result of its doctrinal rigidity. We must not forget, however, that sensible politics can transform this distrust into an even greater desire to build, if this matter remains left to the Ukrainian people themselves. The slightest coercion would produce the opposite effect.

Because the revolutionary movement of Ukraine is either little known or unknown in Europe, many factors are not taken into consideration at all. Others are underestimated or overestimated. It is the duty of the Ukrainian nationalists to point out, even though modestly, the possibility of a resolution of the Ukrainian question.

#### IV.

Apart from the respective interactions of German-Russian relations, the following must be made clear:

The European continent is today dominated by two imperial ideas: that of the Germans — the Reich's idea of a new European order — and that of Russian imperialism — based on the universal revolution. As long as Russia dominates Ukrainian territories with all her elements of power and incorpor-

ates them as the base of her power from which to invade Europe, we cannot count on the realisation of a new European order in this war. . .

In the long run, Eastern Europe cannot be dominated by technical governmental and administrative means supported by a strong occupational army. . .

Conclusion: A military occupation of Eastern Europe is untenable in the long run. Only a new order built on the national principle can ensure a healthy development. Only an independent Ukrainian state will be able to maintain this new order.

## V.

It is clear that Germany planned to bind Ukraine to the European continental system — mainly for economic reasons. Ukraine is presently the most important economic factor in the Soviet Union and the richest country in mineral resources in Europe. Ukraine will reinforce the greater European economic sphere through her capacity to absorb goods. At the same time, she will have to establish her own economic sphere because, according to her size and economic significance, Ukraine demands it. It is also of paramount importance to take into consideration the economic independence of Ukraine. . .

. . . A transfer of the economic centre to Berlin, while maintaining a centralised economic system and without the assurance of the independence of the Ukrainian economy, cannot satisfy Ukraine in her aspirations for economic cooperation with Europe.

Conclusion: The Ukrainian independent state must be independent economically in order to be able to build an integral part of the European open-plan economy and to supplement it.

## VI.

Since the interests of both nations demand a natural alliance, German-Ukrainian relations must be based on sincere friendship. . .

. . . Ukrainian military power is the best means by which to give shape to these military virtues and to make them useful in the protection of the Ukrainian state and the newly organised Eastern European sphere. . .

Conclusion: An independent Ukrainian military power, which coincides with the spiritual attitude of Ukraine, will guarantee the German-Ukrainian alliance and block the Russian pressure on Europe.

## VII.

(. . .)

We would like to point out that there is no analogy to a solution of the Ukrainian question. Two new states have been created in Europe since 1938: Slovakia and Croatia. Apart from the difference in size and population of the countries, the Ukrainian problem is of much greater significance because the solution to this problem will result in radical changes in the political and economic structure of the European continent and will give rise to questions of intercontinental importance. The future development of German-Ukrainian relations, however, depends not only on a final resolution of the problem, but also on the methods used from the very beginning.

(. . .)

. . . Every power must take into consideration this determination, which, while pursuing its own interests, wants to bring about a new order in the Eastern European sphere.

(. . .)

June 1941

Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists

(BA R 43/II 1500 p. 64-77)

№ 17

### *Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State*

June 30, 1941

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader, Evhen Konovalets, during the past decades of blood-stained Russian Bolshevik subjugation led a determined struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed on all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, all-round development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government, which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national government to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, is being formed.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Russian occupation for a Sovereign United State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists —  
Stepan Bandera!

Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

Head of the National Assembly

(VI, p. 57-58)

## № 18

### *Report to the Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs*

Berlin, July 1, 1941

(. . .)

. . . (The memorandum of the OUN) accuses Germany of “making mistakes” during her occupation of Ukraine in 1918. With regard to the future, it warns Germany, sometimes with a threatening tone, that the reorganisation of Eastern Europe can only be maintained by the creation of an independent Ukrainian state and not by a lasting, determined military occupation. This Ukrainian state must also be economically independent and cannot have its economic centre in Berlin. Furthermore, it must also possess an independent military power which could act as “the guarantee of the German-Ukrainian alliance” and block the Russian pressure. In order to emphasise Ukraine’s claim for an important power position, the memorandum points out that the example of the newly created state of Slovakia and Croatia cannot be used as a model for Ukraine.

(. . .)

Grosskopf

(AA. All. Akten Pol. XIII, 24)

Berlin, July 2, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A1 — B. Nr. 1B/41g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 10*

(. . .)

*II) Reports of the Einsatzgruppen and -kommandos*

(. . .)

The staff of the Einsatzgruppen arrived in Lviv on 1.7. at 5 a.m. Their office is in the NKVD central headquarters.

The commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe B reported that the Ukrainian insurgent movement in Lviv had been suppressed by the NKVD. Around 3,000 shot by the NKVD. The prison was set on fire. Barely 20% of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are still alive.

Elements of the Bandera group under the leadership of Stetsko and Ravlyk have organised a militia and created a municipal council. A Ukrainian political administration of the city has been created by the Einsatzgruppe to counteract the Bandera group.

Additional measures against the Bandera group, in particular against Bandera himself, are being planned. They will be implemented as soon as possible.

*EK 4a* and *EK 4b* have also arrived in Lviv with their staff.  
(BA R 58/214 p. 53-54)

Berlin, July 3, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—VI a 1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 11*

*1) Political Summary*

(. . .)

*b) In the General Government:*

On July 2 and 3, 41, Einsatzgruppe B reported on the attempts of the Ukrainians headed by Bandera to confront the Germans with a *fait accompli* by proclaiming a Ukrainian republic and organising a militia.

In addition, the Bandera group has recently been active in distributing leaflets.

One of these leaflets states that the Ukrainian liberation movement, formerly repressed by the Polish police, will from now on be repressed by the German police.

Furthermore, Bandera has formed a Ukrainian National Committee in order to demonstrate his position as leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He believes it unites almost all of the ideologically and politically opposed émigré groups. Only the OUN groups under the leadership of Col. Melnyk and the UNO<sup>3</sup> groups under Lt. Col. Omelchenko did not participate.

Because of the intensified activity, obligatory residence permits were imposed on various prominent Ukrainian émigrés, particularly on the Bandera group.

Since the individual émigré groups naturally want to outdo each other in their activity, the following measures were taken on 2.7.1941:

1) Various prominent politically active Ukrainian émigrés, particularly in the General Government, are being placed under house arrest on their word of honour, including Stepan Bandera.

2) The leaders of the Ukrainian émigré organisations based in the Reich have again been threatened with stricter police measures if their members do not comply with regulations.

3) All Ukrainians who are residing in the General Government, but whose permanent residence is elsewhere, have been instructed to leave the General Government immediately and to return to their place of residence; otherwise they will be arrested.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/214 p. 58-60)

Administration of the General Government  
—The Under-Secretary of State—

*Secret*

(Cracow), July 3, 1941

*Discussion with Members of the Ukrainian  
National Committee and Stepan Bandera*

*Persons present:*

Representing the Germans: Under-Secretary of State Kundt, Dr. Föhl, Assistant Judge von Bülow, and later Colonel Bisanz.

Representing the Ukrainians: Dr. Horbovyi, Prof. Andriyevskiy, Mudryi, Dr. Shukhevych. Later Stepan Bandera.

*Kundt:* Gentlemen! I have asked you to come here not as members of the National Committee, but as private citizens. First of all, I would like to ask you whether you signed this circular letter?

All of the gentlemen present answered "yes".

*Kundt:* I would like to clarify this matter:

The content of this circular letter does not correspond to facts. The German authorities, as well as Berlin, do not know of the existence of a Ukrainian government in Lviv. Such a government was not set up with their knowledge. . .

. . . This circular letter also states that the German Reich and the German Wehrmacht are your allies. This is incorrect; the Führer is the only person leading the struggle and there are no Ukrainian allies. Perhaps the Ukrainians are full of enthusiasm and feel that they are our allies; however, according to the terminology of constitutional law, we are not allies, but rather conquerors of the Soviet Russian regions. . .

(. . .)

Today I am going to Berlin where further decisions will be made. As is fitting, I simply wanted to inform you immediately so that you desist from further matters of this nature and thereby not compromise yourselves in the eyes of your own nation.

The competent political authorities of the Reich, appointed by the Führer, consider the creation of a Ukrainian National Committee to represent Ukraine premature. . .

I have forwarded your memorandum. The Führer alone has the final say regarding this matter. I am, therefore, asking you to be patient. In the long run, you could only make matters worse, for if the press were to announce the formation of a Ukrainian government, the Führer would not allow his ideas to be upset by certain impatient people, but would simply make sure that a similar situation never arose again.

(. . .)

First, we must win the war against the Soviet Union. For the time being, the entire area of operations is under the control of the German Wehrmacht. We do not know what the Führer will decide when the operations are over. In any case, he himself will decide. I believe that this is now clear. Now I want to ask Mr. Bandera a few questions.

This mysterious broadcast on Lviv Radio, or on one of the other enemy radio stations on the same frequency, maintains that Mr. Bandera has been appointed head of the free state of Western Ukrainians and that, as a result, he read, or had someone read, a Decree No. 1 in which he appoints Stetsko as Prime Minister.

1st question: Mr. Bandera, were you asked beforehand to assume leadership of the Ukrainian state and did the proclamation on the radio station take place with your approval?

2nd question: Are you the author of Decree No. 1?

*Int.(erpreter)*: Mr. Bandera requests permission to add a few words regarding the Ukrainian viewpoint.

*Kundt*: I would like to point out that only the German point of view is a determining factor.

*Bandera*: The Ukrainians have been fighting a revolutionary war against Bolshevism for twenty years. They conducted this struggle themselves. The leadership of the OUN has led a revolutionary struggle against the forces occupying Ukraine. . .

(. . .)

*Ba.(ndera)*: In this present struggle everyone has joined the fight for an autonomous, independent and free Ukraine. We are fighting for Ukrainian ideas and Ukrainian goals. I gave instructions for the immediate establishment of an administration and a government in the regions occupied by the German troops. I gave this order long before the war began<sup>4</sup>.

(. . .)

*Ku.(ndt)*: On the grounds of these orders, did your people proclaim you provisional leader of this Ukrainian government in Western Ukraine after the arrival of the German troops in Lviv?

*Ba.(ndera)*: I issued this order as leader of the OUN organisation, that is to say, as leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, because this organisation represents the Ukrainian people. . . The OUN was the only organisation which led the struggle and, therefore, it is entitled to form a government.

*Ku.(ndt)*: The German Wehrmacht and the Führer, who conquered this land, have the right to form a government.

He has the right to appoint a Ukrainian government.

*Ba.(ndera)*: I would like to reiterate and clarify the fact that, as regards all the orders I gave, I did not appeal for any instructions or approval from the German authorities. On giving all my orders I did not appeal to any German authorities or seek the approval of German authorities, but relied exclusively on the mandate which I had received from the Ukrainian people. Only



Ukrainians can establish and organise Ukrainian life in the areas inhabited by Ukrainians and this can only take place if Ukrainian factors are taken into consideration. It is my opinion that with German consent this can only happen on a temporary basis.

*Ku.(ndt):* Only Adolf Hitler can determine what will happen there.  
(BA NS 26/1198 p. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 14)

№ 22

Berlin, July 4, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A 1-B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 12*

(. . .)

*Einsatzgruppe B*

Garrison: Lviv (long-distance telephone communications)

Group commander reports:

The so-called national government declared that it wanted to establish its official seat in the University of Lviv.

The present composition:

Head of the Government — Stetsko, also known as Karbovyeh and Belends;  
Minster of Health — Dr. Panchyshyn; Administration — Lysyi; Justice —  
Counsellor Fedusevych; Security — Klymiv; Economics — Dr. Yatsiv; Press  
and Propaganda — the poet Holovko; Ministry of War — Riko Yaryi married to a Jew; Culture — vacant<sup>5</sup>.

A Supreme Council is to function alongside the Cabinet. Dmytro Dontsov is the intended chairman. . .

. . . There was no *de facto* recognition. However, we had to avoid taking severe measures against the usurpers because of the military situation and morale in the region. The outbreak of the predicted uprising around the Berdychiv and Zhytomyr-Kyiv areas is imminent.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/214 p. 69)

№ 23

Berlin, July 5, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A 1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 13*

(. . .)

*b) In the General Government:*

As already reported, the prominent Ukrainian nationalist leaders have been placed under house arrest.

Bandera was transferred to Berlin. His interrogation is in progress.  
(BA 58/214 p. 75)

№ 24

Berlin, July 7, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A 1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 15*

(. . .)

Bandera, leader of the OUN group in the General Government, has been under house arrest in Berlin since 6.7.1941. . .

*b) In the General Government:*

The leading members of the individual splinter organisations were placed under house arrest in the course of 5. and 6.7.

(. . .)

(BA 58/214 p. 90)

Berlin, July 12, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 20*

*1) Political Summary*

*a) In the Reich:*

No particular reports

*b) In the General Government:*

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Cracow reports that the Bandera group has sent approximately 30 of its members to Kyiv with orders to form a Ukrainian government there, similar to the one in Lviv, as quickly as possible, and to proclaim it on the local radio station. Einsatzgruppe C has been informed.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/214 p. 131)

*Discussion with Prof. Dr. Koch on July 10, 1941*

*Persons present:* Under-Secretary of State Kundt, Dr. Föhl, Assistant Judge von Bulow and Prof. Dr. Koch.

Prof. Koch tried to arrive in Lviv first in order to have the political situation under control from the very beginning. This attempt was unsuccessful because he was detained by a Major from the First Alpine Division.

(. . .)

At approximately 19.20 hrs., Major zur Eickern and Capt. Koch arrived in the city. They first went to see the Metropolitan. There they were informed that some of their colleagues had gone to the meeting at the Prosvita Hall. Major zur Eickern and Capt. Koch immediately went to this meeting. Since the front entrance had been blocked by a large crowd of people, they entered through the stage entrance and walked onto the stage. Their appearance caused great enthusiasm. The chairman of the meeting, Mayor Polanskyi, other prominent Ukrainians of the city and Stetsko were on the stage.

On sighting Stetsko, zur Eickern and Koch immediately left the stage and went into the auditorium without taking a seat in the audience.

(. . .)

The meeting continued and Polanskyi gave a brief summary of the events which had taken place. Because Decree No. 1 on the establishment of a government was read out, Prof. Koch found it necessary to intervene and clarify the situation. He clearly pointed out that Adolf Hitler's troops had occupied the country, and thus, in accordance with German interests, it is now of the utmost urgency for the Ukrainian people to maintain peace and order and to return to work immediately. *This is war. Politics cannot be made in any case. Only the Wehrmacht are to give orders. Work and obedience fit the needs of the moment.* . . . Zur Eickern and Koch left the meeting immediately, shaking hands with Polanskyi and other prominent participants, but not with Stetsko.

When the meeting ended, Stetsko immediately went to the Lviv Radio Station where he presented himself to a German NCO of one of the propaganda companies stationed there under the command of Lt. Lottermoser, as an authorised broadcaster. . . . In this way, it was possible to transmit the broadcast on June 30 at 10.00 p.m. as well as the broadcast early on July 1, without the knowledge of the responsible authorities — the propaganda company which had occupied the Lviv Radio Station and the military authorities stationed in Lviv (including Capt. Koch). Moreover, the German authorities stationed in Lviv had no time to listen to the Lviv Radio Station because of the various tasks they had been assigned. So, it was also possible that the proclamation of a Ukrainian government on Lviv Radio reached only the responsible German authorities in Cracow, since the Ukrainians residing in Cracow were apparently informed of the forthcoming broadcast over the telephone by a Bandera agent. It was, thus, possible that the German military authorities on duty at the Lviv Radio Station, when asked, replied that they too knew nothing of a proclamation of a Ukrainian government on the Lviv Radio Station. The Abwehr officer, Major zur Eickern, later made detailed enquires concerning the event at the Lviv Radio Station and submitted a written report to his Abwehr superior.

(. . .)

Stetsko, as can be seen, made several attempts to approach the German authorities. Earlier on he attempted to receive Capt. Koch in his office in the name of the Ukrainian republic. Koch pointed out that he would receive him as a private citizen at any time. However, *there is no Ukrainian government. For the time being, he knows only of a friendly Ukrainian nation, yet not of an allied Ukrainian state.* Moreover, a Ukrainian government in Lviv would be no more than the Schuschnigg government in Austria. Privately, Koch wanted to warn Stetsko not to play dangerous games and not to force him

to take notice of his "government". Officially, he told him: there is no Ukrainian government. There can be no Ukrainian Legion either because there is no Ukrainian state. Therefore, this Legion would be an insurgent detachment.

(. . .)

(BA R 6/150 p. 4-7)

№ 27

Berlin, July 15, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A 1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 23*

(. . .)

Apparently, at the suggestion of Riko Yaryi, who has travelled through the Chernivtsi region, notices were posted everywhere by the Ukrainian district leaders and mayors requesting all those eligible for service to register for the Ukrainian army.

A censored newspaper which published pictures and information regarding the so-called "Stetsko government" has begun to appear in Stanislaviv. Stryi and Halych are the source of the Bandera agitation.

Reports on the situation in Lviv:

On 11. and 12.7.1941, all the Ukrainian party groups in Lviv including the Melnyk group of the OUN — except for the Bandera group — have assured the liaison officer of the Wehrmacht Command (Capt. Prof. Dr. Koch) of their loyalty to the German authorities and informed them of their will to participate in the positive reconstruction of the country. Prof. Koch also contacted the Bandera group regarding this issue. The group pointed out that two issues required clarification:

- 1) a statement on Ukraine's future (independence),
- 2) the question of Bandera's release.

As regards the first matter, Koch explained that only the Führer can make a decision on this issue. Concerning Bandera's release, Koch explained that he was not competent in this matter. In conclusion, Koch told the representatives of the Bandera group that the necessary reconstruction could be carried out even without the Bandera group.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/214 p. 171, 173)

*Statement by the Head of the Ukrainian Government*

Berlin, July 15, 1941

Basing myself on the centuries-old struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its national sovereignty, and on the fact that not long ago, between 1917-1920, an independent Ukrainian state was in existence, I, as the representative of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists OUN, which, initially as the UVO (the Ukrainian Military Organisation) and later on as the OUN under the leadership of Evhen Konovalets, led the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian nation against the oppressors after the failure of the war of independence, and sacrificed the best sons of Ukraine in this struggle, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state in Lviv on June 30, 1941, at 20.30 hours in the "Prosvita" Hall, Rynok 10, during a session of the Ukrainian National Assembly. On my order, this proclamation was also broadcast on Lviv Radio to inform the Ukrainian nation and the world.

Just as no Ukrainian patriot needed instructions to join the struggle for Ukrainian statehood, so the Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukrainian State Power was a commandment of the hour for every Ukrainian, a commandment of his national consciousness and his national honour, the moment the occupying forces left Ukrainian territory. . .

I, as a representative of the leader of the OUN and as head of the Ukrainian Government, from which post I have not resigned, take full responsibility for the Proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State and its consequences. (. . .)

I did not arrange the Proclamation of the Ukrainian Government with any of the German administrative authorities. . .

I ordered the Lviv Radio Station to be put into operation and authorised the programme which was to be broadcast. In accordance with the general contingency plan of the OUN's revolutionary activity in the event of war, the leader of the OUN issued the order to occupy the Radio Station even before the outbreak of the war with the Soviet Union. The plan, which laid down that all important objectives were to be seized and defended against destruction by the Bolsheviks, was drawn up by the leadership of the OUN. The Radio Station was seized by the OUN comrades-in-arms even before the occupation of Lviv by the German troops. The minimal damage was repaired and it was possible to implement my instructions.

(. . .)

Yaroslav Stetsko

(AA Ukraine Pol. XII, 24)

*Hitler's Meeting with Rosenberg,  
Lammers, Keitel, Göring and Bormann*

The Führer's Headquarters  
July 16, 1941  
Bo/Fu

Secret matter of the Reich!

File entry

Today, on Hitler's orders, a meeting between Reichsleiter Rosenberg, Reichsminister Lammers, Field Marshal Keitel, the Reichsmarschall and myself was held at 15.00 hrs. in the Führer's headquarters.

In his preliminary address, the Führer emphasised that he wanted first of all to bring up a few fundamental points. Different measures are now necessary; this is corroborated by an article published by an impertinent Vichy newspaper which claims that the war against the Soviet Union is Europe's war. Therefore, it is also to be fought for the whole of Europe. Obviously, this Vichy paper wants to point out that the beneficiaries of this war are not the Germans alone, but all the European states must profit by it.

(. . .)

The reasons for our actions in the face of the world must, therefore, be focused on tactical aspects. Here we must proceed exactly as we did in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. As in these cases, we will wisely continue not to announce our intentions.

We shall, therefore, again point out that we are forced to occupy a region to establish order and security. In the interest of the population we had to ensure peace, food supplies, transportation etc. These were the reasons for our settlement. It should, therefore, not be obvious that a final settlement is being prepared in this way. We are, nevertheless, applying, and will be able to apply, all necessary measures — executions, deportations etc.

However, we do not want to make any enemies prematurely and unnecessarily. We shall, therefore, act only as though we wanted to exercise a mandate. Yet, it must be clear to us that we shall never leave these regions. Consequently, we must:

- 1) not obstruct the final settlement, but rather make secret preparations for it;
- 2) stress the point that we are the heralds of freedom.

In particular:

We must deport all foreigners from the Crimea and resettle it with Germans.

This same procedure must be applied to Galicia — the former regions of the Austrian Empire. Presently, we have good relations with Rumania,

yet we do not know how they will look in the future. We must adapt to this situation and determine our frontiers accordingly. We should not be dependent on a benevolent third party. We must form our relations with Rumania according to these guidelines.

The fundamental question is to cut the enormous cake skilfully in order to:  
firstly — dominate it,  
secondly — manage it,  
thirdly — exploit it.

The Russians have now been ordered to conduct a partisan war behind our lines. This partisan war also has its advantages: it enables us to exterminate everything which is against us.

The fundamentals:

The creation of a military power west of the Urals is out of the question even if we have to fight for a hundred years. All the Führer's successors must realise that the security of the Reich can only be ensured when no foreign army exists west of the Urals. Germany takes upon herself the protection of this region from any possible danger. Iron rule must be implemented and must remain in force:

Never allow anyone other than a German to carry weapons!

This is particularly important. Even if it initially appears easier to mobilise the military assistance of the subjugated foreign peoples — this is a mistake! One day this would turn completely and unavoidably against us. Only Germans are permitted to carry weapons, not the Slavs or the Czechs or the Cossacks or the Ukrainians!

In this respect, we must learn fully from the English. In accordance with this, we must never base our opinions on particular personalities: also the behaviour of the English in India towards the Indian princes etc. is an example for us here. The soldier must always protect the regime!

We must transform the newly acquired Eastern regions into a Garden of Eden; they are of vital importance to us; the colonies, in comparison, play a subordinate role.

Even if we divide particular regions now we must always be considered defenders of the people and their rights. We must make the necessary plans now. We are not speaking of a new region of the Reich, but rather of a necessary duty created by the war.

In particular:

After an understanding with Field Marshal Keitel is reached, the Baltic regions as far as the Düna must be handed over to the administration. Reichsleiter Rosenberg points out that, in his opinion, different treatment of the population is required in every kommissariat. In Ukraine, we had to be careful as regards culture. We had to arouse the historical consciousness of the Ukrainians; we had to establish a university in Kyiv.

The Reichsmarschall claims, to the contrary, that we must first secure our food supplies. Everything else can be done much later.



(A secondary question: Is there still a cultural class in Ukraine or are there only intellectual Ukrainians in exile outside present-day Russia?)

Rosenberg continues, pointing out that certain aspirations towards independence should also be promoted in Ukraine.

The Reichsmarschall asks the Führer to indicate which regions are promised to other states.

The Führer answers that Antonescu wants Bessarabia and Odessa, including a corridor which would lead west-north-west from Odessa.

In response to the objections raised by the Reichsmarschall and Rosenberg, the Führer points out that the new boundary requested by Antonescu goes only slightly beyond the old Rumanian border.

The Führer continues to emphasise that no specific promise was made to the Hungarians, the Turks or the Slovaks.

The Führer then brings up the question of whether the old Austrian part of Galicia would be handed over to the General Government immediately or not. In answer to objections, the Führer decides not to transfer this region to the General Government, but rather to place it under Reichsminister Frank's control (Lemberg).

The Reichsmarschall sees fit to allot different parts of the Baltic region, for example the Bialystok forests, to Eastern Prussia.

