

Carlisle Army coat

started his fight against
both Russia and Poland
in 1922, and was captured
in 1934. He was imprisoned
in a warden jail until
the Nazis freed him in
1939. He fought for them
against Russia, then
with Russian guerrillas
against the Germans after he
learned that the Germans
were using him as a tool.
Since 1945 his main enemy has
been Russia again. He describes
himself as "soldier politician".
Reportedly residing in village
near Lublin.

E. N. - 3140

19 June 1951

2. The...
on coat...

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 25X2 -
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

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1950 or 1951

DANDERA, Stefan

Heads radical faction of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization (OUN); in command of units of the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA). At secret press interviews held ~~in~~ ^{in 1950} in Bavaria, stated his willingness to fight ^{in future conflict} alongside Western POWs in exchange of support for his movement and promise of independence for the Ukraine.

Political Orientation: Nationalist

Publications:

Location: Reportedly in hiding in a village near Innsbruck, American Zone of Germany. ^{and Austria}

Circumstances of Arrest: Admitted to Germany in 1939 to organize Ukrainian nationalist movement; later arrested and interned in all-Asian, East Prussia.

Present Circumstances: Undetermined

Personal Data: Born c. 1903. Allegedly son of a Greek Catholic priest who was exiled by Soviets to Archangel region in 1941. Two of his sisters are stated to have been deported to Siberia; one sister remained in region (Chernyov - Starnilaw - Tarnopol area). Married; three children

Language:

Comments:

Active in anti-Soviet and anti-Polish terrorist organizations since 1922. Arrested ^{East Germany} in 1934 for complicity in the assassination of General Bronislaw Pieracki, Minister of the Interior, ^{Polish} sentenced to death ⁽¹⁹³⁴⁾ with two other defendants. His sentence was commuted ^{later} to life imprisonment under a general amnesty. Freed ~~in 1934~~ by the Wehrmacht in 1939.

foresat or radical?
has been called both

NOTES FROM THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS
(for office use only)

AW-493

Ukrainian

April 21, 1954

BANDERA'S NATIONALIST GROUP SPLITS OVER HIS REFUSAL TO SUBMIT
TO ALLEGED DIRECTIVES FROM "HOMELAND"

The controversy between Stepan Bandera, head of the "Leadership" of the Foreign Section of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement (OUN), and the two-man "Collegium of Plenipotentiaries," Dr. Lev Rebet and Zynoviy Matla--who last February 12th, by exercising authority allegedly granted by the OUN underground in the Ukraine, declared that they were disbanding the Foreign Section's Leadership and releasing its adherents from allegiance to it--brought about a split in that organization. After the German court recognized the licensee Modest Ripecky, a Rebet-Matla man, as the owner of the Munich OUN organ, Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk, the pro-Bandera "Leadership" had to start its own publication, Shlyakh Peremohy (The Way to Victory). The formation of new Foreign Section's organs by the Rebet-Matla "Collegium" to replace those controlled by Bandera created a similar duplication in the organization's apparatus. Finally, the exiled OUN units in various countries and their papers began to choose sides in the quarrel, thus carrying the split into the membership.

As reflected in the press, the momentary situation in the OUN crisis leaves the impression that the anti-Bandera coup d'etat--the source of which is seen in the rival Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR)--found considerable support among OUN elements in Munich, including some of Bandera's close

associates. However, outside of Germany the OUN units seem to have been unpleasantly surprised by these events and are mostly rallying behind the Bandera leadership against a threat of a possible chaos. Thus, the Paris pro-Melnyk Ukrainske Slovo of April 4th appraises the situation as follows:

"Today the Bandera camp is absolutely on an offensive. It is hard to decide today which side is stronger, but it seems that more of the rank-and-file cadres remained with Bandera. At present, it is difficult to predict how it will be tomorrow."

Bandera's Disobedience to the "Law of the Homeland" Condemned

The March 7th Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk carries several statements issued by Rebet and Matla as the two-man "Collegium" informing the OUN membership in exile how Stepan Bandera "disobeyed" the orders of the "homeland" and attempted "to create a diversion within the OUN ranks." The series of documents begins with a "decision of the OUN Leadership in the Ukraine" of last Summer, by which a committee of three, including Rebet, Matla and Bandera, was instructed to carry out a "reorganization" of the OUN Foreign Section in accordance with the directives of the "Leadership" at home. It reveals how Bandera, after prolonged negotiations, consented last December to participate in the work of the committee and helped to formulate its program, only to leave it shortly afterwards. This fact, it is said, forced the other two members to proclaim themselves as a two-man "Collegium of Plenipotentiaries" in order to carry out the homeland's instructions without Bandera. The last of the documents, signed by Y. Lemish, alleged to be the "Head of the OUN Leadership in the Ukrainian Lands," declares that Bandera "is not the OUN Leader either formally or actually," and urges him to "discontinue his disruptive actions."

(X)

An editorial comment, headlined "Obedience to the Law," stresses these noteworthy points:

(1) that Bandera ceased to be the Head of the OUN in 1943, when he resigned from that office, and that later on, in June, 1953, the Fourth Conference of the OUN Foreign Section took the stand that the OUN Leadership existed in the Ukraine;

(2) that, accordingly, the OUN Leadership in the homeland has "complete authority" to decide all matters pertaining to the OUN Foreign Section, whose Leadership is obligated to carry out the homeland's decisions without reservation;

(3) that for a long time there was a state of conflict between "a part of the Foreign Section's Leadership" and "the so-called internal opposition," and that this situation caused the Leadership in the Ukraine to order a reorganization of the Foreign Section by a three-member committee;

(4) that, after a short period of cooperation with the other two members of the committee, Bandera and "a part of the Foreign Section's Leadership" began to insist upon their "autonomy" and to proceed with a reorganization on their own by removing members of the Leadership and by making other changes independently of the committee of three;

(5) that this behavior of Bandera forced the two other members of the committee to take upon themselves the continuation of the reorganization work as a two-man "collegium" with the understanding that Bandera would be free to return whenever he chose to do so.

