

STEPAN BANDERA

Stepan BANDERA was born 1 January 1909 in Trostianec, near Stryj, Austro-Hungary, the son of a Greek Catholic Priest. He was still in high school in Stryj when he became a member of the UVO, a veterans' organization of Ukrainian nationalists from World War I days. He graduated from high school in 1928 and went on to the Polytechnic in Lvov where he studied agriculture.

BANDERA's parents were killed by the NKVD and his two brothers were murdered in Auschwitz in 1943.

In 1933 BANDERA became a member of the homeland executive committee of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). He was arrested in June 1934 by the Polish police and condemned to death with two other Ukrainians for alleged complicity in the assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior, B. PIERACKY, in Warsaw. His sentence later was commuted to life imprisonment. He remained in jail until 1939 when he escaped and resumed the OUN leadership. BANDERA became chief of the greater part of the organization in the summer of 1940 when the OUN split, and on 30 June 1941, under his direction, the OUN proclaimed the restoration of an independent Ukrainian government. BANDERA was soon taken to Berlin by the Germans and imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He later escaped from the Germans and disappeared.

BANDERA lived in Western Germany since 1945 as head of the foreign unit of the OUN, (Zoh/OUN/B) the largest Ukrainian emigre group. He was found dead on the stairs of his Munich residence on 15 October 1959, a victim of foul play.

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

Stephan BANDERA, alias YESLAK

Stephan BANDERA was born in 1909 in the town of Proctianec, 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 STEPSKO, Mykola LEBED, Siskhalo Y. HIV, and Yaroslav SPOLAKY. 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 (RUV). 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 those 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 EP UNW, 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 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 HEMWICH, 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.

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In 1909 BARDAK married. His father is also his secretary. He is said to have three or possibly by now four children.

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

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

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

It will be noted that BARDAK has never held any official title or membership in OUB or the UHVA. His claim to membership in the "Council of Three" (Buro Provida) has been refuted by the homeland on the grounds that the Buro Provida ceased to exist in 1943, after the death of two of its original members (KRYVICH and VOLOSHIN). It should also be noted that the title Providnik OUB 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 BARDAK who has shown unmistakable evidence that he desires to return to the status-quo of 1941 when he held the unchallenged position of "Führer".

Stephan BANDERA
Chief of OUN/B

He was born in 1907 and comes from a Galician peasant family. When he finished his secondary studies he consecrated his life to politics and joined the organization of Col. Eugene KONWALTS, the OUN, which later (1928) became the OUN. Bandera remained in the homeland and became the active leader of the organization there. Between 1930 and 1931, the Polish government began a brutal pacification among the Ukrainian terrorists who were responsible for the murder and outrages against Polish officials and political leaders. Tracked by the Polish police, Bandera escaped to Germany in 1934 and went into hiding. In the meantime (1936) the Polish Minister of the Interior, PIGONSKI, was assassinated in the streets of Warsaw. Poland had just concluded a pact of non-aggression and friendship with the Third Reich and now demanded the extradition of BANDERA and LUBENKO as leaders of the OUN, and instigators of the plot. They were returned to Poland, tried in Warsaw and condemned to death, but Pres. PILESKI and Vasyl MLENKO both appealed to the president of Poland and he commuted their sentence to fifteen years imprisonment. During the war in Poland in 1939, Bandera succeeded in making his escape and returned to the homeland. During the ensuing occupation of Galicia by the Soviets he resumed command of OUN in Poland. The youth of OUN proclaimed him a national hero, and a hero of the party. It was this fact which made it possible for him to take charge of the opposition which had been created in the OUN against PILESKI and his Directorate in the Spring of 1941. BANDERA successfully split the OUN.

Since that time, he has been the nominal chief of the OUN/B but has played a small role in the organization. He was arrested by the Germans in September 1941, and held in a concentration camp until October 1944. While he was held by the Germans his popularity did not diminish and all of the anti-German and anti-Soviet revolutionary factions operated under the name of Banderists, and it was OUN/B which later created UPA and OUNR. It has even been said that one could meet bands in the extreme north of Russia who had absolutely no connection, nor anything in common with the Ukraine, who went under the designation of Banderists, as a symbol of revolution and liberty.

The Germans were anxious to capitalize on BANDERA's popularity and therefore released him in October 1944. The Germans decided to change their political policy towards the Ukraine and upon the instigation of PILESKI offered the leaders of the four chief political factions an opportunity to form a Ukrainian National Committee (or Council) which the Germans would recognize as the de jure government of the Ukraine. The four leaders consulted were: BANDERA, MEANIN, LEVITSKY, and SKRIBANSKY. BANDERA refused to enter into his German plot, and because of his authority over the Trilogy, his refusal to join caused the plan to fall through.

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Today BANDERA lives in retirement in Bavaria (after having lived in the vicinity of Innsbruck). He does not take a direct part in the decisions of JUN/B but his friends still continue to monopolize on the popularity of his name.

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PHOTO MOUNTING SHEET

SEE

FOLDER FOR ORIGINAL PHOTO(S)



BANDERA, STEFAN

SECRET

POUCH 927

14 October 1946

XARZ-28595

TO: CHIEF, FBI
 Attn:

FROM: Station

SUBJECT: Stefan BANDERA;
 Ukrainian Nationalist Movement

1. Reference MEMO 1707 from requesting any information on Ukrainians. Also, reference 436, MEMO 1602 and MEMO 1636.

2. Attached is a copy of a report on Stefan BANDERA, Ukrainian Nationalist leader, prepared by Section V (SI-6).

3. This report came to us on 7 October 1946 with the statement that it might be of interest to General Edwin Sibert; and a request from the British for any information which our organization or General Sibert, G-2, USFEET, might be able to supply concerning BANDERA's present whereabouts.

Distribution: Washington (2 attachments) ✓
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 Austria (1 ")
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10/19/46

According to our information, BANDERA was originally a member of the Galician Ukrainian Terrorist Organization, Ukrainiska Voennis Organizatsia (U.V.O.). The organization was anti-Soviet but primarily directed against the Polish authorities. In 1927 the Headquarters of the leader, Colonel KOROVANETS, were in Berlin, where he was supported and subsidized by the Germans.

BANDERA was arrested by the Poles in 1938 for his part in the murder of the Polish Minister, PIERSACKI. He is said to have been released with other Ukrainian terrorists when the Germans occupied Warsaw in 1939.

Colonel KOROVANETS, the leader of the U.V.O., had in the meantime been murdered and BANDERA appears to have assumed the leadership of O.U.R. (the National Ukrainian Union), a loosely knit organization designed to coordinate the activities of the principal Ukrainian nationalist organizations.

According to one report, BANDERA was sent, on his release, to the Soviet-occupied Polish Ukraine where he acted as a military espionage agent for the Germans and prepared the ground for a national rising to coincide with the forthcoming German attack on the U.S.S.R. In return for the organization of a rising the German Government repeated previous promises to recognize the independence of the Ukraine. However, after the capture of Lemberg, it became clear that the German Government had no intention of implementing their promise and BANDERA thereupon declared himself and his organization as hostile to the German occupying forces. He himself was arrested but a number of his staff escaped.

After BANDERA's arrest the O.U.R., always torn by internal squabbles, disintegrated further. The two main organizations which emerged were "BOHOYCHES' TARS' BULHA" Movement and the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). Again information, which depends upon a single report believed to be generally accurate, shows that BANDERA, always strongly anti-Soviet, accepted conditional release from the Germans on an agreement that he should organize Partisanen Jagdverbände for use against the Russian partisans. It appears however that BANDERA actually used his units to fight the Polish partisans whilst at the same time collaborating with Russian partisan bands against the German administration in the Ukraine.

BANDERA's whereabouts during the later years of the war are unknown, but it appears that his bands were actively engaged against the Red Army during the period of Soviet reoccupation of the Ukraine in 1944. A regimental order of the KHABAROV Rifle Regiment of 14 January 1944 states that the regiment may come into contact with anti-Soviet elements, the bands of BANDERA, and "must be prepared in the near future for acts of terrorism". Another order of January 1944 addressed to the Senior Commander of 935th Regiment from the Chief of the Divisional Counter-Espionage Section, "SNERSH", instructs him to examine carefully replacements to the regiment in certain districts as "it is not impossible that amongst the new replacements from those districts members of the O.U.R. could infiltrate into our units".

According to the Polish newspaper, RZECZPOSPOLITA, No. 41, dated 14.2.46, Stefan BANDERA is one of "the Ukrainian fascists hiding under the mask of displaced persons" in one of the occupation zones. CS COPY

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5. Source and Lunich are in contact with ULR intelligence section and is delivering reports on its activity. German agents are selected and in process. Almost all propaganda material in US Zone, Germany, was spotted.

6. ULR's financial support is coming in monthly (according to source) from the Ukrainian refugees in Europe. The last payment was made in April 1946, when from Germany only, ULR received 1 million and five hundred thousand marks.

7. HRIJNICCH (in Munich) and LEBED (in Rome) as top leaders, are ready and willing to

- a. give the names of their representatives;
- b. cooperate in every possible way to spot Soviet agents (This is already working.)
- c. collect intelligence in Ukraina, Poland, Slovakia through proper agents (in effect);
- d. Penetrate Red Army where Ukrainian nationals hold important posts.
- e. attempt to approach high Soviet officials of Ukrainian origin, abroad, or to try out as "agent provocateurs" and high Soviet official abroad. (for example TILCSHERYCO)
- f. to help uncover Soviet agents of Ukrainian origin in the United States and Canada or try to convert them if there is an indication of such a possibility. (For instance STEPANEK, a member of the Soviet Ukrainian delegation in Canada.)
- g. to continue the fighting in Ukraina through UPA.

8. UPA is not headed by BANDERA but the largest group is UPA as the BANDERA group. BANDERA is a man about 36-38 years old and a former officer in the Polish Army. Since the groups organized by him and his friends are the most active within the UPA, NKVD has from the beginning called the whole UPA organization "BANDERCVCI" i.e., BANDERA's people. As a Ukrainian, BANDERA was approached by Soviets in 1941 but failed to satisfy them and was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, but later liberated.

All reports which arrived in June 1946 via courier from UPA are in Ukraina were presented to source. These reports showed evidence of a well but active military organization. Their greatest problems are

- a. to get medical supplies
- b. to spot Soviet penetration into their ranks.

9. HRIJNICCH and LEBED are interested in getting some kind of support for their fight from the USA. In their opinion a great change will soon take place among the displaced persons throughout Europe. The Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, etc., are deeply disillusioned and many of them are ready to go home and accept Soviet rule if their personal safety is guaranteed. After two years of torturations, these people have reached the limit of their patience and cannot stand Soviet penetration.

10. Dr. Vasilij LUDRIJ, vice president of ULR, is not involved in intelligence activity. As president of the Ukrainian Relief in Germany he has been exposed and source's contact with him has almost ceased.

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Lsgr. MUCKO, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, is sponsoring ULR from Rome. He is not involved in intelligence. BRINICCH and LEBED are using him as an authority and contact to get Vatican support if necessary. MUCKO is an opponent of the Jesuits and violently anti-Russian. He is willing to check on information which originates from Jesuit sources. MUCKO not only works for the welfare of Ukrainians in Rome but tries to handicap the Vatican's pro-Russian policy everywhere in the world.

11. Father DYMCHYSYN, previously mentioned, is out of the picture. Father BLANICH, formerly used by source as a lead, left Europe for the United States.

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FSRO-656

28 October 1946

TO: AB-43, Munich
FROM: AB-51, Amson
SUBJECT: Stefan BANDERA
REF: R-6064; LTS 746

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1) As you know, the purpose of Colonel ANTONIUK's recent visit to USFET was to aid the U.S. authorities in the detection of BANDERA's whereabouts. Source Josephine reports that ANTONIUK is now devoting all his energies to the accomplishment of this one aim and, needless to emphasize, BANDERA's delivery into the Soviet hands would be the crowning success in ANTONIUK's career as an intelligence officer. We should, therefore, not underrate the determination of the Soviets to bring this to pass. The attached report was passed by ANTONIUK to G-2, USFET. It is of considerable interest inasmuch as it lists one STETSKO, Yaroslav, (also spelled STECHKO, STECZKO and STECZO) who is about to be arrested in Munich and brought to MISC, Oberursel, for interrogation. The following comment upon likely implications of STETSKO's arrest, offered by our USFET representative, can be accepted as inspired by official USFET sources.

2) "If STETSKO reveals BANDERA's hideouts, G-2 officially will probably try to pick him up and deliver him to the Soviets. I think, however, that they would wink at BANDERA's being tipped off. Some people here are worried about the possibility that STETSKO may be a soviet penetration agent who will report to the RIS all information given to MISC, so they are bound to go ahead on whatever information he gives. If BANDERA is found the Political Advisor, Mr. Muccio would undoubtedly concur in his delivery to the Soviets."

3) In view of the serious compromise which no doubt would result to American interests in any form of collaboration with UHVR, should BANDERA be turned over to the Soviets by the U.S. authorities and, on the other hand, considering the equally serious effects on Soviet-American relations likely to ensue from open U.S. connivance in the unhampered continuance of his anti-Soviet activities on German soil, we should take special pains at steering a judicious

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middle-course. The following course suggests itself as best suited to avoid either pitfall.

4) You should contact the Lynx group and, referring back to your last meeting when you made an abortive attempt at drawing them out regarding BANDERA's present whereabouts, point out that the secrecy surrounding his movements would in the long view create more harm than good. You would point out that rather than asking a direct question and courting another rebuff, you preferred to place yourself squarely on record as greatly concerned as regards BANDERA's security but equally unable to materially contribute to its preservation, because you had not been taken into the complete confidence of the UHVR. You did not share the view that irreparable damage would be caused by BANDERA's extradition, although it would doubtlessly constitute a heavy blow to the prestige for the Ukrainian movement. Your main concern was, however, to establish a perfect understanding with the UHVR that BANDERA, once captured, would inevitably be handed over to the Soviets by the U.S. authorities. It would then be too late to intervene and ~~planning~~ protests would be absolutely to no avail. The UHVR would only have to blame itself in that case. Any demands made on you for a specific undertaking to guarantee BANDERA's security, vis a vis the U.S. authorities, should be declined, even if UHVR sees fit to let you in on the secret of his whereabouts.

5) In case STETSKO should come forward with information containing a lead to BANDERA's hiding place, we shall try to inform you on time. If we have reason to believe that coverage of that lead is likely to result in BANDERA's capture, we shall have to lay out our course of action in the light of our conflicting interests in the matter. Tipping off BANDERA, if this should be decided upon, would have to be done with utmost discretion obviating the remotest possibility that his escape is traced back to a U.S. agency. In anticipation of such contingency, you should now cast about for secure means of passing such information, taking into account, of course, that should any intimation of our connivance in BANDERA's escape reach the ears of the UHVR, we could expect with certainty that the Soviets would learn about it sooner or later. This dilemma could best be avoided, we believe, if the tip-off be launched into UHVR channels through an elaborate chain of fictional and/or actual cutouts.

Distribution: 1 - AB-43, Munich (Attach) 1 - USFET Det.
 1 - SC, Washington (Attach) 1 - Registry
 1 - SC 1 - Ops
 1 - SC

COPY

BANDERA, Stefan--born in 1909, in the village Trostynets, Dolinsky region, Stanislavsky District, USSR

Distinguishing marks: height above medium, average build, dark hair. The subject is a war criminal of the Soviet Union and the Allies, USA and England. During the war period 1941-45 he headed and directed bands of German-Ukrainian nationalists. On 30 June 1941, during the period of occupation of the city of Lvov by the Germans, he following the directives of the German Fascists, announced the creation of an "Independent Ukrainian Power" and organized the so-called government.

During the war 1941-45 he sent spy and sabotage groups to the rear of the Red Army upon the directives of the German Intelligence Service.

Following the routing of the Fascist Germany in the 1941-45 war, Bandera's status has become illegal and he went into hiding in the US Zone of Germany of occupation. It is known that Bandera has been hiding together with a close friend in the towns of US Zone of Germany of occupation in Auerlin-Munich, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Aschaffenburg, Mannheim. Moreover, his visits to the so-called "Regional Committees of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists" in the towns of Innsbruck, Neuzersberg and Furth has been recorded.

Bandera keeps contact with the leaders of the "Regional Committees" in the above named towns through special messengers.

The following persons knew Bandera's address and whereabouts:

1. STREBKO Yaroslav--alias "Zinovi KARBOVICH", 34 years of age, blond, height 1.7 m., wear glasses, one hand amputated at the wrist, lives in Munich.
2. STOKOP Miroslav--alias "Vladimir", 34-35 years of age, broad shouldered, oval face, height 1.75 m., wear glasses, lives in Munich.
3. STASHIV Vladimir--alias "Laska", height 1.75m., -1.75m., dark hair, bald head, broad nose, wears glasses, speaks Latin, is married to a German woman, Kuehlo. He was a member of the so-called government, created in the city of Lvov in 1941.
4. STURNEZA Osip--38 years of age; wife CHERNYAVSKAYA Natalya. Both live in Munich at Leopoldstr. 105.
5. ELMAITSKIN Nikolai--37 years of age, tall, dark hair, black eyes. A close friend of Bandera. Lives in Munich.

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6. MATYEMO Hiron--alias 'Dix', height 1.7 m., blond, blue eyes, oval face, hair combed back. Lives in Munich (Ober-Mening)

7. ILYINIKY Rosen--37-38 yrs of age, height 1.7m., thin, blond. Lives in Fuerth 2 km from Nuremberg.

8. KRAVCHENKO--editor of the newspaper "NASHYE ZHITTA" (OUR LIFE). Lives in Augsburg.

9. ELISHCHIKAYA--Leader of the regional Committee of Ukrainian Nationalists. Lives in Fuerth.

Besides the above named persons the whereabouts of Bandera are known to his wife OPARIYSKAYA, who with her daughter Natasha, has been living in Munich for the last six years.

OPARIYSKAYA receives USSR food ration through a Ukrainian Camp.

SECRET CONTROL

20 November 1948

TO : SC Washington
FROM : SC Amzon ^{copy}
SUBJECT : Search for BANDERA, Leader of the OUN
REF : LTX-767, Wash 4345

FS 90-766

1) The risk of compromise in attempting to help BANDERA either directly or indirectly has been kept down to the absolute minimum. G-2 USFET is definitely loath to comply with the Soviet request to find BANDERA and to repatriate him as a "war criminal". This, we have been given to understand unofficially of course, and we can be reasonably sure that a warning passed to a UHVR representative will not be considered as an act of bad faith on our part if, by a remote chance, G-2 USFET should learn about it.

2) As far as compromising ourselves vis a vis the Soviets is concerned, we have taken pains not to let this warning appear in the light of an official "tip-off", but rather in the nature of a general observation. Once BANDERA has been apprehended we would decline to be in any way connected with the case, a point we stressed in LHS 767. In this connection we should like to mention as an interesting side-light that Lt Col Dasher recently expressed to AB 52 his disappointment that G-2 USFET has failed to honor its pledge to Colonel ANTONIUK to make every conceivable effort to locate BANDERA.

3) Your question whether there are compelling reasons for us to help BANDERA directly or indirectly, can be answered in the affirmative if you accept the premise that we are definitely interested in cautiously cultivating our contacts with the UHVR if not along lines of active cooperation, then with at least the objective to keep ourselves informed on what its plans are and to what extent it has succeeded in building up and servicing cells in the Ukraine. We asked KILKENNY how our relationship with the UHVR, at present and in the future, would be affected if the Americans were to lend a hand in the capture and repatriation of BANDERA to the Soviets. He said he could answer this question in one word: FINITO. In order to enable you to appraise the importance of BANDERA in the hierarchy of Ukrainian Underground leaders - and we are thinking here of the Ukrainian movement as a whole

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irrespective of its many factions who differ in methods rather than in the main objective - we have requested KILKENNY to prepare a study which you will find attached herewith.

4) In attempting to visualize the effects of the loss of BANDERA through American connivance, there is one more consideration which should be brought to your attention. The UHVR is avowedly a terrorist organization, determined to accomplish its objectives by terroristic means. (That appears to be one of the main reasons for the pre-occupation of the Soviet-Intelligence with Ukrainian rather than other dissident groups like e.g., the Caucasians.) It should therefore not be ruled out that the UHVR would want to retaliate by terroristic means and that its suspicions would fasten on the American representatives with whom they have been exclusively dealing.

Distribution:

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1 - Registry

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SOURCE: KILKENNY

20 November 1946

APR 76 FSR-716

SC No. 46

1) It is evident that the group with which we are in contact is the group of BANDERA.

2) Most of the leading members of this group are old time confederates of BANDERA's particularly those who were imprisoned and received the death sentence together with him in 1934 for the assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior PIERACKI.

3) LEBED, one of the overt leaders of this group, is the man closest to BANDERA.

4) Although BANDERA is not as active as before and during the war, his authority certainly exists.

5) Leaders of the group (UHWR) never mention that they are acting on BANDERA's behalf, for UHWR is not BANDERA's private organization. In spite of this fact, they regard him with the greatest respect as the leader for Ukrainian independence.

6) BANDERA is still the leader of the secret Ukrainian nationalist organization OUN, which controls UHWR, ABN, and UPA. BANDERA is considered as a successor to KONOVALETZ. MELNYK is the head of a small group of dissident OUN elements, mostly formerly pro-German. BANDERA and his group are certainly animated by a profound hatred against all the enemies of Ukrainian independence, Poles, Russians, and Germans. To that effect, he might be a "terrorist", but it seems also evident that when successful, even moderate and conservative Ukrainians applaud and accept the successes.

7) The group sponsored by BANDERA is considered by such Ukrainian politicians as the very influential MUDRYK and SHULGIN SEN as the avant garde of their nation.

8) Because of the close personal, ideological and official connection between the leaders of the group and BANDERA, there can be very little doubt as to what would happen in case the American authorities should deliver BANDERA to the Soviet.

9) It would imply to the Ukrainians that we as an organization are unable to protect them, i.e., we have no authority. In such a case, there is not any reason or sense for them to cooperate with us.

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10) No Ukrainian nationalist movement would be hamstrung through the arrest and repatriation of BANDERA, because new leaders would step into his place and they would act exactly the same way as BANDERA did. This is not a baseless prophecy, but (a) evident from the history of their movement, and (b) evident from their statements Source.

11) One of the reasons why full cooperation between the UHVR and our organization has not developed yet is the suspicion of these leaders that we will ultimately "betray" them.

12) From the very beginning they complained that Americans have no real interest in them and that Communist-penetrated USA officers or officials will trade them to Russia. This belief was shared by both the BANDERA people and the conservative Ukrainians.

13) My personal feeling and conviction is that in case of BANDERA's arrest, it would immediately put an end to operations Bella Donna and Lynx.

14) If it should be decided not to use these people and their organization for intelligence purposes, it would be better to arrest not only BANDERA, but all the leaders whose names and whereabouts are known to us.

*Per what
disc
for*

~~SECRET~~ SECRET CONTROL

4 February 1948

Subject: Stefan BANDERA

1. Stefan BANDERA, who since the beginning of his political career has been anti-Russian and anti-Polish, is probably the most important Ukrainian nationalist leader today, together with Andrei MELNYK. He was a member of the terroristic organization OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and was involved in the assassination of (fnu) PIERACKI, the Polish Minister of the Interior. When Col. Eugene KONOWALETZ was murdered by the NKVD in Rotterdam, BANDERA did not accept the nomination of MELNYK as head of all Ukrainian nationalist organizations throughout the world.
2. In 1941 with the occupation of Lwow by the Germans, BANDERA split with the OUN and began such an intensive fight against it that it resulted in the murder of (fnu) SCIBORSKI, MELNYK's representative in Zhitomir. Shortly thereafter BANDERA proclaimed in Lwow the "Independent West Ukrainian Republic," appointing himself its president and naming STECHKO (STECKO) Prime Minister. This move met with the approval of a large majority of Ukrainians including the head of the Greek Catholic Church, Archbishop (fnu) SZEPTYCKI, and it was believed that it would also meet with the approval of the Germans as was the case in Slovakia with the TISSO government.
3. However, 48 hours after his proclamation BANDERA was arrested by the Germans and placed in a concentration camp. There he met many Poles, among them Gen. GROT-RCWECKI. While imprisoned BANDERA realized that it would be necessary to cooperate with the Poles in order to fight German as well as Soviet imperialism. BANDERA's organization continued to exist during his imprisonment, and it was during this period that the UPA, Ukrainian guerrilla organization, was formed to fight against German and Soviet troops.
4. When BANDERA regained his freedom, he resumed leadership of his organization, and he soon formed the Ukrainian Council of National Liberation which worked underground. Under BANDERA this organization had a Foreign Department to which Rostislav SZULGIN (CHOUL-GUINE) and (fnu) BERAN belonged. Its address is 11 Rue Chantepoulet, Geneva, Switzerland. BANDERA also activated an "anti-Bolshevik bloc of nations" in order to cooperate with other nationalities under Russian domination.
5. Groups of "Banderovtsy" are still active in Soviet-dominated areas. In Argentina some BANDERA followers are members of "Prosvita" which is located at Calle Soler 5039, Buenos Aires.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

FROM: [] [] PRIORITY
 TO: SPECIAL OPERATIONS 1 MAY 1951
 ACTION: HEID IN 15701
 INFORMATION: ADSSO (1-2), OOPS (3), REG (4), FEI (5-6), FBI (7),
 FBP (8)

PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS
 CORRESPONDENCE PER PARAS 51 (1) 60A AR-380-5.

SECRET

SECRET

COPY []

- [] []
- TO: HEID. INFO: WASHF, VI [] [] GITE: [] []
 KEL 3161.
1. RE XX 12616 OF 11 OCTOBER 1946 CONCERNING STEFAN BANDERA.
 2. MI-5 REPORT THAT 3-2 OIB USFET HAVE SENT REPORT TO INTELLIGENCE DIVISION BAOR STATING BANDERA NO LONGER IN SYMPATHY WITH AMERICANS OR BRITISH, IS WORKING FOR SOVIETS BUT PREFERING STILL TO BE ANTI-SOVIET.
 3. REPORT CONTINUES BANDERA PRESENTLY IN VIENNA FROM WHERE HE FREQUENTLY TRAVELS TO BAVARIA. ALSO STATES HE ATTEMPTING ARRANGE TRIP TO LONDON.
 4. BRITISH ANXIOUS TO KNOW ANYTHING WE CAN FURNISH REFERENCE BANDERA'S PRESENT WHEREABOUTS, ACTIVITIES AND ANYTHING WE CAN ADD TO ABOVE REFERENCE (WHICH CAME FROM MI-6).
 5. OUR LAST NEWS IN HEID 2621 (IN 45255) AND WASH 4821 BOTH MARKED CONTROL.

11D COPY

SECRET

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| INTELLIGENCE | |
| FEB 16 1951 | |
| INTEGRATION DIVISION | |
| ABSTRACT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | INDEX <input type="checkbox"/> |

FORM NO. 35-5
OCT 1946

TOR: 1950 1 MAY 1951

(1340)

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 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

PAGE NO. _____

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

FROM: HEIDELBERG ROUTINE
 TO: SPECIAL OPERATIONS 2 MAY 51
 ACTION: [] IN 1503R
 INFORMATION: AUSS (1-2), OPRS (3), REG (4), POK (5-6), POK (7),
 FDP (8)

SECRET
 PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED, HANDLE AS
 CORRESPONDENCE PER PARAS 51 (I) 60A AR-380-5.

SECRET

COPIES 7

HEID 615

TO: []

FROM: SC.

INFO: WASHF

ATTN: HEID

Stefan BANDERA

RE [] (IN 1503R). SUBJECT BANDERA

1. HEID 2624 (IN 1503R) DECONTROLLED.
2. SHALL INVESTIGATE, BUT DO NOT EXPECT EARLY REPLY.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2D
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

OLD COPY

SECRET

TOR: 1239 2 MAY 51

FORM NO. 35-5
OCT 1946

| | |
|--|---|
| INTELLIGENCE | |
| FEB 16 1951 | |
| INTEGRATION DIVISION | |
| ABSTRACT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | INDEX <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 13401 |

Chief of Station, Karlsruhe
Chief, CIC Liaison Section

28 November 1950

BANDERA Files

1. CIC has offered us copies of the BANDERA files which consist of a voluminous variety of uncoordinated notes and reports and are currently being translated by one of the regions. Translating is expected to take another year.

2. For the price of the photostating paper, we can have copies of the files in (a) the original text, (b) the translation (which will not be ready for sometime), or (c) both. CIC states that some of the material seems to be chaff. Therefore, would we want CIC to use its own judgment in selecting the material to be photostatted or would we want the works?

3. We have been unable to get an estimate of the cost of the project. However, are we interested? If so, what photostats are desired? Also, would we prefer to furnish (a) paper or (b) money to buy the paper?

[]

Distt
OOS - 5
NLS - 1
Files

SECRET

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 0000
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

WCSA-3083

D-285853 OUNR
Positive Information Files "SE" (Intelligence Section) 26 January 1951

- 1 Hqs OAD 26 Jan 1. Inclosed herewith are photostatic copies of posi-
66th LG 1951 tive information obtained from the files of the "SR (Intel-
CIG ligence Section) : OUNR".
Det
2. In accordance with the request previously received from your detachment the film used in making the photographic reproductions also has been included.
3. It is requested that the photographic film be returned to this detachment when it has served your purpose.

BY ORDER OF COLONEL TORNEY:

Richard D. STEVENS
Colonel, Infantry
S428-3

- 4 Incls
1-Cy,AR, OIC Reg XII, file XII-335.61 Subj: Positive Intelligence (Ukraine,SSR) dtd 22 Jan 51
2-Cy,IRS, OIC Reg XII, file XII-335.61 Subj: Positive Intelligence (Ukraine,SSR) dtd 22 Jan 51
3-Exhibit "A", 15 pg (photo-static) rpt of positive info from SE files
4-Exhibit "B" -Negatives of Exhibit "A"

Major HOAGLAND/mlc/SPOT 997-683/OPS

Distribution:
2-MOB w/attx
1-COE
1-ELS
2-File

FOR COORDINATION WITH US Army

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3828
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

Form No. 36-81
(June 1951)

OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

~~SECRET~~

TO: HELD OF STUT

PRECEDENCE: ROUTINE

FROM: KARLF 1402

DATE: 8 MARCH 1951

CONFIRMATION: FR ✓

MESSAGE OUT NUMBER:

INFORMATION: STUT CC

TYPIST'S INITIALS: JTC

240.1

Paraphrase Not Required. Handle as ~~SECRET~~ Correspondence per Para. 51 (1) 60A AR-380-5.

REQUEST TRACES ON ROMAN I SMOOK, VICE PRESIDENT OF UNITED UKRAINIAN
AMERICAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, ABBREVIATED IN UKRAINIAN "ZUDAK".

MGHA-9246 NO TRACE
MGSA-3417

~~SECRET~~

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 0000
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

COORDINATING OFFICERS

TOD: 08/1120Z

AUTHENTICATING OFFICERS

IT IS PROHIBITED TO MAKE OR POUCH COPIES OF THIS CABLE

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...
1

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 25X(2) -
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

CS COPY

① []

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 POW 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, 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 (Chernyiv - Starnilaw - Tarnopol area). Married; three children

Language:

Career: Active in anti-Soviet and anti-Polish terrorist organizations since 1922. Arrested ^{East Prussia} 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

5

[]

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

7

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

WPC (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.

11

Christian Science Monitor, April 21, 1950

Ukrainian Rebel Hides Again After Brief Talk in Germany

By the Associated Press

(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."

6/4/48/tek

BANDERA, Stephan A. U.S.S.R.

Information has not been received from several sources, SOCO and SOG, which might merit a partial answer to the reference airmail. Concerning the question of whether the surrender of the 15 persons mentioned was requested, the records of the 7701st or Crimes Group JUCO. indicate that no, (repeat no) requests have ever been filed in that headquarters, nor have any such requests been filed with the CIGUS Extradition Board in Berlin. The Office of the Deputy Director of Intelligence, EUCO. has reported however that only in the case of one individual, Stephan A. Bandera, several high Soviet military figures directly requested his extradition in letters to US Army Officers among which was a letter dated 15 October from Colonel General BURCHAK to General L. D. Clay. In addition, personal discussions took place of the subject individual between Soviet and US Army officers a number of times.

Concerning the investigation of the particular cases, ODOI, EUCO, reports that it has information only on two of the fifteen individuals mentioned namely Bandera and Antoniuk. (Source: A-407, Berlin, May 13, 1948, SECRET).

The extent to which US intelligence went to find Bandera will be appreciated from a quotation from their report to this Mission.

The memorandum above (presented by Colonel Antoniuk during September 1946 to Colonel Stevens, Chief of Counter Intelligence Branch, containing charges against Bandera and including his photograph) contained an incomplete list of nine (9) persons who allegedly could furnish information concerning the location of BANDERA. Only five (5) of those persons could be located. They were all closely interrogated but weren't able to submit any information concerning the location of BANDERA.

The Soviet allegation that US military authorities had pretended to look for BANDERA during January 1947 while giving him an opportunity to escape is false. An extensive and aggressive search began during November 1946 for BANDERA. Copies of the photographs and the meager description furnished by the Soviets were furnished to all agents in the field. Weekly progress reports as well as spot reports were demanded from all regions. The intensity of the search increased as the operational readiness for the fall of 1946 became apparent. The search was especially active in many false leads. This search was ultimately suspended only for a period of time. During this time, however, no leads were overlooked; all were followed to their conclusion. During all this time the search for Stephan A. BANDERA was given top priority over other CIA missions. On 1 July 1947 the search was continued and is still continuing.

BANDERA has been reported to have been in Greece, which, in 1944, a Greek Catholic seminary in 1945, Austria, Turkey, the Ukraine, LORNOB, Switzerland, or perhaps some of Germany, and numerous other places. He was reportedly killed by the Polish Partisan Army in LESBUC (LUX) sometime in October 1944. After years of extensive searching, no one has been contacted who has definitely seen BANDERA since early 1945. The photograph furnished by the Soviets has been identified as an old picture of BANDERA by numerous persons who allegedly have seen him elsewhere. It was by a chance on the photograph of BANDERA by an actual number of persons. In 1945, this Mission was unable to obtain a positive physical description of the man even after his last bitter enemies when the Ukrainian migration was in full swing.

Following this history, upon which must be the content of the case, it would be impossible to find precedent of the situation under current law, and the fact that these claims are repeatedly cited by extreme political groups.

It is noted that the Ukrainian rights to the Ukrainian state are being asserted by the Ukrainian people. It is noted that the Ukrainian people have a right to self-determination. It is noted that the Ukrainian people have a right to self-determination. It is noted that the Ukrainian people have a right to self-determination.

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OUTGOING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

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(USSR)

URGENT
MAY 1952

16

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

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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)

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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: Borovsky, 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 Innsbruck, 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 Innsbruck, 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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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.

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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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OFFICE OF SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRET

Serial 4-3-46 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
DISTRIBUTED 21 September 1945

ORIGIN Germany
THEATRE

SEP 21 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CONFIRMATION
SUPPLEMENT

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EVALUATION B-3

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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).

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U. S. C. 31 and 32, as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

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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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00-W-20620

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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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(23)

BANDERA, Stefan

USSR

FBI, 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.

35

VIA: _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

29 Oct 1951

DISPATCH NO. MGH-A-12690

CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief of Station, Karlsruhe
Attn: _____
FROM : Chief, ELS

DATE: 29 October 1951

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational
SPECIFIC— Alert of U.S. Border Units to Possible Arrivals from Ukraine

REFERENCE: MGH-A-33857

Per your request, ID EUCCOM transmitted the following priority cable to 7th Army on 23 October 1951:

"THIS DIVISION INTERESTED IN GROUP BANDERA ADHERENTS MAKING WAY FROM UKRAINE TO GERMANY VIA CZECHOSLOVAKIA PD DESIRE BORDER UNITS BE ON ALERT FOR THEIR ARRIVAL AND IF GROUP CROSSES BORDER THIS DIVISION BE NOTIFIED ON PRIORITY BASIS PD ALSO DESIRE EVERY EFFORT BE MADE NOT TO EXPOSE GROUP TO GERMAN CUSTODY OR CONTACT BY UNAUTHORIZED PERSONS PD"

*MUNI-5484
para 2*

31 Oct. 1951.

KARL Note to MOB:

The foregoing was done as a result of para 2, MUNI-5484. Now that your MUNI-5581 advises actual arrival of presumably the same group, may we tell ID EUCCOM to cancel their alert?

- Dist:
② - COS Please phone your answer immediately.
2 - MOB (Regensburg-1)
1 - SRFG
1 - CLS
1 - ELS

CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

RESTRICTED
 SECURITY INFORMATION
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 INFORMATION FROM
 FOREIGN DOCUMENTS OR RADIO BROADCASTS
 CD NO. --

COUNTRY USSR
 DATE OF INFORMATION 1951
 SUBJECT Political - Stepan A. Bandera
 DATE DIST. 6 Dec 1951
 HOW PUBLISHED Monthly periodical
 WHERE PUBLISHED New York/Paris
 NO. OF PAGES 4
 DATE PUBLISHED Jun - Jul 1951
 SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.
 LANGUAGE Russian

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECTING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE MEANINGS OF ESPIONAGE ACT 50 U. S. C. 31 AND 32, AS AMENDED. ITS TRANSMISSION OR THE REVELATION OF ITS CONTENTS IN ANY MANNER TO AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON IS PROHIBITED BY LAW. REPRODUCTION OF THIS FORM IS PROHIBITED.

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

SOURCE Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik, No. 6-7, 1951.

STEPAN A. BANDERA AND THE 1941 "UKRAINIAN STATE"

Petro Yarovyv

On 30 June 1941, the Ukrainian fascist and Hitler's professional spy, Stepan A. Bandera (according to his German appellation, "Consul II"), proclaimed in L'vov, then occupied by the Germans, the resurrection of the Ukrainian State in Western Ukraine. The same day a government was formed under the designation of the "State Government" with Yaroslav Stets'ko, Bandera's deputy, as premier.

S. A. Bandera appeared on the Ukrainian political horizon in June 1934, when, as leader of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Western Ukraine, he gave the order to kill the Polish Minister of the Interior, Peracki. It is worth noting that, although the perpetrator of the act, Grigoriy Matsyenko, had not been arrested, the Polish police had immediately in its possession sufficient data to start a case against the leaders of the OUN, with Bandera at the head of the list. This indicates that the evidence and data bearing on the revolutionary and terroristic activities of the OUN had not been received from the murderer but from some other source.

The courageous deportment of the 23-year-old Bandera during the trial in Warsaw in 1935 gave him a halo of heroism and made him the hero of the Ukrainian nationalists in the Western Ukraine and among the emigres. Bandera behaved at the time like a fanatical revolutionary nationalist.

However, many changes took place during the intervening 16 years.

In 1940, when the Germans occupied Warsaw, Bandera was released and assumed a role of greater scope, no longer on an oblast scale, but as one of the principal leaders of the OUN, which already existed on German territory.

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 SOURCES/METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2004 2006

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3
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 DATE 29 JUN 1953

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|-------|--|--|--------------|--|--|--|
| STATE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NAVY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NSRB | DISTRIBUTION | | | |
| ARMY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AIR | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FBI | | | | |

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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 Turash, 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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OO-W-20620

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. Sheptytsky. 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 scurrilous 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.

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6 Dec 1951

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SECRET

5 February 1952

ATTEN : Chief. CSOR
[]
Chief of Station, Frankfurt
Operational/CAPELIN

SECURITY INFORMATION

Attack on General Gulai.

Refs - MCG-A-06230, CMOFG 787

1. [] asked me to investigate paragraph 2 of the quotation included in paragraph 1 of CMOFG 787. The question arises, how did this story get into the hands of PISHAINY? Obviously, there is not a bit of truth to the story, but we are intrigued at the use of [] name and the exploitation of this incident to show him as unfriendly to the Ukrainian cause.

2. Any light you can throw on this will be appreciated.

- Dist:
- 2-CCCB
- 1-ZACACTUS
- 1-SHFG
- 1-GCS []
- 1-COS []

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

9 May 1952

To: SR/AC
From: SR/2

Subject: Contacts in New York City on 3 and 4 May 1952

SR/2
Location
Original in
Hqs. Com. [unclear]
+ Cross ref
in [unclear]

1. As soon as the undersigned arrived in New York City at 1940, after having procured a hotel room, he went to lower east side - 7th Street, to be more precise - in order to see what, if anything, the Ukrainians were doing. Walking down E. 7th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues, seemed rather strange since the street and sidewalks were filled with individuals all speaking Ukrainian. They were predominantly young men, although there were numbers of young women also. It should be noted that at the middle of the block, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues on 7th Street, there is a Ukrainian Catholic Church, St. George's. Perhaps there were some sort of services going on, or possibly these people were attending the Ukrainian Center housed next to the church. There must have been over 100 young people between 20 and 30 years old who would be good current-operations material. It would appear, however, that most of these young people are oriented on ZChOUN ideology or are even members of the ZChOUN. That being the case, if anyone of them were recruited there is little doubt that BANDERA would learn about it in a very short period of time. For that reason, at the present time it would not be advisable to recruit in this particular area nor from the Greek Catholic ranks. He will probably not be able to do this until such a time that there is an agreement between ZPUHVR and ZChOUN.

2. The undersigned headed for the Ukrainian Bookstore "Howel'a" almost directly across the street from the church. Here he hoped to look over the stock of books and perhaps pick up some useful materials, and he did to the tune of \$17.50. This, however, was a good investment for two reasons: First because of the background material purchased, and secondly, because he met up with the owner of the bookstore, one, Dr. Mykola SYDOR, Ph. D. It seemed that the bookshop was deserted so that the undersigned was able to enter into a conversation with the owner. In the conversation the undersigned mentioned that he was a teacher of history (in Ukrainian it sounds more pompous because the high-sounding title, "Professor" is used). SYDOR became immediately interested for he would like to see more Americans learn something about the Ukrainian problem. It is apparent that SYDOR is well versed in Ukrainian politics, at least, insofar as the CUB is concerned.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

During the conversation he revealed:

a. The MELNYK/BANDERA split in OUN occurred because of the fact that BANDERA and his supporters, who were, of course, during the period 1938 and 1941 in the Homeland (either in jail or out) wanted to have MELNYK, who had been in the emigration from the time that KONOVALETS was killed, investigate the death of KONOVALETS. The BANDERA group believed that BERNAROVSKI, who was supposed to have been serving as KONOVALETS' bodyguard, had not performed his duty since he had not been in Rotterdam during the time that KONOVALETS was assassinated. This was the issue that BANDERA wanted cleared up but MELNYK procrastinated and eventually it got to a point where the actual split occurred. The above information seems to be quite logical, although it does not present the complete picture. It is, however, an addition to the information which we already possess.

b. It will be recalled that BANDERA had joined the UNRada in 1948 and after a few months in this organization he removed his representation. The exact reasons for his withdrawal were never clear to this office but the following information was given by Dr. SIDOR and it seems fairly logical:

(1) UNR representation was based on parity, but, in fact, BANDERA's group was the strongest of all and BANDERA did not feel that the other less important organizations should have parity with his own organization.

(2) ZHOUK insisted that the UNRada cancel the so-called Warsaw Treaty of 1920. It will be recalled that when Simon PETLURA agreed on this treaty with PILSUDSKI, he gave up the western oblasts to Poland in return for PILSUDSKI's support against the Bolsheviks. That treaty, of course, is technically in effect at this time. (Naturally, this is de jure and not de facto). Since the leaders of the UNRada were the leaders of the PETLURA Republic they were, therefore, the very people who concluded this treaty. BANDERA, then, insisted that they rescind this treaty by a formal note to the LONDON-POLISH government. It appears that UNR procrastinated and said that since this treaty was concluded such a long time ago it was not de facto in effect; therefore, there was no necessity of sending this note of abrogation to the Polish government-in-exile. ZHOUK, however, put the matter in the hands of some jurists who considered the question and came up with the verdict that in actuality, this treaty had de jure effect. Since the UNR would not

recognize this decision this was another reason for the BARBERA withdrawal.

(3) Another demand that ZCHOUN put on the UNR was the recognition of UNVR as the supreme council in the homeland and that the UNR's bailiwick would be the supreme representation in the emigration. This, however, UNR did not accept.

The undersigned cannot vouch that the above is gospel truth but it does seem to be a reasonable and fairly complete analysis of the BARBERA/UNR split.

c. According to SYDOR, those in the emigration who are interested realize the exact relationship between the OUN in the homeland and the UNVR, as also the projection of this very same relationship to the ZPUHVR and ZChOUF relations in the emigration. It is also evident that the emigration is aware of the fact that LEBED is the Secretary General of the UNVR and that he is "directing" courier contact with the "inside". It is also apparently known that the UNVR upheld the ZPUHVR in the ZPUHVR-ZChOUN differences. It would appear that the emigration does not know the whereabouts of LEBED but believes him to be in Washington.

d. SYDOR is a man seemingly in his late 30's or early 40's, a revolutionary, and an ex-member of the UPA. What endeared the undersigned to him was the fact that the undersigned bought a book called From the Star to Crimea (a story of one of the Pokhidni Gruppy) which, by good chance, happened to be written by SYDOR, a Commander of one of these detachments. SYDOR, realizing "the good taste" of the undersigned, became warmed up to the subject and talked very freely - for three hours, to be exact.

e. There is another book that Dr. SYDOR is in the process of writing, this time in English. He became so friendly with the undersigned that he begged that the undersigned proof-read and correct this book before publication, which we shall gladly do, and photostat it in the process. Suffice it to say that SYDOR and the undersigned parted "bosom buddies".

3. The following day, Sunday, the undersigned decided to see what the eastern Ukrainians had to offer in agent potential so he went to the Orthodox Church on 14th Street for services. This was rather disappointing since there were very very few young people, although the fairly large church was packed full. Those of the young men who were there appeared to be married, since they had come with women and children. This is not to say that there are no agent-type individuals in New York because it may have happened that they just did not attend

services and this could be for three possible reasons: (a) they are not particularly religious and, therefore, do not attend services, or (b) there may have been a dance the previous night and having stayed out late they didn't attend this particular Sunday, or (c) there are no young, unattached people. This last, however, seems somewhat difficult to believe.

4. During the ABN rally the undersigned met with an old friend of his, one, Dennis PRYTULIAK. At one time, PRYTULIAK was a fanatic upholder of the revolutionary ideals to the point that he would have been willing to participate in any type of activity which would eventually lead to the independence of Ukraine. After 4 or 5 hours with him, however, the undersigned became convinced that the ravages of American capitalistic economy have had their effects on this young man. He is now far more tempered, far less fanatic, and quite satisfied, in a dissatisfied sort of way, with his status quo. He is unhappy that as an intellectual he has to work at physical tasks, but it would appear that the money he earns is sufficient to keep him moderately satisfied. In the ideal, he supports his former theories, providing someone else does the dirty work. This is brought out in order to point out that many of the young individuals who a short two or three years ago would have been willing to lay down their lives for their cause, are now more interested in their physical well being since they have tasted American living. PRYTULIAK is apparently close to the center of ABN activity. He assured the undersigned that the ABN is financed by itself and not by any external factors. He also mentioned that "two influential Americans" had gone to Canada in an attempt to bring STETSKO to the U.S. but they were not successful. The undersigned was unable to elicit any real information from this man, either because PRYTULIAK did not know or because he did not wish to disclose any information. The undersigned believes that the cause for this was the former.

COMMENTS

- A. The ZCHOUN has a wealth of operational assets, at least in New York City and surrounding areas.
- B. These assets cannot be utilized by us until there is some sort of political and operational rapprochement between ZCHOUN and ZRUHVR.
- C. It is possible that current type personnel from eastern oblasts may be more difficult to procure than originally anticipated.
- D. Mykola SYDOR is a potential well of political information and should, therefore, be cultivated.

September 20, 1952

STEPAN BANDERA RESIGNS HIS POST AS HEAD OF
ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

All Ukrainian newspapers in Europe reported the following communique issued by the Supreme Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and dated September 12, 1952:

"The Secretariat of the Supreme Council of the OUN Units Abroad is authorized to communicate the following:

"Beginning September 22, 1952 Stepan Bandera resigned his post as head of the Supreme Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and relegated these functions to the head of the Supreme Council of the OUN in Ukraine until the election of the new head of the Supreme Council of the OUN.

"After the resignation of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Supreme Council of the OUN Units Abroad who was elected at the last conference, offered his post suggesting that Stepan Bandera be elected to head that post.

"Stepan Bandera declined to accept the proposal, but agreed to appoint a member of the Supreme Council of the OUN Units Abroad under the direction of its present head."

---***---

This brief and somewhat vague communication brings to the fore something that was long expected in various Ukrainian political circles. Stepan Bandera, one of the most known leaders of the OUN, has been associated with the Ukrainian liberation movement for almost two decades. Controversial as he was, his organization is one of the largest, numerically speaking, Ukrainian political groups and has a mass following, especially among the youth, in Western Europe, Great Britain, Canada, South America and the United States. The OUN under his leadership claims a vast underground resistance network in Ukraine. Not so long ago, namely, on July 2, 1951 Pravda of Moscow, in castigating "nationalist deviations" in Ukrainian literature, singled him out as an "evil enemy" of the Soviet Union and an "agent of American imperialists," and compared him to Simon Petliura, the leader of the anti-Soviet Ukrainian forces, who was assassinated by a communist agent in Paris in 1926.

It is reliably reported that the resignation of Bandera from the post of the head of the Supreme Council of the OUN was forced by the growing opposition to his leadership among his top-ranking nationalist leaders, who opposed him on the ground of his totalitarian tactics, and particularly the use of his secret SB organization (Sluzhba Bezpeky--Security Service) as an instrument of intra-party policies among the Ukrainian political exiles.

Among the top-notch OUN-R leadership who are in opposition to Bandera and possibly to his close lieutenant, Yaroslav Stetsko,

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are known to be such veteran OUN leaders as Lenkavsky, Kordiuk, Matla, Pidhayny and Ilnytsky.

Bandera's resignation might in some way facilitate the speed of the consolidation among the Ukrainian political groups in Europe, although Stetsko's virtual leadership in the OUN would still be a stumbling block on the road to the much-craved-for Ukrainian political consolidation.

FORM NO. 35-85
NOV 1951

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

2 OCTOBER 52

SECURITY INFORMATION

IN 4:155

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TO:

FROM: DIRECTOR, CIA

SR REP

PRIORITY

SMUN1

1759Z 2 OCTOBER 52

INFORMATION:

CFI, PLANS, STC, SR 2, WE 2, EE 6, RI 2, OPS

[] 5123

TO: SMUN1 INFO: SFRAN, SBRLN

CITE: []

RE: SMUN1 (279 (IN 40715)

CART, []

1. [] FURNISHED FOLLOWING PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF BANDERA. AGE 42. LOOKS YOUNGER. HEIGHT 5 FEET 6 TO 7 INCHES. STURDILY BUILT BROAD SHOULDERS, THICK SHORT NECK, SHARP FEATURES WITH HIGH CHEEKBONES, LARGE PROTRUDING EARS, LONG NOSE WITH PROMINENT NOSTRILS, LIVELY DEEPSET GRAY EYES STRAIGHT EYEBROWS, LARGE STRAIGHT MOUTH THICK LOWER LIP. FRONT TEETH DISCOLORED. LIGHT BROWN HAIR THIN IN FRONT PARTED ON RIGHT, CLEAN SHAVEN SMALL CHIN STRAIGHT CARRIAGE DELIBERATE AND SLOW WALK.

2. REPLY TO PARA 1 REF FOLLOWS.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2P
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

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| ABSTRACT | INDEX |
| DATE | 2 FEB 1953 |

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

COPY NO.

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FORM NO. 35-85
NOV 1951

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

2 OCT 52

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

IN 41158

| ROUTING | |
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TO: DIRECTOR, CIA

FROM:

SMUNE

MICROFILMED
MAR 29 1963
DOC. MICRO. SER.

ROUTINE

1329Z 3 OCT 52

INFORMATION: OFI, PLAMB, DTC, SR 2, GE 6, WE 2, RI 2

LOND 5150

TO: SMUNE

INFO: SFRAN, SBRLN, DIR

CITE: []

CART []

RE: LOND 5123 (IN 41155)

1. [] HAVE NO TRACE LEIDL. HOWEVER MAKING URGENT INQUIRIES.