The Führer emphasises that the entire Baltic region must become part of the Reich.

The same applies to the Crimea and the important hinterland area (regions north of the Crimea). They must also become Reich territory. The hinterland must be as large as possible.

Rosenberg expresses some doubt regarding this issue because of the Ukrainians who reside there.

(By the way: It has come to light on several occasions that Rosenberg has a soft spot for the Ukrainians; he also wants to expand the old Ukraine considerably).

The Führer continues to point out that the Volga colony must also become a territory of the Reich just like the regions around Baku; it must become a German concession (military colony).

(. . .)

The Führer points out that the most important region for the next three years is undoubtedly Ukraine. Therefore, it is best to appoint Koch to this territory; as regards Sauckel it is better to use him in the Baltic region.

(. . .)

(IMT 221-L)

Berlin, July 17, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A 1 B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 25*

(. . .)

Individual national groups want their own press. On a local suggestion, the Ukrainians were allowed to publish a politically colourless daily Ukrainian newspaper in Lviv. Other newspapers, as well as publications of party organs (Bandera group), were closed down.

(. . .)

d) *Propaganda of the OUN-Bandera Group*

The entire propaganda activity of the Bandera group adheres to a rigid and carefully studied plan. After the proclamation of “the Ukrainian national government” in Lviv, similar proclamations of independence were also made in other cities of the former Polish wojewody of Lviv, Ternopil and Lutsk. The Bandera group set up so-called propaganda units, which made so-called proclamations of independence in every larger conquered area, immediately after its occupation by German troops, and installed local self-governing bodies. Furthermore, placards, leaflets and illegal newspapers, which are presently being circulated, propagate the appeals (the proclamation of the Ukrainian government), broadcast the Lviv Radio Station, and spread propaganda on behalf of the OUN, or rather the Bandera group. The publication of various OUN newspapers, printed without authorisation, has been stopped. The Bandera group has been deprived of the use of approximately 20 printing shops, which were taken over by the group in the first few days after the occupation of Lviv.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/214 p. 200, 202-203)

*Report by Gr. Baum to Grosskopf*

Berlin, July 21, 1941

*Proclamation of the "Ukrainian Government" by the  
Bandera Followers on 30.6.41*

(. . .)

The events of June 30 in Lviv were a surprise coup by the Bandera people, who probably wanted to establish priority over the other Ukrainian groups. An event, which was announced as a liberation celebration of the national Ukrainians of Lviv, was used for this purpose. . . Without informing any of the German authorities beforehand, Yaroslav Stetsko, Bandera's representative, read out Bandera's surprise proclamation of the formation of a Ukrainian government in Western Ukraine, on the waging of war by this new state, "shoulder to shoulder" with the Reich, against the Soviet Union, and on the appointment of Stetsko as head of the government of Western Ukraine<sup>6</sup>.

(. . .)

Prof. Koch, who was present at the Lviv assembly in his capacity as Abwehr representative, and who had greeted the assembly purely as a liberation celebration before the reading of the proclamation, strongly reproached Mr. Stetsko for his disloyalty and left the assembly room with the other representatives of the Wehrmacht. In the meantime, the Bandera people carried out another arbitrary act. Bandera's proclamation was broadcast on Lviv Radio Station.

(. . .)

(AA Ukraine Pol. XIII, 24)

*Statement by the Political Bureau of the OUN*

Berlin, July 21, 1941

*On the situation in Lviv (Lemberg)*

I. Facts and Causes

1. The Proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941, in Lviv, is already a historical fact that will become one of the

most glorious traditions of the Ukrainian people. The Proclamation of June 30, 1941, will become a symbol of the present liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, just as the acts of January 22, 1918, in Kyiv, and November 1, 1918, in Lviv, became symbols of the Ukrainian war of liberation of 1917-1921.

(. . .)

2. . . . Ukrainian statehood was not only proclaimed in Lviv. State power was established in those areas where the Moscow government had been eliminated; in some regions it was established even before the Lviv Proclamation. This demonstrates the spontaneous aspirations of the Ukrainian people for their own state sovereignty.

As a result of the establishment of state power in the villages, towns, districts and regions, the entire administration was taken over by Ukrainians.

This also occurred in Lviv.

(. . .)

4. . . . Two methods were subsequently used during the restoration of the state: the organisation of national life from the top and at the same time from the bottom. The government immediately began to organise life in the country, establishing regional administrations, coordinating activity and setting up guidelines. The government organised the administration, economy, militia, public health, etc. It organised everything that the Ukrainians, as well as the German occupying forces, needed in the first instance. (. . .)

5. Although the OUN established the government, only a few government positions were occupied by members of the OUN; the majority of the portfolios did not go to OUN members, but to experts or prominent Ukrainian politicians. (. . .)

The attack against the Ukrainian government risks interpretation by the Ukrainian people as a hostile act on the part of the German Reich against the very idea of a Ukrainian state. If Germany requires sincere and faithful allies, then Ukraine will agree to be an ally, but only as an independent state. (. . .)

## II. Practical Conclusions

1. The Proclamation of the Ukrainian State in Lviv is already an accomplished fact. From now on, all action will be taken on behalf of the Ukrainian state. This is valid for the whole ethnographic territory already liberated.

2. The Ukrainian government established in Lviv under the leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko, Deputy Leader of the OUN, remains in force for the Ukrainian nation.

(. . .)

Political Bureau of  
The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists  
Department of Foreign Policy and Propaganda

(AA Ukraine, Pol. XIII, 24)

Berlin, July 31, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

*Activity and Situation Report № 1 of the Einsatzgruppen of the  
Security Police and the SD in the USSR*

(. . .)

*D) Attitude of National Groups*

*Ukraine*

The national situation in Ukraine is still aggravated by Bandera's activist demands. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera is the most significant military factor in Ukrainian political life. Its followers are represented in all parts of the world where a significant number of Ukrainians live. (. . .)

The other group, under the leadership of Colonel Andriy Melnyk, is losing more and more ground among Ukrainians both in Ukraine and in the Reich as a result of Bandera's militant policies. Melnyk's group consists mainly of émigrés and has few contacts with Soviet Ukrainian territory.

The aim of Bandera's group is to create an independent Ukrainian state with an absolute nationalist-orientated government; Bandera would like it to be headed by a politically impartial figure who lives in subjugated Ukraine. (. . .)

The independence propaganda of the Bandera people, which is still to some extent continuing, is not without effect. In all circles, particularly among the Ukrainian urban population, strong pressure for independence can be noticeably felt.

In the course of the proclamation of independence, the administrative departments (mayors, district leaders) were arbitrarily installed in many towns without the approval of the German authorities. At that time, illegal newspapers in which the proclamation broadcast by the Lviv Radio Station was published, were also circulated. The Einsatzkommandos have had to intervene several times against the distribution of these OUN newspapers. Approximately 20 printing shops, seized by the Bandera group immediately after the capture of Lviv, were repossessed.

Presently, the Einsatzkommandos are constantly engaged in the dissolution of the so-called public services created by the OUN, and the formation of a new militia.

(. . .)

(AA III/Inland II G, 431, p. 49 f., 52)

The Representative of the Foreign Ministry  
at Army High Command (AOK) 6  
Nr. 388g

Army Headquarters, July 24, 1941

Secret

### *Political Report*

Contents: *Ukraine*

(. . .)

After the German occupation of the Soviet spheres of interest in Ukraine, the Wehrmacht authorities began to transform these illegal (*Ukrainian*) combat units into a Ukrainian auxiliary police and to compel them to cooperate with the Ukrainian relief committees for the reconstruction (of the country). This was generally successful. However, in many cases, followers of the UNP<sup>7</sup> have already surpassed themselves and have thereby *caused serious damage* to German interests — this negative development has become harmful to German interests. Thus, shortly after the German entry into Lviv (not in the zone of AOK 6), the "*Free Ukrainian State*" under the leadership of *Bandera* was proclaimed, and reports regarding this matter were smuggled into the German-operated Lviv Radio Station and broadcast during the Ukrainian programmes. These activities, conducted mainly by *Bandera*, and the disregard of the arrangements made with the German authorities, and even the intrigues directed against them, led to *Bandera's house arrest on his word of honour first in Cracow and then in Berlin*. The *Bandera* people have also attempted to establish "regional administrations" of the new "Ukrainian republic in several other places, as well as to form "Ukrainian armed forces".  
(. . .)

(AA All. Akten Pol. XIII, 9)

### *"Death to the Traitors of Ukraine"*

*Article from the Soviet Newspaper "Za Radiansku Ukrainu"*  
*No. 1, July 31, 1941, Organ of the Political Department of the*  
*Red Army on the South-Western Front (Ukraine)*

The German fascists, the cruel enemy of the Ukrainian people, have long dreamed of enslaving this freedom-loving nation. By treacherously declaring

war on us, the German fascists hoped to occupy the whole of Ukraine within ten days. The battles have been raging for two months now. . .

Hitler has called upon the traitors of the Ukrainian people, the Petlurists, the OUN-ists and the Hetmanists, for help. . .

The cannibal Hitler has let loose his faithful dogs — the Petlurists, the OUN-ists and the Hetmanists — these vile traitors of the Ukrainian nation, and ordered them to impede the partisan movement through lies and murder and to liquidate the prominent patriots of our fatherland. . .

These liars, spies and murderers from the Gestapo urge you to yield voluntarily to the yoke of fascist slavery. They are helping the fascist bandits to plunder our country, our property, which was acquired through the blood and sweat of the workers, and to enslave our country, which was united into a great Ukrainian state.

For all the lies, provocation and murders, the freedom-loving Ukrainian people have but one answer to the blue-and-yellow<sup>8</sup> band and its leader Stepan Bandera: Death! (. . .)

Oleksander Korniychuk

(AA III/Ukraine, Pol. XIII, 24)

№ 36

Berlin, August 6, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A1 — B. Nr.1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 44*

(. . .)

#### *II. Reports by the Einsatzgruppen and -kommandos*

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Cracow reports the following:

#### *Entry into Office of the General Governor in Lviv on 1.8.1941*

The proclamation, as well as the General Governor's speech to the Ukrainians, were very cleverly contrived. Ukrainians as an ethnic group were not even mentioned and the population was promised economic improvement for its loyalty. The Ukrainian intelligentsia, particularly the Bandera group, is dissatisfied. . .

### *Situation in Former Russian Poland*

The Ukrainians in Lviv are still preoccupied with the Führer's instruction regarding Eastern Galicia. Public opinion is strongly influenced by the whispering campaign of the Bandera group, which describes the Führer's instruction as German treachery towards the Ukrainian nation.

The Stetsko government has still not been forgotten. There are still isolated proclamations of independence. There is a request not to surrender arms as the people are bound by the oath sworn to the Stetsko government. There are arbitrary appearances by the mayor and militia commander appointed by the Bandera group, confiscations, the issue of personal documents etc.

In areas where the propaganda of the Bandera group has not yet made an impact, the population is still very friendly to the Germans.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/215 p. 191, 192)

№ 37

Berlin, August 9, 1941

Chief of the Security Police

and the SD

—IV A 1 —B. Nr.1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 47*

(. . .)

Professor Lenkavskyi, propaganda leader of the OUN Bandera group, was arrested for his illegal authorisation of the requisition of a former Russian military printing shop in Lviv. (. . .)

### *II. General Temperament in the District of Galicia*

. . . The initiator of all the hostile tendencies among the Ukrainians is, as previously, the Bandera group. A leaflet ordering members of the OUN to resume their underground activity and to protest against the annexation of Galicia to the General Government is being circulated. Leading members of the Bandera group are still hiding from the German authorities. (. . .)

(BA R 58/215 p. 225 f.)



*"The Dog Has Not Satisfied Its Master"*

*Article from the Soviet Newspaper "Za Radiansku Ukrainu",  
No. 5, August 9, 1941*

. . . Our newspaper has already reported that the Germans have informed their soldiers that the "Ukrainian government" (a small group of paid individuals who side with Hitler's armies) does not constitute an independent power; it only serves as a means of liaison with the German military authorities. (. . .)

A new document has fallen into the hands of the Red Army. The Commanders of the 296th German division have issued an order that the members of the OUN — the Bandera supporters — are to be arrested and prevented from entering the territories occupied by the German troops. Why is there such ill-will towards a servant?

Probably because no one believes the damned traitor any more, and probably because the Ukrainian people are spitting with disgust into the face of all these vile Banderas. The following slogan is circulating among the people: "Bandera — cholera — fascist skin — just wait and this skin will be ripped off you!"

Semen Sokilskyi

(AA III/Ukraine, Pol. XIII, 24)

*"Hunters and Greyhounds"*

*Article from the Soviet Newspaper "Za Radiansku Ukrainu",  
No. 7, August 13, 1941*

When Hitler set out to hunt for Ukraine, he looked for suitable greyhounds. (. . .)

"To work, my Ministers", Hitler told them, "you are the government of "united Ukraine".

(. . .)

. . . Twenty-three years ago, Wilhelm gave the orders and Petlura signed them. Today, it is Hitler who gives the orders and Bandera who signs them. The names are different, but the contents are the same. (. . .)

K. Polonnyk

(AA III/Ukraine, Pol. XIII, 24)

*Memorandum of the OUN*

Berlin, August 14, 1941

(. . .)

*The OUN's Aim — The Ukrainian State*

The sole military aim of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — OUN — is a Ukrainian state, however, not a state in which the OUN would necessarily be a leading power. The OUN is subordinate to the Ukrainian state and not the contrary. It is important for the OUN that a Ukrainian government should exist as a distinctive attribute of Ukrainian statehood. It does not have to be a specific government made up of specific persons.

Had Germany proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state or the restructuring of Eastern Europe on the basis of national states as its war aim in the struggle against Bolshevism, then the question of the existence of the present Ukrainian state government could have taken other forms. Regardless of the method by which the restoration of Ukrainian statehood will take place under the demands of war, the Act of June 30, 1941, as a spontaneous expression of the will of the Ukrainian people, will constitute a symbol of the restored Ukrainian state — a firm basis for Ukrainian-German friendship.

The dissolution of the existing government, which was established on Ukrainian soil by the will of the Ukrainian people, without Germany's exploitation of her position with respect to the establishment of a Ukrainian state, can only mean that Germany does not desire a Ukrainian state.

*The Act of 30.6.1941 and German-Ukrainian Cooperation*

(. . .)

8) All the efforts by leaders of the OUN to contact the German political authorities of the Reich in order to create a political base and agree on joint tactics were in vain. The German authorities, which the OUN contacted, declared their incompetence to act on these issues, as well as on the resolution of the Ukrainian question, which depends on the development of events in Ukraine. Immediately before the war, Yaroslav Stetsko, the head of the Political Bureau of the OUN, the present Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government, tried to arrange a meeting with the Foreign Affairs Department of the NSDAP, through an authorised representative of the OUN in Berlin, to discuss political issues concerning Ukraine. Unfortunately, this attempt remained unsuccessful and the OUN was unable to adapt its tactics and political line to conform with the competent German political authorities. The OUN is in no way responsible for this course of events. Moreover, during the first days of the war, Capt. Prof. Dr. Koch was unable to answer the political questions of the OUN leader.

### *The Relationship Between the OUN and the Ukrainian Government*

The Ukrainian government was formed on the initiative of the OUN. This, however, does not mean that the government is dependent on the OUN leadership. The Prime Minister of the government is a member of the OUN. The members of the government, on the whole, were selected according to professional principles. The Ukrainian public recognised the government and created a wide legal base for it. The government was recognised by the population residing on Ukrainian territories liberated from Bolshevism. The mandate of the state government, which it had received from the OUN, has, therefore, become a mandate of the entire Ukrainian nation.

The OUN has no legitimate right to dissolve the state government. This can only be put into effect by a Ukrainian state government.

The OUN and the government are today two totally independent factors: the government is above the parties and is formed on an all-Ukrainian basis. It includes representatives of Eastern, as well as Western, Ukraine (the latter from Galicia and Volyn). The Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government is only subordinate to the leader of the OUN regarding organisational matters (party issues). It is not only the OUN and its members that are subordinate to the government, but also Ukrainians of various tendencies.

Taking into consideration the emerging all-Ukrainian attitude, and the unfavourable time for Ukrainian-German cooperation, the OUN can neither take a negative position towards the government nor recall its representatives.

Capt. Prof. Dr. Koch, as a representative of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Regions, justified the first two conditions laid down on the OUN, pointing out that they are determined by the necessity to eliminate the party-political disunity and misunderstanding among the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian government constitutes an acceptable basis for all Ukrainians because government positions are open to all Ukrainian patriots.

### *The OUN in Favour of Continuing Cooperation with Germany*

( . . . )

The dissolution of the government would weaken the Ukrainian nation's enthusiasm to work and its will towards national reconstruction. This would greatly affect the economy. In their disappointment, the Ukrainian masses would not know for whom and for what they are working, since the Ukrainian state, which is the aim of their struggle at the present moment, is not being established. The hostile attitude towards every occupational economy, developed over the years, as well as sabotage skills, developed at the highest level, with their invisible methods, will not diminish, but on the contrary, under the influence of the economy, which collapsed as a result of the

war, will become even stronger. The question is why should new arguments be created for Bolshevik, English and Polish propaganda<sup>9</sup> in the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its cooperation with Germany.

The OUN supports further close cooperation with Germany and believes that the dissolution, or rather the disavowal, of the Ukrainian government established in Lviv would only place unnecessary burdens on this cooperation. The OUN can today already predict the negative effect a public proclamation of the dissolution of the government will have on the Ukrainian people, particularly if we must explain that the leadership of the OUN had to take this step on the suggestion of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Regions for the sake of Ukrainian-German cooperation. It will be necessary to explain the matter in this particular way. As a result, the Ukrainians would lose all hope that Germany wants to aid the young aspiring nations in the establishment of their own state life.

### *Conclusion*

The position of the OUN is the following:

The dissolution of the Ukrainian government founded on 30.6.1941 is highly detrimental not only to Ukraine, but also to Germany.

It is our opinion that such a decision would only obstruct German-Ukrainian relations, greatly impair the reconstruction of Eastern Europe, which is now underway, and would have a negative effect not only on political developments, but also on economic developments and cooperation.

The demand that the OUN should dissolve the government of the Ukrainian state contains long-range domestic political consequences: this means that the OUN must renounce its leading position in the struggle for liberation and its national aspirations in Ukrainian political life.

(AA Ukraine Pol. XIII, 24)

Berlin, August 14, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 52*

(. . .)

a) Agitation, stirred up by the West Ukrainian Bandera group, is propagating the establishment of an independent united Ukrainian state. Anti-German tones are clearly evident. The Bandera agitation in the Zhytomyr region has more or less subsided, but it must be described as very active in the Khmilnyk, Berdychiv and Vynnytsia areas. The usual leaflets, including Legenda's appeal to establish a revolutionary Ukrainian army, are being circulated. The latest slogan is urging the farmers to parcel out the collective farms. (. . .)  
(BA R 58/216 p. 20)

Berlin, August 18, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A1 — B. Nr. 1B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 56*

(. . .)

In Lviv, the OUN is selling stamps in order to acquire funds to finance its struggle, and is distributing leaflets demanding Bandera's release. Placards which state that under the leadership of the OUN a "Free and Independent Ukraine" based on the principle "Ukraine to the Ukrainians" must be established are being distributed from Lviv. The Wehrmacht's orders are often ignored. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 58/216 p. 77)

№ 43

Berlin, August 20, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 58*

(. . .)

As previously, propaganda calling for independence is presently being spread in Pinsk and Brest-Litovsk, although hope for an independent Ukraine was greatly shaken after the annexation of Galicia to the General Government. (. . .)

(. . .)

. . . A 20-30 strong Ukrainian gang is roaming around the Pinsk region causing trouble. It is harassing the Pinsk area with slogans like: "Down with the German administration! We want a free Ukraine without Germans, Poles and Russians!" (. . .)

(BA R 58/216 p. 97 f.)

№ 44

Berlin, August 22, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

—IV A1 — B. Nr. 1 B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 60*

(. . .)

. . . The underground activity is continuing. A leaflet urging the dissolved militia not to hand over its arms is presently being circulated. In Kovel, the following inscription was written on the wall of a house: "Down with foreign rule. Long live Stepan Bandera". (. . .)

(BA R 58/216 p. 133)

Berlin, August 28, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A 1 — B. Nr. 1B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 66*

(. . .)

. . . The dissolution of the Ukrainian militia is now taking place everywhere with the enthusiastic support of a large majority of the population. The activity of Bandera's followers is increasing. In Klusk, near Kovel, a slogan calling for the elimination of "foreign rule" and the return of Bandera was written on a cooperative building. In Luboml, the well-known proclamation of Ukrainian statehood is said to have been read out publicly. (. . .)  
(BA R 58/216 p. 211)

*Bolshevik Propaganda Directed Against the OUN  
and Stepan Bandera*

September 8, 1941

Since July 31, 1941, the Bolshevik newspaper "Za Radiansku Ukrainu" (For a Soviet Ukraine), an organ of the political administration of the Red Army on the South-western front, has been published in the form of a leaflet. The editorial staff is composed of the prominent authors Mykola Bazhan, Oleksander Korniychuk, Andriy Vasylo and Wanda Wasilewska (a Polish woman).

The newspaper is mainly circulated in the Ukrainian regions occupied by the German forces and is designed to instigate the population to partisan warfare. This leaflet is not only being dropped out of airplanes and smuggled across the front lines, it is also distributed by parachutists dressed in "Polish army uniforms".

Reports on the partisan war, reports on the Red Army, as well as important foreign political events which concern the Soviet Union (in particular an alliance with Great Britain, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the supply of arms by the United States), form the main content of the individual reports and articles.

The newspaper is well illustrated and contains poems of a political nature. The Ukrainian nationalists, the OUN and their leader Stepan Bandera, are frequently mentioned. The latter is referred to as a singular Ukrainian individual. This means that the Bolsheviks consider him and his organisation to be the political pillar of Ukraine's national struggle. Bandera is also compared to Petlura whose name today still enjoys particular political popularity throughout the whole of Ukraine. (. . .)

Enclosed are 3 articles about the OUN translated into German<sup>10</sup>.  
(AA III/Ukraine, Pol. XIII, 24)

№ 47

Berlin, September 9, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
—IV A 1 — B. Nr. 1B/41 g. Rs.—

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 78*

(. . .)  
*General Temperament*

(. . .)  
*Pinsk:* Disturbances in the southern part of the region caused by the pro-independence propaganda spread by the Ukrainians from Volyn. (. . .)

In *Volyn*, the propaganda calling for Ukrainian independence, particularly on the part of the Bandera group, is being intensified. (. . .)

*Ethnic Groups*  
*Ukrainians*

(. . .)  
... Two Ukrainian leaflets seized. (. . .)

In *Lutsk*, Ukrainians swore a public oath to Bandera during religious ceremonies commemorating the victims of the Bolshevik regime. Similar cases in *Galicia*. Furthermore, exploiting the present celebrations on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the conquest of *Kyiv* (in *Stanislaviv*). The Bandera group is presently making demands, particularly for a Ukrainian legion and an entry permit for Bandera into the Ukrainian settlement areas. Collection of signatures for Bandera's release in his home town: "Staryi Uhryniv near *Stanislaviv*". (. . .)

(BA R 58/216 p. 354 f.)



Berlin, September 10, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 79*

(. . .)

*Ethnic Groups*

Ukrainians

(. . .)

. . . The Ukrainian intelligentsia is under the powerful influence of the Bandera group. The renewal of the Hetman group's activity has not been particularly successful. Attempts to create a national Church.

In Galicia and Volyn, the Bandera group is making vigorous attempts to infiltrate some of its members into German administrative departments as interpreters. More intensive propaganda in favour of Bandera. Signatures collected to permit Bandera to enter the Ukrainian settlement areas. Continuous circulation of old leaflets regarding the Stetsko government and the proclamations of independence. Similar circulation of Bandera's rejection of Prof. Koch's demands (Rosenberg's Ministry) to dissolve the Stetsko government. Collection of "combat funds" for the OUN; distribution of stamps bearing the date of the proclamation of independence (30.6.41). (. . .)

(BA R 58/217 p. 10)

Berlin, September 12, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 81*

*Political Movements*

(. . .)

