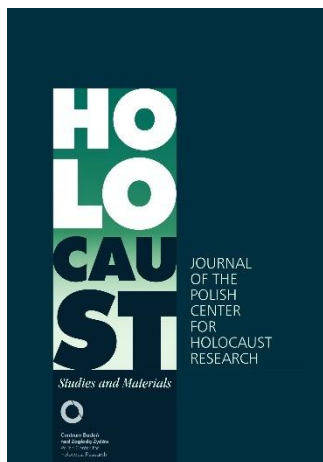




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Ukrainian Police, Nationalism, and the Holocaust in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia

Ukraińska policja, nacjonalizm i zagłada Żydów w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu

Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe

The Friedrich Meinecke Institute of the Free University of Berlin

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7452-1077>

g.r-l@fu-berlin.de

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Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe

The Friedrich Meinecke Institute of the Free University of Berlin
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7452-1077>
g.r-l@fu-berlin.de

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Abstract

In Ukraine, police actively participated in the extermination of Jews. While in Central and Eastern Ukraine a significant percentage of the Jewish population managed to survive the occupation and the Holocaust, in the country's western territories (Volhynia and Eastern Galicia) more than 90 percent of Jews were murdered. One important difference between Western Ukraine and Central and Eastern Ukraine was nationalism. Western Ukraine was the home of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which in the 1930s and early 1940s transformed into the main Ukrainian fascist movement and in 1943 formed the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Although the Germans prevented the OUN from establishing a fascist state modelled on the Independent State of Croatia and arrested its commanders, the OUN sent its members to serve in the police forces, which assisted a small number of German functionaries with the ghettoization of Jews, the appropriation of their property, and in their extermination. Exterminating Jews was one of the main political goals of the OUN, which utilized the local German-controlled police to achieve it.

Key words

Ukrainian police, Holocaust, Western Ukraine, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), World War II, collaboration, Ukrainian nationalism

The Jewish population of the territory comprising today's Ukraine when estimated shortly before Germany launched its invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, numbered 2.7 million people.¹ Approximately 1.6 million of those Jews were murdered by the German occupying forces, their collaborators, and/or

¹ 2.47 million Jews lived in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. See: Alexander Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, eds Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 273.

the local population. The occupation of Ukraine was relatively short: about three years in the western part and slightly over two years in the east. About half of the 1.6 million Jewish victims were murdered in Eastern Galicia or Volhynia, that is, on terrain commonly referred to as Western Ukraine, the territory of which was much smaller than the rest of Ukraine, known as Central and Eastern Ukraine. While as many as 900,000 Jews managed to flee from Central and Eastern Ukraine following the retreating Red Army, only a small number of Jews fled from Western Ukraine. Similarly, the number of Jews in Western Ukraine who managed to survive the Holocaust in hiding differs significantly from figures for the remaining parts of Ukraine. Of approximately 100,000 Ukrainian Jews who survived the Holocaust in hiding in total, only 15,000–20,000 did so in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. One of the main reasons for this, along with the longer duration of the occupation of Western Ukraine, was Ukrainian nationalism, which took fascist form, particularly in the 1930s and early 1940s. Its forces treated mass violence as a means to realizing their own political objectives.²

The Ukrainian police was one of the main instruments German occupying forces used in exterminating Jews. That formation operated in Western Ukraine, and in the central and eastern part of the country as well. While in Eastern and Central Ukraine the influence of nationalism on police activity was small, minimal, or nonexistent, the situation in Western Ukraine was exactly opposite. Though the German occupier had officially severed relations with some of the radically nationalist organizations and detained their leaders in concentration camps, the occupier was aided in exterminating Jews by Ukrainian nationalists who served in the police. The nationalists treating Jews as ‘enemies of the Ukrainian people’ intended to remove them from territories where they planned to establish the Ukrainian state.

This article provides a short overview of the current state of research on operations of the Ukrainian police in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. It then explains how that formation contributed to the Holocaust on that territory and presents its ties with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It is based on my research devoted to the fascistization of Ukrainian nationalism, and the biography of Stepan Bandera and his cult. While the Ukrainian police in this period has been the subject of several articles, only a handful of publications have discussed nationalism’s influence on the police

² Ibidem, pp. 281–286; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* [National Socialist persecution of Jews in Eastern Galicia 1941–1944: Organization and implementation of a state mass crime] (München: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 43–44, 139–262, 385; Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 11; Timothy Snyder, “The Life and Death of Western Volhynian Jewry, 1921–1945,” in *The Shoah in Ukraine*, pp. 92, 96–97. While 97 percent of the Jews in the Tarnopol Oblast (county) were murdered during the occupation, 91 percent Jews from the Kharkov Oblast survived (Kruglov, “Jewish Losses in Ukraine...,” p. 284).

and that formation's links with the OUN-UPA. An exception to this is an article by John-Paul Himka, which was published while I was writing this article.³ More attention has been given to researching connections between the Germans and the Ukrainian militia, established by the OUN-B.⁴ The subject matter of the functioning of the police in Western Ukraine has not yet become the focus of a monograph and thus calls for in-depth research.

State of Research and Research Methods

It is difficult to present the current state of research on the Ukrainian police in Western Ukraine (and to carry out research on this subject matter) because Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were in two different occupation zones. In August 1941 Eastern Galicia was incorporated as *Distrikt Galizien* into the General Government, while Volhynia belonged to *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* as a part of *Generalbezirk Wolhynien und Podolien*, which encompassed Central and Eastern Ukraine. Thus, research on the Ukrainian police and the German occupation has concentrated on either *District Galicia* or *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. One exception is the studies devoted to the OUN and the UPA, which focused geographically on Western Ukraine. They did not, however, discuss the subject matter of the Ukrainian police in detail. Another exception is publications about World War II in Ukraine, but unfortunately those authors have examined neither the behavior of the police during the Holocaust nor its ties with Ukrainian nationalism.

The first historian to mention the Ukrainian militia and police was Filip Friedman in his description of the Holocaust in Lvov. Friedman's short but analytical publication came out as early as 1945.⁵ Meanwhile, the Central Jewish Historical Commission (*Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna*), which he headed, collected several dozen testimonies of Jews who survived the Holocaust in Western Ukraine. The witnesses placed the Ukrainian militia and police among the war criminals and collaborators.⁶ During the Cold War several

³ Himka comes to similar conclusions as I do. The main differences in his interpretation are that he does not examine the influence of European fascism on Ukrainian nationalism and that he places more importance on the anti-German resistance of the the OUN-UPA than I do. See John-Paul Himka, "Former Ukrainian Policemen in the Ukrainian National Insurgency. Continuing the Holocaust outside the German Service," in *Lessons and Legacies XII. New Directions in the Holocaust Research and Education*, eds Wendy Lower and Lauren Faulkner Rossi (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), pp. 141–163.

⁴ In 1940 the OUN split into the OUN-B(andra) and the OUN-M(elnik). See further in the subchapter entitled "Police training, militia formation, and preparations for national revolution."

⁵ Filip Friedman, *Zagłada Żydów lwowskich* [The extermination of the Jews of Lvov] (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1945).

⁶ The collection of the Central Jewish Historical Commission is stored in the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (*Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, AŻIH) in Warsaw.

Polish historians, including Ryszard Torzecki and Czesław Madajczyk, briefly discussed the Ukrainian police in their studies on Ukrainian nationalism and occupation in Poland.⁷ In general, the Ukrainian diaspora and its historians did not discuss the Holocaust and the role the Ukrainian police played in it, even though some veterans' memoirs contained important information about the topic.⁸ A very important exception among the publications appeared during the Cold War was Friedman's article "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation,"⁹ written after his emigration from Poland. The author focused mostly on Galicia and aptly characterized the Ukrainian police as one of the main formations collaborating with the Germans and a crucial instrument they used in exterminating Jews.¹⁰ Another important publication indicating the role of Ukrainian police in the Holocaust in Volhynia is Shmuel Spector's work *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews 1941–1944*, published in 1990.¹¹

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening of Soviet archives historians began to study the occupation in Ukraine in detail and also took up the topic of the Ukrainian police. In 1995 Dieter Pohl and Thomas Sandkühler published monographs on the Holocaust and the occupation in District Galicia. Even though they discussed the subject of the Ukrainian police they focused mostly on the activity of German occupying forces. Both authors paid little attention to Ukrainian nationalists in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust, representing instead the relatively typical German-centric outlook on the Holocaust and the occupation. Nevertheless, their research revealed the way in which the Germans organized the genocide and murdered most Galician Jews.¹² Articles about the

⁷ Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeszy (1933–1945)* [The Ukrainian question in the politics of the Third Reich (1933–1945)] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1972); idem, *Polacy i Ukraińcy. Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej* [Poles and Ukrainians. The Ukrainian case during World War II on the territory of the Second Polish Republic] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993); Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce. Okupacja Polski 1939–1945* [The policy of the Third Reich in occupied Poland. Occupation of Poland 1939–1945], vol. 1–2 (Warsaw: PWN, 1970).

