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13 January 1952

To: SR/WG/E 2, SR/DC/E 2, SR/SSS/E 2

From: SR/W 2

Subject: Stepan BANDERA and the ZChOUN (Foreign Section of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists).

Attached are the biography of BANDERA, some background materials on OUN and ZChOUN, and comments on subject and his group:

Attachment I - Accusations against BANDERA and W 2 Comments

Attachment II- Background of OUN/BANDERA and the entire OUN movement

Attachment III- Proclamation Act of the Renewal of the Ukrainian State - June 30, 1941

Attachment IV- Relationship between OUN/BANDERA and the UHVR (Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council)

Attachment V - Biography of BANDERA

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Attachments - 5

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
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I

1. There is little doubt that Stefan BANDERA is extreme rightist in his political outlook. "By nature he is a political intransigent of great personal ambition, who, using his party as a vehicle of ambition, has consistently and often openly, since April 1948, opposed all political organizations in the emigration which favor a representative form of government in the Ukraine as opposed to a mono-party, OUN/BANDERA regime". (TS/CIA 28062, MGMA-793).

2. The subject has been accused, tried and convicted of complicity in the murder of a Polish government official. There has been no proof that he was the man who actually did the killing but the fact remains that he had been involved in the plot. Also involved in the plot was Mikola LEBED (CASSOWARY 2), who is the foreign secretary of the UHVR, who was sent into the emigration, and who is part of the organization (ZPUHVR) with which the AIS has been dealing.

3. The OUN/BANDERA has been accused of acts of terror against Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians.

a. During the war years, at the time that BANDERA was incarcerated in a German concentration camp, there sprang up in the Ukraine a number of fighting units. Some of these units united under the banners of Taras BULBA-BOROVETS, OUN/MELNYK and OUN/BANDERA. Since it was apparent to all that there should be a unified command, all three commands tried to unite, but OUN/BANDERA, being possibly strongest in number, decided that it should lead all others. It was at this time that there was considerable fratricide committed. Rumor has it that the entire general staff of Taras BULBA-BOROVETS was liquidated by OUN/BANDERA, as well as a number of those who backed Colonel Andrew MELNYK - among the latter two OUN/MELNYK leaders, STSIBORSKY and SENYK-HRYBIVSKY. Although we have little to document this, the rumor is so persistent in its recurrence that unquestionably there is some truth to it. It must be noted however, that BANDERA himself could not have possibly been implicated since, at that time, he was imprisoned by the Germans.

*rather on 4/2/50?*

b. In the emigration, the OUN/BANDERA SB (Security Service) has been accused of terrorism. Again, there is little doubt as to this but so far the Americans have not been able to get enough evidence for court trial of any of the SB, outside of the Gulai case. The General Gulai case is a very recent one about which there has been a great amount of cable traffic. At this time it is difficult to say whether the OUN/BANDERA SB was responsible for this. From the evidence which has been presented it would appear that the attack on General Gulai originated spontaneously during a drinking party of three fanatic members of the OUN/B.

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*fact* | c. There is little doubt that the SB has perpetrated a number of crimes against suspected Soviet agents, political opponents and innocent DP's who might have refused to cooperate with OUN/BANDERA. Whether BANDERA can be blamed for this directly is questionable but if we proceed on the basis that a leader is responsible for those under him, then BANDERA is guilty.

d. With the exception of the General GULAI case, it is difficult to document many of the accusations.

e. Many of the blistering accusations against OUN/B have been supplied by one, Peter YABLON, who also supplied arguments used by Fred Forrest in "The New Leader" (10 Sept. 51) against ABN, and some "facts" for Mr. Dallin in his vituperative attacks, not only against the OUN/B but, by implication, against the Ukrainian liberation movement as such. YABLON stated that George F. Kennan "invited" him to write an article for "Foreign Affairs". (DCE 3202)

*fact* | YABLON claims that at one time he had been in the OUN/B SB. Previously he may have been engaged in espionage and smuggling in Canada, the U.S.A. and South America for the Soviet espionage system. (DFB-7773)

4. Politically, as evidenced by its editorials, OUN/B stands as follows:

a. First and foremost there must be an independent Ukrainian state. Even though communism is overthrown there is no guarantee that there will be a Ukrainian state if the integrity of the Russian empire is maintained. Anyone who even remotely seems to back an undivided Russia is subject to attack. Because the U.S. has not voiced a policy friendly toward the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, it too has been attacked on a number of occasions. This stand however, is not peculiar to OUN/B but is one which has been accepted by all the significant parties in the Ukrainian emigration, as is evidenced by their editorials on the VQA and SONR. As a matter of fact, it might be pointed out that on the latter the most vociferous comments have come from the URDP, (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party).

b. OUN/B feels that the Ukrainian people as a mass have not matured politically to a point where they could enjoy a democracy. For this reason, BANDERA feels, as does apparently the entire party, that only they should have any say in the government, e.g. a future Ukraine - if there is one - should be run exclusively by OUN/B.

c. Any group or individual who does not agree with the policies of OUN/B is subject to editorial attack (and sometimes even to physical attack.)

