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TsDAVOVU, f. 3833, op. 3, spr. 7, ark. 1–6.

The Holocaust in Ukraine – The Pogroms of 1941

Translation: *A07 Iaroslav Stetsko Informs the Germans of his support for their “Methods of Exterminating Jewry” in July 1941.*

My Biography

I was born in Ternopil on 19 January 1912.

I took part in revolutionary activities from the time I was a *gymnasium* student. In 1928 I joined the underground nationalist youth organization *lunatstvo*, the task of which was the nationalist revolutionary education of Ukrainian youth. It also prepared young people to struggle against the occupation and organized sabotages of Polish national holidays, which we were ordered to celebrate, such as the anniversary of the founding of the Polish state, the occupation of Lviv, and so forth.

In 1929, I graduated with distinction from the classical Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Ternopil. From 1929 until my imprisonment for a rather long period (1934) I studied law and philosophy in Lviv and then for a short time in Cracow.

After graduating from gymnasium I took over the district and later regional leadership of the OUN in Ternopil.

In 1930, I was imprisoned for two and a half months in connection with a large anti-Polish sabotage action in western Ukraine.

In the autumn of 1931, I became editor of the underground youth magazine *lunak* at the Homeland Executive of the OUN in Lviv and supervisor of youth education.

In the spring of 1932, I became the ideological and political leader of the OUN Homeland Executive in western Ukraine, editor-in-chief of all underground OUN publications, and chief of the OUN department of education. In 1932-1933, I took part in several foreign conferences with Leader IeK [Ievhen Konovalets'] and the OUN Leadership in Berlin, Danzig, and Prague.

I was also arrested several times, but was released from investigation, and spent more than two months in prison in connection with the attempt on the Soviet consul in Lviv. OUN member Lemyk was given the death sentence for the attempt, which was then commuted to life imprisonment. For propagandistic and political reasons, instead of escaping after the attempt, the assailant surrendered to the police in order to explain the reasons for the attempt at the trial.

In June 1934, I was imprisoned again on the eve of the assassination of Minister Pieracki and after two years of investigation was sentenced to five years of hard prison, as political leader and editor with the OUN Homeland Executive. On the basis of an amnesty declared under pressure from Ukrainian public opinion, I, like the others who had been convicted then, spent only two and a half years in prison.

After leaving prison in December 1936 I was the de facto homeland leader of the OUN until August 1937. In August, on orders from the late Leader Ievhen Konovalets', I left for Vienna in

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Germany, where I took up political and programmatic preparation for the Second Congress of the OUN with the understanding that after the Congress I would take up the post of ideological and political officer in the Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists. I took up this post at the Second Congress and stayed in it until April 1940, when the split with Colonel A[ndrii] Mel'nyk occurred on the basis of the decision of the congress of OUN leaders from Greater Germany on 10 February 1940, which authorized Stepan Bandera, the present leader of the OUN, to take over the actual leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists at home and abroad until a great congress of the OUN was convened. In the new leadership I took up the position of political director and preparation of the political and programmatic contents of the Great Congress of the OUN, which was convened by Leader Stepan Bandera. From the summer of 1939 I stayed in Genoa and Rome in Italy and there, too, was active in external political relations, publishing the Nationalist Press Service in Italian (*Notiziario Ucraino*), working with political journals on eastern affairs, for example, *Revista del Medio ed Estremo Oriente*, and establishing cooperation with the appropriate Italian authorities. In addition, I edited the OUN ideological journal *Ideia i chyn*. In August 1940 I went to Germany and from there to the General Government, where I was particularly active in preparations for the Second Congress and worked on developing OUN political questions. The participants in the Congress were primarily representatives of the homeland and Greater Germany. In addition to editing regular political and programmatic publications I elaborated the following questions in books: "For a Proper Interpretation of the OUN's Political General Line," "The New Social Order," "The Ukrainian Worker Question," "Where the Strength of the People Lies," "The Content of Ukrainian Statehood," "Nationalism and Religion," "Our Pathways," "What Nest," "Guidelines for the Struggle with Moscow," "The Philosophy of the Community," and other smaller works on Ukrainian nationalist ideology, program, and policies. With the Second Congress of the OUN I took over, at the request of the OUN Leader, deputy leadership and was the chief of staff in the Leadership of the OUN and at the same time political officer in the Leadership. As the political director, I organized a consolidating campaign, the result of which was a congress of all representatives of all healthy Ukrainian forces abroad in Cracow on 22 June, the day the war broke out. That same day I left Cracow, used our organizational connections to get to the territory that was under Muscovite occupation, arrived in Lviv on the same day that the German army did, and, as I stated in a letter headed *Erklärung* and dated 15 July 1941, proclaimed renewal of Ukrainian statehood and at the request of Leader Stepan Bandera assumed leadership of the government in Lviv.

I convened the government in the following composition: my deputy-Prof. Dr. Marian Panchyshyn, former rector of the Ukrainian university, who also took over the department of health. Second deputy Lev Rebet. Department of agriculture assigned to Dr. [Ievhen] Khraplyvyi, deputy Prof. [Borys] Ivanyts'kyi. Department of administration—Dr. Volodymyr Lysyi, deputy-Dr. Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi. Military affairs—General [Vsevolod] Petriv. Foreign affairs—Volodymyr Stakhiv. Judiciary—Dr. Iuliian Fedusevych. Propaganda—the writer [Oleksa] Holovko from eastern Ukraine. His deputy—[Iosyp] Pozychyniuk [Pozychaniuk] from eastern Ukraine. Economy—[Iuliian] Pavlykovskyi, until his arrival Ivan Hrabar. Finance—Iliarii Ol'khovyi, deputy—[Kharyton] Lebid'-Iurchyk, former president of the Ukrainian state bank. Education and

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confessions—Prof. [Volodymyr] Radzykevych, deputy [Fedir] Pekars'kyi from Volhynia. Post— [Antin] Kostyshyn. Communications— [Teodor] Moroz. As a member of the government Ivan Klymiv, homeland leader of the OUN. As a member—Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi. In the department of administration—Professor Diablov from east-central Ukraine. In economics—Bohdaniv from east-central Ukraine. Security—[Mykola Lebed´]. Director of the office of the head of administration—Dr. Mykhailo Rosliak.