Commenting on Lemish's statement which denies that Bandera is the OUN Leader and condemns his disruptive actions, the weekly

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observes:

"The above document of the OUN Leadership in the Homeland reveals that for a long time the homeland took critical attitude toward what was being done by Bandera in exile. There were many attempts to correct this. Even an internal opposition movement emerged from these circumstances and made efforts to influence from within Bandera's policy, backed faithfully and stimulated by Yaroslav Stetsko... Various methods were used: long debates were conducted, during which Bandera's old-time friends and political co-workers sought to change his mind. Nevertheless, Bandera held to his position. He stubbornly continued to proceed along his course disregarding the opinions of homeland and of the leading OUN members in exile."

Cooperation with UHVR Established

Ukrainskvi Samostiynyk of March 14th carries a communique of the Rebet-Matla "Collegium" announcing the appointment of a new Political Council of the OUN Foreign Section. The list of its members includes such well-known Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) leaders as Rev. Ivan Hryniokh and Vladimir Stachiw, together with some Bandera opponents from the OUN outfit. Another communique of the same issue, signed by UHVR representatives and the two-member "Collegium," as well as the representatives of the new OUN Foreign Section's organs, discloses that the UHVR Foreign Representation and the OUN Foreign Section entered into an agreement of cooperation. The communique quotes the text of a message from the OUN organs addressed to Mykola Lebed, the UHVR's foreign secretary, in which the authority of the UHVR Foreign Representation is recognized in all matters in which it was denied till now by the Bandera-led OUN organs. These are:

"(1) to represent abroad the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Ukrainian Liberation Underground and the entire liberation movement in the Ukraine;

"(2) to conduct political-diplomatic and propaganda actions abroad along the lines of the Ukrainian liberation movement at home."

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Welcoming the OUN-UHVR agreement, the weekly comments:

"For the first time since the UHVR came to life, that is to say, since its foreign representation began to act, the latter was assured of the OUN Foreign Section's support in such a clear manner.

"Till now, it was not so. Formally, the Foreign Section of the OUN recognized the Foreign Representation of the UHVR, but it never backed its words by deeds. Since 1945, these two formations of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement were involved in bitter quarrels over the authority, particularly over the role of the Foreign Representation...As a matter of fact, the Foreign Representation never had any support from the Foreign Section and was mostly forced to fight with it for its prestige."

The paper states that, in accordance with the 1950 suggestion of the homeland's OUN Leadership, the UHVR Foreign Representation was to represent the Ukrainian liberation movement abroad, take care of diplomatic and foreign-political activities, also organize actions in support of the liberation movement at home, while the OUN Foreign Section was to devote itself to political education of its membership and the exiled community in general, as well as to propagandizing the liberation movement abroad. It hints that the present cooperation will be effected along these lines.

"Foreign" Hand in Rebet-Matla Action Hinted

While all moves of the Rebet-Matla "Collegium" apparently aim at confronting Bandera and his followers with a new OUN apparatus abroad, dominated by an alliance of the OUN opposition elements with the UHVR leaders, popularly known as the "Lebed-ists," the Bandera camp, on its part, concentrates mainly on efforts to preserve the continued loyalty of the exiled OUN membership by exposing the rival action as an illegal "diversionist intrigue" undertaken in the interests of "foreign factors." The task is aided by the fact that the majorities in the Leadership and in the OUN Supreme Council

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apparently remain loyal to Bandera.

As already reported, the February 16th communique of the Foreign Section's Leadership branded the action of the "Collegium" as "illegal" and "contrary to the will of the OUN authorities in the homeland." A similar message to the OUN membership abroad, issued on February 24th by the Foreign Section's Supreme Council, condemned the "wilful" action of Rebet and Matla as "aiding foreign, non-Ukrainian factors hostile to the Ukrainian liberation cause."

Another argument used by the pro-Bandera camp is its claim that the UHVR leaders with whom Rebet and Matla made a deal are "pro-Marxist" and agents of foreign, particularly American, intelligence. Accusations against the UHVR men of pro-Marxist tendencies, appearing often in pro-Bandera publications, are mainly based on the editorial policies of the Munich Suchasna Ukraina, the UHVR organ, which accepts certain economic and social features of the Soviet system. The charge is also raised in the February 26th resolution of the OUN District Leadership in Great Britain, where it is said:

"On the basis of certain current facts, in particular the writing of Suchasna Ukraina, we conclude that the Foreign Representation of the UHVR takes a pro-Marxist position and propagates it, thus harming the Ukrainian liberation movement. In view of this apparent fact, the two-man committee was forced... to admit certain 'errors' of the UHVR Foreign Representation and its organ, but it did not condemn them..."

The most recent contribution to the campaign of compromising the Bandera opponents by discrediting their UHVR allies as agents of foreign intelligence is the publication in the March 28th issues of the Paris Ukrainets-Chas and the Munich Shlyakh Peremohy of an "Open Letter" from the Paris weekly's editor, Danylo Chaykovsky, to Zenon

Pelensky of the Munich Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk. Pelensky remained with that weekly after its publisher threw his support to the Rebet-Matla "Collegium" against Bandera. The "open letter" consists mostly of quotations from Pelensky's letters sent to Chaykovsky during the last five years, in which the writer repeatedly expressed his indignation over UHVR's receipt of "sewer money" for its alleged services for U.S. intelligence. For example, a letter by Pelensky of February 17, 1952, is quoted by Chaykovsky thus:

"Personally, I have no doubts that the entire UHVR Foreign Representation receives sewer money. In particular, I do not believe and will never believe that the \$7,000 received from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America would be sufficient to cover all their expenses. They ate up that money a long time ago, and they did not receive any new money from the Congress Committee. If not for their sewer obligations, even such characters as Wreciona, 'Captain' Martinec and Hryniach would not dare to consent to recruiting parachutists for the Americans from amidst university students. But they consented to it and took part in recruiting men for such a 'legion'."

