

УДК (UDC) 94 (477.8) : 329.614 "1941/1944"
DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1\(41\).630](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1(41).630)

OUN(M) UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES ON TRANSNISTRIA GOVERNORATE TERRITORY (1941-1944)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to reveal the origin, development and activity of the branches of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Andriy Melnyk (hereinafter – OUN(m)) in the territory of Transnistria (1941-1944).

The scientific novelty: it has been proven that the initiative to build this network belonged to the Kyiv regional branch of the OUN(m). It was found that in terms of the number of members and the intensity of work, the «Melnykivtsi» regional leadership was significantly inferior to the «Banderivtsi» regional leadership, and it mainly operated in Odesa and its suburbs (separate branches were created in Odesa, western Mykolaiv Oblast, and southern Vinnytsia), had about ten active members, who had their own influence groups. It was established that the main areas of work were the distribution of propaganda literature and the attraction of new members. In foreign policy, the «Melnykivtsi» of Transnistria focused on an alliance with the Germans and wanted the unification of all Ukrainian lands.

Conclusions. To sum up, the first OUN(m) members arrived in Transnistria in September 1941. However, they did not form their own network and partially joined the OUN(b). Fedir Krykun («Morskyi»), who arrived from Kyiv, was the first to start organizational work in the early 1942. In his activities he relied on the procurement cooperative.

The Odesa regional branch of the OUN(m), created by «Morskyi», included about ten people. They were mostly from the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Odesa and several among them were Soviet agents. In the summer of 1942, the OUN(m) members of Transnistria managed to establish permanent communication with the National leadership in Bucharest. From the leadership they periodically received propaganda literature and funds. Gradually, the OUN(m) developed its own network in Odesa, as well as in many regions of Transnistria. Most of its members had no idea that they belonged to that branch of the once unified OUN organization. In terms of the number of members and the scale of its activity, it was significantly inferior to the OUN(b).

Despite competition between the two branches of the OUN in Transnistria, there was never any open confrontation. The «Melnykivtsi» focused on cooperation with the Germans, and the «Banderivtsi» focused first on their own forces and later on an alliance with the Romanians. There were repeated occasions when the OUN(m) members switched to the competitors side. Before the return of the Soviet government a part of «Melnykivtsi» of Transnistria moved to Romania. The rest of them were arrested by the NKVS-NKDB agencies, given long prison terms or the death penalty.

Keywords: Ukrainian nationalists, «Melnykivtsi», Transnistria, «Banderivtsi», OUN, Odesa, the underground

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПІДПІЛЛЯ ОУН(М) НА ТЕРЕНАХ ТРАНСНІСТРІЇ (1941-1944)

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АНОТАЦІЯ

Мета статті – розкрити виникнення, розвиток і діяльність осередків Організації українських націоналістів під керівництвом Андрія Мельника (далі – ОУН(М)) на території Трансністрії (1941-1944).

Наукова новизна: доведено, що ініціатива розбудови цієї мережі належала Київському крайовому проводу ОУН(М). З'ясовано, що за кількістю членів та інтенсивністю роботи «мельниківський» обласний провід значно поступався «бандерівському» і діяв переважно в Одесі та передмістях (окремі осередки вдалося створити на Одещині, заході Миколаївщини та півдні Вінниччини), нараховував близько десяти активних членів, які мали власні групи впливу. Встановлено, що головними напрямками роботи було поширення агітаційної літератури та залучення нових членів. У зовнішній політиці «мельниківці» Трансністрії орієнтувалися на союз з німцями та хотіли об'єднання усіх українських земель.

Висновки. Отже, перші члени ОУН(М) з'явилися на території Трансністрії у вересні 1941 р. Однак вони не утворили власної мережі та частково приєдналися до ОУН(Б). Першим зазначену роботу на початку 1942 р. розпочав Федір Крикун («Морський»), який прибув з Києва. В організаційній діяльності він спирався на заготівельний кооператив.

До складу створеного «Морським» Одеського обласного проводу ОУН(М) увійшли приблизно 10 осіб, переважно зі складу української інтелігенції Одеси. Серед них було кілька радянських агентів. Влітку 1942 р. членам ОУН(М) Трансністрії вдалося налагодити постійний зв'язок з Крайовим проводом у Бухаресті. Від нього вони періодично отримували агітаційну літературу та кошти. Поступово ОУН(М) розбудувала власну мережу в Одесі, а також багатьох районах Трансністрії. Більшість її учасників не здогадувалися, що належать до цієї гілки колись єдиної ОУН. За кількістю членів і масштабністю роботи, вона значно поступалася ОУН(Б).