. . . The political activity of the so-called *Bandera groups (OUN)* requires further attention. The members of these groups have given EK 6 a great deal of work, and the present state of affairs is unsatisfactory. The OUN representatives are distinguished by their firmness, modesty and dedication. These traits can only come from true idealism. Personally, they made an extremely good impression. EK 6 has made repeated attempts to establish cooperation with this element on friendly terms. On the grounds of experience, EK 6 is no longer in a position to expect much cooperation within the former Soviet Russian regions of Ukraine. The OUN men clearly and sincerely promised to comply with all that had been demanded of them and just as sincerely broke their promise. In any case, matters are dealt with differently behind the backs of the German authorities. As soon as the situation in Ukraine has become somewhat more stable, all Western Ukrainians must be deported because their activity can be indisputably described as detrimental in every respect.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/217 p. 50 f.)

*Activity and Situation Report No. 4 of the Einsatzgruppen  
of the Secret Police and the SD in the USSR*

(Report from 1.9. — 15.9.1941)

(. . .)

*The Bandera Group*

The activity of the Bandera group (OUN) requires further attention. The activists of this group are distinguished by their extraordinary devotion and zeal. Further cooperation with them is no longer possible. The OUN men sincerely promise to comply with all that has been demanded of them and just as sincerely break their promise.

The activity of the Western Ukrainian Bandera group has an increasingly detrimental effect on the remaining Ukrainian regions. National-political ideas are being propagated, although, up till now, a fertile ground for them has hardly existed. They present an acute danger to German interests both at the present time and in the future.

Appropriate defence measures have been taken. (. . .)  
(AA III/Inland II g 431, p. 131)

№ 51

Berlin, September 18, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret matter of the Reich!

(. . .)

*Report on Events in the USSR № 87*

(. . .)

*Ethnic Groups*

Ukrainians (. . .)

The will of the general population to cooperate with the Germans under all conditions has forced the Bandera group to be cautious with remarks about the Reich. No open attacks against Germany appear in the leaflets. These, however, appear in the whispering propaganda. (. . .)  
(BA R 58/217 p. 139)

№ 52

*Hitler's Table-Talks*

*Report № 32*

The Führer's Headquarters, Friday, 19.9.1941

*Lunch 18.9.*

Guests: Reichsminister Dr. Lammers, *Reichskommissar Koch*.

(. . .)

The table-talk revolved mainly around the topic of "free Ukraine" without any new arguments. The Führer, as well as the Reichskommissar, *dismissed the idea of a free Ukraine*. The Slavs are a family of rabbits who will never exceed the family unit if they are not conquered by a master race. General disorganisation is their natural and aspiring state. Everything

that they are taught becomes, at best, a half-knowledge which makes them discontented and anarchistic. *On these grounds, the establishment of a university in Kyiv must now be rejected.* Furthermore, hardly anything in the city of Kyiv will remain standing. The tendency of the Führer, who regards the destruction of the large Russian cities as a prerequisite for lasting power in Russia, was further stressed by the Reichskommissar who intends to destroy the Ukrainian industry as far as possible in order to compel the proletariat to return to the rural regions. The marketing potential of used and finished products on the Russian markets would give the Saxon industry an unexpected boost. And if we establish a state monopoly on necessary luxury commodities like alcohol and tobacco, then we would have the population in the occupied regions in our grasp. Koch pointed out that he must be adamant and brutal from the beginning and not repeat the mistake made in 1917-18: sometimes to be compliant and sometimes to be firm. General Eichhorn was undoubtedly murdered by the Ukrainian nationalists and not by the Bolsheviks. The Führer portrayed English rule in India as an objective worth striving for by our administration in the East. For the German nation: a highly developed national community and educational opportunities for everyone, but outside Germany: the absolute point of view of the master race.

2) Reichskommissar Koch will give his speech first, before the Führer, on the afternoon of 19.9. because General Field Marshal Keitel, who flew out to Army Group North in Pleskau on 18.9., is also supposed to be present at the meeting. The atmosphere in the Führer's headquarters was very much in favour of Koch. Everyone considers him competent and a "second Stalin" who can best cope with his assignment.

(. . .)

### *Report № 37*

The Führer's Headquarters, Wednesday, September 24, 1941

(. . .)

2) *Dinner 23.9.*

Guests: Reichsprotektor von Neurath, Secretary of State Frank, Secretary of State Backe.

. . . The Führer began to speak about the Russian national character and pointed out that the Ukrainians are just as lazy, unorganised and nihilist-Asian as the Great Russians. It would be completely pointless to speak of a work ethic and obligation; the people would never understand this because they only react to the whip. Stalin is one of the greatest men alive because he succeeded in creating a state out of this Slav "rabbit family", of course only under severe force. (. . .)

The border between Europe and Asia is not the Urals, but rather the point where the German settlements end and the pure Slavs begin. It is our task to shift this border as far East as possible and, when necessary, beyond the Urals.

(. . .)

Dr. Werner Koeppen  
SA Standartenführer and personal adviser

(BA R 6/34a p. 12 f., 28)

№ 53

Berlin, September 30, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 99*

(. . .)

... Rumours are circulating that the Zbruch border (the old border between Poland and Russia), which divides the Ukrainians, will soon fall. A report, as well as related rumours, have again revived hopes for an independent Ukrainian state. Expecting the Führer's decision about Kyiv soon.

Measures against the Bandera group became of secondary importance. They now know the reason for the action<sup>11</sup> and, as a result, there is a greater restraint towards the Bandera group. It was through this action that the population in remote villages became aware of the fact that the Bandera group had established the government arbitrarily and organised the administration without the consent of the German authorities. In many places the Bandera group is known to have given an impression of legitimacy. (. . .)

(BA R 58/217 p. 447)

№ 54

Berlin, October 2, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret matter of the Reich!

(. . .)

*Report on Events in the USSR № 101*

(. . .)

Investigations concerning the Bandera groups, particularly in Mykolayiv, have begun. The mayor is a follower of Melnyk. According to his testimony, the real inspiration behind the Bandera group is Yaryi whose wife and mother are Jewish. His father is Czech. Yaryi played a major role in establishing communist influence over the Bandera group<sup>12</sup>. So far, we have suspected 8 of the 195 members of the self-defence groups in Mykolayiv of being Bandera men. Rumours circulating among the self-defence men that the Security Police is soon going to search for Bandera people in Mykolayiv, as they had done in Zhytomyr and Kirovohrad, prove how well their intelligence service operates. The 8 self-defence men are behaving very conspicuously.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/218 p. 4 f.)

№ 55

Berlin, October 13, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 112*

(. . .)

III.

*Politics*

Specific political aspirations could only be vaguely determined. These few cases result from the propaganda of the OUN people. This involves a limited number of people who must cover vast areas in a very short span of time

and, therefore, have left behind no deep and lasting impression. It is generally believed that Ukraine now belongs to Germany, yes, that it has even become part of Germany. It was only in *Horodyshe* that former members of the SVU<sup>13</sup>, persuaded by OUN men, demanded a free Ukraine. An article recently published in the first issue of the local newspaper concluded with the words long live a free and independent Ukraine and its leader Stepan Bandera. These activities were immediately stopped.

The population should be guided, through the complete suppression of the influence of the Bandera movement and through skilful German propaganda, towards our desired goal and towards accepting every solution proposed by Germany, particularly conformity and satisfaction with subordination to German sovereignty, since the population is totally inert politically and, owing to an absolute lack of any leading class, completely incapable of its own statehood. (. . .)

(BA R 58/218 p. 159 f.)

№ 56

Berlin, November 5, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 129*

(. . .)

3. We are continuing to monitor the activity of the Bandera followers. Further investigations, particularly in Mykolayiv, led to new arrests and the seizure of important documents. The seized documents included a detailed plan of the organisational structure of the Bandera group. The plan outlines the structure of the organisation; stanytsia is the lowest unit, then the sub-district, the district and the region. Furthermore, it contains data concerning duties, the use of code names, the purposes of propaganda etc. Investigations in Kherson led to further arrests. In general, according to informers, the propaganda spread by Bandera's followers has such an impact on the population of some areas that the prevailing will to work is diminishing and is being replaced in certain places by major discontent arising from the measures taken by a particular La-Führer. After the meeting with the Ic AO, the AOK sent a memorandum to all units demanding that Bandera's activities be stopped and his followers dealt with as indicated. (. . .)

(BA R 58/218 p. 363)

Berlin, November 14, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 133*

(. . .)

2) Bandera and other Ukrainian political movements

As regards the Ukrainian political movements the Bandera movement of the OUN is, as usual, very active. The militia in the Rivne district appears to have come under the influence of this movement. The usual indications: arbitrariness towards regulations of the German authorities which do not coincide with the OUN interests, and, in isolated cases, deliberate sabotage of German measures.

Furthermore, all the political movements in Ukraine must be mentioned: the OUN-Melnik group pursues the same aims as the Bandera group, although not as drastically, namely — the establishment of an independent Ukraine. Due to the lack of initiative, characteristic of this OUN movement, the existence of the Melnyk-OUN does not present a serious danger at this time.

The OUN under Livytskyi<sup>14</sup> is active, but meets with a favourable response only from Petlura's few surviving officers and comrades-in-arms and partly from the clergy. We consider the officers' circles irrelevant; we must focus our attention on the sympathy of the clergy. The people are indifferent to this OUN (*that is the UNR*).

Skoropadskyi enjoys a certain popularity among the elderly and the circles of the local intelligentsia. This political movement seems doomed to die with the older generation as less sympathy could be noted among the youth.

To sum up about the Ukrainian political movements in Volyn, only the OUN under Bandera presents an acute danger. Melnyk could become dangerous if we disregard this branch of the OUN while fighting against the Bandera movement. We could even provide the other parties with covert assistance since they have no self-substantiated prospect for permanent success and represent an essential element with regard to the division of political opinion among Ukrainians.

(. . .)



## *V. The Temperament of the Population*

After the German troops marched in, the population, under the impression of being liberated from Bolshevik bloody terror, was full of hope, but, in consequence of the conditions mentioned above, became filled with discontent. Even if Bolshevik propaganda has, on the whole, been unsuccessful, the propaganda of the Ukrainian political parties does not build confidence towards the German administration. This mainly concerns Bandera's propaganda, as well as Melnyk's. Apparently, the German administration has not yet succeeded in setting up an authority above the parties for the welfare of the Ukrainians. (. . .)

(BA R 58/219 p. 87 f., 92)

№ 58

Field Headquarters, 8.11.1941

General Command III.A.K.  
Department Ic

To

*First Panzer Army — Ic/AO —*

Enclosed for your information is a Russian leaflet addressed to the Ukrainian population.

Post-war and recent experience, as well as the contents of the enclosed leaflet, substantiate the serious objections to the participation of politically organised Ukrainian nationalists (particularly the former Petlura movement, now OUN) in a civilian administration, with the prospect of a later independent government.

The moment of inertia of the centuries-old national order, which is an indivisible component of the great Eastern expanses, will come to bear alongside the indifference of the Ukrainian people regarding all political issues. The people are politically immature and must remain so. National consciousness, or every Ukrainian national solution provide enemy propaganda with grounds for attack both now (ref. leaflet) and in future decades. Such solutions are obviously detrimental to the interests of the Ukrainian people and country, as well as to the interests of the Germans and all of Europe.

For the General Command  
Chief of the General Staff  
Signature (illegible)

*Dear Brothers and Sisters in the Regions  
Temporarily Occupied by the Enemy!*

The corrupt Ukrainian nationalists, the agents of German fascism, are conducting their vulgar subversive activities among you. These Petlura-products are posing as friends of the Ukrainian people and calling themselves Ukrainian revolutionaries.

By posing as friends of the Ukrainian people, the nationalists believe that the people have forgotten all the crimes they have committed.

No, the Ukrainian people will never forget them.

Now the German fascists have again drawn the Ukrainian nationalists out of the rubbish-pit of history and the Ukrainian towns and villages in the regions occupied by the enemy are burning again; again you hear the screaming and moaning of the tortured and tormented old men, women and children. Pillage, rape and the most impetuous arbitrariness again reign over the people, and trains loaded with stolen property are again travelling to Germany.

. . . They impudently maintain that they are fighting for the freedom and happiness of the Ukrainian people.

Who are these "honest friends" of the Ukrainian people? Who called them into Ukraine and what do they really want from Ukraine? The Ukrainian nationalists are the archenemy of the Ukrainian people. They are the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and landowners who dream of having their bourgeois landowner order restored again.

Immediately after the collapse of tsarism, the nationalist bourgeois mob established a counter-revolutionary Central Rada. The leaders of this Central Rada fought, together with tsarist generals, against the great socialist October Revolution. Yet, when, thanks to the mutual efforts of the Ukrainian and Russian workers and farmers, the army of the Central Rada was defeated, they called the German imperialists into the country to fight against the Ukrainian and Russian people.

On February 9, 1918, the Central Rada signed a treaty with the German imperialists in accordance with which Ukraine became a colony of imperialist Germany. These people put Ukraine at the disposal of the Germans so that the Germans could pillage our country. (. . .)

The German fascists need the Ukrainian nationalists in order to divide the Ukrainian and Russian people, in order to break the bond of eternal brotherly friendship, in order to turn the Ukrainian people into a nation deprived of rights and docile slaves of the German barons, Ukrainian estate owners and landowners. They will not succeed, for the friendship of the nations of the USSR is strong and firm.

The hour of revenge against the fascist oppressors and their servants is near. You can hasten the hour of revenge.

Join the partisan units. Where there are no units — you must form them yourselves. (. . .)

. . . Do not fall for the provocations of the Ukrainian nationalists. Destroy without mercy the corrupt footmen of German fascism. The fatherland is calling on you to fight against the enemy and so be merciless with him.

(BA-MA RH 24-3/136 p. 255 f.)

No. 59

Einsatzkommando C/5 of the  
Security Police and the SD  
— Kdo — Tgb Nr. 12432

Headquarters  
November 25, 1941

To the  
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Rivne,  
Mykolayiv, Zhytomyr, Vynnytsia outposts  
Subject: OUN (Bandera Movement)

It has been established beyond doubt that the Bandera movement is preparing an insurrection in the Reichskommissariat which has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All activists of the Bandera movement must be arrested immediately and, after thorough interrogation, are to be secretly liquidated as brigands.

Records of the interrogations must be forwarded to Einsatzkommando C/5.

Once these instructions have been read, they must be immediately destroyed by commanders.

(signature — illegible)  
SS — Obersturmbannführer.

(IMT 014 - USSR, XXXIX p. 269-270)

*Activity and Situation Report № 7 of the Einsatzgruppen  
of the Security Police and the SD in the USSR*

(Report from 1.11. — 30.11.1941)

E. UKRAINE

Of the Ukrainian political tendencies the Bandera movement of the OUN has been the most active.

The regional administration of Dnipropetrovsk fell under the influence of the OUN man Regey, immediately after its establishment. He was concerned not so much with practical administration as with political agitation. He set up a national Ukrainian club, which is to function as a national-political institution.

*On the order of the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD, Regey, considered politically intolerable, was deported.*

In Mykolayiv, further arrests of obstinate Bandera followers led to the seizure of important documents. Plans relating to the organisational measures and structure of the organisation, additional information regarding assignments, the use of code names and propaganda materials were seized.

Even though we cannot speak of an overall success of the Bandera group, its propaganda is gaining effect in certain areas to the extent that it is paralysing the present will to work, and isolated cases of discontent concerning agricultural measures are becoming apparent.

Besides the Bandera group, another political movement, the *Melnyk group of the OUN*, which pursues almost the same goals as the Bandera group, must also be mentioned. Because of its lack of initiative, characteristic of this OUN movement, it presents no serious danger.

The only followers of the active UNR group under the leadership of Livytskyi are Petlura's few surviving officers and comrades-in-arms, and part of the clergy. Despite the insignificance of this group, the latter fact does require some attention.

(. . .)

(BA R70 SU/31 p. 107 f.)

Berlin, December 5, 1941

*Material Concerning the Situation, Attitude and Treatment  
of the Population in the Occupied Soviet Regions*

Report dated 5.12.1941 from a departmental meeting at the Reich Ministry of Education regarding the admission of Ukrainians to German universities: (D IX 25):

"One of the department representatives (the representative of the Reichsführer of the SS), reported that, according to present instructions, the Ukrainian attempts to achieve independence are to be stopped and the Ukrainians are to be treated in the same manner as the Poles and Russians. There are no so-called loyal Ukrainians. All Ukrainians want an independent state on their national territory. It makes no difference whether they come from Eastern or Western Ukraine, or from Hungary (Carpathian Ukraine) or from Bukovyna. The so-called 'loyal' Ukrainians are those who are cunning enough to conceal these aspirations. A decision by the Führer concerning Ukrainian education will follow".

(AA All. Akten Pol. XIII, 17)

Berlin, December 5, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 142*

(. . .)

*Einsatzgruppe C*

Garrison: Kyiv

*The Temperament of the Ukrainian Population  
in the City of Kyiv*

The general morale of the Ukrainian population in the city of Kyiv has not markedly deteriorated in the period covered by this report. The initial enthusiasm after the arrival of the German troops *has been replaced by evident indifference*. The reason is the particularly poor economic situation in the city.

. . . The threat of famine in winter is being seriously considered.

Germany's intention to refuse Ukraine the desired political structure, as well as the German attitude towards the Ukrainians, have also given reason for resentment. The Ukrainians believe that the Germans have liberated them not as their enemies, but as their friends. They are now disappointed with the German attitude towards them. They feel they are being treated as inferiors by the Germans and wonder whether this state of affairs is going to be temporary or permanent. (. . .)

The underlying source of despondency and dissatisfaction among the Ukrainians in Kyiv is still the restriction on their political activity. They feel that their activities are being obstructed by the German police and Wehrmacht and that their hopes for independence are being shattered. (. . .)

(BA R 58/219 p. 243 f.)

№ 63

Berlin, December 8, 1941

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 143*

(. . .)

*Einsatzgruppe C*

Garrison: Kyiv

*Activity of the Bandera Movement in the Zhytomyr Region*

Four OUN members from the Lviv area were arrested by the Zhytomyr station of EK 5. Their interrogation provided additional incriminating information about the Bandera movement of the OUN.

The assignments of the arrested OUN members correspond exactly to the recently reported attempts of this political group: the formation of a Ukrainian militia, the appointment of mayors and militia commanders, the dismissal of officials not authorised by the Bandera group and the recruitment of new members for the Bandera organisation from among the population. As previously, particular attention is being paid to the appointment of completely reliable Bandera followers to all official posts.

For example, it has been clearly established that Zielke, the acting Volksdeutsch Mayor of Josefstadt, was reluctant to follow the OUN's instructions and was dismissed by the arrested persons. This measure corroborates yet again that the Bandera group disregards any orders that do not coincide with the OUN's plans.

Statements by one of the arrested men, Semen Marchuk, clearly show to what extent these plans have already become anti-German. M(archuk) stated that members of the OUN have been instructed to search for Russian arms and ammunition in the forests and to keep them in safe storage to prevent these weapons from falling into the hands of the German Wehrmacht. When the right time comes and the necessary partisan groups have been formed (hence the establishment of a militia faithful to Bandera), they will attack the German occupying forces. M(archuk) added that, according to remarks by leaders of the Bandera movement, the German Wehrmacht must be considered Ukraine's principal enemy. The leading circles of the OUN did not believe in Germany's victory over Soviet Russia and England. On the contrary, in their opinion, Germany will be weakened to such an extent after the victory over Soviet Russia that she will not be able to continue the war. Taking advantage of this situation, the Ukrainians would form an army that would finish off the German armed forces and establish an independent Ukrainian state. Russia would be exhausted after her defeat by Germany and thus powerless to prevent these developments.

Investigations in connection with the arrest of the above mentioned four OUN members are continuing.

#### *The Bandera Movement in Zaporizhia*

In Zaporizhia, we succeeded in appointing Volksdeutsch, Ukrainians and Russians to the most important administrative posts before the Western Ukrainians arrived. The first group of Bandera's men appeared around 8.10.1941. In the meantime, around 15 people from Western Ukraine have been arrested, 9 of whom are undoubtedly members or agents of the OUN.

These people attempted to gain key posts in the administration (municipal administration, militia etc.) (. . .)

(BA R 58/219 p. 253-255)

№ 64

#### *Activity and Situation Report № 8 of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD in the USSR*

(Report from 1.12. — 31.12.1941)

(. . .)

##### *V. Activity of the Bandera Group*

The Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD are devoting particular attention to investigating and fighting resistance movements of the population of the occupied regions. It has been established that there is no resistance organisation in Ukraine which is capable of presenting a serious

threat with the exception of the OUN Bandera group. Investigations concerning the Bandera group have, thus, been intensified.

It has been confirmed that the Bandera group has resumed its activity in the Crimea. It is spreading propaganda and making attempts to form a strong organisation. Six 6-man groups from Lviv have been assigned to this task. One member of the group responsible for the Simferopol area has already been arrested.

The Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and the SD arrested 4 OUN members, also from Lviv, near Zhytomyr. Their assignments correspond to the aims of the Bandera group which are already known to us:

- formation of a Ukrainian militia;
- replacement of mayors and militia commanders with their own people;
- removal of unsuitable public officials;
- propaganda activity.

Statements by an arrested OUN member show to what extent these plans have become anti-German. After that, the OUN members were assigned to search for Russian weapons and ammunition and to store them in safekeeping to prevent them from falling into the hands of the German Wehrmacht. When, according to the OUN leadership, the right time has come and the necessary *partisan groups* have been formed, the attack against the *German occupying forces* will commence. The partisans were formed out of the militiamen faithful to Bandera.

The leading *circles of the OUN do not believe in Germany's victory* over Soviet Russia and England. They argue that, after the victory over Soviet Russia, Germany will be unable to bring the war against England to an end. This situation is to be exploited for the establishment of an independent Ukraine, in the course of which the intervention of Germany and Soviet Russia, as powerless nations, is hardly to be expected.

(. . .)

(BA R 70 SU/31 p. 132-134)



Berlin, January 14, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 155*

*Einsatzgruppe D*  
Garrison: Simferopol  
*The OUN in Kherson and the vicinity*

A covert investigation revealed that the circle of Bandera's followers is organised around Konrad, the senior commander of the self-defence group. The size of this group could not be determined at first. It was, however, suspected that this group was connected with a second group in the Kherson municipal administration, whose focal point was reputed to be Deputy Mayor Hrize. Both of these groups were arrested during an operation against the Bandera followers.

The arrests were made abruptly. The numerous protracted interrogations revealed that the circle of Bandera's followers was limited to a few people, who, through the shrewd abuse of their positions in the Ukrainian self-defence units, knew how to organise the active recruitment of the population into the OUN. The leader of this group, the self-defence commander, Konrad, acted with extreme shrewdness by not coming forward himself, but almost exclusively designating his assistants for the task. Meetings, attended by up to 2,000 persons, were held in this area under the pretext of establishing self-defence units. At these meetings people were recruited into the OUN and won over to the side of Bandera, the OUN's aims were propagated, leaflets were distributed, and the people were urged to give their active cooperation.(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Self-Defence Unit in Kherson and the OUN*

Information from several sources led to the conclusion that the subversive activities of the Banderites within the Ukrainian self-defence units had already gained ground, which made the screening of leading self-defence members necessary. The investigation, however, revealed that Konrad's group was very cautious and had, at first, only hinted about the different Ukrainian organisations so that even the section commanders of the self-defence unit were not fully informed about the OUN. They were

supposedly to be used without their knowledge for the purposes of Konrad's group. Interrogations revealed that almost all remaining leaders of the self-defence unit were convinced that Bandera's and the OUN's plans were impractical and unlawful, and were prepared to actively oppose this agitation.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/220 p. 136-139)

№ 66

Berlin, January 16, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 156*

(. . .)

#### *The Activity of the OUN*

Einsatzgruppe 5 has been paying particular attention to the unlawful activity of Bandera's followers. The interrogation of several Ukrainians, who were dismissed from the militia school in Klevan, has provided new information about the OUN's revolutionary plans and confirmed the accuracy of previous reports.

Presently, there are at least two important members of the OUN in Kyiv. One of the members, code named Zaporozhets or Kosar, is believed to be an appointed minister in Bandera's state. The OUN's connections extend as far as the militia in Kyiv, which is controlled by Melnyk's men. These connections were so strong that Bandera's men have, on several occasions, managed to free members of their party who had been arrested by the militia. We have succeeded in arresting some of the agents responsible for this state of affairs.

The Bandera group in Klevan, and apparently in other OUN bases, use different code names. For example, we discovered that the leader of one group had three different code names. The Bandera followers are very cautious and it is possible to meet the contacts only through a password. They are using younger people, who are unaware of the purposes for which they are being exploited.