The government set about practical work, organizing the economy, the administration, the militia, et cetera and striving to establish the closest possible cooperation with the German military authorities and to assist them in every respect by organizing every aspect of life with its own forces. The entire Ukrainian public, headed by the metropolitan and the bishops of both confessions, is standing with the government. Metropolitan Sheptyts´kyi issued a pastoral letter in which he recognized the government and called on the public to submit to it. Dr. K[ost´] Levyts´kyi, former president of the West Ukrainian Republic and a prisoner of the GPU in Moscow for two years, is standing by the government and was received with representatives of the government by the local German authorities at an audience, which did not arrive at agreement. As a result of my extensive negotiations with the military authorities and the SS, I was informed that the government cannot be recognized and that I am forbidden to take part in any political activities and am ordered not to leave Lviv and to report to the police twice a day. I was informed that I would be arrested if I failed to do so. In reply I submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs my statement no. 46/4 dated 7 July 1941, which statement I am enclosing. At about nine o'clock in the evening on 8 July 1941, at 9 Saint Wojciech Street, an unknown person made an attempt on me as I was riding in a car. The driver was wounded. As the appropriate German authorities established in connection with the appearance of Polish anti-German and anti-Ukrainian leaflets, the attempt originated most probably in Polish circles, for which the appropriate German authorities promised suitable punitive measures against the Poles. At four o'clock the next day we informed the SS that I had been arrested on orders from the Reichsregierung and had to go to Berlin. On Wednesday I was taken from jail in Lviv to Cracow; from Cracow I was taken on Thursday evening to Berlin, and then on Friday I was released.

II

My ideological conception, how I imagine the political, economic, and social content of Ukrainian statehood, is evident from my writings. I co-created the ideology and program of the Organization as completely hostile to Marxism, democracy, and all classocratic ideologies and programs. In the political sphere I stand on the position of an authoritarian, single-party system in Ukraine. In the social sphere I stand for national solidarism, which is close to the National-Socialist program but differs in the specific features of the Ukrainian land and the social and psychological structure of the Ukrainian people. In the economic sphere I am opposed to the capitalist or social-communist system and recognize as types of ownership individual and family, state, communal, and cooperative. In culture, I support its organicity and Ukrainian specificity and recognize its heroic content. In religion, I support freedom for cults that are creative and useful to the nation and aim to unite the religious Ukrainian people in a Ukrainian national-

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heroic Christian church. In general, I support the need to build and organize Ukrainian life on the basis of principles that suit its spirituality, the specific features of Ukrainianness, and the historic heroic traditions of the Ukrainian people from the times when a sovereign Ukrainian state existed. I recognize the following hierarchy of values in life: the people, the clan or family, and only then the individual. In opposition to the Marxist and demoliberal conception of life, which recognizes the materialism of the crowd, I stand on a position of advancing the heroic creative individual, and not the shapeless mass. In opposition to the mechanistic worldview—a national organic weltanschauung that recognizes the people, and not humanity or the individual, as an absolute value, I consider Marxism to be a product of the Jewish mind, which, however, has been applied in practice in the Muscovite prison of peoples by the Muscovite-Asiatic people with the assistance of Jews. Moscow and Jewry are Ukraine's greatest enemies and bearers of corruptive Bolshevik international ideas.

Although I consider Moscow, which in fact held Ukraine in captivity, and not Jewry, to be the main and decisive enemy, I nonetheless fully appreciate the undeniably harmful and hostile role of the Jews, who are helping Moscow to enslave Ukraine. I therefore support the destruction of the Jews and the expedience of bringing German methods of exterminating Jewry to Ukraine, barring their assimilation and the like.

III

I believe that the fate of Ukraine is being decided for a long time to come in the present world war. I am aware that the reconstruction of a sovereign and united Ukrainian state is possible only with Germany's victory. Historical fate and geopolitical reality have determined both Ukraine's and Germany's path. Ukraine's economic structure dictates its cooperation with Germany. Realizing that we overcome or fall together with Germany, which is now shedding blood, just as the Ukrainian people are, on the broad steppes of Ukraine for a common cause, we uphold the complete economic support of Germany by Ukraine with all available means because this is a question of a common success or failure. Especially since we are aware that the German people must receive compensation for the enormous sacrifices that the German army is making in the struggle against Moscow. The sovereign and united Ukrainian state will provide this compensation and is obliged to provide it. The Ukrainian national army, which will stand on guard at Ukraine's borders, will hold the front against invasion by Moscow, and Germany will have a secure eastern border so that it can establish order among other peoples, which, unlike Ukraine, are hostile to her. This is the standpoint that I defend as Chief of the Ukrainian Government.

translated by Karel Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk¹

¹ For a fully commented edition of the document with German (contemporary) and English translation see: Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk: "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 Zhyttiepys". *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* Vol. 23, No. 3/4 (December 1999); pp. 149-184.

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