⁸ See, for instance, Bohdan Kazanivsky, *Shliakhom lehendy. Spomyny* (London: Ukrayinska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1975).

⁹ Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 12 (1958/1959): 259–263. This article was first published in 1959, but its 1980 version is the most widely known: "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation," in idem, *Roads to Extinction. Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada June Friedman (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1980), pp. 176–208.

¹⁰ Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations..." (1980), pp. 185–186.

¹¹ Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews...*

¹² Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien...*; Thomas Sandkühler, „Endlösung” in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944 [‘Final Solution’ in Galicia: The Murder of Jews in Eastern Poland and the Rescue Initiatives of Berthold Beitz 1941–1944] (Bonn: Diert, 1996).

police and/or about the police and collaboration were published not only by Dieter Pohl, but also by Frank Golczewski and Grzegorz Motyka.¹³ A monograph on various Ukrainian military formations that collaborated with the Germans was written by Andriy Bolanovs'ky¹⁴. Another, about the Holocaust in Lvov and Eastern Galicia, was published by Eliyahu Jones (Yones), who survived the Holocaust in those regions and studied it years later as a historian.¹⁵ The topic of the police in Eastern Galicia was discussed in articles by Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin,¹⁶ while David Alan Rich wrote one about the Ukrainian police in Lvov.¹⁷ The connections between the UPA and the Ukrainian police have recently been presented in an article by Himka, and several years ago they were discussed by Timothy Snyder as well.¹⁸

The Ukrainian police's collaboration with the Germans on the extermination of Jews in Ukraine and Belarus was presented in a short monograph by Martin Dean,¹⁹ while the subject of the Ukrainian police in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* was discussed by Karel Berkhoff in his study on the occupation of that region.²⁰ Another scholar, Yuri Radchenko, has published articles on the Ukrainian police

¹³ Dieter Pohl, "Ukrainische Hilfskräfte beim Mord an den Juden" [Ukrainian auxiliaries in the murder of Jews], in *Die Täter der Shoah. Fanatische Nationalisten oder normale Deutsche?* [The perpetrators of the Shoah: fanatical nationalists or normal Germans?], ed. Gerhard Paul (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002), pp. 205–234; Grzegorz Motyka, "Polski policjant na Wołyniu [Polish policeman in Volhynia]," *Karta* 24 (1998): 126–140; Frank Golczewski, "Shades of Grey: Reflections on Jewish-Ukrainian and German-Ukrainian Relations in Galicia," in *The Shoah in Ukraine*, pp. 114–155; idem, "Die Ukraine im Zweiten Weltkrieg [Ukraine in the World War II]," in *Geschichte der Ukraine* [History of Ukraine], ed. Frank Golczewski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 241–260; idem, "Die Kollaboration in der Ukraine [Collaboration in Ukraine]," in *Kooperation und Verbrechen. Formen der „Kollaboration“ im östlichen Europa 1939–1945* [Cooperation and crime. Forms of 'collaboration' in Eastern Europe 1939–1945], eds Christoph Dieckmann, Babette Quinkert, Tatjana Tönsmeier (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), pp. 151–182.

¹⁴ Andriy Bolanovs'ky, *Ukrayins'ki viy'kovi formuvannya v zbroynykh sylakh Nimechchyny (1939–1945)* [Ukrainian military formations in the German armed forces (1939–1945)] (Lviv: Lvivs'kyi natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Franka, 2003).

¹⁵ Eliyahu Yones, *Smoke in the Sand: The Jews of Lvov in the War Years 1939–1944*, (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 2004).

¹⁶ Gabriel N. Finder, Alexander V. Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia. The Ukrainian Police and the Holocaust," *East European Jewish Affairs* 34, 2 (2004): 95–118.

¹⁷ David Alan Rich, "Armed Ukrainians in L'viv. Ukrainian Militia, Ukrainian Police, 1941 to 1942," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 48 (2014): 271–287.

¹⁸ Himka, *Former Ukrainian Policemen in the Ukrainian National Insurgency*; Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 160, 162.

¹⁹ Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–1944* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

²⁰ Karel Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2004).

in *General Bezirk Kharkiv*.²¹ The Ukrainian militia, formed by the OUN, has been discussed in about a dozen publications about the pogrom in Lvov, pogroms in Western Ukraine, or Ukrainian nationalists during World War II, by historians including Franziska Bruder, John-Paul Himka, Christoph Mick, Kai Struve, Witold Mędykowski, Wendy Lower, and the present article's author.²² General studies published to date have shed light on various aspects of the topic, but have not clearly presented the issue of the ties of Ukrainian police with the OUN and UPA.

The methods and sources used to research this subject have changed over recent decades. Historians dealing with the Holocaust in Ukraine have also differed greatly in terms of their interests. Historians such as Friedman, Spector, or Jones, have attached great importance to victims' perspective and to testimonies left by Holocaust survivors. They have also used all other types of available documents, which has made their outlook relatively broad and has resulted in their shedding light on various aspects of the Holocaust. By contrast, German historians, such as Pohl, Sandkühler, or Golczewski have focused mostly on the perspective of German perpetrators and documentation left by the Nazis and the German administration. This approach has narrowed their outlook on the topic, and has led to omitting the subject of the Ukrainian police. New research conducted by Himka, Struve, and by me reflects efforts to connect these perspectives and various kinds of sources and to take into consideration the subject of Ukrainian nationalism and its influence on the course of the Holocaust.

²¹ Yuri Radchenko, "Accomplices to Extermination. Municipal Government and the Holocaust in Kharkiv, 1941–1942," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2, 3 (2013): 443–463; idem, "We Emptied our Magazines into Them: The Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and the Holocaust in Generalbezirk Charkow, 1941–1943," *Yad Vashem Studies* 41, 1 (2013): 63–98.

²² Franziska Bruder, „*Den ukrainischen Staat erkämpfen oder sterben!*“ *Die Organisation Ukrainischer Nationalisten (OUN) 1929–1948* ["Fight for the Ukrainian state or die!" The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) 1929–1948] (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2007); John-Paul Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53, 2/4 (2011): 209–243; Witold Mędykowski, *W cieniu gigantów. Pogromy 1941 r. w byłej sowieckiej strefie okupacyjnej. Kontekst historyczny, społeczny i kulturowy* [In the shadow of giants. The pogroms of 1941 in the former Soviet occupation zone. Historical, social and cultural context] (Warsaw: ISP PAN, 2012); Christoph Mick, "Incompatible Experiences. Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939–44," *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, 2 (2011): 336–363; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Der Verlauf und die Täter des Lemberger Pogroms vom Sommer 1941. Zum aktuellen Stand der Forschung [The course and perpetrators of the Lviv pogrom of summer 1941 – the current state of research]," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 22 (2013): 210–211; Kai Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft, ukrainischer Nationalismus, antijüdische Gewalt. Der Sommer 1941 in der Westukraine* [German rule, Ukrainian nationalism, anti-Jewish violence. The summer of 1941 in Western Ukraine] (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015); Wendy Lower, "Pogroms, Mob Violence and Genocide in Western Ukraine, Summer 1941. Varied Histories, Explanations and Comparisons," *Journal of Genocide Research* 13, 3 (2011): 114–155.

Most historians have ignored the influence of fascism on the OUN-UPA and the collaboration with the Germans, among other things because of the role that the concept of “fascism” played in Soviet propaganda and how it was used in post-Soviet scientific and political discourses²³.

As for the motivation of the perpetrators, including policemen and members of other military formations, scholars have reached completely different conclusions. This difference is clearly visible when one compares the books by Daniel Goldhagen and Christopher Browning about Reserve Police Battalion 101. The former’s work searched for the motives for the participation in the mass extermination of the Jews in the peculiar German antisemitism that had been cultivated for centuries and supposedly distinguished German culture from other cultures. By contrast, the latter’s work saw the German perpetrators as ordinary, average people who committed mass murder under special conditions.²⁴ Browning showed that even unindoctrinated individuals without sadistic inclinations could commit mass murders on civilians when pressured by their colleagues, or as a result of a desire to belong to a group or of overall war-time brutalization.²⁵ As for the behavior of Ukrainian policemen in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia during the Holocaust, one has to consider the role of conformism, opportunism, brutalization, and pressure that emerged in social groups and organizations. At the same time, however, one must bear in mind the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, which treated violence as a means to achieving its goals, and which was virtually nonexistent elsewhere in Ukraine.