We were able to obtain the following information about the militia school in Klevan:

The head of the school is either a certain Ostap or an instructor from the same school named Slavko. Ostap knows the contacts in Kyiv and is

informed about the exact passwords. He must also know the hiding places for the weapons, which are being stored for the uprising, as well as where the OUN stores its printed materials in Klevan and Rivne. Vasyl Shcherbak, an instructor from the Klevan militia school, was arrested in Kyiv and named 13 Bandera followers who are believed to possess arms.

According to corresponding statements made by some of the arrested members of Bandera's group, the exact date of the planned revolution has not yet been established. The signal for the uprising is to be given by Bandera. The OUN is counting on his release. Weapons are acquired either from discovered military camps or from Red Army soldiers who have been killed. Arms depots left behind by the Soviets and banks will be equally important for the OUN in the oncoming offensive. Money from the banks will finance the OUN and cover the expenses of members working both in the country and abroad. It has also been established that Bandera's men are constantly trying to advance further into the country either alongside the fighting troops or immediately behind them.

Arrested Bandera followers have confirmed plans to blow up bridges at the outbreak of the uprising.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/220 p. 193 f.)

## № 67

### *Activity and Situation Report № 9 of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD in the USSR (Report from 1.1. — 31.1.1942)*

(. . .)

#### *V. Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

When Colonel Konovalets was murdered by agents of the NKVD, the OUN split along two political lines because Konovalets had not left behind any last political will. The Soviets regarded the aspiring OUN movement, whose leader was Konovalets, as dangerous. It must have appeared particularly serious to the Soviets because the Ukrainians have always formed a constant refractory element in the Soviet Union.

The leaders of both newly formed OUN tendencies, Stepan Bandera and Andriy Melnyk, very soon differed in opinion. The ultimate objective of both is, however, the same, namely the establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukraine. While Melnyk was passive and attempted to establish and reorganise the movement outside the territory of Ukraine, Bandera immediately sought to establish his group as an underground movement in the occupied regions of Ukraine. He built up the organisation, particularly in former

Poland, but did not forget to actively spread his propaganda in the Ukrainian settlement areas belonging to Rumania and Hungary.

Because the Ukrainian youth predominantly supported Bandera and the German authorities needed people who were physically fit, Bandera achieved a considerable advantage over Melnyk because his supporters came into the country as interpreters or apparent organisers and, in addition to their official duties, immediately became involved in propaganda activities, regardless of agreements between Bandera and the responsible German authorities. The proclamation of the Ukrainian government with Yaroslav Stetsko as its head, which was made in Lviv shortly after the fall of the city, shows how strong Bandera felt at that time. The Security Police and the SD took the necessary measures immediately after the proclamation of this government to confine Bandera's activity.

The OUN was compelled to study German intentions as closely as possible in order to adapt its own plan of action and tactics accordingly. It used, and still uses, the Ukrainian interpreters presently employed in the German administration. The OUN, thus, has a very clear idea not only about particular German intentions, but also about the practical possibilities of realising these intentions. It has adapted its methods accordingly. Illegal covert activity using code names and passwords has replaced the former official activity. Loyal individuals and activists are placed into outwardly inconspicuous positions in the Ukrainian civilian administration.

The militia serves as a basis for the Ukrainian military power which Bandera is aiming for. Already in July 1941, the Ukrainian Lieutenant Legenda appealed for the formation of a Ukrainian army. According to his appeal, Russian weapons which have been acquired should not be surrendered; they should be hidden away to equip this army. The OUN has so far proceeded according to these principles.

The OUN supporters interpreted the promise they made to the German authorities to organise the economic life of Ukraine as well as the freedom of action and movement granted to the Bandera people literally, only when it suited their own plans and intentions. Otherwise, they disregarded any promises. The appointment of militia commanders, mayors and other officials proposed by the German authorities was only respected when the persons in question agreed to assist the OUN in the realisation of its plans.

This development was carefully observed by the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD.

The most serious opponents of the Bandera movement among their own countrymen are *Livyt'skyi* in the west and *Melnyk* in the east. (. . .) The latest severe measures taken against Bandera have also affected Melnyk, who has recently formed secret organisations in order to effectively face a possible German blow.

In some ways Melnyk has gone just as far as Bandera. He opposed the Banderite proclamation of a government in Lviv by creating the Ukrainian

National Council in Kyiv. The National Council, which made vain attempts to achieve recognition by the German authorities, is officially a non-political organisation for the protection of Ukrainian interests and essentials of life. In actual fact, it represents a kind of Ukrainian government whose driving force in Kyiv is Dr. Kandyba. The population of Eastern Ukraine knows almost nothing of the existence of this National Council and the educated Kyivan intelligentsia do not trust it.

(. . .)

(BA R 70 SU/31 p. 160-164)

№ 68

Berlin, February 4, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 164*

(. . .)

*Einsatzgruppe C*

Garrison: Kyiv

In the Kyiv region, the battle against the communists has developed more and more into a struggle against the national Ukrainian formations. . .

. . . Furthermore, it has been established that the morale of the population has noticeably deteriorated due not only to the communist, but also national, Ukrainian formations. . .

Like the communists, the members of the Ukrainian national movement make repeated use of forged documents, code names, passwords, etc.

(. . .)

However, both movements agree on one point, namely, in their totally extreme, nationalistic-chauvinistic attitude, which is directed against the Germans. . .

. . . The confiscated documents, as well as statements of various members of the Bandera group, who had been arrested in the meantime, show once again that it is not possible to establish any kind of cooperation with the members of the Bandera movement. The total liquidation of this group remains the only viable option.

The relations between Bandera and Melnyk have become more acute.

Presently, the headquarters of the Melnyk movement in Eastern Ukraine is located in Kyiv. Its leader is a man named Dr. Kandyba who is supported by a number of known and unknown Ukrainians from Western Ukraine. In addition to this OUN centre, there is a National Council, set up by Dr. Kandyba and headed by Professor Velychkivskyi and his assistant Chudinov. . .

The interests of the Bolsheviks and Melnyk's followers are largely the same: to incite discontent among the Ukrainians, in which they are successful.

Where there are no valid reasons for discontent, it is artificially created. It is based on statements, which point out that the Germans had made promises to the Ukrainians, which they have not kept.

The enlistment of the youth to the Ukrainian national cause takes place through the sports organisation — Sich.

This sports club, which has numerous branches, is involved with political chauvinistic training rather than sport.

The Melnyk movement has gradually gained a leading position in the press. Although the Ukrainian newspaper in Kyiv has been purged by the numerous arrests and executions of the responsible editors, nationalist elements are still predominant in the editorial staff of the provincial Ukrainian newspapers, which not only print the bias of the Melnyk movement, but, apparently, also provide the OUN with illegal publications. The headquarters in Lviv still supplies the majority of the illegal publications. It obtains part of its material from Berlin and Prague.

The existing Ukrainian Writers' Union in Kyiv, headed by the poetess Olena Teliha<sup>15</sup> is also a strictly nationalistic organisation. Presently, its function is limited to the material security of its members.

The Academy of Sciences in Kyiv is a powerful centre of nationalist forces, whose first secretary is the above-mentioned Chudinov.

A further instrument of nationalist politics is the Autocephalous Ukrainian Church, which is essentially supported by the Livytskyi organisation. . .

Hetman Skoropadskyi is still hoping to become leader of all Ukrainians in the near future. According to the Kyivan lawyer, Maikovskiy, who was invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to travel through Germany, and who established contacts with the leaders of different Ukrainian national movements, some of Skoropadskyi's followers maintain that they do not believe that Germany alone could help establish a Ukrainian national state, but also England, in the event that Germany loses the war.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/220 p. 292-298)

№ 69

Berlin, March 20, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 183*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

On 25.2.42, 3 Ukrainian truck drivers were arrested in Kyiv. Their failure to comply with existing orders as well as their carelessness endangered the safety of the municipal transport convoy and the delivery of food supplies to the city of Kyiv.

(. . .)

A larger, more extensive, Bandera organisation was arrested at the end of February 1942 in Zhytomyr. Twelve Bandera members were recently arrested during the operation conducted between 10. and 13.3.42.

On 8.3.1942, a group of Bandera followers were arrested in Kremenchuk. Details are not yet available. According to the report from EK 6, a Bandera activist was arrested on 10.3.42, in Stalino.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/221 p. 116-117)

№ 70

Berlin, March 25, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

*Report on Events in the USSR № 185*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

A new illegal leaflet of the OUN-Melnyk group was seized in Kyiv. This group succeeded in publishing and circulating 300 copies of the leaflet. The following slogans were repeated again in this leaflet: "Long live the Independent Ukrainian State! Long live the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists!"

Long live Captain Andriy Melnyk!" The remainder of the contents were dedicated to the anniversary of Shevchenko's death and presented an account of his fight for an independent Ukraine, his life, his struggle, as well as excerpts of his revolutionary freedom-fighting poetry. The leaflet concluded with the words: "Shevchenko perceived that only people with vigour, courage and pride could win their battle. Therefore, he chastises those who bow down before the occupants. . . Today, we are rushing to the holy grave on the banks of the river Dnipro. We want to vow to the eternal spirit, to the protector of the Ukrainian revolutionaries, that we will not rest until we have carried out his orders, until Ukraine becomes a free independent state".

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Rivne reports the arrest of several Bandera followers, who spread propaganda material in the Kamianets-Podilskyi area. An appeal from the Polish resistance movement was seized in Lutsk. Fourteen people, who had made preparations together for the uprising, held meetings, trained and possessed illegal weapons, were arrested.

The Vynnytsia outpost (commanding officer Zhytomyr) reports increased activity of the Bandera movement and a more intensified formation of cells in the city and the surrounding countryside. A raid by the Security Police is expected in the near future. The headquarters in Kremenchuk intercepted 2 OUN couriers, who were to travel from Poltava to Lviv and Cracow via Kremenchuk.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/221 p. 136 f.)

№ 71

Berlin, March 30, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 187*

#### *The Bandera Movement*

In the sector of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Zhytomyr, the most important OUN leaders in this region were arrested. The regional leader, Roman Marchak, was killed during an attempt to escape. Two thousand pamphlets and leaflets were seized. A Nagant pistol with dum-dum bullets was found under Marchak's bed. A statement of one of the arrested members of the Bandera people enabled us to seize a large amount of



propaganda material, organisational plans and lists of members in the Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kharkiv and Poltava areas from the cellar of a house which had been completely destroyed, as well as a complete passport forgery workshop, stored in suitcases and knapsacks. Furthermore, 2 typewriters, used to prepare propaganda material for publication, were seized during the course of an investigation.

Today, it has been clearly established that the Bandera movement provided forged passports not only for its own members, but also for Jews.

As established on the basis of the orders that were seized, the activity of the movement during the winter months concentrated on propagandist reconnaissance activity amongst the largest classes of the population, down to the smallest village. An efficient intelligence service provided the regional leaders with information, right down to the least significant events in the districts and surrounding areas. The information was often delivered to the regional leaders, hundreds of kilometres away, either by bicycle, on foot, or by Wehrmacht vehicles. Most of these reports are coded.

It is worth mentioning that the reports were often rolled up, written on very thin paper, and concealed in a fountain pen. Rounding up operations are being prepared and will be carried out as soon as possible.

(. . .)

In addition, during the investigations an organisation called the "Free Cossacks" was uncovered. They also want to fight for an independent and free Ukraine and were already partly working hand in hand with the Bandera movement. The leading members of the Bandera movement belong mainly to the intelligentsia. As can be seen, the list of Kyivan members is comprised of professors, teachers, students, poets, etc. The movement has already spread to many strata of the rural population as a result of the propagandist activity of the activists from Western Ukraine. In the Zhytomyr district, the organisation has managed to penetrate all departments of the administrative services.

(. . .)

### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

According to the report from the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Kyiv, the illegal Melnyk-OUN group circulated a new 12-page pamphlet which contains the memorandum of the President of the (dissolved) Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv, Mykola Velychkovskyyi, to the Reichskommissar for Ukraine. There were 180 copies of the pamphlet. In the memorandum Velychkovskyyi criticises various measures taken by the German administration. In Rivne, the Chief of the Security Police and the SD seized issue № 32/51 of the newspaper *Volyn* from 22.3.42, because of a leading anti-German article by Samchuk, one of Melnyk's followers. 21,000 copies of this issue were destroyed.

In Ostrih (Chief of the Sipo and the SD Rivne), the mayor, the deputy mayor and 5 other persons were arrested for sanctioning the illegal printing of leaflets with the "10 Commandments of the Bandera movement" in a municipal printing shop.

(. . .)

(BA R 59/221 p. 188-191)

№ 72

Berlin, April 10, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

(. . .)

Secret matter of the Reich!

### *Report on Events in the USSR № 191*

(. . .)

*Einsatzgruppe C*

Garrison: Kyiv

Situation and Temperament in Ukraine

Situation and Temperament in Western Ukraine

(In Western Ukraine, general district of Volyn/Podillia), . . .

*Ukrainian nationalism* should be considered the strongest political movement among the ethnic groups. The Bandera movement, which is the most active and the most significant of all the groups, has become a predominantly anti-German, illegal organisation. In the Volyn/Podillia district, developments concerning the Ukrainian Church remain particularly significant, as there is evidence of the possibility of national unity based on the national Church.

(. . .)

The *nationalistic tendency* characterises the attitude of this section of the Ukrainian population. After impatiently awaiting the military confrontation between the Reich and the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, particularly the students, believed that, according to other circumstances, they were entitled to hope for the future sovereignty of Ukraine. These circles have adopted a partly wait-and-see and partly *increasing anti-German* attitude.

There is, however, a notable difference in the attitude of the Ukrainian intelligentsia circles of the older generation on the one hand, and the younger generation on the other. The older generation tends to reach a compromise according to democratic-parliamentary principles and wants to do everything possible to cooperate with the German authorities. The young activist

circles are in the OUN and have a more revolutionary-oppositional attitude. While the older intelligentsia is attempting to make up for the present lack of contact with the wide popular masses through participation in the German civilian administration, the younger revolutionary circles turn directly to the rural population to convince the people to become more active. Nevertheless, the people are frequently warned against the older intelligentsia because they are prepared to "betray the Ukrainian cause".

What is typical of the Ukrainian independence movement, as noted during the arrival of the German troops, is that the *notion of an independent Ukraine* in the regions which did not previously belong to Poland, was not widespread at all. . .

(. . .)

. . . On the other hand, the numerous émigré and Western Ukrainians who have arrived in the area are cleverly explaining the situation to the Ukrainian people in a way that would make the people believe that the Germans intend to deliberately suppress all national hopes and desires, or even to physically destroy all national movements.

In this respect, Bolshevik and extremist nationalist agitation is very similar.

(. . .)

#### *Ukrainian Chauvinist Groups*

The *Bandera group*, whose core was formed from the beginning by the young intelligentsia of Western Ukraine (Lviv students), has gained ground among the youth, particularly in the Volyn/Podillia district. The organisational cohesion for the illegal activity was based on a secret course at the militia school in Klevan. The young Ukrainians received secret political and military training related to their tasks as the nationalist "revolutionary army". Propaganda was to be spread among the rural population. During a larger-scale raid, 10 more members of the Bandera organisation were arrested. They are young, adolescent boys, who have no permanent employment and indulge in secret activity either out of habit or the spirit of adventure, have no permanent residence, wander about and conspire. Church medallions, as well as *Ukrainian chauvinist* prayers, were regularly found in the possession of the arrested persons.

During the course of the Zhytomyr operation, interesting material concerning the organisation was seized. It is still being appraised. . .

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

In Kyiv, on 26.3.42, 165 leaflets were again printed by the OUN (Melnyk). They contain the text of a memorandum sent to the Führer on 14.2.42, which is signed by Archbishop Sheptytskyi, Velychkovskyi (Kyiv), Melnyk and Omelianovych (Prague).

In Poltava the *mayor* and three other persons were arrested. He had held meetings with *Bandera followers* in his office and propagated the idea of

the formation of a Ukrainian army to fight against the German Wehrmacht. A guard was attacked while they were being transported to Kremenchuk. He had to be taken to a hospital in Poltava.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/221 p. 288, 290, 295, 304 f., 315 f.)

## № 73

### *Resolutions of the Second Conference of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

April 1942

#### *Introduction*

Our present struggle is based on the principles of the Act of June 30, 1941. We consider it historically legitimate, revolutionary and a political manifestation of the will of the whole Ukrainian nation to live its own political life.

(. . .)

#### *Political Resolutions*

(. . .)

II. In the present complex and variable international situation, we are pursuing a long-term policy which takes into consideration various possibilities of ending the war. At the same time, we believe in the possibility of a general armed struggle in the near future (the destruction of Russia, general attrition, the internal and external collapse of Germany). To prevent the people expending their energy on small partisan skirmishes, but instead to direct this energy towards the formation of a broader popular movement, which will achieve total victory, we are, as of now, systematically organising and mobilising our forces in every area.

III. Our policy is based on:

a) the formation and expansion of our own revolutionary political and military forces;

b) a completely independent all-Ukrainian policy of revolutionary struggle based on the concept of independence;

c) the utilisation of all possibilities and forces likely to promote the establishment of the Ukrainian state. Above all, the formation of a joint front of all the subjugated nations in Eastern and Western Europe;

(. . .)

f) opposition to the Russian-Bolshevik concept — the International — and the German concept of a so-called “New Europe”. We propose the international concept of a new, just, national, political and economic reorganisation

of Europe into free national states, based on the principle: "Freedom for nations and the individual!";

g) we are accentuating the idea of an independent and united Ukrainian state, which is essential, as well as the centuries-old aspirations of the Ukrainian nation, because we believe that only a just resolution of the Ukrainian question can create a balance of power in Eastern Europe and bring freedom to the nations subjugated by Moscow.

(. . .)

(VI, p. 61-63)

№ 74

*Secret!*

Berlin, April 14, 1942

### *Travel Report*

(. . .)

4) A further meeting with the SD, *Sturmabannführer Gubsch*, brought to light revealing information concerning the *situation of the Ukrainian diaspora* from the point of view of the SD military intelligence. The attitude towards Germany was initially favourable, but noticeably deteriorated later. Leaflets calling for sabotage were intercepted in correspondence between the Protectorate and Ukraine. According to the Prague SD, we must seriously expect uprisings in Ukraine because the illegal activity there is very advanced. (. . .)

Oberleutnant Krausskopf

(BA R 6/192 p. 53)

№ 75

Berlin, May 22, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD  
— Command Staff —

*Secret!*

### *Report № 4 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*Resistance Movement in Ukraine*

a) *The Bandera Movement*

According to the report of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Ukraine, investigations have revealed that the headquarters of the illegal Bandera movement in Volyn and Podillia were located in Rivne. We believe that a certain Ostap Timoshchuk is the leader.

As a result of the arrests which were made, the headquarters and base in Rivne have been evacuated. This is an indication that the leaders of the organisation have withdrawn into the marshlands of Sarny and Pinsk.

The organisational structure of the Bandera movement has been disclosed by materials seized during the arrest of Kovalchuk. On the basis of the structure, Ukraine is divided into provinces, regions, larger districts, districts, sub-districts and cells. Each of these formations has its own leadership. Each leadership consists of an organisational leader, a propaganda leader, a security leader, a training instructor, a youth leader and a leader of the women's section. There are also deputies. It is their task to organise public life in Ukraine and to take over the training and appointment of additional leaders after the victory of the Bandera movement.

(. . .)

In Rivne, the Bandera group owned several factories and apartments where the Ukrainian militia was trained and meetings were held. The illegal militia training was terminated and the militia school in Rivne dissolved. As a result, the militia school was illegally reestablished in the former castle of Klevan. On the basis of the materials seized during the liquidation of the militia school in Rivne, we have clearly established that the militia was conceived as a Bandera combat organisation.

Forty participants attended the course at the militia school. They were informed of the illegal nature of their future activity. It was made clear to them that they would be taking part in the Ukrainian liberation struggle against Germany. If arrested, they were to refuse to make any statements. If they betrayed the movement, the participants would be liquidated.

In the great hall, the participants learned how to handle weapons. They were taught that a free, independent Ukrainian state could only be attained by force of arms.

(. . .)

At the end of Oct. 1941, about 25 men from the group of participants secretly trained in Klevan were sent on covert missions to Eastern Ukraine. We were able to arrest some of these propagandists during searches carried out by the Security Police.

(. . .)

The following equipment was seized in the arms depots in the Kostopil region and turned over to the Wehrmacht:

600 infantry rifles, 12 machine guns, 1,200 gas masks, 254,000 rifle rounds, 20,000 artillery shells, 4,000 hand grenades, 2,000 mines, 500 machine gun drums and other military equipment.

We have established that the Bandera movement has managed to gain a solid foothold in Volyn and Podillia, and to recruit a large number of members by exploiting the circumstances at the beginning of the war. However, the measures taken by the Security Police have deprived the Bandera move-

ment of additional impetus even though the propaganda activity is still continuing.

b) *The Melnyk Movement*

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Ukraine reports that, after the arrest of a number of Melnyk followers in Kyiv, the activity of Melnyk's movement did not increase. A large number of documents were seized. They mainly contain excerpts from memorandums to the German authorities which speak falsely of injustices against the Ukrainian people.

(. . .)

In Kharkiv, just as in other areas, the illegal Melnyk organisation was organised by the émigrés from Western Ukraine, particularly by the numerous Ukrainian interpreters who were, or rather still are, employed by the German authorities.

(. . .)

c) *Poliska Sich*

The Poliska Sich is a kind of Ukrainian free-corps under the leadership of a Taras Bulba (real name: Borovets). In the autumn of 1941, with the approval of the German authorities, B(ulba) set up a special unit to fight against the (Soviet) partisans. Although this free-corps was dissolved in November 1941, we believe it has been secretly reorganised and has acquired a large number of weapons.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/697 p. 61-65)

№ 76

Berlin, June 19, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 8 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Resistance Movement in Ukraine*

a) *The Melnyk Movement*

On 23.5.42, 190 copies of the Melnyk movement's thirteenth leaflet were seized in Kyiv. It talks about the activity of the Ukrainian nationalist Mykola Mikhnovskyi.

The official membership of the Melnyk movement has recently increased. It has been confirmed that activists of this movement organised food supplies for the population.

(. . .)

b) *The Bandera Movement*

On 2.5.42, the Rivne district organisation of the Bandera group held a meeting in the village of Ponebel, district of Rivne. The regional leader of the Bandera organisation for Volyn, Ostap, his adjutant Chornyi, a certain Volodymyr Kubrynovych and 3 additional persons were present. On this occasion, Ostap informed those present of the orders from the senior Bandera leader of Volyn-Podillia, Pryimak, who leads the movement from Sokal/General Government. He stressed the fact that the activity of the Bandera movement in the Rivne district must be intensified. At the end, Ostap informed those present that Pryimak had ordered all hidden weapons to be checked and cleaned.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/697 p. 157 f.)

№ 77

Berlin, July 3, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 10 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

A petition posted in Stanislaviv, district of Galicia, dated 16.3.42, was sent to the Führer by a "Ukrainian Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine (UKVU), on behalf of the Ukrainian people". The return address on the envelope was given as "Ukraine" UKVU. The letter was signed: "The Ukrainian Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine!", "Long live Ukraine!", Ukraine, 15.3.1942.

(. . .)

*The Bandera Group*

A leaflet of the OUN-Bandera was seized in Kyiv. It contains instructions concerning the structure of the organisation. Here is the introduction:

"The following goal lies before the nation: to establish an independent national state. Without its own state, government and army the Ukrainian nation can not live".

In this way in Rivne it was possible to establish that this organisational network was controlled by 2 headquarters in that area, that is, from a headquarters in Sarny, which has, in the meantime, been liquidated, and another



in the Horokhiv area, on the border with Galicia. The latter headquarters is more important because it maintains contact with the General Government.

(. . .)

The orders seized during the latest arrests give a clear indication of the intentions of the illegal activists. Whereas the plans seized in winter warned against any actions or provocations because all efforts were to be concentrated on the expansion of the OUN's network and the internal orientation of its members, and the preparation, as far as possible, for further successes until the moment when the "last word" is spoken with the occupying forces, the recently seized orders already specify immediate active assignments. The members have been ordered to engage in passive resistance and to sabotage all German measures. The martyrdom of Bandera and his friends "who are today languishing in dungeons for our ideas" is glorified in the leaflets.

Particular reference must be made to the propaganda and resistance against the delivery of agricultural products, against the deportation of manpower to Germany, against participation in German-Ukrainian events, etc.