Pelensky answered Chaykovski with a statement in Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk of March 28th, in which he branded his friend's revelations as "indecent falsification." The charge was repudiated by Chaykovsky in Ukrainets-Chas of April 4th, where he accepted Pelensky's challenge that the matter be submitted to arbitration. Chaykovsky added that, should Pelensky fail to substantiate his charges of "falsification" in the course of the next three months, he would publish Pelensky's letters in their entirety so that the Ukrainian community could draw its own conclusions.

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(FBIS, May 3, 1950 RESTRICTED)

Comment on Bandera's Appearance

WZG (USSR)
"ZYCIE WARSZAWY (nonparty), carries an article discussing the news that Stefan Bandera, the notorious Ukrainian fascist, the spiritual leader of the SS Galizien, leader of the UPA (Ukrainian insurgent army), guilty of the death of tens of thousands of Poles, has come out of hiding near Munich in Bavaria. The author of the article discusses Bandera's talk with the so-called representatives of the Western press. In this talk Bandera stated that he was willing to give his support and help to the Western Powers if, of course, the Western Powers abandon their attempt to maintain lawful relations with Russia.

"Commenting on this, the author of the article states: 'Gen. Guderian, the same man who thoroughly destroyed Warsaw, is now reorganizing the General Staff of the U.S. Army. Stefan Bandera, an obedient agent of Hitler's and traitor to the Ukrainian Nation, the murderer of tens of thousands of Poles, comes out into the open with the permission of the U.S. authorities.

"Of course, I am mystified why the Voice of America has not yet broadcast the news in Polish, the news of the careers of the Nazi general, Heinz Guderian, and the Nazi, Stefan Bandera. Is it that the Voice of America is ignoring the appeal of President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson to spread the truth about the news and her policy?"

BANDERA, Stefan

USSR

(FBIS Summary, May 1, 1950 RESTRICTED)

ZYCIE WARSZAWY announces that Stefan Bandera has appeared in the Western Germany "with the permission of the U.S. authorities" and couples this "notorious Ukrainian fascist" with Gen. Guderian, the destroyer of Warsaw, who is now "reorganizing the general staff of the U.S. Army." The paper wonders why the Voice of America has not broadcast this news to Poland, in line with President Truman's appeal that the truth about American policy be spread abroad.

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Christian Science Monitor, April 21, 1950

Ukrainian Rebel Hides Again After Brief Talk in Germany

By the Associated Press

(AP) Heidelberg, Germany — A reputed leader of a Ukrainian guerrilla movement against the Soviet Union has vanished again in Germany as suddenly as he appeared.

American intelligence authorities said they had no idea where to find Stepan Bandera, a mystery fighter who claims to be the military chief of anti-Bolshevik Ukrainians.

Bandera came out of hiding long enough recently to appeal for western allied support of underground movements fighting the Soviet regime in eastern Europe.

He talked to five news correspondents in a secret rendezvous. Then, telling the newspapermen to wait 10 minutes, he departed with a group of nine armed bodyguards.

Whereabouts Unknown

The United States Army announced officially:

"We know nothing about the presence of Bandera in the United States zone."

The United States High Commission's intelligence division said:

"It was not known to us that Bandera was in Germany. The first we heard of it was from correspondents."

Bandera took elaborate precautions in coming out of hiding.

The selected group of correspondents first received calls from the Ukrainian National Committee, a group representing Ukrainian displaced persons in Germany.

The correspondents were told to go to a Munich café. There they were met by a member of the Ukrainian committee and packed into two cars.

Outside Munich they changed cars and drivers and wound up in a tiny inn at Grünwald, a suburb of Munich. Several men with bulging pockets guarded the café.

"Bandera will come," the correspondents were told.

He did so after about 15 minutes. He gave his interview, and then left as mysteriously as he came.

Bandera refused to say how long he had been in Germany, or how he moved around. He said his guards always accompanied him. He said he had no connections with the United States Army counterintelligence corps.

The Munzinger Archiv, a German biographical publication, says Bandera is an "obscure figure, said to have fought in the

early 1920's against Poland and Russia for an independent Ukraine."

"One source says the Archiv says that he participated in the assassination of Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Pieracki in 1934, was arrested and sentenced to a long prison term.

"It has been established that he was freed by advancing German troops in 1939, authorized to form the organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and brought to Germany. He reportedly did not fight against Russia, but worked illegally against Germany.

Fought Nazis

"He reportedly was arrested by the Germans again and imprisoned. After a short period, he was set free on the promise to fight the Russians. He again fought the Germans, however, with his partisans."

Bandera confirmed this in the interview, saying, "I refused to collaborate with the Germans and escaped in January, 1945."

He said he directed the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA) which had, in 1945, a strength of 200,000 men.

Reports in 1947 said the UPA had been decimated and scattered by Polish and Russian troops. Several hundred ragged "banderwits" fled to Germany at that time.

BANDERA, Stepan

USSR

News Review, April 13, 1950

...and for his...
...of the...
...and arch enemy of Soviet Russia,
was taking no chances.

Reporters who wanted to see him last week were screened and taken from a Munich café to another point in the city. They were made to change cars and taken to a nearby village. A squad of husky, armed bodyguards stood by while Bandera spoke through an interpreter.

"There will be," he said, "a blood revolution everywhere that Communists exist, and the Communist regime will be smashed."