Police Training, Militia Formation, and Preparations for National Revolution

The first Ukrainian militia formations, or to be more precise, of organized armed groups consisting largely of Ukrainian nationalists belong to or sympathizing with the OUN appeared in Western Ukraine as early as September 1939. They collaborated with the Germans, who after the outbreak of World War II entered the area and occupied it for a short time. These organized Ukrainian nationalists, in cooperation with the Germans, and sometimes independently persecuted

²³ Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der europäische Faschismus und der ukrainische Nationalismus. Verflechtungen, Annäherungen und Wechselbeziehungen [European Fascism and Ukrainian Nationalism. Entanglements, convergences and interrelationships],” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 65, 2 (2017): 153–169; idem, “The Fascist Kernel of Ukrainian Genocidal Nationalism,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian & East European Studies* 2402 (2015).

²⁴ Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).

²⁵ See also Harald Welzer, *Täter. Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* [Perpetrators. How ordinary people become mass murderers] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2007).

the Jews and murdered them. During this period they also killed approx. 3,000 Poles and an unknown number of Ukrainians who held other political views. Under the secret protocol attached to the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, Western Ukraine, which had belonged to the Republic of Poland until September 1, 1939, was incorporated into the Soviet Union, becoming part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; German soldiers withdrew from it before the arrival of Soviet troops after September 17, 1939. Some OUN members and ‘functionaries’ of these first ‘militia’ formations went to the General Government, where they stayed mostly in Cracow. Others remained in Ukraine and went underground or did not reveal their political views.²⁶

Cracow received about 12,000 Ukrainians from Western Ukraine, now under Soviet occupation. Western Ukraine became the scene of the 1940 split in the OUN. The organization divided into the OUN-B (led by Stepan Bandera) and the OUN-M (led by Andriy Melnyk). Mostly young and more radical nationalists, born around 1910, joined the former, while older members, born mainly around 1880, remained in the latter. The two factions underwent deep fascistization and were planning to establish an Ukrainian national state, at the right moment, ruled by a fascist dictatorship, which would probably have resembled Ante Pavelić’s Croatia. In the 1930s the OUN had operated and developed similarly to the Ustaše, with whom it had friendly relations. Both organizations were trained in Mussolini’s fascist Italy until a series of assassinations by the OUN (the one of Bronisław Pieracki in Warsaw, on July 15, 1934, and the murder of Alexander I, the king of Yugoslavia), or by the Ustaše and activists of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (the assassination of the French minister of foreign affairs, Louis Barthou in Marseille, on October 9 of the same year).²⁷

Even before the OUN’s division, its elder faction decided during its Second Grand Assembly, held in Rome on August 27, 1939, to make “Glory to the Chief!”

²⁶ Struve, *Ukrainische Herrschaft...*, pp. 54–68, 107–119; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera. The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist. Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2014), p. 168. More about murdering Poles see Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942–1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* [Ukrainian partisans 1942–1960. The activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army] (Warsaw: Rytm, 2006), pp. 70, 72; Władysław Siemaszko, Ewa Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia 1939–1945* [Genocide committed by Ukrainian nationalists against the Polish population of Volhynia 1939–1945] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo von Borowiecki, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 1034–1037. See also Bruder, *Den Ukrainischen Staat...*, p. 140; Jan Tomasz Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 19–20.

²⁷ More about the split within the OUN see Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 170–176. More about the OUN’s collaboration with the Ustaša see Grzegorz Motyka, *Wołyń 43. Ludobójcza czystka – fakty, analogie, polityka historyczna* [Volyn ‘43: Genocidal purge – facts, analogies, historical politic] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2016), pp. 163–169; Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 75–76.

(*Vozhdevi Slava!*) its official fascist greeting. It also introduced other fascist rituals.²⁸ The OUN-B organized its own Second Grand Assembly at the turn of March and April 1941, on which occasion it legalized its existence, chose its own fascist greeting – “Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!” (*Slava Ukraini! Heroiam slava!*). It also introduced numerous principles originating from fascist and racist theories. Bandera, to differentiate himself from Melnyk, who had been officially called the *vozhd* (chief) ever since the assembly in Rome, Bandera assumed the title of *providnyk* (guide). During that period the term acquired the same connotations as *vozhd*, referring to the German term *Führer* even though earlier it also denoted a director or leader.²⁹ The two factions collaborated with the Nazis, mostly the Abwehr (military intelligence), which they helped in preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union. At the same time they were devising plans to establish the Ukrainian state on the territory which the Wehrmacht was to liberate for them. However, the OUN leaders did not manage to establish contact with Adolf Hitler or other influential Nazi politicians. Most probably they did not know how the Germans would react to their attempts to establish the Ukrainian state.³⁰

The Abwehr, engaged in in the General Government in collaboration with the Ukrainians and in preparing to invade of the Soviet Union, established 2 battalions: Nachtigall and Roland, in which 350 and 330 Ukrainian soldiers served respectively.³¹ Equally important for the Germans and for the Ukrainians was the formation and training of the Ukrainian police. As a result of an intervention by the Central Ukrainian Committee (*Ukrainskyi tsentralnyi komitet*, UCK), the Germans ordered a police academy for Ukrainian policemen to be established in Zakopane. It was headed by *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Hans Krüger, who would supervise, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the liquidation of the ghetto in Stanisławów (now Ivano-Frankivsk) and co-organize the massacre

²⁸ Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchych orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnya Ukrayiny [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine] (hereafter: CDAWOWUU), fond [record group; hereafter: f.] 3833, opis [series; hereafter: op.] 1, sprawa [file unit; hereafter: spr.] 71, Bandera's letter to Melnyk, p. 9. See also Petro Mirchuk, *Narys istoriyi OUN. 1920–1939* [Outline of the history of the OUN] (Kyiv: Ukrainska Vydavnytcha Spilka, 2007), pp. 447–453; Frank Golczewski, *Deutsche und Ukrainer 1914–1939* [Germans and Ukrainians 1914–1939] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), pp. 943–944.

²⁹ Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrayiny [Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine] (hereafter: CDAHOU), f. 1, op. 23, spr. 926, Postanowy II. Velykoho Sboru Orhanizatsyi Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv [Decisions of the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], pp. 180–208.

³⁰ Struve, *Ukrainische Herrschaft...*, pp. 182–197; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “The ‘Ukrainian National Revolution’ of Summer 1941. Discourse and Practice of a Fascist Movement,” *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12, 1 (2011): 90–95.

³¹ Ivan Patrylak, *Viys'kova diyal'nist' OUN(B) u 1940–1942 rokakh* [OUN-B military activity in the years 1940–1942] (Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, 2004), pp. 274–288.

of Polish professors in Lvov.³² Police training in Zakopane included torture and forced confessions under interrogation. Jews were used for practical training by the academy's German and Ukrainian instructors.³³ In mid 1940 similar police academies operated in Cracow, Chełm, and Rabka. During the training the policemen were taught German, basics of criminal law, and to handle firearms.³⁴ It is difficult to say to what extent these General Government police academies were dominated by Ukrainian nationalists. Leading OUN members, such as Roman Shukhevych, later the UPA commander, and Mykola Lebed, head of Bandera's intelligence, trained there then worked there as instructors. Consequently, the OUN can be assumed to have held full control of or to have trained its members at these academies.³⁵

Along with forming police and army battalions in cooperation with the Germans, the OUN-B and the OUN-M formed their own militias which were to serve the future Ukrainian state. The Western Ukrainian underground was largely controlled by the OUN-B. Many nationalists who were staying in the General Government also joined that fraction. Of them the OUN-B leadership formed 'march groups', which probably comprised about 800 people. Their objective was to carry out orders included in a document entitled "The OUN's struggle and operation during the war," which Bandera, Shukhevych, Stepan Lenkavsky, and Yaroslav Stetsko finished in May 1941.³⁶

That document was drafted to outline for OUN members in Ukraine and the General Government the course of national revolution that would lead to establishing the Ukrainian state. In that enterprise the militia the OUN-B established was to play the lead role as it was to facilitate the formation of state structures and then to protect them. It therefore received much attention in that crucial document. Militiamen, as with commune heads, mayors, and other administration employees, were to swear an oath of allegiance to Stepan

³² Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...", p. 103; Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy...*, pp. 53–54; Volodymyr Kubyiovych, *Ukrayintsi v Heneral-hubernatorstvi, 1939–1941. Istoriya Ukrayins'koho Tsentralnoho Komitetu* [Ukrainians in General Government, 1939–1941. History of the Ukrainian Central Committee] (Chicago: Vydavnytstvo Mykoly Denysiuka, 1975), p. 37.