(. . .)

During the liquidation of the Bandera headquarters in Sarny, detailed directives concerning the conduct of partisan warfare were seized.

We have also discovered that the Bandera organisation has ordered its members not to join the police. A member of the Bandera movement is automatically excluded from the movement if he joins the police.

#### *The Melnyk Movement*

No intensified or special activity by the Melnyk organisation has been noted in the past few months. The Melnyk movement seems to have little contact with the rural population.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 6-8)

№ 78

Berlin, July 10, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

### *Report № 11 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Rivne has seized illegal documents of the OUN-Bandera group which contain important programmatic instructions on the illegal tactics of the Bandera movement.

One of the documents points out that the OUN's disposition towards other nations, including Germany, is determined by their disposition towards the question of Ukrainian independence. The war is expedient because Germany can destroy Ukraine's old enemy — Moscow. However, it is disadvantageous from the point of view that Germany is hostile towards the idea of an independent Ukrainian state.

(. . .)

According to a report by the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Cracow, a directive of the Bandera group in Lviv ordered closed cell meetings to be held on 30.6.42 (the anniversary of the proclamation of the Stetsko government) . . .

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 29 f.)

№ 79

Berlin, July 31, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 14 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

According to reports from Rivne, the continuing partisan activity in the district of Kobryn has now spread to other north-western districts of Volyn/Podillia.

The numerous bandit groups which have appeared came across the river Buh from the General Government. The men are all armed with sawn-off rifles so that the weapons can be concealed under their clothing.

(. . .)

The main objective of their attacks is to destroy telephone communications. Lines of communication are repeatedly cut and telephones destroyed.

Their activity, however, appears first and foremost to be directed towards setting up a larger-scale resistance movement. Several school teachers were arrested during the course of the investigation concerning the Ukrainian insurgent movement in Kamianets-Podilskyi. . .

(. . .)

In Volodymyrets, leaflets urging people to sabotage the recruitment of a work-force for the Reich, were posted in several places. The director of the labour office in Sarny, who had harboured the perpetrator, was arrested. He was the secretary of the Ukrainian resistance movement.

Fifteen persons, including the deputy mayor, the director of schools and education, the headmaster and several school teachers, were arrested during the liquidation of a group in Chemerivtsi. . .

(. . .)

In Kamin-Kashyrskiyi, 3 members of the Ukrainian police deserted, taking their weapons with them. From the investigations we learned that they fled in order to take part in the training of the Ukrainian nationalist groups.

The Bandera organisation is circulating the fourth issue of the illegal publication "Bulletin". One of the articles makes a cunning attempt to gradually incite the Ukrainian population against the Germans. The statements about the apparent political intentions of the Reich with regard to Ukraine are particularly interesting, for instance:

"The year 1941 has brought a change. One totalitarianism has disappeared and another one has replaced it. Their basic goals are the same, only their tactics differ. In both cases, hostile imperialism is hiding behind an alluring mask — socialist paradise on the one hand, and blissful life in a 'New Europe' on the other".

Another passage states:

"The Germans are taking steps to protect themselves against a surplus supply of foreign blood. In order to firmly establish their position in the East, however, they want to multiply at the expense of certain elements of the subjugated nations, as can already be seen today (permission to marry Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, etc). Elements will also be found in other nations (we also belong to this group) in which 'German blood' will be gambled against white bread".

(. . .)

The article concludes with the following statement:

"Every Ukrainian must be conscious of the fact that no neutrality, no loyalty, no compromise, either for him or for his children, will protect him from enslavement, because salvation lies only in the victory of his own nation. Our own state, however, can only be established through the efforts and blood of millions of our people under the leadership of the revolutionary organisation. That is why we must do everything to reinforce our strength and avoid everything which can weaken it".

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 82-84)

Berlin, August 7, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 15 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

(. . .)

In commemoration of the anniversary of 30.6.41, the day on which Bandera's followers proclaimed an independent Ukrainian state in Lviv, Damian Dmytriv, the regional leader of the OUN-Bandera movement in the Western Ukrainian regions, issued a directive which was to be read out on 30.6.42, during secret meetings of the cells. This directive reads as follows:

"It was one year ago, on 30.6., that the banners of the ancestors of this country proudly flew on the towers of Lviv, the ancient city of the princes, and the radio announced the restoration of the Ukrainian state to the whole world". The OUN under Stepan Bandera fulfilled the wishes of the Ukrainian people and achieved the historic act of the proclamation of the Ukrainian state on 30.6.41 in Lviv. Acting on the orders of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko formed a Ukrainian government in Lviv and led the unremitting establishment of the young state in the country, and Ukrainian hearts began to beat as one. (. . .) The leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, and the head of the Ukrainian government, Yaroslav Stetsko, were arrested. The establishment of the Ukrainian state was forcefully liquidated and a foreign system, well-known to us all, has replaced it. More and more arrests followed, blood began to flow. . .

Fellow Nationalists!

30.6.41 proves to the entire world:

- a) that Ukrainians possess their own, unwavering ideas and that they are prepared to rise up against anyone who wants to turn our country into a colony and enslave our people;
- b) that Ukrainians have fought for, are fighting for, and will continue to fight for their own state and not for a new Europe".

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 110 f.)

Berlin, August 14, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 16 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

We have established that the illegal OUN-Bandera movement is engaged in a radical campaign to grasp the active youth circles and pull them away from the spheres of German influence. They are using every possible means of propaganda to arouse Ukrainian hatred towards the Germans. Numerous confiscated leaflets and secret directives clearly corroborate this hostile attitude.

For example, the following passage appeared in the leaflet "The Latest News":

"On the one hand, the Germans talk about our statehood with the assistance of the Melnyk people, but on the other hand, they make every effort to liquidate everything connected with independence. Resentment against the Germans is growing, especially among the intelligentsia. Everybody hates the Germans and has stopped fearing them". (. . .)

The following remarks are made in a directive concerning training:

"No one should go to work in Germany. No one should attend the courses organised by the Germans because they can be caught and deported. No one should serve in the army. . .". (. . .)

The OUN-Melnyk group has the outward appearance of a moderate nationalist movement, but its propaganda programme and goals are equal to those of the Bandera movement. (. . .)

In the course of the investigations against the Ukrainian resistance movement, 23 persons were arrested in the Lubni area and transported to Kremen-chuk. An additional 33 persons that had been arrested were released.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 141-143)

Berlin, August 20, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 17 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The Bandera movement continues to make every effort in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine to influence the local Ukrainian population by circulating illegal propaganda.

A document entitled "Ukraine" has been seized. It states:

"... Because the present war has dragged in the entire world, our people cannot remain idle. It must whet its sword and be prepared to raise it once the weakened giants fall to the ground and drop their arms, to fight for its freedom and to attain independence for Ukraine forever". (. . .)

Furthermore, the "propaganda instructions" of the Bandera movement were seized. They state:

"All indications point to the fact that Germany will not succeed in establishing world-wide supremacy despite its great military success. . .". (. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 174 f.)

Berlin, August 28, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

*Report № 18 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

An illegal Bandera publication entitled "The Banner of the Youth" dated 1.6.1942, has been seized. It urges the youth not to believe German promises, but to volunteer for the Bandera movement in its fight for the independence of Ukraine. (. . .)

Furthermore, a leaflet of the provincial leadership of the Bandera movement for Western Ukraine was found in the Kyiv district. It maintains that Germany's callous colonial policies in Ukraine have aroused just indignation.

Germany will have to do its utmost to fight against England. Therefore, the OUN's chances are increasing. The leaflet urges the Ukrainians not to follow Moscow's demands to form partisan groups because this would lead to heavy losses from which only Moscow would benefit. It is crucial to unite all the forces. The leadership of the OUN will determine when to attack.

(. . .)

On 24.7.42, the leader of the Bandera movement for Eastern Ukraine, who used the code names Pip, Andriy and Mudryi, was captured in Kyiv. He was wounded during an attempt to escape and died shortly thereafter. His real name is unknown. He possessed a presumably forged passport under the name Vasyl Panasiuk, as well as an organisational directive of the Bandera movement, which has not been seized until now.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/698 p. 193-195)

№ 84

Secret!

*Note*

### *On the Conference in Rivne on 26-28.8.1942*

#### *1) The Agrarian Order*

The following is a summary of the Conference on the Agrarian order:

The aim of the agrarian order is to safeguard the cooperation of the Russians in order to fulfil the delivery quota for the Reich. The primary task of the La-Führer in Ukraine is to ensure the European food balance. All questions concerning the agrarian order must be considered from one point of view: how far can cooperation with the Russians be secured. Due to the lack of equipment, manpower is presently the most important production factor. Consequently, the treatment of manpower by the La-Führer is of paramount importance. (. . .)

#### *Speech by Gauleiter Koch*

The Gauleiter arrived directly from the Führer's headquarters and expressed the Führer's gratitude with the usual praise for the work of the La-Führer. He explained his political views and his duties as Reichskommissar in the following manner: There is no free Ukraine. Our task is to make the Ukrainians work for the Germans and not to please this nation. Ukraine must provide what Germany lacks. This task is to be carried out regardless of losses. The question of German food supplies is serious. Production is already being affected by poor food supplies. Increased food rations are a political necessity in order to successfully continue the war. The lacking grain

surplus must be supplied by Ukraine. The Führer has made the Gauleiter responsible for securing this surplus. In view of this task, the feeding of the civilian population is of no consequence whatsoever. The Führer has demanded 3 million tons of grain from Ukraine and they must be supplied. He did not listen to discussions about the lack of transport facilities. The problem of transport must be solved locally.

The delivery of 700,000 tons of oleaginous fruit is just as important as the procurement of grain supplies. It is decisive for Germany's balance of fats. Everything down to the last must be extracted from the population.

The decisive position regarding the conduct of Germans in the Reichskommissariat is that we are dealing with an inferior race in every respect. Contact with Ukrainians is forbidden. Social contact is forbidden. Sexual contact will be severely punished. No one is permitted to "slack". The Führer ordered the Party to undergo training here in the occupied Eastern regions for the specific task of monitoring German activity in the East. Unfortunately, the attitude of the Germans has made this absolutely necessary. Gauleiter Koch has ordered ruthless measures to eliminate abuses. It is forbidden for girls to walk on the streets of Rivne dressed in shorts, wearing make-up and smoking. Koch ordered the police to ensure the moral conduct of all female personnel and believes it is necessary to publicly expose at least 10 women as prostitutes.

The education level of the Ukrainians must be kept low. Educational policy must, therefore, be applied accordingly. Three-year schools already provide too high an education. Furthermore, every effort must be made to decrease the strong birth-rate in this area. The Führer has assigned special measures for this. Otherwise, the biological strength of this nation will push the German people against a wall within a few generations.

As far as culture is concerned, we gave the Ukrainians both Churches. Any other cultural activity is completely out of the question. During the war all activity must be geared towards the economy.

After the war Russian territory from Eytkunden to Vladivostok will be the only market for German industry. Obviously, we are not going to provide these regions with high quality goods, but the usual kitsch which is good enough for this population. These products will be suitably expensive because the occupied Eastern regions will have to cover the costs and pay for the sacrifices of this war.

If these people work 10 hours a day, then 8 of them must be for our benefit. All sentimental opposition must be stopped. These people must be ruled with an iron fist so that they help us win the war. We did not liberate them in order to please Ukraine, but rather to secure the necessary Lebensraum and source of essential food supplies for Germany.

(BA R 6/70 p. 15-18)



Berlin, September 11, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 20 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

*a) The Bandera Movement*

After lengthy investigations, the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Zhytomyr arrested Yuriy Trotsiuk, the leader of the Bandera movement in the Ovruch district. Trotsiuk was in possession of a passport issued under the name Nazar Hlid. He confessed that he had been ordered to organise the Ovruch district by Andriy Lutsyk, the regional leader of the Bandera movement in Kostopil. During interrogation Trotsiuk disclosed the names of 7 officials. They are all teachers.

In Kyiv, two members of Police Battalion 115, Arkhypevych and Vlada-dyka, were arrested. They belonged to a group of Bandera supporters within the battalion. Seven of them were recently arrested.

In Chernihiv, at the beginning of July, the local mayor, Rebenok, the district chief, Diubko, as well as the commander of the Ukrainian militia, Turash, were arrested on the grounds of economic sabotage.

In Novo Khrest, Rivne region, newspapers containing anti-German articles were found in the home of a Ukrainian named Petro Mizkevych, alias Bur-iachuk. Mizkevych has escaped and is suspected of belonging to the Bandera movement.

A Bandera propagandist was arrested in Vynnytsia. He had smuggled a considerable amount of illegal literature into Rumania. The Rumanian Security Division succeeded in arresting 9 other agents.

*b) The Melnyk Movement*

The interrogation of the aforementioned Bandera official, Trotsiuk, who had from time to time worked for the Melnyk movement, disclosed a meeting place of the Melnyk movement in Rivne, in the apartment of the Ukrainian student Vasyl Shtul. There are also other Melnyk officials staying in Shtul's apartment.

A memorandum from the leader of the Melnyk movement, Colonel Andriy Melnyk, sent to Reichsminister Rosenberg was seized in Cracow.

In this memorandum, whose introductory remarks describe the deplorable state of affairs in Eastern Ukraine, Melnyk made the following demands:

1) The recognition of Ukraine's right to exist as a political and national entity either by a declaration of the Führer or the German government.

2) The incorporation of Ukrainian regions of the General Government in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine and the separation of Ukraine from Poland, as well as the regions occupied by the Rumanian army.

3) The establishment of a Ukrainian representation in place of the prohibited National Councils. The task of this representation would be the proclamation of the final separation of Ukraine from Russia, the proclamation of a Ukrainian state and an alliance with Germany.

4) The possibility of forming a uniform national party in Ukraine which would reorganise life in Ukraine.

5) The approval of a Ukrainian national leadership from within the ranks of the uniform party and its cooperation with the German authorities. This leadership should be authorised, primarily, to set up a Ukrainian army.

#### *Ukrainian Propaganda Activity*

(. . .)

Two leaflets addressed to the youth were circulated in Volodymyrets. They read:

"Hitlerism sees its imminent death approaching. It, therefore, wants to secure the territories behind the front, and to reinforce its work there. It wants to send us, the Ukrainian youth, to a place which is being laid waste by the English bombers. It needs our work-force to clear away the ruins. If you go, do not expect to return to your parents! If you return, then only sick or crippled. Never leave your village! Do not obey violence! Down with violence in our villages!"

During an operation against the illegal Bandera movement in Sarny, various directives from the regional leader of the OUN were found, as well as detailed material regarding the partisan war hidden in the muff of a leader of a women's organisation. One of the directives claims:

"The work of the organisation must be consolidated in the entire region. Every village, every factory, every administration must be incorporated into the organisational network. We must not allow our work to be endangered by negligence. Training groups must be set up everywhere". (. . .)

Another directive states:

"All comrades and members of the OUN must be more careful because mass arrests are expected. Do not allow yourself to be arrested. Try to escape. Those who have been arrested must not admit that they belong to the OUN. No one is permitted to cooperate with the Gestapo; this is a hostile act against Ukraine. German-Ukrainian events must be boycotted. Any collaboration with the occupying forces is high treason and is punishable by death". (. . .)

The text entitled "The Partisan War" states:

"The partisan war is a war fought by small units on the territory occupied by the enemy. The purpose of this war is to harm the enemy as much as possible. It is the initial stage of a national uprising of an oppressed nation. The partisans' mission is to destroy railways, disrupt telephone communications, as well as surprise attacks on enemy installations and units.

With the help of a sympathetic population, a well-organised partisan war has certain advantages. It can cause extensive damage to the enemy with very little means and strength.

This guerrilla war forces the enemy to be constantly on the alert and makes him nervous. It compels the enemy to divide his forces. It also raises the morale of the subjugated people".

(. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 47-51)

№ 86

Berlin, September 18, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 21 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *The Bandera Movement*

Contrary to the previous month, there have been no fundamental changes in the activity of the Ukrainian resistance movement. It can generally be said that the Bandera group's activity is placing a greater emphasis on recruiting as many Ukrainians as possible. The Bandera group should still be considered the most radical Ukrainian independence movement. Previously, propaganda was circulated in Western and Central Ukraine. This activity is gradually spreading to the remaining Ukrainian territories. Hostility towards the Germans is particularly prevalent among the Bandera followers. They have already stressed several times the need to throw the Germans out of the country. During the suppression of an attempted uprising in Kamianets-Podilskyi and the surrounding area it was established that it is not only members of the Bandera group who belong to the illegal resistance movement, but also communist officials<sup>1'</sup> who work under cover within the Ukrainian educational organisation "Prosvita". . .

On 24. and 25.8.1942 leaflets entitled "Address of the Ukrainian Nationalists on the Occasion of the First Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independent Ukrainian State in Lviv on 30.6.41" were found near Shankiv, Rivne district. The text reads:

"... We will never trade our freedom for a decent piece of bread from a foreign invader, for a 'new superior culture' or for an 'inhuman idea'. We want our own culture, our own bread; we want to be free and happy. You will either forge a Ukrainian state or die in the struggle for it. Ukraine exists and will exist. Whatever happens to Ukraine, no matter what hordes pass through our country, whatever ideas and theories the foreign invaders will try to impose on us, the Ukrainian nation will not allow itself to be driven off the path of righteousness. Ukraine has not yet died".

In Mykolayiv, after a long surveillance, 4 members of the Bandera group, who actively worked against the Germans and possessed various printed materials, were arrested. Some of them belonged to the militia of the Ukrainian municipal administration.

Five members of the Ukrainian police, suspected of being activists of the Bandera movement, were arrested in Kyiv. Illegal materials, as well as a revolver, were found among the possessions of one of the men.

In Vorach, 2 Bandera followers were arrested.

In Kherson, we have observed an increase in the activity of Bandera followers in influential positions.

In Kyiv, 8 persons suspected of participating in the Ukrainian resistance movement were arrested on 12.8.1942. Among them is a Ukrainian named Yaroslav Hrebeniuk, who had apparently forged a stamp and identity cards for the Bandera official named "Pip", who was killed during an attempted escape.

### *The Melnyk Movement*

Like the Bandera group, the Melnyk movement is also intensifying its activity in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Contrary to the Bandera supporters, the members of the Melnyk group are, indeed, more cautious. The Melnyk movement has realised that it has to include the Ukrainian Church in its activity. The Melnyk supporters are concentrated in Kyiv in the so-called National Council. Even today this group exercises a certain political influence, although the National Council has been dissolved in the meantime.

### *The Hetman Skoropadskyi Movement*

Besides the Bandera and Melnyk groups, Hetman Skoropadskyi's movement in Kyiv also has a number of supporters. In most cases they are intellectuals and representatives of the older generation. Generally speaking, they practice moderate and pro-German politics.

(. . .)

(BA 58/222 p. 76-78)

Berlin, September 25, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 22 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Cracow has seized a leaflet printed by the *Bandera movement* expressing their position regarding the partisan warfare conducted by the Soviets and Poles. The leaflet is entitled:

“Our Position Regarding the Partisan Warfare”.

It states:

“The Ukrainian nation has once again been convinced that the aims of those who want to ‘liberate’ Ukraine are always the same, whether their battle-cry is ‘the defence of the Russian motherland’, ‘the New Europe’ or anything else. With these battle-cries they want to harness some of the Ukrainians to their wagon and to enslave them, to quickly liquidate as many of the troublesome ones as possible, in order to feel secure in the rich Ukrainian land after the victory.

The partisan warfare of the Poles or the Bolsheviks is of no interest to us and they can deploy their forces as they wish provided the cutting edge is not directed against us. Stalin and Sikorski wanted to kill two birds with one stone: to harm the Germans and to deal a blow to the Ukrainians with the aid of the Germans.

The Ukrainians did not and continue not to participate in the partisan warfare. . .

Our partisan warfare is based neither on the ideas of the communist world revolution (Russian imperialism), nor those of a ‘New Europe’ (German imperialism). It is based on Ukrainian interests. We are fighting for an independent Ukrainian state and not for foreign imperialism.

We must preserve our forces because we believe that the final stages of the war will enable us to fight for and establish our own Ukrainian state. Our aim is not partisan actions involving hundreds or even thousands, but the national liberation revolution of millions of Ukrainians”.

In the Horokhiv region, a notice signed Stepan Bandera was found posted on a barn. It calls on the Ukrainians to free themselves from the insane Germans.

A school teacher from Tyveriv, Zhytomyr district, was arrested as he was about to deliver illegal Bandera publications to Kyiv. He possessed forged identity cards.

In Haisyn, 7 persons were arrested on the grounds of storing propaganda material for the Bandera movement. The house search resulted in the seizure of extensive propaganda material. The leader of the group carried a Russian army pistol.

Intensified activity of the Bandera organisation has been observed in the Zaporizhia region. In the district of Sofiyivka, a worker had to be arrested on the grounds of circulating illegal literature. Likewise, a tradesman from Kryvyi Rih was arrested on suspicion of recruiting Bandera supporters from among the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Two persons were arrested during additional investigations concerning the *Melnyk movement* in Kyiv or rather in Eastern Ukraine.

Five Melnyk supporters were arrested in the Mykolayiv area. Among them are the chief and two members of the local Ukrainian police.

In Kirovohrad, a non-commissioned officer of the Ukrainian police battalion was arrested. Since he was a Melnyk supporter, he had promised to entrust recruiting material to other persons.

A copy of the Melnyk organisation's statute was seized by the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Cracow.

The following passage is of significance:

"It is essential for the Ukrainian people to be free, to have an independent state to which all the Ukrainian territories would belong. The precondition for the attainment of our goals is an organised struggle. . .".

(. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 102 f.)

№ 88

Berlin, October 2, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 23 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

*The Bandera Movement*

The illegal Bandera group has continued to influence the local population by circulating anti-German publications. Additional persons suspected of

belonging to the Bandera group were arrested in Kyiv. They came mainly from the Rivne region and maintained that they intended to study in Kyiv.

On the night of 25.8.1942, 2 of Bandera's followers, who were serving a sentence in the Znamenska prison (Mykolayiv area) were set free by the guard and another member of the Ukrainian police. All 4 men fled, taking with them a gun and ammunition. Search measures are in progress.

*The Melnyk Movement:*

After extensive investigations, we succeeded in arresting an extremely covert and cautious group of Melnyk followers in Kyiv, who have been busy for months circulating illegal publications and setting up a secret organisation. At the same time, the printing shop of the illegal Melnyk organisation was uncovered in Kyiv. A publication entitled "The Birth of a New Ukrainian" was seized. It talks about Ukraine's former struggle for freedom. On the same occasion, Vasyl Kuzmyk, propaganda leader born on 18.1.16, who used the code name Petronko and who resided illegally in Kyiv, was arrested together with 8 other activists of the Melnyk group. Kuzmyk's superior, a man codenamed Stepovyi, who was also supposed to be residing in Kyiv, has not yet been apprehended. (. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 133)

№ 89

Berlin, October 9, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 24 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

At the beginning of September 1942, illegal leaflets of the *Bandera group* were seized in Kharkiv. They were published by the "regional section of the OUN in the eastern territories of Ukraine". There are 4 different leaflets with the following titles:

- a) Ukrainian Nation, Fellow Countrymen, Workers and the Intelligentsia!
- b) The Year 1943, the Year of Hunger and Death, appears before us like a heinous Ghost.
- c) A Word by the OUN!
- d) Ukrainians! The Germans have evoked just indignation among our people through their barbarous colonial policies in Ukraine.

These leaflets state for the first time that the Bandera group has a separate section for Eastern Ukraine and is appealing to the population of the East with propaganda. We have begun investigations to find the authors and propagators of the leaflets.

In the sector of the Dnipropetrovsk commander, 15 persons were arrested on the night of 6.9.42, on the grounds of secret activity in the illicit "Prosvita" organisation. Secret meetings took place, mostly on Sunday evenings, in the apartment of Drain — the Prosvita secretary.

(. . .)

The leader of the whole Prosvita organisation is a Ukrainian named Dolenko. The leader of the Prosvita in Kharkiv is a certain Dubrovskiyi. The establishment of local groups in Kharkiv and its vicinity has until now been prohibited.

According to confidential information, Dolenko indicated for the first time, during a meeting, that Prosvita's aim is to fight against Bolshevism in corroboration with the German armed forces until the overthrow of the Soviet regime and then to fight against the Germans with the aim of eliminating German influence. He also reportedly talked about the need to set up arms and munitions depots.