2. RETURN TO POST DELAYED. HENCE FORWARDING 2 PHOTOS BY POUCH (BELLA 551) WHICH DUE ARRIVE FRANKFURT AFTERNOON 3 OCT. REQUEST FRAN FORWARD MUNICH BY MOST RAPID MEANS AVAILABLE. SMASH SENDING 2 PHOTOS TO BERLIN THROUGH [] CHANNELS. SHOULD ARRIVE 4 OCT.

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

ABSTRACT INDEX
DATE 9 APR 1953

INDEX

SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

3 Oct 1952

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(4)

VIA _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

DISPATCH NO. DTMA-2494

CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

DATE: 26 December 1952

FROM : Chief of Base, Munich

(Attn: _____)

SUBJECT: GENERAL— REDSOX/Support

SPECIFIC— Location of Cavatina Files

1. SR/Reports has expressed interest in locating or determining the disposition of certain photo copies of reports obtained from SB OUN files (Cavatina) covering such topics as railroads and the MGB. The reports appear to have been obtained from CIC but there is no indication that they have ever been exploited.

2. Headquarters has listed the following documents as perhaps containing leads to the nature and location of this material:

- DI-55 Jul 50* MGBA-3842 *OUN B*
- UNC - J. 51* MGBA-1976 *WILL CHECK.*
- COAI - 51* MGBA-2941
- COAI - 51* MGBA-26099

None of these documents are in the MGB Registry. It is requested that the Frankfurt Registry be checked to determine if any of the listed documents are on hand there. In the event that they can be located, CSGB would appreciate copies of these documents soonest.

3. It is requested that this dispatch be shown to my REDSOX personnel who were formerly at Karlsruhe and who might have some information on the location of the Cavatina files.

See Attach.

Approved by _____

Dist:

- 3 - COM (Attn: _____)
- 2 - MGB

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CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

MGKA-26099, dated 23 January 1951

Attached in duplicate is a photostat of a 21 page report from
SB 9 of OUN/B files loaned to us by CIC. Sent FDS

MGMA-3842, dated 31 August 1950

Since the reports could not be photostated here; they were sent
to FIM on 3 November 1950 for additional copies.

MGSA-1976 transmitted the documents mentioned in MGMA-3842.

MGSA-2941, 2 Jan 51

At aments were sent to Wash on 12 Jan 51, with note to the
~~xxxxxxx~~ which suggested future relay to MOB ONLY of such docuents
as may be considered pertinent.

Handcarried to MOB, by [initials] 30 December 1952.

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

THE GERMAN RADIO STATION COLOGNE HAS AN INTERVIEW

WITH STEPAN BANDERA

On Thursday, Dec.9, 1954, the northwestern German radio station COLOGNE broadcast an interview with the Head of the Governing Body of ZCh OUN, Stepan BANDERA, which lasted from 7,45 to 8,13 hours. In his interview the Head of the Governing Body of ZCh OUN characterized the present state of the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people, primarily that of the nationalistic underground organization, and outlined the methods and objects of that fight. In view of the urgency of the problem, we reprint the whole text of the broadcast with the consent of the radio station./It has reserved all rights in that broadcast; the interview or parts thereof may not be reprinted without permission/.

The Editorial Office of Sh.P.

Before me there sits a man whom, my listeners, I dare not describe. Few people know how he looks like, where he lives and under what name he goes today. This man is Stepan BANDERA.

Stepan BANDERA has already become a legendary figure of the national liberation fight of enslaved nations; like ABD-EL-KRIM, he is one of today's most dangerous and strongest enemies of Soviet imperialism because he, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, is backed by 40 million of Ukrainians. BANDERA embodies their striving for national independence.

Since 1941, when he proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine upon the marching of the Germans in the Soviet Union and when UPA, the Ukrainian Insurrection Army, headed by him took up arms--the Soviet secret service has tried to catch him. However, the Soviets have failed to reach BANDERA. Having remained unidentified, he is living in a secret place.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006]

In 1945, at the end of the War, Stepan BANDERA was confined in a German concentration camp. The insurrection of the Ukrainian people of 1941 was not in line with HITLER's conception of eastern policy. He invited BANDERA to BERLIN for political negotiations and ordered the latter to be arrested there. BANDERA's adherents, the famous BANDERAITES, continued their fight on two fronts-against HITLER and against Russia. Stepan BANDERA has remained their unquestionable Leader.

In 1945 the Soviets made a thorough search after Stepan BANDERA all over Western Europe. Although at that time BANDERA was in a place which belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence, he was not identified. The Soviets have not found him. BANDERA is alive. Some time it may cost Russia dear because ^{the} the striving for independence of the peoples enslaved by Russia, primarily that of the Ukrainian people, has always been a mortal danger threatening the unity and strength of the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian problem has always been the weakest point of the Soviet Union, and it may undermine the very existence of the whole Soviet empire. The speeches made by KHRUSHCHEV, KAGANOVICH and others in summer 1954 on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the reunion of the Ukraine and Russia, which accused the West of "supporting the Ukrainian nationalism due to imperialist motives", prove that Russia does not know how to solve the Ukrainian problem, despite the fact that it has gained the victory and in spite of its ruthless terrorism in the Ukraine. Those speeches prove more convincingly than any other arguments that the Ukrainian people continues to offer resistance to Russia, and that this resistance increases. Stepan BANDERA who sits before me is the head, aspiration and conscience of the Ukrainian resistance movement.

I have met with BANDERA in order to put to him a few questions concerning the organization, methods and objects of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Would you be so kind, Mr BANDERA, as, first, to tell me what the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is like and how it acts.

BANDERA: The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which organizes and leads the fight of the Ukrainian people develops its activity in the Ukraine as well as abroad, primarily in those western countries where the Ukrainian emigration has settled. Between those two parts of the Ukrainian liberation movement there is maintained a communication service across the Iron Curtain, which is based on the courier principle. Armed groups of messengers recruited among members of OUN and soldiers of UPA/Ukrainian Insurrection Army/ are sent from the Ukraine abroad and vice versa; they make their way along secret routes in a way which is known to proper organs only; often they force their way by force of arms from one unit of the Organization to another.

HOPPE: Can you, Mr BANDERA, tell us the details of the communication service between you and your underground groups in the Ukraine?

BANDERA: Before their departure the members of a connecting group receive and study exhaustive verbal reports, explanation of the general situation and individual important events, the tendency of their development, as well as reports on the state, activity and plans of the respective parts of the liberation movement. From time to time leading members of the Organization go to the Ukraine and vice versa along with connecting groups in order to strengthen the personal contact between the Governing Body in the Native Country and that in the emigration, and to carry out special instructions. Those leading members carry most exhaustive verbal informations. Besides verbal reports, the connecting groups also carry in both directions the mail which includes various documents, reports, encoded instructions, originals and copies of important publications, copies of periodicals and the like. Due to extraordinary difficulties, the couriers cannot be sent very often. The starting-bases on both sides are at an above one thousand kilometres distance from each other. This route which often crosses the territory occupied by the Bolsheviks is blocked by numerous refined obstructions in order to make every uncontrolled infiltration impossible.

It is especially difficult to cross two or three frontiers and borderlands with wire-entanglements, depopulated and ploughed zones cleared of forests with electric barbed wire obstructions, mine barrages, masked and concealed alarm devices, flares and a great number of frontier guards and their patrols.

HOPPE: I can imagine what sacrifices are required by the maintenance of your communication with the Ukraine...

BANDERA: The maintenance of the communication between the Native Country and the emigration belongs to the most difficult problems which the Organization must solve in its revolutionary fight and underground activity against Bolshevism. Strong-willed, reliable in the ideological and moral respect, courageous, self-sacrificing and shrewd members of the Organization are picked out in the Native Country and abroad for that service. The members of the communication service are trained and prepared thoroughly for their special tasks. Despite our efforts and in spite of the thorough training, on an average one half of the messengers die during the discharging of their duties. Sometimes the casualties are major. It happens that whole groups of the best fighters for freedom whose training and equipment required much trouble and money are completely annihilated by the enemy. However, the broken communication is repaired by new groups and the destroyed routes are replaced by new ones, but this requires new expenses.

Besides the so-called "living" communication which is maintained by the couriers, the Ukrainian liberation movement has other ways and means by which the part of the Organization in the Native Country and that in the emigration keep in touch with each other. However, the couriers' service is most important because such a communication is the surest and most exhaustive one. News, documents and comments on individual events and tendencies of the development of the situation, which are sent in both directions, are important not only because of their contents. They make possible the proper understanding of news which

are broadcast by radio and sent by the press and various publications across the Iron Curtain in both directions. Thanks to its own informations on the processes and events in the Soviet Union which are concealed from the West by the Soviet Government-ZCh OUN is able to comment properly on the official informations of the Soviet Government which are disseminated by the press and radio in a distorted and one-sided form.

Therefore, our appraisal of various processes and events of the political life in the Soviet Union differs from the similar appraisal by western observers and politicians most of whom rely on Soviet official news and sources.

On the other hand, the news and comments brought to the Ukraine from the units abroad help the units of OUN in the Native Country ~~to~~ appraise properly the political development on this side of the Iron Curtain and contend against the Russian propaganda.

HOPPE: Mr BANDERA, what do the vast masses of the Ukrainian people think of communism and Russian imperialism?

BANDERA: The Ukrainian people takes up an extremely hostile attitude towards Bolshevism, communism, communist system and regime. It also takes a hostile attitude towards all the kinds of enslavement and exploitation of the Ukraine by Russian imperialists. There is only a small number of Ukrainian fellow travelers of the Bolshevik regime who take up another attitude towards it. The revolutionary anti-Bolshevik fight of the Ukrainian liberation movement is the true spokesman of the attitude and aspiration of the Ukrainian people. The broad masses of the Ukrainian people support this movement by every possible means and follow its political leaders. In consequence of that the Bolshevik government is faced by a mass passive resistance and active sabotage of its plans and actions in different spheres. It is evident primarily in the field of national and cultural life as well as in the social and economic policy of the Government.

14 Dec. 1954

HOPPE: By what means does Russia maintain its power over the Ukrainians?

/To be continued. All rights reserved by the Northwestern German Radio Station COLOGNE/.

THE GERMAN RADIO STATION COLOGNE HAS AN INTERVIEW

WITH STEPAN BANDERA

/Completion/

HOPPE: By what means does Russia maintain its ruling over the Ukrainians?

BANDERA: The ultimate end of the Bolshevik policy is to destroy the peculiar substance of the Ukrainian people in every respect, and to drown the Ukrainian people in the sea of the so-called Soviet people or, rather, in the modern form of the Russian imperialism devouring other people. In this way the Ukraine would allegedly turn into one of the Russian provinces. However, the Bolsheviks dare not speak openly of that end and ~~to~~ pursue it in a straight way. On the contrary, they are compelled to apply very complicated means, and even to retreat in some fields. Russia is compelled to do so, on the one hand, by the firm attitude of the whole Ukrainian people in its fight against the Russian imperialism and communism and the revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian nationalistic liberation movement, and on the other hand, by the numerical strength of the Ukrainian people and the universal potential of the Ukraine. The striving for independence of the Ukrainian people has not been broken by Russia either by means of mass liquidation of the leading national cadres or by the unheard-of terrorizing of the whole Ukrainian people, which were carried on by the Soviets from the year 1930 to World War II by means of an artificial famine, mass deportations and executions. Besides the terrorizing ~~and~~ all the opponents of Bolshevism, Russia is trying to apply new tactics: to change the striving for independence of the Ukrainian people into Soviet patriotism. Those tactics manifest themselves especially in today's Soviet propaganda which recently began to emphasize the role of the Ukraine as the second in size Soviet republic, to emphasize the grandeur of the Ukrainian people, the weight of the Ukrainian culture

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and the Ukraine and its people in general.

HOPPE: What do you think, Mr BANDERA, about the subjection of the Crimean peninsula to the administration of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, which took place after the year 1945, the demonstrative celebrations of this year of the incorporation of the Ukraine in the Soviet empire on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the PEREYASLAV treaty, the nomination of communists with Ukrainian names, loyal to Russia, to high public posts, and today's Russian tactics with regard to the Ukraine?

BANDERA: In this way Russia tries to convince the Ukrainians that the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people could have in the framework of USSR the best opportunity to develop, an opportunity to satisfy its national and political aspirations and even to become a ruling nation. Especially the latter possibility is emphasized by the Soviet propaganda which says that the "great Russian people" is willing to share its hegemony with the "great Ukrainian brotherly people". Behind this suggestion there is a Russian endeavour to connect the Ukraine with the Soviet imperialism, to make the Ukraine propagandize and defend it along with the Russians and to make the fate of the Ukraine dependent on its fate.

The Russian treacherous plans with regard to the Ukraine manifest themselves in the resettlement of the Ukrainian population, primarily that of the youth, to sparsely populated regions of Soviet Asia, which became recently well known. This resettlement is being carried on under the pretext of population of the virgin soil and changing it into arable land. The whole migration is allegedly voluntary. In fact, however, ^{it is} the Soviet national policy which is being realized by this new form of forced resettlement.

Economic plans play a second-rate role in this resettlement. By those means the Soviets try to decrease the Ukrainian youth and to weaken the potential of the population of the Ukraine.

In the new regions the resettled people should play the role of colonizers who, on the one hand, are completely dependent on the Soviet regime and must realize its colonial policy, and on the other hand, they will bring the hatred of the indigenous population upon themselves. The object of this policy is to weaken the national aggregate and the power of resistance in the Ukraine as well as in the colonized lands and to sow dissension among the peoples enslaved by Russia, primarily the Ukrainians and the Turkmen population.

However, Bolshevik Russia will not gain its end. Everything will be against Russia. The Siberian concentration camps and forced settlements will be unable to break the fighting spirit of the Ukrainians and their hate toward Bolshevism and Russian imperialism. Neither will they be able to influence the profound friendship of the peoples enslaved by Russia.

In the hearts of the Ukrainians there is no feeling of hate toward the allied nations. On the contrary, they wish all the peoples to unite in their common fight against the enslaver, Russian Bolshevism.

HOPPE: Mr BANDERA, what are the political objects of your Organization?

BANDERA: The anti-Bolshevik liberation fight in the Ukraine which is being carried on by the nationalist underground organization has already lasted 10 years. The ~~main~~^{main} objects of this fight are:

1. Destruction of the Bolshevik rule;
2. Separation of the Ukraine from USSR and liquidation of the Russian empire on the whole;
3. Liquidation of communism, communist system and regime;
4. Restoration of the Independent Ukrainian State within its national ethnographic frontiers with a democratic system of governing which would guarantee the democratic freedoms in all the spheres of life of all the citizens of the Ukraine, primarily in the sphere of spiritual, cultural, political and social life.

HOPPE: Would you be so kind, Mr BANDERA, as to explain in detail the conception "Ukrainian nationalism"?

BANDERA: Today the anti-Bolshevik liberation fight in the Ukraine is organized and led by OUN, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The conceptions "Ukrainian nationalist", "nationalistic movement", differ from similar terms used in the West. The Ukrainian nationalistic movement has nothing in common with Nazism, fascism or national-socialism. Ukrainian nationalism is fighting against imperialism, chauvinism, hatred among peoples, against totalitarianism, racism, dictatorship and violence of any kind.

The name "Ukrainian nationalist" is consonant with "Ukrainian patriot" who is ready to fight for freedom of his people, to sacrifice for his people everything he has, even his life.

Ukrainian nationalism sets off the idea of independence and a free development of every nation against the so-called Bolshevik internationalism. We fight against the Bolshevik endeavours to impose the ~~Russ~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ Russian rule on other nations. We oppose every form of Russian Bolshevism in every sphere of life.

HOPPE: In what form does the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists carry on its fight in the Ukraine today?

BANDERA: During World War II and in the first years after the War the Ukrainian liberation fight was carried on in the form of partisan warfare of the Ukrainian Insurrection Army, in which the broad masses of the Ukrainian people participated. Since 1949 the military activity of the Ukrainian Insurrection Army has decreased. However, its cadres have been maintained as a skeleton organization of its units for future operations. The revolutionary anti-Bolshevik fight of the ^{Ukrainian} ~~Russian~~ people continues in the form of a political underground work. The task of the underground organization is to change the concealed hate toward the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism and the enslavement of non-Russian peoples living in the Soviet Union-into an active resistance to Russia.

26 Dec 1934

The Ukrainian liberation fight is a component part of the general liberation fight of all the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism. In our opinion, Bolshevism is only one of the forms of the traditional Russian imperialism. In our fight against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism we consider ourselves an ally of all the freedom-loving nations. We offered resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism in the past, we are opposing it now and we shall oppose it in the future.

CONFIDENTIAL

Official-Informal

CONFIDENTIAL

American Embassy
Paris, France
April 29, 1955

Dear Mr. Beam,

This is a Peripheral matter relating to the Soviet Union.

A generally reliable Polish emigre source whom we saw on April 28, 1955, citing contacts in the Ukrainian nationalist emigration, tells us that the nationalist leaders BANDERA and STETSKO are presently visiting Paris on a highly confidential mission involving conversations with French intelligence services. Source claims that Bandera and Stetsko are conducting negotiations with these services in connection with a Ukrainian emigre project related to operative work in the Ukraine. Source adds, however, that while obtained from responsible Ukrainians in the emigration, the report should be treated with reserve since the two Ukrainian leaders in question are known to be viewed with disfavor by the French authorities for their past pro-German affiliations, and their visit to Paris seems therefore improbable unless some major considerations have brought the French authorities to review their former attitude.

Sincerely,

Natalie C. Grant
Political Analyst

Jacob D. Beam, Esquire,
Director, Office of Eastern European Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

ETP: [unclear]

Handwritten mark, possibly initials or a signature.

FOR COORDINATION WITH STATE

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

IP DATE 2006

VIA _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA ROUTE)

DL (CH NO. 788-1515)

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION
MICROFILMED
JUN 1 1962

1 Aug 55

TO : Chief, SR
Attn: _____
FROM : Chief of Station, Germany

DATE: _____
RO. SER. _____
INFO: EE, COS/G, FOS, DSB

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Operational/REDSOX/LGIMPROVE/RESATH/AERODYNAMIC
SPECIFIC - AERAPPELIN Reports - HSB Operation KARMEN

- References: A. MUNI-0527, dated 14 June 1955
- B. VIER-5471, dated 22 June 1955
- C. DIR-09242, dated 17 June 1955
- D. EGMA-15070, dated 19 April 1955

1. Attached herewith are the following reports relative to the two letters sent to ZCh/OUN during May 1955 as described in reference A:

a. Translation of AERAPPELIN's report, dated 7 June 1955, entitled "HQB's Operation KARMEN /against Ukrainian Groups".

b. AERAPPELIN's reproduction of KARMEN's letter to the ZCh/OUN which was intercepted by the anti-BANDERA ZCh/OUN and which AERAPPELIN obtained from Fedir YUREVYCH.

c. Translation of AERAPPELIN's report, dated 29 March 1953, entitled "Yuriy BORODAYEVICH and UPA Soldiers"; omitted from this report is an attachment entitled, "Yuriy BORODAYEVICH's Report to the SB", obtained from SB archives by AERAPPELIN, which AERAPPELIN again includes in Attachment A above, as paragraph 3.

d. Yuriy BORODAYEVICH's "Protocol" concerning the Slovaks from Bratislava which BORODAYEVICH attached to his cover letter in Attachment C, above.

2. Re reference D, paragraph 2, it is requested that Vienna forward the enclosure to Headquarters for translation.

DECLASSIFIED

27 July 1955

Attachments: a/s HERewith

Distributions:

- 1 - Wash (DIRECT) w/atts. in dup.
- 3 - COS/G w/1 co. ea. atts.
- 1 - Vien w/1 co. ea. atts.
- 1 - Brln w/1 co. ea. atts.
- 1 - MGB w/1 co. ea. atts.

Removed from Protection
S Classification
Date 7/2/82

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| 5 | 3/2/55 |

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FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR 1949

INDEX

SECRET

Attachment C to EGMA-16159

KAPOK
SR/CI/R

SUBJECT : Yuriy BORODAYEVICH and UPA Soldiers

INFO DATE: 29 March 1953

SOURCE : AECAPPELLIN from Ivan KASHUBA; personal discussions with BORODAYEVICH; Fedir VENGER (at date of report in Salzburg, now in Munich), SB Archives

MICROFILMED
JUN 1 1962

1. Early in 1947, a group of UPA soldiers under Commander MAR left its way across Slovakia to Munich. In this group was Yuriy BORODAYEVICH, who later, at the instructions of MAR made two trips to Slovakia in order to organize a net to be used for the exfiltration of UPA personnel from the Ukraine and Slovakia to Vienna.

2. BORODAYEVICH was in Slovakia in the period 9-25 April 1948. Returning to Germany, he brought with him a group of Slovaks who remained in Salzburg. In Germany, on 30 May 1948, BORODAYEVICH gave the SB two reports, copies of which are enclosed. In addition to the group of Slovaks, BORODAYEVICH escorted from Vienna to Salzburg and later to Germany, a group of UPA men, whose photographs are enclosed.

3. The SB suspected that MAR and BORODAYEVICH were Soviet agents. There is basis for such suspicion. In the beginning of 1950, BORODAYEVICH, at the instructions of the SB, went to Vienna and there he allegedly was arrested by the MGB. KASHUBA states that from 1947 BORODAYEVICH was a Soviet agent; that there were other such agents in the UPA group which BORODAYEVICH and MAR left Germany. I have obtained the photographs of these UPA men from Fedir VENGER but I have not been able to learn their true names or their pseudonyms. This might be accomplished through ZPUHVB, Misiya PUA or through ZCH/CUN informants.

Has this been seen done?

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Date *2-2-1-1948*

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hr t D to EGMA-16159

SUBJECT: Yuriy BORODAYEVICH's Protocol concerning the Slovaks from Bratislava

SR/CAR

1. Obtaining the password and contact from Munich from MAR to one of the Slovaks from Bratislava, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with other Slovaks who were known as trustworthy persons. None of them knew anything about me and I posed as a Pole who was smuggling sugar from Slovakia to Vienna. The persons I escorted to Salzburg intended even earlier to go to the Americans because they were threatened by arrest. And thus, on 24 April, five persons went on their way to Vienna escorted across Moravia by a Slovak. Two Slovak girls went with me; one had an American boyfriend and wanted to go to Vienna; the other had a boyfriend, a member of the Slovak underground in Munich from whom I carried a letter for her in Bratislava.

2. The following persons went from Vienna to Salzburg:

- a. Zlatica BERNHARDT (or BERNVARTH or BERNART)
- b. Katarina BENE nee BENTSOVA
- c. Marica FRANKOVA
- d. Vladislav BENE *see next page for H card.*
- e. Eugene KAY ZER or KAISER
- f. Vojtech HALFI
- g. Ivan LYAMPERT
- h. Josef BURGER
- i. Karol KRETTIV
- j. Wilhelm SVOBODA *see next p. for H card.*

MICROFILMED
JUN 1 1962
DOC. MICRO. SER.

3. The following persons came from Vienna to Bratislava:

a. Zlatica BERNHARDT or BERNVARTH; Born 22 January 1910 in the village of Kromoch; has lived in Bratislava since 1938 as the wife of a Carpatho-Ukrainian. Her husband was repatriated forcibly and she had an affidavit for migration to America. She decided to leave Slovakia illegally because she feared she would be persecuted because of her husband.

b. Katarina BENE nee BENTSOVA; Born 28 August 1926 in Poprad; daughter of a peasant from Miroslav; married in 1935 to a Slovak, Vladislav BENE, in Bratislava. Both were evicted from their home in Bratislava, because the husband did not want to become a Communist, and went to relatives in Miroslav, thence "black" to Vienna. I spent one night with her parents and can live there any time. The parents are good people.

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DPB *USSR* *Sec F*
c. Maritza FRANKOVA: Born 12 April 1926 in Hungary; her mother is Hungarian and her father Slovak. She finished school and speaks Hungarian, German, English and Russian. Before 12 February 1948, she traveled to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland as an intelligence agent and had contacts with Minister fnu DURCANSKI. Her boyfriend fled and she decided to leave her mother and join her boyfriend in Munich, West Germany?

DPB *USSR*
d. Vladislav BENE: Born 14 June 1920 at Klotroski where he traveled by boat on the Danube. Speaks Hungarian, Serbian and German. Since 1938 has been in Slovakia. Since 1941 he has traveled by boat to Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria and Germany. On 25 February 1947 he was fired because he transported Slovaks by boat from Yugoslavia to Slovakia. He had not lived or worked in Bratislava until that date. On 18 March 1948, he was evicted from his home and was called in by the Seventh Odbor because he transported people. He was allowed to be free but, fearing arrest, he escaped with his wife to Vienna. He wants to work and travel to Hungary for the Americans as an intelligence agent. I have derived many contacts in Bratislava through him. Δ Vienna, Austria Interested in intel work

DPB
e. Eugene KAISER: Born 15 October 1910 in Bratislava. He is Hungarian and speaks Slovak, Hungarian and English. Lived permanently in Bratislava and worked for the technical firm Siemens. During the period of the Slovak state, he worked in a dynamite factory at Filips, and was in Slovakia from 1944 to 1945. He has worked in a factory office in Bratislava since 1947. He has never been a Communist. He escaped after he was evicted from his home because he is Hungarian. Moreover, he was called to the Seventh Odbor where he was interrogated about his contacts with the Polish consul, fnu OTAZHINSKI, in 1939, to whom he gave information concerning Czechoslovakia. Fearing that he would be re-interrogated, he decided to flee to the Americans and join their army.

DPB
f. Vojtech HALLFI: Born 23 April 1910; a tailor; always alone; worked for a firm from which he was fired because he is Hungarian; decided to escape to Americans.

DPB
g. Ivan LYAMPERT: Born 16 September 1923, in Beksamal, Hungary; remained in Hungary until 1938; served in the army for three months; was repatriated to Slovakia as a Slovak during 1946; worked as a tailor; he doesn't favor the regime and searches for the possibility of going to Canada to work as a tailor.

DPB
h. Josef BURGER: Born 12 June or January 1922, in Hungary; a Slovak who from the beginning of the war was a Communist but learned Bolshevik reality and joined the Democratic Party in Szna Banja. He favors a common Czech-Slovak state, but wants Slovaks in Slovakia. Participated in the uprising in Slovakia during 1944 but later fled. Was in the Slovak Army from 1941, having served even in the Caucasus. In 1945, he went to work voluntarily with the finance-border police and was located on the Slovak-Carpatho-Ukraine border at Kosomoe, 15 kilometers from Ushorod. In January 1948 he went for training to Bratislava (as required for every finance guard). Since the Communist coup in 1948, he has planned to escape to the Americans and join their army. He left his uniform in Hokenon on the Austrian border.

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i. Karl KRETSIV: Born 15 September 1914, at Satov, Moravia; a Czech; speaks German well; worked as a ship's captain on the Danube during 1938-45; during 1936-38, he was in the Czech army as a rakunkovyy (accountant); wife is Hungarian, and remained behind in Popice, okres Znojmo. During 1936-38, he was in Josefstadt and spent nine months in Brno. Liked all nationalities and was anti-Communist. The Germans wanted to naturalize him. On 15 May 1945, he was called to the SNE in Slovakia and later in the ZIUZ where they checked the documents of soldiers to determine if they are collaborators. Later, he was the proprietor of a restaurant in Popice. He fled because in 1945, when he led the organization of the Social-Democratic Party against the CP, the elections showed that the Communists obtained 92% of the votes; in reality 60% of the votes were Social-Democratic. After the Communist coup, he was told that he must become a Communist and was threatened. He told his party members to remain loyal Social-Democrats. On 10 May, a police friend told him that he would be arrested. On 7 May, the Communists distributed leaflets with National-Socialist ideas and accused him of doing it. Therefore, he and Wilhelm SVOBODA escaped.

j. Wilhelm SVOBODA: Born 22 May 1909, at Tsikhkith; a judge from Tsintsnaymo. In 1945, he was a member of the Agrarian party and leader of the National-Socialist party. On 26 February 1948, he had to flee and hide since he was about to be arrested because of his connections with the National-Socialist party. He was under suspicion of planning a coup against the Communists. On 1 March, he returned home and was arrested and interrogated for two days by the Statnya Bespechnost!. He was freed but he did not want to go anywhere or talk with anybody. The police wanted to learn from him the trustworthiness of the National-Socialists toward the Czechoslovak government organs. He was suspected of collaboration with the Germans and during the period of the First Republic. On 27 February he was relieved from his duties as a judge and was transferred to Karl KRETSIV in Popice as a kakhta (meaning unknown) with the ruling that he was not to receive any salary.

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JUN 2 1968
DOD MICRO SER

An
Herrn Stephan Bijlich
München

Dachauer Strasse 9, Stiege 2, Stock 2, Redaktion
Deutschland.

Wien 18, Anastasius-Grüngasse 18, Krotjuk M.

Removed from Project *Redaction*
CS Classification: *7446-631-4*
IOB #: *63-53726*
Box: *9-Folig*

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All Regina 16159

Slawa Ukraine!

1. Die Lebensmittelgrosshandlung und Ex-und Importfirma Ecker & Co in Wien 7, Schottenfeldgasse 89 etabliert, gehört dem Lithographen Jakob Katz, am 23.9.1910 in Lwow geb., Staatsbürgerschaft ungeklärt, mos., ledig, in Wien 3, Geologengasse 8 bei seiner "Freundin" wohnhaft und polizeilich gemeldet. Jakob Katz ist sowjetischer illegaler Aufklärer. Die Firma wurde finanziell durch das K.G.B. unterstützt und ist gegenwärtig in Liquidierung.
2. Ein Oberst aus der Abteilung, wo Chochlow diente, bereitet das Attentat aus Berlin auf Bijlich und Mitglieder des Z.P. und ZP UGWA vor.
3. Diese Abteilung interessiert sich in Österreich für folgende Personen:
 1. Nikolas Kouyoumdiolou, Student, 3.5.1934 in Griechenland geb., Wien 9, Währingergürtel 130/I/I/13 wohnhaft.
 2. Pisezkij Kurt, geb. 1923, Wien 10, Quarinplatz 10/12, Stiege 2, Wohnung 10 wh.
 3. Wienerberger Anna Maria, geb. 1918, Wien 10, Landgutstrasse 23/I/5 wh.
 4. Mayer Germina, geb. 1923, Wien 2, Blumauergasse 23/5 wh.
 5. Dobretshofer Anton, geb. 1910, bis 1953 war Polizeichef des Pol. Koats des 21. Bezirks von Wien.
 6. Anna Fraksola, geb. Plotnikowa, /ihr Sohn in Woronesh/ 24.6.1889 in Moskau geboren, Wien 15, Alberichgasse 6/10 wh. Sie wird vielleicht als Briefkasten oder K.K. gebraucht.
4. Agente der Verwaltung für illegale Aufklärer der I Verwaltung des K.G.B. sind:
 1. Pany Ernst, geb. 1915, Wien 17, Jörgerstrasse 56/2/3/II wh.
 2. Karl Soukal, oder Manfred Prager, beide Tullnerbach-Lawies bei Wien/, Brenntenmaisstrasse 5a, wohnhaft.

S.U.

KARMEN

ICH BITTE UM MÖGLICHEST SCHNELLE ERHAFTUNG IHRER ADRESSE DURCH

"Salzburger Nachrichten"

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Attachment A to B -16159

SUBJECT : KGB's Operation "KARLEN" Against Ukrainian Groups

SOURCE : AECAPRELIN from Ivan KASHUBA, Fedir YUREVICH and Documentary

INFO DATE: 7 June 1955

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1. During 1948, the SB-ZCh/OUN in Munich began to build an operational network in Vienna and designated Yurko BORODAYEVICH as its organizer and its principal agent. Today, the SB has come to the conclusion that BORODAYEVICH and the majority of his sub-agents were Soviet agents and that the MGB, from the very inception, controlled this net and its activities. Because of this control the Soviets, with the assistance of BORODAYEVICH, have been able to infiltrate its agents into West Germany, into the ranks of the ZCh/OUN and to penetrate Czech and Slovak groups.

2. BORODAYEVICH, about 25 years of age, comes from Stanislaviv, Western Ukraine, where he became closely related with the family SHEPAROVICH. In 1943, he entered the ranks of SS Division "Galicia" and, in 1944, he fell a prisoner to the Soviets, at the age of 14. According to KASHUBA, while BORODAYEVICH was a prisoner-of-war, he was recruited by the Soviets and sent to Western Germany. There he entered the service of a French military mission where he served for one year. In 1946, he entered Slovakia illegally and continued traveling until he arrived in the Carpatho-Ukraine where he was captured by UPA (Ukrainian Resistance Army). He was interrogated for a long time and the UPA decided to liquidate him since they suspected that he was an enemy agent. However, he was not shot because MAH (pseudonym), commandant of another UPA unit who knew BORODAYEVICH personally, learned about his arrival to the Carpatho-Ukraine and interceded in his behalf. BORODAYEVICH accompanied this UPA unit when it exfiltrated to West Germany in 1947.

3. In April 1948, BORODAYEVICH went to Vienna from Slovakia, using false French documents, in order to fulfill Yurko MATVIYENKO's instructions, i.e. to organize a network which would establish a contact with the Carpatho-Ukraine. He was told to establish a base of operations in Vienna for these operations into the homeland. He remained in Slovakia during 9-25 April 1948, then he returned to Vienna. He returned to Germany on 22 May 1948 and gave MATVIYENKO the following report concerning his trip:

"During my stay in Slovakia during 9-25 April 1948, I was able to:

- a. Find definitely reliable people;
- b. Obtain information from them;
- c. Locate a place for overnight lodgings;
- d. Establish contacts with such organizations.

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- (1) A Captain of Csech Commissariat;
- (2) A Czech Captain who is commandant of a port in Bratislava;
- (3) An engineer in a dynamite factory in Bratislava;
- (4) A worker in a radio intercept station in Bratislava;
- (5) A SNB (Security Service) sergeant (pidstarshyna) in Trnava.

"I did not speak with these personalities personally; this was effected through a Slovak.

"Aside from this, I was able to recruit a person who, for sufficient payment, is able to travel to Uzhorod and thereby be our contact with the Carpatho-Ukrains.

"Having such assets at my disposition, I am ready to fulfill the following ZCh/OUN instructions:

- a. To organize an espionage network throughout the CSR;
- b. To establish contact from Munich-Vienna-Bratislava to the Carpatho-Ukraine;
- c. To organize a secret radio station.

"To fulfill the first point, I need the following support:

- a. One man to assist in (who speaks the Slovak language); I suggest that we use J. HILINSKY, former member of the SS Division "Galicia" whom I know personally and whom I have already investigated. *insufficient info to identify*
- b. One man for the Munich-Vienna-Bratislava contact; he should have an Austrian pass (passport), should know the German and Slovak languages and should know the border area. I can obtain additional Austrian and Slovak passports.

"If it is possible to find another such person, then it would be better to have him operate the Munich-Vienna or the Vienna-Bratislava section. I have two points with trustworthy individuals in Vienna where our people will be able to eat and stay overnight.

"Concerning the third point: Thanks to my acquaintanceship with and assistance of personalities of the Slovak underground in the CSR, I was able to receive a place for overnight lodgings and food. I must return to Slovakia in order to check these sites personally.

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"In order to fulfill this instruction, I must have:

- a. A sufficient amount of money for expenses and salaries of these cut-outs and Slovak informants;
- b. A code with which I would transmit my reports and maintain contact with the base;
- c. Agreed-upon passwords with the cut-outs and courier pseudonyms;
- d. One or two pistols for my personal protection in the event of compromise to myself or any of my collaborators.

"I request that a decision be made concerning this affair soonest in order that I may begin as soon as possible. I have already spoken with these Slovaks who await my return; they will give me all the necessary help in establishing contacts with the espionage net throughout the CSR.

GI/MIS *ec* / Written on 22 May 1948

4. ~~MATVIYEVKO~~ accepted BORODAYEVICH's proposition with minor changes and thus BORODAYEVICH went to Vienna in order to continue his work. He recruited the following personalities in Vienna:

- ~~Vasyl KOLOTYLO~~
- ~~Zenya (Zarya) KOLOTYLO~~
- ~~Petro KOCHKO~~
- ~~Vasyl KOSHYN~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~
- ~~Ivan KASHUBA~~

VIENNA, AUSTRIA UKRAINIAN EMISSEE
NUMBER OF ZCh/OUN

clerk file

main
syndicate

check file

All of them were at that time Soviet agents, including IVAN KOCHKO who worked both sides and who now resides in Munich. Through the contact point at Vienna, there passed ten UPA men who are suspected of having been recruited by the MGB even earlier. MATVIYEVKO sent his couriers through this Vienna contact point to Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine.

5. During 14-16 September 1949, BORODAYEVICH disappeared from Vienna. Later, it was rumored that he fled because the Soviets were to arrest him on the Enns River while he was enroute to Salzburg. This report remains unverified. After his disappearance, Vasyl KOLOTYLO and his wife, Zenya, wrote to the ZCh/OUN in Munich and proposed that they would accept the responsibility of continuing the SB station in Vienna. Although the SB, whose chief then was Ivan KASHUBA, was a little more cautious than earlier, they accepted their proposal. This collaboration flourished until 1953 when KASHUBA, convinced that the Vienna station was under MGB control, broke off contact with Vienna.

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6. I (ABCAPELLIN) and later, Ivan KASHUBA, became convinced that the Vienna MGB not only controlled the operations of the Vienna station, but that the MGB suggested to BORODAYEVICH that he establish the Vienna station. When Myron MATVIKHYKO accepted this plan, then the MGB infiltrated this station with its own agents. During this time, the MGB received information from BORODAYEVICH concerning the SB operations, the activities of the "Homeland Contact" section and the ZCh/OUN Provid in Munich. This information enabled the MGB to study the situation in Munich very carefully and it enabled the MGB to gain an entree into the OUN in the homeland. This was achieved via interception of couriers which passed from Munich through Vienna to the Ukraine.

7. The MGB did not bother the ZCh/OUN after the SB broke contact with its Vienna station. However, now the MGB has initiated new action which I entitle, "MGB Project 'KARMEN'". The reason I have named this follows:

During early May 1955, a letter arrived from Vienna to Stepan BYLYKH (BYLICH), Dachauerstrasse 9, Stiege 2, Stock 2, Redaktion, Munchen, Deutschland. The return address was: Wien 18, Anastasius-Grungasse 18, M. KHOTJUK (KROTYUK). The contents and envelope were typewritten in the German language and it bore the direction, "Drugi Chadu" (Friend Chad). (MGB COMMENT: "Chad" is Ivan KASHUBA's pseudonym.) The contents were signed, "KARMEN". Because the letter was addressed Dachauerstrasse 9/II, it is apparent that it was directed to the Ukrayinsky Samostiyuk, Bryhoriy ROMARYNSKYI, whose task is to disseminate the mail to the BANDERAITES in this building, passed this letter to Ivan KASHUBA. I personally haven't read the contents of this letter but KASHUBA related the following partial contents:

CARRON?
(3 years ago)

- a. The MGB section, in which KHOKHLOV formerly served, two years ago was preparing for the assassination of Stepan BANDERA. This attempt failed because of a provocation related with the individuals who were designated to execute it. The MGB was strongly concerned about this failure.
- b. The MGB has not forgotten this plan and intends to make another attempt to assassinate BANDERA ZPUHVR members via an MGB officer in Berlin.
- c. This assassination will take place in the Munich area where BANDERA lives under a pseudonym.
- d. The anonymous author informs ZCh/OUN and ZPUHVR that they should not send its couriers to the old addresses and should not use the old recognition signals because the MGB now has them and only awaits the arrival of these new couriers in order to apprehend them on the spot.
- e. The anonymous author furnishes a list of personalities in the Ukraine who were recently arrested by the MGB.

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f. The anonymous author lists several MGB collaborators in Austria, especially in Vienna, who are supposed to assist in the assassination of BANDERA and the ZPURVR personalities.

This letter also might contain mention of Myron ^XMATVIYEYKO's arrest.

The author also requests that, in order to verify that the letter was received, the addressee should place an ad in the Salzburger Nachrichten or in another Austrian newspaper.

8. The SB and ZCh/OUN Provid analyzed this letter and came to the following conclusions:

a. This letter was written by an MGB officer who has been associated with OUN affairs in the homeland and in the emigration.

b. He knows not only the pseudonyms of BANDERA, MATVIYEYKO and KASHUBA, but also pseudonyms of all SB and ZCh/OUN Provid members.

c. He forwards information which corresponds to 80 per cent of the truth.

d. He is very well oriented concerning the planned attempt at BANDERA's assassination in 1952 which the British and American police in Munich were surveilling.

e. He knows BANDERA's pseudonym and the address where BANDERA has been living for a long time.

f. He must have been a member of an important MGB center, perhaps in Kiev, and now is in Austria.

g. He must have had access to the top secret MGB documents because he forwards true names, addresses, dates of birth and other confidential biographical statistics.

9. The SB does not know what course of action to pursue in this affair. As yet, the SB has not placed the ad in an Austrian newspaper and thereby has not informed the anonymous author that the letter has been received. The SB has decided to await further events.

10. Because "KARMEN" did not receive a reply via the Austrian newspaper, she sent another letter to the same address on 25 May 1955. However, the SB did not receive this letter but it fell into the hands of the anti-BANDERA ZCh/OUN. Although this letter is less interesting than the first, it does throw some light on MGB plans or the plans of "KARMEN". Because I don't have the letter and therefore must rely on KASHUBA's word, I make the following conclusions:

Handwritten notes:
Check to see if
letter was
sent
? (check references)
date

Handwritten note: presumably KASHUBA was first letter

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a. The SB's analysis regarding the author, his role with the MGB and his knowledgeability concerning ZCh/OUN problems is approximately true. Either the author, or his cut-out, is very well informed concerning OUN activities in the homeland and in the emigration.

b. The operation which is covered in these letters is an important Soviet affair which they plan to carry out; the letters only indicate that preparations are being made to effect this action.

11. There are only two possibilities which can be surmised in this operation:

a. The MGB is preparing the basis for the dispatch to the West of an important MGB officer who ostensibly will execute the assassination of BANDERA and the ZPUHVR personalities. However, at the latest moment (similar to the KHOKHLOV case), this officer will not fulfill this assignment and will turn himself to the Americans or, even better, to the Germans. He will obtain the right of asylum and, after some time has elapsed (perhaps 10-15 years), he will take up an MGB assignment. The Soviets have been preparing for this affair for the past two years; it is for this reason that the letter mentions that the assassin will be an MGB official who served in the same section as KHOKHLOV. This MGB official has learned how KHOKHLOV was able to gain an entree to the West and will follow in KHOKHLOV's steps. The moral aspects of such a defection has already been justified. KHOKHLOV confessed to everything and has been left in peace, i.e., nothing threatens him. The attempt on BANDERA in 1952, which appeared to contain some reality, probably was not intended to be fulfilled, the intention being to publish their intentions to the British and Americans. It is for this reason that the author gives BANDERA's pseudonym and the address where BANDERA lived at that time and where the assassination was to have taken place in order to prove that he (the author) truly was a member of that particular MGB section and was aware of all that was going on. Perhaps he even was the responsible officer for that particular project. Thus, when he defects to the West he will confess the full aspects of that operation and his confession will have been checked both by the British, the Americans and the German authorities which surveilled the operation. The MGB officer will not necessarily be from the Ukrainian section; he only will be assigned to the German section through the Ukrainian section.

b. The planned assassination of BANDERA and ZPUHVR members is only a pretext and will not take effect. Actually, the aforementioned MGB officer will be instructed to defect to the West and give the Americans or Germans revealing information concerning the OUN in the Ukraine, its personalities, contacts with the Ukraine, etc., which will completely change the picture concerning the Ukrainian underground in the Ukraine, and which will force the West to revise its position concerning cooperation with Ukrainian nationalist agents with regard to their intelligence or espionage potential, etc. The MGB officers

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will give concrete information which he will fortify with concrete facts pointing out that beginning with such and such a year, all contacts with the Ukraine passed through the hands of the MGB, that such and such designated OUN and UHVR members have collaborated with the MGB since such and such a year, that all W/T channels were controlled by the MGB, that the material which was sent out was an ordinary MGB trick, that not one OUN member is free, that all have been liquidated or are in prison, that the split creating the pro and anti BANDERA factions was affected by the MGB, etc. Suffice it to say that this MGB officer can bring out such revelational material which will bring about a complete re-evaluation of the situation in the homeland. He certainly will state information which will be approximately 80 per cent true or which is already known in the West or which can be believed in one way or another. However, the rest of his information will be to the advantage of the MGB which cannot be checked and which will change the attitude in the West toward the OUN.

12. This is only my hypothesis but in my belief it remains within the realms of possibility. I cannot otherwise explain this refined action which has been planned by the MGB for the past two years.

13. It also must be mentioned that all the information which the author provides in these two letters will, after investigation, prove to be correct, i.e., concerning the MGB collaborators in Austria, the names and addresses of those collaborating in the assassination attempt, etc. The MGB knows that now, when Austria has neutrality, nothing will happen to those individuals. This is in reference to those "written off" (vidpysanykh) agents, that is, those for whom the MGB does not have any further need. I believe that the MGB in Vienna has penetrated every ministry, the police and that the MGB even has its agent-candidates to take over leading positions in the future Austrian army. Why should not the MGB risk Jakob KATZ or other minor agents who today do not represent any asset for the Soviets.

14. Attention should be given to the return address on these letters: M. KROTYUK (KROTJUK). Undoubtedly such a person lives at that particular address. He probably has lived in Austria for about 30 years, probably is an Austrian citizen, probably married to an Austrian woman and probably is the proprietor of some sort of transport business. Whether the author is using the name and address of this individual with the latter's consent or whether the latter is playing a role in this particular operation is not known. Perhaps he is one of the MGB links in this action.

15. In any event, I believe that this affair is extremely interesting and it would be worthwhile to monitor or control it further. The mistakes incurred by the anti-BANDERA ZCh/OUN should be corrected, i.e., it is necessary to re-mail the second letter from Austria to Munich. The SE does not know about the arrival of the second letter. To re-mail this letter in the original envelope is impossible because it has been mutilated by a member of the anti-BANDERA ZCh/OUN, i.e., he tore off the stamp and postmark and may have even destroyed the envelope. Certainly the individuals who are aware of this affair should remain silent; should the BANDERAITES learn that the anti-BANDERA ZCh/OUN have become knowledgeable then the former will forsake this affair and we won't be able to monitor it any further.

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PRAISE TO THE UKRAINEI

Cit ?

DFOB

no

Mis each card

1. The grocery wholesale and export and import firm, ECKER & CO., in Vienna 7, Schottenfeldgasse 89, belongs to the lithographer, Jakob KATZ, born 23 September 1910 in Lviv, citizenship unclear, Jewish, single, is registered with the police and lives at Vienna 3, Geologengasse 8, with his girl friend. Jakob KATZ is an illegal Soviet agent. This firm was financially supported by the KGB and is in the process of being liquidated.

2. A Colonel from the division in which KHOKHLOV served is preparing an attempt from Berlin on BJLICH and members of the ZCh (Notes: Actually ZP but believed to mean ZCh) and wife ZPUHVR. Of interest to RES and/or

3. This division is interested in Austria in:

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

no

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no

no

no

no

no

no

no

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no

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no

no

- a. ^{Dob} ~~Nikolas KOUYOUMDILOU~~, student, born 3 May 1934, Greece; Cit Greece? Vienna 9, Währingergürtel 130/I/1/13, Austria
- b. ^{Dob} ~~Kurt PISEZKA~~, born 1923; resides: Vienna 10, Quarimlatz, Austria, Wöge 2, Wohnung 10 wh.
- c. ^{Dob} ~~Anna Maria WIENERBERGER~~, born 1918; resides: Vienna 10, Landstrasse 27/I/5 wh, Austria
- d. ^{Dob} ~~Anton DOERETSCHNER~~, born 1910; until 1953 was the chief of police of the 21st precinct, Vienna, Vienna, Austria, Cit Austria?
- e. ^{Dob} ~~Mayer GERMINA~~, born 1923; resides: Vienna 2, Blumengasse 23/5 wh, Austria, Cit Austria?
- f. ^{Dob} ~~Anna FRASOLA, nee PLOTNIKOVA~~; (her son is in Voronezh) born 24 June 1889, Moscow; resides: Vienna 15, Alberichgasse 6/10, Austria. She was perhaps a letter drop or as (K.K.) - (address)

4. The following are agents of the sub-division for illegal agents of the 1st Section of the KGB:

- a. ^{Dob} ~~Felix BERNEI~~, born 1915; resides: Vienna 17, Jägerstrasse, Austria, 56/2/3/II wh.
- b. ^{Mis with work for RES} ~~Karl Soukal or Manfred PRAGER~~, both reside at: Tullnerbach-Lawies bei Vienna, Brenntenmalstrasse 53, Austria, work for RES

S.U. (Praise to the Ukraine)

KARMEN

Please let me know your address as soon as possible through the Salzburg Nachrichten.

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RES

2255110

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RHEGMA-16159

ENVELOPE:

Postmark: Wien 01
25. 5. 55 - 18
4.

An
Herrn Stephan BILJICHO
München
Dachauer Strasse 9, Stiege 2, Stock 2, Redaktion
Deutschland.

Wien 18, Anastasius-Grängasse 18, KROTJUL, M.

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AIR

FOIA-71780

Chief of Base, Munich

Chief of Station, Germany

INFO: SIS
b(1)(c)

Operational/Person Trace/ACCOMMODATION

Stefan HANSEN

REFERENCE: AUSA 6345, 25 November 1955

It will be appreciated if you will take over the action on reference since you are more familiar with subject and his activities than anyone in Frankfurt. A CBS trace would only duplicate yours and in all probability be less complete.

6 December 1955

Distribution:
2 - MCB
2 - SIS
3 - HQ

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

362
DATE : 7 DEC 55

S-E-C-R-E-T

FORM 1
CLASSIFIED BY
DATE

TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUMICH

ACTION: SR 16

INFO : I&B, CI, CI/OPS, CI/OA, FI, FI/OPS, FI/RI 2, EE 4, S/O 2

8 DEC 8 1955
RECORDED

MUMI 2571 (IN 30821)

2021Z 7 DEC 55

ROUTINE PREFERENCE

TO: DIR

INFO: FRAN, STUT

CITE: MUMI

REDDOOD LOIMPROVE

RE: EGSA 6549

Caratma file

1. REF INDICATES STEBAN BANDERA APPLIED FOR NON-IMMIGRANT VISA TO PBPRIME. ALTHOUGH HE OF NO DIRECT INTEREST MOB, CANNOT PASS LOGAL ODACID MUCH INFO BEYOND SKETCHY BIOG DATA SINCE MOB FILES REFLECT INFO PRIMARILY OF OP NATURE. ALSO UNABLE JUDGE WHETHER SMOTH-BANDERA AND SMOTH-KUBARK RELATIONS ENTER PICTURE.

2. WE PREFER NOT PASS ANY INCOMPLETE INFO, HENCE REQUEST AUTHORIZATION ADVISE LOCAL ODACID THAT HQS WILL FURNISH ODACID KUBARK TRACES AND RECOMMENDATIONS THIS MATTER. PLS-EXPEDITE.

3. ALSO [] REQUESTED BY LOCAL ODACID OUR INFO AND TRACES TARAS BULGA-BOROVETS WHO BEING PROCESSED FOR REGULAR VISA. REQUEST AUTHORIZATION ALSO ADVISE AS IN PARA 2 ABOVE THAT HQS TAKING NEEDED STEPS ADVISE ODACID.

END OF MESSAGE

*EX-11
SR-11*

S-E-C-R-E-T

Logged W/2

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Copy No.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

812
DATE : 30 DEC 55

S-E-C-R-E-T

| | | | |
|---|------|---|---|
| 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| 3 | Chom | 6 | |

15 Card w/3 CARDEL

TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUNICH

ACTION: SR 6

INFO : CI, CI/OPS, CI/OA, FI, FI/OPS, FI/RI 2, EE 4, S/C 2

File RECAVATINA-1
15013"

1 JAN 1956

ST CARDED

MUNI 2807 (IN 46717)

0001: 31 DEC 55

ROUTINE

TO: DIR

INFO: FRAN, STUT

PRECEDENCE
CITE: MUNI

REDWOOD LCIMPROVE AERODYNAMIC

- RE: A. MUNI 2571 (IN 38821) B. STUT 1870 (IN 39806)
- C. DIR 37659 (OUT 50034) D. EGMA 18250

1. EGSA 6349 GIVES FOLL INFO: AECAVATINA 1, DOB 1 JAN 09, POB UHRYNIW STARYJ, POLAND, CURRENTLY RESIDING BREITBRUNN, AMMERSEE 125, APPLIED TO MUNI AMCON FOR NON-IMMIGRANT VISA. HE INFORMED LOCAL ODACID HE ZCHOUJ/B HEAD. TRACES WERE REQUESTED BY CHIEF CIS PER EGSA 6349.