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II

The following pertinent information was taken from SCDB-38095:

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3... The OUN/Bandera is an emigre organization of anti-communist, anti-Russian, Ukrainian nationalists who strongly favor the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. Most of the members of the group are Galician Ukrainians who were Polish subjects from 1920 to 1939. Under Poland, Ukrainian nationalism became particularly strong primarily because the Poles treated the Ukrainians as an inferior race; the Poles brutally denied them cultural autonomy; their chances for professional advantages were severely curtailed, particularly in the Polish army and civil service; all manner of Ukrainians were arrested and beaten for opposing in any way the complete Polonization of this ethnically Ukrainian territory. The Poles erroneously believed that the Galician Ukrainians represented a disloyal Soviet fifth column in their midst. In actual fact, all of the Galician Ukrainians were in violent opposition to communism and wanted above all else to be part of a liberated, non-Russian Ukrainian state.

After 1928, persecution of the 40 million Ukrainians within the Soviet Union also began, much along the same lines as in Poland but more in earnest. Since the rebirth of Ukrainian nationalism in the early part of this century, the Russians have treated the Ukrainians as a disloyal group ready to use every opportunity to free itself from Russian domination. Polish and Russian anti-Ukrainian policies only served to strengthen the national consciousness of the Ukraine. Realizing that the aspiration for national independence was uppermost in the minds of a majority of Ukrainians, the Third Reich promised at the beginning of World War II that the Ukrainians would be freed from Soviet domination and would have their own state. This promise accounts for the welcome the Germans received initially when they arrived in Ukrainian territory. The German promise also accounts in part for the tremendous number of Ukrainian deserters from the Red Army during the early stages of the war.

The OUN, which had resembled a secret fraternity of revolutionaries from its birth in 1929 until June 1941, now came out in the open, seized the radio station in Lvov and announced the creation of a free Ukrainian state. The Germans who had promised

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independence for tactical reasons immediately arrested the perpetrators of the Lvov broadcast, namely Stefan BANDERA, Eugene STETSKO, Stefan LENKAVSKY, and several other OUN leaders who spent the next three years in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In simple terms, the Germans wanted from the Ukrainians only food and supplies for their armies and forced labor for their factories. The Germans used all means necessary to force the cooperation which the Ukrainians were unwilling to give. Thus by summer 1941 a battle raged on Ukrainian soil between two ruthless exploiters and persecutors of the Ukrainian people, the Third Reich and Soviet Russia. The OUN and the partisan army it created in late 1942, UPA, fought bitterly against both the Germans and the Soviet Russians. The OUN extended its activity even into the populous areas of the far eastern Ukraine where nationalism had been partially lulled to sleep by the First and Second World Wars.

At the end of the last war many members of the OUN came to Western Europe in order to avoid capture by the advancing Soviets. The OUN reformed in Western Europe with its headquarters in Munich. It first came to the attention of American authorities when the Russians demanded extradition of BANDERA and many other anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalists as war criminals. Luckily the attempt to locate these anti-Soviet Ukrainians was sabotaged by a few far-sighted Americans who warned the persons concerned to go into hiding. From 1945 to 1948 members of OUN and of UPA arrived from the Soviet Ukraine to Western Germany on foot. The messages they and returning German prisoners of war brought conclusively confirmed that the OUN and the UPA were continuing the fight against the Soviets, with the weapons and ammunition which the retreating German armies had left behind. Over 35,000 members of the Russian secret police (MVD-MGB) have been killed by OUN-UPA since the end of the last war. In other words the main activities of the OUN in the Ukraine cannot be considered detrimental to the United States.

The relationship of the OUN/Bandera in the emigration to the OUN in the homeland is debatable. The three principle leaders of OUN/Bandera have not been in the Ukraine since 1941. A decade of evolution in the Ukraine has rendered the ideology and principles of organization of these emigres ten years out of date. It is therefore quite understandable that most of the members of the OUN/Bandera in the emigration have been characterized as ultra-nationalists because they think as the Galician Ukrainians thought prior to 1939. Since the beginning of the Korean war the OUN/Bandera has published articles in its press which criticize the United States rather violently for what OUN/Bandera members deem to be a blind or non-existent policy toward the Ukrainian resistance movement. The OUN/Bandera reasons that the United States government should show some interest in an anti-Soviet nation of 40 million people within the Soviet Union which has carried out military opposition to the Soviet regime for the last ten years. If members of the OUN/Bandera feel any bitterness towards the United States it is usually only for the above reason...