Three additional persons were arrested during an operation against the illegal *Melnyk group* in Kyiv. Kuzmyk, the propaganda leader, admitted during interrogation that the Melnyk organisation has held three conferences this year, in May in Rivne or Lutsk, in June in Proskuriv, and on 15.9. in Kyiv. The general situation was discussed.

In Vynnytsia, a person was arrested on the grounds of publishing and circulating pictures of Petlura and writings of the Ukrainian resistance movement.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 179 f.)

№ 90

Berlin, October 23, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 26 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The *Bandera movement* has recently turned more and more towards an active struggle. As early as May, it was established that the Bandera movement was seriously engaged in the organisation of bandit groups, particularly



in the western part of Ukraine. In July 1942, the existence of a bandit movement which included supporters of the Bandera group and Bolshevik elements was confirmed in the Kamianets-Podilskyi region. Recently, a larger group, which is led by Borovets, a Bandera activist<sup>18</sup>, was located in the Sarny region. It has also been established that the Bandera movement is engaged in the military training of its members, assembling them from time to time for field training as part of the activity of the national bandit groups. It (the Bandera group), is exercising a well-disposed neutrality towards the Bolshevik bandits. The call to fight against Bolshevism has been disappearing more and more from its propaganda. It is almost exclusively directed against the German authorities, or more precisely against the German occupants. This attitude of the Bandera movement coincides essentially with the views of the prominent Bandera leaders, who, after the rapprochement between England, America and the Soviet Union, are of the opinion that a rapprochement between the national Ukrainian movement and the Bolsheviks is also necessary. This turn of events shows that the Bandera movement has taken a distinct position against Germany and is determined to wrest the independence of Ukraine by force, even through an armed struggle. Moreover, as previously, the Bandera group is endeavouring to expand its organisation on a larger scale. Special sections are being formed at particular Bandera movement strong points for the purpose of training women and youth and for the infiltration of the economy. At the same time, there are attempts, with the aid of Bandera supporters, to infiltrate cultural, scientific and other non-political organisations in order to give them a nationalist orientation. The Bandera movement is paying particular attention to the cultural organisation "Prosvita".

The *Melnyk group* has recently also become more active. Its propaganda is extremely vigorous and in some cases superior to that of the Bandera movement. (. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 231)

Headquarters, 29.10.42

Commander-in-Chief H.Geb.B.  
Dept. Ic Nr. 539/42 g.

Secret!

*Reports on the Enemy*  
*Period Under Review: Mid-August to Mid-October*  
*№ 21*

*Bandit Groups*

*1) Ukrainian Nationalists*

According to the report from 16.10.42 of the Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht in Ukraine, Ukrainian nationalists have combined their forces for the first time in a large bandit group in the Sarny area and are constantly receiving reinforcements.

(. . .)

(BA-MA RH 22/175)

Foreign Letters Control Berlin  
Registration Nr. 7328/42 geh. Group VIII

Berlin, 11.11.42

*Report on Morale Based on Letters*  
*from 11.9. — 10.11.1942: Soviet Russia*

(. . .)

A further, *more drastic deterioration of morale can be determined* from letters from Ukraine, and the impression that the recruitment of manpower for the Reich has been intensified *has caused panic among the Ukrainian population.*

Terrifying descriptions of coercive measures employed by the administrative authorities during the recruitment of Eastern workers makes up most of the news from home received by those relatives who are working in Germany. . .

In order to ensure the work force quota, *men and women, including youth from the age of 15, are allegedly being rounded up on the streets, in markets and at village festivities and deported.* Therefore, the inhabitants hide in fear and avoid meeting in public places. According to the letters, in addition to

corporal punishment, houses or rather entire villages have been burnt down since the beginning of October because the communities did not comply with the request to provide manpower. The implementation of the latter measures has been reported in several areas (Encl. 1).

Bitter remarks that "freedom" appears quite different from that which the Ukrainians expected with the arrival of the Germans, are directly connected with the requisition of large amounts of grain, milk and livestock. The village population claims that not enough remains for its own needs, particularly for the autumn. This year's harvest is often described as poor. Many letter-writers expect a severe famine in the winter and coming spring (Encl. 2).

(. . .)

(AA Vertr. d. AA. beim R-Kom. Ukr., Band 4)

№ 93

November 1942

### *Excerpt from a Secret Directive of the German Police*

1. Our enemies are: the communists, Bandera's followers and the partisans. Bandera's followers are potentially the most dangerous. They must be destroyed at all costs.

2. Allow four-class schools at the most. They are to be closed next year (1943).

3. Watch the "Prosvita" institution. The B. (*Bandera followers*) are active there.

4. Close down cultural and educational institutions: theatres and cinemas.

5. Allow as few scientific institutions, such as laboratories, as possible. Only those required by the armed forces.

6. Prevent religious unity.

7. Avoid combating tuberculosis and typhus. Close hospitals to the population. Stop training additional resident doctors.

8. Only German law courts permitted. Every German is a judge. Court appeals for the population are planned only for a period of 10 years.

9. Rowdiness should only be punished if it is doing harm to Germans.

10. Encourage immorality; abortions should not be punished.

11. Break every backbone. We want to develop a "nation of slaves".

12. Prevent agreement between the partisans and nationalists.

13. Control the railways.

14. Infiltrate secret agents into all factories, workshops, churches, firms, offices, etc. Watch Germany's enemies. Priests are to be used as tools.

15. Germans are not permitted to converse with the population.

16. No discussions regarding misunderstandings within the party are permitted.

(VIII, p. 81)

Berlin, November 13, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 29 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Bandera Group*

(. . .)

It has been established that the OUN uses the youth associations "Buy-Tur", "Yunatstvo" and "Prosvita" for the political education of the youth. The Ukrainian youth, boys and girls, receive physical training during regular evening sessions and are orientated in the political line of the Bandera organisation. After a short probationary period they are sworn in on the 10 commandments of the OUN. In order to give the organisations a legal appearance, the meetings are described as physical training periods and always begin with physical training. Furthermore, it has been observed that military exercises are held alongside the physical training. The OUN military training manuals "Internal Service", "Field Service" and "Security Regulations" are used for this purpose. After a period of probation, the local youth groups are incorporated into the local unit of the OUN. All the Ukrainian youth organisations propagate the idea of an independent Ukrainian state as the ultimate political aim.

. . . Meetings of Bandera supporters took place in his apartment (*that is in the apartment of a member of the OUN-Bandera*). The Bandera supporters in this group work according to the 5-man cell system and apparently intend to carry out acts of sabotage and terror. During the investigations concerning the group, an illegal printing shop of the Bandera group was uncovered on the night of 17.10.42, in Kharkiv. Shooting commenced. Eleven Bandera agents were arrested. Extensive propaganda material and 14 boxes with typed stencils were confiscated from the printing shop.

In Bila Tserkva, near Kyiv, 4 persons, including a teacher, were arrested for activities connected with the Bandera group. In Lutsk, a Bandera supporter was killed while attempting to escape.

In Kherson, a Bandera supporter suspected of having stolen 6,000 Reich marks during a robbery was arrested.

In Mykolayiv, propaganda material of the Bandera group was again seized.

In Kyiv, a Ukrainian, Ivan Shpak, who possessed a passport under the name of Zaporozhets, was arrested. Shpak has been a member of the OUN since 1936. He came to Kyiv from Lviv on the orders of Legenda, one of the top officials of the Bandera movement. Dmytro Marko, who possessed a passport under the name of Kravchenko, was also arrested.

#### *The Melnyk Group*

The literature seized in the apartment of Kuzmyk, a Melnyk supporter, included a leaflet entitled "One Part — Two Methods". The leaflet should be mentioned because it concludes with the following words: "We hate the Bolshevik yoke, but we hate any other yoke just as much. Only a Ukrainian can be master over Ukrainian soil".

A letter from Konstantyn Horskyi, the propaganda leader, was found in Kuzmyk's apartment. It contains important instructions concerning propaganda.

#### *The National Ukrainian Party*

In Popelnia, near Zhytomyr, 15 persons, including a priest, were arrested during an attempt to form a National Ukrainian Party.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/699 p. 44-46)

№ 95

Berlin, November 20, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 30 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *Resistance Groups*

##### *a) The Bandera Group*

After the operation against the illegal Bandera group in September of last year, during which all the activists of this organisation including its leader Stepan Bandera were arrested, the activity of the Bandera group on the territory of the Reich came practically to a standstill. However, during the past few months, Bandera's followers who live in the Reich have gradually reformed and began to organise themselves once again even though they are without a leader.

When the number of reports from individual state police headquarters about the renewal of the Bandera followers' activity in the Reich increased, first the Braunschweig State Police and then the Dresden State Police, in September and October respectively, were ordered to act against the illegal Bandera group in their respective districts. . .

During a surprise operation, 48 activists and members of the illegal Bandera group were arrested in Braunschweig and 10 in Dresden. Their interrogation clearly established that they had maintained contact with a headquarters in Berlin.

Surveillance on compromised meeting places and the occupation of safe houses enabled us to arrest Klym — the organisational leader of the illegal Bandera group on the territory of the Reich — in Berlin. . . More than 210 persons have so far been arrested in Leipzig, Berlin, Hannover, Hamburg, Hildesheim and Potsdam. State Police headquarters in Hamburg, Munich, Vienna, Prague, Breslau, Potsdam, Danzig, Frankfurt/Oder, Frankfurt/Main, Bremen, Chemnitz, Düsseldorf, Kassel, Cologne, Königsberg, Karlsruhe, Nuremberg, Magdeburg, Oppeln, Reichenberg, Stuttgart, Weimar and Würzburg are expected to make additional arrests.

So far, 4 couriers from the district of Galicia were arrested in Berlin in the safe houses occupied by the Security Police officials. They possessed important materials. Besides numerous slanderous documents, one of the couriers had a large number of forged passes supposedly issued by the Police President in Berlin and the District Chief in Goslar. Furthermore, forged letterheads from the "German Institute for Foreigners at the University of Berlin" were found in the possession of a courier from Lviv. Another courier possessed 100 forged bread coupons. (. . .)

It seems that the organisation located in the district of Novyi Sanch had been set up by Stepan Bandera's brother. Myroslav Katovych, director of the Ukrainian boarding-school in Krynytsia, was appointed district leader. He is presently a fugitive.

#### *The Melnyk Group*

(. . .)

Furthermore, a material written by Chyhyryn, alias Barda, the leader of the Melnyk group in Volyn, was found in Kuzmyk's apartment. It contains spiteful attacks against the German occupying forces. This material states that there is no difference between German liberation and Bolshevik liberation.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/699 p. 69-72)

Berlin, November 27, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 31 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

Printed anti-German leaflets were found in the sector of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Zhytomyr. The leaflets read:

"Partisans! You have left your homes and your families and joined the fight. The damp cold is your home and hunger your daily guest. Your lives are always threatened by surprise attacks and battles. You left your peace and comfort and joined the difficult struggle. You did not choose this road for personal gains. By risking your life, you are fighting for a common cause against the invaders. What the German invaders are doing to our people cries out for vengeance and calls for resistance. The pillage of our country, hunger, unemployment, contempt towards our people, coercion and deportation of thousands of civilians — this is what the invaders have brought us up till now. It is our great and sacred duty to fight against them and it is a worthy cause to sacrifice our blood and our lives. What is our alternative to the German occupying forces? Should the former Soviet government return? Is there much difference between the Moscow regime and the German government? They are as alike as two peas in a pod: both regimes are dictatorships acting against our people.

Today, Hitlerist and Russian imperialism have collided. Both of them are fighting for the destruction and subjugation of nations. Not long ago, they joined together in the fight against other nations and shared the common booty. In September 1939, Stalin and Hitler's Germany entered into an alliance and helped each other destroy the West European states. They provided our bread for the German armies and our gasoline for the German tanks and aircraft. Is it justifiable to fight for one or the other government? No! It is our duty to fight against both regimes in order to build a new era. This can only be possible when both regimes collapse. Then each nation can build its future accordingly. An independent state, a free people, free labour — this is the new era for which we must fight.

Partisans, do not let yourselves be drawn into serving German or Bolshevik imperialism. Rouse the national revolutionary movement, organise the independent political struggle. Fight against the invaders, not alone, but in the ranks of the national mass organisation, for total freedom and the inde-

pendent states of the subjugated nations. Only then will our struggle be successful.

Down with Hitler and Stalin! Long live the independent national states of the subjugated peoples!"

Investigations carried out in Lviv led to the arrest of 3 Ukrainian students who are suspected of being officials of the Bandera group. They occupied quarters in a building in Lviv which belonged to the cathedral. Extensive illegal printed material ready for delivery was found in this apartment. This is most probably a distribution centre for illegal printed materials where couriers apparently stop to pick up the documents. The investigations produced clues concerning the location of printing and engraving shops in which the forged passes, forged papers, stamps etc. were produced.

In the meantime, it was possible to arrest *Volodymyr Lobay*, born on 27.10.11, the deputy leader of the organisational section of the Lviv headquarters. Lobay was also the leader of the entire courier network. He worked for the Bandera group on a full-time basis and did not practice another profession. His apartment, which also served as a safe house, was occupied and 6 other persons, including a Ukrainian police officer who served as an external courier, were arrested. Through interrogations we established that the headquarters of the Bandera group is located in Lviv. It controls the regional branches. There are regional branches in *Kyiv* for *Eastern Ukraine*, in *Lviv* for *Western Ukraine*, in *Rivne* or *Lutsk* for *Volyn* and *Polissia*, in *Chernivtsi* or *Odessa* for *Hungary* and *Rumania*, and *Berlin* for the German Reich. A large number of addresses were seized.

During a late afternoon operation carried out in Lviv on 21.11.42 against leading officials of the Bandera group, SS-Sturmscharführer and detective secretary Gerhard Scharff from the Reich Central Security Office in Berlin was shot in the head by a Bandera supporter. Another detective, who belonged to the Braunschweig State Police, was wounded in the hip and upper arm. The officers occupied a compromised safe house and arrested 5 *Bandera officials* when they arrived at the apartment in question. Another person who entered the apartment immediately drew his gun, wounded the Braunschweig police officers and killed Scharff. The perpetrator managed to escape into the night even though he *was wounded by two bullets*.

The operation is still in progress.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/697 p. 227-229)



*Report № 8 on Important State Political Events*

November 27, 1942

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The assumption that the arrest of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, at the end of 1942<sup>19</sup>, as well as the arrest of the leadership of the Bandera organisation in the Reich and in the Lviv district, would lead to a noticeable decline in this group's activities proved untrue. The tone of Bandera's propaganda, which was quite moderate at the beginning, has become increasingly aggressive. Recently, the propaganda leaflets have been clearly directed against Germany. This agitation has caused Bandera followers to become carried away and to make assassination attempts against Germans, particularly members of the Security Police.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/208 p. 158)

Berlin, December 4, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 32 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

The bandit activity has not subsided in *Ukraine*. In the past 8 days, the bandits launched approximately 150 surprise attacks in the sector of the commander of Rivne and Zhytomyr alone. Their sole aim is to provide the gangs with supplies. There have also been numerous bombings and trains have been derailed.

The present results of the grain requisition in the sector of the Rivne Commander provide a clear picture of the effects of the fight against the bandits. We were able to requisition between 80 and 100% of the quota in the whole of this area, including the districts infiltrated by the bandits this summer. On the other hand, in the Pinsk, Kostopil and Sarny regions the grain requisition has severely dropped due to the intensive activity of the bandits: Pinsk 28%, Kostopil 32-35% and Sarny 25-30%. . .

In the period covered by this report, approximately 100 attacks by the bandits, which provided the gangs with food supplies, were registered in the sector of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD in *Rivne*. Four state holdings, numerous town halls and dairies have been completely destroyed. Several hundred hundredweight of grain and large quantities of livestock were stolen.

During the fire-fights with the gangs, 594 bandits were killed, 2 earth bunkers and 13 bandit camps were demolished or rather destroyed. German losses were 3 members of the police and 10 Ukrainian policemen. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 58/699 p. 121)

№ 99

Berlin, December 11, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 33 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

Eighteen more people were arrested in Lviv during an operation against the illegal Bandera group. They were mainly officials from the military section, the propaganda section and the organisational section of the Bandera group. . .

Furthermore, investigations helped us to uncover a branch of the Lviv headquarters of the Bandera group in Kholm. The branch works only for the headquarters. The names of 8 persons who work there are known; their arrest has been ordered.

On the evening of 4.12.1942, the SD arrested Starukh (alias Synyi), the propaganda leader of the Bandera group headquarters in Lviv. His real name is still unknown. Starukh is the one who prepared all the illegal material for the organisation, writing the slanderous documents himself. At the time of his arrest, he was in possession of several letters written on cigarette paper, which were hidden in his clothing. They contained important information for the Bandera officials who had not yet been arrested.

The same day, in Lviv, we arrested Legenda, alias Semen Sudba, the deputy leader of the illegal Bandera group. His real name is Ivan Klymiv. Klymiv is regarded as the brains behind the entire Bandera organisation.

During the investigations carried out in Lviv, weapons were found in a special room concealed behind a cupboard at commissariat no. 3 of the Ukrainian police. Seized: 10 rifles in first-class condition, gun barrels, rifle bolts, 2 pistols, ammunition, Russian hand grenades, one high explosive shell, 1 mortar bomb, swords, 100 new scythes, which were undoubtedly to be used as weapons, 6 steel helmets with Ukrainian insignia and numerous other military equipment.

This incident led to a surprise inspection of all police stations and outposts where Ukrainian police officers were stationed. Small quantities of arms and ammunition were also found there. One should note that the police had recently been inspected by the Security Police and were ordered to surrender all weapons with the exception of official firearms.

According to previous observations, the Ukrainian police in Lviv is infiltrated by Bandera supporters. So far five Ukrainian police officers have been arrested. The operation is continuing.

In the meantime, a further 8 activists of the illegal Bandera group were arrested in the Reich.

(. . .)

At the beginning of November, a SS recruit and a Ukrainian auxiliary policeman, both from the sector of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD in Kyiv, were killed. The murder was committed by two persons in police uniforms. They were undoubtedly members of the Bandera group who acted on the orders of their leader Mohyla. The two murdered men had for several weeks been successfully tracking down the illegal Bandera group in Kyiv and were on Mohyla's trail. The total number of Bandera supporters arrested in Kyiv has increased to 29.

In the Rivne area, 13 persons were also arrested on grounds of propaganda activity for the Bandera organisation.

On the night of 3.10.42, a death sentence, written in Ukrainian, was posted on the apartment of two members of the SD in Stanislaviv. The text reads:

"Our people and our homeland have sentenced you to death!"

signed  
OUN

We have no further details about the perpetrators.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/699 p. 153-155)

Sumy, December 12, 1942

*Conference Held at Local Headquarters I/729  
at 19.00 hrs.*

*The Political Situation*

The resistance movement of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is becoming increasingly active. The SD has uncovered connections as far as Kyiv, the headquarters of the Bandera movement. To date, the regional leader, Sappuhn, 2 district leaders and 38 men have been arrested. The heads of the language school organise the OUN network (Bandera movement) and select suitable individuals whose services they then volunteer to the German authorities as reliable personnel. (. . .)

Wandering theatrical companies are promoting illegal propaganda and, linguistically speaking, are very difficult to monitor.

According to rumours, the OUN is said to be planning the construction of a munitions plant in Konotop.

The OUN headquarters in Kyiv. Ring-system structure. The outer circle is visibly exposed; the nucleus, however, cannot be apprehended.

(. . .)

(BA MA RH 22/69 p. 51)

Berlin, December 23, 1942

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 35 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

In Berlin, we arrested the Ukrainian student Vasyl Bezkhlibnyk, alias Berkut, born on 27.2.1913 in Sykoliv, residing in Berlin — Ost Fischerstr. 25. He is the leader of the illegal Bandera group in Germany and has direct connections with the Bandera headquarters in Lviv.

According to confidential information, at the beginning of November, a number of Soviet parachutists were dropped into the Rokytno Marshes. These parachutists apparently clashed with a Bandera group. They were not prepared to tolerate one another on this territory. Several parachutists were supposedly killed and others wounded during the fight. The Bandera group has apparently acquired a few modern Soviet weapons.

The following forged seals were found during the arrest of a Bandera supporter:

- Mayor of the City of Poltava, Department of National Education.
- SS-Ukrainian Public Order Service of the City of Poltava.
- Reported on. . . to the Poltava Headquarters.

In the Mykolayiv district, 10 persons were arrested on suspicion of belonging to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Among them was a headmaster, as well as a village chairman.

A large quantity of leaflets of the illegal Bandera group have recently been seized in Ukraine.

(. . .)

A number of leaflets which were signed by the "District Leadership of the OUN for Eastern Ukraine" were seized in the sector of the Kharkiv Commander. They call on the nationally conscious Ukrainian population to join the Bandera movement unconditionally in order to fight against the German occupying forces. One of the leaflets reads:

"Ukrainians!

Through their harsh colonial policy in Ukraine, the Germans have created a just feeling of indignation among all the social classes of our people. . . During the short period of German rule. . . only ashes remain of our hopes. Thus every Ukrainian must understand that the only way to a truly humane, free political life lies in us — that is through an organised revolutionary struggle of large masses for an independent Ukraine. Our hour is approaching. The world is embroiled in a huge war. Our strongest enemy — Russian imperialism — is bleeding to death. The longer the struggle, the more it will drain its reserves, the more Germany will be exhausted. England will also strain every nerve to its utmost. Our chances increase with the duration of the war. We cannot allow the right moment to slip by. Our success depends on our firm alliance and on our strength in our common struggle. . .".

Another leaflet reads:

"The Moscow prison is collapsing. And although, through his agents, blood-thirsty Stalin promised us a new paradise, we say that we have not yet forgotten all of his past horrors.

Death to the whole of Moscow. Ukraine's best sons have written the burning words of judgement on the walls of the Moscow prison:

Freedom for Ukraine! Death to Moscow!

Ukraine has been separated from Moscow forever by a mountain of corpses and a sea of blood. . .

. . . Long live the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera!"

In the sector of the Rivne Commander we were able to confirm that the bandits circulated marked *karbovantsi* banknotes. They bear two different stamps. One inscription reads "Long live Ukraine!" "Glory to the heroes!" and the other "Long live Bandera!"

(. . .)

(BA R 58/699 p. 225-227)

№ 102

### *Report № 8 on Important State Political Events*

*from December 29, 1942*

(. . .)

#### *The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

During the operation against the illegal Bandera group, the Braunschweig State Police, in cooperation with the Magdeburg and Gotha State Police, arrested a further 25 Bandera followers. . .

Vasyl Ivanovchuk, the regional leader of the illegal Bandera group, born on 17.12.12 in Duchesne-Halla/USA, as well as 5 Ukrainian students, enrolled at the German Karl University in Prague, were arrested by the Prague State Police. . .

The investigation is continuing.

In connection with this, it is worth noting that on 11.12.42, the German priest, Joseph Peters, born on 28.2.05 in Siedlungshausen, had to be arrested in Lviv because he was engaged in anti-Reich activities together with the Ukrainian circles and had not reported the existence of an anti-German organisation (the Bandera group) to the police. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 58/208 p. 244 f.)

Berlin, January 15, 1943

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 37 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

( . . . )

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

A number of pamphlets printed by the illegal Bandera group were seized in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine and the General Government. The pamphlets deal with Dmytro Myron, one of the Bandera officials recently killed in Kyiv. These pamphlets, which include a photograph of Myron, are aimed primarily at turning the executed party leader into a Ukrainian national hero.

In one of the passages the brochures state:

"The Polish prison did not break Myron. The NKVD was unable to trap him. He fell in the struggle against German imperialism, the cruel occupying force in Ukraine. Germany, which poses as an ally and liberator, does not want a unified and independent Ukraine. She does not want the Ukrainian state to exist. She wants to turn Ukraine into a colony and the Ukrainian people into serfs. Yet, no one has succeeded in shackling the freedom-loving Ukrainian people. It has always fought and will continue to fight against anyone who wants to enslave it. The Ukrainian people will achieve an independent Ukrainian state in its struggle against the will of all the imperialisms, which want to seize the rich Ukrainian territories. May the German occupant take delight in the success of this murder. Dazed by the victories on all fronts, he does not see that his policy of oppression and murder is leading to his own catastrophe: The battle which we are now fighting is the battle of the entire Ukrainian people for the Ukrainian state, for the honour of the nation, for the dignity and welfare of mankind".