2. WE OBTAINED FROM AMCON AECAVATINA 1 APPLICATION FOR VISA (POUCHED PER REF D) WHICH INDICATES FOLL:

- A. HE TRAVELING IN NAME IDEN.
- B. DOB 1/9/09; POB JAROSLAV, POLAND;
- C. DESTINATION IS JOSEPH BANDERA, 51 WEIPSIK ROAD, GLASTONBURY,
- CONN.
- D. TRIP BEING FINANCED BY SHLYAKH PERENOKHA.
- E. PURPOSE OF TRIP IS "TO VISIT FAMILY".
- F. WILL VISIT U.S. ALONE FOR TWO MONTHS FROM CIRCA DEC 55

TO FEB 56.

S-E-C-R-E-T

Logged W/3

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

S-E-C-R-E-T

30 DEC 55
MUNI 2807 (IN 46717)
PAGE -2-

G. NO PHOTOS SUBMITTED.

3. AECASS 3 AND 6 HAVE NO INFO RE TRIP. AECAPELIN APPRISED BY
KASHUBA THAT AECAVATINA 1, GOING BUT GIVEN NO OTHER DETAILS. AECAPELIN
THEORIZES AECAVATINA 1 TRAVELING U.S. IN ORDER COUNTER ACTIVITIES OSYP
BOYDUNYK (DUN/M) WHO NOW U.S. (SEE EGMA 18498). AECAVATINA 1 AND STEYSKO
NOW AT LOGGERHEADS AND FORMER REFUSES PERMIT LATTER GO FOR WHAT APPEARS
BE POLITICAL PURPOSES STIRING ZHOUN/B MEMBERS U.S.

END OF MESSAGE

S-E-C-R-E-T

282

DATE: 30 DEC 55

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S-E-C-R-E-T | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| | 2 | 3 | | | | |
| | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |

11 Comp
u 3 CARDED

TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUNICH

ACTION: *SR 2*

INFO : EE 2, S/C 2

File
1501 "3"
5 SR 2

3 1955

of CARDED

MUNI 2809 (IN 46708) 2328Z 30 DEC 55 ROUTINE
 TO: DIR INFO: FRAN, STUT PRIORITY: MUNI
 REDWOOD LCIMPROVE AERODYNAMIC
 RE: MUNI 2807* (IN 46717)

IDEN: STEPHAN POPEL.

END OF MESSAGE

*CABLE SECRETARIAT COMMENT: NO RECORD IN CABLE SECRETARIAT.

103/86

102

S-E-C-R-E-T

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Via HLR
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA ROUTE)

DISPATCH NO. SCMA - 18250

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

DATE: 15 Jan. 1956

TO : Chief, SR
ATTN: []
FROM : Chief of Base, []

INFO: EE
COS

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational/REDWOOD/LCIMPROVE/AERODYNAMIC

SPECIFIC— AECAVATINA 1's Visa Application for Travel to the United States

Reference: A. MUNI 2807
B. DIR 37659

Transmitted under separate cover attachment is a copy of
AECAVATINA 1's application for a non-immigrant visa to the United
States.

Approved: []

3 January 1956

Attachment: SEPARATE COVER

Distribution:
4- WASH w/1 copy att s/c Encl s/c
3- COS w/o att
2- MOB w/1 copy att

gnt

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

Use 2nd W/S

CLASSIFICATION

46-33-4

EGMA 18250

wa C 10/27 5 Jan 1956

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FORM AS-196 (Rev. 5-4)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

APPLICATION FOR NON-IMMIGRANT VISA

Antrag auf zeitlich begrenztes Visum

APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE: EGMA 18250

NOTE - THIS FORM SHOULD BE TYPEWRITTEN OR PRINTED LEGIBLY WITH PEN AND INK. EACH QUESTION SHOULD BE ANSWERED, OR IF NOT APPLICABLE, STATE SO. ILLEGIBLE OR INCOMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRES CANNOT BE PROCESSED. A stamp for Machine use in larger block letters must be stamped on the form. UNTERFRAGEN MÜSSEN BEANTWORTET WERDEN, ODER, WENN NICHT ANWENDBAR, DARAUF BEZEICHNET WERDEN. UNTERSCHREIBUNG UND DRUCKSCHRIFT MÜSSEN IN GRÖßEREN BLOCKBUCSTABEN DRUCKT. DIE FÜR MASCHINENVERWENDUNG BESTIMMTEN FRAGEN MÜSSEN BEANTWORTET WERDEN.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| FAMILY NAME - Familienname: POPEL | FIRST NAME - Vorname: STEFAN | DATE OF BIRTH - Geburtsdatum: 1.9.1909 |
| PLACE OF BIRTH - Geburtsort: JAROSLAW | PROVINCE - Provinz: JAROSLAW | COUNTRY - Land: POLEN |
| HOME ADDRESS - Wohnung: BREITBRUNN A. AMMERSEE 125 | | |
| ACCOMPANIED BY - Begleitet von: | | |
| NAME AND ADDRESS OF NEAREST RELATIVE IN HOME COUNTRY - Name und Anschrift des nächsten Angehörigen im Heimatland: JAROSLAWA POPEL EHEGATTIN BREITBRUNN A. AMMERSEE 125 | | |
| ISSUED BY - Ausgegeben von: LANDRATS-STARBERG | DATE ISSUED - Datum der Ausstellung: 20. JAN. 55 | EXPIRES - Verfall: 29. 1. 1957 |
| NO. - Nr.: D104760 | ISSUED AT - Ausgegeben in: AMT | VALID FOR TRAVEL TO THE U.S. - Gültig für die USA: JA |
| HAIR - Haare: BRAUN | EYES - Augenfarbe: GRÜN-GRÜN | HEIGHT - Körpergröße: 180cm |
| WEIGHT - Körpergewicht: 75kg | COMPLEXION - Hautfarbe: WEISS | RACE - Rasse: WEISSE |
| SEX - Geschlecht: M | NATIONALITY - Staatsangeh.: STAATENLOS | ETHNIC CLASS - Volkszugeh.: UKRAINER |
| MARRIED - Verheiratet: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WIDOWED - Wittwer: <input type="checkbox"/> | DIVORCED - geschieden: <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SINGLE - Ledig: <input type="checkbox"/> | OCCUPATION - Beruf: SCHRIFTSTELLER - REDAKTEUR | |
| IF YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED IN OR REPORTED FROM ANY COUNTRY - Wenn Sie jemals verhaftet oder aus einem Lande ausgewiesen: INHAFTIERT IN KZ IN ORANIENBURG DEUTSCHLAND ALS MITGLIED UKRAINISCHER SELBSTÄNDIGKEITSBEWEGUNG | | |
| PERIOD AND INTENDED LENGTH OF STAY IN U.S. - Zweck der Reise und voraussichtliche Dauer der Aufenthaltszeit in den USA: FAMILIENBESUCH ca. 2 MONATE | | EXPECTED DATE OF ARRIVAL - Voraussichtliches Datum der Ankunft: DEZEMBER 1955 |
| | | EXPECTED DATE OF DEPARTURE - Voraussichtliches Datum der Abreise: FEBRUAR 1956 |
| OTHER NAMES BY WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN KNOWN (if married woman, give maiden name) - ICH BIN FÜR NACHFOLGENDER NAMEN BEKANNT (falls verheiratet) auch: BESONDERE ERKLÄRUNG VOR DEM HERRN GENERALKONSUL | | |
| PLACES IN THE U.S. PREVIOUSLY AS FOLLOWS - Woher Sie zuvor in den Vereinigten Staaten wie folgt: | | |
| DATE (Month, Year) - DATUM (Monat, Jahr): | | |
| FROM - VON: TO - BIS: CITY - STADT: STATE - STAAT: | | |
| OCT 28 1955 | | |
| NAMES OF PARENTS (if deceased so state) - NAMEN DER ELTERN (wenn verstorben, mit entsprechendem Vermerk): | | |
| MOTHER (Mutter) - MOTHER'S NAME - Muttername: ROSALIA KLSZLYK | MOTHER'S ADDRESS - Mutteradresse: VERSTORBEN IN WEST-UKRAINE | |
| FATHER (Vater) - FATHER'S NAME - Vatername: MICHAEL POPEL | FATHER'S ADDRESS - Vateradresse: UNBEKANNT DEPARTIERT IN SIBIRIEN IM J. 1941 | |
| IF NEITHER PARENT IS LIVING - Name and address of next of kin in home country - Falls beide Eltern verstorben sind, geben Sie Namen und Anschrift ihres nächsten Angehörigen: KEINE FAMILIE IN UKRAINE WURDE VOM NKVD INHAFTIERT | | |
| NAME - Name: JAROSLAWA POPEL geb. BANACH | | |
| ADDRESS - Adresse: BREITBRUNN A. AMMERSEE 22 MÜNCHEN 22 ROSENBUSCH | | |

| NAME - NAME | | ADDRESS - ANSCHRIFT | | DATE - DATUM | |
|----------------|--|---------------------|--|-----------------|--|
| IAROSLAW BANDA | | BRUNN & ANWENDE | | MÜNCHEN 1912 | |
| NATALIA | | ROSEI GASTR | | MÜNCHEN 1912 | |
| ANDRIS | | | | MÜNCHEN 1916 | |
| ANNA - LESIA | | | | REGENSBURG 1914 | |

| NAME - NAME | RELATIONSHIP - VERHÄLTNISS | NAME - NAME | RELATIONSHIP - VERHÄLTNISS |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| ICH REISE ALLEIN | | | |

| FORMER ADDRESSES (beginning at the age of 14) | | | |
|---|--------------|--|--|
| EISHERIGE ANSCHRIFTEN (von 14. Lebensjahr ab) | | | |
| DATE (month, day, year) | CITY - Stadt | PROVINCE - Kreis | COUNTRY - Land |
| FROM - von | TO - bis | | |
| 1923 | 1928 | STRYJ | WEST-UKRAINE |
| 1929 | 1934 | LWIM (LEMBERG) | WEST-UKRAINE |
| 1934 | 1940 (1940) | WARSAWA, SZKRYW WROCKI, BREST LITV KRAKOW, WARSAWA | INHAFTIERT IN POLEN FÜR POLITISCHE TÄTIGKEIT POLEN |
| 1940 | 1941 | BERLIN, ORANIENBURG K.Z. | INHAFTIERT VON GESTAPO |
| 1941 - 1945 | 1944, 1945 | MÜNCHEN U. ANDERE STÄDTE IN WESTDEUTSCHLAND | |

LIST BELOW THE NAMES OF ALL PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, SOCIETIES, FRATERNAL OR POLITICAL, OF WHICH YOU ARE OR HAVE BEEN A MEMBER, OR IN WHICH YOU ARE OR HAVE BEEN AFFILIATED WITH, INCLUDING DATES THEREOF AND ANY POSITION HELD IN CONNECTION THEREWITH (If none, you must so state) - GEBEN SIE DIE NÄMEN ALLER PARTEIER, ORGANISATIONEN, VEREINIGUNGEN, GESELLSCHAFTEN, GESELLSCHAFTLICHER ODER POLITISCHER AMT AM, IN DEM SIE JEWEILS MITGLIED GEBESEN SIND ODER DODEN SIE ANGEHÖRT, NACH UND NENNEN SIE DIE GENAUEN DATEN SOWIE JEDLICHE STELLUNG, DIE SIE DARIN BEKLEINET HABEN (falls nichts Zutreffend, geben Sie dies ebenfalls an)

UKRAINISCHE FREIHEITSBEWEGUNG
ORGANISATION UKRAINISCHER NATIONALISTEN

BESONDERE ERKLÄRUNG FÜR DEM HERRN, GENERALKONSUL

| REFERENCES - REFERENZEN (in the U.S. - in den USA) | |
|--|---|
| NAME - NAME | ADDRESS (street, city, province, country) - ANSCHRIFT (strasse, Stadt, Kreis, Land) |
| JOSEPH BANDERA | 51 HEIPSIC ROAD GLASTONBURY, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A. |
| IN HOME COUNTRY - in Heimatland | |
| JAROSLAW BENZAL | MÜNCHEN 8, ZEPPELINSTR. 67, UKR. VERLAG |

10. HAVE YOU EVER APPLIED TO ANY AMERICAN CONSUL... (EITHER FORMALLY OR INFORMALLY, FOR A VISA OR OTHER DOCUMENT AS AN IMMIGRANT OR...)

11. STATE WHEN AND WHERE AND WHETHER FOR IMMIGRANT OR NON-IMMIGRANT VISA

12. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED, CONVICTED, IN PRISON, IN AN ALMHOUSE, TREATED IN AN INSTITUTION, HOSPITAL OR OTHER PLACE, FOR INSANITY OR OTHER MENTAL DISEASE, THE BENEFICIARY OF A PAROLE OR PARDON?

13. EXPLAIN IN DETAIL - Falls zutreffend, erklären Sie im Einzelnen.

ALS FÜHRENDE MITGLIED UKRAINISCHER FREIHEITSBEWEGUNG - DUN - VON POLNISCHEN GERICHTEN VERURTEILT UND VOM JUNI 1934 - SEPTEMBER 1939 IN GEFÄNGNISSEN INHAFTIERT. VOM JULI 1941 - SEPT. 1944 VON GESTAPO VERHAFTET IN GEFÄNGNIS IN BERLIN UND IN KZ. - IN ORANIENBURG GEFANGEN GEHALTEN.

14. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ISSUED A PASSPORT OTHER THAN AS INDICATED ABOVE?

15. CHECK BACK OF PASSPORT OF 1939 AND CHECKED FOR THE PERIOD SINCE 1939

**REISEPASS SOSS/JY. WANDERSCHAF STARNBERG. 1951
REISEPASS REISEANWEIS DOSTEV " " 1953
SIE BESUCHTE: ENGLAND, BELGIEN, HOLLAND, ÖSTERREICH, ITALIEN, CANADA.**

16. AS IT APPEARS ON YOUR IDENTIFICATION CARD - In dem Sie wie folgt auf die Geburtsurkunde vermerkt

(BESONDERE ERKLÄRUNG) STEFAN

17. CHECK "YES" OR "NO" TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS - Beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen mit "Ja" oder "Nein".

18. HAVE YOU EVER CHANGED YOUR NAME OR OFFENSE? - Wurden Sie jemals eines Verbrechen oder Vergehens beschuldigt?

POLITISCH

19. HAVE YOU EVER HAD ANY MENTAL ILLNESS? - Hatten Sie jemals eine ernste Erkrankung?

20. HAVE YOU EVER IN THE U.S. AS RESIDENT OR VISITOR IN CIVIL INTERMENT? - Waren Sie jemals in den Vereinigten Staaten in Kriegsgefangenschaft oder Zivilinternierung?

21. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ISSUED A VISA OR OTHER DOCUMENT TO THE U.S.? - Wurde Ihnen jemals ein Visum für die USA erteilt oder wurden Sie nicht nach dem DEA eingereist?

22. GIVE DETAILS ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER FOR EACH QUESTION ANSWERED "YES" ABOVE.

23. THE PROVISIONS FOR YOUR COST OF LIVING IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY? - Von wem be-

**NONE - Kasse UKRAINISCHER VERLAG
"KALACH PEREMOHY" MÜNCHEN & ZEPPELINSTR 6/B**

24. HOW MANY YEARS POSSESSIBLE IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY? - Was für Besitz haben Sie im Heimatland?

AUTO, HAUSEINRICHTUNG 1 year 450 DM/Mo

25. WILL YOU DEFRAY THE EXPENSES OF MY JOURNEY TO THE U.S. AS FOLLOWS: (attach confirming statements, if applicable) - Ich werde die Kosten meiner Reise nach den Vereinigten Staaten wie folgt decken: (fügen Sie gegebenenfalls Dokumente zur Bestätigung bei.)

VON BEKOHME DAS REISEGELD VOM UKR. VERZITUNGSVERLAG

5 JAN. 1956

DO YOU HAVE A ROUND TRIP TICKET TO THE U.S. AND RETURN? - Haben Sie eine Fahrkarte fuer Ihre Reise nach den. . . und zurueck? YES - Ja NO - Nein

DO YOU TRANSIT THE U.S. . . DO YOU HAVE A TICKET TO YOUR FINAL DESTINATION? - Falls Sie durch die USA durchreisen, besitzen Sie eine Airkarte bis zu Ihrem Bestimmungsort? YES - Ja NO - Nein

STANDARD PORT OF ENTRY TO THE U.S. - Voraussichtlicher Anlegehafen NEW YORK

MY PRESENT MAILING ADDRESS IS (state only, if different from home address cited above) - MEINE GEGENWAERTIGE POSTAN - SCHRIFT LAUFT (nur anzugeben, falls andere als obige Heimatadresse) MÜNCHEN 8, ROSENBUSCHSTR 6/3, 4. MÜNCHEN 8, Zeppelinstr. 6

MY PRESENT TELEPHONE NUMBER IS - Ich bin telefonisch erreichbar unter 42038 München

MY DESTINATION IN THE U.S. IS - Mein Bestimmungsort in den Vereinigten Staaten ist 51. Neipsic Road, GLASTONBURY, CONNECTICUT

REMARKS - Bemerkungen

München, 27. Oktober 1955

Stefan Popel

DATE - Datum

SIGNATURE - Unterschrift

SECRET

19 January 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Security

ATTENTION: []

SUBJECT: Stefan Bandera

1. Munich has cabled that Stefan Bandera, using the alias of Stefan Kopel, has applied to the Munich Consul General for a non-immigrant visa to the United States for two months, allegedly "to visit family". The U.S. specific destination was given as the home of Joseph Bandera, Glastonbury, Connecticut.

2. Stefan Bandera's agents, as is well known, attempted to terrorize Ukrainian DP's in the camps of post-war Germany, committing violence on the inmates and not stopping at murder. It is known that his adherents have attempted to exert pressure on Ukrainian DP's who have emigrated to the United States on behalf of his organization. Bandera publishes a newspaper in Western Germany and his extremist political organization promotes an avowedly totalitarian ideology. The paper also regularly attempts to stir up national animosities and indulges in unrelenting attacks on the United States—urging its readers not to cooperate with United States authorities. The organization still practices terrorism in the emigre communities.

3. Bandera and his organization are widely disliked by emigres of many political persuasions and nationalities. It is believed that Bandera wishes to come to this country to conduct political agitation against legitimate Ukrainian organizations with ties with Ukrainian groups abroad, which the Agency supports or upon which it looks with favor.

4. The granting of a visa would prejudice the interests of the United States. It would alienate an important segment of emigre opinion, and raise the prestige of an emigre figure whose objectives are opposed to those of the United States. It would create an exaggerated impression of Bandera's power and importance, and demonstrate that vicious attacks on the United States and United States interests by emigres need be no bar to securing an American visa. Granting a visa would also impair relationships with the British, who severed relations with Bandera as the result of CIA representations.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 25X(2)
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

SECRET

[]

SECRET

5. It is requested that the Office of Security inform the Department of State of the true identity of "Stefan Popel" and of our views on the matter, so that the Department may take appropriate action.

[]

Distribution:

- Orig & 2 - Addressee
- 1 - SP/a
- 1 - []
- 1 - []

SECRET

130

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

DATE : 9 FEB 56

S-E-C-R-E-T

| ROUTING | | | |
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| 2 | 3 | 5 | |
| 3 | Chino | 6 | |

TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUNICH

ACTION: GR 6

INFO : CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/OPS, FI/RI 2, PP 2, PP/OPS, EE 4, S/C 2

18 FEB 56

SR

MUNI 3192 (IN 21412)

141Z 9 FEB 56

ROUTINE
PRECEDENCE

TO: DIR

INFO: FRAN

CITE: MUNI

REDWOOD AERODYNAMIC

RE: A. DIR 43782 (OUT 61541) W3

B. MUNI 2848 (IN 48265)

C. MUNI 2807 (IN 46717)

1. RE FIRST SENTENCE REF A, AMCONGEN ADVISES HAS NO WORD FROM ODACID WASH RE DENYING VISA TO ACCAVATINA 1 WHO OVERDUE CONTINUE PROCESSING; REQUESTS MATTER BE CLARIFIED SINCE HAS NO LOCAL AUTHORITY DENY VISA.

2. RE SECOND SENTENCE REF B, SEE PARA 2A REF C.

3. RE PARA 3 WILCO ON RECEIPT INFO FROM AECASS 3.

4. FYI: ACCORDING AECAV 1 PRESENTLY UNDERGOING EXHAUSTIVE INTERROGATION BY MUNI KD 2 RE IDENTITY AND ACTIVITIES GERMANY WITH VIEW FINDING SOME CHARGE AGAINST HIM.

END OF MESSAGE

S-E-C-R-E-T

18 FEB 1956 W3

Labeled W/3

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

VIA: _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

DIS. #1 NO. EGMA-19397

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief, SB
Attn: []
FROM : Chief of Base, Mullon
SUBJECT: GENERAL— REDWOOD/LCIMPROVE/ABBATH
SPECIFIC— AEN

DATE: _____
INFO: COS

1. The enclosed untranslated AECAPELIN report (Attachment A), dated 30 December 1955, contains Myroslav STYRANKA's comments on a situation which affects the AEN, primarily that Yaroslav STETSKO and Stepan BANDERA are at loggerheads for reasons of finance and political prestige.

2. Relative to the above, see Attachment B (for Headquarters only) which is AECAPELIN 2's translation of Dmitry DONTSOV's article, UN or AEN, which appeared in the 25 December 1955 edition of the pro-BANDERA Zch/OUN publication, Shlyakh Peremohy.

Approved: []

15 February 1956

Attachment: As stated

Distribution:
4 - WASH w/1 cc att A & B
3 - COS w/o att.
2 - MOB w/1 cc att A; w/o att B

hvp

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

COPY: P
3 - [unclear] CAU-1
3 - ABBATH
3 - CAPE-R
BTB

CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949
104/01 W/3

SECRET

Wash copy

Л.С.
30. грудня 1955.

Справа: Мирослав СТИРАНКА, співробітник АБН-у про ситуацію в АБН.

Myroslav STYRANKA
DI

Джерело: Мирослав СТИРАНКА, співробітник АБН.

Varrold

Мирослав СТИРАНКА, який приблизно вже рік працює в АБН і тим самим добре зосрогований в внутрішній ситуації тої організації, оповід мені нещодавно про поважні непорозуміння поміж Ярославом СТЕЦЬКОМ, президентом АБН і Степаном БАНДЕРОМ, головою ЗЧ ОУН.

Непорозуміння ті носять подвійний характер:

- 1) суто фінансовий,
- 2) престижево-політичний.

Сутофінансові непорозуміння мають такий характер: АБН не диспонує ніякими своїми фінансовими засобами, згл. ті засоби є мінімальні. До тепер робота АБН-у кожного року коштувала приблизно 100.000 лм, які виплачувала все каса ЗЧ ОУН.

Тих 100.000 були зуживані передовсім на:

- а) оплачення співробітників АБН, впершу чергу чужинців,
- б) оплачення різних видань АБН як "АБН-Кореспонденції", різних брошурок, відеоз і т.п.
- в) оплачення різних пресових конференцій і подорожей як президента АБН так теж інших співробітників ЦК АБН.
- г) адміністраційні видатки як приміщення, світло, опан, телефон і т.п.

Жодне національне представництво, яке заступлене в АБН до тепер не внесло ані одного феніга на роботу АБН, а навпаки всі лідери тих національних преставництв є на ешаті АБН і побирають місячно від 250 - 500 лм.

Степан БАНДЕРА стоїть на становищі, що коли АБН має бути інтернаціональною антибольшевицькою організацією, то всі національні представництва, пропорційно до чисельности їхніх еміграцій мусять внести до АБН свої грошові зароби. На всякий випадок українська сторона в АБН не може більше давати грошей як 50 процентів. Інших 50 процентів - мусять внести національні представництва. Ситуація фінансова в ЗЧ ОУН в останніх роках погіршала і тому Степан БАНДЕРА є примужений поробити всі ті бюджетові скорочення.

Lossy W/S

CS 600

Attachment "A"
2 Encl.

SECRET

Ярослав СТЕЦЬКО, який в основі признає рацію БАНДЕРИ, приводить однак зі своєї сторони дуже поважні протиаргументи, а саме:

а) серед інших еміграційних груп є дуже мало прихильників АБН. Колиж до тепер вдалося все таки притягнути рад національних представництв, то треба робити все, щоби їх втримати при АБН.

Коли АБН буде вимагати від національних представництв вносити грошові датки, то тоді представництва взагалі вийдуть з АБН. Теж саме відноситься до лідерів національних представництв, які є на статі АБН. Коли їм відмовиться комісійної допомоги, то вони будуть примушені шукати собі праці де інде і не зможуть уділятися в АБН.

б) Здебільшого ті національні групи, які є заступлені в АБН не є мають своїх сильних політичних організацій і тому вони не можуть переводити збірок на АБН.

в) Хоча АБН і є міжнародньою організацією, то все таки він пропагує найбільше українську справу, а це лежить також в інтересах ЗЧ ОУН.

Ті всі аргументи Ярослава СТЕЦЬКА не переконали Степана БАНДЕРУ. Він сказав своє тверде "ні". Він дав Ярославу СТЕЦЬКОВИ час три місяці, щоби він сам зорганізував свої власні фінанси. Після тих трьох місяців, тобто до лютого 1956 включно, він ще буде фінансово попірати АБН, хоча вже в менших розмірах. Натомість від місяця лютого, він буде вносити лише 50 процентів всього бюджету АБН.

Ввиду цього Ярослав СТЕЦЬКО вже розпочав акцію збирання грошей на АБН. В кожній країні посередня емігрантів, які належать до АБН він встановив фінансових представників, яким доручив переводити збірки. В інструкції для українських представників є сказано, щоби вони в першу чергу переводили ті збірки серед чужинців, і не обтяжували українців, які вже і так складають гроші на ЗЧ ОУН, від якого він отримувати який буде безпосередно гроші. Мирослав СТИРАНКА твердить, що за місяць грудень ті назначені фінансові представники зібрали дуже мало грошей. Можливо, що в наступних місяцях їм вдасться зібрати дещо більше.

Ві претіжово-політичні непорозуміння.

Про ті непорозуміння Степан БАНДЕРА виразно не говорить, але натомість СТЕЦЬКО в розмовах з довіреними людьми про

висказується зовсім виразно. Він твердить, що Степан БАНДЕРА боїться, що Ярослав СТЕЦЬКО з кожним роком щораз то більше стає популярною особою на міжнародному відтинкові. Його відвідини в генерала ФРАНКА, його відвідини в Чан Кай Шека і його переписка з Сіґманом Пі і іншими політиками - усувають БАНДЕРУ в тінь.

Того БАНДЕРА явно не говорить, однак він хоче всіми силами послабити авторитет СТЕЦЬКА. А він може послабити його тільки тоді, коли унеможливить йому роботу, відмовляючи фінансової підтримки АБНові.

З заощаджених на АБН грошей планує Степан БАНДЕРА з рмені ОУН розбудувати видавництво, яке б публікувало різні праці на чужих мовах і тим самим заповнило би ту прогалину, яку так відчувається на нинішню пору.

Чим закінчиться той конфлік: БАНДЕРА-СТЕЦЬКО покищо не відомо. Фактом є, що АБН вже вивів працю Мирославі СТИРАНЦІ і ще декільком людям, та рівночасно заповів, що до місяця марта платні тим працівникам, які залишаються будуть дещо скорочені.

SECRET

*Speech by D. Bontsov "The West's Retreat" Christmas 1946
page three*

D. Bontsov

For WASH

E.N.O. or A.B.N.?

He whose way of thinking is old, from the time before the year 1914, does not understand the reasons of the unprecedented success of the Russian aggression, and the retreat of the West which is also unprecedented. "Natural borders", markets, guarantees, protection against enemy aggression,--as aims of the international policy; the interests of a state--as the starting-point of that policy,--those are the categories which nearly do not exist in the international life of the present time.

It is ridiculous to assert that Russia must extend from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean in order to reach security and "natural borders". But it is also an absurdity, though many people do not understand it, to maintain that nowadays all statesmen are guided by the interests of their countries. Indeed, was it in the interest, for example, of Czechoslovakia to reject the American aid in the year 1945 and to call for the Bolsheviks? Certainly not! However, Beneš and J. Masaryk pursued just such a policy.

Was it in the interest of the West to allow Russia to go to the Elbe? Was Morgenthau's plan--nearly realized--in the interest of the western countries: to leave Eastern Germany under Russian rule and to deprive Western Germany of its industry, to disarm and to divide it into two separate small states?

Was it in the interest of America to allow Chiang Kai-shek to weaken, and Mao Tse-tung to grow? Was the bisection of Korea, or the action against Sigman Ree, in its interest? Were Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam in the interest of the West? Was it in the interest of the West, at the conference at Quebec in 1943, to frustrate, for Stalin's sake, Churchill's plan of invasion of the Balkans? Or to allow Russia to gain a great ascendancy over China? It came about nevertheless, although in America there were military circles which--in their prophetic vision--as early as in 1943 pointed out that the policy "Retreat from Victory"

Lois 11/18

3 COPY

Attachment "B"

might result in grave consequences to the Occident, in Europe as well as in Asia. Was it in the interest of the West to help the Bolsheviks in the civil war in Spain in the thirties, which in case of a victory of the "democrats" would have changed into a Russian province with Bolshevik bases in Gibraltar and in Lisbon? It took place nevertheless! One could still ask whether it was in the interest of the West to destroy, one after another, all the strongholds against Russian expansion: Germany and Austria-Hungary in the West, and Japan--in the East. It was done nevertheless.

Everything points to the fact that since 1914 the cabinets of the western countries were under the strong influence of a secret force which thought of its own interests, that is, the interests of Russia, and not of those of their countries.

The same concealed force supported those interests not only in the foreign policy, but also in the home policy of many countries of the West. Let us mention the infiltration of Russian (and communist) influence into the western press, universities, churches, parliaments, state machinery, the most secret offices; let us mention such names as Fuchs, Mc Lean, Burgess, Oppenheimer, Hiss, Rosenbergs, Ross, Ruth Fischer, Gringlax, Eisler, Gold, Kohan, and others, and then we shall ^{realize} how strong must be the force which--despite of the sharp eye of the state--manages to fill the command posts of the western world with its people. We shall see what a fatal influence must be exerted upon the foreign policy of many a country of the West by these pro-Russian and pro-communist forces which often disguise themselves as "real democracy". Finally, if we deliberate what an important part is played by communist gangs in the parliaments of Western Europe, we shall realize that the western cabinets are completely anaemic and unable to resist the Russian aggression. We shall understand the paradoxical fact that many a western government often pursues a policy which is inconsistent with the interests of its country, we shall realize that this secret force is a great hindrance to the western governments in

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their policy.

How has it got to such a pass? It came to pass after World War I when along with the European monarchies the old aristocratic ruling élite was swept out of the political arena and replaced by Benés, Caballero, Weimar republicans, Bela Kuns, in France Clemenceau--by Herriot and Blum. It was the leaders of ochlocracy who unsettled the ideological foundations of the state. God was dethroned; the native country was replaced by the conception of class, the conception of duty--by an unlimited right, discipline--by self-will, nation--by the International, patriotism--by material well-being, state--by legalized anarchy. Europe turned into the sphere of action of demagogues or naive people who were not aware of what they did, or shrewd managers who, by means of all the moral and physical foundations of the nation, aimed at a communist revolution or a "world government" of nations, a government of the despotic mafia which had touch with Russia which was spiritually associated with it.

Once Dostoevski wrote: "Why do almost nine tenths of the Russians, during their travelling abroad, associate with the European left circles which, so to speak, reject their own culture? Is it not a characteristic feature of the Russian soul to which the European culture has always been strange?". To some this culture was strange, to others--it became strange. When, thanks to Marx and La Salle, the leaders of the left circles in the West who rejected the entire political, cultural, and religious tradition of the West, gained the upper hand, they naturally began to flirt with Bolshevik Russia which, like tsarist Russia, hated the historic traditions of the Occident.

As a corollary of this, the West split into two camps, and civil war broke out between them: in Bavaria, in Hungary, after World War I, and then in Spain, in France in 1934 and in the forties, in Italy. Civil war is a token of our time; it will mark the history of Europe (and not only of Europe) in the next centuries. The question is whether or not

the Occident (and the Ukraine with it) breeds new leaders who would begin a fight to the death against the rising tide of ochlocracy which, in union with Russia, intends to raze to the ground the western Christian culture. It is certain: as long as this ochlocracy undermines the life of the West, the latter will be unable to fight successfully against Russian imperialism. To annihilate Russia the West must first of all generate new forces which would bridle Russia's allies at their own home. Quis capere potest, capiat.

It is these new forces of the West that would be allies of ~~the~~ ABN. If this Bloc finds allies also among the anti-Russian circles of the Asiatic nations, this will have to be welcomed.

Madrid, Lisbon, those circles of the American, British, German, Italian nation, and the nations of Russia's satellites which are openly against Russia, besides--Formosa, South Korea, Tokio--those are the allies of ABN, allies of those Ukrainian parties whose aim is an independent Ukrainian Ukraine. The Ukraine, whether or not we wish it, is being involved in the fight of the two camps into which the Occident is splitting. One of them is hostile towards us; it is the camp of the Bolshevik fifth column the West, various internationalists and secret mafias sympathizing with them. All of them are hostile to the traditional civilization of the West, to its foundations such as religion, nation, native country, morals, social hierarchy, law, and order. It is the camp of Blums, Mendes, Bevan, Wallis, Jomson, Nenni.

Another camp--is the camp of the fighting nationalism which desires to see a national, traditional Ukrainian state, and not a satellite of one or another International which would turn our country into something like the present Ukrainian S.S.R., "Titoslavia" or North Korea.

To live the Ukraine must create an anticommunist, anti-international, anti-"official", anti-Russian bloc. Not UNO which intends to build a "new world" with Russia, with Khrushchev and Bulganin, but ABN which intends to create a new free world against Russia, fighting to be

20 Feb. 1952

death against it!

ABM is the origin of the bloc. The journey of the head of ABM to Madrid and Formosa has been an important step towards its expansion.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2008

VIA: AIR
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA ROUTE)

DISPATCH NO. EEA - 19914

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

29. März 1956

TO : Chief, SR
Attrn
FROM : Chief of Base, Munich

DATE: _____
INFO: EE
COS

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational, ~~MOB~~/AERODYNAMIC

SPECIFIC— AECASSOWARY 3 Statements re AECAVATINA 1

Refer: A. MUMI 3489
B. DIR 43782

1. Transmitted under separate cover for Headquarters files and/or utilization per paragraph 1 of Reference A are the following attachments:

- a. AECASSOWARY 3's statement (forwarded in the original) indicating AECAVATINA 1's anti-American acts.
- b. Statement prepared by MOB based on AECASSOWARY 3's remarks.

2. Per paragraph 2, Reference B, MOB requested AECASSOWARY 3 to provide us with a set of complaints against AECAVATINA 1 and a list of his anti-American acts which could be used as a basis for our statement to the Munich Amcongen. We indicated to AECASSOWARY 3 that we were not interested in the specifics or evidential details related to the complaints or acts since these were already known to Headquarters and MOB. In view of this, Attachment B is a generalization of all the anti-American acts committed by AECAVATINA 1 and no attempt was made here to document each incident. Re paragraph 5b and c of Attachment B, AECASSOWARY 3 had reference to an AECAVATINA 1 representative who was apprehended on arrival in PEFRIME and found to be in possession of documents and instructions from AECAVATINA 1 to the illegal AECAVATINA 1 organization in PEFRIME. According to AECASSOWARY 3, this incident was duly reported to KUBARK and later investigated by ODEWVI. Re paragraph 6, AECASSOWARY 3 had reference to a group of couriers who exfiltrated from the Ukraine in 1949 and reported to AIS and AECASSOWARY 1 rather than to AECAVATINA 1.

3. In view of Reference A, Attachment B was not furnished to the Munich Amcongen.

Approved: [Signature]

26 March 1956

Attachments: As stated SEPARATE COVER

Distribution:

- 1- WASH w/1 copy att "A" & w/2 copies att "B" - S/C
- 3- COS w/o att "A"; w/1 copy att "B" - S/C
- 2- MOB w/1 copy att "A" and "B"

FORM NO. 51-28 A
MAR. 1949

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Attachment B to EXHA-19914

SUBJECT: Stefan BANDERA's Anti-American Activities.

1. The organization headed by Stefan BANDERA is organized on principles directly contradictory to American beliefs; these include dictatorial type of directorship, required submission to and veneration of the directorship, blind fulfillment of orders, intolerance, et al.

2. Totalitarian tendencies expressed by the BANDERA organization are reflected in:

a. Intolerance to any and all other thoughts, ideas, groups or organizations which are found in the emigration.

b. Attempts to control every facet of emigre life, including members of his own organization as well as other organizations, through use of calumny, slander, hate campaigns and even via threats and outright acts of terror.

c. As the advocate of a totalitarian, dictatorial type of government in a future liberated Ukraine.

3. In its day to day activities, the BANDERA organization heeds neither civil nor moral laws. The following items are attributed to the BANDERA organization and typifies the organization's underlying concepts and beliefs:

a. Utilization of force and terror by members of the BANDERA organization (especially by the SB) against other emigres who are members of other emigre parties whose political beliefs do not coincide with the beliefs of the BANDERA organization. This force and terror has also been applied against apolitical individuals by the BANDERA organization in an attempt to draw them to the BANDERA organization in order to have these individuals perform certain activities for the BANDERA organization.

b. Use of lies, invective, slander and baiting in the AZAVATINA L

c. Surveillance of activities of personalities disliked by the BANDERA organization and threatening of these individuals.

d. Kidnapping of personalities from within the emigration.

e. Liquidation (literal murder) of personalities in opposing political parties, e.g. the disappearance of professor REZOV and the liquidations in Mittenwald and in Korbberg.

f. Physical attacks upon and beating up of various emigre figures, e.g. the case of HULAL.

g. Thefts of private mail from BANDERA organization opponents as well as subsequent publication of such intercepted (stolen) mail.

h. BANDERA organization demands to the emigres that certain other newspapers be boycotted by the emigration; forcible destruction and taking away of such opposing press from the normal distributors; dissemination of SB instructions to various parts of the world (centers of the settlement).

SECRET

page 2

Attachment "B" to WEMA - 19914

that all other press be stolen, destroyed or not permitted to reach its destination. In line with this, use of threats and force against individuals who were in possession of opposing press or who were responsible for distributing this press.

i. Theft by the BANDERA organization of property of other organizations, e.g. incident of the Ukrainian Tribunal and the theft of money by ZEROSSEK-HAYOKFA from the Freimann settlement.

j. Counterfeiting of U.S. dollars and other money by the BANDERA organization (1949-1950).

4. Indicated herewith are some of the anti-American activities of the SB arm of the BANDERA organization:

a. Although the ostensible function of the SB is to work against Communist infiltration of the BANDERA organization, the SB in fact engages in activities against parallel (opposing) emigre organizations and emigre personalities for the purpose of enjoining, by all means at their disposal, the position of the BANDERA organization.

b. All thefts, kidnappings, liquidations, counterfeiting and other aforementioned civil and moral violations were precipitated by the SB and fulfilled upon specific instructions of the SB.

c. The SB engages in activities which are directly detrimental to the interests and security of the Americans. A case in point was the attempt by the BANDERA organization to penetrate CIC installations in Augsburg through one SINDRO. In line with this the SB undertook to surveil the activities of individual Americans who were performing duties for CIC.

d. SB attempted to exfiltrate security information, using all means available, from Ukrainian emigres who had been employed by the Americans and were then dropped for various reasons. Cases in point were those of EYSTOK, BCRAN, and Hutsul.

e. SB publicizing of that information obtained in c and d above in order to invalidate and hinder the activities of the American authorities in Germany.

f. Branding of various individuals in the emigration as being "paid American agents".

g. Branding of emigres who were collaborating with the U.S. authorities as being "known SIS agents".

h. Attempts by the BANDERA organization to compromise the activities of the Americans by identifying certain documents (case in point occurred in 1950-51-52) as stemming from the SIS.

SECRET

29 March 1956

SECRET

page 3
Attachment "B" to SCIA - 19914

5. Activities of the BANDELA organization abroad which are contrary to American laws and American principles:

- a. The organization of an underground BANDELA organization in the USA which blindly executes all orders of the BANDELA organization and the SB in Germany.
- b. The recruitment of American citizens into this illegal underground BANDELA organization and forcing them to perform activities hostile to American interests.
- c. Direction by the BANDELA organization of this illegal organization in the USA and directing this organization to perform hostile acts at meetings of other emigre groups in the USA. Definite attempts to disrupt meetings, provoke riots, use of threats to prohibit people from attending, etc are all instructions which emanate from the SB in Germany.
- d. In performing the aforementioned acts, the BANDELA underground organization utilizes individuals who are suspicious and who would seem to conduct their activities to the advantage of the Communists. (This makes the BANDELA organization here and abroad comparable to the CPSU in that they do not permit for free expression of thought and attempt to mold everyone after their own dictates.)

6. The Americans do not wish to have any truck with anyone who accuses the Americans of kidnappings. We would to call attention to his accusations against the Americans in 1949.

7. The following pro-BANDELA newspapers and periodicals pursue a policy which is recognizably anti-American in that the Americans are blamed for all activities which are not pro-BANDELA. Among the newspapers who engage in anti-American propaganda, at BANDELA's direction or of that of the SB, are the following:

- a. Zhivakh Peremoha (Munich)
- b. Ukrainian Dumka (London)
- c. Ukrainian Chas (Paris)
- d. Vyzvol'na Politika and Vistnyk OOChSU (New York)
- e. Hoin Ukraine (Toronto)

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VIA: _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA ROUTE)

DI. SI. NO. RYMA-20397

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

LCMA 20397
20 APR 1956

TO : Chief, SE *FILE: DECAVATINA E*

DATE: _____
INFO: COS, EE

FROM : Chief of Base, Munich
SUBJECT: GENERAL - REEMOOD/LCIMPONE/ABDARTHAGE

ORIG FILED IN
BERGDYMANIC OPS
1956 (SKOB Disappearance)

SUBJECT: SPECIFIC - Transmittal of Police Interrogation Reports in the Case of the Disappearance of SKOB

REF: DIR 02219

1. We are transmitting herewith for Headquarters' information and files attachments A-F (listed hereunder). The attachments represent photostat copies of Munich criminal police interrogation reports (in German), pertaining to the disappearance in Munich, o/a 9 January 1956, of Wladimir KUBONKO, aka SKOB. The material was secured with the assistance of [] with whom we have been in continuous communication regarding this case. According to [] the investigation of the case by the Munich police, conducted in not a very vigorous or efficient manner, has thus far remained totally without result and presently seems to be at an almost complete standstill. Please note that no information has been passed to [] concerning the possible Italian IS involvement and the theory that SKOB might be in Italy. In line with Headquarters' suggestion per paragraph 3 of reference, [] has been advised that, to our great regret, we were unable to comply with his request re obtention of information from SMOTH; it was suggested to him that he make another effort, via the RV, to obtain a response from SMOTH.

2. The following attachments are transmitted herewith:

Attachment A - Interrogation report, dated 14 Jan 56 on: Bodan FIDHANYI, DOB: 2 Jan 06, POB: Polonyska, Ukraine, stateless, formerly Polish citizen, residing: Nordendstr. 5/IV, Munich 13.

Attachment B - Interrogation report, dated 16 Jan 56 on: Selatelesv WAKIRO, DOB: 8 June 23, POB: Kalomyje, Ukraine, stateless, formerly Ukrainian, residence: West Hill, 188, London S.W. 15, England; temporary residence: o/a FIDHANYI, Munich.

Attachment C - Interrogation report, dated 20 Jan 56 on: Mikela KUBONKO, aka Wasil SKOLEZERA, DOB: 17 July 20, POB: Jablaniv, Galicia, stateless, formerly Ukrainian, residing: Belgradstr. 152, Munich.

Attachment D - Interrogation report, dated 20 Jan 56 on: Stephen LEMKINSKY, DOB: 6 July 04, POB: Ushanyk, Ukraine, stateless, formerly Polish citizen, residing: Eberhartstr. 10/I (bei Duell), Munich.

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CLASSIFICATION

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FORM NO. 51-28A
MAY 1946
AP 13

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

Attachment E - Interrogation report, dated 20 Jan 56 on: Wasyl
ZBROZIK, DOB: 12 Feb 25, POB: WIZLIN, Galicia (USSR), stateless, formerly
Polish citizen, residing: Belgradstr. 152 (barracks B), Munich.

(and last but not least)

Attachment F - Interrogation report, dated 20 Jan 56 on: Stefan
POPKA, aka Stefan-BANDESA, DOB: 1 Sept 09, POB: Jaroslaw, Poland, residing
Bosenbuschstr. 6/3, Munich 22.

Approved: []

6 April 1956

Attachments: As stated

Distribution:

- 4 - WASH w/att.
- 3 - OCS w/o att.
- 1 - MCB w/o att.

hvp

SECRET

20 June 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Security
ATTENTION: Alien Affairs Officer
SUBJECT: Eligibility for Admission to the United States
of Ukrainian DP's Associated with Stefan Bandera

1. You may recall that the SR Division secured your cooperation in requesting the Department of State to deny a visitor's visa to Stefan Bandera, the head of a Ukrainian organization in Germany, on the grounds of his conducting activities inimical to the interests of the United States. Since then the United States Consul-General in Munich has frozen the applications for visas of Ukrainian DP's who have, or have had, some degree of association, however slight and indirect, with Stefan Bandera. The SR field case officer responsible for Ukrainian projects has confirmed and documented this fact and has cited specific cases in which the SR Division is interested. It appears that we made our point with the Department so strongly that State is not following its own established policy of judging visa applications on individual basis, and not establishing blanket ineligibility because of political associations.

2. Many Ukrainians in Germany who have been associated with Bandera or have belonged to the group do not wholeheartedly agree with his aims and methods. Many also have been in contact with and have performed valuable services for CIA.

3. The Consul-General in Munich has informed our field case officer that he can take no favorable action on cases of any individuals with associations with Bandera until such time as he receives specific word from Washington that they, like all others, are to be handled on an individual basis. The SR Division is especially interested in expediting the cases of the following, all of whom have been of great service to CIA:

- a. Volodymyr Kerod
- b. Bohdan Pidhany
- c. Mykhailo Rudko
- d. M. Fedak

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

SECRET

[]

SECRET

SUBJECT: Eligibility for Admission to the United States of
Ukrainian RP's Associated with Stefan Bandera

The application of Mr. Kerod is most pressing of all since he has
a wife and children in New York.

4. We would appreciate your informing the Department of
our views as soon as possible, so that it can specifically assure
the Consul-General in Munich that the established policy of
judging visa applications on an individual basis applies to members
of the Bandera organization and to those who have, or have had,
some degree of association with Bandera. The matter is of utmost
importance, in view of the embarrassing effect the freeze in
processing the visa applications has had upon members of the
Ukrainian group which the SR Division is utilizing in certain
valuable operations.

[J
Chief, SR

Distribution:

Orig. & 1 - Addressee
2 - Aerodynamic File
2 - SR/3 - Attn: [J
1 - SR/PP Chrono

SR/PP [J 40/3959

SECRET

Municipal Council of the City of Munich..

Police Headquarters

Ref: EB-2

Munich 20 Jan. 1936

Name: **FRANZ JOSEF KERN**

Ref: **FRANZ JOSEF**

Residence: **Munich**

Date of Birth: **1 Sept. 1909**

Place of Birth: **Poland**

Parents, Occupation, Address of Parents:

KERN, JOSEF and ROSALE, nee KROCK, born in JEROME, both deceased

Marital Status: **Married.**

Wife: **FRANZ JOSEF, nee KROCK**

Number of Children: **3**

Occupation: **Writer**

Address: **Munich 22, ROSENBERG ST. 6/3**

Last Known Residence: **As above**

Identification: **Stateless**

Travel Documents: **Traveling Passport No. 610470 issued by the German Consulate in Munich on the 20th of Jan. 1936.**

Passport: **None**

Travel Documents: **Class 1 and 3, issued by the Police Headquarters in Munich on the 19th of August 1934.**

Travel Documents and Voluntary Resignation: **In Munich 20th July 1934.**

This person was recorded by: **VONL V. HOLMCK, Dept. EB-2**

Place of Birth: **Munich, ROSENBERG ST. No. 6/3 (apartment).**

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

DECLARATION:

It was stated that I was born on the 1st of Sept. 1909 in JAROSLAW, Poland. I wish to make a correction: my true birth-date is 1 Jan. 1909, and I was born not in JAROSLAW, but in UHEIM/STAKIJ. Up till 1945 I carried my right name BANERA. The records in my passport contain all the necessary data.

My name as well as my birthplace and date of birth I have changed when the NKVD and MGB agents started to look for me and following me, when I became the leader of the UKRAINIAN anti-bolshevist independent movement.

This change of my name and my reasons for it, I have reported to the state office of Protection of the Constitution in 1954. I personally did not submit this report to the state office of Protection of the Constitution, but I passed on this information through professor V. MENEK of the DRESDEN, OFFICE for Stateless Foreigners.

As official advised to the proper German authorities, so far, I have not submitted, because of political reasons it was not advisable to go about the changing of my name in the customary way, hence this would give away my real name to my political opponents.

The UKRAINIAN independence movement has been created already before the war. At the beginning of the RUSSO-GERMAN war we announced the independence of the UKRAINE, however, this was not recognized by Hitler. The leaders of this movement, to which I too belonged, were arrested and sent to the concentration camps in Germany. I personally was imprisoned in the SACHSENHAUSEN concentration camp and set free again in 1944.

After the capitulation took place, this movement, which was still in existence, was boosted up again. The goals of this movement were the liberation of UKRAINE from the Russian domination, and the establishment of an independent UKRAINIAN State. This movement consists of an underground movement in UKRAINE

SECRET

and of
proper as well as foreign units. For time being I am the leader of the foreign units.

In 1945 a segment of this movement, which up till this day goes under the same name, separated from us.

The organization which separated from us is led by LEW ROBERT and has its headquarters in Munich on DACHAUER Str. 9. The split came about because of the different interpretations of the assignments which were issued by this organization in URAINIA. Our goals generally are still the same, however, there are no actual contacts between us.

IN CONNECTION TO THE CASE:

I know KIROVETS personally. I became acquainted with him for the first time in the Northern Germany, in December 1953. I believe this meeting took place in BUNDESDORF. He just came to Germany as a courier from URAINIA.

In Germany he became connected with FIDELITY, who took care of him. FIDELITY belongs to the group which separated from us. Correction: -- up until the arrival of KIROVETS, FIDELITY belonged to my group, and only when the split took place in 1954, he went over to the ROBERT group. Even though KIROVETS remained with FIDELITY, he was impartial on the issue, which led to the splitting of the foreign stationed organizations. KIROVETS had instructions to return back to URAINIA.

The second time I came together with KIROVETS was in London a proper an organizational discussion. At that time KIROVETS made up his mind to collaborate with FIDELITY, because he hoped that this will offer him better technical possibilities to effect his return to URAINIA. In the spring of 1955 I have written a letter to KIROVETS and asked him to help me with the preparations for the establishment of connections with the URAINIAN underground units. KIROVETS informed me thereupon that he was in no position to do anything about it.

SECRET

70 Apr '56

On the 8th of Jan. 1956 my family and I were in TIROL, and from there on the 10th of Jan. 1956, about 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening, we came back again. On the next day I found out from NIKOLSKIJ that KOROVETS was in Munich, that he personally talked with him, and that, according to the information received from FIDRANJ, KOROVETS disappeared and was missing since the 9th of Jan. 1956. FIDRANJ expressed his suspicion, that KOROVETS was probably in our hands. NIKOLSKIJ informed FIDRANJ, that KOROVETS was not staying with him or with anyone from his organization, and advised him to inform the police immediately about it.