Незважаючи на конкуренцію між обома гілками ОУН, на території Трансністрії до відвертого протистояння справа ніколи не доходила «Мельниківці» орієнтувалися на співпрацю з німцями, а «бандерівці» – спочатку на власні сили, а згодом – на союз з румунами. Траплялися неодноразові випадки переходу до табору конкурентів. Напередодні повернення радянської влади частина «мельниківців» Трансністрії виїхали до Румунії. Інші, що залишилися, були заарештовані органами НКВС-НКДБ, отримали тривалі терміни ув'язнення або смертні вироки.

Ключові слова: українські націоналісти, «мельниківці», Трансністрія, «бандерівці», ОУН, Одеса, підпілля

INTRODUCTION

State policy on the opening and declassification of archives in combination with the dynamic development of historical research create prerequisites for the study of issues

that previously fell out of the field of view of scientists due to the lack of a source base. One of these is the activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists of the Melnyk region (hereinafter – OUN(m) on the territory of Transnistria¹. Its solution will help fill the gap in studies of the liberation movement of Odesa. The importance of studies is also determined by the special place and tasks of the OUN in the Southern Ukrainian region. At the same time, the solution of this scientific problem is intended to prove the high level of national consciousness, the extensiveness, the all-Ukrainian character of the activities of the OUN(b) and OUN(m), the constant connection with other regions of Ukraine and abroad but the work on the functioning of the «Melnykivtsi» network of the OUN in the South of Ukraine will become an important component of the future generalizing work devoted to the Ukrainian liberation movement of the 1940s – 1950s in general and the OUN(m) in particular.

ANALYSIS OF RECENT RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

The question of the activity of Ukrainian nationalists in Transnistria was reflected in the writings of representatives of the Ukrainian Diaspora. In particular, it was practically the first time Lev Shankovskiy began to cover this problem back in 1958. In his work, he writes fragmentarily about the structure and staff of the OUN(b) in the South of Ukraine². Another Diaspora author, Arkadyi Zhukovskiy, sporadically mentions the arrival of the Southern branch of the OUN(b), the creation of the Odesa regional branch and five district branches. At the same time, he writes about the arrival of the Southern branch of the OUN(m) from Romania under the leadership of O. Masikevych. It also provides data on the Bukovina-Ukrainian Self-Defense Army (BUSA) led by V. Lugovyi³.

After Ukraine gained independence and the archives of the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies were opened, historians were able to work with previously inaccessible materials (first of all, special funds of the central, regional state, branch state archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, regional Departments of the Security Service of Ukraine, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, etc.). Therefore, studies began to be published, which revealed much more thoroughly the problem of the functioning of the nationalist underground in the South of Ukraine. Among them are the works of Taras Vintskovskiy and the Moldovan author Ihor Nikulcha⁴. Although it is worth noting that they contain much more information about the OUN(b), and the information about the OUN(m) is limited only to stating the fact of their existence. The

¹ South-Western Ukrainian lands – the southern regions of Vinnytsia region, the western regions of Mykolaiv region and the entire Odesa region within its administrative boundaries at the time, as well as the left-bank regions of the Moldavian SSR were included in the Transnistria governorate. The western governorate borders ran along the conditional border line of Mohyliv-Podilskiy – Bar – Zhmerynka. The administrative center was initially Tiraspol, and from October 17, 1941 – Odesa.

² *Шанковський Л.* Похідні групи ОУН (причинки до історії похідних груп ОУН на центральних і східних землях України і 1941-1943 рр.). Мюнхен: «Український самостійник», 1958. 370 с.

³ *Жуковський А.* Українські землі під румунською окупацією в часі Другої світової війни: Північна Буковина, частина Бессарабії, і Транснїстрія, 1941-1944. *Український історик.* 1987. № 1-4. С. 83-96.

⁴ *Вінцовський Т.* Оунівське підпілля в Транснїстрії. *Науковий вісник Ізмаїльського державного гуманітарного університету.* 2003. Вип. 14. С. 3-6; *Вінцовський Т.* Організація системи пропаганди ОУН на території Транснїстрії. *Сторінки воєнної історії України: збірник наукових статей.* 2009. Вип. 12. С. 249-254; *Вінцовський Т., Нікульча І.* Українське самостійницьке підпілля у Транснїстрії (1941-1944 рр.). *Український історичний журнал.* 2007. № 5. С. 123-134.

activity of the OUN(m) is presented much more widely in the article of the Ukrainian historian Yuriy Shchur⁵. Thus, he briefly describes the creation, activity and liquidation of the Odesa regional branch of the OUN(m) by the bodies of the NKVD. Yuriy Zaitsev supplements the data on the activities of the OUN in the South of Ukraine⁶. An attempt to structure the organization of the OUN in Transnistria and its extensive activities during the occupation of Odesa was made by Nadiya Safonova⁷.