³³ Per Anders Rudling, "'Not Quite Klaus Barbie, but in that Category'. Mykola Lebed, the CIA, and the Airbrushing of the Past," in *Rethinking Holocaust Justice. Essays Across Disciplines*, ed. Norman J. Goda (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), pp. 164, 166.

³⁴ Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...", p. 103.

³⁵ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair...*, pp. 289, 298.

³⁶ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 2, spr. 1, Borot'ba ta diyal'nist' OUN pidchas viyny [the OUN's struggle and operation during the war], pp. 15–89. One part of this document, entitled "Propahandyvny vkazivky na peredvoyennyi chas, na chas viyny i revolyucyi ta na potchatkovi dni derzhavnoho budivnytstva" [Propaganda instructions for the pre-war, war, and revolution time and the initial days of building the state], is included in CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 69, pp. 23–47. See also Marco Carynnyk, "Foes of Our Rebirth. Ukrainian Nationalist Discussions about Jews, 1929–1947," *Nationalities Papers* 39, 3 (2011): 329.

Bandera, the future *providnyk* of the new state.³⁷ Having sworn their oath the militiamen would identify and arrest politically inconvenient individuals and marauders (*marodery, nedobytky*). Those people were to be taken to a “secret or desolate place [forest, mountains, etc.] where special liquidation campaigns were to be conducted.”³⁸ OUN-B members, particularly militiamen, were to adhere to the following rule: “At times of chaos and turmoil it is permissible to liquidate unwanted Polish, Moscow [Russian or Soviet], and Jewish activists.”³⁹ The name which the OUN-B officially used for the militia formations was Ukrainian People’s Militia (*Narodna Militsiya*). Men aged 18–50 able to carry arms were to serve in its ranks.⁴⁰ As OUN-B did not have uniforms, every militiaman was to wear either a blue-and-yellow or a white *Narodna Militsiya* armband.⁴¹ Units were to be commanded by “popular nationalists” loyal to OUN-B.⁴² The yellow-and-blue Ukrainian flag was to be flown on buildings designated for militia stations.⁴³ OUN-B leadership warned the militia about “provincial towns inhabited by nationally alien elements.” In such places the Ukrainian militiamen were to be recruited in nearby villages.⁴⁴ They were to bring order (*lad i poryadek*) to towns and “cleanse” them of “Soviet spies, opponents to the uprising, civil servants, Muscovites [Russians – editor’s note], Jews, and others.”⁴⁵

³⁷ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 2, spr. 1, Borot’ba ta diyal’nist’ OUN pidchas viyny [the OUN’s struggle and operation during the war], p. 30. The text of the oath see *ibidem*, p. 41. More about the militia see *ibidem*, p. 60.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, k. 62, 64. All Ukrainian men aged 18–50 subject to conscription into the militia were divided into professional militiamen employed full time and the reserve (‘volunteer members’ – *chleny-dobrovilchi*), who earned their living elsewhere but could be mobilized at any time.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 62; Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen [State Archive North Rhine-Westphalia] (hereafter: LN-W), Bonn, Rep. 350, file 5, p. 16. In 1941 the OUN-B used the yellow-and-blue flag and not the blue-and-yellow one (CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 2, spr. 1, Borot’ba ta diyal’nist’ OUN pidchas viyny [the OUN’s struggle and operation during the war], p. 83; Roman Volchuk, *Spomyny z peredwoyennoho Lvova ta voyennoho Vidnyia* [Memories of pre-war Lvov and wartime Vienna] (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002), p. 89). At that time the OUN-M used the blue-and-yellow flag (Taras Kurylo, “Syla ta slabkist’ ukraïns’koho natsionalizmu v Kyievi pidchas nimets’koyi okupatsiyi (1941–1943)” [The strength and weakness of Ukrainian nationalism in Kyiv during the German occupation (1941–1943)],” *Ukraina Moderna* 8, 2 (2008): 117.

⁴² CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 2, spr. 1, Borot’ba ta diyal’nist’ OUN pidchas viyny [the OUN’s struggle and operation during the war], p. 62. Testimonies of Holocaust survivors from small communities, where people did not live anonymously, confirm that the militia commanders were “well known” Ukrainian nationalists (see, for instance, AŽIH, 301/3983, Relacja Anny Złatkies [Anna Złatkies’ testimony], p. 1).

⁴³ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 2, spr. 1, Borot’ba ta diyal’nist’ OUN pidchas viyny [the OUN’s struggle and operation during the war], p. 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

The registration of Jews by the militia was connected with plans to isolate or exterminate them. Due to the size of the Jewish population across targeted territories this would have to be done gradually.⁴⁶ During the revolution's initial stage, registration of Jews was to lead to their isolation in camps, detained along with "asocial elements and the wounded."⁴⁷ The militia was to be provided with information about "Red Army soldiers, NKVD functionaries, Jews, and informers, that is, all who did not belong to the rural community" by citizens of the state OUN-B would found.⁴⁸ The militia was also to establish "paramilitary formations, regular army units, and all other institutions necessary for normal life."⁴⁹

Along with the plans for forming the regular militia, the OUN-B also formed the Security Service (*Sluzhba Bezpeky*, SB), headed by Mykola Lebed. The SB was to be in charge of intelligence and maintaining order in the militia ranks and among civil servants. Regarding non-Ukrainians, the SB received the following guidelines:

We must bear in mind that as the main pillar of the NKVD and the Soviet rule in Ukraine the following elements have to be neutralized during the establishment of the new revolutionary order in Ukraine:

1. Moscovites [Russians] sent to the Ukrainian territories to strengthen Moscow's rule in Ukraine,
2. Jews both as individuals and the national group,
3. Aliens, particularly various Asians, with the use of whom Moscow has colonized Ukraine [...],
4. Poles – on the western territories of Ukraine who have not stopped dreaming about reviving Great Poland.⁵⁰

The militia, pogroms, and the national revolution

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, launched on June 22, 1941, members of the OUN-B who had remained in the underground until then in Western Ukraine and those who went there in march groups formed militia detachments and followed other OUNB leadership guidelines included in the document "OUN struggle and operation during the war." Yaroslav Stetsko on June 25, 1941, while route to Lvov in one march group, wrote to Stepan Bandera from the village of Młyny: "We are forming the militia which will help get rid of the Jews and protect the population." And then he added: "Father Lew Sohor has already organized a militia with written permission from the OUN, and the village

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 62.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 62.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 60.

accepted this. So they [Jews] will face this militia and they will be eliminated by it, and so forth.”⁵¹ Bandera, probably staying near the former German-Soviet border,⁵² was unable to cross to the Ukrainian territory (the Wehrmacht had retreated) having been forbidden to do so by the Main Reich Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA), headed by Reinhard Heydrich.⁵³

Immediately after the invasion of the Soviet Union the OUN-B began imposing guidelines included in the manifesto mentioned above, pertaining to formation of state structures and murdering the ‘enemies of the nation’. While most victims of this violence were Jewish, the perpetrators were not exclusively militiamen or OUN members. Jews were murdered not only by Ukrainian nationalists, but also by the Germans, who, with OUN assistance, encouraged local populations to participate in the pogroms. To incite local people, the Germans, along with the nationalists and militiamen, used corpses of the political prisoners murdered by the NKVD. According to their own data, retreating Soviets murdered 8,789 people across Ukraine, including about 2,800 victims in Lvov alone. Corpses were left in prison cellars or buried in mass graves in prison courtyards.⁵⁴ During the Lvov pogrom, which began on June 30 in the afternoon and lasted until the evening of July 2, the Ukrainian militia captured Jews on the street or dragged them out from their homes. The Jews were then taken to prisons. There they had to drag out the decomposing corpses of the murdered prisoners and arrange them in rows so that victims could be recognized by their family and friends. Some Jews also had to wash the bodies. All the while they were maltreated by the militiamen, the local population, and the Germans.⁵⁵ The militiamen were helping *Einsatzkommandos* 5 and 6, which belonged to *Einsatzgruppe C*,

⁵¹ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 12, Yaroslav Stetsko’s letter to Stepan Bandera, no. 13, June 25, 1941, p. 10. More about OUN-B leader Yaroslav Stetsko’s anti-Semitism see: Karel Berkhoff, Marco Carynnyk, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews. Yaroslav Stetsko’s 1941 Zhyttiepyś,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 23, 3/4 (1999): 149–184; Orest T. Martynowych, “Sympathy for the Devil. The Attitude of Ukrainian War Veterans in Canada to Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939,” in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, eds Rhonda L. Hinder, Jim Mochoruk (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2011), p. 189. More about divisions in the Ukrainian militia see Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien...*, p. 46.

⁵² National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter: NARA), RG 263, ZZ-18, Box#80, NN 3-263-02-008, Mykola Lebed Name File, file 1, Mykola Lebed, Biographic Data, May 18, 1952, p. 42.