There is nothing more I can tell you about this case. I wish to state again that I am in no way mixed up in this case."

FIDRANJ is the fellow who is responsible for KOROVETS.

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

VIA _____
(Specify Air or Sea Pouch)

DISPATCH NO. EGMA-24453

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO Chief, SR
Attn: _____
FROM Chief of _____, _____

DATE 13 December 1956
Info: COS/G, EE

SUBJECT { GENERAL Operational/REDWOOD/ICIMPROVE/ARBATH
SPECIFIC Soviet Propaganda Blasts at AECAVATINA/1

Handwritten: U.S. Dept. of Justice
BY DOJ 70-12

Forwarded under separate cover is AECAPPELIN/2's translation of a transcript of a Soviet broadcast from Kiev in which AECAVATINA/1's relatives attack AECAVATINA/1's emigre activities. AECAPPELIN/1 obtained a copy of this transcript from Myroslav PETRANKA. A discussion of this topic is found in EGMA-24369, Contact Report #36.

Approved: *[Signature]*

Attachment - as stated *[Handwritten: L]* UNDER SEPARATE COVER

- Distribution:
3 - SR w/Att. U/S/C
2 - EE w/o Att.
2 - COS/G w/Att. U/S/C
4 - MOB w/Att.

MF

| COPY ROUTING | |
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| #4 | |
| #5 | |

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

SECRET

5/c att to EGMA-24453

Broadcasting station "For Return Home", No. 15, 1956, Monitor NoA-2

(Translation)

SECRET

per DOI 70-17.

FOR SOVIET CITIZENS

Recently the correspondent of the "Committee for Return Home" visited the Stanylav region and had a talk with the sister of Stepan BANDERA and her children. Vladymira Andriyovna DAVYDYUK-BANDERA lives with her daughter Myroslava in the village Kozakivka of the Bolesiv district. Listen to the talk which the correspondent Marko KOSYHA had with her.

-Well, allow me to introduce myself to you. I am Marko KOSYHA, correspondent of the "Committee for Return Home". I have just arrived in your village Kozakivka.

-Formerly it was called Bryaza, and now it is called Kozakivka.

-It is a very beautiful village. It is entirely surrounded by mountains covered with forests, and a mountain river flows through the village.

-It is still more beautiful in summer.

-Well, what is your name?

-DAVYDYUK-BANDERA Volodymyra Andriyovna.

-Is it your daughter?

-My name is Myroslava.

-And your patronymic?

-Fedorovna.

-Myroslava Fedorovna. Very pleased to meet you! How are you getting on?

-Passably, thank God.

-What are you doing here?

-I do my housework. I have enough to do. My daughter has two little children, and her husband is sick.

-Your husband?

-No, the husband of Myroslava.

-And what are you doing, Myroslava Fedorovna?

-I am a teacher.

-And your education?

SECRET

-Secondary. I am teaching mathematics and physics in the school.

-What school have you here? A seven-year school?

-Yes. A seven-year school. You seem to be surprised to see that I am working at an incomplete secondary school although I have no university education.

-Of course, because one should be a university graduate. How about a degree?

-I am a correspondence student of the Drohobych pedagogical institute. In our school only the head master and one of the teachers are university graduates, and six teachers are correspondence students.

-That's right. Before you complete the institute, there will certainly be a secondary school at Kozakivka. In what course are you now?

-In the second. The faculty of physics and mathematics.

-A good faculty. Is the study hard?

-Not very hard, but I am engaged in our school and in the Komsomol organization.

-Are you a member of the Young Communist League?

-Yes. I am.

-And you, Vladymira Andreyovna. Are you doing your housework? Have you much trouble with your grandchildren?

-Oh, I shall have to nurse many grandchildren.

-Where are they?

-One of them, Yarema, is serving in the Soviet army. Zynoviy is will soon complete the technical school in Stanyslav. Volodymyr has completed the tenth form and entered the Forest Institute in Lvov. One of them is a ninth-form boy, and the youngest one - a fifth-form boy.

-At Kozakivka?

-No. With the parents of my husband.

-It means that all of them are alive and ~~xxxxxx~~ well?

-Thank God, they are ~~xxxxxx~~ well.

-You seem to wonder why I ask you about your grandchildren.

-To tell the truth, I do not understand why.

-And what do you think about it? The fact is that the Ukrainian nationalists in the emigration lie to our fellow-countrymen, the Ukrainians, that all the relatives of the nationalists have been liquidated; particularly your brother, Stepan BANDERA, tries to spread those lies.

-It is not true! And some people who think that it is true, are afraid to return home.

-I don't know what they are talking about there; it can do no harm to us. Our children are going to school. If they want to join the Komsomol, we do not forbid them.

-After the end of the war the Ukrainian nationalists did much harm to the people here, and now they are spreading lies about our country. Uncle Stepan, too. It is a shame that he should be called uncle.

-And now, what is the situation here?

-Several years ago all the bandits were caught. Peace has been restored here. Our people themselves.....only a bad remembrance of Stepan BANDERA has remained here.

-Let him go to Hell, that Stepan BANDERA, even if he is your brother, Vladymira Andriyovna. Myroslava Fedorovna, tell me something about your work at school! Do all the children go to school?

-All the children of school age go to school. The school was built last year.

-And from where are the teachers?

-They are from different villages of the Stanyslav region.

-And the members of CUN in the emigration claim that the people here are not allowed to speak Ukrainian.

-Who forbids them to speak Ukrainian? All the schools are Ukrainian. Such nonsense can be talked only by people who have lost their honour and conscience, who try to deceive others.

-Our fellow-countrymen who are listening to this conversation, will realize once more that the greatest butcher of the Ukrainian people

and liar is...Stepan BANDERA and his adherents.

-They will not only realize it, but return to our Soviet native country. Fellow-countrymen, Ukrainians, don't believe Stepan BANDERA! I am telling this, mother.

-I know only one thing, namely - that all those who have returned home, are living in peace. Many people have already returned home.

-I thank you Vladymira Andriyovna and Myroslava Fedorovna, for your true words.

-If you meet with Zynoviy in Stanyslav, don't forget to give him our regards.

-I shall do it. Good buy.

x x x

Having visited different districts of the Stanyslav region I returned to Stanyslav where I met with the son of Vladymira Andriyovna DAVYDYUK-BANDERA, Zynoviy. A healthy boy greeted me in a big room of the hostel.

-Your mother sends you her kindest regards.

-Thank you.

-I visited the village Kozakivka, saw Myroslava, and had a talk with them. The talk has been recorded. Our fellow-countrymen will listen to it. She asked me to give you her warmest regards. Have you passed the examination?

-Ha!Ha!

-It means that you had learned, and there were no difficulties?

-No, I did not meet with any difficulties.

-And the people in the emigration say that you have been liquidated. (A few sentences could not be understood - monitor)

-To prevent our people from returning home the American and English intelligence services give them money, extra food, and they tell tales. Tell your opinion of that.

-Stepan BANDERA, it is I, your nephew, Zynoviy DAVYDYUK; I am speaking from the city of Stanyslav. I am living in Stanyslav and attending

[REDACTED] 13 Dec 1952

the technical school. The Soviet government has given me all that I need for gaining the education. It has enabled me to gain the education, to make ~~rich~~ fortune, and to be useful to my native country. Don't think, uncle, that the Ukrainian people in the Ukraine thinks of you and respects you. You have done much harm to it and killed many innocent people. You ~~opposed~~ ^{opposed} the right cause for which the people fought.

I am a member of the Young Communist League. I shall do everything in my power in ~~xxxx~~ order to help my native country to build a happy life in which we could work to the glory of our native country and raise the well-being of our people.

-You, Stepan BANDERA, and your adherents spread.....co-operate ~~xx~~ with the American intelligence service against the Soviet regime. You are trying to undermine the peaceful life of the Soviet people, but the Soviet government wishes well to the Soviet people, to all the people who want to work in peace. Take, for example, my family. My mother lives with my sister Myroslava. Myroslava is working as a teacher; at the same time she is a correspondent student of a pedagogical institute. My brother Yarko is serving in the army. I ~~will~~ shall soon complete the technical school. I am going to work in the virgin lands where all the young people should go.

I can tell all the Ukrainian boys and girls who are living in the emigration, only one thing: return home. We shall live together with our people and work for what the ~~Banking~~ strives for.

My fellow-countrymen, don't believe such butchers and rogues as Stepan BANDERA and his adherents who prevent the Soviet people from returning home.

-I thank you, Zynoviy, for your sincere words you have addressed to our fellow-countrymen. We wish you every success in your studies. Complete your studies successfully and go to the virgin lands where you will win a real happiness by your work. Good buy.

[REDACTED]

[]

DECLASSIFIED

REF DOI 70-17

VIA AIR
(Specify Air or Sea Pouch)

DISPATCH NO. EGRA-25156

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO: [redacted]
ATTN: [redacted]
FROM: Chief of Base, Munich

DATE: 6 February 1957
INFO: COS/G
EE
Lond

SUBJECT: GENERAL Operational/RETWOOD/ICHIMPROVE/ASEATH
SPECIFIC Letter Intercepted to Stefan BANDERA

Action Required: None; for your information.

1. The following is a translation of a letter picked up via CIS coverage of Zeppelinstrasse 7. The letter which bears no return address, is sent c/o Yaroslav BERTSAL (GENERAL); it is postmarked Hannover. It contains an attached hand-written note, signed "Volodya", requesting BERTSAL to pass an enclosed sealed note (translated below) to the "Providnyk" (leader; presumed to be Stefan BANDERA):

Local, 28 January 1957

Esteemed Providnyk!

Relative to the letter of 19 October 1956 which you received from Friend Hart, the interested party (za interesovana storona) has sent a request concerning a trip to discuss the problems at hand which were discussed at the first meeting.

The fact that they have brought up the request to come to them for the discussions is testimony that the affairs are urgent and that there are possibilities for discussion.

Friend Hart informed the interested party that he will visit them on 9 February 1957. Participating in this discussion will be the same persons who attended the first discussion.

Friend Hart asks you to send thoughts, opinions, cautions, etc., so that he will have his plan formulated, i.e., what he can demand, how far he can go and on what positions to remain firm.

This situation is to be considered further as top secret.

Sincere greetings

(signed - Hart)

| DATE | BY | ROUTING |
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SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

CS COPY

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

SECRET

EGMA-25156
Page 2

SECRET
PER DOI 70-17

APPROVED: [Signature]

Distribution:
3-SR
2-EE
2-COS/G
2-CJ
2-MUB

HDP:nhr

SECRET

[Handwritten marks]

SECRET

Field Symbol: BGMA-2832
Date : 10 Apr 57

SUBJECT: March 1957 AEBATH Progress Report

A.K. OK

SOURCE: Letter Intercept

FILED : AEBATH

ABSTRACT: Att D, Para 8, Page 17.

8 b. A letter to Dmitro MYSKIV (return address: I. DMYTRIV, London) is signed by H. HRYSHKIV who encloses an English-language letter dated 19 Mar 57 from the British Foreign Ministry which authorized a visa to England for Stefan BANDERA in the name of Stefan POPEL. British intermediaries in this affair were Neil McLean (House of Commons) and David Ormsby-Gore.

REGATINA-1

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3828
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

BM/203/RLG/BV/8E
DATE 27 MAR 58

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

S-E-C-R-E-T

| ROUTING | | | |
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| 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
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| 3 | 3 | 6 | 6 |

TO : DIRECTOR
 FROM : MUNICH
 ACTION: SR 6
 INFO : CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/OPS, EE 4, S/C 2

5
 UGR ACTION BY MH, OR
 SUSPENSE DATE
 DARGED SR/3-W3
 FILE IN

MAR 27 1749Z 58

ROUTINE

IN 49176
 MAR 28 1958

TO DIR INFO FRAN CITE MUNI 6373

REDWOOD LCIMPROVE AERODYNAMIC AECAVATINA
 RE DIR 13898 (OUT 57878) *

COPY filed
 AECAVATINA OPS

1. RE PARA 1 REF, CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST APPARENTLY PROMPTED BY LEV stetsko DOBRIANSKY INTERCESSION BEHALF AECAVATINA 1 AND 2. THIS DISCERNED VIA LETTER file INTERCEPT FROM DOBRIANSKY TO AECAVATINA 2 WHICH REVEALED DOBRIANSKY LOOKING INTO MATTER VISA FOR BOTH 1 AND 2. DATE OF LETTER 10 MARCH. LETTER FURTHER REVEALED AECAVATINA 2 TO PARTICIPATE MEXICAN ANTI COMMUNIST CONFERENCE SCHEDULED LATE MARCH 1958 AND THAT HE TO OBTAIN VISA FROM THAT REGION.
2. ALTHOUGH NOT SPECIFIED IN LETTER WHEN AECAVATINA 1 AND 2 DESIRE VISIT U.S. IT APPARENT THIS TO BE IN NEAR FUTURE. AECAVATINA 1 MADE NO VISA APPLICATION MUNI AMCONGEN FOR THIS TRIP BUT WILL PROBABLY DO SO WHEN RECEIVES FAVORABLE REPLY FROM DOBRIANSKY. STATE DEPT VISA OFFICE REQUEST FOR POST 1956 TRACES AECAVATINA 1 MADE FOR THIS REASON AFTER RECEIPT OF WHICH THEY PROBABLY TO INFORM AMCONGEN HERE GRANT VISA WHEN REQUESTED.
3. RE PARA 4 REF, MOB HAS NOTHING NEW TO ADD TO HQS FILES RE AECAVATINA 1. SEE NO KUBARK REASON BLOCK VISA.
4. RE PARA 3 REF, WILL TAKE STEPS INTERVIEW AECAVATINA 1.

MAR 28 1958

END OF MESSAGE
 S-E-C-R-E-T

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED Copy No. []

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCES METHODSEXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

| | | | | |
|--------|--|-------------|-----------------|---|
| DATE | 310/BD/CG/ 24 SEPT 59 | S-E-C-R-E-T | ROUTING | |
| TO | DIRECTOR | | 1 | 4 |
| FROM | MUNICH | | 2 | 5 |
| ACTION | C/SR 3 | | 3 | 6 |
| INFO | COP, C/CI, C/FI 2, C/PP, C/EE 3, S/C 2 | | SEP 24 2143Z 59 | |
| | | | ROUTINE | |
| | | | IN 29301 | |

TO INFO FRAN CITE MUNI 6474

DECLASSIFIED
REF CSN 43-43

UPSWING REDWOOD AERODYNAMIC
RE: DIR 38410 (OUT 82312) *

1. ALIAS HERDAHL HAS SUPPLIED WRITTEN STATEMENT SUGGESTING BANDERA BE GRANTED VISA PBPRIME. GIST IS THAT UPSWING HAS HAD CLOSE CONTACT SINCE MARCH 56 AND HAS CHECKED BANDERA CAREFULLY, THAT TRIP WOULD BE VERY USEFUL RALLY BANDERA PBPRIME FOLLOWERS, ETC. ALSO INDICATED BANDERA WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS BLACK MARKS AGAINST HIM WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICERS PBPRIME. POUCHING PER EGMA-45003. HERDAHL FRANK ADMIT ORALLY THAT IF VISA GRANTED BANDERA WILL KNOW UPSWING MADE IT POSSIBLE AND THAT FUTURE UPSWING OPS COOPERATION WITH BANDERA WOULD BE THAT MUCH BETTER. BANDERA HAS GIVEN HERDAHL DETAILED RUN DOWN HIS VARIOUS EFFORTS GET VISA AND FACT HE HAS BEEN TOLD CAN ONLY BE GRANTED WITH WASHINGTON APPROVAL.
2. RE CURRENT OP, BANDERA TEAM NOT YET USSR. HERDAHL CLAIMS AGENTS EAST POLAND, HAVE RADIO CONTACT BANDERA HQS, JUST INSTRUCTED CROSS INTO SOV UNION TO "PREPARED WINTER QUARTERS." BELIEVES INFILTRATION WILL TAKE PLACE NEXT FEW DAYS. SO FAR NO INDICATION DIFFICULTY. HERDAHL NOW CLAIMS ORIGINAL PLAN WAS INFILTRATION VIA POLAND (RATHER THAN CZECHO PER MUNI 5527 (IN 45448) BUT TEAM NOT EXPECTED REMAIN QUITE SO LONG POLAND.
3. HERDAHL WILL TRY GET INTEL SAMPLES, WHICH HE CLAIMS CONCERNS MOSTLY INFO RE PUBLIC ATTITUDES, ETC. WILL ALSO PROVIDE LIST EEI'S UPSWING PASSED BANDERA

S-E-C-R-E-T

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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| DATE | S-E-C-R-E-T- | ROUTING | |
| TO | | 1 | 4 |
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| ACTION: | | 3 | 6 |
| INFO | | | |
| | PAGE 2 | MUN1 64/4 IN 29301 | |
| TO | INFO | CITE | |

FOR PRESENT OP.

END OF MESSAGE

C/S COMMENT: * HQS QUERIED WHETHER SAMPLES BANDERA PI SUPPLIED UPSWING PAST YEAR COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE HQS.

S-E-C-R-E-T-

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED.

Copy No.

COLTONG - PATR. BY MORSE BUSINESS FORMS, INC., WILMINGTON, N. C.

SR

| | | |
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| DISPATCH | | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. EGNA-45003 |
| TO Chief, CR | PRIORITY | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. Headquarters: Unknown |
| INFO Chief, EF Chief of Station, Germany | | |
| FROM Chief of Base, Munich | | DATE 5 October 1959 |
| SUBJECT AERODYNAMIC/UPSWING/Operational UPSWING Support of Bandera Trip to USA | | RE: "433" - (CHECK "X" ONE) MARKED FOR INDEXING <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| ACTION REQUIRED See Paragraph 3 | | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ DESK ONLY |
| <p>REFERENCES:</p> <p>DIR-38410 (over 80) Declassified per DOI 70-17</p> <p>1. Attached is a translation of the UPSWING memorandum, noted in the reference, passed to us by GHERDAHL. We regret that we are so late in forwarding it, but were holding off in the hope of getting possible additional data orally from GHERDAHL, particularly further information concerning the progress of the current UPSWING/BANDERA operation into the USSR. As noted in reference, information has been rather slow in coming and it has not been possible to get together with GHERDAHL subsequent to reference to get any more recent information that might be available.</p> <p>2. It will be clearly apparent from the attached, and from the reference, that GHERDAHL has not made a particularly detailed case, most probably because GHERDAHL is thinking mostly in terms of the good that the issuance of a visa to BANDERA would do for UPSWING's present and future relationship with BANDERA, especially as regards further UPSWING/BANDERA joint operations. However, in addition to this aspect of the problem, there is no doubt that GHERDAHL feels it should be a simple matter for us to influence the issuing of a visa and that many less desirable and less "exploitable" individuals have been able to get visitor's visas to the U.S. For our part, we have told GHERDAHL only that our headquarters is very interested in the matter, especially as regards indications that BANDERA has "reformed" and ideas concerning his future operational usefulness. GHERDAHL has stated orally that he is aware of BANDERA's earlier reputation and, as indicated in the attachment, is aware of nothing that has happened during the period of UPSWING's association, indicating that BANDERA still is using his earlier rough tactics. Although he is relatively cautious on the subject, no doubt pending the availability of data on the current joint operation, GHERDAHL also feels that, in principle, BANDERA has more to offer operationally than most if not all other Russian emigre groups in the West today.</p> <p>3. We would appreciate any views that Headquarters may have on the possibility that BANDERA may be able to obtain a visa, specifically including comments that we could pass along to GHERDAHL. It seems certain that GHERDAHL has encouraged BANDERA in the belief that GHERDAHL may be able to influence the granting of a visa. Therefore we anticipate that BANDERA will be needing GHERDAHL and GHERDAHL, in turn, needing KUBARK with monotonous regularity in the very near future. It should be a simple matter to stall for a while with observations about the complex and extensive ramifications of his request, but it would be helpful to have a more or less definite yes or no answer in the not too distant future. Although it is up to Headquarters to decide the equities involved, it seems quite certain that if the visa can be granted, we would be kept very well informed on the future collaboration between UPSWING and BANDERA. If the visa is not granted, it seems likely that GHERDAHL will slam the door on this aspect of UPSWING operational activities in a bit of a huff.</p> | | |
| <p>Approved by: _____</p> <p>Attachment: Translation H/W</p> <p>Distribution: 2 - Chief, SA w/att h/w 1 - Chief, EF w/att h/w 2 - C-3, G w/att h/w</p> | | |
| FORM 53b 19-57 1401 | USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORM 21, 24, 25, 26A AND 27 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE. | CLASSIFICATION SECRET CS COPY <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED |

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

HQ COPY

HQ COPY

SECRET

ATTACHMENT TO RGMA-45003

TRANSLATION

27 August 1959

SUBJECT: Visit of BANDERA to the USA.

At one of the last discussions of our officers with Bandera's OUN representatives Dr. Gregorius Waskowycz and Jaroslaw Benzal, Bandera's wish was expressed that he have a chance to take his long-planned trip to the USA. UPSWING supports this plan to visit the USA for several months for the following reasons:

a. Bandera, who has been known to us for about 20 years, had proved again and again his clearly western political orientation. His strong will not to be inactive in the battle against the common enemy of Bolshevism, has placed him at the head of the Ukrainian nationalists. He enjoys considerable popularity among Ukrainians outside of the Federal Republic and within and without Germany he has over half a million followers.

b. Since March 1956 UPSWING has been in more or less close contact with Bandera. His political orientation has been subjected to continuing scrutiny. Also, during this period, no character flaws have been noted. Bandera's claims have been determined to be true.

How high can the pop. be?

c. Bandera states that the reason for his proposed trip to the USA is to visit relatives. However, UPSWING would consider it useful if Bandera also had the opportunity, in the course of such a trip, to talk with his nationalistic Ukrainian followers in the USA and thereby strengthen and give a new impetus to their battle against Bolshevism. As far as UPSWING knows, the number of OUN members in the USA is about 800. On the other hand, the number of Bandera followers in the USA might be as many as 3 or 400,000. In UPSWING's view, these latter figures speak for the popularity and favor enjoyed by Bandera. So high a number of like-minded can be held together and directed toward a goal only if the leader personally concerns himself with the goal and has contact with his followers. If Bandera's effort to obtain a visitor's visa is turned down, this fact could be propagandistically exploited by Bandera's opponents, especially those with Soviet support, to produce uncertainty in the ranks of Bandera's followers and to damage their unity.

d. Finally, UPSWING would like to point out the possibility to utilize the opportunity presented by a trip by Bandera to the USA to have talks between Bandera and members of the U.S. State Department that might result in alleviating the differences and reservations that may influence the American attitude toward Bandera. Bandera himself would welcome an opportunity to attempt to clarify certain things in such discussions.

For the above reasons, UPSWING suggests that KUBARK intervene in order to enable Bandera and his party to make a three month visit to the USA. Bandera has applied for a visa through the American General Consulate in Munich, using his presently used name Stefan POPEL. Travelling with him would be Dr. WASKOWYCYZ and Prof. Stefan LERKOWSKYJ.

ENCL.

CS COPY SECRET

372 HM/SE/40

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

DATE: 15 OCT 59

S-E-C-R-E-T

| ROUTING | | | |
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| 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| 2 | 3 | 5 | |
| 3 | | 4 | |

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: MUNICH

ACTION: C/SR 4

INFO: COP, C/CI, C/CI/OPS, C/FI, C/EE 2, S/C 2

OCT 15 2334Z '59

PRIORITY

IN 37398

REF DOI 70-17

TO: DIR

INFO: (PRIORITY) FRAN

CITE: MUNI 6792

NO NIACT

REDWOOD LC IMPROVE

15 OCTOBER SUBJ. REPORTED STEFAN BANDERA DEAD. DETAILS WHEN AVAILABLE.

END OF MESSAGE

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SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3028
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2008

S-E-C-R-E-T

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 SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2004 2006

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

| | | |
|--|-------------|-------------------------------|
| DATE: 174 JM/EJ 16 OCT 59 | S-E-C-R-E-T | ROUTING: 1 3 2 3 3 3 |
| TO: DIRECTOR | | OCT 16 1429Z 59 |
| FROM: MUNICH | | PRIORITY |
| ACTION: C/SR 4 | | |
| INFO: COP, C/CI, C/CI/OPS, C/FI, C/EE 2, S/C 2 | | IN 37607 |

TO DIR INFO FRAN CITE MUNI 6802

~~REDACTED~~ REDWOOD LCIMPROVE

RE: MUNI 6792 (IN 37398)

NO NIACT

1. ADDITIONAL INFO FROM SUBJ AS FOLLOWS: CIRCA MONTH AGO BANDERA RECEIVED ANONYMOUS LETTER THREATENING DEATH. FOR THIS AND NORMAL SECURITY REASONS WAS UNDER CONSTANT SB PROTECTION. HOWEVER, FOR UNKNOWN REASONS BANDERA LEFT ZEPPELINSTRASSE OFFICE ALONE NOONTIME 15 OCTOBER AND DROVE HOME FOR LUNCH. RANG STREET LEVEL DOOR BELL, WHICH BUZZED OPEN BY WIFE, AND THEN HEADED UPSTAIRS TO THIRD FLOOR APARTMENT. ON REACHING SECOND FLOOR, WIFE HEARD SCREAM THEN FALL. CALLED AMBULANCE. BANDERA DEAD ON ARRIVAL HOSPITAL. UNDETERMINED WHETHER TOP OF HEAD DAMAGE CAUSED BY FALL.

2. BANDERA PEOPLE SUSPECT FOUL PLAY. POLICE INVESTIGATING. AUTOPSY BEING PERFORMED MORNING 16 OCTOBER. WILL ADVISE RESULTS.

END OF MESSAGE

C/S COMMENT: *15 OCT SUBJ REPORTED STEFAN BANDERA DEAD. DETAILS WHEN AVAILABLE.

S-E-C-R-E-T

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 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

30-39

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Action
EUR

Classification

Control

10490

Rec'd:

OCTOBER 16, 1959
12:03 P.M.

Info
INR
P
UOP
ORM
IRC

FROM: MUNICH

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 141, OCTOBER 16, 4 P.M.

OCB
CIA

SENT DEPARTMENT 141, REPEATED INFORMATION MOSCOW 4, BONN,
FRANKFURT, PARIS. UNNUMBERED.

RMR

STEPAN BANDERA LEADER OUNB UKRAINIAN EMIGRE ORGANIZATION
FOUND DEAD ON STAIRS HIS MUNICH RESIDENCE AFTERNOON OCTOBER
15 UNDER WHAT MUNICH PRESS CALLS MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.
SEEMINGLY DIED FROM FALL BUT MUNICH POLICE INVESTIGATING
POSSIBILITY FOUL PLAY. DESPATCH FOLLOWS.

PAGE

DL-25

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

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Classification

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State

UKRAINIAN REBEL DIES IN MYSTERY

Stefan Bandera Said to Have
Fallen in Munich—Fought
Soviet to Free Region

MUNICH, Germany, Oct. 16 (AP)—Stefan Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist leader, died under mysterious circumstances yesterday at his secluded home here.

The police said today that no evidence of foul play had been found.

Mr. Bandera died after allegedly falling on the stairs. There were no witnesses. The chief of the Munich homicide squad said the police were looking into the circumstances.

Mr. Bandera, whose guerrilla force once battled both Soviet and Polish armies, fought at the head of 200,000 Banderaites for an independent

Ukraine during and after World War II.

His activity in recent times was largely restricted to editing his organization's newspaper. Nevertheless, friends said his life was in constant danger.

Indirect Tribute Paid

The Soviet press frequently refers to Ukrainian nationalists as "Banderoivtsy." It is an indirect tribute to Stefan Bandera's influence in the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

In 1938 Mr. Bandera and two other Ukrainian nationalists were sentenced to death for complicity in the 1934 assassination of Bronislaw Pieracki, Polish Minister of the Interior. The sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939 restored Mr. Bandera to freedom. The following year he broke away from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or O. U. N., headed by Andriy Melnyk. Taking many members of the original O. U. N. with him, he established a new

organization with the same name.

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June, 1941, Mr. Bandera turned his O. U. N. into a semi-military organization.

On June 30, 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko, Mr. Bandera's principal lieutenant, proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine and set up a Ukrainian government at Lvov.

Apparently sympathetic at first, the Germans quickly turned against the Lvov regime and threw most of its leaders into prison. However, they offered Mr. Bandera and Mr. Stetsko the possibility of collaboration. This was refused and the two Ukrainians found themselves in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Insurgents' Army Formed

Meanwhile, in the Ukraine, their organization continued its activities. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army came into existence in the Carpathian Mountains in 1944.

Released from the concentra-

tion camp in September, 1945, Mr. Bandera returned to the Ukraine to continue the struggle for Ukrainian independence. He fled to Germany with several of his followers in 1947 and there organized the Foreign Units of the O. U. N.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is believed to have asserted its control over fairly wide areas at one time, but the Soviet Government took steps to wipe it out. In 1950 Soviet troops surrounded the headquarters of Taras Chuprynyk, commander of the army. To avoid capture, he ordered his own bunker blown up and perished in the explosion.

Mr. Bandera was described as rather short and slightly hunched. As far as is known, he was never married and lived solely for the cause of Ukrainian independence.

First King Haakon

The First King Haakon of Norway, who died in 1901, was educated in England as a Christian.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

318/CWT/CWT/CWT/

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

DATE 18 OCT 59

S-E-C-R-E-T

ROUTING

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MUNICH

ACTION: C/SR 4

INFO: COP, C/CI, C/CI/OPS, C/FI, C/EE 2, S/C 2

OCT 18 1415Z 59

ROUTINE

IN 38209

TO DIR

INFO

FRAN

CITE

MUNI 6821

REWOOD LCI PROVE UPSWING

RE MUNI 6802 (IN 37607)*

1. ACCORDING ALIAS HERDAHL, PRELIM AUTOPSY FINDINGS INDICATE BANDERA DID NOT DIE NATURAL CAUSES. INDICATIONS HE POISONED.

2. UPSWING CLOSELY FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION DEATH. HERDAHL HAD OPERATIONAL LUNCH WITH BANDERA AND TWO AID 14 OCTOBER IN PRIVATE ROOM IN PUBLIC RESTAURANT. BANDERA SEEMED IN BEST OF HEALTH AND SPIRITS. LUNCH DEVOTED PRIMARILY DISCUSSION UPSWING SUPPORT MOUNTING FURTHER OPS INTO USSR. ALSO DISCUSSED STATUS PRESENT OPS GROUP, WHICH HAS NOT REPORTED OVER TWO WEEKS AND AT LAST REPORT HAD NOT CROSSED INTO USSR.

END OF MESSAGE

CS COMMENT: *REPORTED DEATH OF BANDERA. WOULD ADVISE AUTOPSY RESULTS.

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

S-E-C-R-E-T

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ORIG [] **CLASSIFIED MESSAGE**
 UNIT SR/3-PP
 EXT 4307
 DATE 19 OCTOBER 1959

SECRET

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| ROUTING | |
| 1 | 3 |
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| DEFERRED | OCT 19 21 43 25S |
| ROUTINE | EC'D CABLE NEWS |
| X PRIORITY | INITIALS |
| OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE | INITIALS |

TO MUNICH, FRANKFURT
 FROM DIRECTOR
 CONF (C/SR 4)
 INFO COP, C/CI, C/CI/OPS, C/FI, C/EE 2, S/C 2

SECRET
 REF DOI 70-17

TO MUNICH (ROUTINE) CITE DIR 57287
 49129

REDWOOD LOIMP VE POWING
 RE: MUNI 589 (504)

1. ... ^{GIST} ... TWO CABLES TO AID TRACE POISON, BUT OMIT MENTION HIS ... POISON. PREFER ATTRIBUTE TO SOURCE LIKE U.S. CRIME LAB.

2. ... HAS FURTHER COMMENTS RE METHODS DETERMINE TYPE POISON WILL BE USED SOURCE

3. ... RECESSARY 2 HAD PHONE CALL FROM ONE OF HIS MEN IN MUNI ON ... AUTOPSY CYANIDE CAUSE BANDERA DEATH.

- END OF MESSAGE.

... WOULD BE HELPFUL INVESTIGATION BANDERA'S DEATH PASS ... DIR 5076 AND PARA 1 DIR C2965, PLUS ANY FURTHER COMMENTS

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 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2008

SECRET

File
 ATUZYANIANI, PP
 CSR/3 []
 AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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| | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------|-----------------|
| DATE | 227 30M OCT 59 | E-C-R-E-T | ROUTING |
| TO | DIRECT | | 2 3 4 3 5 6 |
| FROM | MUNICH | | OCT 19 1822Z 59 |
| ACTION | C/SR 4 | | PRIORITY |
| INFO | COP, C/CI, C/CI/CFB, C/FI, C/EE 2, S/C 2 | | IN 38504 |
| TO | DIR | INFO (PRIORITY) FRAN | CITE MUNI 6834 |

REDWOOD (C) IMPROVE UPSWING
 RE MUNI 6821 (IN 38209)*

1. SUGGEST WOULD BE HELPFUL INVESTIGATION BANDERA'S DEATH PASS UPSWING
 GIST PARA 1 DIR 00682 ** AND PARA 1 DIR 02965*, PLUS ANY FURTHER COMMENTS
 HQS MAY HAVE OFFER. ALTHOUGH SECURITY MUST BE CONSIDERED, FEEL RISK
 WOULD BE MINIMAL IF INFO PASSED UPSWING AND KUBARK INFO RE KNOWN RIS USE SPECIFIC
 POISON IN PAST, WITH NO REF PREVIOUS RIS CONSIDERATION POISON BANDERA HIMSELF
 FEEL WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL SINCE APPEARS TO DATE THAT SUFFICIENT
 QUANTITY POISON NOT FOUND AUTOPSY MAKE IT CERTAIN BANDERA POISONED. INFO
 FROM CASE WOULD POINT TOWARD SPECIFIC TYPE POISON THAT MAY HAVE
 BEEN USED, THAT DIFFICULT DETECT, AND THAT COULD HAVE BEEN ADMINISTERED
 CONSIDERABLY IN ADVANCE BANDERA'S DEATH.

2. ADVISE.

END OF MESSAGE

CS COMMENT: *AUTOPSY FINDINGS INDICATE BANDERA DID NOT DIE NATURAL CAUSES.
 **CABLES PRE-DATE CS FILES. COPY MAY BE SEEN IN SIGNAL CENTER ARCHIVES.

S-E-C-R-E-T

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 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2008

549 DMCL/MCB/MCB/W
 ORIG: C
 UNIT: SR/3-PP
 EXT: 4387
 DATE: 5 NOVEMBER 1959

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

SECRET

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| ROUTING | |
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| 5 | |
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| DEFERRED | NOV 6 20 14:59 |
| ROUTINE | REC'D CABLE SECT. |
| PRIORITY | INITIALS |
| OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE | INITIALS |

TO: MUNICH, FRANKFURT
 FROM: DIRECTOR
 CONF: SR 6
 INFO: CI, CI/OPS, FI, PP 2; PP/PRD, PP/PROP, EE 4, S/C 2

TO: MUNI INFO FRANK CITE DIR
 REDWOOD AERODYNAMIC
 RE: MUNI 6834 (IN 33504)
 CUT 63044
 01697

1. RE DEATH BANDERA CABLE HIGHLIGHTS POUCH DETAILS, EMIGRE REACTION AUTOPSY RESULTS AND POSSIBLE KUCAGE USES.
2. ABCASSONARY 2 SAYS WIFE ABCAVATINA 11 WITH HIM JUST PRIOR DEATH. ANY ACTION PLANNED BY POLICE?

- END OF MESSAGE -

CS COMMENT: Specifies type poison may have been used BANDERA death.

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 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

EE/COP
 RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

SECRET

CSR/3
 AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2008



AMERICA

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC DAILY

ADDRESS: "AMERICA", 817

No. 201. VOL. XLVIII. PHILADELPHIA, PA, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1959

У глибокому смутку над свіжою могилою
Великого Сина України,
Голови Проводу Організації Українських Націоналістів

СТЕПАНА БАНДЕРИ

закликаємо усе наше Членство і Прихильників у Зед-
нених Державах Америки вшанувати Його Світлу Па-
м'ять двомісячною жалобою, від 15. жовтня до 15. груд-
ня 1959 р.

Посиленням праці для справи в зволення України тво-
рімо найдостойніший меморіал Його Світлій Пам'яті.

Організація Оборони вояків Свободи
Спілка Української Молоді Америки
Український Союз Політичних В'язнів
Т-во б. Вояків УПА
Т-во Студіюючої Молоді ім. М. Міхновського
Українська Центральна Репрезентація АП АБН

Папа г

Св. Отец
Віння на
редак
3

Причина смерті сл. п. Ст. Бандери

Втримувала кілька днів у великій таємниці, з доручення слідчих органів німецької влади, причина смерті сл. п. Степана Бандери, в'ясе-
нена офіційним комунікатом урядової судово-медичної комісії, про-
голошеним у Мюнхені в понеділок, 19. жовтня ц. р.

Дослідний текст згаданого уря-
дового комунікату судово-медич-
ної комісії нам у цій хвилині неві-
домий. Відомо проте, понад усякий
сумнів, що цей комунікат ствер-
джує, що смерть сл. п. Степана
Бандери настала внаслідок до-
ведення до крові організму (ін-
тратної отрути). Цей рід отрути є
одним із найсильніших і він спри-
чиняє негайну смерть.

Це ствердження знаходимо та-
кож у „Нью Йорк Таймс“ з 20. жовтня ц. р., який покликується
на пресову агенцію АП (Асоці-
Прес) інформує, що „слідчі орга-
ни встановили сьогодні, що Степан
Бандера, шеф антикомуністичних
повстанців в Україні впаав жер-
твою ціяантної отрути. Таємни-
чість, що оточувала його життя
впродовж усього і по його смерті.
Співробітники Степана Бандери
твердять що він упав жертвою ке-
рідної Москвою скритобачної
отрути“.

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE

129

October 23, 1959

DATE

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

| | | |
|--------------------|--------|-------|
| For Dept. Use Only | ACTION | DEPT. |
| | REC'D | IN |
| | | OTHER |

SUBJECT: Death of Stefan BANDERA

Numerous news articles have appeared in many of the Germany newspapers over the mysterious death of Stefan BANDERA (aka Stephan Popel) leader of the International Ukrainian Underground party in Munich. There is reason to believe that he was murdered. Below are quoted two typical news articles relating to this incident.

MUNICH: U. Journalist of October 16, 1959

The mysterious death of the chief of the International Ukrainian Underground-party in Munich.

Stefan BANDERA (50), was found on the stairs of the apartment house, Munich, Kreittmayrstrasse 7, yesterday. He was always accompanied by several members of his party and as usual yesterday his body guard accompanied him to his room. Shortly afterwards a woman heard a shrill cry in the house.

BANDERA (10) aged 6, found BANDERA lying on the stairs with his face downwards. BANDERA died on the way to the hospital. The police have undertaken preliminary proceedings, since it was assumed that BANDERA was killed by some agents.

BANDERA resided in Munich under the name of POPPEL and first became known to the police about a year ago when a Russian agent was arrested while trying to kidnap BANDERA. BANDERA has a wife and three children aged 11, 12 and 17.

Stefan BANDERA was born in 1909 in Hrymiv-Staryj. He graduated from the Polytechnical University and joined the underground-party in 1927. The underground-party has the aim to rule the Ukraine in a democratic way. In 1933 he was the leader of the Underground-party of the west Ukraine.

In January 1935 BANDERA was arrested by the Poles and sentenced to death. This sentence was changed to life imprisonment. In 1937 he was set free by his party members and in 1940 he was the chief of the Ukrainian Underground-party. However, in 1941 the latter requested that he give up his independence and as BANDERA did not agree, he was brought to the KZ-Sachsenhausen. In 1945 BANDERA took over again the guidance and the command of the Underground-party.

Copies sent to:
 Embassy Bonn-2
 USC-2, HE/C-2

L.C./G. (2) (transcr.)

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 SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2E
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2004 2006

FOR COORDINATION WITH

State

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 2
Despatch No. 129
October 23, 1959
Frankfurt/M.

Bandera's death alarmed all the Ukrainians living in Munich. Everybody still remembers the "Sprengstoff-Attentat" of the leader of the Slovak Underground Party, Matus CERNAK, in April 1958, which resulted in his death too.

FRANKFURTER BUNDSCHAU : October 20, 1959

BANDERA DIED OF CYANIDE OF POTASSIUM

MURDER? SUICIDE? EMIGRANT'S SUSPECT POLITICAL MURDER

Munich, Oct. 19 (AP). The Ukrainian emigrant leader died of cyanide of potassium. After releasing the post mortem information on Monday, the Munich homicide squad stated that investigations are under way to determine whether murder or suicide led to Bandera's death. While the police hinted that Bandera might have taken the quickly acting poison himself, the Ukrainian Information Agency declared its firm conviction that this was a murder.

Thursday last week the emigrant leader entered in his car the courtyard of the Munich apartment house where he lived under the alias of KOPEL. Contrary to his usual practice, he dismissed his body guard when entering the staircase. Shortly thereafter he was found lying on the stairs and was brought to a hospital.

The police are of the opinion that Bandera must have taken the poison which works in five or at the most ten seconds, either in the car or on the staircase. It was found in his stomach and there are no other ways of transmitting it. He was declared dead when admitted to the hospital.

The Ukrainian Information Agency suspects that Bandera was attacked in the staircase by several men who might have put the cyanide of potassium in his mouth.

Chief editor of "The Way To Victory", LENNIK, Bandera's deputy, voiced the opinion that the murderer might be sought among the hundred members of a Ukrainian dance and song ensemble which is presently touring the Federal Republic. Lennik pointed out that an advance group of the artist ensemble was in Munich on the day of Bandera's death. Lennik further stated that the emigrant organization had been warned two weeks ago that an attempt at Bandera's life was planned. Thereupon the body guard of the emigrant leader was increased. "We are sure they were Bolsheviks", Lennik said. Bandera was never inclined to commit suicide. On Thursday he was in high spirits and would have preferred to "die fighting".

A search of the APS/G files reflect no information on Bandera under either name. A book written by John Alexander Armstrong, entitled "Ukrainian Nationalism 1939 - 1945" and published by the Columbia University Press in 1955 contains many references to Bandera and the Bandera Movement. For additional information see Despatch No. 130, Oct. 23, 1959.

FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE

Ed. Blake Cox

SR

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| <p>REFERENCES)</p> <p>Enclosed for your information is an article concerning the death of a person which was taken from the 21 October 1957 issue of the <u>Chicago Tribune</u>. This magazine is an East German publication designed for the British occupation zone. It is published every two weeks.</p> <p>Attachment, as stated</p> <p>Distribution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 - HQ w/att 1 - PH w/o att 1 - G-2 w/cy att | | | |
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DEMOCRATIC GERMAN REPORT

23 Oct 51

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simply by reading quotations from his war diary. Public opinion both in Germany and abroad has the right to know whether these charges are true. The minister of a democratic state cannot simply shrug off such charges by saying they are lying Bolshevik propaganda.

Munich, West Germany, and broke his neck. Subsequent police investigations showed that he had been poisoned with potassium cyanide. East German newspapers suggested that Minister Oberlander may have had a hand in Bandera's death, since Bandera had served as an officer in the Ukrainian quisling unit of the Wehrmacht of which Oberlander was second-in-command, and thus had undoubted first-hand evidence of Oberlander's role in the mass murders committed in the city of Lvov in July 1941 by this unit.

On October 15th a mysterious new angle cropped up in the case. Stefan Bandera, notorious Ukrainian quisling, "fell downstairs" in his house in

16 Nov 51
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STEPAN BANDERA, LEADER OF ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN), DIES FROM CYANIDE POISONING IN MUNICH AT THE AGE OF 50. — HIS ASSOCIATES CHARGE HE WAS A VICTIM OF MOSCOW-DIRECTED MURDER PLOT. — UKRAINIANS THE WORLD OVER SHOCKED BY SUDDEN DEATH OF PATRIOT AND FREEDOM FIGHTER

GREAT REPERCUSSION OF HIS DEATH IN AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN PRESS

MUNICH, Germany, Oct. 16 (AP). — Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian Nationalist leader, died under mysterious circumstances yesterday at his secluded home here. The police said today that no evidence of foul play had been found.

Mr. Bandera died after allegedly falling on the stairs. There were no witnesses. The chief of the Munich homicide squad said the police were looking into the circumstances.

VICTIM OF CYANIDE POISONING

MUNICH, Germany, Oct. 19 (AP). — Investigators established today that cyanide poison killed Stepan Bandera, anti-communist guerilla chief from Ukraine. The mystery that surrounded his life continued in death.

His associates charged that he was a victim of a Moscow-directed murder plot.

The body of the 50-year old Bandera was found Thursday on the stairway of his apartment house here. It was one of the many hideouts from which he directed nationalist Ukrainians.

George Lényk, Mr. Bandera's deputy, said:

"We are convinced he was killed by the Bolsheviks. But the question remains: How was he made to take the poison?"

Russian émigré leaders who opposed Mr. Bandera's plans for Ukrainian independence but shared his anti-communist views said they, too, were certain he was assassinated, as was his predecessor, Col. Eugené Konovalets, in 1938.

REPORT BY BANDERA'S CLOSEST COLLABORATOR

In two telephone conversations, one with Stepan Lenkavsky, one of the closest associates of Mr. Bandera, and Dr. Hyvylevych, Jr., both of Munich, the editorial office of Svoboda succeeded in finding the following:

On Thursday, October 15, 1959, Bandera left the editorial office of *The Way to Victory*, located at 67 Zepelinstrasse and went, apparently for lunch to his home located in the vicinity. As a rule, he had always one or two escorts, members of his organization.

This time he left alone and instead of going straight to his home, he went in his car to buy some fruit. Returning home, Bandera came out of his car alone and rang the doorbell of his apartment house. The door was opened automatically, apparently by his wife, who heard thereafter a scream of a German boy in the hall. When she ran out on the corridor, she saw her husband lying on the steps on the first floor, blood running from his mouth, nose and ears. He was taken to a hospital, but died in the ambulance enroute.

STEPAN BANDERA IN UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Stepan Bandera's life was completely devoted to the struggle for Ukrainian freedom and liberation. In 1927 he became a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), and in 1929 a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); in 1931 he became a member of the Executive Committee of the OUN in Western Ukraine, and in 1934 its chief and Supreme Commander of the UVO; in 1933 he became a member of the Supreme Leadership of the OUN. In 1934 Bandera was arrested by the Polish police and condemned to death with two other Ukrainians for alleged complicity in the assassination of Minister B. Pieracki in Warsaw. Eventually, Bandera was reprieved and given life imprisonment. After the German occupation of Poland, Mr. Bandera was

restored to freedom. A year later he and his close associates broke away from the OUN, headed by Col. Andriy Melnyk and established a new OUN. On June 30, 1941 the OUN under his direction proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state. The Nazi government reacted swiftly and ordered Bandera to disband the government, and when he refused to comply, he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen where he remained until the fall of 1941. Since 1945 he had lived in Western Germany, being head of the Foreign Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was planning a visit to the United States, and evidently already had been previously invited by the U. S. Congress.



STEPAN BANDERA

AMERICAN PRESS ABOUT BANDERA AND HIS STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINE'S FREEDOM

The American press gave an extensive coverage to the sudden death of Stepan Bandera.

Almost every N. Y. daily newspaper printed dispatches of the Associated Press from Munich, Germany, about his death. The New York Times of October 17, 1959, for instance wrote:

"Mr. Bandera, whose guerilla force once battled both the Soviet and Polish armies, fought at the head of 200,000 Banderites for an independent Ukraine during and after World War II. His activity in recent times was largely restricted to editing his organization's newspaper. Nevertheless, friends said his life was in constant danger.

Indirect Tribute Paid

"The Soviet press frequently refers to Ukrainian nationalists as 'Banderovtsy.' It is an indirect tribute to Stepan Ban-

dera's influence in the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In 1936 Mr. Bandera and two other Ukrainian nationalists were sentenced to death for complicity in the 1934 assassination of Bronislaw Pieracki, Polish Minister of the Interior. The sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939 restored Mr. Bandera to freedom. The following year he broke away from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or O.U.N., headed by Andriy Melnyk. Taking many members of the original OUN with him, he established a new organization with the same name.

24 Oct '39

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June, 1941, Mr. Bandera turned his O.U.N. into a semi-military organization.

On June 30, 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko, Mr. Bandera's prin-

cipal lieutenant, proclaimed the independence of Ukraine and set up a Ukrainian government at Lvov.

Apparently sympathetic at first, the Germans quickly turned against the Lvov regime and threw most of its leaders into prison. However, they offered Mr. Bandera and Mr. Stetsko the possibility of collaboration. This was refused and the two Ukrainians found themselves in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Insurgent Army Formed

Meanwhile, in Ukraine, their organization continued its activities. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army came into existence in the Carpathian Mountains in 1942.

Released from the concentration camp in September, 1944, Mr. Bandera returned to Ukraine to continue the struggle for Ukrainian independence. He fled to Germany with several of his followers after the war and there organized the Foreign Units of the O.U.N.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is believed to have asserted its control over fairly wide areas at one time, but the Soviet government took steps to wipe it out. In 1950 Soviet troops surrounded the headquarters of Taras Chuprynka, commander of the army. To avoid capture, he ordered his own bunker blown up and perished in the explosion.

The Western German press gave also a big coverage of the sudden and untimely death of Stepan Bandera.

The Ukrainian the world over, regardless of their political feelings and affiliations, were shocked by the sudden death of Stepan Bandera who for many symbolized the active struggle for Ukraine's freedom and independence.

Bandera's Death as Reported By a U.P.I. Dispatch

MUNICH, Germany, Oct. 20 (UPI) — Funeral services were being held today for Stepan Bandera, a mystery man who died here of cyanide poison while working with an anti-Soviet underground in his native Ukraine.

Bandera, 50, a refugee from Ukraine which became part of the Soviet Union in 1920, had

long helped direct a fight for his homeland's freedom. He was so hated by the Communists that other Ukrainians posted a 24-hour guard around him.

Bandera was found unconscious at the foot of the stairs in his home last Thursday. Two minutes after two police guards left him at the front door, he was suffering from a severe head ailment which did not require medical attention, it was said.

An autopsy disclosed cyanide poisoning but the cause of his death is still a mystery. He said he would never have admitted suicide — that he was murdered by Soviet agents who somehow penetrated his recently reinforced quarters.

The mystery surrounding the death of the 50-year-old anti-Communist was as cloudy as Bandera's own past.

He was known to the heads of an extreme right-wing Ukrainian anti-Communist group in exile here, but he was also believed to be the director of underground activities within the Soviet-occupied Ukraine itself.

Exile spokesmen denied Bandera directed the underground but admitted he was a co-founder of the Ukrainian through which underground fighting was carried on in his homeland.

Representatives of the Ukrainian exile groups, many of the moderate type, have no use for the anti-Soviet militant anti-Communist activities, were said to be general.

Representatives also expected from abroad are 1,500,000 Ukrainians, refugees, about 500,000 of them in the United States and Canada. Many Ukrainians called his death a political murder and blamed the Communists.

The wording of a death notice in his exile group's newspaper Saturday was changed at the last minute from "Died Suddenly" to "Killed by an Assassin."

The exile leader had been living here since 1945. Until then he had lived a cloak-and-dagger life of undercover adventure in Ukraine, Poland,

Czechoslovakia and Germany. He was under sentence of death in Poland for complicity in an assassination attempt, but in 1941 the Nazis released him. (Actually, he was released in 1939 - Ed.) A year later Gestapo arrested him because he fought with Ukrainian guerrilla bands. He remained in prison until 1944.

The guerrillas waged a virulent and front against both the Germans and the Russians. It was an end controlled by Poland, Czechoslovakia and Ukraine.

AIR POUCH
PRIORITY

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM: AmConGen, MUNICH

67
CLASS. NO.

XP 7616.521

TO: THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

October 26, 1959
DATE

REF: Munich Telegram 141 dated October 16, 1959

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| 11-7-59 | <i>IRC-8</i> <i>RIPK-2</i> <i>ZUR-4</i> <i>P-5</i> <i>M/S-1</i> <i>M/S-1</i> <i>INR-1</i> <i>VO-1</i> <i>Germany, Hungary & Austria - 1</i> <i>Cia-15</i> <i>OSD-4</i> <i>UCB-1</i> <i>USA 10</i> | |

SUBJECT: PERIPHERAL: Mysterious poisoning of Stefan BANDERA, Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Banderists).