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III

FREEDOM TO NATIONS

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS

## PROCLAMATION ACT OF THE RENEWAL OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan BANDERA, proclaims the renewal of the Ukrainian State, for which generations of best sons of Ukraine laid their heads. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which, under the leadership of its Creator and Leader Eugene KONOVALEC, waged in last decades of the bloody Muscovite-bolshevik enslavement - a stubborn struggle for liberation, calls the whole Ukrainian people not to lay down arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian Government is established on all Ukrainian lands. The Sovereign Ukrainian Government guarantees to the Ukrainian people order, universal development of all its forces, and a satisfaction to all the needs of the people.

2. In the western lands of the Ukraine a Ukrainian Administration is being established which will subordinate itself to the Ukrainian National Government which will be established in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. The Ukrainian National-Revolutionary Army, which is being formed in Ukrainian territories, will continue fighting the Muscovite occupants for the Sovereign United State and for a new and just order all over the world.

Long live the Sovereign United Ukrainian State.  
 Long Live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.  
 Long live the Leader of OUN, Stepan BANDERA.  
 Glory to the Ukraine  
 Glory to the Heroes.

City of Lviv, June 30, 1941. 8 PM  
 The Chairman of the National Assembly  
 Yaroslav Stetsko/m.p./

W 2 COMMENT: This is a literal translation of the proclamation issued by STETSKO on the date and at the place issued above. Because of this proclamation, both STETSKO and BANDERA were imprisoned by the Germans.

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IV

The following, which is part of SCDB-41225, may serve to clarify the relations between OUN/BANDERA - UHVR (Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council):

The widely-publicized feud between the representatives of the OUN and the UHVR abroad started in 1947 and reached a climax during the second half of 1948 when the representatives of the UHVR were summarily expelled from the Bandera emigre OUN group, which relegated to itself exclusive authority not only to act as the major voice of the Ukrainian resistance movement but also to direct the movement in the homeland along ideological and military lines dictated by Stefan BANDERA. Partisan couriers who arrived from the Western Ukrainian headquarters of General Taras CHUPRINKA in late 1948 revealed that the homeland leadership had no indication that a serious split, beneficial only to the Bolsheviks, had taken place in the emigration. Interrogation of these and other members of the underground who arrived in Western Europe at a later date in general confirmed the contention that the thinking of Stefan BANDERA and his immediate emigre supporters in the emigration had become radically outmoded in the Ukraine. Since BANDERA had not been in the Ukrainian SSR proper since the early 1930s and not even in Galicia since his arrest by the Germans in mid-1941, he was unable to participate in the evolution of the movement on home soil after 1941. During the period 1933 to mid-1941, when BANDERA was the supreme leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement based in Southeastern Poland, leading Galician nationalists of the period considered it proper that the Greek Catholic (Uniat) Church should become the official state religion of an independent Ukraine. Since neither the Uniat Church nor any Christian morality has universal acceptance in the Soviet Ukraine, the leaders in the Ukraine rapidly decided, after 1945, that sponsorship of any particular religion would handicap rather than facilitate the growth of the movement among eastern Ukrainians. BANDERA's thinking on this point has not been as advanced as that of the homeland leadership. Until 1941 a totalitarian, one-party government was advocated by the Ukrainian underground, which at that time still admired the example set by the Germans. The movement was also anti-Semitic and favored the deportation of several racial minorities, including the Poles and Russians, from Ukrainian soil. Both of these attitudes were abandoned during the Second World War, although BANDERA and several of his emigre followers have frankly disapproved of such changes in ideology. BANDERA and other emigre Ukrainian nationalists who still favor the pre-1943 tenets of the movement are at odds with the evolution in their homeland on yet two other important ideological issues. When BANDERA led the

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movement in Southeastern Poland only ardently idealistic Ukrainian patriots were accepted into the movement. Materialists or persons with Marxist leanings were considered undesirable. During the Second World War this tenet was discarded as extremely unworkable in the Eastern Ukraine. BANDERA still believes in the correctness of the pre-1943 position on this point. BANDERA has also adhered to the doctrine that the movement should combat by all available means every Soviet-Russian innovation or institution in the Ukraine. In 1950 the homeland leaders pointed out that, among other things, kindergartens, sanatoriums, and schools were Soviet-Russian innovations and that it would be ridiculous for the movement to combat what the population found desirable.