A notice posted on trees, fences, telegraph poles etc. by the illegal Bandera group created considerable sensation among the Ukrainian population in the district of Yaslo. The leaflet comments on the Bandera issue:

"The Poles and the Bolsheviks can play partisans as much as they want; we would not care if the cutting edge of the struggle was not directed against us as well. Ukrainian soil is part of the Bolshevik partisans' area of operations. . . Stalin and Sikorski have intentionally chosen our territory for this purpose. They foresaw that the Germans were going to pacify the population of these regions. They wanted the Ukrainians to pay the toll for the partisan activities. All of Stalin's efforts, immediately after the German invasion, to

trigger off the partisan struggle were unsuccessful. This is due to the OUN, which is leading the nation in the struggle for nothing else other than an independent state. However, this does not prevent the German punitive expeditions from retaliating, from burning down villages and executing unarmed Ukrainians. They are using this opportunity to destroy us.

What is our position regarding (*Soviet and Polish*) partisan warfare?

We have purely Ukrainian interests in mind. We are fighting for a Ukrainian state and not for foreign imperialism. We must preserve our strength because we believe that the war, in its final stages, will enable us to fight for and establish a Ukrainian state. Every man who dies for the interests of Moscow or Berlin is a loss to us. Our attitude towards the partisans is hostile and that is why we are fighting them. The time is not yet right. It must find us united under the banner of the OUN and under one political leadership. Our goal is not the replacement of one occupying force with another, but independence; not partisan warfare, but the national liberation revolution of the Ukrainian masses".

During a further operation against the illegal Bandera group two more activists were arrested by the State Police in Vienna. . .

The State Police in Oppeln also arrested other activists of the illegal Bandera group. . .

A total of 55 persons were arrested by the Hannover State Police on the grounds of special activity for the illegal Bandera group. In the meantime, 7 of them have been released; 3 others committed suicide.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/223 p. 64-66)

№ 104

Berlin, January 22, 1943

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 38 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*Situation regarding the bandits in the sector of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Ukraine*

The following is a list of the most recent figures concerning the activity of the bandits in the regions of Volyn-Podillia and Zhytomyr which are under particular threat:

*Armed combat:*

Volyn-Podillia 47  
Zhytomyr 29

*Local surprise attacks:*

Volyn-Podillia 42  
Zhytomyr 36



*Attacks on railways  
and other transport installations:  
Volyn-Podillia 36  
Zhytomyr 13*

On average, attacks on the railway system occurred daily. In the past weeks, 3 railway stations were completely destroyed.

The partial or complete destruction of six state properties caused considerable damage.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 97)

№ 105

Berlin, February 12, 1943

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 41 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

As part of the measures taken against the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists-Bandera group, the headquarters of the State Police in Berlin recently arrested 136 persons on grounds of illegal activity. Additional arrests are in progress.

(. . .)

Furthermore, the Berlin section of the women's organisation of the Bandera group was uncovered and the following people were arrested:

1. Vityk, Halyna. . . , 2. Ukarma, Lydia. . . , 3. Bilyk, Halyna. . . ,

An illegal propaganda leaflet of the OUN-Bandera group currently in circulation was seized in Kyiv by the Chief of the Security Police in Ukraine. . .

(. . .)

The arrest of a further 38 members of the intelligentsia of the OUN-Bandera group in Kyiv by the Security Police has enabled us to establish, among other things, that the organisation is in control of large sums of money.

According to confidential reports, an intense rapprochement has recently taken place between Bandera and Melnyk followers. Their common aim is an independent Ukraine. Generally speaking, the intense radicalisation of the OUN movement continues to be observed.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/222 p. 212 RS-213)

*Resolutions  
of the Third Conference of the Organisation of Ukrainian  
Nationalists OUN-Bandera*

February 17-21, 1943

A.

1. The present war, which was started in the name of German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism, is primarily a war concerning Ukraine, which both imperialisms treat in their plans of conquest as the central problem of their imperialist policy in Eastern Europe and a springboard for further conquests. . .

2. Through its imperialist policy towards all the European nations, involving terror and pillage of the occupied territories, Germany has mobilised all the nations of present-day Europe against herself, including her so-called allies. Thus, she has created the ideal political and material base for her own collapse. She is already wavering under the attacks of many-million-strong enemy armies and under the effects of the growing revolutionary forces of the subjugated nations in Europe. Her efforts to win over or to force the subjugated nations into a greater struggle against Bolshevism. . . have proved to be a perfidious manoeuvre, a belated attempt to avoid the consequences of past errors and a means of reinforcing its military potential with the strength of the subjugated nations.

(. . .)

6. Ukraine presently finds herself between the hammer and the anvil of the two hostile imperialists — Moscow and Berlin. Both of them consider her a colonial goal. Thus, an irrevocable demand on the Ukrainian nation is to fight against both imperialists on its own, and the precondition for cooperation with other nations is their recognition of our right to our own statehood. The collective interests of the Western and Eastern nations in the joint struggle against the German, Russian and other imperialisms are to be sought at this level.

(. . .)

B.

18. . . . We condemn all attempts to cooperate with the occupants, both individually and collectively, as an act of treason, detrimental to the Ukrainian nation. We condemn all agents and henchmen, all secret service collaborators of the Gestapo and the NKVD, and all those who sell their fatherland for 30 pieces of silver, as traitors of the Ukrainian nation.

(. . .)

(VI, pp. 75-77, 87, 89)

Berlin, March 19, 1943

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

*Report № 46 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The formation of a new national Ukrainian group has been reported from the Lviv district. It appeared for the first time at the beginning of 1942 under the name "*Ukrainian Fighters for Independence*" in a leaflet entitled "Revolution is on the March".

The printed leaflet was sent out in large numbers mainly to the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Two distribution points have so far been established: Lviv and Ternopil.

The contents correspond to those of the Bandera group's leaflets: the establishment of an independent Ukraine can only be achieved through a joint uprising of all occupied peoples. For this reason, the Ukrainian people must prepare themselves for this struggle. All Ukrainians who cooperate with the Germans are opportunists.

(. . .)

A severe radicalisation of the *Bandera group* continues to be observed. Its members are collecting weapons and ammunition and setting up arms depots. Orders and instructions point out that the establishment of a free and independent Ukraine can only be achieved through an armed uprising. Commanders of the Ukrainian militia, formed after the arrival of the German forces, are obeying these orders and setting aside part of the arms and ammunition for the purposes of the Bandera movement. In the meantime, a directive concerning the military training of members, as well as a directive regarding the conduct of partisan warfare, were found during the liquidation of the headquarters of the Bandera movement in Sarny. (. . .)

The Bandera group has proceeded to put its propaganda concerning partisan warfare into practice. . . According to confidential information, the OUN-Bandera is in possession of:

15,000 rifles

45,000 hand grenades and

1,550 pistols

We must seriously rule out the Ukrainian police in the fight against the Bandera group because it is in part heavily infiltrated by Bandera people and in some cases its members have defected to the Bandera bandits. At the Ukrainian Police Academy in Lviv, the Ukrainian instructors publicly

promote anti-German propaganda. The Ukrainian police is flagrantly sabotaging the enrolment of labour.

The following prominent Bandera people from the "military organisation" were arrested in Lviv:

1) Dmytro Hrytsay, born 1.4.1907 in Doroshyn, residing in Lviv, 23/7 Obertiner St. He has been the leader of the military organisation since the autumn of 1942.

2) Oleksander Kuzminskyi, born 17.8.1910 in Zulchyn, residing in Lviv, 12 Zulinka St. He illegally trained Bandera supporters in Mosty Velyki.

3) Vasyl Kovalskyi, alias Kopach, born 13.2.1915 in Strylkiv, residing in Lviv, 33 Zolkyiver St. He was the Commandant of the Military Training School in Mosty Velyki.

Numerous arrests continued in the sector of the Kyiv Commander. Those arrested included two teachers — one in Rohoziv and the other in Mala Vilshanka — arrested for belonging to the OUN-Bandera. A curator of a museum and a veterinarian were arrested in Mykolayiv. Twelve Bandera members, including one member of the Ukrainian police, were arrested in Rohizka and more than 40 persons, mainly from the intelligentsia, were arrested in Kyiv. In the Ostrih district, 22 supporters of the OUN-Bandera were arrested.

In the meantime, the Bandera movement has changed from a five-man cell system to three-man groups in order to minimise losses. They are employing a secure whispering campaign, mainly in the rural areas.

Groups of bandits recently appeared in the Kremianets area, sector of the Rivne Commander, and attacked state property. These attacks are connected with the activity of a section of the OUN-Bandera called the "Ukrainian Revolutionary Front". A large number of people have already been arrested.

In Uman, sector of the Kyiv Commander, new leaflets of the *OUN-Melnyk* were seized. They claim that the German occupation can only be temporary. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 58/224 p. 41-43)

Enclosure to Nr. 30/43 geh.  
26.3.43  
Representative of the  
Reich Ministry for the Occupied  
Eastern Regions at the  
High Command of Army Group-South

*Copy of the  
Transcript of a Translation*

Read and Pass On!

Conceal from Enemies and Traitors!

*Ukrainians!*

The whole world is raging in a new war of conquest.

The imperialist powers have entered into a merciless war. Like insatiable blood-thirsty beasts they throw themselves upon armed nations in order to destroy them and then to fight the last decisive battle between themselves. Their aim is complete world domination. They are treading on seas of the innocently spilt blood of nations. They want to wrap their plans of conquest in slogans, in slogans about liberation, a just international leadership, a better life. . .

(. . .)

These same Bolshevik methods of destruction are being put into practice by the new occupants of Ukraine — the German imperialists. The destructive colonial exploitation of the Ukrainian population, pillage, executions, arrests, shootings, degradation of human dignity, demoralisation, deportation of people to Germany to face inevitable death and finally the use of the Bolshevik method — destruction by famine — these are the blessings which the Germans bestowed upon the oppressed peoples. . .

At the same time the Germans were plundering all the wheat, grain and bread, which would have fed the entire population of Ukraine and half of Europe in abundance, the Ukrainian people were fed a starvation ration of barley bread. The Ukrainian population put so much sweat and blood into the ploughing, sowing and harvesting of this bread. . . As payment for their work, the Ukrainian kolhospnyky (collective farm workers) receive kopecks from the Germans, for which one cannot buy anything, instead of grain. The Ukrainian workers from the Donbas and other industrial centres were forced to work hard, 12 hours a day, although they live on starvation rations. Clouds threatening a new famine are hanging over the whole of Ukraine as far as the Caucasian Mountains.

Join the fight against this threat in the name of national solidarity!

The Ukrainian village must help the population of the Ukrainian cities in this fight!

The Ukrainian city must help the Ukrainian village defend its interests!

All non-conscious Ukrainians who have been hired by the Germans should stop and think. For the time being the Germans are throwing them a large piece of bread as one does to a dog. They want the blind Ukrainians to assist them in the destruction of their own brothers and sisters by denunciation, punishment, pillage, in order to help the Germans plunder our Ukraine, that they may help the "economy", in the words of Shevchenko, by removing the mother's patched shirt from her back.

(. . .)

We will fight for an order where there will never be any hunger. We will fight for an independent Ukrainian state which will protect the population from destruction. We will fight for a Ukrainian state in which the Ukrainian people will be the masters of their ancestral soil.

We will fight for a Ukrainian state which will enable all honest-living and working people in Ukraine to lead a dignified life!

Bolshevism did not succeed in destroying us. Imperialism will not destroy us either. The enemy will not bring us any good. We will own only what we obtain ourselves.

Join the fighting unit of the *Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists!*  
(OUN)

Organise yourselves! Unite yourselves!

Form a common front of the Ukrainian National Revolution against the imperialists!

Onward!

Long Live Ukraine!

To victory!

Glory to the Heroes!

*Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

(. . .)

(BA R 6/150 p. 12-15)

High Command of Army Group B  
Headquarters/VII (Military Administration) B.B. Nr. 87/43 geh.  
(. . .)

Headquarters, April 1, 1943

Secret!

To the  
High Command of the Army/General Staff of the Army/  
General Headquarters Department K. Administration

*Re: Treatment of the Civilian Population of Ukraine*

Ref: High Command of the Army/General Staff of the Army/General Headquarters Department K. Administration (Qu 4). Nr. II/1736/ 43 geh.  
23.3.1943

Dr. Claassen, the Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat, attended the NSDAP meeting in Kyiv on 5.3.1943, and gave an oral report on the speech of the Reichskommissar for Ukraine. Other particulars regarding the contents of the speech are not available.

I. In parts of his speech the Reichskommissar pointed out the following facts about the *treatment of the population*:

- 1) We are the master race and must govern harshly, but justly. . .
- 2) I will squeeze the last drop out of this country. I did not come here to bestow blessings. I came here to help the Führer. The population must work, work and work. . . Some people are worried that the population is not getting enough to eat. The population cannot make this demand. We have only to think of our heroes at Stalingrad who had to make sacrifices. . . We did not come here to distribute manna. We came here to create the preconditions of victory.
- 3) We are a master race which must remember that the lowest German worker is racially and biologically a thousand times more valuable than the local population. . .

(BA-MA RH 2/Vol. 2560 p. 3 f.)

*Copy**Excerpt from a Letter from the Mining and Steelworks Company East. Ukraine — Timber (Schenk) from 1.4.1943**Danger from Partisans or rather Bandits*

The undersigned had the opportunity to make enquiries about the situation in Rivne. We must distinguish: 1. Partisans, who are nothing but Bolsheviks. They are located north of the railway line Kyiv-Rivne-Kovel-Brest in the great forest and marsh regions on both banks of the river Prypiat. . .

2. there is a large number of national Ukrainian partisans who are also located in these forests. These people are demanding a free Ukraine and the immediate withdrawal of the Germans. They are led by a well-known Ukrainian leader. This group receives regular reinforcements. The Ukrainian Security Service from Kovel and Rivne has defected to this group. The alarm rang out when Herr Schenk was at the General Headquarters. All the employees were immediately armed and transported by car to the area under threat. Apparently, a train carrying workers who had been rounded up by the Sauckel organisation had been attacked in order to free them.

The attacks are increasing on a daily basis, even in broad daylight. Even on the return trip Herr Schenk had to stop at Korets between Rivne and Zhytomyr because the main track was under threat. Several infantry companies were assigned to the task and a company commander advised Herr Schenk to wait until the troops had occupied a few villages and reached the nearby edge of the forest. Groups 1 and 2 are also fighting against each other.

3) there are some so-called bandits located south of the above-mentioned railway line who are disrupting the mainline traffic. Even on the Zhytomyr-Kyiv line passage through the forest area was only possible on Monday under military protection. The Ukrainian liberation party is spreading intensive propaganda among these bandit groups in order to win them over to its cause. These bandits frequently appear in smaller groups and also attack individual cars in broad daylight. Yet when a police unit appears, these people disappear. They peacefully continue with their work. Therefore, travelling by car is today already extremely dangerous, and so a police officer explained to Herr Schenk "if you're lucky, you'll make it through". The economic situation is suffering greatly under these conditions to the point that there is no German administration left at all in many regions. The timber department in Rivne pointed out that the sawmills are continually being set on fire and that approximately 400 officials and employees have already been killed.

*Mining and Steelworks Company East  
Department Ukraine-Timber  
signed Schenk*

(BA R 6/492 p. 1-3)



Rivne, April 4, 1943

The Reichskommissar for Ukraine  
E I b

*Situation Report on the Activity  
of Bandit Groups in Ukraine*

Peace prevailed in the lowlands and the work of the German agricultural authorities was not threatened until the breakthrough on the front throughout the whole of Ukraine with the exception of the northern forest regions. The situation has completely changed since January 1943.

The passive resistance of the population is greatly increasing due to the situation on the front and other circumstances. As a result of the events brought about by the war, the activity of the bandits is increasing everywhere and has even spread to the sparsely wooded southern regions. . .

(. . .)

c) The Zhytomyr General District

The situation is similar in the general district of Zhytomyr north of the railway line Sarny-Korosten-Kyiv. The agricultural authorities have completely retreated into the regional cities and can leave these cities only under heavy police protection. Deliveries from this region, particularly of livestock, have decreased enormously and have lost their importance. . .

(. . .)

d) The Volyn/Podillia General District

(. . .)

Production and deliveries from these threatened regions are greatly impaired. In Volyn, there are only two districts free of bandits. The appearance of the national Ukrainian bandits in the Kremianets-Dubno-Kostopil-Rivne districts is particularly dangerous. On the night of March 20-21, the national Ukrainian bandits simultaneously attacked all the district agricultural offices completely destroying one of these offices. Twelve Germans — farmers, foresters, soldiers and policemen — were killed. Although the police and the armed forces were immediately placed at our disposal, we have so far been able to occupy only 2 districts. The agricultural authorities in this district have still not managed to secure freedom of movement. . .

The losses suffered by the agricultural authorities in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine were all mainly incurred in the summer and autumn of 1942, but the greatest loss was incurred in January 1943. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 6/492 p. 5-10)

Representative of the Reich Ministry for the  
Occupied Eastern Regions at the High Command  
of Army Group — South  
Major O.W. Müller —  
— Nr. 9/49 geh. Rs. —

Headquarters, April 17, 1943

*Report № 4/43*

(. . .)

*B. From the Area of Army Group — South  
General Situation*

(. . .)

The OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) has recently appealed to the partisans with its propaganda, urging them to fight for the Ukrainian cause "against Hitler and Stalin". Reasonable people perceive a great threat from this propaganda because of the present economic situation and the political mood of the Ukrainians.

(. . .)

(BA R 6/52 p. 37)

Lutsk, April 30, 1943

The Generalkommissar  
for Volyn and Podillia  
— PI —

(. . .)

*II. General Political Matters*

There has been no fundamental change in the political situation in Podillia with the exception that smaller bandit groups — apparently Ukrainian nationalists — have appeared for the first time in Yarmolyntsi and Kamianets Podilskyi.

The situation in Volyn has intensified substantially. This is proof of the substantial increase in bandit activity. While it is mainly Soviet bandits that are terrorising the northern and eastern regions, particularly Pinsk, Stolin, Sarny-Kostopil, the Ukrainian nationalist bandits predominate in the western and southern areas of Volyn. We have reached the point when we must speak of an *insurgent movement* in the regions of Horokhiv, Luboml, Dubno, Kremianets and to some extent Lutsk. . .

Whereas in Podillia, due to the stabilisation of the front, the sentiments of the population cannot generally be considered hostile, in Volyn the nationalistic propaganda has turned large sections of the population against us and led to the above-mentioned formation of bandit groups. Today, one can see that *large sections of the local population sympathise with the bandits*. The section of the local population which is still cooperating with the German administration is subjected to such terror that further loyal cooperation is at least questionable since their lives have been threatened by the bandits. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 94/17 p. 2)

№ 114

Lutsk, April 30, 1943

The Generalkommissar  
for Volyn and Podillia

V-I

(. . .)

### *VII. Internal Administration*

In the period covered by the report, all administrative work was impeded by the intensification of bandit activity and its spread into new territories. Because of insufficient strength, a number of district administrations had to be temporarily withdrawn. In the territories of the general district threatened by the bandits, to which all the regions with the exception of parts of mid and southern Podillia now belong, we can no longer speak of an orderly administration of the country because large areas, especially in Polissia and northern Volyn, are under the constant, or in any case predominant control of the bandits, and the firm sphere of influence of the Gebietskommissars is limited to half or a third or less of the areas which are under their control. . . Temporary stop-gap measures are no longer effective. There is great danger that the dissolution of the entire administrative apparatus of the civilian administration will continue if the base system which we constantly propose is not set up immediately using the proportionally weak forces.

(. . .)

Up to the middle of March, the situation in the general district of Volyn and Podillia continued to deteriorate in spite of the stabilisation of the Eastern front. The activity of the bandits is spreading more and more from Volyn to Podillia. The areas are being systematically harassed by acts of sabotage, surprise attacks, arson and pillage. The Ukrainian resistance movement has markedly intensified its activity in almost the entire region. It is gaining

strength in the areas around Proskuriv, Latyshiv and Yarmolyntsi, which have been peaceful up till now.

. . . In the western part of the general district, the areas of Horokhiv, Volodymyr Volynskyi, Dubno and Kremianets were intensively harassed by bandit activity. One aspect which should not to be underestimated and which has undermined the situation in Volyn even further is the forced recruitment of Ukrainian manpower for the Reich. *Enemy propaganda compares it to deportation.* The mood of the population is still predominantly against us. . .

(. . .)

(BA R 94/17 p. 47)

№ 115

Berlin, May 7, 1943

Chief of the Security Police  
and the SD

Secret!

### *Report № 53 from the Occupied Eastern Regions*

(. . .)

*Activity of the Bandit Groups in the Sector of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD in Ukraine*

The activity of the national Ukrainian bandit groups in the northern part of the general district of Volyn-Podillia is continuing to increase.

The appearance of the Soviet bandit groups in this area has greatly decreased; the majority of the surprise attacks, particularly on state property, sawmills and Polish areas, are attributed to the national Ukrainians.

During a raid by a unit of the Wehrmacht, in conjunction with the German youths from the Werkdienst-Ukraine, a stronger national bandit group launched a surprise attack. Two German youths, who fell into the hands of the bandits, one of them wounded, were sent back with the help of the bandit leader. The wounded boy was duly treated by a doctor. Below is a translation of a letter from the bandit leader given to both of the boys.

*"To Herr Gebietskommissar in Tsuman!*

The partisans from the burnt-down villages hereby announce that you may stop work at Berezhany. The Poles ask you not to burn down their villages. Take note that you pay with your blood no matter how many Gestapo you bring. Do not think that the partisans are dogs like your Gestapo and kommissars.

As proof we are returning your people to you and noting that: 'We will pursue you every step of the way no matter how much trouble you go to'.

Your Tsuman, you and your Poles will be blown up. Do not rejoice that you have occupied Ukraine. Burn Ukraine, bleed the population to death and threaten us with your panzers. Our breasts are stronger than your panzers, our pride much greater than that of your Gestapo. We know that you have come to destroy Ukraine and to kill the Ukrainians. For that reason you pay with your blood!

Savchuk”.

(. . .)

(BA R 58/224 p. 154RS-155)

№ 116

Zhytomyr, May 17, 1943

The Generalkommissar  
EI Ib 789/43

### *Notes to the Enclosed Map*

#### *1. Delivery completely lost*

From 678,758 hectares	= 32% of arable land
— 56,877 tons of grain	= 17% of the plan
— 571 tons of vegetables	= 1% of the plan

Delivery of the following percentages of the total livestock is not possible:

209,667 cattle	= 33% of the entire stock
52,903 swine	= 28% of the entire stock
111,465 sheep	= 52% of the entire stock

From the total dairy quota:

62,106,000 litres	= 26% for delivery
-------------------	--------------------

From the total egg quota:

16,927,000 eggs	= 18% for delivery
-----------------	--------------------

#### *2. Delivery was only possible sporadically and under heavy military protection*

From 309,540 hectares	= 11% of arable land
— 42,165 tons of grain	= 12% of the plan
— 1,478 tons of vegetables	= 3% of the plan

Of the following percentages of the total livestock:

97,981 cattle	= 16% of the entire stock
35,354 swine	= 16% of the entire stock
15,400 sheep	= 7% of the entire stock

From the total dairy quota:

33,709,000 litres	= 14%
-------------------	-------

From the total egg quota:

10,094,000 eggs	= 11%
-----------------	-------

*3. Delivery was endangered by local surprise attacks*

From 448,000 hectares	= 17% of arable land
— 77,000 tons of grain	= 20% of the plan
— 13,450 tons of vegetables	= 26% of the plan

Of the following percentages of the total livestock:

92,000 cattle	= 15% of the entire stock
32,200 swine	= 15% of the entire stock
27,900 sheep	= 13% of the entire stock

From the total dairy quota:

39,426,000 litres	= 18%
-------------------	-------

From the total egg quota:

19,717,000 eggs	= 20%
-----------------	-------

Therefore, only the following remain for regular cultivation, production and delivery:

993,036 hectares	= 40% of arable land
179,058 tons of grain	= 51% of the plan
33,923 tons of vegetables	= 70% of the plan

From the total livestock:

232,813 cattle	= 36% of the entire stock
79,622 swine	= 41% of the entire stock
61,282 sheep	= 28% of the entire stock

From the total dairy quota:

101,030,000 litres	= 42%
--------------------	-------

From the total egg quota:

47,612,000 eggs	= 51%
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signed: Königk

In agreement with the report  
(Signature) Director  
(BA-MA Rw 41/44)

*German Leaflet Directed Against the  
Ukrainian Nationalists*

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE, LISTEN!