SUMMARY

Born-1 *Moscow-1* *Jordan-1*
Frankfurt-1 *Rome-1* *Prague-1*
Munich-1 *Rome-1*

Stefan Bandera aka Stefan POPEL, age 50, Leader of the Banderist wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN/B), was found unconscious shortly after noon on October 15, 1959, at the foot of the stairs leading to his apartment at 7 Kreittmayr Strasse, Munich 2. Neighbors reported hearing him cry out before he collapsed and rolled down the staircase. He died shortly afterwards in a Munich hospital. An autopsy was ordered by the Munich Criminal Police Homicide Section.

All of the Munich daily newspapers carried detailed accounts of his death and funeral as an inside page feature article. One of the newspapers, Die Abendzeitung, a daily tabloid, ran the announcement of his mysterious death as a front page story on October 16, 1959. Each paper reported the preliminary autopsy findings of cyanide poisoning on October 19, 1959, and continued coverage to include detailed descriptions of the 1500 man funeral procession and service carried out under police protection on October 20, 1959.

As yet no official autopsy report has been issued; however, a reliable source has informed the Consulate General that autopsies on October 17 and 18, 1959, established that the cause of death was cyanide poisoning, probably administered in a gelatin capsule with the victim's food. Bandera's body bore no marks of violence. Police officials in charge of the investigation now state that they are "almost sure" that Bandera was assassinated. They are not optimistic about finding the murderer although they have one or two unidentified persons under investigation.

Emigre reaction in Munich has been moderate, but it is generally agreed that he has died a hero's death (Heldentod), the victim of Bolshevik agents. The degree to which the whole Ukrainian emigration felt his death is demonstrated by the fact that his political arch-enemy Mykola LIWYCKJ (Munich Despatch 179, April 8, 1959), leader of the democratically oriented Ukrainian National Rada, attended the funeral.

JPS *KM*
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From

An official of Radio Liberty* told one of the reporting officers that monitors of the station had reported hearing a Radio Moscow broadcast on the subject of Bandera's death. This broadcast was a summary of an article which appeared in Krasnaya Vezda (Red Star), the official Soviet Army newspaper, accusing Bundesminister for Refugee Affairs Theodor Oberlander of having had Bandera eliminated because Bandera knew too much about Oberlander's allegedly unsavory record as a Nazi commander in the Lemberg area of Poland during World War II. Radio Prague and Radio Lvov have echoed this theme.

Although the theory that Bandera actually was the victim of a Soviet plot cannot be discounted, it is also possible, in view of Bandera's own record of strong-arm tactics and ruthless leadership, plus reports of an internal crises in OUN/B, that many people even within his own organization, would have had a motive for taking his life.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF BANDERA'S DEATH

The death of Stefan Bandera, who used the cover name Stefan Popel and gave his profession as journalist to screen his identity in Munich, was not witnessed by anyone so far as is known. He apparently had spent the morning at his office, eaten a middle-of-the-morning snack of grapes with his secretary, Eugenia MACK nee SCZYHOL, completed some shopping en route home, reached the first floor of his residence at about noon before he collapsed and fell down the staircase to the ground floor. The stairs to his third floor apartment are narrow and unpolished and turn slightly to approach each floor. Apparently Bandera's cry as he collapsed brought neighbors to his aid. He was found on the ground floor by a 10-year-old neighbor boy. He had visible head injuries and was bleeding from the nose and mouth.

Bandera's wife had seen him approach the building from their apartment window and waited for him to reach the apartment. When he did not arrive she called his office. She then learned that her husband had been injured and taken to the Red Cross Hospital in Lazarettstrasse, Munich. She was with her husband when he died at about 1:00 in the afternoon. He apparently did not regain consciousness after his fall.

Bandera, whose life was marked by many dangerous activities including several reported attempts on his life recently, was not accompanied at the time by his bodyguards, who had gone to lunch. The Munchner Merkur in its October 17-18 issue quoted the editor of the Bandera newspaper, Mr. Wolodymyz LBNYK, as saying "Bandera felt immune to all danger since he had survived the Partisan Wars and the years in prisons and concentration camps."

Translations of some of the best local press accounts of his life story, death, and funeral are attached as enclosures 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

* The Munich radio station supported by ANCOMLIB, a privately sponsored American anti-Communist organization.

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From

A chronological history of Bandera's life is attached as enclosure no. 4.

TENETS AND HISTORY OF THE OUN/B

The following summary of the tenets and history of Bandera's party, the OUN/B, was prepared by the reporting officers on the basis of materials ranging from newspaper accounts to official records and scholarly works.

The Banderist wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is the revolutionary element of the party. The OUN was founded in the Ukraine in 1929 by the late Col. Buhen (Eugen) KONOVALETS who was assassinated almost certainly by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam, Holland, in 1938. Bandera split with the OUN in 1940 and has in the post-war years claimed a following of several hundred fellow Ukrainian exiles and refugees in West Germany, principally in the Munich area. The Banderists publish a weekly newspaper, Szlach Peremchy (Road to Victory) in Munich.

The OUN/B has imparted an unusual amount of almost 19th century nationalistic revolutionary fervor and militancy to its activities. It is a highly authoritarian organization, similar in its ideology to the Marxist URDP under BAHRIANY, and, although it has little toleration for other parties, it lacks the anti-capitalist views typical of most Marxist movements.* Its membership is generally active, conscientious, and patriotic, but lacks good political education and tends toward demagoguery in its extremist ideology. Bandera opposed the party of the democratic LIWYCKJ, the Ukrainian Government in Exile, and fought against the American Committee for Liberation, a private American organization which tried to unify the efforts of the various exiles from the USSR.

The OUN/B is technically one of the member organizations of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations headed by Yaroslav STETZKO, former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Republic 1917-21. Actually, however, the ABN, which embraces many of the nationality groups of the USSR and the Satellite countries (but no Russians!), is controlled by the Bandera party.

* Who's Who in the Emigration, compiled by the American Committee for Liberation, Inc., 1954, pp54 and 58.

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From AmComGen, MUNICH

COMMENTS:

Assassinations are nothing new in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, in the emigration or otherwise. Bandera was himself implicated in the 1934 assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior, for his part in which he was sentenced to death. In Rotterdam, in 1938, Bandera's then chief in the OUN leadership met his death by explosion when a box purportedly containing secret despatches from the Ukraine was delivered by one of his trusted lieutenants. This crime was "almost certainly the work of Soviet agents."* Earlier, in 1925, Simon PETLIURA, former leader of the post-1918 Ukrainian Directory, was mysteriously murdered in Paris, possibly by Soviet agents.

According to the rival MELNYK wing of the OUN (OUN/M), Bandera's group carried out a whole series of assassinations in the Ukraine in 1941 (when the two factions were contesting the leadership of the Ukrainian partisan movement under the German occupation). The most notorious of these deeds was the ambushing of the Melnyk adherents, SENYK and STSIBONSKYI, on August 30, 1941, at Zhitomir.

Although the facts are difficult to establish, the Bandera group, after World War II, developed a reputation for the use of false denunciations and strong-arm tactics in its competition with other emigre groups in West Germany. Many emigre figures clearly do not personally lament his passing. His death, though, can have only an adverse effect upon the Soviet emigration as a whole because of the demoralizing effect of another real or assumed Soviet political assassination under the noses of private bodyguards and the German police and the fact that Bandera controlled one of the largest, most closely knit, and militant emigre organizations in West Germany.

Because of the personal quality of leadership in the OUN/B and the closely allied Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), it is impossible to take for granted that there will be an orderly and satisfactory transfer of power to a new leader. Mrs. Slava STETZKO, wife of Yaroslav STETZKO, the ABN leader who flew from Spain to attend the Bandera funeral, told one of the reporting officers that Stetzko would succeed to the leadership. Whether this will occur and whether the OUN/B will retain its force and unity remain matters of speculation. What is certain is that any splintering of a major anti-Communist emigre group, even one having undeniably repugnant features, such as the OUN/B, would be a Soviet psychological victory.

* Ukrainian Nationalism 1939-1945, John A. Armstrong, Columbia University (1955).

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From AmConGen, MUNICH

As a footnote to the life and activities of Stefan Bandera it might be mentioned that during the last few months of his life he had been making vigorous attempts to obtain a visa to visit the United States, and the question of his eligibility had still not been settled at the time of his death. On one occasion some months ago, FSO K. S. Midthun interviewed him when he called at the Consulate General in connection with his visa application. His explanation of the means by which the OUN/B would establish and preserve "democracy" if it came to power in the Ukraine lay largely in an unsophisticated assertion that democracy would obviously accompany national self-realization. At that time he promised to send Mr. Midthun some literature explaining the views of his organization, and he later did so. The following booklets, in the Ukrainian language, are being separately transmitted to the Intelligence Collection and Distribution Section (INR:ICD) in the Department:

XX Z*IZD IPSS Bez Maski
Kontsentratsiini Tabori b Sobets'komu Soyuzi
Ukraina Proti Moskvi
Bol'shevism i Vizvol'na Borot'ba
UPA b Dokumentax 1942-50
ABN b Dokumentax 1941-56
UGVR b Dokumentax 1944-51
OUN b Dokumentax 1929-55

Edward Page Jr
American Consul General

Enclosures:

1. Translation of the article "An Assassination is Rumored", from Munchner Merkur, October 17-18, 1959.
2. Translation of the article "The Ukrainians Say He Died A Hero's Death", from the Süddeutsche Zeitung, October 21, 1959.
3. Translation of the article "Ukraine Soil Covers Bandera", from the Munchner Merkur, October 21, 1959.
4. Chronological Biography of Stefan Bandera.

Department pass to:

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AN ASSASSINATION IS HUNGRED. STEPAN BANDERA'S MYSTERIOUS DEATH.

HE LED THE STRONGEST EMIGRE GROUP.

Translation of an article in the
Munichmer Merkur on October 17-18, 1959.

On Thursday at about one o'clock in the afternoon the occupants of a house on Kreittmayrstrasse heard a scream. A heavy body rolled down the staircase from the first floor. A small child found the body with visible injuries to the head. The man with thinning hair and stocky build is according to the entries in his residence was a journalist — Stepan Popal. In reality, however, he is the 50-year-old Stepan Bandera, the head of the strongest Ukrainian emigre organization — the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). With this incident, like the assassination of the Slovakian emigre leader Matus Cernak, the death of a leading member of a strong emigre organization in Germany has brought him back as a center of public interest. Stepan Bandera, who had the inspiration of so many Ukrainians behind him who carried on the efforts to secure the independence of their people, had himself become an anarchist and stood always in the path of danger. In 1909 Bandera was born in the town of Ukyuiv in southwestern Ukraine. He passed his examination as an agricultural engineer in 1935. He was already, as a student, a member of the Ukrainian military organization (UWO), which sought to fight with terrorist means for the independence of the Ukraine against the Poles as well as the Russians. In 1929 he entered the OUN which had assumed the function as the political work organization of the UWO. Since then, his entire life has been devoted to the struggle.

He rose comparatively rapidly to leadership of the OUN. Since 1931 he occupied the position of provisional leader of the organization of the western areas of Poland. There he was named chairman in 1932 after the arrest of some of his colleagues. His great hours came when he organized the assassination of the Polish Minister of Education IERACKI /sic Minister of Interior Bronislaw Peracki/ in 1934; the motive for this act was connected with the battle for an independent Ukrainian school system within Poland. He was arrested and after two trials in Warsaw and Lemberg, he was sentenced to death. This punishment was later changed to life imprisonment from which he was freed by the entry of the Germans into Warsaw.

THE GOAL: FREE UKRAINE

Since the bomb assassination of the former chief of the OUN Colonel Konovaletz in Rotterdam in 1938, he has practically been the leader of the entire organization. Bandera now the long-awaited opportunity to reach

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No. 67
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MUNICH

reach his goal of a free Ukraine when he proclaimed in the presence of the German officers the independence of his country on the 30th of June 1941. Shortly thereafter he was arrested, because such plans were not in line with those of the national socialist leadership, which no longer wanted to allow support to continue to the Ukrainian nationalists. He was later elected as chairman of the domestic as well as the foreign organization in 1943. Even in the concentration camps bitter warfare between the Poles and the Ukrainians was carried on. In the concentration camp at Auschwitz the younger brothers of Bandera, Alexander and Vasilli were murdered. In Sachsenhausen the battle against the Russians continued. Bandera himself was released from the concentration camp in 1944, but only with the understanding that he was ready to collaborate with the Germans, who at the last minute were prepared to allow an independent Ukraine. At that point, the objectivity and clear-sightedness of the Ukrainian Nationalist leader won out: he declined.

From the beginning of 1945 he was in Berlin, at which time, he dove into the whirlpool of the collapse, coming into prominence again after the end of the war as he sought to build anew the organization in western Europe and America. In these early years, contacts with the homeland were possible and he travelled more and more. That the OUN even now is still active there is illustrated -- here one must depend on the testimony of Ukrainians living in Germany -- in two prominent trials in which members of the organization were condemned to death. In 1950 Bandera once more tried to create a new type of warfare against Communism when he, in a mountain hotel in the Bavarian Alps, sent an appeal to the western powers.

HIS OPERATIONS AREA EMBRACED ALL OF EUROPE

As suddenly as he had appeared, he suddenly disappeared again. From that time on one heard scarcely anything about him. Even his co-workers are reluctant to discuss his activity. One thing seems clear: that since the end of the war, he has not been in the Ukraine. His scope of activity was all of Europe, and only his wife, whom he had married in 1939, and his three children, had made their permanent residence in Kreittmayratraase.

Bandera led the strongest of all the emigre groups. One estimates the Ukrainian emigration to total almost 4,000,000. The preponderant portion is supposed to have belonged to his membership, even though they were not all organized. Bandera controlled the roof organization of the OUN, into which he had brought the American branch (founded in 1930) under the leadership of the 68-year-old Melnik; the OUN foreign organization, since 1954 under the leadership of the 50-year-old Iebidj; and other groups which had originally stood in opposition to him. Twice already has the Ukrainian nationalist leader been confined in his office.

Today

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Today the blue/gold banner of the Ukrainians and the black cross of the organization with its red field flutters forlornly from the window of his office on Zeppelinstrasse. On Thursday at 12 noon Bandera had left this place, an hour later he was dead. He had become accustomed to attacks and assassination attempts. First, in March of this year, someone had attempted to kidnap one of his children. Even more recently, they had again had the premonition that something was in the air. The guard on Bandera was strengthened. But he, who had outlived so many of his comrades, felt that his life was charmed. With him the Ukrainian national movement -- according to statements of the specialists -- loses a man who was respected in all emigre circles as an uncompromising ideological leader and prophet.

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No. 2
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from AmOceGen MUNICH

THE UKRAINIANS SAY: HE DIED A HEROES DEATH

THE POISONED EXILED POLITICIAN STEPAN BANDERA WAS BORN TO HIS GRAVE
UNDER POLICE PROTECTION.

Translation of an article in the
Sueddeutscher Zeitung on October 1959.

Quietly, with hands folded, they stood in the cemetery. Protocol required that the Ukrainian national democrat Idyukyj take the lead. Idyukyj has for years been the leader of the Ukrainian Government-in-Exile in whose parliament sit together the politicians of the National Democratic Federation, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Peasant Party, the Socialist Party, and the National Democratic Union. The man who was laid to rest here in the Munich Forest Cemetery by his supporters -- a hundred police placed themselves discreetly in the background -- was indeed for decades the political opponent of Idyukyj. However, as the grave was closed over Stepan Bandera, they placed over him a wreath. Whoever reads the inscription on the tombstone can be convinced that it could not have been given by the emigres out of political vindictiveness.

On Thursday of last week at about one o'clock in the afternoon the 50-year-old Bandera collapsed with a scream at the entrance of his house in Kreittmayrstrasse in Munich and died on the way to the hospital. The autopsy on the body showed that Bandera died from cyanide poisoning. Was this assassination? Four years ago a similar scene took place in the Munich Forest Cemetery. As happened yesterday, several thousand emigres had then visited the grave of the exiled Slovakian politician Matus Cernak. A few days before, he had been blown to pieces by a bomb which exploded in a Munich post office.

The danger of assassination hung over Bandera almost daily. A few months ago an unknown person had warned him of an attempt to kidnap one of his children. Consequently, the number of the bodyguard of the Ukrainian was increased. Bandera did not take a step without being watched by two of his own people. In the interest of security he had even taken the cover name of Popel and described himself as a journalist. On Thursday of last week, however, Bandera had left his bodyguard behind in his printing establishment. He went into town to buy something. As he entered his house at about one o'clock he collapsed.

One has read often in the last few days that the Ukrainians had feted Bandera as one of their heroes of freedom. That applies to every segment of the one and a half million exiled Ukrainians which he had

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he had brought together in a militant organization spread over Germany, England and America. The democratic exiled politicians of the Ukraine, however, wanted to have as little to do with Bandera as possible because he was one of the most radical nationalistic politicians who, if he felt it was necessary, would resort to terrorizing the emigres if they would not agree with his political opinions. It is perhaps also worth noting that Bandera's organization, the OUN, was not a member of the exiled Ukrainian national council /UNRADA/. Indeed, both the Government in exile as well as Bandera wanted the same thing; namely, freedom for their homeland but with divergent views as to how this should be done.

Bandera was known by every Ukrainian who lived in Polish west Ukraine after 1925 as a man who belonged to a para-military underground organization associated with the OUN and carried out bitter partisan warfare against the Poles. Bandera was at that time a young student. The OUN was under the command of Colonel Konovalets who carried on a battle for the freedom of the Ukraine, principally from Prague and Berlin. Like his predecessor Petliura, who commanded the partisan army until 1925 and who fell in Paris, the victim of an assassination, Konovalets was also killed in Rotterdam in 1938 by means of an infernal machine. A Soviet Agent had infiltrated the ranks of the OUN and gave Konovalets a package in a Rotterdam Cafe. Ostensibly, the package was filled with secret material from the homeland. In the package, however, a time bomb had been placed.

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From AmComGen MUNICH

UKRAINIAN SOIL COVERS BANDERA.

OVER 1500 MOURNERS -- UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

Translation of an article in the Muenchner
Merkur on October 21, 1959.

Far from his Ukrainian home for which he had fought for his entire life, Stepan Bandera was buried yesterday afternoon in the Forest Cemetery after his death through a mysterious poisoning. Over 1,500 mourners, including representatives of Ukrainians in Canada, the United States, Belgium, England, Holland, France and West Germany, paid their last respects. The old blue and yellow Ukrainian flag covered his coffin. About 250 wreaths -- including also a wreath from the Federation of Exiles -- were brought to the grave. Leading exile politicians from all over the world were expected, and police protection was on hand to thwart possible attempts to disturb the ceremony. Funeral hymns were sung in the Ukrainian language as eight co-workers of the dead man bore the coffin to the grave on their shoulders. Placed on pillows were urns containing earth from the Ukraine and from the grave of Simon Petliura, who as national leader of the Ukrainian Republic was murdered in Paris in 1926 (as was Colonel Eugene Konovalets, who in 1938 fell victim to an assassination in Rotterdam). Ten clergymen of the Catholic Uniates and two of the Greek Orthodox Church joined the funeral procession. The Vicar General of the Catholic Uniate Church in Munich, Peter Holinski, conducted the burial ceremony. The wife of Bandera, gray-clad, followed the coffin, and their three children were followed by Ukrainian representatives of Turkish, Rumanian, and Bulgarian fraternal organizations. The banner of the Ukrainian resistance movement with a red cross on a black background -- symbolizing blood and earth -- and the banners of the earlier Ukrainian republic were carried in the funeral procession. The president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Yaroslav Stetsko, gave the eulogy and recalled the murder of Ukrainian nationalists throughout the past years. "Moscow has tried to break us spiritually and in this effort has torn from us the powerful Stepan Bandera. It was thought that the Ukrainian nation would be spiritually destroyed by this act and she would cease her battle for freedom. The murder of Bandera was undertaken by Moscow with the conviction that during a time of peaceful co-existence this crime would have no external conflict as a consequence." As a last gesture the president sprinkled earth from the Ukraine and water from the Black Sea into the open grave. At the end of the burial, which was carried through without any incidents, all the Ukrainians sang their old national anthem.

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The leadership of the foreign groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, of whom Bandera was the chairman, gave out a communique yesterday, in which, among other things, it was said:

"All supposition that Stepan Bandera ended his life through suicide is senseless and without substantial basis. He fell in a battle which is being waged not only for the liberation of the Ukraine and other peoples who are under Moscow's yoke, but also for the freedom of the civilized world, which is being threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism."

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CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHY OF STEFAN BANDERA

- 1909 - September 1, born in Jaroslav, Poland (also given as Uhryuiw, West Ukraine.)
- 1923 - 1928 - Lived in Stryj, in West Ukraine.
- 1929 - 1934 - Lived in Lwiw (Lemberg) in West Ukraine. Became active in the OUN under the leadership of Col. Euhem KONOVALETS. Rose rapidly in the hierarchy of the Party which carried on terroristic activities against both Poles and Russians in an effort to free the Ukraine. He studied agricultural engineering, passing his examinations in 1933.
- 1934 - Arrested in connection with the assassination plot against the Polish Minister of Interior, Bronislaw PIRACKI and sentenced to death after two trials in Warsaw and Lemberg. This sentence was changed to life imprisonment as a result of his legal appeal.
- 1934 - 1940 - September released from Polish imprisonment by Nazis, after serving his sentence at Warsaw, Wronki, and Krakow prisons.
- 1940 - 1941 - Brief period of freedom and renewed political activity. He joined the two pro-German Ukrainian Support Battalions called Roland and Nachtigall. He tried to set up a free Ukrainian government but was arrested and imprisoned by the Nazis. He split the OUN by forming OUN/B. OUN was under Col. Konovalets' leadership until his assassination in 1938. This branch still exists under name OUN/M under Melnyk, and UHVR in New York City and Europe under Rebet Matla group. Married JAROSLAWA nee BANACH, born September 14, 1917, in Sanok, West Ukraine.
- 1941 - 1944 - Imprisoned by the Gestapo in Berlin, Sachsenhausen and Oranienburg concentration camps. Bandera's parents were killed by the NKVD, and his two brothers, Alexander and Wassily, murdered in Auschwitz in 1943.
- 1945 - present - Lived throughout West Germany, primarily in Munich and Regensburg. Editor for Ukrainian Publishing Co., Munich.
- 1947 - OUN/B split when Rebet Matla wing broke away to affiliate with UHVR.

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- 1956 - Rejected for U.S. visa at Munich on grounds that this was "prejudicial to public interest." (Section 212 (a) (27) of Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952). Several reviews of this case upheld this decision. Resided 7 Kreitzmaystrasse, Munich 2, with wife and three children: Natalia, born May 26, 1941, in Sanok, West Ukraine; Audry, born May 16, 1946, in Munich; and Anna-Lesia, born August 27, 1947, in Regensburg.
- 1959 - October 15, 1959, Bandera murdered. Buried on October 20, 1959.

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СВОБОДА

КРАЇНСЬКИЙ ЩОДЕННИК



НЬЮ-ЙОРК, ПІТЕРСБЕК, 22-го КВІТНЯ 1959 6 ЦЕНТІВ — 6 CENTS

SVOBODA

UKRAINIAN

HERSEY CITY and NEW YORK, TUESDAY

ЗЕМЛЯ З УКРАЇНИ ПРИСИПАЛА І ВОДА З ЧОРНОГО МОРЯ СКРОПИЛА ДОМОВИНУ ВБИТОГО ВОРОГОМ І ПОХОВАНОГО В ЧУЖИЙ ЗЕМЛІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО РЕВОЛЮЦІЙНОГО ПРОВІДНИКА СТЕПАНА БАНДЕРИ

Понад 2,000 осіб, між ними чоловік представники всіх українських угруповань, взяли участь у похороні, що відбувся під сильною поліційною охороною перед можливістю нового большевицького замаху. 250 вінів від українців і їх приятелів з усього світу відкрили могилу нової великої жертви української боротьби за волю.

Принесена з України урна української землі поспішала та ішла зникаючи з Чорного моря, разом з українськими словами, скропили домовину відступно вбитого большевицьким ворогом людина українського революційного провідника с.п. Степана Бандери, спущену і поховану в чужій землі на цвинтарі Вальдфрідоф в Мюнхені, Німеччина, минулого вівторка, 20-го жовтня 1959 року. Проф. Юри Студимський у спеціальній церемонії до «Свободи» так описує цю сумну подію.

Похорон с.п. Степана Бандери

Мюнхен, Німеччина. У вівторок, дня 20-го жовтня, в годині 9-ї рано в містечку українській націоналістичній церкві була відправлена за спокій душі с.п. Степана Бандери Служба Воли в присутності есарда для українців загальних в Німеччині Пресви. Цар Павло-Юри Студимський з собою великої кількості співвітчизин. Церква була переповнена українськими громадянами, які приїхали з всіх сторін Німеччини, Франції, Польщі, Голландії, Англії. Були також представники з Америки й Канади. Службу Престол відправив, до Служби Воли, капелан Мюнхенський. Між присутніх були також деякі діячі української діаспори і маленькі діти. Служба була дуже тихою і величавою. Після закінчення служби всі поклали на могилу квіти, а потім пішли до церкви, щоб відсвяткувати пам'ятку.



Понад 2,000 осіб, між ними представники українських емігрантів з багатьох країн світу, учасники в останню дорогу с.п. Степана Бандери під час похорону, що відбувся в Мюнхені у вівторок, 20-го жовтня. Попереду вкриті сільсько-жовтим прапором домовини несено урну із землею з України, якою окропили домовину, скропили її також водою з Чорного моря. Другі і співробітники Польського несуть його домовину. Чорні окропили всім тих, що несуть домовину, це так, мабуть, догартування на самі фотографії, зроблені в "Münchener Merkur", бо на інших фотографіях в інших часописах окропили не так.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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На Бальфатрафі.

Точно о годині пів на четверту по полудні замкнуто труну із тіллями останками провідника Українських Націоналістів та введено її до цвинтарної каплиці, де похоронний обряд відправив генеральний лікар о. пралаг Петро Голішевський в сослуженні дванадцяти священників та в приязності двох православних пап-отців. Під звуки гімну „Вічна пам'ять“... розпочався жалобний похід, в якому взяли участь поперек двох тисяч осіб. Понад тисячі п'ятдесят віників несли представники різних українських та чужинських організацій. На ішадовіці була сильно скопичено німецька поліція в уніформних та безліч різних агентів. Побовалися непередбачені випадки, але все відбулося в найбільшому і дуже спокійному порядку. Похорон закінчився аж до п'ятої години вечора і останні промови говорили вже при світлих ліхтарів над відкритою могилою. Від Української Католицької Церкви промовляв о. пралаг Голішевський. Дуже обдумано промову, як другий бейсидник вголосив від Української Православної Автокефальної Церкви і від імені Митрополита Інокентія митрофорний проповідник о. Палладій Дубинський. Головному прощальному промову сказав п. Ярослав Стецько, голова Антибольшевицького Вільного Народів. Опісля промовляв інж. М. Кравців, ст. АБН інж. Наквашіда, від болгарів д-р Вальчев, від турків ст. Вели Калом Хан, від сібірян д-р Покорни, від румунів д-р Емліан, представник лікарів п. Воркаш, говорив теж представник хорватів. Від Англо-українського Товариства промовляла секретарка Централі цього Товариства у Лондоні п. Вера Річ. З українського боку промовляв інж. Кудлик (СУБ-Ан-т), Попович від імені Українського синаднату Франції, д-р Кушпет

від імені Українського Комітету в Голландії, д-р Малашук (Канада), проф. Ів. Волчук з Америки, мгр. Рак від пластового куреня „Червоної Башни“, до якого належав Локійник, представник УПА проф. Ю. Студинський від ПУЕМ.

Ці величаві похорони зробили велике враження на німецьку і чужинську публіку, а німецька преса подала дуже обширні звіти із похоронів Степана Бандери ще цього самого дня у своїх нічних виданнях. На труну Покійника послали його приятелі гурти української землі та політичною із Чорного моря. Вже зовсім пізно, з оповитого вічного цвинтаря виходила жалобна громада, яка с потрачена абиством Степана Бандери.

Як агітував Степан Бандера?

На цей запит сьогодні не легко відповісти. Є тільки одне певне, що слідча медична секція знайшла в його шлунку приязність отрути ціаніду. Від українських лікарів був присутній при секції професор д-р Гинплєвич, але він теж зважаний тайною. Меркюва, а зглядно вже непереможного Степана Бандеру знайдено на сходах дому, в якому він мешкав. Це вже другий випадок, коли знаходить українського політичного діяча мертвого на сходах протилежних останніх двох років. Ми не хочемо подавати тут якихось газетських сенсацій, бо можливо, що при першій смерті масмо до діла тільки з природним серцевим інфарктом. (Мова про ал. п. д-ра Ребера, що помер в подібних обставинах точно два роки тому. — Ред.) Щодо смерті бл. п. Степана Бандери, політичне слідство, а ще незакінчене, але всі українці і всі приятелі України хочуть щоб збивник був знайдений. Живемо в страшних часах, найважливіші українські громадяни вмирають від революційних стрільць, розшарпів їх бомба, або гинуть від отрути. Тут не треба писати, чия ворожа рука підсунула бл. п. Степанові Бандері отруту. Сам Покійник звинувачує свою смерть до пантеону українських мучеників за самостійність України. (Ю. С.)

Відромін в німецькій пресі.

Як уже згадувало в репортажі д-р Ю. Студинського, німецька преса, зокрема мюнхенська, подала обширні відомлення про похорон бл. п. Степана Бандери, відаючи при цьому відомляючи також таємничим обставинам його трагічної смерті, як і справи визволення України. Нижче подаємо деякі інтересні інформації, взяті із перекладу німецької преси: „A b e n d z e i t u n g“, „Bild Zeitung“, „Muenchener Merkur“, „Sueddeutsche Zeitung“ і „8-Uhr Blatt“, усі з середн. 21-го жовтня, 1939.

„Українська земля покрила Бандеру“.

„Українська земля покрила Бандеру“ — це заголовок опису похоронів в газеті „Мюнхенер Меркур“. В описі докладно сказано:

„Далеко від рідної української Ватківщини, за яку він все своє життя борювався, був похований вчора по полудні на цвинтарі Ватів д-р Фрідріх еміграційний провідник Степан Бандера, що згинув в таємничий спосіб внаслідок отрути. Понад 2.000 жалобних гостей, між ними відомі українці з Канади, ЗДА, Бельгії, Англії, Голландії, Франції та союзної (Німецької) Республіки, вітали його в останню дорогу, Давиди сина-жовний український прапор покривав його домовину.

Близько 250 віників в чолу і вінок від Союзу (німецьких) вигнанців несе до гробу. Тому, що очікувано провідних емігрантських політиків з усього світу і треба було заздалегідь з можливістю заарештувати похорон відбувся від сильної поліційної охороною. Залучали жалобні пісні українською мовою, як відомо співробітників Покійного несли його домовину до гробу на своїх плечах. На подушках несе уроки із землі з України, як також із землі з могили. Симона Петлюра і замордованого в 1926-му році в Парижі Гогольного Отамана Української Республіки, та з могили польського Свєгона Ковалевича, що в 1933-му році впаде жертвою агента в Роттердамі. Несуть священники католицької та два духовні православної церкви супроводжали жалобний похід. Генеральний лікар католицько-унітарської церкви в Мюнхені, о. Петро Голішевський, відправив похоронні церемонії. Похиле йшло на домовині дружина Бандери та її трое дітей, а побіч українських делегатів ішли також представники турецьких, румунських і болгарських організацій. В похоронному похіді несе прапор українського руху спротиву в червоному хрестом на чорному полі — що символізує кров і землю — як і прапор попередньої Української Республіки. Президент Антибольшевицьки. (Закінчення на ст. 7-й)

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DATE 2004 2008

27 Feb 1957

to cancel its Israeli contract, the Arab League struck its name off the blacklist, and the company was free to go ahead with a reported deal to sell Nasser 4,000 cars.

The Arabs' economic blockade of Israel has probably caused Israel more injury than Arab armies did in two wars. It has effectively deterred Israel's plans to set itself up as an industrial nucleus to serve Middle East markets. Such well-known U.S. firms as P. E. O. Corp., Standard Oil (New Jersey), British Shell and Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc. have removed themselves from the Arab League blacklist by deciding that doing business in Israel is uneconomic.

The current blacklist, drawn up in Cairo, names 48 American firms. Included are Empire Brushes Inc., Kaiser Industries Corp., Dow Chemical Co. and Plough Sales Corp., because they have branches or agencies in Israel. Individual Arab countries have their own blacklists, which are even more capriciously kept. Philco radios and air conditioners were banned in Saudi Arabia even after the firm's name was removed from the Arab League blacklist. Last February, after Elizabeth Taylor bought \$100,000 worth of Israeli bonds, the United Arab Republic banned any further showing of her films in Syria and Egypt. Presumably the boycott will apply even to her next movie announced last week: Cleopatra.

WEST GERMANY

The Partisan Who Was TIME

For most of his life Stefan Bandera was an angry, fanatic outcast, dedicated to a lost cause. His cause was Ukrainian independence, and so hard did Bandera struggle for it that Soviet propaganda refers to all members of the Ukrainian underground as "Banderovtsy." The son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest, Stefan joined the Ukrainian underground in high school, and knew no other occupation. In 1934, when Bandera was sentenced to death for the assassination of Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Pieracki (for Ukrainians regarded both Poles and Russians as usurpers), the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, presumably to prevent a Ukrainian nationalist uprising in eastern Poland.

The advancing German army in 1939 released Bandera from a Polish jail, and he slipped across the Russian border to organize anti-Soviet resistance. Two years later, when the Wehrmacht attacked Russia, Bandera's partisans fought the retreating Russians and hopefully proclaimed an independent Ukraine. The occupying Nazis scoffed at the idea, and Bandera's men took on the Germans in turn. Tricked into a conference with the Gestapo in 1941, Bandera was arrested and sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Released by Hitler in 1944 in the hope that he would rouse the Ukrainian populace to fight the advancing Russians, Bandera set up headquarters in Berlin, while Ukrainian partisans once again fought both the Wehrmacht and the Red army in a vain effort to carve a free Ukraine out

of the confusion at war's end. To avoid Russian agents, he fled to West Germany in 1945, but shuttled back and forth in various disguises between Munich and the Ukraine, bringing encouragement and funds to the partisan army, which fought on for four more years before being finally subdued by the Soviets. (Stalin's vice-lord for suppressing the Ukrainians: Nikita Khrushchev.)

After that, using the name Stefan Popel, Bandera lived with his wife and three children in Munich, protected constantly by bodyguards. Fortnight ago, leaving his modest apartment, he went back upstairs for something he had forgotten, leaving his bodyguard waiting in the street. A



STEFAN BANDERA
Profession: patriot.

moment later there was a cry, and neighbors found him lying with a broken neck on the stair landing. An autopsy disclosed the real cause of death: cyanide.

Though Munich police said the circumstantial evidence indicated suicide, Bandera's followers were convinced that he had been tricked or overpowered into taking the cyanide, grimly printed in the funeral announcement: "Died a hero's death at the Bolsheviks' hands." And last week in Munich's Waldfriedhof, as 1,500 Eastern European exiles watched silently, Bandera's coffin, draped with the blue-and-yellow banner of Ukrainian independence, was lowered into a simple grave hallowed by an urn full of Ukrainian soil.

TF 2-206 DISPATCH FOLLOWS

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| DISPATCH VIA TELETYPE | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO EGMA 45907 |
| TO CHIEF, SR | CHIEF, EE CHIEF OF STATION, GERMANY | | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. 32W-12-2/3 FIELD FILE FI/1293 |
| FROM CHIEF OF BASE, MUNICH | DATE 12 NOVEMBER 1959 | | RE: 433 - (CHECK "X" ONE) |
| SUBJECT REDWOOD/LCTIMPROVE/OPERATIONS DEATH OF STEPAN BANDERA | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING | <input type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| ACTION REQUIRED NONE, FOR YOUR INFORMATION | | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY | |
| REFERENCE(S) DIR 01697 | | | |
| <p>1. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAS BEEN OBTAINED FROM [] CONCERNING THE CAVIRIL AND MUNICH POLICE INVESTIGATION OF THE DEATH OF []</p> <p>STEPAN *BANDERA /BORN 1909 IN TROSTIANEC/</p> <p>2. RESULTS OF THE AUTOPSY ON BANDERA'S BODY SHOW THAT BANDERA DIED OF POTASSIUM CYANIDE POISONING. PRESENT INVESTIGATION IS DIRECTED TOWARD DETERMINING HOW AND BY WHOM THE POISON WAS ADMINISTERED. LOCAL AUTHORITIES HAVE RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUICIDE BECAUSE OF BANDERA'S CHARACTER. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MAN WHO HAD MAINTAINED HIS OWN INDEPENDENT, FANATICAL COURSE FOR SO LONG WOULD SUDDENLY BECOME SO DESPONDENT THAT HE WOULD COMMIT SUICIDE.</p> <p>3. THERE ARE SEVERAL POSSIBLE MEANS BY WHICH THE POISON MIGHT HAVE BEEN ADMINISTERED. FOR ONE THING, THE AUTOPSY PRODUCED A FRAGMENT OF GELATINOUS MATERIAL FROM BANDERA'S STOMACH. THE EXAMINING DOCTORS THOUGHT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE REMAINS OF A CAPSULE, BUT THERE IS NO PROOF THAT THE CAPSULE ORIGINALLY CONTAINED POISON. BANDERA HAD BEEN SUFFERING FROM A COLD, WHICH HIS INTIMATES SAY HE HAD BEEN DOSING WITH VARIOUS PILLS, SO THE GELATIN MAY HAVE BEEN THE RESIDUE OF A CAPSULE HE HAD TAKEN. THE POSSIBILITY HAS BEEN CONSIDERED THAT HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN GIVEN A CAPSULE OF CYANIDE BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO WAY TO DETERMINE WHO MIGHT HAVE GIVEN IT TO HIM, AND SO MUCH OF HIS TIME HAS BEEN ACCOUNTED FOR BY WITNESSES THAT IT APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT ANYONE COULD HAVE TALKED WITH HIM AND GIVEN HIM THE PILL WITHOUT IT BEING NOTICED AND REPORTED.</p> <p>4. [] PERSONALLY LEANS TOWARD THE THEORY THAT THE POISON WAS ADMINISTERED BY FORCE AFTER BANDERA ENTERED HIS APARTMENT HOUSE. HE HAS VARIOUS BITS OF EVIDENCE WHICH HE FEELS SUPPORT HIS THEORY. ONE IS THE PRESENCE OF UNEXPLAINED BRUISES AROUND BANDERA'S MOUTH. [] BELIEVES THAT BANDERA WAS SEIZED AND OVERPOWERED IN THE HALLWAY OF HIS APARTMENT HOUSE AND THE BRUISES ARE THE RESULT OF SOMETHING BEING CLAMPED OVER BANDERA'S MOUTH TO STIFLE ANY OUTCRY. NEIGHBORS IN THE APARTMENT HOUSE REPORT THAT THEY HEARD A SCUFFLE IN THE HALLWAY, BUT THEY THOUGHT IT WAS CHILDREN PLAYING AND DID NOT LOOK OUT. THE SCUFFLE OCCURRED AT ABOUT THE TIME WHEN BANDERA ENTERED THE BUILDING. ANOTHER PERSON IN THE BUILDING REPORTED SEEING TWO UNIDENTIFIED MEN LEAVE THE BUILDING AT ABOUT THE TIME BANDERA RETURNED HOME. [] BELIEVES THAT THE MEN WERE HIDING IN THE ELEVATOR WHICH HAD BEEN STOPPED AT ONE OF THE UPSTAIRS FLOORS. NEIGHBORS ALSO REPORTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN BLOOD SPLASHED DOWN THE STAIRS WHERE BANDERA MIGHT HAVE FALLEN OR BEEN THROWN DOWN, BUT UNFORTUNATELY THE POLICE DID A POOR JOB OF GUARDING THE SITE AND THE JANITRESS REMOVED THE BLOODSTAINS BEFORE THEY COULD BE EXAMINED. ALTHOUGH THE AUTOPSY DID NOT DISCLOSE ANY STAB WOUNDS, AS FAR AS [] HAS BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, THE EXAMINATION WAS NOT THOROUGH ENOUGH TO HAVE FOUND A PUNCTURE MARK MADE BY A HYPODERMIC NEEDLE. THERE IS ONE OTHER POINT WHICH</p> | | | |
| FORM 10 57 53 1401 | USE PREVIOUS EDITION REPLACES FORMS 51-28 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE. | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PAGE NO. 1 |

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

32W-12-2-1293

| CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO EGMA 45907 |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| <p> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> BELIEVES IS SIGNIFICANT. WHEN HE WAS FOUND, BANDERA WAS LYING ON HIS FACE IN THE HALLWAY OF THE BUILDING, WITH HIS LEFT ARM DOUBLED UNDER HIM AND HIS LEFT HAND CLUTCHING AT HIS RIGHT SHOULDER. QUESTIONING OF BANDERA'S ASSOCIATES REVEALED THAT BANDERA WAS LEFT HANDED AND CARRIED A PISTOL IN A SHOULDER HOLSTER ON HIS RIGHT SIDE. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> BELIEVES THAT BANDERA WAS TRYING TO GET TO THE PISTOL WHEN HE DIED, AND IF THIS IS TRUE THERE MUST HAVE BEEN SOMEONE THERE WHOM HE WANTED TO SHOOT. </p> <p> 5. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> THEORY REQUIRES SOMEONE AS A FINGER-MAN WHO TIPPED OFF THE KILLERS WHEN BANDERA WOULD BE COMING HOME. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> PRIME SUSPECT IS <u>EFGENIA MATVIYEVKO ALIAS MAK /BORN 6 JANUARY 1916 IN LEMBERG, POLAND/</u> </p> <p> <i>RE THE DEATH OF STEPHAN BANDERA</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p> <p> THERE ARE SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH HAVE LED <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> TO SUSPECT MATVIYEVKO. MOST IMPORTANT, SHE WENT SHOPPING WITH BANDERA ON THE MORNING OF HIS DEATH AND SHE COULD HAVE ARRANGED TO BRING HIM HOME AT A FAIRLY PRECISE TIME. BANDERA AND MATVIYEVKO VISITED THE 'GROSSMARKTHALLE', WHERE THEY PURCHASED AND IMMEDIATELY ATE SOME FRESH FRUIT. SOME PEOPLE HAVE CONJECTURED THAT THE FRUIT WAS POISONED, BUT <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> AND NO ONE ELSE HAS BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE HOW THE POISON WAS PUT INTO THE FRUIT IN FRONT OF BANDERA. THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE THAT THE FRUIT COULD HAVE BEEN PREPARED IN ADVANCE, AS THE TRIP WAS APPARENTLY SPONTANEOUS, SO NO ONE KNEW IN ADVANCE THAT THE TWO WERE GOING SHOPPING. CABOLT HAS LEARNED FROM HIS BANDERIST INFORMANT /KASHUBA/ THAT EFGENIA'S HUSBAND <u>MYRON MATVIYEVKO /BORN CIRCA 1919/</u> </p> <p> <i>RE THE DEATH OF STEPHAN BANDERA</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p> <p> WHO WENT TO THE UKRAINE ON A MISSION FOR THE BANDERISTS IN 1951, DID NOT GO VOLUNTARILY. THE BANDERISTS LEARNED THAT MYRON HAD BEEN STEALING ORGANIZATIONAL FUNDS AND MYRON WAS GIVEN A CHOICE OF SUICIDE OR A MISSION TO THE UKRAINE. HE TOOK THE MISSION AND HAS BEEN OPERATING IN THE UKRAINE EVER SINCE, A SITUATION WHICH CABOLT FINDS HARD TO BELIEVE. IT APPEARS MORE PROBABLE TO <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> THAT MATVIYEVKO REPORTED TO THE KGB AS SOON AS HE ARRIVED IN THE UKRAINE, AND THAT HE HAS BEEN A DOUBLE AGENT EVER SINCE. IF THIS IS THE CASE, IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN TOO DIFFICULT FOR THE KGB TO GAIN CONTROL OF EFGENIA, USING MYRON'S SAFETY AS A THREAT. EFGENIA ALSO HAS A BOY FRIEND IN INNSBRUCK WHO WOULD LIKE TO BECOME A LEADING FIGURE IN THE ZCH/OUN AND WHO IS ALSO SUSPECTED OF BEING AN RIS AGENT. /NOTE - ALTHOUGH <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> DID NOT MENTION THE NAME, 3 13833 58/ -6-12 XX WE BELIEVE THIS MAY BE <u>OSIP TIUSCHKA /BORN 20 MARCH 1908 IN MLSUM, POLAND/</u> </p> <p> 6. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> ALSO OFFERED AN EXPLANATION FOR WHY BANDERA WAS KILLED AT THIS LATE DATE. HARKING BACK TO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF <u>(GENERAL NIKIFOR HORBANYUK /BORN 13 MARCH 1891 IN FEDORINKA/</u> </p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> SAID THAT HE WAS TOLD BY HIS BANDERIST CONTACT THAT THE BANDERISTS LEARNED, PRIOR TO HORBANYUK'S DISAPPEARANCE, THAT HORBANYUK HAD BEEN AN RIS AGENT FOR MANY YEARS. ALTHOUGH THE BANDERISTS DO NOT ADMIT IT, <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> IS CERTAIN THAT THEY KILLED HORBANYUK, AS THEY HAVE KILLED OTHER RIS AGENTS IN THE PAST. BANDERA WAS THEN KILLED BY THE RIS TO AVENGE THE DEATH OF HORBANYUK AND TO LESSEN THE DANGER TO OTHER RIS AGENTS IN THIS AREA. </p> | | |
| FORM 10 57 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS REFLECTS FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PAGE NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED 2 |

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

DATE: 176 FMO/WIS
13 NOV 59

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: MUNICH

ACTION: SR 6

INFO: CI, CI/OPS, CI/OA, FI, PP 2, PP/PRD, PP/PROP, EE 4, S/C 2

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| 1 | 3 | 4 | 13 |
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NOV 13 1602Z 59

ROUTINE

IN 47877

TO: DIR INFO: FRAN CITE: MUNI 7248

REDWOOD AERODYNAMIC
RE DIR 01697 (OUT 63044)

1. RE PARA 1 REF, HIGHLIGHTS AND RELATED DATA AVAILABLE FOLLOWING REFS:
 (MUNI 6821) (IN 38005), (MUNI 6824) (IN 38504), (MUNI 6852) (IN 37607), OFPA 48118, EGMA 45498, EGMA 45402, AND EGMA 45907. GERMAN PRESS DEVOTED MANY COLUMNS THIS EVENT. CLIPPINGS AVAILABLE ON REQUEST.

2. WIFE AECAVATINA 11 WITH BANDERA SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH. KD-2 ADVISED OOPAL THEY INVESTIGATING DEATH, WHICH IN THIS CASE MURDER NOT SUICIDE. AUTOPSY REVEALED TRACES CYANIDE. ONE THEORY THAT HE FORCIBLY GIVEN POISON BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS IN CORRIDOR OF APARTMENT WHILE ANOTHER THEORY IS THAT POISON ADMINISTERED IN CAPSULE, APPARENTLY BY ONE OF HIS OWN PEOPLE. KD-2 FAVORS LATTER THEORY AND CLAIMS HAVE FIVE SUSPECTS FROM WITHIN BANDERA ORGAN, INCLUDING WIFE AECAVATINA 11. KD-2 REQUESTED LCFUTTER SUPPORT FROM OOPAL CONDUCT INVESTIGATION. RESULTS THIS INVESTIGATION NOT AVAILABLE TO DATE. WILL REPORT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS AS LEARNED.

END OF MESSAGE

C/S COMMENT: RE DEATH BANDERA, EMIGRE REACTION AND AUTOPSY RESULTS.

S-E-C-R-E-T

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PP
 [Handwritten initials and signatures]

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 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCES METHODSEXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

4-27

DATE : 271 WCJ/M
24 NOV 59

S-E-C-R-E-T

ROUTING

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| 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| 2 | 3/2 | 5 | |
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TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUNICH

ACTION: C/SR 4

INFO : COP, C/CI, C/CI/OPS, C/FI, C/EE 2,S/C-2

NOV 24 1947Z 59

ROUTINE

IN 11793

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOI 70-17

TO :

INFO

FRAN BRLN

CITE

MUNI 7417

DESENSITIZED
PER CSN 150000

LCIMPROVE []

1. CIRCA 1 NOV AECAVATINA 12 ALLEGEDLY TURNED OVER PANTELEYMON FURDYGA TO GERMAN AUTHORITIES HILDESHEIM HOPING THIS WOULD SIDETRACK GERMAN INVESTIGATION BANDERA DEATH. 12 CONVINCED BANDERA COMMITED SUICIDE RESULT ATTEMPTED BLACKMAIL BY UNIDENTIFIED PARAMOUR. NOTE THIS CONFIDENTIAL THEORY OF AECAVATINA 12, DOES NOT APPEAR OTHER AECAVATINAS DISCUSSING IT. LATE SEPTEMBER FURDYGA ALLEGEDLY SUMMONED BRLN BY KGB FOR TALKS AND TOLD THAT BANDERA PLUS AECAVATINS 2, 12 AND VOLODYMYR LENYK TARGETS ASSASSINATION OR KIDNAPPING. FURDYGA INSTRUCTED LURE 12 FOR KIDNAPING WITH AID AGENT RING. FURDYGA ALLEGEDLY KEPT RIS SW MESSAGES, BRLN AIR TICKET ETC. CONFESSED TO 12 BECAUSE CONSCIENCE STRICKEN.

2. WILL TRY CONFIRM FURDYGA STORY THROUGH [] OR UPSWING.

END OF MESSAGE

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES.METHODSEXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

S-E-C-R-E-T

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Copy No.

2 Dec 59

7-4616

1 December 1959

11-9577

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence.

VIA : Deputy Director (Plans) []

SUBJECT : Stefan BANDERA's Death and PF Exploitation Thereof

1. This memorandum is for your information only.
2. On 15 October 1959 in Munich, Germany, Stefan BANDERA died a victim of cyanide poison. German police investigation has ruled out suicide, but has not yet solved the crime. Investigation and speculation continues.
3. News items giving various versions of his death were carried in many Western European and American publications in October. Coverage in emigre press has naturally been wide and continuous throughout November. The Communist Press inside and outside the Soviet Bloc also mentioned the death prominently, but suggests that the German Intelligence Service killed BANDERA.
4. A factual script on his death and biography was included in our taped Ukrainian program scheduled for broadcast [] from Athens in October. Because [] transmissions to the USSR were temporarily suspended in October, pursuant to the ZHUKOV-ALLEN talks, this material has not been broadcast. SR emigre agents and case officers discussed exploitation of this murder from many angles, but elected to wait until a full report had been received from Munich. A full report has not been received since the police investigation is still in progress.
5. The SR Division has been reluctant to launch wide-spread PF press play labeling BANDERA's death a Soviet deed for several reasons, among which are the following:
 - a. Until the German Police investigation of suspects has been completed, it could be premature to make allegations which the German Police investigation might later contradict, for

cc Secty 1/2

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2008

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-2-

example, as matters now stand, pure emigre vengeance might have been the motive for murder.

b. The implication of RIS omnipotence and omnipresence in this unsolved crime is naturally damaging to Ukrainians' morale at home and abroad.

c. SR is formulating Western press articles about BANDERA's death for eventual use. Already planned for inclusion are comparisons between BANDERA's death and the assassinations of the previous figureheads of Ukrainian nationalism, Simon PETLIURA (shot in Paris in 1926) and Evhen KONOVALETS (handed a package containing a bomb in Brussels in 1938).

6. According to the best available evidence, BANDERA was apparently attacked and poisoned by two unidentified men between the frontdoor of his apartment house and the third floor door to his apartment.