...with the...
...of the...
...of the...

...so far, this
mild-mannered, balding man's idea of an independent Ukraine has been long-lived. He has been the centre of a score of Eastern European plots in the past 30 years.

Today, while he is in hiding near Munich with his wife, three children and a few faithful followers, his guerilla bands operate around Lvov.

Starting his fight against both Russia and Poland in 1922, Bandera was not caught until 1931. He languished in a Warsaw jail until the Nazis freed him in 1939. Fought for them against Russia, then with Russian guerillas against the Germans after he found the Germans were using him as a fool.

Since 1945, his main enemy has been Russia again. Now he describes himself as a "soldier-politician."

When the interview ended, reporters...
...of the...
...of the...
...of the...

Ukrainian Rebel Urges West To Help Overthrow Kremlin

By the Associated Press

Munich, Germany — News- men invited to an inter- view at Mr. Bandera's heavily guarded hide-out high in the Bavarian hills were taken there by a secret route. During the journey they changed cars twice to throw off any possible shadowers. Armed bodyguards surrounded Mr. Bandera as he:

1. Urged the western powers to quit trying to deal "legally" with Russia and instead to begin supporting the revolutionary anti-Communist movement within Russia and its satellites.

2. Promised that the Ukrainians would support the western powers in combat against Russia if assured their national independence.

3. Predicted an eventual revolt within the Soviet Union which would overthrow the Communist dictatorship.

The Ukraine is a vast area in

western Russia which is now one of the 16 so-called republics in the Soviet Union. Mr. Bandera said he was elected head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and that his group had fought since 1928 for national independence.

At the height of its power in 1945, Mr. Bandera said, his organization had more than 200,000 armed men and engaged several divisions of Soviet troops in combat.

Now, he said, the Soviet Army has reduced the insurgents to small scattered bands waging a guerrilla warfare of sabotage and vengeance. But, he asserted, there are 45,000,000 Ukrainians who will rally in revolt behind this force "when the time is ripe".

OUTGOING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

0BF
(USSR)

URGENT
MAY 1952

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OFF. BANDERA, S. (USSR, All)

Frankfurt, November 21, 1947

SECRET

NO. 525

SUBJECT: Offer of Assistance to the United States
Against the USSR on the Part of Dissident
Ukrainians

The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington:

Sir:

With reference to my despatch no. 284 of July 15, 1947 entitled "Offer of Assistance to the United States Against the USSR on the Part of Dissident Ukrainians", I have the honor to inform the Department that the name man, whose name is now given as Taras Bulba BORBENEC, is presently laying plans, according to a recent intelligence report, for the formation of a Ukrainian National Guard (UNG). According to this report, while the Ukrainian National People's Army (UNRA) would still be the military arm of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) (the "government-in-exile" of Andreij Levitzky or Levicki), the UNG would be a small, well-organized, select outfit to serve as a nucleus for an expanded army in the event of future conflict. Its personnel would consist of persons with military background including former members of the Red Army who were forcibly inducted when the Soviets occupied the Ukraine.

While the relationship between UNRA and UNG is not clear from the report, nor indeed the function of the latter in view of the existence of the former, it is stated that the fact of the UNG is intended "to be secret except to top-level officers, and all transactions will be carried on under the cloak of UNRA." Structure, strength and methods of operation are unknown at present but further reports are expected.

The report concludes with the following paragraph comparing the UNRA and the so-called UPA of Stefan BANDERA.

"BULBA and his UNRA appeared to be inactive over a period of more than six months. During that period, the rival UPA, the military arm of UBVR, the Ukrainian

faction

SECRET

17

SECRET

-2-

faction headed by Stefan BANDESA appeared to be more active. Previous information indicated that LEVITSKI's government intends to effect independence of the UKRAINE through cooperation with a greater power, and to refrain from efforts in that direction until such a power becomes belligerent against the SOVIET UNION. BANDESA, on the other hand, advocates action now, and cooperation with another power only on equal terms, and not as a subordinate ally."

Respectfully yours,

For the Political Adviser:

Robert F. Corrigan
Acting Political Officer

In triplicate to the Department
Copy for GE-Mr. Bean
Copies to:
American Embassy, Moscow
American Embassy, London
(For Ambassador Murphy & Mr. Offie)

File No. 820.02a
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of this has
C. S. 20

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SECRET

BANDERA, Stephen

Generalissimo and Commander in Chief of the UPA (Ukrainska
Porstaiecka Armija - organized by B. from his former Banderovic and
has been fighting as an organized unit since May 1944) and possible
President of the UHVR (Ukrainska Holowna Viscralnia Roda - Ukrainian
Free People's Regime) is in both the Polish and Russian Ukraine looked
upon as the spiritual leader and national hero of all Ukrainians. Yet,
he sometimes approaches the status of a mythical figure, for there are
but few Ukrainians who can actually lay claim to having ever seen him.
The Priority A target of ^{both} the MVD and the Polish Political police, hated
by many of his own Ukrainians jealous of his power and hold over his
nationals, he is constantly en route, frequently in disguise, always
protected by a stalwart wall of SB men, and never at any ~~time~~ one location
for more than a few days. Occasionally he is reported to have appeared
for brief, unannounced visits before Ukrainian groups throughout
Europe, or for brief inspections among UPA troops in the Ukraine, but
his route for these trips is always very carefully guarded secret known
only to a very few high UHVR officials. A description of him is almost
impossible to obtain.

* / Ukrainian Partisan Army

Source: Enclosure to Despatch 389, October 5, 1947, Frankfurt. SECRET

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BENDERA,

U.S.S.B.

(New York Times, September 13, 1947).