⁵³ Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes [Political Archive of the Foreign Office] (hereafter: PAAA), R 104151, Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, Schnellbrief [Sipo and SD Chief, express letter], Berlin, June 21, 1941, pp. 455–487.

⁵⁴ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair...*, p. 14; LN-W, Gerichte Rep. 350, file 2, Johanna Druschbacha, p. 72.

⁵⁵ The course of the program is described in detail in: Himka, “The Lviv Pogrom of 1941...,” Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der Verlauf und die Täter...”

in assembling then delivering Jews to the sites of the first mass executions.⁵⁶ Some militiamen forced Jews to make the fascist salute and repeat “Glory to Ukraine!” to humiliate them. On June 30, 1941 this happened, for instance, to Jakub Berman.⁵⁷

In Lvov the militia was established on June 30, 1941 in the courtyard of of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky’s residence, situated on St. George Hill. The formation of the militia was supervised by Ivan Ravlyk, who arrived in Lvov in the second march group with Stetsko, and by local OUN-B members.⁵⁸ Bohdan Kazanivsky and Omelian Matla initially played important roles in the militia’s actions.⁵⁹ Imprisoned and tortured by the NKVD, they were not executed like most political prisoners.⁶⁰ Shukhevych, who on the morning of June 30 arrived at St. George Cathedral with his detachment of the *Nachtigall* battalion, was also engaged in forming the militia.⁶¹ According to Hans Joachim Beyer, a high-ranking SD official and *Einsatzgruppe C* advisor, the militia in Lvov was subordinated to the SS after July 2 and from then on was called the Ukrainian police.⁶² Stetsko, though, still regarded this police force as the Ukrainian government’s militia.⁶³ The first chief of the militia was OUN-B member Yevhen Vretsona. Several weeks later he was succeeded by Volodymyr Pituleyi.⁶⁴

The Ukrainian militia collaborated with all German formations which participated in pogroms: the *Sicherheitspolizei* and *Sicherheitsdienst*, *Einsatz-*

⁵⁶ Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego [Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute] (hereafter: AŻIH), 302/26, Wspomnienia Lejba Wieliczkiera [Lejb Wieliczkie’s recollections], pp. 8–12; AŻIH, 301/1864, Relacja Salomona Goldmana [Salomon Goldman’s testimony], pp. 1–5; AŻIH, 301/230, Relacja Jakuba Dentela [Jakub Dentel’s testimony], p. 2; Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der Verlauf und die Täter...,” p. 239.

⁵⁷ Before he was forced to salute, he was brutally beaten during the ‘interrogation’ by two Ukrainian militiamen (AŻIH, 229/26, Jakub Berman, p. 4).

⁵⁸ More about Ravlyk see Yaroslav Stetsko, *30 chervnia 1941* (Toronto: Liha Vyzvolennya Ukrainy, 1967), pp. 181–182. More about the recruitment see *Drukarstvo Zahidnoyi Ukrainy pidchas okupatsiyi. Konkurs na spohady* [Printing in Western Ukraine during the occupation. A contest for memories] (Winnipeg: Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1947), pp. 13–14.

⁵⁹ Kazanivsky, *Shliakhom lehendy...*, pp. 212–214.

⁶⁰ Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv [Federal Archives-Military Archives] (hereafter: BA-MA), RW 2/148, Omelian Matla and Bohdan Kazanivsky’s testimonies]; pp. 342–344, 355–360.

⁶¹ Kazanivsky, *Shliakhom lehendy...*, pp. 212–213.

⁶² “Podiyi na zakhidnoukrayins’kykh [zemlyakh]. Interv’yu z dots[entom] d[okto]rom H.I. Bajerom, Krakiv 5.7.1941 [Events in the Western Ukrainian lands. Interview with associate professor Dr. Bajer, Cracow, July 5, 1941],” in *Ukrayins’ke derzhavotvorennia. Akt 30 chervnia 1941. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materyialiv* [Ukrainian state-building. Act of June 30, 1941. The collection of documents and materials], ed. Dzjuban (Lviv-Kyiv, 2001), p. 153; Kost Pankivskiy, *Roky nimets’koyi okupatsiyi* [Years of German occupation] (New York-Toronto: Kluczi, 1965), p. 401.

⁶³ Stetsko, *30 chervnia 1941*, p. 256.

⁶⁴ “Podiyi na zakhidnoukrayins’kykh [zemlyakh] ...,” p. 153; Pankivskiy, *Roky nimets’koyi okupatsiyi*, p. 403. See also Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der Verlauf und die Täter...,” p. 223.

kommandos from *Einsatzgruppe C*, the Wehrmacht, and the SS Division 'Wiking', one of the main perpetrators of the Tarnopol pogrom.⁶⁵ With no uniforms, the Lvov militiamen wore blue-and-yellow armbands. A small number of the militiamen had olive-green uniforms, which had been worn by the Soviet militia. They removed the Soviet insignia from them and wore them with yellow-and-blue armbands and *mazhepyнки* caps.⁶⁶ But during the Lvov pogrom some militiamen removed their armbands, probably to conceal OUN's involvement in murdering of Jews.⁶⁷ Several instances are also known of militiamen providing help, mostly to their friends. That is how Szymon Wisenthal was rescued.⁶⁸

Forming the militia and organizing pogroms in Lvov and many other localities in Western Ukraine coincided with establishing the Ukrainian state. It was proclaimed by Stetsko on June 30, around 8 p.m. on the Lvov market place in the Prosvita Association's building. Stetsko thanked the Germans for liberating Ukraine and expressed hope that they would accept the OUN-B's state.⁶⁹ Boards were established, and celebrations were organized in many other cities and towns in Western Ukraine. During those celebrations the Germans received thanks for liberating Ukraine with those gathered celebrating independence and cheering *providnyk* Bandera.⁷⁰ Even though Stetsko wrote letters to Benito Mussolini, Ante Pavelić, Francesco Franco, and Adolf Hitler requesting their acceptance of the Ukrainian state led by *providnyk* Bandera, the Germans arrested Bandera first and Stetsko several days later.⁷¹ The two leaders were transported to Berlin and they remained in detention even though OUN-B members convinced thousands of Ukrainians to sign a petition for their release.⁷²

⁶⁵ The collaboration with the German formations is described in detail in Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft...*

⁶⁶ LN-W, Gerichte Rep. 350, file 2, Cornelius von Hovor's interrogation, February 29, 1960, p. 215; LN-W, Gerichte Rep. 350, file 3, Emanuel Brand's interrogation, June 27, 1960, p. 129; LN-W, Gerichte Rep. 350, file 5, Der Oberstaatsanwalt [Chief public prosecutor at the Regional Court], p. 16.

⁶⁷ See illustrations in Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 202–203.

⁶⁸ *Simon Wiesenthal. Ein unbequemer Zeitgenosse* [Simon Wiesenthal. An uncomfortable contemporary], eds Maria Sporrer and Herbert Steiner (Wien: Orac, 1992), p. 34; USC Shoah Foundation, Visual History Archive, 36104, Simon Wiesenthal's testimony, p. 141. Another instance see AŽIH, 302/58, Wspomnienia Alfreda Monastera [Alfred Monaster's recollections], p. 9.

⁶⁹ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 5, Akt proholoshennya Ukrayins'koyi derzhavy [Ukrainian state proclamation act], June 30, 1941, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 219–229.

⁷¹ Stetsko's letters to Hitler, Mussolini, Pavelić, and Fanco are stored in CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 22, pp. 1–3, 8–9.

⁷² Nowadays the letters are stored in the CDAWOWUU (f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 29–35) and PAAA (Akten betreffend Ukraine. Lage der Volksdeutschen. Gebietsansprüche Rumäniens. Ukr. Nationalbewegung, Denkschrift z. Entwicklung d. ukr. Gebiete [Files concerning Ukraine. Situation of the ethnic Germans. Territorial claims of Romania. Ukr. National movement, memorandum on the development of the Ukrainian territories], R 105191). The letter writing

Ukrainian police, nationalism, and the Holocaust

Following Heinrich Himmler's directive of July 1941, the Ukrainian militia, which the OUN-B established immediately after the German invasion of the Soviet Union was officially dissolved at the turn of August and September 1941. Informally, however, it was restructured into Ukrainian police forces subordinate to the German command. It was called *Hilfspolizei* (auxiliary police), *Schutzmannschaften* (security battalions), or simply *ukrainische Polizei* (Ukrainian police).⁷³ The Germans tried to cleanse the police of OUN-B members because they needed people to carry out their orders and not pursuing their own political objectives. Wehrmacht detachments even disarmed several militia battalions.⁷⁴ Even so, many militiamen continued serving in the police while concealing their OUN-B connections. In District Galicia this approach was endorsed, for instance, by Volodymyr Pituleyi, the chief of the Ukrainian police. According to OUN-B member Bohdan Kazanivsky, there were many Bandera supporters even among the commanders of the Lvov police academy where new policemen were trained.⁷⁵ German civil servants also recruited policemen from the militia for practical reasons. This was the case in Stanisławów, for example.⁷⁶ In a group of 330 policemen in Lvov, 110 were former militiamen.⁷⁷

As far as use of violence and the attitude towards Jews is concerned, little changed after the restructuring of the militia into the police. At that point the views of the Ukrainian policemen, particularly those connected with OUN matched the anti-Semitic views of the Nazi Germans. After the arrest of Eliyahu Jones on November 12, 1941 in Lvov, the Ukrainian police beat him up and then escorted him to a German post.