[]
Chief
Soviet Russia Division

cc: DDCI

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO ECON-1268 |
| TO INFO | Chief of Station, Germany [] | | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO [] |
| FROM | Chief, RMT [] | DATE | 12 JAN 1960 |
| SUBJECT | [] Operational Investigation of BANDERA's Death | RE: "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE) | |
| ACTION REQUIRED | See paragraph 2. | MARKED FOR INDEXING | |
| REFERENCE(S) | | NO INDEXING REQUIRED | |
| | | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY | |
| <p>1. We have received recently the following information from [] about BANDERA's death:</p> <p>"It is certain that the Ukrainian leader BANDERA was liquidated by the KGB. For 15 years the KGB and Department II (UB) have possessed powerful agents who sit in the Ukrainian national movement. The KGB from Moscow and Kiev has had its sights on BANDERA for years. They wanted to wait for the right moment, however, in order to bump him off.</p> <p>"This operation was directed by Col. 'PIEROGOW' (cover name for KGB officer, Berlin-Karlshorst). In addition this action was also supported by KGB channels from Prague. The technique was very simple. A KGB agent who stood very close to BANDERA alerted him that an interesting personality, who is of interest to the AIS, had defected from the USSR. BANDERA went to a meeting which had been organized with this 'personality' in a restaurant in Munich. He had a discussion with the 'defector,' who was an officer of the KGB. This short discussion sufficed to squirt a drop of poison in the coffee cup, which proved fatal after 10-15 hours. It was not cyanide, but a special poison which had been prepared by the KGB for 'special purposes.'</p> <p>"Now the AIS office in Regensburg, which was upset by this, can chase the wind for a long time, when one notes that the KGB, through an agent sitting in this IS office, has placed false clues into the investigation."</p> <p>2. We understand from people here who are following the case that CIC played only a brief part in the investigation at the beginning and that the matter is now completely in the hands of the Germans. We would appreciate it, however, if you would find out whatever you can about the CIC part in the case in the hope that some light can be shed on the allegation [] makes about the "agent" in the AIS office.</p> <p>3. We do not wish this information to be passed to CIC at this time, either as MARKSMAN material or disguised. The reasons are: (a) we have no corroboration thus far on the [] information concerning the BANDERA case, (b) the allegation itself is too vague to be susceptible of much checking at present, and (c) the allegation is so typical of [] that, whether or not it was attributed to another source, CIC might think of [] which we do not wish them to do. However, if you can establish that CIC was, in fact, involved in the BANDERA investigation, we would then reconsider whether or not to pass them the above material.</p> | | | |
| 12 January 1960 | | | |
| Distribution: 2 - COS 2 - EE/F/CE | | | |
| USE PREVIOUS EDITION REPLACE FORMS 31 28 31 28A AND 31 29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PAGE NO <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED |

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 SOURCES METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

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| DISPATCH | | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. |
| S-E-C-R-E-T | | RMA-17313 |
| TO | Chief, SR | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. |
| INFO | Chief, EE Chief of Station, Germany | Hqs: Unknown |
| FROM | Chief of Base, Munich | DATE |
| SUBJECT | | 10 February 1960 |
| REXWOOD/LULUP OVE/UPSWING/Operational Bandera's Death | | RE "43-5"-(CHECK "X" ONE) |
| ACTION REQUIRED | | <input type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| None | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| REFERENCES | | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY |

- A. MUNI-6834
- B. DIR 49129

DESENSITIZED
PER DOI 70-17

1. The gist of paragraphs 1 of DIR-00682 and MIR-02965 was passed to UPSWING on receipt of Reference B. Following is UPSWING's reply:

A. According to the autopsy, Bandera's death resulted from potassium cyanide which was detected in the corpse. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a "combination poisoning", in which first a lethal but hard to trace poison was administered and not until later a non-lethal amount of easily traceable potassium cyanide, in order to cast suspicion on the wrong person. (According to our information, the lethal dose of orally administered potassium cyanide depends on the amount of acid in the stomach. Under normal conditions a lethal dose is about 1 mgr. per kg. of body weight; however, one case is described in medical records, in which at a less than normal degree of stomach acidity, 30 mgr. per kg. of body weight did not result in death.)

B. (1) According to information available to UPSWING, Warfarin is a rat poison of relatively low toxicity when taken by human beings or larger animals. The amount that would be used to exterminate rats is harmless for humans, and even in repeated doses is not dangerous. Since Warfarin inhibits clotting, as in the case of drugs used medically to counteract thrombosis - Dicumarin, Dicumarol, Tromexan and Marcumen, clot formation is either delayed or does not occur. The first symptoms of an over-dose are generally nose bleeding and an admixture of blood in the urine, so that in our opinion it would be very hard to commit an undetected poison murder using Warfarin. During an autopsy, bleeding of the mucous and serous membranes could be easily determined.

(2) Fumarin, according to our information is an alkaloid of Rauchkraut, in which it is contained to approximately 0.33 per cent. It is used in numerous purgatives and laxatives and is completely harmless in normal doses. The lethal dose is so high that it could hardly be administered unnoticed. Here too, bleeding of the mucous and serous membranes would be detected during an autopsy.

(3) We have no information concerning Pival.

C. It is therefore UPSWING's opinion that neither Warfarin nor Fumarin could have been used in the Bandera case.

2. In view of the fact that UPSWING's information is quite contrary to that contained in the Headquarters cables cited in paragraph 1 above, we would appreciate any further comments suitable for passing to UPSWING on this subject.

Approved by:

Distribution:
 - Chief, SR
 - Chief, EE
 - Chief of Station, Germany

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 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2006

До Другів в Націоналістів!

Слава Україні!

Велетенські і дуже важкі завдання, що стоять перед цілком 34 ОУН, накладають такі ж великі обов'язки на кожного члена. У трактуванні цих обов'язків мусить прийти цілковита зміна, якщо ця частина членства має дійсно, а не тільки номінально, належати до революційної ОУН, яка на батьківщині в найважчих умовах продовжує героїчну боротьбу.

В обов'язках членів, як у нагляданні їх Організацією, так і у виконанні кожним членом, мусить діяти та сама загода, що завжди у нас була і що тепер у найвищій мірі зобов'язує в Краю: загода найвищої жертвенності.

Організація мусить вимагати від своїх членів того, чого вимагас наша боротьба: коли треба — віддати все в жертву. Кожний член мусить бути готовий покинути рідню, зрестися особистим життєвими планами і йти в боротьбу в найтрудніших умовах, готовий, коли прийде час, покласти й своє життя. Це — основна міра обов'язків члена, яких від кожного, без жадного винятку Організація може і буде вимагати.

В Організації закордонно, так само як у Краю, є місце для тих, хто має таке наставлення, хто чує в собі відповідальну моральну силу й ідеїну наснагу, хто в такий спосіб віддає все себе і все своє на службу визвольній справі. Від тої засадничої мірки виводиться також міра всіх інших обов'язків, які Організація має накладати на членів, щоб сповняти свої завдання.

В додержувачій закордонній діяльності, коли йде про більшість членства, Організація вимагає тільки праці-труду і матеріальних жертв. В одному і другому мусить зобов'язувати принцип правдивої жертвенності. Як у праці, так і в сповнюванні матеріальних повинностей, кожним членом має віддати Організації, а через неї визвольній справі, таку мірку, щоб це була для нього послілля, але правдива жертва, а не злишок, те, що він збуває. Кожночасна правдива жертвенність, з якого почину й дійсно відчужена, жертвенність праці-труду і жертвенність матеріальна мусить бути моральною потребою кожного діючого члена.

Кожний з нас мусить чути в душі невпинний голос сумління націоналіста-революціонера:

„На батьківщині український народ живе в страшних умовах ворожого терору і злиднів, — велика частина твоїх найближчих на засланні, — твої друзі ведуть революційну боротьбу у найважчих умовах, аж до повного висчерпання до загибелі. А ти, що уважаєшся за члена цієї Організації, як живеш, що ти робиш, що віддаєш, чим жертвуєш, щоб допомогти?“

В кого замір цей голос, той уже не революціонер. А в кого він живе, той без власної жертвенності, без рішучості вернутися ще до безпосередньої боротьби і без ~~революційної~~ ~~в~~ ~~тому~~ ~~напрямі~~ — не може жити. Кожний окрема мусить себе під цим оглядом сам перевірити — хто хоче й може бути членом Організації, з належним сповнюванням усіх своїх обов'язків зараз і з приготуванням себе до майбутніх, значно важчих — а хто своїм ставленням супроти визвольної справи кваліфікує себе лише як симпатик, а не член ОУН.

34 ОУН мусять з найгострішою серйозністю ставитися до своїх найважчих завдань-зобов'язань, мусять докладно знати свої сили, наскільки можна на них покладатися, щоб оперувати дійсними вартостями й величинами, а не фіктивними. Велика кількість „паперових“ членів, які не виконують своїх обов'язків, тільки створює шкідливу сповідність, неспівзмірність між тим, що Організація повинна робити, а що фактично виконати спроможна. Краще, щоб у рядах її були тільки фактичні, тобто активні й жертвенні члени, навіть якщо їх було значно менше. Тоді Організація визначає свої завдання відповідно до спроможності, але зате устійнені завдання зможе виконувати фактично.

Подаю ці міркування тому, що вважаю, що мусить прийти основна перевірка цілого складу 34 ОУН і самоперевірка кожного члена. 34 ОУН входить в такий етап, в якому стоять перед незвичайно важкими і відповідальними завданнями. Всі її члени та клітини мусять стати на відповідній якості висоті. Я хотів би, щоб цей мій лист причинився до того, щоб у всіх наших членів та в усіх клітинах 34 ОУН оновилась всіма нашими ділами чітка свідомість — хто ми й пощо ми, як частина Організації Українських Націоналістів, тут існуємо, як маємо вживатися з наших обов'язків перед Батьківщиною і перед лавами наших Друзів в Україні, які скажуть:

„Ми віримо і впевнені в тому, що Ви прийдете у відповідний час, щоб підіти і допомогти переможно завершити нашу боротьбу!“

Ми знаємо, як трудно буде найперше добитись туди, на поля боїв, організованими частинами, а це ж ще буде тільки початок завдання. Але свідомість труднощі нас не відстрашить і не спинить. Зате кожному всім кадрам 34 ОУН ввійти в стан глибокої, серйозної підготовки й zdecydовано братись за важливі справи, а не тільки займатись ладнанням біжучих еміграційних діл з безцінними відсуваннями в неозначене майбутнє того, що власного блище на потребу.

Готуйтесь і беріться за великі діла, бо великий час не за горами!

Героям Слава!

Іван Бандера

SECRET

1 April 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: SR/3

ATTENTION : []

SUBJECT : Death of Stepan Bandera

REFERENCES : A. BGMA-45907, dtd 12 November 1959
B. BGMA-47313, dtd 10 February 1960
C. DIR 00682 (OUT 73052), dtd 31 January 1957
D. DIR 02965 (OUT 77418), dtd 14 February 1957

1. In the absence of an autopsy and a complete toxicological report on intestinal contents and all body tissues and fluids, it is theoretical at best for one to consider whether a "combination poisoning" occurred. It is unlikely that two substances of lethal capacity would be administered to one target and, without the complete data described above, it is impossible to say even as a guess.

2. It appears to me the information contained in Reference A is more than adequate to explain the circumstances of death in this case.

3. Certain factors may be considered such as:

a. Cyanides:

- (1) The average fatal dose of sodium and potassium cyanide is about 0.25 gram (4 grains). However, one-fourth of this amount has caused death. As a rule, only a small part of ingested cyanide is absorbed before death. Therefore, evidence can be found frequently in the remaining intestinal contents.
- (2) They are oxidized in the body to cyanate and sulfocyanate, and excreted into the urine. Therefore, evidence may be found in retained urine.
- (3) The concentrations of HCN found in tissues at death range usually around 0.3-2 milligrams per 100 ml. Therefore, tissue analysis will reveal this.

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SUBJECT: Death of Stepan Bandera

- (4) If cyanide evidence was not found in these circumstances, it is fair to assume the man did not die from cyanide poisoning. However, if it was found, one may feel certain the man died from that cause or would have even if some other mechanism was used.
- b. Warfarin, 3-(α -acetylbenzyl)-4-hydroxycoumarin or 3- α -phenyl-Bacetonylethyl-4-hydroxycoumarin. Single doses do not produce poisoning, but successive small daily doses as low as 1.0 mg./kg./day for 5 days are fatal.
- c. Fumarin, 3-(α -acetyl-furfuryl)-4-hydroxycoumarin, is used as a rodenticide. Toxicity symptoms similar to those of Warfarin.
- d. Pival, 2-pivalyl-1, 3-indandione, used as pesticide and rodenticide. Symptoms resemble those produced by Warfarin.
4. We would agree, in the absence of the type of information described in paragraph 1 above, that paragraph 1C of Reference B is a correct statement.
5. Since References C and D only indicated the possibility of something else for the field's consideration, we cannot regard UP-SWING'S findings as being contrary to ours.
6. Should the information referred to in paragraph 1 above be made available for study, this office would attempt to provide such other opinion as might then be appropriate.

[]
Chief, Operations Division,
Medical Staff

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| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO BMW-9010 |
| TO Chief of Base, Munich | [REDACTED] | | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. C J |
| INFO Chief of Station, Germany | [REDACTED] | | DATE 22 APR 1966 |
| FROM Chief, SR | [REDACTED] | | RE "413" - (CHECK "X" ONE) MARKED FOR INDEXING NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| SUBJECT REDWOOD LCIMPROVE (PHILL OPERATIONS) Stefan Bandera's Death | [REDACTED] | | ACTION REQUIRED None |
| REFERENCE(S) A. BWMA-45907 B. BWMA-47313 C. DIR 00682 D. DIR 02965 | | | |
| <p>1. The following comments have been obtained from []</p> <p>a. In the absence of an autopsy and a complete toxicological report on intestinal contents and all body tissues and fluids, it is theoretical at best to consider whether a "combination poisoning" occurred. It is unlikely that two substances of lethal capacity would be administered to one target and, without the complete data described above, it is impossible to say even as a guess.</p> <p>b. It appears the information contained in reference A is more than adequate to explain the circumstances of death in this case.</p> <p>c. Certain factors may be considered such as:</p> <p>(1) Cyanides:</p> <p>(a) The average fatal dose of sodium and potassium cyanide is about 0.25 gram (4 grains). However, one-fourth of this amount has caused death. As a rule, only a small part of ingested cyanide is absorbed before death. Therefore, evidence can be found frequently in the remaining intestinal contents.</p> <p>(b) They are oxidized in the body to cyanate and sulfo-cyanate, and excreted into the urine. Therefore, evidence may be found in retained urine.</p> <p>(c) The concentrations of HCN found in tissues at death range usually around 0.3-2 milligrams per 100 ml. Therefore, tissue analysis will reveal this.</p> <p>(d) If cyanide evidence was not found in these circumstances, it is fair to assume the man did not die from cyanide poisoning. However, if it was found, one may feel certain the man died from that cause or would have even if some other mechanism was used.</p> <p>(2) Warfarin, 3-(a-acetylbenzyl)-4-hydroxycoumarin or 3-a-phenyl-Bacetonyl ethyl-4-hydroxycoumarin. Ordinarily, successive small daily doses as low as 1.0 mg./kg./day for five days will produce fatality. However, an accumulated total of this will frequently produce of fatality in one dose. The previous case [] had more than that estimated as minimum to produce fatality. Autopsy findings are consistent with etiology of other than the warfarin series (or, indeed, with causes of death other than poison). Hence, positive diagnosis is impossible unless one identifies the substance as being present.</p> <p>(3) Fumarin, 3-(a-acetyl-furfuryl)-4-hydroxycoumarin, is used as a rodenticide. Toxicity symptoms similar to those of Warfarin.</p> | | | |
| FORM 10-57 53 | USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS REPLACES FORMS 10-57 53 AND 53-20 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE | SECRET | PAGE NO 1 |

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CONTINUATION OF
DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

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DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO

ECMW-9010

(4) Pival, 2-pivalyl-1, 3-indandione, used as pesticide and rodenticide. Symptoms resemble those produced by Warfarin.

d. It is agreed that, in the absence of the type of information described in paragraph 1 above, that paragraph 1C of reference B is a correct statement.

e. Since references C and D only indicated the possibility of something else for the field's consideration, UPHILL's findings cannot be regarded as contrary to ours.

2. According to AECASNOWARY/2 it is rumored that cyanide was found in Bandera's colon, indicating that it must have been swallowed a number of hours before he died. Is there any truth to this rumor?

3. It seems strange that the autopsy performed after the death of such an important political figure was not thorough enough to determine definitely the cause of death.

6 April 1966

Distribution:

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2 - BR/3

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10-57 53a
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WHICH ARE OBSOLETE

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CONTINUED

PAGE NO

2

2 May 1960

Random Notes.

The OBERLANDER Affair.

The Soviet press tied in the death of BANDERA with the OBERLANDER affair. So did the Polish. At ~~minimum~~ minimum, therefore, there is a political-action connection between the two matters. To get at the bottom of the BANDERA matter, therefore, it is necessary to determine who pushed the OBERLANDER-BANDERA tie, how it was propagandized, etc. This, in turn, requires the study of materials put out in the USSR, Poland, and East Germany on this matter. Also offices and personalities engaged in this. In Poland, I know, a book came out on OBERLANDER's alleged crimes, etc. Also, some German government organ or intelligence office (West German) should have the findings of the special committee that ~~checked~~ investigated the charges against OBERLANDER.

Unknown Visitor in Munich.

- a. AECASSOWARY 2 mentioned that an unknown visitor from Sov-satellite bloc visited Bandera.
- b. AEDOGMA talks re rumor that Myron MATVIEYKO had been in Munich.
- c. [] has anintel report re RIS officer visiting Bandera in Munich.

The OUN/BANDERA-West German Intelligence Tie.

What do we know about it?

What do the Germans say about all this? About Bandera's death?

The RIS surfacing of Myron MATVIEYKO.

The surfacing of MATVIEYKO is directly connected with the BANDERA death. If BANDERA were polished off by the RIS, then the death and the MATVIEYKO surfacing are part of the same RIS master operation.

The RIS surfacing of Vasyl KUK.

This matter is directly connected with Myron MATVIEYKO and is part of the same RIS ~~polix~~ political-action operation.

Mykhailo HORODETSKIY. Should be traced, investigated across the board.

FURDYGA-FURDYG-ZHECHYTSKY. Who is this Joe?

Role of Ivan KASHUBA. Note that KASHUBA, head of the SB, believes that BANDERA committed suicide, and buttresses that with such fancy talk as BANDERA's love for a maid, etc. KASHUBA is tied operationally to MATVIEYKO, who is RIS. It is possible that KASHUBA is spreading the suicide-love-sickness version in order to cover RIS complicity.

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SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

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| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION <i>Desensitized</i> SECRET R 4832 | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. SCMA 48874 |
| TO | Chief, SR ✓ | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. | 201- |
| INFO. | Chief, SB; Chief, WB; COS/Germany; COS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | 74-6-63 Field file FI 1552 |
| FROM | Chief of Base, Munich | DATE | 2 May 1960 |
| SUBJECT | REDWOOD/LOIMPROVE/AEDOGMA/Operations AEDOGMA-1 Investigation of Death of Stefan BANDERA | RE: "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE) | |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING | |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED | |
| ACTION REQUIRED | None; for your information. | XX | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY |
| REFERENCE(S) | MUNI 7994, dated January 1960 | | |
| DESENSITIZED BY DOI 70-17 | | | |
| <p>1. AEDOGMA-1 was sent to Munich for TDY and spent several months in late 1959 investigating the death of Stefan BANDERA. Due to an illness which cropped up during the course of this TDY, he submitted an 18-page report on 23 December 1959 which summarizes his findings in the matter. This report is forwarded as Attachment A. He told the undersigned, as indicated in the reference, that he would write up a complete report of his investigation when he returned to Paris. As he was about to return to Paris in early January 1960, he submitted three supplementary reports on the death of BANDERA. These reports accompany this dispatch as Attachments B-D.</p> <p>2. In essence, AEDOGMA-1 became convinced, as the result of his investigations, that BANDERA committed suicide. His convictions became even stronger following two interviews (10 and 17 December 1959) at his apartment with Adrian FUCHS of the Munich Kripo political investigations squad (these contacts are described in Attachment A). In his first contact with AEDOGMA-1, FUCHS told AEDOGMA-1 that, in the course of his interviews with about 100 BANDERites and other Ukrainian emigrés, some one passed AEDOGMA-1's name as an emigre who possibly might know something about the matter. In his second and last contact with AEDOGMA-1, he said that an unidentified BANDERite identified ("denounced" was the word used by AEDOGMA-1) AEDOGMA-1 as the ZCh/OUN member (sic) who was appointed to take charge of the ZCh/OUN organizational commission to investigate BANDERA's death and that Volodymyr DEYCHAKIVSKIY was AEDOGMA-1's aide. DEYCHAKIVSKIY is described by AEDOGMA-1 as a former SB (Bandera's Security Service) member who lives permanently in Canada and who remained in Munich from the date he came to Munich to attend BANDERA's funeral (it is unknown if DEYCHAKIVSKIY since has returned to Canada).</p> | | | |
| Approved by <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| <p>Attachments: A-D - Reports, herewith</p> <p>Distribution: 2 C/SR with attachments 1 C/EE w/o " 1 C/WE w/o " 2 COS/G :/:/c " 2 COS/Paris with "</p> | | | |
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| <p>DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2008</p> | | | |
| FORM 53b 10-57 (40) | | <p>COPY ROUTING</p> <p>12/12 class A-D 6/2</p> <p>5</p> | |
| USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 5128, 5128A AND 5123 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE. | | <p>SECRET</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED</p> | |

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attach A to Egma-48874
2 July 1960
14 July 1960

Translation

DELIVING BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE DEATH OF STEFAN BANDERA

"Stefan Bandera, who participated in the Lvov crimes, was poisoned 15 October by potassium cyanide. This fact was established after an autopsy by the Munich institute of forensic medicine."

BERLINER ZEITUNG
20 October 1959

The foregoing is how Soviet journalist Walter Belayev begins his article under the title of "The Concealed Always Becomes Evident" which was published in the newspaper, FOR RETURN TO THE HOMETLAND (Ukrainian-language edition) issue No. 82/371, October 1959, page 4. The sudden death of the leader of the Zch/OUN/B, on 15 October 1959, as a result of potassium cyanide poisoning, as might be expected, started a lot of speculation regarding the causes of this incident. The various versions, which in the beginning were very obscure, later became somewhat more concrete and even plausible.

Having arrived in Munich almost a month after the death of S. Bandera, at the invitation of the SB chief, Ivan Kashuba, for the purpose of "privately investigating this affair," I heard the following more or less logical versions.

1. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Gehlen's German security organization at the request of the Minister for Refugee Affairs, Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberlander, former participant in the Lvov murders.

2. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by the Communist because he maintained contacts with the Ukraine and until his very end led the liberation struggle in the Ukraine.

This story had two different angles:

- a. The potassium cyanide was forced on Bandera in the elevator in the building where he lived, and,
 - b. The cyanide was in some manner given to Bandera by one of his closest associates who was a Communist agent.
3. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by one time chief of the SB, Myron Matviyenko, who supposedly had been in Germany for the past six weeks and with whom S. Bandera was reported to have secretly met.

4. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by his former associate and present strong political opponent Mykola Lebed

5. Stefan Bandera committed suicide by taking cyanide.

Each of these versions had some plausibility and at first there was so much basis for each one that it was possible to accept any one version as the truth.

Let us now examine them more carefully.

1. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Gehlen's group at the specific direction of Prof. Dr. Oberlaender.

This is the Communist version which was not only widely publicized in the USSR and all the satellite countries, but also in the Communist and pro-Communist circles in the West.

In order to know why the Communist spread this version, it is necessary to look into the political happenings of at least the past year. As early as late 1958 and early 1959, the Soviet press in addition the newspaper, FOR RETURN TO THE HOMELAND, started an extensive provocation against the Ukrainian legion WACHTIGAL which, according to the Soviet press, was composed mostly of members of the OUN and was organized

at the request of Stefan Bandera in collaboration with German counterintelligence, and committed mass murders of Polish intelligentsia in Lvov in June of 1941. In the early articles regarding the NACHTIGAL there was no mention made of Prof. Theodore Oberlaender. The articles were about Bandera, Shukhevich, Hrynoich and others, but exclusively ^{about} Ukrainians. In the meantime, in the spring of 1959, in addition to the earlier version about the crimes in Lvov, former lieutenant and present German Minister for Refugees, Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberlaender, was mentioned as a "politruk" and "Nachtigalist" who, according to the Soviets, was responsible for the murders of Polish intelligentsia in Lvov, although the murders were actually committed by individual legionnaires. The Communists must have brought Oberlaender into the picture for the following reasons: During 1959 the Communist started to put pressures on the Bonn Government to establish diplomatic ties with satellite countries, and especially with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Protests against such ties were made by so-called Landsmannschaften from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and by Prof. Oberlaender as Minister for Refugee Affairs. The Bonn Government joined their protests. Therefore the Communists were determined to do away with Oberlaender and started their pressures against him, blaming him for the murders in Lvov.

The Communist agitators were successful also in getting articles against Prof. Oberlaender into the West German press, DIE TAT, 23 September 1959. Undoubtedly also under the influence of Communist agents, on 25 September 1959, the FFN Organization of those persecuted by the Nazi regime (Communist control), brought formal prosecution into Bonn courts against Oberlaender, requesting investigation into his case. In addition, the left wing, socialist press also joined this movement.

However, all attacks made against Prof. Oberlaender were always made in connection with the Ukrainian nationalist legion NACHTIGAL.

Suddenly Bandera dies, and immediately there is the story that he was poisoned under specific orders from Oberlaender who, it is said, wanted to get rid of an inconvenient witness, insofar as he (Oberlaender) was concerned. According to the Soviet Press, Bandera as a participant in the murders in Lvov, would have been able to testify against Oberlaender.

The Communist version is primitive and does not stand up against criticism because: If Bandera was a participant in the Lvov murders, or more specifically the NACHTIGAL, which was organized at his request, then it is clear that he could only have defended Prof. Oberlaender in order to protect himself. Logic would indicate otherwise; i.e., the KGB wanted to do away with Bandera who would have been able to testify in defense of Prof. Oberlaender. In defense of the Soviet version, we have a somewhat obscure coincidence. Since the middle of September German investigative forces (it is still not clear whether they were Gehlen people or the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz) were talking about meeting with Stefan Bandera. As a result such a meeting did take place on 14 October 1959 in the Bayerischer Hof in Munich. There were three German intelligence men whose names are not known to me. The following from the Zch/OUN were present: Stefan Bandera, Yaroslav Bentsal, General Secretary of the Zch/OUN and Dr. Vas'kovych.

The conversation concerned the cooperation of the Zch/OUN with German intelligence, financial subsidy by the Germans, and in particular about the continuation of Zch/OUN ties with the Homeland. The Germans accepted all the suggestions made by the Zch/OUN and promised all sorts of aid. Stefan Bandera was very satisfied with the results of the talks.

The organizer of this meeting was Yaroslav Bentsal who maintains liaison between the Zch/OUN and the Germans. Zenon Pelensky also was supposed to have played a role in this meeting, or at least he had been well informed about the meeting.

The meeting ended about 24 hours before Bandera died with a dinner at the Bayerischer. All those present ordered ~~from~~^{from} the menus but Stefan Bandera ordered cocoa instead of coffee.

The question arises whether the Soviets knew about this meeting in advance and therefore altered their version of the story on the death of Bandera to coincide with this? Was there a Soviet agent present among the German participants? Did the Soviets learn about the meeting only after the fact, and did they independently announce their own version of the event of Bandera's death? The fact is that the Soviet version takes on a new meaning for those who were present during the German-Ukrainian meeting.

German criminologists ~~discovered~~^{did not} any possibility for the cyanide poisoning of Bandera during the dinner, either by the German participants or by any of the hotel waiters or kitchen help.

I am not a chemist, and therefore it is difficult for me to say whether it is possible for potassium cyanide in capsule form to become effective only after 24 hours. In answer to my question whether the Zch/OUN had complete trust in the Germans who participated in the meeting, the Zch/CWE/SE chief stated that they have absolute trust in two of the individuals but there can be some reservations insofar as the third was concerned. (He--the third man--lives in Munich and considers himself a specialist in Ukrainian affairs.) He was the one who requested such a meeting be held.

As I learned after I started to write this report, there were only two German intelligence men present at the meeting, and not three as Kashuba had told me. This means that either Kashuba did not know how many Germans were present or he purposely gave me false information. A. F.-c, the German political criminal police commissioner,

assured me that after investigation of the above-mentioned Germans, the criminal police completely excluded them from having anything to do with Bandera's death. Besides that, a cyanide capsule would have become effective much sooner than 24 hours later. Therefore, the Soviet account will not stand up to the criminal police investigation report. I personally am of the same opinion.

Now let us go to the second version. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Soviet agents. There are two versions to this account:

- a. Soviet agents forced the capsule on Bandera on the stairs of his home, and
- b. one of Bandera's close associates from the Zch/OUN gave him the potassium cyanide in the form of candy or fruit.

The first version was the one most speculated on by the Banderites. They even talked about two individuals who were supposed to have gotten out of the elevator just about the time of Bandera's death and run away. The Banderites even stated that two such individuals were seen to have been acting as if they were surveilling Bandera during the last few days before his death, even when he drove out to the woods to pick mushrooms. According to the police, however, there was no evidence found (after questioning residents and neighbors) of two men leaving the premises at the time of Bandera's death and there were no signs of violence found on Bandera's body. A neighbor of Bandera stated that he didn't hear any noises or footsteps other than Bandera's. Also, according to the neighbor, there were no signs that the elevator had been in use at that particular time.

The basket of fruit which stood beside Bandera's body witnessed the fact that he had carefully set it down. This basket would have fallen to the ground and the fruit would have been scattered if there had been any struggle.

The German criminal police experts state that there was no act of violence on the stairs. This also was my humble opinion after I had gathered the facts. This version was idly spread by the Banderites on the first and second days following Bandera's death and they took up various details during the funeral service.

The second version is that Bandera was poisoned by KGB agents in the Zch/OUN by giving the potassium cyanide to Bandera either in some candy or fruit. This version was from the very beginning denied by the Banderites but, at the same time, most thoroughly investigated by the German police and by me personally.

In order to better understand this version it is necessary to consider the following facts. On the morning of 15 October 1959, about ten minutes to eight, Vasil Ninov's'ky (true name Skozdra), one of the SB guards, waited by the home of Steian Bandera. Five minutes to eight Bandera left his home, walked over to the garage and drove out with his car to Zeppelinstrasse. Vasil Ninov's'ky escorted him all the way to the gate. They entered the building together and Bandera went into his office while Ninov's'ky went to the printer's shop where SHLACH PEREMOHY was already being assembled. About nine o'clock all the other members began to arrive. Whether anybody entered Bandera's office between eight and nine has not been determined. It seems like no one did. This means Bandera was there alone. Between the hours of nine and 11:30, the following people entered his office:

1. Yaroslav Bentsal
2. Dr. Gregory Vashkovych
3. Roman Debryts'ky
4. Evhenia Matviyevko: ^{Evhenia} Matviyevko - M'k (who drove off with Bandera about 11:30 to the market place to buy fruit.)

This means that the four above-mentioned individuals could have figured in the murder. The German criminal police and I personally devoted special attention to them.

Let us work with them individually. The past of Mr. Bentsal is not clear. He was director of the Lvov theaters under the communists. This means the communist trusted him. Why? About a year ago he was visited by an old theater friend from Lvov who urged him to return to the homeland. He brought with him a book about ^{Bentalski} Bandera's father whom the communists consider a celebrated artist. Bentsal told the SB about this meeting. The SB planned to have Bentsal meet with the Soviet again in a room where they would install a microphone. However, the courier from Lvov refused to meet in the room, and he talked to Bentsal out on the street where no witnesses were present. Then he returned to Lvov. It is difficult to say whether or not Bentsal told the SB everything that was said during this conversation.

Bentsal's wife, Nadia nee Lototska, is a pharmacist and works in a German apothecary where she has access to potassium cyanide. Theoretically there are possibilities that Bentsal could have been a party to the murder of Bandera. For some reason I excluded this possibility from the very beginning. The fact that the KGB tried to get him to Lvov is not sufficient proof that he would have destroyed Bandera. The KGB couldn't blackmail him because he has no relatives in the homeland. Eventually they could have revealed his role in the theatre but he could have talked his way out of this.

Dr. Gregory Vashkovych: Neither I personally nor the criminal police could find even the slightest probability that he could have been in touch with the KGB.

The same could be said about Roman Debryts'ky. The SB would sooner be willing to say that Roman Debryts'ky could be an American agent rather than a Soviet agent.

Evhenia Matviyeyko - Mak: She was suspected most by the German police and by me. The following were the reasons. My personal reason: Probably nobody beside me knows that Mykhailo Horodests'ky, the brother-in-law of Evhenia Koshulunska - Matviyeyko - Mak, after the arrival of the communists in Lvov in October 1939, was promoted to commandant of the militia in Lvov. He remained in this position until the arrival of the Germans in Lvov in late June or early July 1941. He went to the east together with the NKVD. In 1944 he returned to Lvov and is still there. Mykhailo Horodets'ky is a simple cabinet maker.

In addition, I also took into consideration the fact that Myron Matviyenko has been in KGB hands for some time now. The KGB extracted from him every bit of information which he knew from the date of his birth until his arrival in the Ukraine.

The KGB has been playing with the ZEPPELIN for years. Now they desired, with his (Matviyenko's) help, and more specifically with the help of Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak to destroy Bandera. KGB-Matviyenko couriers got in touch with Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak and instructed her on how to go about doing this. The reward: Matviyenko would live. Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak was the last person to be alone with Bandera. More specifically: Approximately 11:30 Bandera came down to the offices of SHLAKH PEREMOHY and asked Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak to go with him to the market to buy some fruit. She refused three times stating that she wasn't in the mood and that she didn't need anything. Bandera insisted, stating that she should at least go to keep him company. She agreed to go only after the other employees kept urging her.

At the market-hall Bandera bought green tomatoes for pickling, grapes and plums. As was his habit, he tasted all the produce, with the exception of the green tomatoes. Bandera was in a very good mood and when Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak began to express her concern about her husband he boosted her spirits, saying that everything was going to be all right and that Myron Matviyenko, according to his last message, would be in Germany at the latest in 1960.

About 12:30 they returned to Zeppelinstrasse 67. Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak took the bag of walnuts which she purchased and, walking up the stairs, called to Bandera, "Wait a moment, I will tell Vasil Mind'ky to escort you home." Bandera replied, "By the time Minov'sky comes down I will be home. I'll be seeing you." He stepped on the gas and drove off. Forty minutes later he dropped dead on the stairs of his home.

What Bandera did during these 40 minutes is hard to say. Everything points to the fact that he was detained someplace for at least 15-20 minutes, because if he drove directly home he would have been there within 20 minutes. One thing points to the fact that Bandera either returned once again to the market or stopped at some store. Evhenia Matviyeyko-Mak states that, in her presence, Bandera did not buy any dill for pickling tomatoes. However, after he died there were five sprigs of dill found in the basket. This means that after arriving at Zeppelinstrasse he purchased the dill someplace. Where? From whom? When?

At my request, the SB drove Bandera's car from Zeppelinstrasse to the market where dill is sold, lingered there for several minutes and drove on to Bandera's home. The entire trip took 20 minutes. This means that if Bandera was at the market, then there still are 20 minutes missing, or let us say 15 or even 10 minutes.

Evhenia Matviyeyko-Mak is capable of anything. But I do not believe that she personally fed cyanide to Bandera. The German police are of the same opinion.

And now let us analyze other aspects.

a. Potassium cyanide is not a weapon the Soviets use in their fight against their political opponents. If it is proven that Bandera was really poisoned by the Soviets then this will be the first time they have used this means.

b. In view of the present political situation, would the Communist try to do away with Bandera (at this time)?

c. Wouldn't the KGB have considered the fact that the death of Bandera would instigate the Ukrainian emigres to mobilize their fight against the Communists in the whole world?

d. Would it not benefit the Communists more to play along with Bandera through Myron Matviyeyko as they have to date?

All these are arguments in the KGB's favor. However, for the sake of objectivity, I will introduce arguments to show that the KGB could have done this.

a. The KGB were so well prepared in their attempt on Bandera's life that they were sure the cause of his death would never be determined. After the first medical investigation, the doctor in the hospital signed a formal statement of death in which he stated that the cause of death was a stroke. This statement is available. The Zch/OUN leadership accepted this statement, as did the wife of Stepan Bandera. Doubts were expressed only some time later.

b. The KGB considered that the game between Matviyeyko and Bandera was ended and, therefore, in consideration of future, more important plans they decided to liquidate Bandera. For some time Bandera had certain doubts about Myron Matviyeyko. He began to suspect KGB control. The British intelligence felt that there was a new hand functioning. In the early summer of this year, Bandera received a completely false reply to a question he sent to Matviyeyko. This awakened in him even further doubts. In connection with this he used the control question which is asked only in cases where enemy control is suspected. In late September of this year a reply was received to this control question. The reply was in every detail in accordance with the original agreement. This satisfied Bandera but it is not known whether the KGB was convinced that KGB control was not suspected. Further, in addition to this reply a request came from Myron Matviyeyko to postpone the conference planned for November until late 1960, and instead to hold a convention of the Zch/OUN with the OUN. Myron Matviyeyko announced that he would arrive, along with representatives from his home country, to this big convention.

Bandera did in fact cancel the planned conference and began to make preparations for the larger convention. Didn't the KGB consider that since Bandera once suspected Myron Matviyeyko to be a communist agent he also would be suspected when he arrived in Germany? In the fight between Bandera and Matviyeyko, Bandera would win. If Bandera were removed from the scene, Matviyeyko would be able to take care of himself, insofar as the others were concerned. Therefore, Bandera should be liquidated before the convention and the battle should be conducted with others who will replace Bandera, someone who is not as refined as Bandera.

Realizing this he requested that when the SB notifies the homeland about Bandera's death, the homeland should be asked whom they would like to have named to replace Bandera. To date, there has been no reply. This reply would clarify a lot for us. There is another question to which I personally find no answer and that is: when and who gave Bandera the poison and in what form. Neither I nor the criminal police can discover the criminal. This version should be completely discarded. It must be pursued, but we will perhaps be able to clarify it only after many years, probably after the expected visit of Matviyeyko to Germany in 1960.

The third version was: Bandera was poisoned by Myron Matviyeyko who had been in Germany since six weeks previous to Bandera's death and with whom Bandera had secret meetings.

There is nothing to justify this version. It probably stems from members of the OUN in the USA. It is pure speculation by the Zch/OUN opponents. This version cannot stand up to criticism nor can the story that Bandera was liquidated by the people of Mykhailo Lebed, his old political opponent.

Stefan Bandera was liquidated by Mykhailo Lebed with the help of his people in Munich: It is difficult to determine who spread this version. At any rate, General Gehlen's group of the German intelligence investigated this possibility. About a week after Bandera died, the informants of this group who are closely connected with Ukrainian political affairs received letters which contained the following message: "In connection with the death of Bandera there are being circulated in Munich more or less plausible stories. One of them is that Bandera was liquidated by his one time colleague and present vigorous political opponent Mykhailo Lebed. In accordance with our information, Lebed heads a group of people in Munich who could accomplish a task of this nature. It is requested that with the exception of his biographic data, you make available to us any information you may have regarding Mykhailo Lebed, especially regarding Lebed's last visit to Germany, whom he met with while here and any other information which would help you to clarify the above-mentioned statement."

There was a p.s. added on the bottom which stated, "how could such a story have originated and who, in your opinion, is behind it?" It was not possible to determine the exact source of this version. It is necessary however to believe that it came from Zch/OUN in revenge for the various stories regarding the

cause of Bandera's death which were being circulated by members of the ZP/UHVR, or more specifically, from Karlsplatz, and which stories did not appeal to the members of the Zch/GUN.

It is not improbable that this version originated with the Soviets who would have liked to take advantage of the situation to instigate political mistrust and misunderstandings among the Ukrainian nationalist emigre groups and prevent these groups from unifying in their reactions to the news that Bandera was liquidated by the "Moscow-Communist enemy." The majority of Gehlen's informants was of the opinion that the above-mentioned version was typical provocation devoid of any sense whatsoever. They felt that it originated with Soviet groups of blind Ukrainian party followers. All of Lebed's people in Munich are well known. There isn't one among them capable of such an act. Even the SB did not suspect them, and besides, Lebed hasn't been in Germany for more than a year. Lebed may have considered Bandera his political opponent, but he never considered him an enemy and nobody uses cyanide in their dealings with their political opponents.

It is difficult to say whether or not Gehlen's group was satisfied with these explanations. At any rate we can be sure that German intelligence and counter-intelligencemen will not take their eyes off Lebed when he shows up in Germany. This will especially be true if the German criminal police are unable to establish definitely whether or not Bandera died as a result of potassium cyanide by another party or by committing suicide, and we can expect it will be impossible to determine the true cause.

Stefan Bandera committed suicide by the use of potassium cyanide. This fifth and final version, according to the facts, is the most logical. The following facts support this version.

(1) Bandera's home life had lately become so unbearable that his only escape could have been suicide. His home life was unbearable for several reasons, the most important were: as a result from some very difficult experience in her life, and the fear of constant surveillance, Bandera's wife had practically lost all of her senses. If it weren't for the fact that she was the wife of the leader of the Zch/OUN she would have been in an insane asylum a year ago. All of Bandera's close friends knew about her situation.

(Translator: the rest of the paragraph talks about Bandera's unsatisfactory sex life, his seeking such diversions outside his home and the resultant uncontrollable jealousy of his wife which lead to fights between them.)

(2) Bandera's wife forbid any of their female friends from visiting their home even when accompanied by their husbands. She looked at everyone as a threat to herself. She forbade their male friends to visit them because Bandera would use the excuse of driving them home as an opportunity to get out for some fun. In the past two years Stefan Bandera lived through such hell that it was difficult for anyone to imagine. He used every available opportunity to get away from home. He was always at work at 7:30, or the latest at 8, while all other employees report to work at 9. All the others went home at 1700 while he remained alone with his troubled thoughts until 2200 or 2300, and at times he didn't leave for home until midnight. His wife would telephone him a dozen times to be sure he was actually at work. His wife made all sorts of accusations against him even in front of the children. The daughters favored their mother and the son favored Bandera. These violent scenes made a very strong impression on the children. Bandera could find no way out of this situation. During these

won't be how many
more times like
this threat? *D*

quarrels he always threatened suicide. His wife would reply, "the quicker you do, the better it will be for all of us," and then she usually added, "but you are too ~~important~~ *much of a coward (no pye)* to commit suicide." *(H. Ehrenman)*

(3) Bandera's wife purposely compromised his every move. She made him appear without any character, a despot, a sadist, a liar, amoral and ~~treasonous~~ *dishonorable*. There were times when Bandera brought several friends "his guards" along with him whom Mrs. Bandera didn't personally know. During such times she would treat them so rudely that he would try to get them to leave as soon as possible. (here the author gives specific examples of some of the things she used to do.) Bandera, who considered himself a hero, and perhaps he was one, and an individual who enjoyed the respect of the organized masses and to whom he was a "god", had to bear the slander and accusations made by his wife who saw him only as a human being, her husband and the father of her children. This was more than he could stand. The people who were acquainted with this situation felt that these tortures (for which he often was personally to blame) were so horrible that any normal individual would have committed suicide long ago.

Bandera faced the problem of either committing his wife to an insane asylum or getting a divorce. He felt that in either case his wife would seek revenge by telling more tales about him. This unhappy, not normal situation turned Bandera into a bundle of nerves. He suffered several headaches which affected his heart. He was also troubled by rheumatism. He lay awake every night. Because of his nagging wife, he couldn't go out with his friends and he found no peace at home. In short, Bandera found himself in a hopeless situation.

He was thus led to begin thinking about suicide. However, he gave this very careful thought, planning to counter this act in such a way that suicide would never be suspected but that, on the contrary, would lead to various interpretations and suspicions that he was liquidated by the communists, thus permitting him to remain a hero. Recent events presented an opportune time for him to commit suicide, specifically:

a. A former member of the Krai leadership Furiyga-Furdyg-Zhechytsky, who two years ago escaped to the west via Poland and Vienna, admitted to the SB that he was sent by the KGB to bring Kashuba to East Berlin. Another group of individuals were also sent to the west in order to penetrate Bandera's group.

b. At the request of the SB, while I was in Paris, I prepared a short analysis on the subject of why the Soviets could start terrorist activities in the west. Having analyzed all the recent happenings in the Ukraine (the court proceedings in Radybylov, Stanislov and other cities, etc) I came to the conclusion that Soviets might start terrorist activities. I requested that everyone keep alert. Bandera read my analysis.

c. Verlovka's Ukrainian nationalist chorus was in Munich at that time and Soviet diplomats from Bonn were present. Therefore this was a good time to commit suicide and place the blame on the Soviets. Bandera knew that nobody would suspect that he might take his own life. Bandera began to avoid his bodyguards. It appears that Bandera considered suicide several days earlier because he had been bidding farewell to his guards at the entrance to his home and entering the elevator alone. Here he would hide behind the elevator and watch to see if the bodyguards did actually leave.

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He chose not to commit suicide in the office so that he wouldn't inconvenience the employees and members of the Zch/OUN. He didn't choose his home, in order not to inconvenience his wife, although she was the cause of his hopeless situation and also saw that she could not testify to the fact that it was suicide.

It is a fact that Bandera had a violent quarrel with his wife that very morning. He threatened suicide and left home to go to the office before 8 a.m.

Bandera employed the use of potassium cyanide which he always carried on his person and which, after his death, could not be found either on his person or in his home. Considering the above, I concluded that it was suicide by use of potassium cyanide. Motive: his unbearable marital situation.

If anyone proves to me that the situation was other than that which I have summarized above, I shall never again take any interest in either political or intelligence work. However, I am certain that no one will prove me wrong. I think that the German commission which is composed of professional individuals will come to the same conclusion, even though all the information that was available to me will not be available to them. It was not in the KGB interest to have Bandera liquidated at this time. On the contrary, Bandera's death interfered with KGB plans for compromising the Zch/OUN.

The KGB was successful in getting Bandera to postpone the Zch/OUN conference and plan for a big congress of the Zch/OUN in 1960. A major group of OUN members from the Ukraine headed by Myron Matviyeyko were supposed to arrive for this congress. Only part of this group (about 15 individuals) were supposed to return to the Ukraine. The others including Myron Matviyeyko were to remain in the West. Whether or not, in view of the latest development, the KGB will be able to continue its game of sending a delegation from the Ukraine to a congress is difficult to foresee.

Attachment B to EGMA-48974

27 May 1960

1 January 1960

Subject: The Death of Stefan BANDERA and Incidents at Radio
Free Europe, TsOPE and Zeppelinstrasse

Source of Information: Personal Comments

1. The unexpected and unexplained death of the head of Zch/OUN, Stefan Bandera, has stirred up much speculation among his friends as well as his enemies. To date, the exact circumstances of his death are not clear. While my private investigations and the investigations by the German criminal police seem to point up the fact that Stefan Bandera committed suicide because of marital circumstances, the Zch/OUN is trying desperately to prove that Stefan Bandera was murdered by the Soviets.

In support of the Zch/OUN version and the recent efforts to poison employees of RFE with atropine: This effort to poison RFE employees with atropine gave the Zch/OUN a good argument. It supposedly offered proof that Soviet and Satellite intelligence organizations were employing the use of poison in their fight against their enemies.

Further activities bolster the Zch/OUN accusations that Bandera died at the hands of his enemies. Here I have in mind the bombing of the former TsOPE building and the bombing incident of the Zch/OUN building at Zeppelinstrasse 67. All this supposedly factually proves that the Soviets carried out an act of war against the Zch/OUN, the NIS, TsOPE and RFE.

My personal thought regarding these matters is as follows. All these incidents are independent of each other and concern completely different matters.

a. Regarding the poisoning of the employees of RFE. This is a typical example of American careerists in Europe which stems from their mentality of "how to make a mountain out of a molehill." The Czech intelligence, or perhaps even Yaroslav Nemets personally decided to send a fly into RFE. The American administrators of this establishment tried to turn the fly into an elephant. However, their efforts left only a bad taste. What I believe in connection with this and what I do not believe:

(1) I believe that the Czech intelligence officer in Salzburg, Yaroslav Nemets, could have made contact with an employee of RFE or infiltrate one of his own agents.

(2) I believe that the employee could have been working for both sides; i.e., play along with the Czechs for the benefit of the Americans.

(3) I believe that this double agent received from Nemets atropine with instructions to put it in small doses into the salt shakers in the RFE cafeteria.

(4) I believe that this atropine was not supposed to kill anyone of the members but only to produce delirium tremens, and also that it was designated for a large number of the salt shakers and not only for two of them.

(5) I believe that the above-mentioned agent, having received this atropine and appropriate instructions on how to proceed, reported this fact to his chief and turned the matter over to his control. Here the matter should have ended. Instead, purely for political reasons (to wit, from the conviction that one must make a mountain out of a molehill), the Americans realizing what kind of poison they have to deal with told the agent to put it into only two of the shakers and when the poison was put into the shakers, the salt shakers were confiscated and the propaganda activities against Czech intelligence was initiated by the Americans. The Americans stated that they told the truth but they didn't tell the whole truth. They publicized the matter in fantasy form.

The benefits could be such: Take advantage of the opportunity to get PP play against the Communist Czechs, and prove to RFE financiers that RFE broadcasts most harmful to the Satellites since the Czechs tried to poison employees of the institution.

The harmful aspects: American intelligence opened itself to criticism that it was seeking sensations. I do not intend to state what steps I would have taken in this situation but I would not have stopped this game so readily and in such fashion.

b. Regarding the TsOPE Bombing. First, a few comments about TsOPE. TsOPE, created by the NIS, is financed by the Americans. It is guided by the Communists, more specifically, by the KGB. If anyone thinks differently, then they will sooner or later become convinced that they were wrong. The TsOPE bombing incident is in no way, except merely coincidentally, connected with the death of Stefan Bandera and with the poisoning incident at RFE.

The two largest rival organizations in the West are Zch/OUN and NIS. The difference is that the Zch/OUN for some time now is financing its own activities, while the NIS takes its money from anyone it can, chiefly from the Americans, then from the British and perhaps also from another third source.

The NIS like the Zch/OUN claims that it carries on its activities in the USSR, that it maintains contact with a net in the USSR, has at its disposal cadres in the West willing at any time to go to the USSR, etc. In short, the NIS claims to be one of the greatest emigre threats to the KGB, that the Zch/OUN in comparison with the NIS means nothing. That also is the opinion of the majority of the American patrons of the NIS.

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And now suddenly the KGB murders not an NTS leader but the less dangerous Stefan Bandera. There are suicides here and suicides there, but most of the world press is convinced that Bandera was murdered by Communists. If that is true, then it means that the Zch/OUN and Bandera were a greater threat than the NTS and, God forbid, the American financiers will be so convinced and will redirect their aid from the NTS to the Zch/OUN. Therefore the NTSniks decided to plant a bomb in the empty TsOPE building and in this way prove that they are no lesser threat (to the KGB) than the Zch/OUN.

This is so obvious that it is not necessary for one to be a counter-intelligence man in order to understand what is really behind it. The NTSniks wanted to prove that the NTS is no less a revolutionary organization than the Zch/OUN and that their organization is as much a threat to the KGB as is the Zch/OUN. However, the NTS obviously was lacking in other new ideas because they repeated one of their old songs which is so familiar to us all.

In the past year (or perhaps even in the early part of this year) an attempt was made against the NTS radio and that took place after the radio was moved to another point, actually two days later. After TsOPE moved new luxurious quarters, a bombing incident took place in their old building. It occurs that no one is ever harmed in these (TsOPE and NTS) bombings.

Please believe me, if the KGB were to take any action, it would do so at a more appropriate time, not two days later, and the desired results would be obvious. I considered the stink bomb placed at the Zch/OUN building several hours earlier was to serve the NTS purpose: That is to prove that the KGB places harmful bombs in their (NTS) buildings but only smokes out the Zch/OUN with stink bombs.