19 June 1951

**35 Anti-Red Ukrainians
Are Seized in U. S. Zone**

FRANKFURT am Main, Sept. 12 (AP).—Thirty-five armed and uniformed men who professed to be anti-Communist Ukrainians were arrested by United States Constabulary troopers yesterday after illegally crossing the border from Austria into American-occupied Germany near Passau, United States Army officials said today.

Some of the captured men expressed fear they would be executed if caught in Russia or Poland. They described themselves as an advance party of a large group fleeing from the Ukraine and eastern Poland. Constabulary troops have been alerted to watch for others.

The captured men, wearing uniforms described as Russian and Polish, said they came through Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Russian zone of Austria in their journey to the American zone. They surrendered without resistance to the Americans.

All carried rifles and some were reported to have machine guns and grenades. Some described themselves as "Benderovics" and said they were followers of a White Russian (anti-Soviet) general named Bendera.

"They were disguised and interned as any illegal border crossers," a high Army official said. Their ultimate disposition has not yet been determined.

Bendera

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BANLERA, Stepan Andreevich aliases: Petr Borovsky

Soldier-politician. Member, later chief of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of

(ABN) Left the Ukraine for Germany about 1930-1933. Lives in West Germany
Nations, since 1950. Formerly Assistant Chief of the Organization of Ukrainian

Nationalists in Poland and in charge of its Propaganda Department, 1932-1935.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ Tried and sentenced in a Warsaw Court in 1935; imprisoned until

1939; freed by the Germans and headed OUN/B after a split with the Melnik

faction since 1939. ^(June 1941) Took part in the proclamation of Ukrainian independence

at Lwow, 1941. Imprisoned by the Germans, 1941-1944. Joined the Ukrainian

Partisan Army (UPA), 1944; resumed anti-Soviet struggle for Ukrainian independence

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SECURITY INFORMATION

BANDERA, Stepan Andreyevich

aliases: Borovskiy, etc. (variant in 1945)

5 December 1951

1. Place and date of birth: Born 1909, at Ugrinov, Kalushki region, Stanislavsk District, Ukraine. 1/ *He is the son of a Greek Catholic Priest.*
2. Residence: Munich, Germany. 2/ *variant near Jambuck, Austria.*
3. Education and profession: Educated at the University of Krakow, Poland. 1/
4. Occupations:
 - 1932 Chief of propaganda of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). 3/
 - 1932-1935 Assistant chief of OUN and leader of its activities in Poland. 3/
 - 1935-1939 Sentenced by the Warsaw Court to eight years in prison for illegal political activities in 1935; freed by the Germans in 1939. 3/ 4/
 - 1939-date After split with Mel'nik faction of OUN, headed Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionists (OUN-R). 2/ 3/ 5/
 - 1941 Associated with the proclamation of Ukrainian independence at Lwow; afterwards his organization was reported to be engaged in bloody fights with other Ukrainian resistance groups, notably those of Borovets; as well as with Russians, Poles and Germans. 4/
 - 1941-1944 Imprisoned by the Germans in Klein Sachsenhausen concentration camp for resisting German restrictions on Ukrainian nationalists. 6/
 - 1944 Joined the Ukrainian Resistance Army (UPA) and resumed anti-Soviet struggle for Ukrainian independence. 3/ *near Jambuck, Austria*
 - 1945-date Living in the vicinity of Munich, conducting the operations of the organizations discussed below. 2/
5. Political affiliations:
 - a. Ukrainian Democratic Republic (URR), and
 - b. Ukrainian National Council (UNR)

Bandera's organization constitutes the only opposition group in the UNR, since they refused the invitation to join the executive organ. They had failed to obtain from the UNR recognition for the UHVR as entrusted with the liberation fight in Ukrainian territory. 7/ According to another source, disagreement arose from the desire of Bandera to fight all Russians everywhere and to split Russia into numerous small independent units, while the UNR is opposed to a premature determination of Russia's future. 8/

- c. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and
- d. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionists (OUN-R) (Bandera)

The OUN, established in 1923, broke into two wings about 1940, the one headed by Mel'nik, former chief of the whole organization, and the other led by Bandera. 9/ The disunion in OUN was said to be due to Bandera's determination to hold fast to the principles of dictatorship and conspiracy and to permit no democratic control of financial expenditures. Ideologically, OUN-R was reported to support the concept of permanent revolution by the Ukrainian people and a permanent fight against Communist occupation. 5/ Bandera was accused of working conspiratorially in the DP camps to build up military formations. The same source alleged that Bandera personnel appeared to be working for American, English and even French intelligence services. 5/

Negotiations for a reunion of OUN were carried on between November 1949 and February 1950 at the apartment of Yaroslav Stetako in Munich, with the

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SECRET-CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

BANDERA, Stepan Andreyevich

5. Political affiliations (continued)

Bandera security officer, K. Kononenko acting for his chief. The breakdown of the negotiations was said to be Bandera's fear of losing his dictatorial powers over his party.^{10/}

OUN-R now comes under the jurisdiction of the UHVR.^{11/}

e. Ukrainian Resistance Army (UPA)

The Galician Ukrainians originated the guerrilla forces which make up the Bandera movement.^{12/} UPA claimed to have had one million members in 1943, but at the end of 1949, according to one source, its numbers had fallen to 150,000.^{11/} In March 1950 its strength was estimated as about twenty thousand men.^{6/}

f. Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) (*Ukrainska Holova (Vishova Rada)*)