There, after being interrogated by a German officer Jones and other Jews had to stand for several hours with their faces to a wall and continued to be beaten and humiliated. A few hours later, all of them were taken in a truck to a bathhouse, where they had to give up the rest of their possessions:

In the evening the light [in the bathhouse] was switched off. We were suddenly given a new order: "Sing".

process is described in: Rossoliński-Liebe, "The 'Ukrainian National Revolution' of Summer 1941," pp. 109–113.

⁷³ Golczewski, "Die Kollaboration in der Ukraine," p. 172.

⁷⁴ Rich, "Armed Ukrainians in L'viv...", p. 279.

⁷⁵ Kazanivsky, *Shliakhom lehendy...*, pp. 263–266. See also Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...", p. 105; Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrayiny [Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine] (hereafter: HDA SBU), f. 13, spr. 372, file 2, Volodymyr Porendovsky's interrogation, February 15, 1948, p. 197; Christoph Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt. Lemberg 1914–1947* [War experiences in a multi-ethnic city. Lviv 1914–1947] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), p. 483.

⁷⁶ Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...", p. 105.

⁷⁷ Rich, "Armed Ukrainians in L'viv...", p. 283.

A large group of Ukrainians assembled in the middle of the hall, later joined by Ukrainian women. They reveled in singing and were obviously waiting for what was to come.

The Ukrainians tortured us until morning. The climax of those atrocities came when they dragged from the row an old Jew who was holding a big book, the Gemara, which he was reading. He was ordered to put the book down, and step on it and dance a Hassidic dance. At first he refused but he was eventually forced to obey with severe beating. He began to dance under the blows dealt by the Ukrainians who surrounded him and accompanied him with joyful cries.

They then sat him down on the floor and set his beard ablaze, but it would not burn. While some of the Ukrainians were experimenting with his beard, others removed 6 bearded Jews from the row. They sat them down next to the old man and set their beards ablaze too. At first, only the beards were burning, but after some time the fire spread onto the Jews' clothes and they burned in front of our eyes. [...]

The Ukrainians kept torturing us. From the row they selected a deaf Jew who was bold. They made his head the target and they threw at him some bathhouse furnishings made of metal and wood. The competition soon ended because the head of the deaf Jew split in two and his brain spilled onto his clothes and floor.

There was a Jew with a deformed foot, which the Ukrainians tried to straighten by force. Though the Jew shouted loudly they did not succeed. Nonetheless, they kept straightening it so long that it eventually burst. The Jew did not get up, probably because his heart burst too.

Shuddering, we were forced to accompany that torture with a song and we were severely beaten in reward. [...]

They beat us all night long. In the morning, I was in the group of 24 survivors of the approx. 300 people brought in the day before. Most of them were killed by means of incessant beating.⁷⁸

Of the 24 survivors 20 died of the wounds they sustained during the night in the bathhouse.⁷⁹ This description of the Ukrainian policemen's behavior gives us a glimpse of atrocities committed while patrolling ghettos or assisting the Germans with deportations and executions. Few German policemen were stationed in rural areas; in some localities there were none and full power rested in the hands of Ukrainian police and local administration.⁸⁰ In March 1941 local

⁷⁸ Eliyahu Yones, *Die Straße nach Lemberg. Zwangsarbeit und Widerstand in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* [The road to Lviv. Forced labor and resistance in Eastern Galicia 1941–1944], ed. Susanne Heim (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999), pp. 32–36.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, pp. 36–37. More about the German administration's complaints in March 1942 about Ukrainian policemen's frequent harassment of Jews in the ghetto for no reason see the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (hereafter: USHMM), RG Acc 1995 A 1086, Lvov Oblast, f. 12, op. 1, d. 112, p. 43.

⁸⁰ More about the role of the Ukrainian administration in the Holocaust in Kamianets-Podilskyi see Markus Eikel, Valentina Sivaieva, "City Mayors, Raion Chiefs and Village Elders

OUN-B leaders ordered large numbers of their subordinates to join the police force. Their objective was to have at least one member of their organization in every police unit to exert control over the police.⁸¹ The organization was also trying to replace OUN-M members in the *Schutzmannschaften* with its own people.⁸² In an early 1943 the Eastern Bureau of the Polish Government in Exile reported: “nearly 200 police stations constitute the main core of the organization [OUN-B] in Volhynia.”⁸³ The Germans also noticed the OUN-B’s influence on some of the Ukrainian policemen.⁸⁴ Eliyahu Jones wrote in his memoir that Ukrainian policemen, when he was imprisoned a slave labor camp in Kurowice were nationalists proud of wearing their blue uniforms and Ukrainian caps.⁸⁵

Even though Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were in different occupation zones with different occupation systems and policies for exterminating Jews, the OUN operated in both regions, adapting to the local political system. Ukrainian nationalists and many other Ukrainian politicians had been furious when two separate occupation zones were established in August 1941 as they hoped the Germans would establish a collaborationist state or an autonomous Ukrainian protectorate.⁸⁶

in Ukraine, 1941–4. How Local Administrators Co-operated with the German Occupation Authorities,” *Contemporary European History* 23, 3 (2014): 405–428.

⁸¹ CDAWOWUU, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 46, Instrukcje [Instructions], p. 1; USHMM, RG 31.026M, rolls 7 and 37, Selected Records of Former Soviet Archives of the Communist Party of Ukraine, 1919–1937, 1941–1962, 1965. More about the OUN’s connections with the police see Danylo Shumuk, *Za skhidnym obryiem* [Za wschodnim widnokręgiem] (Paris: Smoloskyp, 1974), p. 12. More about the UPA partisan who before joining the army was helping Germans escort Jews to mass graves see HAD SBU, f. 13, spr. 372, t. 1, [Vladimir Lohvynovich’s interrogation], July 4, 1944, p. 3.

⁸² Bundesarchiv Berlin [German Federal Archives] (hereafter BAB), R58/697, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten [Reports from the eastern incorporated territories], no. 4, July 22, 1942, p. 63.

⁸³ “Sprawozdanie sytuacyjne z Ziemi Wschodnich za pierwszy kwartał 1943 r. [Situational report from the Eastern Territories for the first quarter of 1943],” in *Ziemia Wschodnie. Raporty Biura Wschodniego Delegatury Rządu na Kraj 1943–1944* [Eastern Territories. Reports of the Eastern Bureau of the Government Delegation of Poland’s Office at Home 1943–1944], eds Mieczysław Adamczyk, Janusz Gmitruk, Adam Koseski (Warsaw–Pułtusk: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego i Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005), p. 22.

⁸⁴ BAB, R58/698, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten [Reports from occupied eastern territories], no. 14, 30 June, 1942, p. 83; ibidem, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten [Reports from occupied eastern territories], no. 33, 11 December, 1942, p. 147, 154.

⁸⁵ Yones, *Die Straße nach Lemberg...*, pp. 85–86.

⁸⁶ See Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 43 II/685, Bandera’s letter to Hitler, “An Seine Exzellenz den Herrn Deutschen Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler [To His Excellency the German Chancellor Adolf Hitler],” August 3, 1941, pp. 22–23. More about Sheptytsky see BAB, R58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Situational report from the USSR], no. 32, July 24, 1941, p. 19. Lvov Mayor Yuri Polanski even tried to commit suicide (BAB, R58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Situational report from the USSR], no. 38, July 30, 1941, p. 104).