It is clear from this and other original documents from the Ukraine that the attempts of BANDERA to direct the movement from abroad have irritated the leaders in the homeland. It is also reasonably clear that the members of the ZPUNVR who were sent west in August 1944 as ambassadors of the movement were still considered in July 1950 to be just that.

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Stephan BANDERA was born in 1909 in the town of Trestianec, near Stryj. His father was a Greek Catholic priest. He attended elementary school in Sokal and high school in Stryj. While still in high school he became a member of UVO, a veterans' organization of Ukrainian nationalists from the First World War. In 1928 or 1929 he graduated from high school and went on to the Polytechnic in Lvov where he studied agriculture. In 1929 he did not attend the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in Vienna which brought about the consolidation of UVO and three other minor nationalist groups. OUN was born at this Congress. By late 1932 or early 1933 BANDERA had become head of the homeland executive committee of the OUN. KONOVALETS was the overall Chief of OUN at this time, although he was in the emigration. This was the period in Eastern Poland (1929-1934) when the younger generation of Ukrainian students took over most of the prominent positions in the homeland OUN. In June 1934, one day after the assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior, Pieracki, BANDERA was arrested. He was first sentenced to death and then the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. His trial took place in 1935 after which he was committed to the Holy Cross jail where he remained until 1939. It is alleged that his sentence was commuted to avoid an uprising of Ukrainian nationalists in Eastern Poland and the Ukraine. BANDERA's closest collaborators during this period were Yaroslav STETSKO, Mykola LESIB, Mikhaile YANIV, and Yaroslav SPOLSKY. The circumstances surrounding BANDERA's escape or release from Polish prison in 1939 are not clearly known. Once free, BANDERA resumed his leadership of OUN in the homeland. Officially, Col. Andrei MELNYK had succeeded to the title held by KONOVALETS until the latter's assassination. MELNYK, however, was in the emigration and BANDERA in Cracow. BANDERA was offered a position in MELNYK's emigre Provid of the OUN (PUN). This offer BANDERA turned down since it would have placed him in a position subordinate to MELNYK. In early summer 1940 the OUN split and BANDERA became the overall chief of the greater part of the organization. During 1940 OUN organized these western regions occupied by the Germans and sent couriers and organizers into the Eastern Ukraine. When the Germans attacked Russia, many members of the OUN followed the Germans' advance eastward. BANDERA remained in Cracow. The Gestapo invited BANDERA for a conference which apparently was a ruse to arrest him. At any rate, BANDERA was taken to Berlin and placed under house arrest there. He was shortly transferred to the Prinz Albrechtstrasse Gestapo jail reserved for important political prisoners. (Volodymyr STACHIV, now a member of the ZP UWVR, was also in this jail at the same time as BANDERA). In 1942 BANDERA was transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In 1944 he was brought to Berlin where the Germans attempted to negotiate with him. BANDERA was however adamant and the negotiations came to

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nothing. Allegedly he based his refusal to collaborate with the Germans on the fact that the Germans had dissolved the independent Ukrainian government proclaimed at Lvov in June 1941. Partly through the intervention of LEBED and HRYNIOGH, BANDERA escaped from the Germans and disappeared. At the end of the war he was in the Austrian Tyrol. In the summer of 1945 he came to Southern Bavaria where he has more or less been to this time.

In 1939 BANDERA married. His family is with him in Germany. He is said to have three or possibly by now four children.

Former friends of BANDERA characterize him as follows: self-important, clever, fond of jokes, socially very cordial, unintelligent, mediocre as an orator, and preoccupied with problems of power politics in the emigration.

A breakdown of BANDERA's official titles would run something as follows:

1932-39 Chief of the homeland executive of OUN  
1939-August 1943 - Providnik (leader) of OUN and chairman of the Provid.  
1943-45 unofficially Providnik  
1945-51 Providnik of the foreign elements of OUN (ZCh)

It will be noted that BANDERA has never held any official title or membership in UPA or the UHVR. His claim to membership in the "Council of Three" (Biuro Providu) has been refuted by the homeland on the grounds that the Biuro Providu ceased to exist in 1946, after the death of two of its original members (MAIVSKI and VOLOSHIN). It should also be noted that the title Providnik OUN officially went out of existence in 1943, when it was decided that all policy matters concerning the party would henceforth be decided by a council of equals (the Provid) instead of by a single leader. The evolution of the Ukrainian underground in the last five years in the direction of decentralization of executive power has not been fully accepted by BANDERA who has shown unmistakable evidence that he desires to return to the status-quo of 1941 when he held the unchallenged position of "Führer".

This information has been culled from: Biog. W 2; LTS-767; TS/PSRO-656; MGH-391; 100-0-12-89y3 ICS; QA-1059; TS/CIA 28062, and NKMA-793.

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