Organized in November 1943 to unite all elements in the struggle for Ukrainian independence, the UHVR claims jurisdiction over OUN and the UPA, which it claims to represent politically. Only the Bandera faction of OUN recognizes its leadership.^{11/} UHVR acts as governing body for the Ukrainian nationalist groups. The council consisted of General Taras Chupryinka, as Commander-in-Chief of UPA; Yaroslav Stetsko, responsible for Foreign Politics and Propaganda; and the Chairman, Bandera.^{6/} After Chupryinka's death (March 1950); Colonel Vasyl Koval replaced him as commander of UPA.^{13/}

g. Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

ABN was founded to combine the struggles of the various nationalities within the USSR in order to overthrow Bolshevism and to establish new national states within the ethnic borders of each nationality. The activities of UPA are said to be integrated closely with the underground work of ABN.^{11/} ABN has a dual role: to support the guerrilla warfare in the Ukraine and to conduct propaganda abroad. Its chairman is Stetsko.^{6/}

ABN excludes Russian emigres, and has not included Polish members because of the territorial question. It has no Czech members.^{6/}

It has been rumored that Bandera's administrative organ would move to England, where the British would give it financial support to keep the leaders "on ice" for future emergencies.^{8/}

h. Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM)

This organization is said to be of prime importance for its support of the Bandera movement. SUM's activities are carried on under the camouflage of physical education and sports, but have as their function the carrying on of political education related to its political aspirations for future Ukraine. SUM is reported to be pro-US and anti-Soviet. It is said to have groups in every Ukrainian community, especially in the Ukrainian DP camps in Germany.^{13/}

SOURCES:

- 1/ State, D-595, Berlin, 13 May 1949, Restricted.
- 2/ CIA, SO-44765x, 4 August 1950, Secret/Control-US Officials Only.
- 3/ Army, SSU, S-Memo, 7 October 1946, Secret/Control.
- 4/ CIA, OO-W-12373, 1 August 1950, Confidential.

SECRET-CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

SECRET-CONTROL-U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

BANDERA, Stefan Andreyevich

Sources (continued)

- 5/ CIA, OO-B-15823, 17 May 1950, Secret/US Officials Only.
- 6/ State, D-129, Hamburg, 22 March 1950, Secret.
- 7/ CIA, SO-32153a, 24 January 1950, Secret/Control-US Officials Only.
- 8/ Air Force, IR-79-51, Wiesbaden, 7 May 1951, Confidential.
- 9/ CIA, OO-B-11789, 13 January 1950, Confidential/US Officials Only.
- 10/ CIA, SO-44765x, 4 August 1950, Secret/Control-US Officials Only.
- 11/ CIA, OO-B-11050-49, 21 December 1949, Confidential/US Officials Only.
- 12/ CIA, OO-B-27884, 14 February 1951, Confidential/US Officials Only.
- 13/ CIA, OO-B-23299, 8 November 1950, Confidential/US Officials Only.

See also: Maj. Gen. J. F. G. Fuller, "What the Kremlin Fears Most," Saturday Evening Post, 27 October 1951, pp. 25, 115-117.

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UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE AND ITS LEADER, Scottish League for European
Freedom, Edinburgh, May 1950.

BANDERA, Stepan

Bandera is the son of a Greek-Catholic priest, Andre Bandera. He was born in the Western Ukraine in 1909. His energetic character revealed itself in his earliest days; his intelligence was brilliant, and he qualified in husbandry. During his studies he always belonged to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and became the chief mouthpiece of the Western Ukrainians. During this period and during the occupation of his country by the Bolsheviki, that is, in 1939, his task was to organize the revolutionary movement in Ukraine against the oppressors. After the occupation of the Western Ukraine, Bandera organized the Army of Resistance, and created the famous force which became, and still is, the ^(Ukrainian Volunteer Army) U.P.A., the Underground Army, with General Taras Tchuprynka as its leader.

When, in 1941, war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R., Bandera, to thwart the plans of the Germans as well as the Bolsheviki, proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine. At the head of the Government he placed his chief collaborator, Yaroslav Stetzko, who is President of A.B.N. (The Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations). This act surprised the Germans, exposing as it did their actual position in the East, and, in particular, Ukraine. The Germans liquidated the new Government by force, and Bandera, along with Stetzko and their colleagues, were sent to the concentration camp at Oranienburg. There they were detained till 1944.

In July 1944 there was established, under the impetus given by Bandera, "The Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation" (U.H.W.R.), in which he became one of the leading figures. The Council of U.H.W.R. is today the nucleus of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

ISSUED BY THE INTELLIGENCE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS NAVY DEPARTMENT

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INTELLIGENCE REPORT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRET

Serial 4-8-46 at WARSAW, POLAND Date 7 FEBRUARY 1946

From US NAVAL ATTACHE Monograph Index Guide No. 104-400

Reference (Directive, correspondence, previous related report, etc., if applicable)

Source SEE BELOW Evaluation B-1

Subject UKRAINE PERSONALITIES

BRIEF (Here enter careful summary of report containing substance succinctly stated; include important facts, names, dates, etc.)

The head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement who has been active since before the commencement of the World War II in 1939 is Stefan Bandera. He is about five feet, four inches tall and was born around the year 1903. He is the of a Greek Catholic priest who was exiled by the Soviets to the Solovieski Islands located in the Arctic regions of European U.S.S.R. Stefan Bandera's father was exiled on 15 May 1941 while two of his three sisters were taken to Siberia. The third sister, who is hunchbacked, still remained in the Przemysl-Stanislawo - Tarnopol Area up to several months ago.

When in 1938 Eugeniusz Konowalac was killed by a time bomb in Rotterdam, Holland, while conducting underground activities for an independent Ukraine, Stefan Bandera assumed the leadership of the movement within the Ukraine. When the Germans entered Poland they made overtures to Bandera but he refused to join them. He was then imprisoned by the Germans who produced a Ukrainian puppet in August 1941 in the figure of Mikail Melnik. Melnik rose and fell in prestige in keeping with the fortunes of war of the Germans who sponsored him; consequently when the Soviets drove the Germans back to Berlin Melnik disappeared from the horizon. In the meantime Bandera was freed from prison and commenced his underground activities immediately. Since 1941, the year that his father was arrested and sent to Northern Russia and his sisters were sent to Siberia, his hatred for the Communists increased. He continued his activities in organizing the Ukrainians in the area that was acquired by the U.S.S.R. after the partition of Poland by Germany and Russia.