The occupation in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, governed by Erich Koch, was much stricter than that in District Galicia, where in January 1942 Karl Lasch was replaced as chief by Otto Wächter. In *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* the school system was reduced to 4 elementary-school grades, as the Ukrainians living there were to become something like slaves or forced laborers. Koch expressed his view: "if the Ukrainians work 10 hours a day, they shall work 8 for me."⁸⁷ Ukrainians in District Galicia were treated much less severely. They had 70 collaborationist periodicals (referred to as *gadzinówki*) and a school system supported by the authorities of the General Government; large numbers of talented Ukrainian students from Galicia were sent on scholarships to the Reich. Ukrainians tended to be treated better than the Poles but were also deported as forced labor to Germany.⁸⁸

In Volhynia the Holocaust took a different course than in Eastern Galicia. The extermination of 570,000 Jews in Eastern Galicia and of 250,000 in Volhynia can be divided into four stages. The first stage involved pogroms, conducted in both Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. During that period between 20,000 and 33,000 Jews were murdered, some in initial mass executions.⁸⁹ During the second stage, which began along with the pogroms and lasted until the end of 1941, *Einsatzgruppe C* executed some 50,000 Jews in Eastern Galicia and 25,000 in Volhynia. The third stage differed in the two territories. In it approximately 200,000 Jews were executed in Volhynia. *Einsatzkommandos* as well as *Sicherheitspolizei* and *Sicherheitsdienst*, aided by the Ukrainian police, began murdering Volhynian Jews in late 1941 and finished in late 1942. In Eastern Galicia more than 200,000 Jews were deported to the death camp in Bełżec, about 150,000 were executed, and 80,000 were killed or died in ghettos and labor camps. The extermination of most Eastern Galician Jews was concluded in the summer of 1943. During the fourth stage around 10 percent (80,000) of Western Ukrainian Jews remained and were struggling to survive, hiding in forests, villages, towns, and cities. Most however, 70 to 80 percent of them, did not survive. They were murdered by Ukrainian and German police, Ukrainian nationalists, and the local population.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair...*, p. 47.

⁸⁸ According to *Krakowskie Wisti* of 13 April 1943, Ukrainian students were the second largest group in Germany in late 1941. Quoted after Volodymyr Serhiychuk, *Istoriya KoDUS-u* [The history of KoDUS] (Kyiv: PP Serhiychuk M.I., 2008), p. 93. General information about the situation of Ukrainians in the General Government see Golczewski, *Shades of Grey...*, pp. 134–135.

⁸⁹ Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft...*, pp. 668–671; Dieter Pohl, "Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Western Ukraine – A Research Agenda," in *Shared History – Divided Memory. Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941*, eds Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, Kai Struve (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), p. 306.

⁹⁰ Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine..." pp. 278–288; Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien...*, pp. 43–44, 139–262, 385; Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews...*, p. 11; Snyder, "The Life and Death of Western Volhynian Jewry..." pp. 92, 96–97.

Like nationalists, the Ukrainian police played an important role during all four stages of the Holocaust in both Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. Without them the extermination of Jews on those territories would have been practically impossible due to the small number of German police stations. In July 1943 there were 4,000 Ukrainian policemen in District Galicia, 540 in the Cracow District, and 464 in the Lublin District. Unlike all other districts in the General Government (Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw, and Radom) District Galicia had no Polish policemen. In Eastern Galicia Poles served exclusively in the Criminal Police (*Kriminalpolizei*) and the Railway Protection Police (*Bahnschutz*).⁹¹ In 1942 in Volhynia there were 12,000 Ukrainian policemen and only 1,400 German ones.⁹² Across *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* the overall ratio of Ukrainian to German policemen was similar. In late November 1942 there were 8,700 Ukrainian policemen and 2,800 German policemen there (ratio 3:1). Meanwhile in the rural area the ratio was totally different: there were 42,600 Ukrainian and 3,700 German policemen (11:1).⁹³

The Ukrainian policemen assisted the Germans during executions by escorting Jews to the execution sites and forcing them to dig mass graves. Sometimes identifying and capturing Jews depended on cooperation of those policemen and on help provided by the local civil servants who had lists of Jewish inhabitants, or on the local population, who knew where their Jewish neighbors lived. Moreover, Ukrainian policemen sometimes executed the victims on their own.⁹⁴ On September 6, 1941 in Radomyśl, the Ukrainian Police helped *Sonderkommando 4a* execute 1,107 adult Jews and it executed another 561 young Jews on its own.⁹⁵ During Yakov Ostrovsky's interrogation in July 1944 by the NKVD he reported on the course of extermination of 3,300 Jews during 2 executions: 1,800 victims were killed by the Germans and 1,500 by the Ukrainian policemen.⁹⁶ According to Stanisław Błażejowski, Andryk

⁹¹ Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...", pp. 105–106.

⁹² Timothy Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," *Past and Present* 179 (2003): 210.

⁹³ Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair...*, pp. 42. See also Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews...*, p. 175. Dieter Pohl estimates that the total number of Ukrainian policemen employed in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* at 100,000 (including firemen). They could be divided into "Orts-polizisten, ukrainische Schutzpolizei, Polizisten in Schutzmannschaftsbataillonen." Moreover, approx. 300,000 Ukrainians worked for the Wehrmacht (Pohl, "Ukrainische Hilfskräfte...", pp. 210–211).

⁹⁴ More about the Ukrainian police conducting executions of Jews see AŻIH, 301/1510, Relacja Bajli Fefer [Bajla Fefer's testimony], p. 2; *Einsatzgruppe C's* Ukrainian helpers also conducted executions (Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in *The Shoah in Ukraine...*, pp. 55; see also idem, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien...*, p. 278).

⁹⁵ BAB, R58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Situational reports from the USSR], no. 88, September 17, 1941, p. 164.

⁹⁶ USHMM, RG-31-018M, roll 29, Yakov Ostrowsky's interrogation, July 7, 1944, p. 87.

Dobrovolsky, a Ukrainian policeman from Małe Skalki in Volhynia, boasted that he had single-handedly killed 300 Jews.⁹⁷

Ukrainian policemen played an equally important role in guarding Jews in ghettos and labor camps, and during transports to death camps, mostly from Eastern Galicia to Bełżec. The deportations of Jews from Lvov to Bełżec began in March 1942 and continued until December. The largest number – about 50,000 people – were transported between July 10 and 23, 1942.⁹⁸ Without Ukrainian police collaboration those deportations would not have been conducted within the course of several days. In March 1942 285 Ukrainian policemen stationed in 6 police stations in Lvov, while their total number By July 1942 this total has increased to 15 officers and 474 policemen. On August 1, 1943 827 policemen stationed there in 11 police stations. Most probably all of these policemen helped conduct the deportations.⁹⁹

Although the Ukrainian police was only one of the formations involved in the deportations (along with the German police and the Jewish Order Service), it played a very important, if not central, role in the deportations because of the number of its functionaries and their familiarity with the terrain. Two or three German policemen from *Schicherheitspolizei* or *Sicherheitsdienst* were available for every police station in Lvov employing 30 to 60 Ukrainian policemen. At times during the deportations additional detachments of German police would arrive but the number of the Ukrainian policemen remained much higher: usually 10 or more Ukrainian policemen per every German officer.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, Ukrainian policemen, particularly in Western Ukraine, where many of them sympathized with the OUN or even belonged to it, had many ideological motifs for murdering Jews or cleansing the country of ‘enemies of the nation’, as the organization defined them. On August 10, 1942, during the deportation from the Janowska Street camp in Lvov a Ukrainian policeman complained that officers of the Todt organisation were obstructing his work and trying to save the Jews.¹⁰¹

The Ukrainian Police and the UPA

The Jews who managed to survive the liquidation of the ghettos, first in Volhynia and then in Eastern Galicia, worked in labor camps or remained in hiding. Staying outside the labor camps was a crime usually punishable by death. Since the number of Germans resettled in Western Ukraine was small, the discovery of Jews depended largely on the cooperation of the police and the actions of the

⁹⁷ Ośrodek Karta [Karta Center], Eastern Archive, II/36, Zeznanie Stanisława Błażejewskiego [Stanisław Błażejewski's testimony], p. 10.

⁹⁸ Finder, Prusin, “Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...,” pp. 107–108.

⁹⁹ Rich, “Armed Ukrainians in L'viv...,” p. 280–281.

¹⁰⁰ Finder, Prusin, “Collaboration in Eastern Galicia...,” p. 107.