We should also note the work of Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Mykola Haliv, which is dedicated to the struggle of the Soviet law enforcement agencies with the former employees of the Romanian intelligence and counterintelligence services, responsible, among other things, for the fight against the OUN⁸. Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Mykola Haliv focused their research on the structure and activities of Romanian intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies in Transnistria (1941-1944), which performed a direct struggle against nationalist structures⁹. The study of Vasyl Ilnytskyi and Vitaly Telvak is devoted to the problem of cooperation between the Ukrainian nationalists of the Carpathian OUN region and the Romanian underground (1940 – early 1950s)¹⁰.

The analysis of the conducted historiography shows that there is no separate study dedicated to the activities of the OUN(m) in Transnistria. We consider it necessary to fill this gap primarily on the basis of newly discovered and unknown documents introduced into scientific circulation. In particular, materials from the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as the Security Service of Ukraine) and the archive of the Office of the Security Service in the Odesa region. Careful verification and critical analysis of the documents made it possible to establish the presence of significant inaccuracies and errors in them.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the emergence, development and activity of the OUN(m) branches on the territory of Transnistria (1941-1944). To achieve it, the following *tasks* have been set – to conduct the analysis of the historiographical and source base, to identify the main problems of the researched topic, to conceptualize the actual material.

⁵ Щур Ю. Радянські спецслужби проти націоналістичної Одеси. *Націоналістичний портал* (23 липня 2016). URL: <http://ukrnationalism.com/history/2186-radianski-spetssluzhby-proty-natsionalistychnoi-odesy.html>

⁶ Зайцев Ю.О. Діяльність ОУН на території Миколаївщини. *Миколаївщина: літопис історичних подій* / Під заг. ред. М.М. Штютюка. Херсон: ОЛДІ-плюс, 2002. С. 416-426; Зайцев Ю.О. Націоналістичне підпілля на території Миколаївщини в 1941-1944 рр. *Миколаївщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941-1944: (до 60-річчя визволення області від німецько-румунських окупантів)* / ред. кол.: О.М. Гаркуша (голова), Ю.О. Шклярський, М.М. Штютюк та ін. Миколаїв, 2004. С. 103-114.

⁷ Сафоновна Н. Діяльність ОУН на Одещині у 1941-1944 рр. *Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія*. 2015. Вип. 2. Ч. 3. С. 7-11.

⁸ Ilnytskyi V., Haliv M. The struggle of soviet repressive and punitive organs against former Romanian intelligence and counterintelligence structures in Ukraine (1944-1951). *Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie (Annals of the University of Craiova. History)*. 2019. Anul. XXIV. № 2 (36). November. S. 103-118.

⁹ Ilnytskyi V., Haliv M. Structure and activities of Romanian intelligence and counterintelligence bodies in Transnistria (1941-1944) (based on SSA SSU). *Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie (Annals of the University of Craiova. History)*. 2020. Anul. XXV. № 1 (37). April. S. 107-124.

¹⁰ Ilnytskyi V., Telvak V. The Romanian vector of the activity of the OUN's Carpathian area (the 1940 s – beginning of the 1950 s): on the cooperation of the Ukrainian and Romanian underground. *Danubius*. 2018. XXXVI. P. 217-234.

THE STATEMENT OF THE BASIC MATERIAL

The split of the OUN in February 1940 actually started the existence of two organizations – the OUN(b) and the OUN(m). With the beginning of the German-Soviet war, both branches of the once unified organization were faced with the task of implementing tactics and strategy. Their choice of the strategy was their main differentiation as the OUN(m) chose the path of moderate action, while the OUN(b) took the path of revolutionary struggle. However, both organizations tried to expand their influence both on the territory of Ukraine as well as on the territory of neighbouring states. OUN derivative groups were created specifically for this purpose. Their task was the creation of local self-government bodies, propaganda, as well as the development of an underground network. Vinnytsia was one of the important gathering points of derivative groups. It was from there that the first «Banderivtsi» arrived in Transnistria. «Banderivtsi» groups were the first to arrive in Transnistria from Vinnytsia¹¹. In particular, at the end of August 1941 they had already established a center in Moheliv-Podilskiyi (now Vinnytsia region)¹². Simultaneously, the fourth campaign subgroup of the OUN(b) Southern Group, headed by Zenon Lytvynko («Luzhenko»), was sent to Odesa region¹³.