2 Dec. 1960

ATTACHMENT C to EGMA 48874, 4 January 1960

SUBJECT: The Visit by the Oberkommissar of the German Criminal Police, Adrian FUCHS

From conversations with Ivan KASHUBA it was evident that the police investigations of BANDERA's death were being handled by a young, very energetic Oberkommissar, Adrian FUCHS. I also learned from KASHUBA that FUCHS had interviewed at least fifty people regarding this matter. Adrian FUCHS telephoned on 8 December 1959 and asked me whether he could visit me and talk about the subject of BANDERA's death. I agreed, and on Thursday, 10 December 1959, my first conversation with FUCHS took place in my home.

Mr. FUCHS told me that from conversations with various individuals, he learned that I was a friend of S. BANDERA and that I could express some opinions regarding his death. I told Mr. FUCHS that I was in Munich at that time and that I had been living in Paris, France, for some time now, but that I could discuss with him and analyze with him the various statements regarding BANDERA's death.

I told him of the five versions known to me (see my other report), and we analyzed these various versions. Noting my objectivity in this regard, FUCHS told me that he was convinced that not only the members of the SB--KASHUBA and MUDRYK-- but also all members of the Zeh/OUN leadership were keeping certain facts from the Criminal Police, facts which could bring to light the true cause of BANDERA's death. He stated that

suicide was undoubtedly involved, and that for obvious political reasons, the Banderites didn't want this fact to become known.

Further, the German Police have facts which indicate that the Banderites forbade certain individuals to reveal any facts of S. BANDERA's case. The police questioned this, and they came to the conclusion that statements made by these people tended to bring to light the facts in this case. These individuals are Dmytro MYSEKIV, Sephan LENKAVSKY, and Vasyl NINOVSKY. Besides this, BANDERA's wife was very talkative at first and revealed certain facts (as for instance, the fact that BANDERA always carried cyanide on his person). She later stated that she could not verify this fact. It was evident that the Zch/CUN had forbidden her to talk.

FUCHS was so impressed with our three-hour conversation that he told me this talk gave him more satisfaction and more facts than the one hundred conversations he held with other individuals and that it convinced him his analysis to date was correct. He told me that I could easily replace a member of the commission engaged in the investigation of BANDERA's death.

FUCHS met with me again on 17 December 1959, at which time he was more reserved. At first, I didn't know the reason, but later KASHUBA explained. During the second interview of BENTISAL, BENTISAL noticed on FUCHS's desk a sheet of yellow paper on which was written in German the fact that M. KORZHAN of Paris was head of the commission investigating the circumstances of BANDERA's death. It also listed Volodymyr DEYCHAKIVSKIY of Canada and KASHUBA of Munich as members.

Later FUCHS asked BENTSAL whether KORZHAN was head of the commission investigating the circumstances of BANDERA's death, and whether DEYCHAKIVSKIY and KUSHUBA were members of the commission. BENTSAL replied that he was not a member of Zch/OUN, and he didn't know whether or not I was a member of this commission.

At another time, FUCHS plainly told me that the German Criminal Police Commission had become convinced that BANDERA committed suicide. The commission had not established the motive, but they were on the right track. He stated that it appears, in spite of the denials of members of the SB and other members of the Zch/OUN leadership, that S. BANDERA had a difficult home life and that he spent much time in the company of other women. Although I didn't give him any definite details, I assured FUCHS that in my humble opinion the police were on the right track and that it was necessary to investigate further.

I reassured him that BANDERA's home life was unpleasant, especially as a result of his association with other women. FUCHS promised to visit me after completion of the investigation of all the details, but to date I have not heard from him.

2 May 1960

ATTACHMENT D TO EGMA 48874, 4 JANUARY 1960

SUBJECT: Ivan KASHUBA's comments regarding BANDERA's last moments of life.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION: Ivan KASHUBA

In support of my arguments that BANDERA committed suicide, I add the following:

Ivan KASHUBA told me ^{four} years ago that there were two Jewish families living in the house where BANDERA lived. One of the families maintained a young German nursemaid for their two children. S. BANDERA was in love with this young girl and spent many a sleepless night just thinking about her. He used every occasion to meet her and talk to her, and as Ivan KASHUBA said, it was possible that he met with her secretly at night without the knowledge of his wife or her employer. It is a fact that BANDERA's wife learned about this flirtation and treated this girl with much contempt. On the morning of 15 October, BANDERA's wife quarrelled bitterly with him over this girl. Because of this quarrel BANDERA left home fifteen minutes earlier than he had planned. His wife shouted after him, "Just wait, when you get home for lunch, I'll finish my prayer for you."

It is also a fact that BANDERA died by the door of this Jewish family, and the young German nursemaid was the first to come into the corridor, and as a trained nurse, she began to wash the blood off ^{away from} ~~his~~ ^{his mouth - mark} BANDERA was still half alive and held her hand tightly. It is possible that he purposely chose to die on her doorstep.

Stepan LENKANS'KY knows a lot about this love of BANDERA for the nursemaid, but he does not wish to talk about it. He didn't even tell KASHUBA about it.

4. січня 1960.

А. (9.111)
48874

2 May 1960

Справа: Іван КАШУБА про останні моменти в житті БАНДЕРИ.

Джерело інформації: Іван КАШУБА

В доповненню до моїх аргументів, які я привів на доказ того, що Степан БАНДЕРА поповнив самогубство, додатково це подаю таке: Іван КАШУБА тому два тижні сказав мені, ~~що~~ ^{що} в домі, де жив Степан БАНДЕРА на першому поверсі живе дві жидівські родини. В одній з тих родин маються тріє малих дітей і та жидівська родина затрудниє в себе одну молоду німецьку бону / дівчину для догляду і виховання дітей. Степан БАНДЕРА був влюблений в ту німкеню і сприводу неї провів неогну безсонну ніч. ^{ін} так страшно був в неї влюблений, що цілими днями тільки думав про неї. ^{ін} все використовував нагоду, щоби з нею зустрінутися чи то перед домою, чи то перед її дверима і з нею поговорити. Можливо також так заявив КАШУБА, що він з нею зустрічався по вечерах тайно перед жінкою і перед господарями тої бони.

С фактом, що жінка БАНДЕРИ той флірт підглянула і з того приводу злими поглядами все націляла ту бону, а БАНДЕРИ робив їй безперервні доскори. Також в дні 15. жовтня, го́бо ранком того дня жінка зробила БАНДЕРИ з приводу тої бони пекольну авантюру. БАНДЕРА прямо зтік з хати ^{сприхову} ~~всод~~ ^{тас} авантюрою на 15 міну́т раніш, чим він плянував. Жінка не крикнула за ним: "Нідожди, ти приїдеш на обід, то я Тобі ще докінчу свою " молитву". Фактом також є, що БАНДЕРА впав трупом під дверима того жидівсько-го дому і вгадана бона була нещода, яка вибігла на коридор і як вивчена сестра-медичка, вона почала змивати йому кров з уст та з носа. БАНДЕРА же був на пів живий і тримав її сильно за руку. Можливо, що він свідомо вибрав собі місце смерти якраз під дверима тої бони.

Про ту любов БАНДЕРИ до бони заус дуже багато Степан ЛЕНКАВСЬКИЙ, але він нічого про те не хоче говорити. Навіть КАШУБИ не каже усього того.

SUBMITTED ON
4 JAN 60

12 May 1960

On October 15, 1954, Stefan BANIERA, anti-communist Ukrainian nationalist leader whose entire life was devoted to the struggle for Ukrainian freedom and liberation from Moscow, was found dead on the stairs of his residence, a victim of foul play. This was only one month after he received an anonymous letter threatening his death. An autopsy by the German police revealed death by cyanide poisoning. It is widely believed that he was a victim of a Moscow-directed murder plot the circumstances of which were comparable to those surrounding the death and assassinations of previous leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, Simon PETLIURA (shot in Paris in 1926) and Evhen KONOWALETS (handed a package containing a bomb in Brussels in 1938).

The assassination of BANIERA was very important to the Soviets because, among other reasons, he was the most famous living Ukrainian anti-communist nationalist whose death would shock and demoralize anti-communist Ukrainians both in the Ukrainian SSR and abroad. BANIERA symbolized Ukrainian deep-seated opposition both to the Soviet Regime and to domination of their area by the Great Russians. The movement he represented has been conducting partisan and propaganda warfare against the Soviet Regime since 1934.

May 12, 1960

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SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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 DATE: 16 May 1960

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C/S COMMENT: *AMB REQUESTED KUBARK GUIDANCE RE SWISS GOVT REQUEST SOV EMB REMOVE LEVINOV FROM FEDREP.

CART CADORY []

1. THE FOLLOWING IS BANDERA ARTICLE PROMISED REF. SINCE ARTICLE CONTAINS ASPECTS NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED GERMAN LIATSON SUGGEST UNATTRIBUTABLE RELEASE TO FRENCH PRESS FOR LATER PICKUP GERMANY. [] HOLD PENDING PNG PUBLICITY AND FRAN CONCURRENCE.

2. THE RECENT OUSTING OF A SOVIET DIPLOMAT FROM BOHN BECAUSE THE DIPLOMAT WAS REALLY A SPY BRINGS TO MIND THE DEATH OF STEPAN BANDERA. THE TWO INCIDENTS MAY IN FACT BE RELATED, BECAUSE LEVINOV, THE SOVIET DIPLOMAT, WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN WORKING AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION. ON OCTOBER 15, 1959, STEPAN BANDERA, ANTI-COMMUNIST UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST LEADER WHOSE ENTIRE LIFE WAS DEVOTED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN FREEDOM AND LIBERATION FROM MOSCOW, WAS FOUND DEAD ON THE STAIRS OF HIS MUNICH RESIDENCE, A VICTIM OF FOUL PLAY. AN AUTOPSY BY THE GERMAN POLICE INDICATED DEATH BY POISONING.

3. THE SOVIET INTELLIGENCE AGENCY KGB HAD ATTEMPTED ON SEVERAL PREVIOUS OCCASIONS TO MURDER BANDERA. IN JUNE 1957, FOR INSTANCE, THE KGB ATTEMPTED TO

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S E C R E T

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 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2008

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PAGE 2

OUT 76079 DIR 29933

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USE THE NOTORIOUS FORMER GERMAN SS GENERAL GOTTLIB BERGER IN AN OPERATION AGAINST BANDERA BUT THIS ATTEMPT FAILED. THE KGB BOTH IN MOSCOW AND KIEV WORKED HARD ON THE BANDERA CASE, BUT DETAILS WERE ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT BY KGB BERLIN-KARLSHORST. THE SOVIET OFFICER IN CHARGE CALLED HIMSELF COLONEL PAUL. THE TECHNIQUE USED WAS VERY SIMPLE FOR THE EXPERIENCED ASSASSINS OF THE KGB, BUT THE ACT REQUIRED PLANNING. WHILE NOT EXACTLY PATIENT, THE KGB IS PERSISTENT IN ITS WORLDWIDE TASK OF MURDERING OPPONENTS OF THE SOVIET REGIME. IN THE CASE OF BANDERA, THE KGB MANAGED OVER A PERIOD OF TIME TO PLACE ONE OF THEIR AGENTS AS A TRUSTED SUBORDINATE OF BANDERA. AT THE RIGHT TIME THIS AGENT TOLD BANDERA ABOUT AN "INTERESTING SOVIET DEFECTOR", AND AGREED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN THE ALLEGED DEFECTOR AND BANDERA. OF COURSE, THE DEFECTOR TURNED OUT TO BE A KGB OFFICER ASSIGNED TO CARRY OUT THE ASSASSINATION PERSONALLY. WHENEVER POSSIBLE THE KGB PREFERENCES TO HAVE THEIR MURDERS HANDLED BY STAFF MEMBERS. DURING THE MEETING WITH BANDERA, THIS OFFICER DEFTLY PUT A DROP OF SPECIALLY PREPARED "DELAYED ACTION" POISON IN BANDERA'S COFFEE. HE MAY ALSO HAVE TOUCHED BANDERA WITH A HARD-TO-DETECT SKIN-CONTACT POISON OFTEN USED BY THE KGB. NEXT DAY BANDERA DIED.

COORDINATING OFFICERS

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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16 May 1960

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PAGE 3

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4. NOT SATISFIED WITH HAVING ELIMINATED BANDERA, THE KGB NEXT TOOK OPERATIONAL STEPS TO LEAD THE GERMAN POLICE INVESTIGATORS ASTRAY. ALTHOUGH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREVENT DISCOVERY OF POISON IN THE CORPSE, VARIOUS MISLEADING EVIDENCE WAS PLANTED TO INDICATE THAT BANDERA COMMITTED SUICIDE RATHER THAN HAVING BEEN ASSASSINATED. THE NEXT KGB OBJECTIVE IS TO INSURE THAT THE KGB AGENT ON BANDERA'S STAFF IS CHOSEN TO SUCCEED BANDERA. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHETHER THIS AGENT LOSES HIS NERVE AND FLEES TO THE EAST WHEN HE READS THIS ARTICLE. IF HE DOES NOT, HE WILL SHORTLY BE ARRESTED.

5. THE ASSASSINATION OF BANDERA WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE SOVIETS, ALTHOUGH IT WAS A ROUTINE TASK FOR THE KGB, WHICH SPECIALIZES IN POLITICAL MURDER. BANDERA WAS THE MOST FAMOUS LIVING UKRAINIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST NATIONALIST WHOSE DEATH WOULD SHOCK AND DEMORALIZE ANTI-COMMUNIST UKRAINIANS BOTH IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND ABROAD. BANDERA SYMBOLIZED UKRAINIAN DEEP-SEATED OPPOSITION BOTH TO THE SOVIET REGIME AND TO DOMINATION OF THEIR HOMELAND BY THE GREAT RUSSIANS. THE MOVEMENT BANDERA REPRESENTED HAS BEEN CONDUCTING PARTISAN AND PROPAGANDA WARFARE AGAINST THE SOVIET REGIME SINCE 1934, EVEN WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION.

END OF MESSAGE

C/EE
RELEASING OFFICER

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Copy No.

1 July 1960

КГБ призналося до вбивства С. Бандери

Під такою заголовком появилася останньому числі "Шляху Леніна" інформаційна стаття, яка кидає понуре світло на московські шпигунські дії у світі, зокрема в Німеччині, і яка одкровенно вказує на притуплення з боку обережності в справі московсько-шпигунської інфільтрації (проникання) українського політичного і громадського, а навіть церковного життя. Атрофія чуйності й обережності пішла у нас так далеко, що московському агентури шпигунів чи дучегубові вистало не вийти кілька гуррапатріотичних фраз, чи заговорити про чистоту і протестівської віри у шобчим закрити саме справжнє, алодне обличчя. Ця каменна українська чужбність і дезковірність у політичних і громадських справах (у відношенні до переславної чужбності обережності у приватних справах) — не знаходить паралелі в жадному людському суцільстві.

З метою усвідомлювання наших нахилів до вільності, легкодуності і готовності йти на шпигунські гуррапатріотичні фраз навіть на сабе до обірок і одиначної загинбелі переларкувало і згадувало на вступі статтю "Редакція "Агента"

Мамельська преса широкі розголосила про викриття шпигунської агентури, советських дипломатів на території Закарпаття і т.д. Однак досвідченість преси не дозволяла того, що полковник КГБ Черволий А. якій в хорі Вільска ки виступав під псевдонімом "Метрелю" у розмові з Костянтиним Капустянським, колишнім співробітником КГБ, для підтвердження своєї справи на Заході заявив, що вбивство С. павіаніка ОУН Степана Бандери виконали агенти КГБ. При цьому з уст Червоного вийшли слова погрози на адресу ще

двох членів ЗЧ ОУН, мовляв, їм також не треба боятися, бо вони в них теж на черзі.

Хто такий Костянтин Капустянський?

Костянтин Капустянський, за фахом агроном, уродженець Кременецької області, свою співпрацю з організацією МГБ і пізніше КДБ почав у половині 1944 р. Капустянського, колишнього члена ОУН Мельника, який у 1943 році повтавився через свого проводника С. з відділом УПА, де виконував функції господарника у армії "Крука", советська окупаційна армія захопила у люті й березні 1944 року.

22 березня 1944 р. Капустянського та його 2-х друзів, які бегали вже переодягнутися в шпигунську одягу, захоплюють більшовики в селі Мала Білка. Він зблонується до Комісії воєнкомату в Лавнівцях, звідки його під час його ескортою разди з інших перевозять через Північ до міста Борні, Голубська, де його призначають до 257 стрілецького полку. Тут він зустрічає дуже багато своїх друзів ще із півдня. Дня 7 травня 1944 року відбулася присага, а з травня почалися вбивати тих воїнів, які походили з Західної України. Деякі проводили самі офіцери "Смерть" у "Контррозвідчині" (Смерть) — "Смерть шпигунів", створений при нас вівни, пізніше включений в МГБ.

У місто Борногороді він почав заповняти місця українсько-то визвольного підполковника, присягнувши смерті і на 25 років колекторів, стали масовим вбивств. Дня 10 травня 1944 р. викликає на допит Капустянського. Капитан "Смерть" у Петро Кузнецов, який перебував допит, за час вступу застав Капустянському, що його діяльність, як управителя філярку

(Закінчення на стор. 3)

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3826
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

1 July 1950

АМЕРИКА

КГБ кризналося до вбивства С. Бандери

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

та зокрема як воєнка УПА, йому, Кузнецову, добре відома, і тому Франц говорить про все відверто. Показавши, що Кузнецов ознайомлений з його діяльністю, Капустинський до цього признає, розраховуючи, що все рано буде поставлений під суд. На превелике здивування Капустинського, Кузнецов не казав, кимби і в якій частині його до війни, а в Другій світській війні йому сприяли працювати з більшовицькою розвідкою. Можливо, задумав добувати 25 років каторжних робіт. Капустинський цим сприяв, щоб він спокійніше свою війну провадив.

Без довшої вагання Капустинський погодився на це проношення. Як писав Мухоморов, йому Кузнецовим завдяки сприяв. Зараз же другого дня Капустинського призначено писарем штабу батальйону. Його завданням об'явлено ходити на фронт, а саме показувати співробітникам сім'ї вояків. Дня 1 березня 1945 року влітку вступив перебував Капустинський, перелетів до міста Вжесня у Польщі. Там проживав 15 квітня на фронті ліній на Одрі біля Кюстра. До збору в Берлін, полк цей був поповнений резервними вояками, у численку 42 тисячі для виконання прикордонної охорони. На початку серпня 1945 р. Кузнецов доручив Капустинському працювати серед польських вояків, головне у співробітництві з радянськими офіцерами з метою організації вояків до їх повернення до батьківщини.

Після цього Кузнецову атакували на фронті, і він був вивезений до Польщі. Після цього Кузнецову було поручено працювати на фронті. Капустинський до цього часу працював у штабі батальйону, а саме в частині, що була призначена до роботи на фронті. Капустинський працював у штабі батальйону, а саме в частині, що була призначена до роботи на фронті. Капустинський працював у штабі батальйону, а саме в частині, що була призначена до роботи на фронті.

давали різні інструкції по лінії нових зв'язків на Заході. В травні 1951 р. Капустинського забезпечено німецьким документом на прізвище Мьоренц Петро, фольксдойч, а водночас він одержав доручення прикатити до німецького способу життя. В Берлін він переїхав на деякий час до Мадленбург, де мав знайомих ще з часів свого перебування в советській армії. На початку серпня 1951 р. Капустинський переїхав в Мадленбург і звідси виставився до Західної Німеччини: Гамбург, Гамбург, Бремен. По відомостям

ще, перше проношення надано Капустинський одержав від керівника КГБ Олександра Петровича доручення перенестися в західний сектор Берліну, що він і зробив в березні 1952 р. По дорученню він одержав наказ переїхати до Гертора і там знайти собі квартиру, опісля ж він ката до Мадленбург, де в той час був штаб радянських військ. Він мав знайомих там з однією дівчиною, який був відомий в Берліні, який став до націоналізму. Капустинський мало дівчиною знайомий. Завданням Капустинського було дуже легко знайти квартиру, а саме в Мадленбург, де в той час був штаб радянських військ. Він мав знайомих там з однією дівчиною, який був відомий в Берліні, який став до націоналізму. Капустинський мало дівчиною знайомий. Завданням Капустинського було дуже легко знайти квартиру, а саме в Мадленбург, де в той час був штаб радянських військ.

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КГБ призначено до вбивства С. Бандери

(Докичення)

Дня 1 травня 1952 р. Капустинський вернувся у Берлін, чим дуже зрадів майор Александер Петрович. Капустинського призначено у відпорядженні МГБ у Мюнхені, після чого він влітає знову в Західню Німеччину з даними завданнями щодо згаданого уже діяча з УНР-ів. Обробка цієї справи тривала довгий час і не давала успіху, що його собі бажало МГБ. Також інші справи не викликали задоволення внаслідок дезінспірації. З уваги на ці неважкі, Капустинського відкликано в березні 1953 р. із Західної Німеччини і відправлено до Кривого Пагорба його викликано до Києва, де йому довелося згадати не дуже то приємний звіт перед високими офіцерами МГБ із своєї діяльності на Заході. Після шкідливості Капустинського передано в Кривий Пагорб, а в серпні 1953 р. до Луцька. Тут він втримує контакти з начальником обласного управління МГБ Рабінцевим. У місяці жовтні 1953 р. Капустинського висилкають у Москву і дають завдання знову поїхати в Західню Німеччину. З місяці січня 1954 р. він відлітає вересом до Східного Німеччини, а пізніше пересідає до Нюрнбергу в Західній Німеччині. Цим разом Капустинський мав завдання навізати контакт з бачим своїм давнім знайомим, який за даними МГБ став би працювати в американській розвідці. Довге підставлення за цю завданням забрало Капустинському багато часу і грошей, та довго не все одно йому не вдалося. Цього справою керував полковник Захаров із Москви, який приїхав до Східного Берліну разом з Капустинським.

В квітні 1954 р. Захаров від-

пустий Капустинського до Луцька, де він влаштувався на старозавданій праці. Тут він спокійно, не одержуючи жодних доручень, немов би МГБ за нього вже забув. Жити-будував хату. Хоч першопочатково операцію і звертався про допомогу до МГБ, йому навіщо не відповіли. Ізловив в серпні 1955 р. до нього звернувся знову Рабінцевий цю справу, а в листопаді цього ж року йому доручено влітати в Західню Німеччину з іншими для МГБ дуже важливими справами. Цього справою завідувати у Львові майор МГБ Лозницький Дмитро Данилович, що з ним Капустинський був у постійному контакті. В грудні 1955 року Капустинський опинився вже у Львові, де спільно з Лозницьким приготували матеріал, що був йому потрібний для виконання своїх завдань в Мюнхені. Після зібрання цього матеріалу Капустинський влітає 15 грудня зі Львова у Москву, а пізніше прибув у Східний Берлін. Тут зустрів його КГБ-іст О. А. Максименко, який вручив йому документи на аріванше майорів. Тут же та забезпечив грошима. Дня 4 липня 1956 р. Капустинський розмовляв з Колковичком КГБ-іст Ткаченкою на його доручення наїзавити у Мюнхені. 7 січня КГБ було вбреді поінформовано про ці справи і хотіло декого з цієї групи використати для своїх цілей. Завданням Капустинського цього разу було навізати контакт з однією людиною, який у час виконання "дійсних" завдань від 34 ОУН. Згідно з дорученням, Капустинський 7 січня, на Рівно, влітає згадану родину, передаючи їй привіт від родини з Галичини.

(Замічується на стор. 3)

КГБ признало: до вбивства С. Бандери

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

Вітак Капустинський вернувся до Кюльсборсту 15 січня, тут він зустрівся в полковникові Ткаченком, причому був присутній помічник КГБ Черволий Антон Федорович з Києва, що його владали спецом до ліній боротьби з українським визвольним рухом. Було вирішено, що 20 січня Капустинський з'їде до Луцька, а 7. 2. зголосився у Львові у Лодж Червоного, щоб обговорити всі подробиці вищезгадані мюнхенської справи. У Львові почалася підготовка до другої поїздки Капустинського в Мюнхен.

Дня 7 лютого 1956 р. Капустинський вїхав зі Львова до Станього Бердну, де разом з С. П. Ткаченком виготовили план поїздки до Мюнхену. Дня 6 березня Капустинський з'явився вже в Мюнхені. Тут він приставив до виконання своїх обов'язків, проте як цього можна було сподіватися, за тим разом був арештований американською поліцією С. П. Не державок мислячи, слідує з С. П. Капустинського не дає нідежкої поліції, а виступивши суд за судами його на 15 місяців тюремного ув'язнення в коментарі ССРСР. Після виходу з тюрми Капустинському випала охота вернутися до ССРСР і він залишається жити в Західній Німеччині, в містечку Валль-Ріттерберг. Звідси він переїждить на провінцію Кельн, заводивачисся, що тут ліпше ніж в інших містах під кроважодної машини КГБ. Це його сподівання не сповнилося. Уже 20 жовтня 1959 р. під час поїздки з провінції Кельн незнайомий чоловік повідомив його на автобусній зупинці, що з ним хоче бачитися злочинник, знайдений в Києві. Він повинен з'явитися в готель „Ганза“ у Штутгарті, де в той час знаходився членів Київського ансамблю Відродження. Дня 24 жовтня Капустинський зголосився у керівника ансамблю, назвав своє прізвище і з'явився серед членів ансамблю має бути. Його знайомий, який доче з ним говорити, керівника ансамблю попросив Капустинського зайти на другий поверх о 11-й годині, коли він прийшов наступного дня на означену годину, то перед готелем зустрів керівника ансамблю в товаристві свого колишнього шефа КГБ в Києві, Львова і Кюльсборсту, ім'я Червоного Антона Федоровича. Привіталися як з друзями знайомі. Черволий пере-

сказав привіт від усіх знайомих товаришів з Москви і Києва й уможливив зустрітися для обговорення всіх справ в готелі „Ганза“ год. 0.30 вночі.

Під час цієї нічної зустрічі, Черволий зраз же на початку розмови сказав Капустинському таке: „Ви певно думали, що ми не маємо на Заході сил і можливості провести якусь дію. Бачите, як наші товариші змагалися Бандеру робота чиста, так що кобар носа не підточить“. „То правда, що робота чиста“, відповів Капустинський, „але всі знають, що це робота КГБ, тільки безсмертних не можуть“. Черволий хитро поспіхався і додав: „Ви можете поїхати в Мюнхен та присутіати, що про що справу говорять бандерівці“. (Тим часом він назвав прізвище декількох осіб). Коли Капустинський запитав, що тепер буде небезпечно і він не має охоти з'являтися цим ділом, до нього не вернутися додому, Черволий відповів: „Це правда, але ви їх дуже не бійтеся, бо К. і М. стоять у нас на чолі за Степаном, але два тижні раніше різним способом добувається, що вони думали про справу вбивства, а змагалися завжди в часі“.

В подальшій розмові Черволий цікавився справою заарештування

Капустинського, як виглядало спільство та перебування у тюрмі. В кінці розмови, яка тривала до 3-ої години ранку, Черволий заявив, що для дальшої співпраці КГБ сконтактує Капустинського. Тимні уповноваженні на східній Німеччині в Бонні, де йому самому не доведеться зустрітись з Капустинським. Не минуло багато часу, як 30. 12. 1959 р. відіслав Капустинського в його помешканні советський аташе Н. С. Левков і дав йому по-київськи виконавати одне завдання у Норсберзі. На наступній зустрічі Капустинський мав про це повіттувати. Того ж дня вони домовилися про дальші свої зустрічі.

Дня 22 квітня 1960 р. о 13-й годині відіслав Капустинського знову Левков у його помешканні і запропонував йому прибути 26 квітня до Бонні, біля Бонни, де він чекатиме на нього і відведе його на дельовіца 73, дельовіца Кельн-Вогт, Капустинський повинен відлетіти в Берлін-Тельдегоф, де при його виході буде на нього чекати достріждивих з Карльсборсту. З шістьох людин, він має обговорити всі справи про свою дальню співпрацю з КГБ на терені Західної Німеччини.

Цим разом Капустинський переборює страх і, щоб радивався зобов'язався допомогти КГБ та виконати з цього блага злочинні провадженнями органам безпеки в місті Кюльсборст і його окрестностях. Після цього він з'явився в Кюльсборсті.

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| DISPATCH | | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. EGMA-52118 |
| TO INFO | Chief of Station, Germany; Chief, EE; Chief, WE; Chief of Base, Frankfurt | | HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. Unknown |
| FROM | Chief, Munich Liaison Base | DATE | 17 November 1960 |
| SUBJECT | Operational/Liaison Death of Bandera, <i>Southern</i> | RF "49.3" - (CHECK "X" ONE) | |
| | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MARKED FOR INDEXING NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| ACTION REQUIRED | Please reply | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ DESK ONLY | |
| REFERENCE(S) | <p>DIR-01018</p> <p>According to reference there was a possibility that Demydeczuk might have additional information concerning the death of Bandera. Kindly advise us whether or not he did provide such information and if so, we would appreciate clearance of pertinent portions which we can pass to UPHILL.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[]</p> <p>Distribution: 2 - [] 2 - COS/G 2 - EE 1 - WE 2 - FOB</p> | | |
| <p>DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2006</p> | | | |
| FORM 10-57 53b (49) | USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 512A, 512B AND 5129 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE. | CLASSIFICATION SECRET | PAGE NO. <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED |

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АНДЕРИ

... 1961

... (французської мови) Стефан не два рази на тиждень ро-... курсувати він між Пари-жем і Мюнхеном з мудирі офіцера Андерса, як зв'язо-вий між Проводом 34 ОУН і тереновим Проводом 34 ОУН у Франції. А наспраді, прикиваючись плашником видного для нього поста зв'язкового проводу (а годя-не, безмежним довір'ям Лен-кавського, свого «дорогого Стефана»), Шевчук пустив в рух такі тамтє спекуляції і маляції, як, наприклад, ор-ганізація нелегального пере-возу поза межі Німеччини ні-мецьких воєнних злочинців — гітлерівських недобитків.

«Благородна місія» спаси-ня бунтарів-нацистських хар-цяків, «переговори» з ними нібито від імені Проводу 34 ОУН в справі фінансової до-помоги для ОУН у відповідь на «добрі» послуги, проявле-ні при організації безпечного перевозу воєнних злочинців, і навіть хабарі в рахунок цих послуг грубих тисяч німець-ких марок тощо — все це робилося з відома Ленкав-ського. «Дорогий Стефан» не те що не усунув афериста Шевчука з дорученого йому поста, не те що не віддав його до організаційного сулу, але подбавши, щоб скандал не вийшов на ширші горизон-ти, ще й рекомендував Шев-чука тереновому проводові в Парижі, як гідного кандидата на фінансового референ-та, а пізніше навіть доручив організувати нелегальну пе-реправу організаційних гро-шей з Англії і Бельгії через Францію до Мюнхена.

Шевчук взявся за цю спра-ву — і в масу 34 ОУН в Мюнхені переправлялися з Лондону ліни мільяни в ос-

блужних своїх друзів, стро-го дбаючи, щоб не тільки члени ОУН, зокрема жертво-данці, не дізналися про цей черговий удар по фінансах організації, але навіть дотри-мався, щоб злочин Шевчука не став об'єктом розслідування СБ.

Треба визнати, що не ве-ликим вдалося дійснити. Навіть якщо б дізнався вже як во-ди, коли минуло чимало часу, і коли я вже не виконував функції референта СБ і жив у Парижі. Саме ця афера ще більш жмула ОУН в обіймах чужих розвідок.

З того часу Бандера, Лен-кавський, Стефан, які вже й до того впадали із зльотом, щоб скинути Лебедева, припо-хали їх зв'язки з історією репрезентів «союзної Ук-раїни» перед американською розвідкою, розгорнули були скажену гонитву за зв'язка-ми до чужих розвідок.

І ось для того, щоб не да-тися амередити Лебедеву і опозиції у висилці людей до Шухевича, воєн кадри тор-гівлі, головами своїх друзів на міжнародній пінгуїнській біржі такого розмаху, який перевершив всі дотогочасні мірки.

Тоді то оцей добродушний, зриваючий, флегматич-ний слівце як восте, перекладом довів, що він як близькох Бандери, справді відний при-язника — Тим Бандери.

Не інтересам України і українського народу приса-тили вони свою чорну і брудну роботу. Хіба там, хто вбивав один одного, навіть своїх зв'язників і ождоу-ців, заради особистого благо-получчя і більш видного поста, можуть бути дорогі ін-тереси нації? Як разово Бандера, там, тепер і Лен-кавський лише прикривають-ся гаслами націоналізму, щоб обдурити українців на чужині, випомпуючи у них

мерівник СБ, злігував з ним і діставав від нього інструкції), але в пер-чергу як близьком «д-дери, як той, хто безу-сечно виконував всі його доручення, незважаючи на шийні воли на користь Н, чи на П школу.

А скільки разів і в інших вказівках Проводу Стефан казався грав як не пер-то другу скрипку? Його нос завжди безсуперечно чучався до голосів Банде-ри і Стефана тоді, коли тре-було слати на вірну заги-бу обдурених членів 34 ОУН, слати зі зброєю в ру-на Україну в ім'я інтер-есних розвідок!

На сторінках газети «Вісті України» в мене розповідав про роль Ленкавського до злочинному пошураки Шевчуку в розвідці і розбраті організаційних гро-шових фондів.

Але чи тільки на цьому обмежується така його діяль-

шукати своїх друзів, стро-го дбаючи, щоб не тільки члени ОУН, зокрема жертво-данці, не дізналися про цей черговий удар по фінансах організації, але навіть дотри-мався, щоб злочин Шевчука не став об'єктом розслідування СБ.

Треба визнати, що не ве-ликим вдалося дійснити. Навіть якщо б дізнався вже як во-ди, коли минуло чимало часу, і коли я вже не виконував функції референта СБ і жив у Парижі. Саме ця афера ще більш жмула ОУН в обіймах чужих розвідок.

З того часу Бандера, Лен-кавський, Стефан, які вже й до того впадали із зльотом, щоб скинути Лебедева, припо-хали їх зв'язки з історією репрезентів «союзної Ук-раїни» перед американською розвідкою, розгорнули були скажену гонитву за зв'язка-ми до чужих розвідок.

І ось для того, щоб не да-тися амередити Лебедеву і опозиції у висилці людей до Шухевича, воєн кадри тор-гівлі, головами своїх друзів на міжнародній пінгуїнській біржі такого розмаху, який перевершив всі дотогочасні мірки.

Тоді то оцей добродушний, зриваючий, флегматич-ний слівце як восте, перекладом довів, що він як близькох Бандери, справді відний при-язника — Тим Бандери.

Не інтересам України і українського народу приса-тили вони свою чорну і брудну роботу. Хіба там, хто вбивав один одного, навіть своїх зв'язників і ождоу-ців, заради особистого благо-получчя і більш видного поста, можуть бути дорогі ін-тереси нації? Як разово Бандера, там, тепер і Лен-кавський лише прикривають-ся гаслами націоналізму, щоб обдурити українців на чужині, випомпуючи у них

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Т І Н Ь Б

Степан Ленківський (організаційний псевдонім — «Лідиш») широко відомий в націоналістичному середовищі під псевдонімом «Професор». Саме він, однієї підстаркуватий і китруватий «аскет» — невідступний, як тій, в усіх вітках Бандери. Він любить удавати з себе, так би мовити, філософа — такого собі древньогрецького Діогена, що весь час сидів у бочці і проповідував своїм аскетизмом.

На тіл найважливіших справ Бандери ці тій крокує пильно зі своїм владником, навіть є не його відбитком, а його наївною, банальною його «я». Ну, а хто ж не знає кривавий і відступний справ Степана Бандери?

Багато злочинів зробив він проти українського народу. Бувучи гітлерівським агентом, він і очолюваний ним Провід перепродував чужоземним розвідкам українських націоналістів, які сльиво йшли за своїми верховодами, виконуючи чорні акції проти рідного народу. А гроші за це від гітлерівців через посередництво Ярого черкував Степан Бандери, що простежити за вчинками Бандери, то має прозувати, що навіть націоналістичні дії для нього були ширмою, за якої ховалась бажання бути самодержавним царком на Україні, навіть якщо для цього треба стати фашистським блядою і знищити український народ.

Бандерівці вбивали не лише тих українців, які були проти них, але й мовчазних співробітників з ними, а навіть і своїх однопольових націоналістів. У Бандери була своя служба безпеки, де складалися списки жертв. Як свідчить Б. Мухомор у своїй книжці «Візит Бандери», яку в червоному пропитував бандерівці вбили аж майже 400 українських націоналістів.

Галичині. Там діяла тоді українська терористична організація, яку організував полковник Євген Коновалець. Цей «діл», до речі, був німецьким агентом. Коли панська Польща в 1939 році припинила своє існування, Ленківський втік до гітлерівців. Далі він активно продовжує свою націоналістичну діяльність у Кракові, де знайшли тоді собі притулок українські націоналісти різних напрямків. Нолі в лістоу 1940 року Бандери і його найближчі помічники скликали так званій «Ізд і сформували на ньому свій «Революційний Провід», в склад якого ввійшло 15 чоловік, то одне з перших місць серед них займав Степан Ленківський. Він одержував важливі доручення цього «Революційного Проводу», грав не останню роль у розколі ОУН.

Це саме Ленківський разом з Шухевичем їздив до Берліна з ультиматумом до Мельника. Вірні служакки Бандери, вони ждали, щоб Мельник зрікся свого «фюрерства» в організації українських націоналістів на користь Бандери.

Нолі боротьба між мельниківцями і бандерівцями набрала серйозних розмірів, Ленківський в ній відіграв важливу роль.

Він був близьником «дз Бандери, коли вперше колали ОУН. Він був шефологом того розколу, трудящемся свавільні дощисського націоналізму. Був він і на чорній раді, яка винесла смертні вирок членам Проводу українських націоналістів, що не захотіли прилучитися до «бунту» Бандери, — Сеняку, Саборському, Борачевському. Ця рада минала в обійми братовбивчої різниці лані ОУН.

Ці факти й активну участь в них відіграв Степан Ленківський.

Читач «Вісник з України» знає, що Степан Ленківський був однією з головних фігур терористичної організації «Лідиш». Багато злочинів здійснив він проти українського народу. Саме він, однієї підстаркуватий і китруватий «аскет» — невідступний, як тій, в усіх вітках Бандери. Він любить удавати з себе, так би мовити, філософа — такого собі древньогрецького Діогена, що весь час сидів у бочці і проповідував своїм аскетизмом. На тіл найважливіших справ Бандери ці тій крокує пильно зі своїм владником, навіть є не його відбитком, а його наївною, банальною його «я». Ну, а хто ж не знає кривавий і відступний справ Степана Бандери? Багато злочинів зробив він проти українського народу. Бувучи гітлерівським агентом, він і очолюваний ним Провід перепродував чужоземним розвідкам українських націоналістів, які сльиво йшли за своїми верховодами, виконуючи чорні акції проти рідного народу. А гроші за це від гітлерівців через посередництво Ярого черкував Степан Бандери, що простежити за вчинками Бандери, то має прозувати, що навіть націоналістичні дії для нього були ширмою, за якої ховалась бажання бути самодержавним царком на Україні, навіть якщо для цього треба стати фашистським блядою і знищити український народ. Бандерівці вбивали не лише тих українців, які були проти них, але й мовчазних співробітників з ними, а навіть і своїх однопольових націоналістів. У Бандери була своя служба безпеки, де складалися списки жертв. Як свідчить Б. Мухомор у своїй книжці «Візит Бандери», яку в червоному пропитував бандерівці вбили аж майже 400 українських націоналістів. Галичині. Там діяла тоді українська терористична організація, яку організував полковник Євген Коновалець. Цей «діл», до речі, був німецьким агентом. Коли панська Польща в 1939 році припинила своє існування, Ленківський втік до гітлерівців. Далі він активно продовжує свою націоналістичну діяльність у Кракові, де знайшли тоді собі притулок українські націоналісти різних напрямків. Нолі в лістоу 1940 року Бандери і його найближчі помічники скликали так званій «Ізд і сформували на ньому свій «Революційний Провід», в склад якого ввійшло 15 чоловік, то одне з перших місць серед них займав Степан Ленківський. Він одержував важливі доручення цього «Революційного Проводу», грав не останню роль у розколі ОУН. Це саме Ленківський разом з Шухевичем їздив до Берліна з ультиматумом до Мельника. Вірні служакки Бандери, вони ждали, щоб Мельник зрікся свого «фюрерства» в організації українських націоналістів на користь Бандери. Нолі боротьба між мельниківцями і бандерівцями набрала серйозних розмірів, Ленківський в ній відіграв важливу роль. Він був близьником «дз Бандери, коли вперше колали ОУН. Він був шефологом того розколу, трудящемся свавільні дощисського націоналізму. Був він і на чорній раді, яка винесла смертні вирок членам Проводу українських націоналістів, що не захотіли прилучитися до «бунту» Бандери, — Сеняку, Саборському, Борачевському. Ця рада минала в обійми братовбивчої різниці лані ОУН. Ці факти й активну участь в них відіграв Степан Ленківський.

ве не асистом, ніби замириноваленням флегматично видається Ленківський бач багатьох, хто його знає.

Але що удавину добродушність і урівноважену флегматичність з позою «аскета» запам'ятав на другій «чорній раді» Бандери, коли вперше колали ОУН. Тоді Ленківський більше «самой Бандери ждав у зв'язення» бунтерах, коли постронували фізичною ліквідацією членів Проводу ОУН і ЗП УГВР Даріл і Льва Ребетів, йосуді з дружиною, Гривою Івана, а пізніше навіть і Діогена. Діоген мачуха примусив та годі і мене мимоволі бути присутнім там з обов'язком опсративного референта С. І також бути співучасником тієї галубної «чорної ради» Бандери, Ленківський, Стецько, бажачучи в розколі, який спокій покірності з осподиде, а на

...на кожному
...розриві тих ти
...фонду, стаю
...із водити, видруж
...і симпатичні 34
...робітників заводів і
...Англії і Бельгії, піби
...на висилку зв'язових да
...спрабу і на фінансуванн
...боротьби»?!

«Хто ж допустив все це? Чи
«дорогий Пашелко» —
...причепив Ленна
...самоулюбленого його ін
...дульков і його бага
...постачальник пода
...у нагляді батарея
...французьких
...і вин. Цей шпироко
...зверну і злодій
...Шевчук удостоює
...ого довір'я з боку Лен
...кого. Який жордан був
...створити організаційно

Мироні... в основ
...нашій країні до
...злочинських рук Шевчука —
...цього ставлення Степана
Леннаського.

Мабуть, зараз нікому не
важко буде догадатися, за
які відсотки купувалися по
державні у виді пляшок
французького коньяку, що їх
вдалий «Пашелко» привозив
кожного разу Леннаському.

Але і сам «добродушний
Стефко» був у курсі всіх
справ. Навіть коли Шевчук
думав за одним ходом пере
правити в Англії через Поль
ську банкову контору в Пар
изі прямо в свої і в своїх
співільників кишеньі грібі ти
сячі організаційних долларів,
«професор» Леннаський і
на цей раз не віддав справи
до організаційного суду. Він
знову зам'яв П. в гурті най-

...українців
чужині, випомоюючи у них
гроші на свої потреби і пе
репродаючи їх чужоземцям
розвідкам, що діють проти
радянської Батьківщини,
проти українського народу.

Чим ширше сідає сонце,
тим довше стають і тіні.
Тільки Бандери — Степан
Леннаський — швидко зро
стає на арені майновалістів.
Але всі українці на чужині
повинні знати, що справжнє
ім'я Леннаського — злочинець.
Ного злочинна діяль
ність — це ланцюг чорних
зрад, підступів, шахрайств і
вбивств, за які його можуть
судити навіть його ж партія
ні однодумці, не кажучи вже
про простих українських лю
дей, кров яких не омита з
його рук.

Мирон МАТВІЄНКО.



українських націоналістів з
Степаном Ленкавським. І все це з
ради того, щоб не втратити
нацистській службі у Гітлера,
щоб не дати іншим націона-
лістам переплюнути його.
Вандеру. Він обрав і своїх
братів по крові. І одностайно
оби лише серед гітлерівських
лакуз бути холодом № 1.

І його служіння було від-
значено. Коли фашистське
військо у червні 1941 року
шло до Львова, воно при-
їхало на своїх автомобілях
і бандерівці, які «сформу-
вали уряд» на чолі з Яро-
славом Стецьком. Який про-
існував лише кілька днів.

І по всьому чорному шля-
ху за Степаном Вандерою
Йова його вірний помічник
— другий Степан — Лен-
кавський. Немає майже жод-
ного злочину Вандери, а лю-
ди не брав би активну участь
і цей другий Степан.

Хто знає Ленкавського, мо-
же навіть одновочно вигук-
нути:

— Не може бути Темні
справи — і «професор»!

До речі, хто ж присвоїв
Йову цю вчену ступінь? За
«наукові» роботи?

Гепер вже всі знають з
прогресивної преси, зокрема
з канадської газети «Україн-
ське життя», що Степан
Ленкавський допомагає Дуай-
тові Едзенхауеру провести
так звані «тиждень поне-
волених націй». Перебуваю-
чи в Нью-Йорку, він загоstim
до Дніпра Ситі, де «вдало»
націоналістичній газеті «Сво-
бода» своє «інтерв'ю». По-
міщуючи це «інтерв'ю»,
«Свобода» назвала його
«професором». Бандерів-
ський «Гомін України» в То-
ронто, передруковуючи це
«інтерв'ю» з «Свободи», ви-
пустив титул «професор»,
тільки назвав його «голо-
вою» ЗЧ ОУН.

Народився він з сім'ї гре-
ко-католицького євандеїста на

Що факти в активну участь
в них Ленкавського, хто за-
перечувати не може.

Це воми — обидва Степа-
ни — залуцями перешту-
вались, обмірковуючи «гені-
тальні» плани «сильного похо-
ду» з гітлерівськими ордями
на схід! Переплутати всі об-
ставини, за яких Степан пер-
ший і Степан другий були
особою і тінню, неможливо в
одній газетній статті.

Ленкавський весь час дер-
жався Вандери як реп'ях
можула. І хоч повільно банде-
рівська «п'ятнадцятка» поча-
ла розлітатися — від неї від-
скочили Микола Лейда і Во-
лодимир Стахів, — Ленкав-
ський залишився при «вождю»,
за що той називав його
«шефом» СВ (служби без-
пекня).

І хоч устерегти тих, хто
не вірить в чесність і поряд-
ність Степана Ленкавського,
хто є жертвами трагічного
непорозуміння, або спиритно-
го обману. Насправді ж бо
Ленкавський, як і Вандера,
запламував себе кров'ю укр-
аїнських людей. П не змити
з чорної душі, вона, як тавро,
свідчить про брато-
вбиство.

Він не від того, щоб по-
хверцювати своєю близькі-
стю до простих людей. Ма-
буть, щоб відреслити свою
«демократичність», він хо-
дить у рваних шкарпетках,
або взагалі без них. Він ар-
тистично виставляє це напо-
каз. Але не думайте, земляки,
що Степан Ленкавський
завжди виставляє напоказ
близькість до простих людей.
Я маю на увазі одну відмо-
ву у Мюнхені, у якій він
живе як... квартирант. Тут
його аскетизм безслідно зни-
ка: «Диоген» влізає із боч-
ки... І відбувається чудова
метаморфоза: «флегматичний
Степан» — «Дон-жуан», а
після нічних оргій, коньяку і
ніжених «професор-аскет»
знову намагається бути «До-
геном».

На перший погляд добро-
зичним і добродушним, сли-

мляним, завжди «своєю
машини» в розмові, і в
справді бажаючи за будь-
яку плату поводитися
для них конкурентів у грі
за право самим зарекомен-
вати інтереси «вождю України»
перед чужими розвідни-
ми, — шукає сапіння і
виконавців своїх злочинних
задумів. В мені вони годі за-
знавши ні спільного
виконавця. А ось оцей «де-
бодушний аскет» Ленка-
вський-Залужний взявся про-
вести в життя рішення «чор-
ної ради» з допомогою інших
учасників цього чорного су-
ду — Миколи Климичина і
Романа Бичковича.

Звичайно, Ленкавський од-
внявся на цей крок не тіль-
ки тому, що був на той час
відповідальним перед Прово-
дом ЗЧ ОУН і Вандерою за
роботу СВ (а, як оператив-

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| SECRET | | OSMA 11345 |
| Chief, EE COS, Germany | | 74-124-2173 |
| FROM | Chief of Base, Frankfurt | DATE 13 February 1961 |
| SUBJECT | REDWOOD [] Peddlery of Stepan Bandera Letters | RE [] - CHECK [] ONE |
| | | MARKED FOR INDEXING |
| ACTION REQUIRED | FYI [] | X NO INDEXING REQUIRED |
| | | INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ DESK ONLY |

REFERENCE(S)

1. Attached herewith are copies of a cover letter and a sample of a Stepan Bandera letter which was sent by an unidentified sender to the editor of []
2. The covering letter indicates that the sender is offering these letters to various newspapers on a first come first serve basis, but he makes it clear that he wants two to three hundred dollars for each letter.
3. Obviously [] will have no part with this scheme, but Headquarters or the Canadians may be interested in determining the identity of this peddler who gives his banking address as:

Account number 7217
Bank of Montreal
173-175 Yonge Street
Toronto, Canada.

APPROVED []

ATTACHMENT: H/W

DISTRIBUTION
~~2-EE w/att~~
 1-EE w/o/att
 2-COS w/o/att

Copy filed 74-124-2173

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SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

2 Encls

... в Україні, що виступає як...
... революційно-визвольного руху. Між ін. це була одна з елітарних,
... конфлікт, таких осіб як Н. доктор Г. і Вредона. Вона, виступаючи,
... високи політичні репрезентанти УГВР, особисто звернуть за якимсь
... директору на підприємстві. В цілому, багатьох осіб з ЗН також про-
... виста різниці між елементами, з однією стороною характеру. Під тям огля-
... ЗН стоїть в тій самій ролі, як і в інших випадках напередодні на-
... чельно-бolsheviznської візантійської системи, що не карту буду-
... ного воєнного промислу. ЗН, в свою чергу, дає даний розвиток
... мельніківської "оперативної" системи, яка використовує і використовує
... це дуже професійно, в тому числі, в тому числі, багато аналогів
... до годинної роботи, в тому числі, в тому числі, з амер. боку та-
... ки нема повільного, в тому числі, в тому числі, руху. ЗН УГВР,
... хоч діставо утримання, в тому числі, в тому числі, агент.
... контактів з ними і в тому числі, в тому числі, діяльно-
... сти, корисної для в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... діяльності стало в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... воєнному руху і в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... комуністичним рухом, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... який розвиває в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі.

Другий аспект, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... американської системи, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... в тім зв'язку, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... т. зв. рівень, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... мотивом, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... своїх руйнівних, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... собою для, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... 34 через, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... де за промислу, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... ли б' паразитичні, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... організація, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... було джерело, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... ви - це, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... який, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі.

В якому напрямку, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... з ліній групи, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... націоналістичної, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... промарксистської, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... но-визвольної, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... Інститут, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... суспільства, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... американської, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... могутності, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... зовнішньої, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... ного, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... плану, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... різниці, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... планів, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... Організації, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... не затримувати, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... ронах, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... ділової, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... Організації, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі, в тому числі,
... сили.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3 24 August 1961
ATTENTION : []
FROM : AC/EE/2
SUBJECT : Assassination of Stefan BANDERA

1. [] in a letter dated November 1959, reported as follows on the death of BANDERA:

"It is certain that the Ukrainian leader BANDERA was liquidated by the KGB. For 15 years the KGB and Department II (CE) of the UB have possessed powerful agents who sit in the Ukrainian national movement. Violent CE games were run above all on the territory of Poland and the Western Ukraine which cost your intelligence service, as well as the British, very much. The KGB from Moscow and Kiev has had its sights on BANDERA for years. They wanted to wait for the right moment, however, in order to bump him off. It has happened. This operation was directed by the KGB through Berlin-Karlshorst. It was directed by a good "friend" of Herz LIBERMANN, Col. "BIBROCCO" (this is a cover name). In addition this action was also supported by KGB channels from Prague. The technique of the operation was very simple. A KGB agent who stood very close to BANDERA alerted him that an interesting personality, who is of interest to the American IS, had defected from Soviet Russia. BANDERA went to a meeting which had been organized with this "personality" in an unknown restaurant in Munich. He had a discussion with the "defector," who was an officer of the KGB. This short discussion sufficed to squirt a drop of poison in the coffee cup, which proved fatal only after 10-15 hours. BANDERA saw this man for the first and simultaneously last time in his life. He was dead the next day. It was not cyanide, but a special poison which had been prepared by the KGB for "special purposes." Now the American IS office in Regensburg, which was upset by this, can chase the wind for a long time, when one notes that the KGB, through an agent sitting in this office, has played false clues into the investigation. This investigation is being checked on most thoroughly by the KGB. The liquidation of BANDERA took place at the right moment

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for the KGB. This is because an extremely important KGB agent will be "promoted upstairs" in the BANDERA movement or even will take over the position of BANDERA.