When the final boundary between Russia and Poland was decided upon and confirmed through arrangements commencing

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

INTELLIGENCE DISSEMINATION NUMBER A- 61154-a

COUNTRY Poland/USSR

ORIGINAL RPT. L-569/f pt.

SUBJECT Activities of Bandera

DATE OF INFO. Early August 1945

DATE OF RPT. 23 August 1945

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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EVALUATION B-3

ATTACHMENTS

1. According to repatriated persons, a virtual "reign of terror" exists East of the Curzon line. A great number of Ukrainians in this area have organized themselves into "partisan" bands, under the over-all leadership of Bandera. These bands seem to enjoy in particular the terrorization of such Poles as remain in the neighborhood. According to one Pole who returned from this area, a "partisan" band attacked his village one night, burned it and killed over fifty persons and about five hundred head of cattle. Among Poles, the mere mention of the name "Bandera" invariably brings curses and imprecations. (OSS Field Comment: According to information received from another reliable informant, Bandera is a young and violent student who some five years ago began opposing the elderly Melnik as leader of the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). In 1941 he went to Lemberg and proclaimed himself head of an Ukrainian State, supposedly with the approval of the German General Staff. This caused the Germans great embarrassment, and he was instructed to desist from further political activities unless given official approval. However, he and his followers began a campaign of terrorization, directed mainly against the followers of Melnik, which resulted in his arrest and confinement at Klein-Sachsenhausen. Melnik was also arrested. Both were later released, however, when the Wehrmacht and Oestministerium attempted to build up a strong Ukraine. Bandera can be regarded as both anti-Soviet and anti-German. He appears to be continuing his campaign of violence since the German withdrawal from the Ukraine).

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OUTGOING AIRGRAM

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As is well known, Col Andrey Mel'nik [in Ukrainian, Andriy Mel'nyk] had replaced Col E. Konovalets, chief leader of the OUN, who was killed by a Bolshevik agent, Valyukh, in Rotterdam in 1938. Thus, in his struggle for domination within the OUN, Bandera came face to face with Mel'nik from the start.

It was then that a new facet of Bandera's personality was revealed -- not that of a revolutionary, even of a fascist type, but a provocateur and Hitler agent.

The German occupation forces at the time needed agents and informers who were conversant with conditions in Poland and could help the Hitlerite invaders. They could find no better men for the job than Bandera and his followers.

Bandera proceeded with great zeal to carry out Hitler's assignments, under the guidance of a man who was at once one of the chief directors of Hitler's spy system, a prominent leader of the OUN, and -- as became known only in 1945 -- an important Soviet agent. His name was Riko Yary. He was an extremely odd individual, completely unknown to non-Ukrainian readers, but he played a prominent role in the Ukrainian national movement. I shall have to write about him separately at some other time.

* While working under the direction of Riko Yary and trying to strengthen his position among the German invaders, Bandera launched the campaign which was to make him master of the OUN. To achieve this, he found it necessary, first, to compromise the old leadership headed by Mel'nik. His first act was to prefer charges against the "Polish and Soviet spies" allegedly ensconced in the Main Administration of the OUN. Yaroslav Baranovskiy, accused of "Polish espionage" on the basis of documents allegedly found in Polish archives by Riko Yary, was the first victim of the campaign. Next came Col M. Stsiborskiy and squadron leader O. Senik-Gribovskiy, who were accused of having "connections with Soviet agents."

Bandera produced no proof of any kind. What had been published on the subject appeared obviously unsatisfactory, even to the layman. However, no one demanded proof. Bandera's master, the Gestapo, on one hand, and the Soviet agency in the person of Riko Yary, on the other, gave him a free hand. A simple denunciation to the Gestapo was sufficient to cause persons objectionable to Bandera to be arrested and liquidated at his order. This was the case, for instance, with Thrash, oblast leader of the OUN in Western Ukraine, who had come to occupied Poland to establish connections with the Main Administration of the OUN.

At the same time, Bandera worked feverishly to get hold of the leadership of the Ukrainian nationalist underground organizations, created in 1939 for the struggle against the Bolsheviks during the Soviet occupation.

Bandera succeeded in all his enterprises. He seized the reins of the OUN and became the acknowledged favorite of the Hitlerite authorities, who, preparing for a war in the Ukraine, were sufficiently far-sighted to take into account the help that Bandera could render them there.

It was not Bandera's espionage that was important to Hitler's gauleiters. They needed him as an agent, who would undermine the Ukrainian national liberation movement, or as an obedient police dictator who could suppress the nationalist movements among minorities of Western Ukraine. (He was of no use in the central and eastern oblasts because he was completely unknown there.)

The Hitlerites made no mistake in their calculations. Bandera played his part to perfection. And when he had done his duty, he and some of his assistants were dispatched to a concentration camp. The Gestapo had its own candidates for the posts of gauleiters and governors of the Ukraine.

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Bandera stayed at the camp from summer 1941 to fall 1944, when he was freed by the Germans and sent to spy for them during their retreat from the Ukraine. (One could tell a good deal about this period of Bandera's activities.)

Let us return, however, to the "Ukrainian State," founded by Bandera on 30 June 1941. The proclamation of the "state" took place in an atmosphere of great solemnity, with Hitler's representatives participating. However, no solemn speeches could hide the shameful fact, which will remain a black spot on the history of the Ukrainian movement, that the first act of the "State Government," headed by Stets'ko was an expression of deepest gratitude to Hitler. Even the Norwegian, Quisling, whose name has become a synonym for traitor, did not go so far.