The advance of the «Melnykivtsi» towards Southern Ukraine took place in a different way. Their group, led by Olexander Pului and Orest Masikevich, bypassed Transnistria and arrived on August 18, 1941 in German-controlled Mykolaiv. Soon after its members left to build their own cells throughout southern Ukraine¹⁴. Some «Melnykivtsi» arrived to Transnistria¹⁵. It should be noted that at that stage there was no sharp confrontation between the rival OUN factions¹⁶. Thus, three members of «Melnykivtsi» group arrived from Zhmerynka town (now Vinnytsia region) to Kominternivske town (now Dobroslav, Odesa region) on September 9, 1941. From there they walked to the state farm named after Kirov near Pavlynka village, where the members of the «Banderivtsi» group were temporarily staying. In conversation with «Luzhenko», the leader of the OUN in Odesa region, they offered to lead joint struggle for the Ukrainian independent united state¹⁷. During 1941, the participants of the «Melnyk» derivative groups that arrived in Transnistria failed to create their own party. Some single «Melnykivtsi» who arrived in Transnistria failed to create their own networks. The reason for that was their small number and short stay in Odesa region.

THE FIGURE OF FEDIR KRYKUN AND HIS ROLE IN THE CREATION OF THE ODESA REGIONAL BRANCH OF THE OUN(M)

The founder of the «Melnyk» network organization in Transnistria at the beginning of 1942 was a native of the village of Poniativka (Rozdilnianskyi district, Odesa region) – Fedir Krykun¹⁸.

¹¹ Сафонова Н. Діяльність ОУН на Одещині у 1941-1944 рр... С. 9.

¹² Антонюк Я., Трофимович В. Життєпис Степана Яншевецького – «Далекого»: правда драматичних змагань. Острог, 2020. С. 30-31.

¹³ Шанковський Л. Похідні групи ОУН... С. 215-216.

¹⁴ Боляновський А. Українські військові формування в збройних силах Німеччини: (1939-1945). Львів, 2003. С. 80-86.

¹⁵ The Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU). Fund 6. File 75808. P. 29; Вінцовський Т. Оунівське підпілля в Транснїстрїї... С. 4; Вінцовський Т., Нікульча І. Українське самостійницьке підпілля у Транснїстрїї (1941-1944 рр.)... С. 127.

¹⁶ Вінцовський Т. Органїзація системи пропаганди ОУН на території Транснїстрїї... С. 253.

¹⁷ Шанковський Л. Похідні групи ОУН... С. 217-218.

¹⁸ SSA SSU. Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 234.



Fig. 1. Fedir Krykun
(AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File
28523. Vol. 1. P. 200)

At the beginning of the German-Soviet war, he worked as the head of the Darnytsia Machine-Building Plant planning department. On September 18, 1941, he was mobilized to the fighter battalion and sent from there to defend the fortifications near Boryspil. Four days later, F. Krykun, together with a group of Red Army soldiers, was taken prisoner by the Germans and sent to the camp. In a few days the prisoner was sent to work at the Darnytsia Armored Fighting Vehicle Plant. F. Krykun managed to escape home (apartment № 3 in the house № 1 on Boryspil highway), taking advantage of the fact that he had been wearing civilian clothes. From there, in November 1941, he moved to Kyiv (an apartment on Velyka Vasylkivska Street), where he met Petro Romaniv, a secretary of the Bohdanivka district administration. During their conversations, Romaniv said that he was a member of the underground of the OUN(m) and persuaded Krykun to join the organization and immediately offered to depart to Odesa to

create a regional leadership. F. Krykun immediately agreed to the offer without hesitation and received the pseudonym «Morskyi», as further stay in Kyiv threatened the fugitive from the prisoner-of-war camp with an arrest and execution. A few days later, the newly appointed regional leader received the documents of an employee of the Kyiv Red Cross Society and a business trip certificate to Pervomaisk town (now Mykolaiv region). In addition to that, he was provided with the nationalist literature for organizational work: «OUN Decalogue», «Our aims», «Rules of the nationalist» and «Nationocracy»¹⁹.

In early February 1942, F. Krykun arrived in Odesa²⁰ and settled at the address: Pyrogovska Street, 5, apartment № 51²¹. In a couple of days F. Krykun, as a representative of the Red Cross, organized a meeting with doctors of Odesa. During that conference, he met with the head of the local cell of the OUN(b) Bohdan Yavorskyi («Dyrector»).