¹⁰¹ Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien...*, p. 110.

local population. Another factor that reduced chances of survival in this area was the activity of the OUN-B, which in early 1943 formed the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The situation of Jews hiding outside the labor camps was so dire in the last months and weeks of the occupation in Western Ukraine that some fled to labor camps guarded by Germans, who sometimes protected them from the nationalists in exchange for money or because of workforce shortages.¹⁰²

The OUN-B founded the UPA in early 1943 to continue the fight for the Ukrainian state. The OUN-B officially ended its collaboration with the Germans in July 1941, when the RSHA arrested first Bandera and Stetsko and then, in the following weeks and months, some 1,500 other OUN-B members.¹⁰³ Other Ukrainian politicians did collaborate with the Germans, including those associated with the OUN-M and, to a greater extent, members of the Ukrainian Central Committee, headed by Volodymyr Kubiyovych. And so did many Ukrainian intellectuals and employees of the administration.¹⁰⁴ It should be mentioned that the leaders of the OUN-B were held in Berlin and Sachsenhausen on privileged conditions, as special political prisoners, as was the command of the Romanian Iron Guard.¹⁰⁵

Although the UPA officially treated the Germans as enemies it rarely fought them because it was waging war against its main enemy – the Red Army, which was returning to Ukraine, and the Soviet Union. By order of the OUN-B's command about 5,000 armed Ukrainian policemen in Volhynia deserted and joined the UPA between March 19 and April 14, 1943.¹⁰⁶ They were replaced by Polish policemen, who often took revenge on the Ukrainian population for the murders committed by the OUN and UPA.¹⁰⁷ The Ukrainian deserters had been among those assisting the Germans in exterminating Jews, especially in 1942. During their service they learned how to exterminate an entire ethnic group in a given region. This knowledge and the general assumptions of the OUN-B command helped the Ukrainian nationalists to begin the 'cleansing' of Volhynia and Eastern Galicia of Poles. Polish civilians were massacred in these two regions in the spring of 1943 and early 1944. The total number of Poles murdered by the UPA with the help of the local Ukrainian population is estimated at between 70,000 and 100,000.¹⁰⁸ At

¹⁰² AŽIH, 301/3337, Relacja Hilarego Koenigsberga [Hilary Koenigsberg's testimony], p. 14; Omer Bartov, "Wartime Lies and Other Testimonies. Jewish-Christian Relations in Buczacz, 1939–1944," *East European Politics and Societies* 26, 3 (2011): 496–497.

¹⁰³ *Prołom* 1 (1941): 23–24, quoted after *Ukrayins'ke derzhavotvorennia...*, pp. 442–443.

¹⁰⁴ Golczewski, *Shades of Grey...*, pp. 133–136.

¹⁰⁵ Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 285–286.

¹⁰⁶ Motyka, "Polski policjant na Wołyniu," p. 126; idem, *Ukraińska partyzantka...*, p. 194; Snyder, "Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing..." pp. 211–212; Finder, Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia..." p. 108.

¹⁰⁷ Motyka, "Polski policjant na Wołyniu," pp. 127, 138; Snyder, "Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing..." p. 223.

¹⁰⁸ Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka...*, p. 284.

the same time the nationalists were murdering Jews who were hiding in forests or in Polish and Ukrainian homes. The Jews imprisoned by the nationalists in labor camps were murdered shortly before the arrival of the Red Army. A similar fate befell Jewish physicians and other medical staff.¹⁰⁹ In their testimonies the Jews who survived the Holocaust in Western Ukraine usually referred to the UPA partisans and OUN members as *banderowcy* (banderites).¹¹⁰

In general, service in the police and military organizations such as the Galician Division of the *Waffen-SS* played a very important role in the history of the OUN-B and the UPA as well as in the process of the extermination of Jews in Ukraine. Ivan Katchanovski estimates that 46 percent of OUN and UPA commanders served in the Ukrainian police, Battalion 201 of the *Schutzmannschaft*, or the Galician Division, or were trained in the German-run military or espionage academies.¹¹¹ Shortly before the Germans' withdrawal from Western Ukraine in the spring and summer of 1944 some of the Ukrainian policemen left these areas with the retreating Germans, while others remained in the UPA and in the underground, sometimes until the early 1950s.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews...*, pp. 199–200, 256, 357–358; Władysław Siemaszko, Ewa Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich...*, vol. 2, pp. 1079–1080; Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka...*, p. 296; Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera...*, pp. 272–280.

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, AŻIH, 301/1222, Relacja Izraela i Barbary Lissaków [Israel and Barbara Lissak's testimony], p. 6–9; AŻIH, 301/2193, Relacja Ignacego Goldwassera [Ignacy Goldwasser's testimony], pp. 10–12; AŻIH, 301/3359, Relacja Edzi Szeicher [Edzia Szeicher's testimony], p. 5; AŻIH, 301/4680, Relacja Marka Lessinga [Marek Lessing's testimony], pp. 12–14; AŻIH, 301/6012, Relacja Leona Hejnysza [Leon Hejnysz's testimony], pp. 2–4; AŻIH, 301/1510, Relacja Bajli Fefer [Bajla Fefer's testimony], p. 2; AŻIH, 301/2888, Relacja Miny Grinzajd [Mina Grinzajd's testimony; translated from Yiddish]; AŻIH, 301/3337, Relacja Hilarego Koenigsberga [Hilary Koenigsberg's testimony, pp. 12, 14–15 (Koenigsberg talks about "bands of Bandera supporters"); AŻIH, 301/305, Relacja Jakuba Grinsberga [Jakub Grinsberg's testimony], p. 2; AŻIH, 301/808, Relacja Edmunda Adlera [Edmund Adler's testimony], pp. 2–3; AŻIH, 301/198, Relacja Rafała Szlegera [Rafał Szleger's testimony], p. 5; AŻIH, 301/198, Relacja Leona Knebla [Leon Knebel's testimony], p. 5; AŻIH, 301/879, Relacja Mojżesza Kina [Mojżesz Kin's testimony], pp. 2–4; AŻIH, 301/803, Relacja Munia Inslichta [Munio Inslicht's testimony], p. 2; AŻIH, 301/589, Relacja Szlojme Katza [Szlojme Katz's testimony], p. 1.

¹¹¹ Ivan Katchanovski studied the biographies of 118 OUN and UPA leaders (Ivan Katchanovski, "Terrorists or National Heroes", paper given at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, Concordia University, Montreal, June 1–3, 2010). Those biographies can be found in Petro Sodol, *Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiia, 1943–49. Dovidnyk* [Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1943–49. Directory] (New York: Proloh, 1994), p. 63–136.

¹¹² 120,000 Ukrainians left Western Ukraine following the retreating Germans. See Katrin Boeckh, *Stalinismus in der Ukraine. Die Rekonstruktion des sowjetischen Systems nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* [Stalinism in Ukraine. The reconstruction of the Soviet system after the World War II] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 293.

Summary

The topic of the Ukrainian police in Western Ukraine has not been thoroughly researched hitherto and awaits its study. This formation should be examined in isolation from the police in Central and Eastern Ukraine as well as in the whole *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. The reason for this is that Eastern Galicia and Volhynia – prewar Polish territories – were the areas of the operation of the OUN and the UPA. This movement developed similarly to the Ustaša and it had a significant influence on the course of the Holocaust in the region. No analogous organization operated in the rest of Ukraine, most of which was prewar Soviet territory. This topic is highly important given the ties between fascist Ukrainian nationalism and the Holocaust which was organized by the Germans in cooperation with the Ukrainian policemen and aided by parts of Ukrainian society. These links reveal the unofficial collaboration between the Nazis and the Ukrainian nationalists during the Holocaust, although not only did the two sides not officially cooperate, but quite the opposite – they sporadically fought against each other. In addition, the Germans carried out arrests and detainings of several hundred Ukrainian nationalists in prisons and concentration camps.

The formation of the Ukrainian police began before the Germans occupied Ukraine. It was created in the General Government in preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union in cooperation with the OUN-B. At the same time the OUN-B formed its own militia to help it proclaim the Ukrainian state and protect its structures. Both the Germans and the OUN-B planned to use the police to ‘cleanse’ the territories of their political and ethnic enemies. After June 22, 1941, the Jews became the main victim of violence due to the pogroms carried out in practically all parts of the border zone from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

The OUN-B and the militia played a key role in these events in Western Ukraine. Since the Germans did not accept the OUN-B’s concept of Ukrainian state, the two parties went their separate ways. Unofficially, however, and precisely because of the police, the collaboration continued, which manifested itself mainly in the extermination of the Galician and Volhynian Jews. The experience gained by the Ukrainian policemen in mass executions and deportations was then used by the UPA members to murder the Poles as well as the Jews hiding outside the labor camps.

In contrast to Eastern and Central Ukraine, only a small number of Jews in Western Ukraine managed to survive the occupation and the Holocaust. The fact that they fled to labor camps or other places controlled by the Germans during the last weeks of the occupation proves that the situation there was unique and significantly different from that in the rest of the country. Although the UPA murdered 70,000–100,000 Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia, members of both OUN factions serving in the Ukrainian police helped the Germans exterminate a much larger number of Western Ukrainian Jews. It seems that an

a thorough and detailed research on the Ukrainian police in Western Ukraine, its role in the Holocaust, and its connections with the OUN-B and UPA will not be easy, although it should and can be done. So let us hope that this topic will eventually find its historian.

Translated by *Anna Brzostowska* and *Jerzy Giebułtowski*

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