2. The above information was transmitted to COS/G in January 1960 for possible follow-up on the SIC Regensburg angle. There the matter died.

3. [] has not been queried in detail about this matter since [] action. You may wish to take up the subject during [] session with []

[]
AC/EE/P

WWP:vap

SECRET

A-165 DEPARTMENT

Oct. 18, 1961

SECRET

plans to keep case alive, since Nebes Dentschland account of press conference contained statement by Lt. Col. Kehl of Ministry of State Security that there would shortly be further disclosures regarding connections between Gehlen espionage service and other espionage organizations in West Berlin.

Since West German judicial investigation of Bandera's murder has not been completed, it is also possible that East German press conference may have been staged in order to put on record a documented East German version of circumstances of Bandera's murder. In this fashion East Germans might hope to minimize impact of possible later disclosures in West substantiating western press speculation about direct East German/Soviet responsibility for Bandera's murder.

LTC:MEP

AMH: TADonovan, Chief, EAM

AMH: TADonovan:bjf

SECRET

Der Spiegel
19. April 1961
Berlin

Die Sowjetunion hat die Ermordung von Banderas Bruder durch einen ukrainischen Agenten bestätigt. Der Mann, der die Tat beging, sei ein ukrainischer Agent gewesen, der in der Ukraine geboren wurde und in der Sowjetunion lebte. Er habe sich für die Ermordung von Banderas Bruder angeboten, um die Freilassung von Banderas Mutter zu erreichen. Die Ermordung wurde im August 1951 durchgeführt.



Ukrainischer Agent, der die Ermordung von Banderas Bruder beging.

Die Ermordung von Banderas Bruder wurde im August 1951 durchgeführt. Der Mann, der die Tat beging, sei ein ukrainischer Agent gewesen, der in der Ukraine geboren wurde und in der Sowjetunion lebte. Er habe sich für die Ermordung von Banderas Bruder angeboten, um die Freilassung von Banderas Mutter zu erreichen. Die Ermordung wurde im August 1951 durchgeführt.

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UNIVERSAL
GENEVE

POLENOUER DATE

geschaffen für die "Wide World"-Kollektion, hergestellt in begrenzter Stückzahl.

verfügt über das, was der Mann der Welt sein darf: ein gutes Design, die genaue Zeit, ein genaues Datum - auf einen Blick.



Abules Band automatisch wasserdicht, stoßempfindlich, antimagnetisch, tiefen- und hochdrucktauglich, Eisenlos.

WIEDER VERKAUF UND KUNDENSERVICE
Jeweils in den Filialen der Universal-Watch Co. S.A. in Genève, London, New York, Paris, Rom, Tokio, Zürich.



Staschynski

er Ehefrau in der St. Pauli Kirche in Weiden zu bekommen. Der amerikanische Oberstaatsanwalt Bandera, Mitglied der des Jahres davor nachschlechte amerikanische Exilpolitiker Leo Rosen, schickte ihn in München. Amerikaner, waren... Selbstbeziehung... Änderungsfähigkeit... Stellen weitergehend...



Staschynski

Die beiden Mörder von Staschynski überlebten nicht. Der jüngere Hauptbeschuldigter war ein Instruktor und Kübler der Agenten in Westfalen, zu besuchen hatte. Die Zentrale, die der westlichen Stellen nach Staschynskis Aussagen möglich wurden, bestätigen, daß auch die Erzählungen des Überläufers über seine Hauptarbeit Minus-talle erfunden sind.

Staschynski, im ukrainischen Dorf Borschuschewitz zu Hause war Ende 1939 als Student gemeinsam mit Kommilitonen wegen Schwarzfahrens auf der Sowjet-Eisenbahn festgenommen worden. Sein Vater und seine Schwester kamen den Behörden als sowjetfeindliche Elemente bekannt, freilich ohne deswegen belangt worden zu sein.

Der junge Mann wurde vor die Wahl gestellt, sich entweder wegen Fahrgeldhinterziehung und vorwiegend noch wegen Nichtanmelden von Reiseunterlagen zu verantworten, oder aber... 1941... 1942...

Bandera habe sich nicht zu ihm niedergelassen. In diesem Augenblick habelte er aus seiner Spiritusflasche die rechte Hand unter seine Zeitung verborgen hatte, das Gift in Bandera's Hände schob, mit der linken Hand eine Pflanze mit Gasegift in einem Taschentuch verdrückte, es sich selbst unter die Nase gehalten und sich dann ruhig weiterzusetzen, ohne abzusagen, ob Bandera Wirkung zeigte.

Seine Frau, die mit diesem Opfer kurz vor der Trennung von ihm weggegangen ist, habe nach dem Mord nicht von ihm gesehen haben. Feld zwei Jahre nach der Tat bestätigte die Frau, damals einen häßlichen aussehenden jungen Mann begegnet zu sein, ein Umkleid, der die 1939 nicht angegeben hatte, als sie nach verdächtigen Personen befragt worden war.

Die beiden Mörder von Staschynski überlebten nicht. Der jüngere Hauptbeschuldigter war ein Instruktor und Kübler der Agenten in Westfalen, zu besuchen hatte. Die Zentrale, die der westlichen Stellen nach Staschynskis Aussagen möglich wurden, bestätigen, daß auch die Erzählungen des Überläufers über seine Hauptarbeit Minus-talle erfunden sind.

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geschaffen für die "Wide World" Kollektion, hervorsticht in besonderer Stückzahl.

Wird bei all das, was der Mann von heute von einer guten Uhr verlangt: die genaue Zeit, das genaue Datum - auf einen Blick.



Asalus Band, automatische Wasseruhr, Musikkörper, ultrapräzise, Lieferbar in Gold, Goldmasse und Eisen.

WEITWEITER VERKAUF UND KUNDENSERVICE

20. Juni 1961

Bandera kämpfte für die Freiheit der Ukraine

Sticht der Tod des rassistischen Emigrantenführers vor der Aufklärung?

Von Alfred Hebeck (München)

Frankfurter Rundschau, 20. Juni 1961

Im Jahre 1941, nach dem Einmarsch der Wehrmacht in die Ukraine, wurde Stepan Bandera, ein ukrainischer Nationalist, in die Ukraine geschickt. Er wurde von den Deutschen als Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung eingesetzt. Bandera wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet.

Zeit ein Herzinfarkt als Todesursache festgestellt werden war. Wir danken für die „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ die Bandera ein nennlich unbeschriebenes Blatt, es war für die recht bewegte Lebensgeschichte dieses Bandera sehr wohl bekannt. Er war kein Fremder, außer den ukrainischen Emigranten, wie sie in Tausenden der bayerischen Landesschule besuchten, bevor sie in den 1920er Jahren in die ukrainische Nationalbewegung eintraten.



Bandera wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet.

die von Bandera am 30. Juni 1941 in Proklamations „Ukrainische Nationalbewegung“ 1941 betriebe Verbindung durch die „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ in der im Rahmen der „Ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“.

Was Bandera im Jahre 1941 in der Ukraine machte, ist ein sehr wichtiges Thema. Bandera wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet.

Das Haupt der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung ist die ukrainische Nationalbewegung. Bandera wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet. Er wurde von den Deutschen als „Führer der ukrainischen Nationalbewegung“ bezeichnet.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
October 17, 1969

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

United Nations Personnel -
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics

On October 16, 1969, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on October 18, 1969, the Ukrainian National Memorial Committee is sponsoring a demonstration commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Banderia, a founding father of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations by the Russian secret police.

The source indicated that a memorial service will be held on October 18, 1969, at 12:30 PM, at the Central Park Band Mall and after the services, there will be a parade to the Soviet United Nations Mission at 67th Street and Third Avenue, New York City, where a protest rally and demonstration will be held.

The source further stated that many anti-Communist emigre groups have been invited to participate and have accepted, among whom is the Hrvatski Domobran (Croatian Liberation Movement). The source stated that approximately 2,000 persons are expected to participate in the protest rally and demonstration.

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GROUP I

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DBG 65028

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FOR COORDINATION WITH

FBI



The RCMP Liaison Office,
2450 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20008

YOUR No. _____
VOTRE N° _____

EX-7720

OUR No. 74WLO-2S-83
NOTRE N° _____

9 December, 1974

SECRET

[]
C.I.A.,
Washington, D.C.

Re: ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE
SOVIET UNION IN CANADA

Dear []

During the past several months there have been numerous anti-Soviet demonstrations in Canada in protest of the Soviet government's persistent attitude regarding Valentin MOROZ, who is on a hunger strike in a Soviet jail.

Recently the Soviet Embassy provided information to our Department of External Affairs indicating that one Steven BANDERA is planning a violent act - possibly the kidnapping of a Soviet diplomat in Canada. BANDERA heads the Committee for the Defence of Valentin MOROZ in Canada. He is the son of Stefan BANDERA, Ukrainian emigre leader, who was assassinated by the KGB in 1959. According to the Soviets, BANDERA is being funded and instructed by a "Ukrainian extremist group in Munich" which is headed by an individual named STETSKO.

My Headquarters would appreciate any information you are in a position to provide concerning STETSKO's group. We are speculating that his organization is either the German wing of the Committee for the Release of Valentin MOROZ or the Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems (U.S.S.A.P.) which is located in Munich.

Yours truly,

[]
Assistant to Liaison Officer

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DATE 2006

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[]
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4 Dec 74

SECRET

22 April 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Assassination of Stefan Bandera

1. This memorandum has been written in an attempt to determine whether there is sufficient information to support KGB agent Bogdan Nikolayevich Stashinskiy's claim that he assassinated Ukrainian emigre leader Stefan Bandera in Munich in October 1959. German authorities convicted him of the crime in 1962 and sentenced him to eight years' hard labor.

2. This memorandum also attempts to point out contradictions between his story and the numerous versions and rumors circulating at the time.

3. Information on Stashinskiy's claim that he also assassinated another emigre leader, Lev Rebet, in 1957 is included only insofar as it affects the establishment of Stashinskiy's bona fides.

4. On 15 October 1959 Stefan Bandera (aka Stefan Popel), Ukrainian Chief of the Foreign Section of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Zch/OUN), was assassinated in Munich. Results of the autopsy on Bandera's body showed traces of potassium cyanide poisoning, but it was never established that the cyanide was the cause of death. The autopsy also produced a fragment of gelatinous material which the examining doctors thought might have been the remains of a capsule. There was no proof, however, that the capsule originally contained poison. According to those close to him, Bandera had been taking various pills for a cold. When Bandera was found, he was lying on his face in the hallway of his apartment building, with his left arm doubled under him and his left hand clutching at his right shoulder. Questioning of Bandera's associates revealed that Bandera was left-handed and that he carried a pistol in a shoulder holster on his right side.

5. On 12 August 1961 Bogdan Nikolayevich Stashinskiy (aka Josef Lehmann, Siegfried Draeger, Hans Joachim Budeit), Ukrainian, born 4 November 1931, in Borshhevitsy, USSR (then in Poland), defected with his wife from East Berlin to West Berlin and told American authorities that, under orders from the KGB, he had assassinated Bandera, as well as Lev Rebet, a leading Ukrainian emigre who had died in 1957 apparently of a heart attack. Stashinskiy, a KGB non-staff agent

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employee since 1951, said that in both assassinations he had used a weapon which fired a poisonous liquid into the victim's face. This liquid gave off vapors which were fatal when inhaled by the victim but which left no trace. He said the weapon used against Rebet had a single barrel, whereas the weapon used against Bandera was double-barrelled.

6. After the initial Agency interrogation of Stashinskiy in Frankfurt/Main in August 1961, the conclusion was drawn that he would not be valuable operationally as a double agent, that he was not a bona fide defector and not the individual he purported to be. Because the assassinations had occurred on German soil, Stashinskiy, on 1 September 1961, was turned over to German authorities, who charged him with espionage activities and viewed his accounts of the assassinations with skepticism. The report of the interrogation of Stashinskiy by the German Criminal Inspector, the Chief Police Commissioner, and Security Group officials on 12 September 1961 stated that Stashinskiy's quiet, sure and precise statements with regard to events preceding the assassination, the lapse of time, and the description of the localities and the execution of the deeds led to the general conviction that Stashinskiy could, in fact, be the murderer of Rebet and Bandera. The German police investigation preceding Stashinskiy's public trial at Karlsruhe in October 1962 also unearthed documents and witnesses to corroborate most of Stashinskiy's story. Stashinskiy was convicted and sentenced to eight years' hard labor.

Stashinskiy's Account of the Bandera Assassination

7. In early 1959, after he had successfully assassinated Lev Rebet (12 October 1957) by firing a poisonous liquid into his face as Rebet ascended the stairs to his office in Munich, Stashinskiy was informed that Moscow had assigned him the task of assassinating Stefan Bandera as well. Stashinskiy made several trips to Munich from East Berlin/Karlshorst during which he located Bandera's residence and tried to determine a pattern of Bandera's activities and movements.

8. During one of these trips Stashinskiy attempted to gain access to the front door of the building in which Bandera had an apartment on the third floor. In this attempt he used a key bow, stem and collar, plus five different bits, which the KGB had provided him. None of the different bits fitted the lock and, when Stashinskiy tried to use force, one of the bits broke off and dropped into the lock housing in the door. When Stashinskiy then tried to use the aluminum key of his own room in East Berlin in the lock, this bit also broke off and dropped into the lock housing. Stashinskiy still decided

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to assassinate Bandera during this trip but changed his mind when Bandera caught a glimpse of him when he was still some distance away. Stashinskiy said he felt that Bandera would be prepared to take evasive action; he therefore did not carry out the assassination. Acting upon instructions from Moscow, Stashinskiy then went to the canal near the Hofgarten in Munich, fired both barrels of his weapon into the air, and threw the weapon into the canal in the same general area where he had discarded the Rebet murder weapon.

9. In June 1959 Stashinskiy again flew to Munich, armed with four keys which the KGB had made according to Stashinskiy's specifications. Although all of the keys partially moved the bolt, none of the keys unlocked the door completely. Stashinskiy therefore purchased various files from Woolworth's and filed down the keys where he noted pressure ridges. On his next visit to the Bandera apartment building, one of the four keys opened the front door. Stashinskiy entered the building and located Bandera's apartment. He noted that the name "Popel," the alias Bandera was using, was written on a piece of paper and attached to the door with Scotch tape. Stashinskiy then returned to East Berlin to await the arrival of the weapon from Moscow.

10. By 14 October 1959 the weapon had arrived and Bandera had returned from an extended vacation in Italy, so Stashinskiy proceeded to Munich by air armed with the weapon, the gauze compresses and yellow tablets which were to protect him from the poison fumes, as well as documentation in the name of Hans Joachim Budeit. In Munich he stayed at a new hotel located on Senefelder Street.

11. The following day, 15 October 1959, Stashinskiy took the yellow protective pill and went to the Ludwig bridge near the German Museum to observe the Ukrainian emigre office on Zeppelin Street. He noted that Bandera's car was parked near this office. At circa 1130 hours he saw a man and a woman come out of the office, get into Bandera's car and drive in the direction of the Marienhilf Square. He was not close enough to identify the individuals but decided the man must be Bandera. He then took a streetcar to the area of Bandera's residence at 7 Kreittmayer Street and took a position on Massmann Square. At circa 1300 hours Bandera drove past Massmann Square in the direction of his residence. Stashinskiy noted that Bandera, who was usually accompanied by a bodyguard, was alone in the car.

12. After Stashinskiy saw Bandera drive into the driveway to the garage, Stashinskiy, using the key he had prepared, entered the apartment building and walked up the stairs between the ground and second floor stair landing to wait for

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Bandera. Stashinskiy then heard the voices of two women taking leave of each other on the second or third floor and could hear that the departing woman was using the stairs instead of the elevator. In order to avoid suspicion by loitering on the stairs between the landings, he walked down the stairs and began to play with the elevator button. The woman walked past behind him and out of the building. As soon as she disappeared, Stashinskiy turned to move back up the stairs.

13. Almost as soon as he began to move, Stashinskiy heard a noise at the front door and saw Bandera entering the door with the aid of a key, which was on a key ring together with other keys. He was carrying several packages of vegetables and fruit in his right hand and was trying to extricate the key from the door with his left hand. Bandera had also spotted Stashinskiy, so Stashinskiy saw that he could wait no longer and moved in the direction of the front door. He held the murder weapon, concealed in a newspaper, in his right hand, the safety released. As he walked past Bandera, who was still trying to extricate his key from the lock, Stashinskiy took the door handle with his left hand, as if to assist Bandera, and asked him, "Doesn't it work?". By this time Bandera had succeeded in pulling his key out of the lock and as he answered, "Yes, it works.", Stashinskiy fired both barrels of the murder weapon simultaneously into Bandera's face at almost pointblank range. When Stashinskiy saw Bandera lurch rearwards and to the side, he walked out of the apartment building and closed the front door. Although he did not wait to see Bandera drop to the ground, Stashinskiy said he was certain that Bandera did not scream or otherwise call for help.

14. Stashinskiy then crushed the antidote vial in the gauze compress and inhaled the vapors, after which he took a circuitous route to the canal, discarding the key en route, and threw the murder weapon into the canal at almost the identical spot where he had discarded the Rebet weapon. He then checked out of his hotel and took the next train to Frankfurt/Main. On the following day he flew to Berlin. En route he read about Bandera's death which had already been reported in the newspapers.

15. On 4 or 5 December 1959 Stashinskiy was awarded the "Order of the Red Banner" by KGB Chief Aleksandr Shelepin in Moscow for the Bandera assassination.

Evidence Supporting Stashinskiy's Story

16. Although the German police were skeptical about Stashinskiy's story, the following information supported

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Stashinskiy's account of the assassination.

a. The German police found bits of two keys in the housing of the front door of the Bandera apartment house.

b. The police located the woman who had passed behind Stashinskiy while he faced the elevator in the Bandera apartment building. She was a maid who had been employed by a German couple in the building. She remembered the night in question and recalled seeing a man waiting for the elevator, but since she had only seen his back, she could not identify him. According to the police records, she had made the same statement on 17 November 1959 when questioned about her observations after Bandera's death.

c. The guest register of the Hotel Salzburg on 1 Senefelder Street contained an entry that a Hans Budeit had rented Room No. 32 from 14-16 October 1959. The registration slips at the Hotel Stachus, where Stashinskiy said he stayed during the Rebet assassination, showed that a Draeger had occupied Room 303 from 9-12 October 1957. Stashinskiy said he had used documentation in the name of Siegfried Draeger during this period.

d. Flight manifests showed that on 13 October 1957 a Draeger flew to Berlin from Frankfurt.

e. The police confirmed through Zch/OUN employee Yevgeniya Matviyeyko-Mak that Bandera had driven home alone on the day of the assassination. Yevgeniya Matviyeyko-Mak said that at 1130 hours she had accompanied Bandera to the market to buy some fruit. When they returned to the office at 67 Zeppelin Street about 1230 hours, she had asked Bandera to wait while she called a guard to escort him to his home. She said he replied that, by the time the guard came down, he would be home, and he drove off. Forty minutes later he was dead. The residents of his apartment house, including Bandera's wife, confirmed his arrival at his home around 1300 hours.

f. Stashinskiy was able to identify Bandera and Rebet without hesitation from 50 photographs. The police commented that certain individuals in the photo collection resembled the victims.

g. During a reconstruction of the Bandera and Rebet assassinations carried out by the Munich police

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with Stashinskiy on 22 September 1961, Stashinskiy showed a very good knowledge of Munich and of the area of Bandera's residence, as well as the route to the Hofgarten and the canal in which he said he had disposed of the murder weapons.

h. During the police interrogation of Stashinskiy, he said that circa 1130 hours on 13 October 1957, after his attack on Rebet, he saw a radio patrol car near Rebet's office in Karl Square. The police confirmed that a patrol car had been parked in that area at the time specified.

i. According to the account of the Bandera assassination in the book KGB The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents by John Barron, German authorities detected flakes of glass on Bandera's face from the crushed poison ampule. There was no mention of this in the police reports in the Stashinskiy and/or Bandera files.

j. Yuriy Nosenko, a KGB official who defected in early 1964, confirmed that Stashinskiy had assassinated Bandera. Nosenko's comments also supported some of Stashinskiy's statements of the events leading to his defection. Nosenko said that Stashinskiy was an agent, not a staffer, and that he returned to Moscow after having successfully completed two assassinations. He was personally met by Shelepin and received a decoration--either the Order of the Red Star or the Order of the Military Red Banner--for killing Bandera. Stashinskiy was given an apartment but soon began to detect that he was being surveilled. He also found a mike behind the baseboard in his apartment. Nosenko said Stashinskiy also knew that in Beriya's time assassins were caused to disappear so there would be no danger of compromise. He therefore thought the KGB was planning to liquidate him and he decided to defect. (According to Stashinskiy, he had become disillusioned with the Soviet Union prior to finding the microphones. He said this discovery only confirmed that his decision to defect was right.) When Stashinskiy received a letter from his German wife that their child had died, he requested and received permission to go to East Berlin for the funeral. His case officer, Yuriy Aleksandrov, was ordered to accompany him and to stay with him. In East Berlin Stashinskiy was also surveilled by East Berlin staffers. However, one night Aleksandrov ran into some friends and left Stashinskiy, who took the opportunity and fled to West Berlin, taking his

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wife with him. Nosenko said that, for this error, Aleksandrov was expelled from the KGB and from the Party. Nosenko said he knew of no measures or letters by the Central Committee regarding Stashinskiy's defection, nor did he know of any countermeasures taken in the various departments of the KGB.

Contradictions

17. Autopsies performed on 17 and 18 October 1959 showed potassium cyanide in Bandera's stomach, although it appears that the autopsies were not complete enough to determine whether Bandera had received a lethal dose. Stashinskiy said that, when he heard that the German police had found poison in Bandera's body, he doubted this and asked that inquiries be made in the KGB laboratory. Several days later he was told that the liquid in the weapon he had used contained no provable poisons, neither potassium cyanide nor any other common poison. He said he did not feel there was any reason for the KGB to deceive him, particularly since he would have had to employ altogether different protective measures and antidotes if cyanide had been used. He also claimed that his KGB handler in Karlshorst had indicated his pleasure upon learning that the police suspected potassium cyanide since this indicated that the police were off the track. Stashinskiy said he later heard through his handler that rumors were extant in emigre circles to the effect that Bandera had eaten or snacked at the Zeppelin Street office just before returning home.

18. According to the police, Bandera was found lying on his face. Stashinskiy said that, according to a built-in feature of the weapon, he should have fallen backwards or sideways.

19. Stashinskiy said that Bandera was carrying several packages or bags of vegetables and fruit, and he specified red tomatoes. According to the police investigation, Bandera was carrying a chip basket full of green tomatoes, on top of which, wrapped in a piece of newspaper, was some cabbage. When he was questioned about this discrepancy, Stashinskiy said that he had seen something red and assumed it was tomatoes. He pointed out that by that time he was so excited that he was not in a position to observe exact details of the course of events. In this connection, Yevgeniya Matviyeyko-Mak said that Bandera had purchased grapes, plums and green tomatoes at the market. As was his custom, he tasted everything but the tomatoes.

20. Stashinskiy maintained that when Bandera arrived at his residence on 15 October he parked his car inside the

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garage. The police said that, according to consistent witness reports, Bandera had parked his car in the court in front of the garage. When confronted with this, Stashinskiy said that his impression was that the car stood in the open garage. He said he only hastily glanced out of the corner of his eye at the entrance to the court when passing by. He therefore was not certain whether the car actually stood in the garage or was still in the court.

21. Stashinskiy said he was sure that Bandera had not screamed. According to the police reports, witnesses variously reported hearing a scream, sounds of a heavy body falling down the stairs, or a scuffle. According to the "Ukrainian Weekly," Bandera's wife heard the scream of a 10-year-old German boy who lived in the building and who found the body. When she ran into the corridor, she saw her husband lying on the steps of the first floor, blood running from his mouth, nose and ears. He was taken to the hospital but died in the ambulance en route. According to another report, Bandera's wife said she saw Bandera approach the apartment building and waited for him to reach the apartment. When he did not appear, she called his office and learned that he had been taken to the hospital.

22. The press reported that Bandera's wife said Bandera had rung the bell to their apartment and she had pushed the buzzer to open the front door. Stashinskiy said he did not know whether Bandera had rung his apartment bell, but he was sure there was no buzz to open the door because Bandera was using his key.

23. In September 1961 the canal was drained and searched but the murder weapons were not recovered. German officials stated that the canal is cleaned annually.

24. In the Agency debriefings Stashinskiy said he had assassinated Rebet in the fall of 1958 (Rebet was found dead in October 1957). In later German police reports, Stashinskiy confirmed that he had assassinated Rebet in October 1957. Stashinskiy also said that he murdered Rebet on the stairs to the second floor. When the police told him that Rebet was found on the landing of the third floor and asked Stashinskiy if he were still sure that the assassination had taken place on the stairs to the second floor, Stashinskiy said he was.

25. Although Stashinskiy told Agency interrogators he did not carry out the first assassination attempt against Bandera because he feared that Bandera would take evasive action, he later told the German police that he did not carry out the assassination because he felt certain inhibitions when he caught sight of Bandera and an inner voice told him

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not to assassinate him. Stashinskiy told Agency officials that, at the time he came to the West, he did not feel his past actions were criminal. They were patriotic acts committed in the name of the state. He said he now realized that the German law took a different view. He said that although he did not want to go to jail he would have to suffer the consequences.

26. Flight manifests did not show anyone traveling from Frankfurt to Berlin on 16 October 1959 under the name of Budeit, Stashinskiy, Draeger, or other alias Stashinskiy said he had used in the past.

Allegations and Theories

27. On 14 October 1961, after Stashinskiy's defection but before his confession of the crimes was made public, the East German press reported that Stefan Liebholz, Ukrainian, told journalists in a press conference that he had been recruited by the West German Intelligence Service (BND) near the end of World War II and that his first assignment for the BND was to organize the poisoning of Bandera. He said Bandera was to be liquidated because he had been working for British intelligence and refused to transfer his network to the BND. Liebholz said he had been unable to carry out the murder and the task had been given to another agent, Dmitriy Miskiv, a member of Bandera's group. Liebholz said Miskiv was subsequently murdered by the BND.

28. The Bandera organization was convinced that the article was a fabrication. It was well known in the Ukrainian community that Miskiv was in Italy at the time of Bandera's death, and the Munich investigation of Miskiv's death concluded that he died of a cerebral hemorrhage induced by over-indulgence in liquor and women.

29. The Agency also knew from Stefan Liebholz, a KGB agent since 1929, that in early 1957 he had been given the assignment, by the KGB, of poisoning Bandera, using a poison which could not be detected and which could be administered considerably in advance of Bandera's death. Agency officials believed that the Soviets learned in advance that the West Germans planned a press release about Stashinskiy, and that this advance warning came from a Soviet penetration of the BND who had been arrested and was undergoing interrogation (presumably a reference to Heinz Felfe). This enabled the Soviets and East German authorities to produce Stefan Liebholz, who fabricated the story that the BND had executed the Bandera murder.

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30. Five theories for Bandera's assassination were investigated by the German police and by M. Khorzhan, an emigre, who arrived in Munich from Paris almost a month after Bandera's death at the invitation of Ivan Kashuba, chief of Bandera's security service (SB), for the purpose of privately investigating the assassination.

a. The Communist press claimed from the beginning that Bandera was poisoned by the BND at the request of the Minister of Refugee Affairs, Professor Dr. Theodore Oberlaender, because Bandera knew too much about Oberlaender's participation in the Lvov murders of Polish intelligentsia in June 1941. Although the German police, Khorzhan, and Bandera's emigre organization rejected this theory, they noted that two German intelligence men, one of whom was Heinz Herre, had met and had had dinner with Bandera and two of his colleagues, Yaroslav Bentsal and Dr. Gregory Vashkovich, on 14 October 1959 in the Bayerischer Hof in Munich. The group had discussed Zch/OUN cooperation with German intelligence, financial subsidy by the Germans, and the continuation of Zch/OUN relations with the Homeland. German criminologists discounted any possibility for the cyanide poisoning of Bandera during the dinner, either by the German participants or by any of the hotel waiters or kitchen help. They also believed that a cyanide capsule would have become effective much sooner than in 24 hours.

b. Bandera was poisoned by the Communists because he maintained contacts with the Ukraine and led the liberation struggle in the Ukraine until his very end. This story had two angles:

(1) The potassium cyanide was forced on Bandera in the elevator in the building where he lived.

(a) Members of Bandera's group said there were two men who got out of the elevator in Bandera's apartment building just about the time of Bandera's death and ran away. After questioning residents of the apartment building and neighbors, however, the police said no evidence was found that two men left the premises at that time, and the police found no signs of violence on Bandera's body.

(2) The cyanide was given to Bandera by a close associate who was a KGB agent.

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(a) This theory was denied by the Banderaites but was thoroughly investigated by the German police and by Khorzhan. Of the five Zch/OUN employees who were known to have had contact with Bandera the morning of 15 October, the one considered most likely was Yevgenia Matviyeyko-Mak, who was the last person known to have been with him before his death. Khorzhan's theory regarding Yevgenia Matviyeyko-Mak was that her husband, Myron Matviyeyko, former SB chief on assignment in the Ukraine, had been in KGB hands for some time. He theorized that since the KGB had been playing with the Zch/OUN for years, they now desired to destroy Bandera with Matviyeyko's and Yevgenia's help. KGB couriers got in touch with her and instructed her on how to do it; in exchange, Matviyeyko would live. Although Khorzhan felt that Yevgenia Matviyeyko-Mak was "capable of anything," he said that neither he nor the police believed that she had fed Bandera the poison.

(b) The other Zch/OUN individual of interest was Yaroslav Bentsal, who maintained liaison between the Zch/OUN and the Germans and who organized the 14 October meeting with the BND. Bentsal had been in contact with a KGB official who tried to get him to return to Lvov, where Bentsal at one time was director of the Lvov theaters under the Communists. According to Khorzhan, this position meant that the Communists trusted him. Bentsal's wife was a pharmacist who worked in a German apothecary where she had access to potassium cyanide. Khorzhan said he had excluded Bentsal from the very beginning "for some reason."

(c) According to a [] source, some of the KGB's sources were very close to Bandera, and one source worked for some time in the SB. This individual came under suspicion by the SB several times. This [] source also said that Bandera's assassination was handled by KGB Department 9, which contained a section dealing with Ukrainian nationalists, and that the section chief received an award for the assassination. He said it may have been a joint operation with Department 13, or with the Illegals Department.

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c. Bandera was poisoned by Myron Matviyeyko, who supposedly had been in Germany for six weeks prior to the assassination and with whom Bandera was reported to have secretly met.

(1) Khorzhan said that there was nothing to justify this version, that it was pure speculation.

(2) According to unsigned "random notes" in the Bandera file, an Agency source (PDCASSOWARY/2) mentioned that an unknown visitor from the Soviet Bloc had visited Bandera (no time period given), and that an Agency official had an intelligence report which stated that a KGB officer was visiting Bandera in Munich.

(3) The police were not able to explain what Bandera did for the 40 minutes between the time he dropped Yevgenia Matviyeyko-Mak at the Zeppelin Street office and the time he arrived home. If he had driven directly home, he would have been there within 20 minutes. Khorzhan said there was some evidence that Bandera either returned to the market or stopped at some store. Yevgenia had stated that she did not see Bandera buy dill for pickling the tomatoes; however, after he died, five sprigs of dill were found in the basket. At Khorzhan's request, the SB drove Bandera's car from Zeppelin Street to the market where dill was sold, lingered there for several minutes and drove on to Bandera's home. The entire trip took 20 minutes, leaving 10-20 minutes still unaccounted for.

(4) According to an Agency source [] Bandera received an anonymous letter threatening death about a month prior to his assassination. For this reason and normal security reasons, he was under constant SB protection. However, for unknown reasons Bandera drove home for lunch alone on 15 October. Bandera was also reported to have begun to avoid his guards.

d. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by his former associate and strong political opponent Mykola Lebed.

(1) Khorzhan was unable to determine the source of this theory, but he considered that it was possible that the Soviets had taken advantage of the situation to instigate political mistrust and misunderstandings among the Ukrainian nationalist emigre groups and to prevent these groups from unifying in their reactions

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to the theory that Bandera was liquidated by the "Moscow-Communist enemy."

(2) Khorzhan said the majority of the BND informants was of the opinion that this theory was typical provocation devoid of any sense whatsoever. They felt that it originated with Soviet groups of blind Ukrainian party followers.

e. Bandera committed suicide by taking cyanide.

(1) Khorzhan favored this theory and gave as the motive Bandera's "unbearable marital situation," especially as a result of his association with other women. SB chief Kashuba had told Khorzhan that Bandera was in love with a young German maid of a family who lived in the same apartment building as Bandera. Kashuba also said that on the morning of 15 October Bandera's wife had quarreled bitterly with him over this girl. (Khorzhan cited other evidence of Bandera's unbearable home life.) Kashuba claimed that Bandera had died in front of the door of the family for which this maid worked. Khorzhan also claimed that Bandera's wife at first said that Bandera always carried cyanide on his person. She later said she could not verify this fact, and Khorzhan said it was evident that the Zch/OUN had forbidden her to talk. The police found no cyanide either on Bandera's person or in his house.

(2) Unsigned "random notes" in the Bandera file commented that SB chief Kashuba was tied operationally to Myron Matviyeyko and it was possible that Kashuba was spreading the suicide-lovesickness version in order to cover KGB complicity.

(3) Khorzhan stated that Verioivka's Ukrainian nationalist chorus was in Munich at the time of Bandera's death and that Soviet diplomats from Bonn were present. He claimed that therefore this was a good time for Bandera to commit suicide and place the blame on the Soviets. Khorzhan said Bandera knew that nobody would suspect that he might take his own life. For this reason, Khorzhan claimed, Bandera began to avoid his bodyguards.

(4) The German Criminal Police Commission was also convinced at first that Bandera had committed suicide but eventually came to the conclusion that it was not in Bandera's character. The commission

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also was not certain that there was a sufficient quantity of poison in Bandera's body to have caused death.

31. In addition to the five theories outlined by Khorzhan and the police, the BND considered the possibility of a "combination poisoning" in which a lethal but hard to trace poison was first administered and, not until later, a non-lethal amount of easily traceable potassium cyanide, the purpose being to cast suspicion on the wrong person.

32. In early 1960 Agency source Michal Goleniewski furnished the following information on Bandera's death: Bandera was liquidated by the KGB, who had had its sights on Bandera for years and who was waiting for the right moment to assassinate him. The source said the operation was directed by the KGB through Berlin-Karlshorst and was supported by KGB channels from Prague. According to this source, a KGB agent who was very close to Bandera alerted him that an interesting personality, who was of interest to US intelligence services, had defected from the USSR. Bandera met with this "personality" in an unknown restaurant in Munich and, during a short discussion with this "defector," who was a KGB officer, a drop of poison was squirted into Bandera's coffee cup. According to the source, the poison was not cyanide but a special poison prepared by the KGB for "special purposes," and this poison proved fatal only after 10-15 hours. The source said this was the only time Bandera ever saw this man; Bandera was dead the next day. According to the source, the KGB played false clues into the investigation through an agent sitting in the American intelligence office in Regensburg.

33. It is possible that Goleniewski may have confused some of the details of the Bandera assassination with the September 1957 alleged attempted poisoning of Captain Nikolay Khokhlov, a former KGB officer who defected in Frankfurt, Germany, in February 1954 rather than carry out his KGB assignment to assassinate Georgiy Sergeevich Okolovich, a leader of the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS).

a. On 15 September 1957, while participating in an NTS convention in Frankfurt, Khokhlov became ill and later collapsed. He was taken to a Frankfurt hospital where his condition was diagnosed as acute gastroenteritis. After several days he broke out in hemorrhagic skin lesions, his hair fell out, and his mouth and throat were so inflamed that he could not eat. The impression of the German hospital staff was that he probably had been poisoned and the poison may have been a thallium derivative of arsenic. When treatment was to no avail, he was transferred to the

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US 97th General Hospital in Frankfurt on 27 September in critical condition. Under special treatment his condition gradually improved, and he was discharged on 8 October 1957.

b. According to a press statement by the head of the US Army Hospital, the poison used was probably thallium and/or other chemical agents. A conclusive determination was not possible because no specimens of hair, skin, etc. from the early period of his illness were available for study. However, on 3 September 1965, a member of the Agency's Medical Staff, who was in Frankfurt in 1957 and personally handled Khokhlov's hospitalization for the Agency, said that the Army hospital found no evidence of poisoning by thallium or other chemical agent, and the press release issued by the commanding officer of the hospital was due to pressure exerted by the Agency to strengthen an Agency propaganda play of the incident.

c. In early 1964 Yuriy Nosenko told Agency officials that the KGB had poisoned Khokhlov by putting something in his coffee, and Nosenko added that "his hair even fell out."

d. In December 1961 Soviet defector Anatoliy Golitsyn said that a friend of his in Moscow had told him that the KGB had used a Soviet female translator in the UN to administer the poison to Khokhlov. Although it was never established that Khokhlov actually was poisoned, it was considered unlikely that the KGB or any other service would come as close to killing a man as Khokhlov claims in order to establish his bona fides in the West. The special, delayed-action poison mentioned by Goleniewski would appear to fit the Khokhlov case rather than the Bandera assassination.

34. Goleniewski also commented that Bandera's liquidation took place at the right moment for the KGB because an extremely important agent would be "promoted upstairs" in the Bandera movement or would even take over Bandera's position. The assassination also put the KGB in a position to ruin Oberlaender's reputation by alleging that he, because of fear, had killed this "dangerous witness."

a. Bandera's position was filled by Yaroslav Stetsko, leader of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), of which Bandera's organization technically was a member; however, according to the files, the ABN was actually controlled by the Bandera party. Stashinskiy said he was assigned in 1959 to establish a pattern of Stetsko's

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activities and he assumed that Stetsko was the next to be assassinated. His KGB handler told him, however, that Moscow would probably not approve an assassination of Stetsko because he was not that important.

Conclusion

35. There appears to be more evidence in the files to support Stashinskiy's claim that he assassinated Bandera than any other theory. However, the question of the alleged cyanide in Bandera's body remains unresolved. Even if Goleniewski's claim that a special poison was put into Bandera's coffee cup is accepted, this question still remains unresolved because Goleniewski specifically stated that the poison was not cyanide. It is also difficult to see what the KGB could have gained by Stashinskiy's confession. Stashinskiy himself served two-thirds of his eight years' sentence; he was released in 1967. He was given iron works training by German authorities and resettled under another name in another country.

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TOT: 282217Z JAN 83

DIRECTOR 454028

SECRET

STAFF 282217Z DIRECTOR 454028

TO: PRIORITY []

WNINTEL []

SUBJECT: ALEKSANDR NIKOLAYEVICH IVANOV

REFS: A. [] 37729 0362727
B. DIRECTOR 449519

1. WE APPRECIATE YOUR ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE TO THE OPS LEAD ON ALEKSANDR NIKOLAYEVICH ((IVANOV)). WE THINK YOUR PLANNING COVERS MOST VIABLE POSSIBILITIES AND WITH SOME LUCK CONTACT WITH SUBJ WILL BE ARRANGED. WE SUGGEST ASKING APPROPRIATE NVENGRAM COLLEAGUES WHETHER THEY BY CHANCE HAVE HAD ANY CONTACT WITH SUBJ.

2. RE YOUR REQUEST FOR BACKGROUND INFO ON STEPAN ((BANDERA)):

A. FOR BRIEF PERIODS OF HISTORY THE UKRAINE HAS BEEN INDEPENDENT AND AMONG MANY UKRAINIANS THERE HAS BEEN A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY. IN RECENT YEARS, FOR THE MOST PART, THIS HAS NOT INVOLVED ACTIVE ASPIRATIONS FOR SEPARATION. HOWEVER, THIS WAS THE CASE IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO WWII, PARTICULARLY IN THE FORMER WESTERN OBLASTS OF THE UKRAINE WHICH HISTORICALLY HAD, AT TIMES, BEEN UNDER POLISH RULE.

B. STEPAN BANDERA (BORN IN 1909 IN JAROSLAV, POLAND, WHICH IS NOW A PART OF THE USSR) BECAME ACTIVE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) IN THE WESTERN UKRAINE IN 1929. THE OUN CARRIED OUT TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AGAINST BOTH POLES AND RUSSIANS IN AN EFFORT TO FREE THE UKRAINE. IN 1934 BANDERA WAS ARRESTED IN ASSOCIATION WITH AN ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST THE POLISH MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH. THIS SENTENCE WAS LATER CHANGED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT AND IN 1940 HE WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON.

C. DURING THE PERIOD 1940-1941, BANDERA RENEWED HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. HE JOINED ONE OF THE TWO PRO-GERMAN UKRAINIAN

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

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DIRECTOR 454028

COUSIN, ETC, WHO IS UKRAINIAN. STATION CONTACT WOULD THEN SHOW SYMPATHY TOWARD THE UKRAINIAN CAUSE, PERHAPS SOME KNOWLEDGE OF BANDERA, AND LATER ON WOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE IVANOV WITH PRO-UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM LITERATURE. WE HAVE A FAIRLY COMPREHENSIVE LIBRARY OF RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN, AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE LITERATURE ON THE UKRAINIAN SITUATION, PAST AND PRESENT, FOR STATION'S USE.

4. GOOD LUCK IN LOCATING IVANOV. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT YOUR EFFORTS, IN THE DIFFICULT OPERATING ENVIRONMENT OF [] WILL BE FRUITFUL. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR ANY CLUES AND INFO FROM OUR FILES AS TO WHY IVANOV MAY BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT. (PER REF B, CONNECTION MAY BE IVANOV'S FATHER.) WE LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR INITIAL CONTACT AND ASSESSMENT OF IVANOV.

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SECURITY INFORMATION

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2008

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 Mikala LEBED (CASSOWARY 2), who is the foreign secretary of the UHWR, who was sent into the emigration, and who is part of the organization (ZPUHWR).
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.
 - 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 VOA and SCMR. 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:

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 on 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 Kiev 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 groups 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

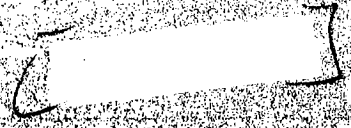
PROCLAMATION ACT OF THE RENEWAL OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

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 KOCHOVALEC, 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 CHUPRIHKA 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 ZPUMVR 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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V

Stephan BANDERA was born in 1909 in the town of Trostianec, 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, Piaracki, 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 LEBED, 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 UHVR, 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 HRYNIOCH, 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, unintellectual, 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 Provida) has been refuted by the homeland on the grounds that the Biuro Provida ceased to exist in 1946, after the death of two of its original members (MAIVSKIY 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/TSRO-656; MGH-391; 100-0-12-8973 ICS; QA-1059; TS/GIA 28062, and MEMA-793.

SECRET

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BANDERA also disputed the new program of the OUN adopted at the Third Congress of the OUN held in the Ukraine in August 1943 in which the basic ~~xxxx~~ philosophical and political tenets of the OUN had been critically reviewed. In that program extreme elements of ethnocentrism and romanticism were replaced by a greater concern for social and economic questions to win the population of Eastern Ukraine. BANDERA who did not participate in that evolution of the OUN because ~~he~~ of his imprisonment in a German concentration camp, condemned it as a move toward socialism. He maintained that this course was fallacious and that it should be reversed. He also objected to internal democracy in the OUN as allegedly harmful in an organization engaged in clandestine activities.

The platform of the Third Congress of the OUN was defended by those members of the OUN who participated in the anti-Nazi underground in the Ukraine. BANDERA's views gained support ~~by~~ the majority of the OUN cadres who like himself were detained in German prisons and camps and had not come into contact with the masses of Eastern Ukraine. These differences caused two splits in the OUN in 1948 and in 1954. Those who were opposed to BANDERA created in 1954 a separate political organization under the same name of the ZCh OUN. In 1956 the new name of OUN-z (za kordonom - abroad) was adopted.

From the very beginning of the internal rift in the OUN both BANDERA and his opponents were trying to win approval of their policies from the leadership (the Provid) of the OUN in the Ukraine. On several occasions the Provid under Roman SHUKHIVYCH corroborated the new program of the OUN and called on both sides to come to an understanding. Under pressure BANDERA gave up the leadership of the ZCh OUN in August 1952 but later reneged. Similarly in 1953 he agreed to join the Collegium of the Three ~~xxxx~~

(Lev REBET, Zynowij MATLA, Stapan BANDERA) appointed by the Provid in the Ukraine to act as a temporary leadership of the ZCh OUN, but after several months of discussions with REBET and MATLA he refused to cooperate. Thus all efforts to heal the rift proved ineffective.

Until his death in 1959 BANDERA occupied position of the head of ZCh OUN. According to the official documents of ZCh OUN and in the opinion of his adherents BANDERA was also head of "the whole" OUN.

On October 15, 1959 BANDERA was murdered in the staircase of his house in Munich by Bogdan STASHINSKY, a confessed agent of the KGB. Two years earlier, on October 1957, STASHINSKY assassinated Lev REBET, also in Munich. In 1961 STASHINSKY defected to the West. After his confession he was tried by a West German court and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment. His present whereabouts is unknown.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

2-Way Memo

I

Subject: OGC Request for Traces - Stefan Bandera and Myroslav Prokop

To : Chief, ISG/BIB

| INSTRUCTIONS | |
|---|----------------|
| Use routing symbols whenever possible. | |
| SENDER (Originator of message): Use brief, informal language. Conserve space. Forward original and one copy. | |
| RECEIVER (Replier to message): Reply below the message, keep one copy, return one copy. | |
| DATE OF MESSAGE | ROUTING SYMBOL |
| 13 Jan 87 | |
| SIGNATURE OF ORIGINATOR | |
| TITLE OF ORIGINATOR | |
| 1H5113 352724 | |
| EPLG/Litigation | |

Please do a complete DO name trace on the following:

- 1) Stefan Bandera, no DPOB. A Ukranian emigree who allegedly was killed by the KGB in Munich in 1959.
- 2) Myrosalv (or Myrosiav) Prokop, DOB: 6 May 13
- 3) Also check on Myroslav Prokop who was born in 1919.

I would like to know if Myroslav or Prokop, or both, are common Slavic names. The reason for the request has to do with Nazi war crimes.

REPLY

Thanks, mob

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2E
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2004 2006

| OGC/SIR COORDINATION | DATE: 2/2/87 | |
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| ANALYST: C J | EDIT: | |
| OFFICE | PRINTED NAME | SIGNATURE |
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From : FOR COORDINATION WITH DOJ/OSI

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GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

RESPONSE TO BE FORWARDED TO: DOJ-OSI
DATE: 02 FEB 87 FILE NO: 100-139-

ATTN: TO XAN-01372

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DATE 2004 2006

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FOR COORDINATION WITH DOJ/OST

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04 FEB 1987

DOR-02419

MEMORANDUM FOR: C 7
Acting Chief, FPL Group

ATTENTION: C 7
FPL Group

FROM: C 7
Chief, Information Services Group

SUBJECT: Stefan Bandera
Myroslav Prokop, DOB: 6 May 1913
Myroslav Prokop, DOB: 1919

REFERENCE: OGC Request for Traces via FPLG Two-Way Memo
dated 13 January 1987 (U)

1. Stefan Andreyevich Bandera, aka Stefan Popel, aka Michael Kaspar, aka Stefan Donat, aka Hubert Bula, was born 1 January 1909, in Trostianec, near Stryj, USSR, alternate DPOB: 1 September 1909, Jaroslau, Poland. Subject became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) while still in high school and by 1932 he was Chief of Propaganda for the OUN. Bandera was anti-Russian, anti-German, and anti-Poland and one of the most important Ukrainian nationalist leaders of his time. (S)

2. From 1932-1934 Bandera was assistant chief of the OUN and head of the underground activities in Poland. He was arrested in 1934 and charged with ordering the assassination of the Polish Prime Minister. At his trial in 1935, he was sentenced to death and the sentence commuted to life in prison. He was committed to Holy Cross jail in Warsaw and remained there until freed by the Germans in 1939. In 1939 Subject became head of the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionists (OUN/R). The Germans arrested Bandera in 1941 for resisting German restrictions on Ukrainian nationalists, imprisoned him in the Prinz Albrechtstrasse Gestapo jail, and then transferred him to Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1942. He escaped from the Germans in 1944 and joined the Ukrainian Resistance Army (UPA) which had been reorganized to show the military nature of the organization and to inspire members to obtain their goal of Ukrainian independence by using denunciation and ruthless terrorism when they felt it was necessary. Bandera lived in

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West Germany from 1945 until his murder, by a confessed agent of the KGB, on 15 October 1959. (S)

3. According to information dated December 1951 from a Russian language monthly periodical, Subject was reported to be "Hitler's professional spy". This claim was never substantiated and there is no information in the Directorate for Operations files to indicate that Bandera was ever involved in Nazi war crimes. (S)

4. Myroslav Prokop, DPOB 13 May 1913, Peremysl, Western Ukraine, a member of the OUN/Bandera Directorate, was arrested by the Polish police in October 1933 and sentenced to seven years in prison for his OUN activities (NFI regarding these activities). This sentence was later commuted to four years. After his release he was sent to Germany, arrested by the Germans, and held in a concentration camp until the end of World War II. Subject immigrated to the U.S. in 1949 and became a U.S. citizen in 1958. (S)

5. According to information dated December 1960, Subject claimed membership in the Association for Free Ukraine Inc., the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. (S)

6. There is no indication in the Directorate for Operations files to indicate that Prokop (DOB: 1913) was ever involved in Nazi war crimes. (U)

7. There are no Directorate for Operations records on a Myroslav Prokop, DOB: 6 May 1913. The files do contain U.S. Army European Command Counterintelligence records dated March 1951 on one Myroslav Prokop, aka Turner, aka Lang, aka Thiele, DOB: 13 June 1913, Naowal (sic), Czechoslovakia, who was a suspected Czechoslovak agent (NFI). (S)

8. The names Miroslav, Myroslav, and Prokop are all common Slavic names. (U)

9. According to information provided to this Directorate by DDA/IPD, as of 9 December 1986 there is no indication that Stefan Bandera, Myroslav Prokop (DOB: 1913), or Myroslav Prokop (DOB: 1919), has ever been the Subject of an FOIA/PA request. (U)

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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XAN 1372
10 February 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: *[Handwritten mark]* Office of General Counsel

FROM: *[Handwritten mark]* Non-Disclosure Litigation Officer
DO/IMS/FOIA, Privacy & Litigation Group

SUBJECT: Nazi War Crimes Investigations: Stefan Bandera
and Myroslav Prokop

REFERENCE: OGC-87-50179

1. An extensive search of the files and indices of the Directorate of Operations surfaced the following information in response to the specific questions posed by the OSI in reference. (U)

2. Stefan Bandera aka Stephen Bandera was murdered by a confessed agent of the KGB on 15 October 1959, and therefore is of no further interest to OSI. For your information only, Bandera was imprisoned by the Gestapo from 1941-44, and there is no indication in DO files that he was ever involved in Nazi war crimes. (S)

3. There is no information in DO files which indicates that Myroslav Prokop, DPOB: 13 May 1913, Peremysl, Western Ukraine, was ever involved in Nazi war crimes. Concerning his immigration to the U.S. and his naturalization, the only information available in DO files is that he immigrated in 1949 and became a U.S. citizen in 1958. Prokop was arrested by the Polish police in October 1933 and spent four years in prison. Following his release he was sent to Germany, was arrested by the Germans, and spent the remainder of the war in a concentration camp. (S)

FOR COORDINATION WITH DOJ/OSI

Attachment
 DOR-2419 dated 4 Feb 87
 OGC Type Request dated 13 Jan 87
 OGC 87-50179 dated 21 Jan 87
 EIB Check Sheet dated 14 Jan 87

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