*Moscow gives orders to the OUN!*

The secret orders and instructions which we have captured show that the Kremlin Jews are in league with the OUN, which claims to be fighting against Bolshevism.

Moscow's agents, who receive and carry out orders from blood-thirsty Stalin and his Jewish henchmen, are at the head of the OUN. In these secret orders, which will soon be made public, the OUN is described as a national Bolshevik fighting unit in disguise. Its task is to agitate the Ukrainian people against the German administration and to create chaos behind the front lines.

The OUN is a tool of Jewish Bolshevism. The hideouts and headquarters of these rebellious elements of the OUN are known to us. We know the leaders of these bandit groups. They are Moscow's hirelings.

*Ukrainian People!*

Do you want to be destroyed by these Bolsheviks and national conspirators in disguise? Do you want to become the cannon-fodder of your own enemy?

Do you want to be the cause of the destruction of the people of Volyn?

Jewish Bolshevism can see that it is coming to an end and is attempting once again to stall its collapse with your great help and your blood.

Do you want to become the hangman? Do you want your women, children, youth and the elderly to fall victim to these brutal people?

Remember the suffering and torture that your nation had to endure for more than 20 years. Remember the murdered fathers and sons! Remember the millions of citizens, who were deported to the Siberian steppes! Remember the dishonoured and murdered priests! Remember the desecrated church property and cultural treasures! The OUN can never represent the national interests of the Ukrainian people!

The OUN and Bolshevism are one and the same — that is why both must be destroyed!

*The German Administration*

(VIII. p. 101)

*Soviet Leaflet Directed Against the Ukrainian Nationalists*

June 25, 1943

*To all Nationalists. . .*

The leaders of the Ukrainian nationalists, who have proclaimed their fight to be a struggle for an "independent united Ukraine", are deceiving the masses in the regions of Ukraine occupied by the German invaders and urging the Ukrainians to join their bandit detachments. These leaders — the Rubans, Melnyks and Bulbas — are inciting the Ukrainians against the Red Army with their dissembling agitation and spreading rumours that the Red Army is supposedly fighting not so much against the Germans, as against the so-called "Liberation Movement of the Ukrainian Nation". This is a lie! . . .

The Red Army is the army of the workers. It fights for the freedom and independence of freedom-loving peoples and to purge our country of the fascist conquerors, slave-holders and bandits. Therefore, the slanderous accusations of the nationalists against the Red Army and the Bolsheviks, that the Red Army and the Bolsheviks pursued imperialist aims and the conquest of new countries and territories and the subjugation of peoples, is even more absurd. . .

. . . Bandera arrived in Ukraine in a German panzer. The Ukrainians remember well that, not long ago, Bandera and his retinue paid a "solemn visit" to the Germans in a special train. Here is striking evidence of the complicity between Bandera and the Germans: in the village of Ozertsy and in many other villages in the Rivne area, crosses were erected and the inscription "In memory of the liberation of Ukraine" was carved on them instead of a prayer. At the foot of these inscriptions was the signature: "Hitler, S. Bandera". . .

. . . For 25 years, Ukrainians have been the true masters of their country, their enterprises, their mineral wealth and their life. No one forced a foreign will or foreign interests upon them. They lived free and well and grew rich on the surplus of their prosperity. To live a free life, free from the yoke of big landowners and farmers, without capitalists, with the freedom to determine its own way of life, the right to employment, education and recreation — this is the essence and significance of the autonomy and independence of the Ukrainian nation and of any other nation. . .

(. . .)

(VII, p. 121-124)



# *Ukrainians in the Forests!*

*The German Reich is speaking to you in the name of Europe  
and its Great and Ancient Culture!*

. . . Recently, during the night, the Red vagrants circulated an appeal from Marshal Vasilevskiy, Chief of Staff of the Soviet Army, which states that in the name of the mass murderer of Vynnytsia and Katyn, red comrade Stalin, the Ukrainian bandit leader, Bandera, will be solemnly appointed senior Bolshevik of Soviet Ukraine if he continues to fight with his bandits in the forests and marshes against Europe.

We wish only good luck to Bandera and his company in the forests and marshes of Volyn! When the time is right, when Europe is victorious, he will be punished together with his saboteurs and the communist bandits.

The great German Reich and Europe, which are proudly fighting for their time-honoured culture, will trouble themselves no longer over a few worthless souls.

Vasilevskiy, Marshal of the Red Army, speaks clearly in his appeal, and even the most ignorant among you should be able to understand that Asia has joined the struggle to destroy Europe. This means that the steppe, uncouth and barbaric Central Asia, has joined the battle to destroy the blossoming gardens, churches, cathedrals and thousand-year-old monuments of Europe's ancient culture.

(. . .)

The colossal battle of the Great, the Good and the Holy against the barbarism and devilry of Bolshevism and the Jewish people, allied to it throughout the whole world, demands sacrifices. Yes, even very great sacrifices. . .

*The policies of Bandera and co. are sheer madness in comparison with the tasks and sacrifices of this great era.*

(. . .)

So, come out of the forests and marshes! All your former activities will be pardoned if you report to the German police authorities with the enclosed pass and your weapon.

Von dem Bach  
SS-Obergruppenführer and General of the Police

(VIII, p. 102 f.)

*Resolutions of the Extraordinary Assembly of the OUN*

August 25, 1943

(. . .)

The past two years were marked by tremendous sacrifices. Dmytro Myron (Andriy), Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, Mykola Lemyk, Serhiy Sherstiuk, Shchepanskyi, as well as hundreds and thousands of other political fighters, fell in the unequal struggle and bore witness with their blood to the indestructible will of the nation to be free in its own homeland.

The mass arrests and executions near Zviahel, in Kyiv, in Yaholnytsia near Chortkiv, in Rivne and Lviv, the executions by firing squad in Kryvyi Rih, Kremenchuk, Zhytomyr, Dshankoy and other cities, covered Ukraine with fresh graves of brothers, which, together with the graves of the Cossacks, will bear eternal witness to the unbroken heroism of a great nation.

During these difficult years, the OUN not only defended the moral position of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian national revolution, but also created the practical conditions to take the offensive and to achieve final victory. . .

There were two axes around which the defence of the nation against the terror of the occupying force revolved: the deportations to Germany for forced labour and the pillage of food supplies. . .

. . . The greatest successes were achieved in the north-western regions of Volyn and Polissia where the deportation of manpower was prevented from the very beginning — from the spring of 1942. The peasants in these regions also refused to let themselves be robbed of their food supplies. . .

The spring of 1943 brought a marked stability to the OUN's political campaign. German attempts to recruit people for "slavery" encountered mass resistance in Volyn, Polissia and Galicia, as well as in the central and eastern regions. The cities of Chyhyryn, Kryvyi Rih and Novomoskovsk stood at the forefront of the united and total resistance. Similar is true of the pillage of food supplies by the Germans.

(. . .)

In a short period of time, the movement of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) spread from the regions of Brest, Pinsk, Volyn and Rivne into the regions of Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vynnytsia, Zhytomyr and Kyiv. During the first days of July 1943, the armed units of the Ukrainian National Self-Defence (UNS) appeared in Galicia.

(. . .)

(VI, p. 92-95, 97-98)

Headquarters, 6.1.44

Army High Command  
 Army General Staff  
 Abt.Fremde Heere Ost (IIIa)  
 Az 6b Kgf.-Nr. 1018

### *Interrogation of Major Kirpa*

(. . .)

#### *Nationalists*

The Ukrainian nationalists base their propaganda on the statement that German socialism is identical to Soviet socialism. Therefore, the only way to salvation is to rise up in a struggle for an independent Ukraine. They are appealing to all honest Ukrainians to join the ranks of the "Free Cossack Regiment", which was set up in the Chornyi Lis 75 km. NW of Kryvyi Rih and Kyiv. They are promising outside help, but do not specify from whom. Part of the intelligentsia and wealthy farmers are complying with the appeal. The majority, however, are defecting to the Reds in view of the approaching front.

(. . .)

(BA-MA RW 5/v. 464 p. 84)

### *Soviet Government Appeal to the Ukrainians*

Kyiv, January 12, 1944

Dear comrades, workers, farmers and intellectuals! Your enemy is not only the German robbers. Your enemy is also the gang of German-Ukrainian nationalists. Having sold themselves to Hitler, all these Banderas, Melnyks and Bulbas are helping to subjugate our people, our Ukraine. Their hands are stained with the blood of our children, mothers and sisters. The Ukrainian-German nationalists, these national traitors and vassals of Hitler, are helping the Germans plunder the Ukrainian nation. These traitors pretend to be fighting against the Germans. They know how fiercely and uncompromisingly our people hate the German oppressors. After conspiring with Hitler, they are playing up to the people and claiming that they are also fighting against the Nazis. They are setting up armed groups of fake partisans and attracting the people with false allegations that these units are to fight

against the Germans. Do not believe them! Ask them what they have contributed towards the general cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian people from Hitler's yoke. Have they killed at least one German? Have they mowed down at least one German detachment? Do not believe them! They have recruited into their military groups people who had the honest intention of fighting the fierce enemy of the people — Hitlerism. In this way, the Ukrainian-German nationalists wanted to weaken our people in their struggle to divide our forces and set brother against brother. Do not be deceived! Destroy these imposters, these agents of the German conquerors! . . .

The Ukrainian-German nationalists are really Hitler's accomplices. They want to break the blood-brotherhood between the Ukrainian and Russian people, to tear Soviet Ukraine away from the family of Soviet nations and to throw Ukraine down Hitler's throat. And this is what they call creating "independence" for Ukraine. As agents of Hitlerism, the Ukrainian nationalists want to turn Ukraine into a colony of German imperialism and the Ukrainian people into slaves of the German barons and lords.

Ukrainians, with the brotherly aid of the great Russian nation, in a united front of all the nations of the Soviet Union — forward to victory! (. . .)

Chairman of the Presidium of the  
Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR  
*M. Hrechukha*

President of the Council of  
People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR  
*L. Korniyets*

Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine  
*N. Khrushchev*

(IX, p. 174 f.)

Headquarters, 9.2.1944

Army High Command  
General Headquarters of the Army  
Fremde Heere Ost (1/Bd)  
Nr. 421/44 g. Kdos

*The Resistance Movement in the Former Polish Regions*

(. . .)

*2. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement*

The national Ukrainian resistance movement (Bandera) is also spreading to the parts of Galicia inhabited by Ukrainians. The military organisation is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Total strength in Galicia and Ukraine is said to be 80,000 men. The principal enemy in Galicia, besides the German administration, are the Poles. In the event of a German retreat from Galicia, the UPA is preparing to ruthlessly eliminate the Poles and to assume power on its own.

(. . .)

(BA-MA RH 2/v. 2048)

*Supplement*

to Situation Report East № 1106 from 26.6.44.

*Enemy Situation (Bandit Groups) № 469*

(. . .)

*2) Army Group North-Ukraine and the District Wehrmacht  
Command, General Government:*

(. . .)

During an operation against an UPA gang north of Mykolayiv, 29 bandits were killed, 250 were taken prisoner, 2 cannons, ammunition, a radio set, 5 trucks, as well as wagons and horses, were seized. The rest of the bandits retreated to the north-east. Approximately 300 bandits in German and Russian uniforms moved westwards from south-east of Kaminka Strumilova.

(. . .)

(BA-MA RH 2/v. 1944 p. 146)

№ 125

*Supplement*

to Situation Report East № 1121 from 11.7.44.

*Enemy Situation (Bandit Groups) № 484*

(. . .)

*2) Army Group North-Ukraine and the District Wehrmacht  
Command, General Government:*

(. . .) Approximately 100-200 national Ukrainian (UPA) bandits attacked a search team of Sipo and the SD near a village 10 km SSW of Hrubyshiv. Several bandits were killed. According to information from agents, a bandit unit, said to be 12,000 men strong, has deployed in the Krasnystav-Kholm region . . .

(. . .)

(BA-MA RH 2/v. 1945 p. 63)

## Notes

1. Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).
2. Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, assassinated in June 1934 by a member of the OUN.
3. Ukrainian National Union.
4. Prior to Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, the leadership of the OUN-Bandera reached a decision to proclaim the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. It was agreed that Bandera would take full responsibility for the proclamation of independence.
5. The government was composed of the following persons: Yaroslav Stetsko (OUN) — Prime Minister; Prof. Dr. Marian Panchyshyn (no political affiliation) — Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Health; Dr. Oleksander Barvynskiy (no political affiliation) — Secretary of the Minister of Health; Dr. Lev Rebet (OUN) — Deputy Prime Minister; Gen. Vsevolod Petriv (Social Revolutionary Party) — Minister of Defence; Dr. Volodymyr Lysyi (Social Radical Party) — Minister of the Interior; Mykola Lebed (OUN) — Minister of State Security; Volodymyr Stakhiv (OUN) — Minister of External Affairs; Dr. Yulian Fedusevych (no political affiliation) — Minister of Justice; Yulian Pavlykovskiy (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) — Minister of the Economy; Evhen Khraplyvyi (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) — Minister of Agriculture; Ilyariy Olkhovyi (no political affiliation) — Minister of Finance; Andriy Piasetskyi (Front of National Unity) — Minister of Forestry; Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Radzykevych (no political affiliation) — Minister of Education and Culture; Oleksander Hay-Holovko (no political affiliation) — Minister of Information; Ivan Klymiv-Legenda (OUN) — Minister of Political Coordination; N. Moroz (no political affiliation) — Minister of Communications; Dr. Mykhailo Rosliak (Socialist Radical Party) — Director of Government Administration.
6. The phrase about war "shoulder to shoulder" with the Reich against the Soviet Union does not originate from Ukrainian circles in Lviv. Baum quoted it from a letter by Volodymyr Stakhiv, OUN representative in Berlin, to the Reich Ministry for Foreign Affairs, written on July 16, 1941.
7. Reference to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.
8. Colours of the Ukrainian national flag.
9. The OUN did not wish Nazi policy towards Ukraine to provide Germany's enemies with arguments for their anti-Ukrainian propaganda.
10. See Documents № 35, 38 and 39.
11. Reference to the mass arrests of OUN members on September 15, 1941, in Ukraine and the Reich.
12. This statement is entirely unfounded. Opponents of the OUN-Bandera made this assertion earlier. They maintained, for whatever reasons, that Yaryi had caused the split of the OUN.

13. Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) — an underground organisation which existed in Soviet Ukraine between 1926-1930.
14. Andriy Livytskyi was president of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and not a leader of the OUN.
15. Olena Teliha was arrested by the Gestapo on February 9, 1942, and executed shortly afterwards.
16. The full text of this and other extracts of "Reports from the Occupied Eastern Regions", Nos. 8, 10, 11, 14-18, 30 and 46 are published in *Litopys UPA* (Chronicle of the UPA), vol. 6, "The UPA in the Light of German Documents", Toronto 1983, Documents 3-6, 8-14.
17. This may be referring to a few former members of the Communist Party who changed their political views and joined the Ukrainian national movement.
18. Borovets was not a member of the OUN-Bandera. He led an independent partisan group, which was, at that time, conducting negotiations with the Russians and the Germans. In this German report both resistance movements — the OUN-Bandera and the partisan group led by Bulba-Borovets — as well as their viewpoints have been incorrectly identified.
19. Bandera was actually arrested on July 15, 1941, in Cracow and deported to Berlin. At the end of 1941, he was transferred from a prison in Berlin to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he remained until September 27, 1944.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA	Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP (Foreign Affairs Department of the NSDAP)
AOK	Armeeoberkommando (Army High Command)
EK	Einsatzkommando (Task Force Command)
GK	Generalkommando (General Command)
Ic AO	Abwehroffizier der Abt. Ic (Military Intelligence Officer, Department Ic)
La-Führer	Landwirtschaftsführer (Director of Agriculture)
NKVD	Narodnyi Komisariat Wnutrennykh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
OUN	Orhanizatsiya Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists)
RAM	Reichsaussenminister (Reich Foreign Affairs Minister)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Central Security Office)
Sipo, SP	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SVU	Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine)
UNR	Ukrainska Narodna Respublika (Ukrainian National Republic)
UPA	Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)
UVO	Ukrainska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya (Ukrainian Military Organisation)
VO OKW	Verbindungsoffizier des Oberkommandos des Wehrmacht (Liaison Officer of the Wehrmacht High Command)
W. BfH	Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber (Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht)

## APPENDIX 1

### UKRAINE'S LOSSES DURING WWII

It is generally accepted that the Second World War cost mankind 50 million casualties. Of these, 21.8 million were military and 28.2 million civilian casualties (see B. Urlanis, *Guerres et Populations*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 320-21). Ukraine lost approximately 2.5 million people on the front and suffered not less than 4.5 million civilian casualties — a total of 7 million. In other words, Ukraine lost 16.7% of its entire population (14% of the whole of mankind). Vsevolod Holubnychyi estimated the losses of the Ukrainian population to be 6 million (see "Statystyka Naselennya Ukrainy v 1940-1956" [Statistics of the Ukrainian Population in the Years 1940-1956], *Vpered*, No. 10, Munich, October 1956, pp. 2-3).

In addition to this, 2.2 million people were deported from Ukraine to Germany for work. If 2.8 million people were deported from all occupied territories of the USSR, then 78.6% of those deported were from Ukraine (see V. S. Koval, "Mizhnarodnyi Imperializm i Ukraina, 1941-1945" [International Imperialism and Ukraine, 1941-1945], Kyiv, 1966, p. 153).

The occupation of Kyiv lasted 778 days. In this time, the Germans killed 195,000 inhabitants of the city, and more than 100,000 were deported to Germany. Kyiv had a population of 900,000 in 1941 and 186,000 in 1945 (see *Radyanska Ukraina*, October 13, 1968).

It should also be mentioned that 28,000 villages and 714 towns of various sizes were destroyed, 10 million people were made homeless, 16,000 businesses, 33,000 schools and institutions of higher education, 18,000 hospitals and medical centres, and 20,000 libraries were destroyed or made unserviceable (see A. M. Belikov, *Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy Vitchyznyaniy Viyni Radyanskoho Soyuzu 1941-1945* [The Ukrainian SSR in the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union 1941-1945], Vol. 1, Kyiv, 1967, p. 155).

Material and economic destruction on all the occupied territories of the USSR has been estimated at the overall figure of 679 billion roubles. The individual material losses have been estimated as follows: Ukraine — 285 billion; Russia — 255 billion; Byelorussia — 75 billion; Lithuania — 2 billion; Latvia — 17 billion; Estonia — 16 billion (see T. Derevyankin, "Radyanska ekonomika na sluzhbi frontu" [The Soviet Economy in the Service of the Front], *Visti z Ukrainy* [News from Ukraine], December 5, 1974).

Thus, Ukraine suffered 42% of the total destruction sustained by the USSR. In the years 1943-1945, the Soviet government allocated 75 billion roubles for the restoration of territories, which had been destroyed. However, only 18.3 billion roubles were allocated to Ukraine from this sum, that is 24% of the overall sum (see Derevyankin, "Radyanska ekonomika...").

<i>Country</i>	<i>The number of losses in thousands</i>			<i>Losses as a percentage of the whole po- pulation</i>
	<i>military</i>	<i>civilian</i>	<i>total</i>	
Ukraine	2,500	4,500	7,000 <sup>1</sup>	16.7
Germany	4,500	2,000	6,500	9.0
Poland	123	4,877	5,000 <sup>2</sup>	19.6
Japan	2,000	350	2,350	3.4
Yugoslavia	300	1,400	1,700	10.6
France	350	250	600	1.5
Italy	400	100	500	1.1
Rumania	300	200	500	3.7
Greece	100	350	450	6.2
Hungary	136	294	430	4.6
Great Britain	290	60	350	0.7
Czechoslovakia	46	294	340	3.0
Austria	270	104	374	5.6
USA	300	—	300	0.2
Holland	12	198	210	2.4
Finland	84	16	100	2.7
Belgium	13	75	88	1.1
Canada	42	—	42	0.4
Bulgaria	25	10	35	0.3
Australia	35	—	35	0.5

<sup>1</sup>On the basis of later Soviet statistics, which state that Ukraine suffered 5.5 million civilian losses during the war, the author has estimated the overall losses incurred by Ukraine to be 8 million.

<sup>2</sup>The official figure for the losses incurred by the Polish population is 6,028,000 people. This figure, however, includes the losses suffered by the Jewish population of the western parts of Ukraine and Byelorussia. See Jan Szafranski, "Poland's Losses in World War II", in *War Losses in Poland, 1939-1945*, Warsaw, 1960, p. 44.

The comparative table on page 166, showing the losses of some of the countries which participated in the Second World War, indicates the huge number of losses in human lives suffered by Ukraine. In the case of Ukraine, the figures shown are those mentioned above. For the other territories and countries, the data is from B. Urlanis, *Guerres et Populations*, pp. 319-23.

The table does not include the whole of the Soviet Union because it is difficult to estimate the losses of the individual republics. The Soviet Union, excluding Ukraine, lost 9-13 million people, but the losses of each individual republic are unknown. Urlanis gives only the figures for the losses in civilian population and prisoners of war. The Byelorussian SSR lost 2,198,000 people in the above categories; the Russian SFSR — 1,781,000; the Lithuanian SSR — 666,000; the Latvian SSR — 644,000; the Estonian SSR — 125,000; and the Moldavian SSR — 64,000 (see Urlanis, *Guerres et Populations*, p. 316). If we accept that the Russian Federation lost 3-4 million people on the front, then its overall losses would probably amount to about 5-6 million. Therefore, they did not surpass the losses incurred by Ukraine.

The clash of the two imperialist powers in the East of Europe, which fought, to some degree, for possession of Ukraine's wealth, cost many human lives. In comparison with other countries, Ukraine suffered the highest losses in human lives and the greatest destruction.

## APPENDIX 2

TABLE SHOWING THE SCOPE OF GUERRILLA WARFARE  
IN UKRAINE AFTER WWII\*

July 1, 1946 — June 30, 1949

(A) Territorial Extent:

Regions (alphabetically arranged)	Periods			Total
	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	
Brest-Litovsk	1	2	—	3
Chernihiv	1	1	1	3
Chernivtsi	32	9	15	56
Drohobych	164	330	254	748
Kamianets-Podilskyi	7	5	4	16
Kyiv	1	—	2	3
Lviv	110	205	170	485
Rivne	87	61	41	189
Stanislaviv	219	318	353	890
Ternopil	191	181	206	578
Transcarpathia	16	2	1	19
Volyn	54	46	14	114
Zhytomyr	29	45	12	86
Total	912	1205	1073	3190

(B) Operations:

Defensive	464	694	531	1689
Offensive	136	118	82	336
Attempts	117	91	112	320
Sabotage	109	175	231	515
Against Kolhosps and MTS	10	51	70	131 <sup>1</sup>
Propaganda actions	76	76	47	199
Total	912	1205	1073	3190

(C) Casualties:

Russian: Killed	1012	1031	565	2608
Wounded	324	411	188	923
Captured	26	6	24	56 <sup>2</sup>
Total	1362	1448	777	3587
Ukrainian: Killed	303	407	255	965
Wounded	15	13	10	38
Captured	25	14	12	51 <sup>3</sup>
Total	343	434	277	1054

\* This table was prepared by L. Shankovskiy on the basis of material from the archive of the external representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

<sup>1</sup> Only those operations which resulted in the total destruction of a kolhosp (collective farm) or Machine-Tractor Station (MTS) are included here. Other operations against kolhosps are included in "Sabotage".

<sup>2</sup> These figures show only officers and soldiers of the Red Army or MVD-MGB troops. Civilians are not included.

<sup>3</sup> These figures are restricted to officers and soldiers of the UPA. Arrested and deported civilians are not included.

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## THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION

Documents 1934-1944

There are very few publications in the West dealing with the attitude of the government of the Third Reich towards the Ukrainian question. Apart from that, finding itself in the camp of the anti-Nazi coalition, the Soviet Russian government made every effort to falsify the true history of the struggle of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement against Nazism and the German occupation. The sole reason for this propaganda campaign was that the Ukrainian national-liberation movement was not only fighting against the Nazi German occupational forces in Ukraine, but was also waging war against the Stalinist dictatorship and Soviet Russian occupation.

The documents published in this collection exclusively relate the attitude of the Nazi German government towards the Ukrainian question in international relations. They shed light on Hitler's policy towards Ukraine and show the true position of the Ukrainian liberation movement towards Nazi Germany during the German occupation of Ukraine.

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