Since the support of the OUN alone, or, rather, of those groups in the OUN which followed Bandera, was not sufficient to invest the government of the "Ukrainian State" with the necessary authority, the Bandera falsifiers resorted to the fabrication of two false documents. One of these was produced through the convocation in Krakow, on the eve of the war, of a special conference of prominent Ukrainian leaders, and was given the grandiloquent title of "The Consolidation of All Ukrainian Political Tendencies and Common Action for the Resurrection of the Ukrainian State." With such a platform, it is no wonder that the Banderists were able to obtain the necessary signatures, and the adopted declaration was presented to the nation as an acknowledgment by all political parties of the right of the Bandera group to direct the government of the future state.

The second falsified document was obtained from the generally respected Metropolitan A. Sheptitskiy. He was shown the declaration and persuaded to issue an appeal to the people calling for support of the "generally recognized authorities." (Later, the Metropolitan became convinced that he had been deceived and retracted his appeal.)

What was the Banderist "resurrected Ukraine" like at the time? It is hard to find an adequate definition for the "mongrel state" created by Bandera and Stets'ko under the sonorous name of the Ukrainian State. If one were to judge this brain child of Bandera even by totalitarian standards, one would find that the elements of law and legality, which are present even in totalitarian states, were absent there. However bad and cruel these laws are, they still contain some elements of right and order. There was nothing of the kind in the "kingdom" of Stets'ko and Bandera. Bloody chaos, utter lawlessness, and the wildest and most vicious excesses in the treatment of the Ukrainian population and the national minorities prevailed. Unbridled terrorism was used to force dissenters to submit to the "leaders." Thousands of people were killed without trial, without investigation, and often, without any apparent cause.

During the first days of Bandera's rule, terror was directed primarily against the organization headed by A. Mel'nik. The greater part of the leaders of this organization were killed, openly or secretly. The brothers Prishlyak, and many others were brutally murdered in Podgaytsy; the above-named Senik and Stsiborskiy, in Zhitomir. The assassin was Stepan Kozly of Lyubachev, a Ukrainian Communist, and at the same time one of the leaders of Bandera's combat detachments. Then came the turn of all Bandera's opponents among the Ukrainian people in general. Finally, the national minorities in the Western Ukraine, the Poles and the Jews, were subjected to bloody persecution. It is difficult to estimate how many Poles were killed, but some data has been preserved concerning the number of Jews who perished. Over 10,000 Jews were destroyed in a single "operation" at the border of the Carpathian Ukraine. The Hungarian gendarmes drove these Jews out from the area which had been occupied by Hungary with Hitler's consent. At the border, they were received by "special" elements of the Bandera militia, which drove ~~them to unknown parts~~, destroying all of them en route. Altogether, during the 5 weeks of its existence, the Bandera "state" destroyed over 5,000 Ukrainians, 15,000 Jews, and several thousand Poles.

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The "Ukrainian State" of Stepan Bandera ended its short but ignominious existence in August 1941, when it was announced in L'vov that Western Ukraine had been incorporated as the "District of Galicia" in the "General Governorship" (occupied Poland). And then a "new order," Hitler style, began to be introduced in the Ukraine.

This is, in short, the story of Bandera's "one-day holiday," which his followers, relying on people's forgetfulness, now try to present as a glorious and heroic page in the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement. In reality, it would be best, especially for the supporters of a free Ukraine, to erase from the history of their movement this infamous Hitlerite, fascist episode, which brought nothing but shame and sorrow to the Ukraine.

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BANDERA, Stefan

USSR

FBIIS, June 1, 1950

Ukrainian Groups

"From another source, it was reported that small secret fighting groups appeared in Eastern Austria and tried to fight themselves through to the American occupation zone in Upper Austria or Bavaria. These people call themselves 'Banderovci' and form a part of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army. Their operational territory comprises Ukrainian, Polish, and Slovak areas. Their leader is Stefan Bandera, a fanatical revolutionary. He has spent many years in Polish prisons and was liberated only by the advance of the German Wehrmacht. However, as the Germans did not keep their promises made to the Ukrainians, Bandera organized anti-German groups.

"On Hitler's order, he was arrested after a meeting with the German High Command and deported to Allenstein in East Prussia, where he was kept until the end of the war. THE EXCHANGE PRESS reported that Stefan Bandera arrived these days under secret circumstances in Bavaria in order to urge the Western Powers to support the Ukrainian revolutionaries. In case the Western Powers would be ready to promise independence for the Ukraine, Bandera's partisans would fight alongside the West against the Soviets. During the interview, Bandera was guarded by heavily armed bodyguards. Bandera is 41 years old. Nobody knows his whereabouts or the movements of his car. It is possible that Bandera is by now in the United States."

BANDERA, Stepan

UKRAINE 12

(Info)

January 15, 1952 CONFIDENTIAL

EX - 3140

19 June 1951

STEPAN BANDERA is the leader of the Bandera group. He resides at present in the American zone in Germany. He is very active.

Subject says that he is the leader of an Ukrainian underground movement, but this is held not to be correct. Konavartz, the earlier underground leader, was killed in Rotterdam en route to the United States. He left a testament asking that Melnik be made his successor, because the latter was a reasonable, moderate man. Source says that the German Nazis gave Bandera money and instructions and made him the leader. So there has since been a fight between Bandera and Melnik.

Subject is today chief of the ABN, Anti-Communist

Bloc of Nations, with branches in Germany, England (London), and the United States. This is of course a rightist group. Bandera is about 45, and speaks German, Polish, and Ukrainian. When a student in the University at Lvov, he belonged to the Ukrainian underground organization which killed Polish minister Perovsky. He fled to Germany sometime during the years 1930-33.

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