Soon they had agreed on a meeting where they discussed the decisions of the Second Great Extraordinary Assembly of the OUN (April 4, 1941 in Krakow). B. Yavorskyi («Dyrector») tried to persuade F. Krykun («Morskyi») to join the OUN(b). However Krykun flatly rejected such a proposal. F. Krykun later explained his position: «they were aggressive in their actions, and most importantly – they used terror against

¹⁹ The Archive of the Administration of the Security Service of Ukraine in Odesa region (AA SSU in Odesa region). Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 14-17, 68.

²⁰ Жуковський А. Українські землі під румунською окупацією в часі Другої світової війни... С. 94.

²¹ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 5. File 25307. Vol. 1. P. 112; SSA SSU. Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 234.

the «Melynkivtsi» leadership, which I personally despised»²². Additionally, while campaigning in Transnistria, the «Banderivtsi» used similar agitation rhetoric, accusing the «Melynkivtsi» of repressing the opposition by using the Germans²³. It should be noted that the activity of the OUN(b) network had a much larger scale. Thus, for the most part, the nationally conscious population joined its ranks, although there were some exceptions. For example, Vsevolod Kokovskyi, the head of the drawing department of the Polytechnic Institute of Odesa University, in March 1942 shifted from the OUN(b) to the OUN(m). He also managed to create and lead a cell of eight members: artist of the Ukrainian theatre, Osyp Moiak, two Bychkovsky brothers (one of them worked as a teacher at the Ukrainian school № 36 on Torhova Street), Savytskyi, a teacher of geodesy of the Academy of Arts and a second-year student of the Odesa Construction Institute, Mykhailo Ratushnyi²⁴.

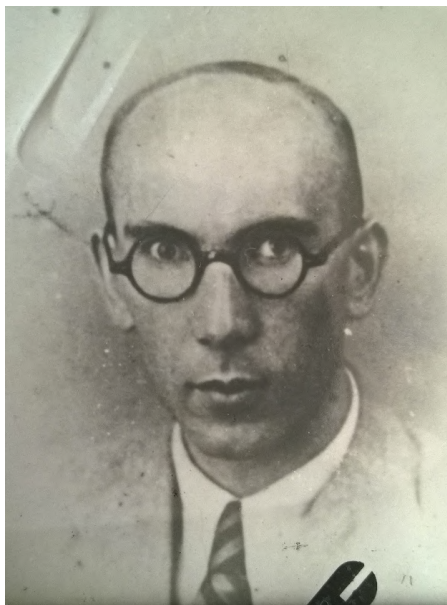


Fig. 2. Bohdan Yavorskyi
(SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2626. P. 287)

DEVELOPMENT OF «MELNYKIVTSI» NETWORK OF TRANSNISTRIA

At the initial stage of the Odesa regional leadership's development the OUN(m) focused on creation of a cooperative and agricultural bank. That created favorable prospects for expanding the organizational network. The «money fund» of the regional branch was expected to be formed on the basis of the bank's cash desk. At the same time, the cooperative members could move freely throughout the territory by using the guise of service trips²⁵. After exploring the territory, it was decided to divide the Odesa regional leadership into districts of «piatirky» (five members) and «triiky» (three members) in administrative-territorial terms. Meanwhile, communication with the OUN(m) regional leadership in Kyiv had to occur on a monthly basis through a special liaison officer²⁶.

In the mid-February 1942, F. Krykun convinced Stepan Bondarchuk («Batko»), a director of the «Travelling Ukrainian Theater» (Khersonska str., 15), and Serhii Nekrasov («Syvyi-Staryi»), an employee of the financial department of the city council, to join the organization²⁷. The latter was a long-time agent of the Soviet Secret Services, who operated under the operational alias «Gusiev»²⁸. That was probably a reason for him to take an initiative to lead the Odesa city leadership of the OUN(m).

²² AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. 34-35.

²³ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28130. Vol. 1. P. 51.

²⁴ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 25726. Vol. 1. P. 64; SSA SSU. Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 74.

²⁵ SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 41, 111-112.

²⁶ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 68.

²⁷ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 9575. P. 5; File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 43; SSA SSU. Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 74.

²⁸ SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 3.

F. Krykun's residence permit in Odesa had been expiring and he returned to Kyiv on February 21, 1942. During a period of his absence, S. Nekrasov became an acting leader of the OUN regional leadership. On his arrival in Kyiv, F. Krykun met with P. Romaniv and told him about the organizational work done in Odesa. He reported the names, first names, aliases and addresses of newly involved network members²⁹.

After their conversation, P. Romaniv provided F. Krykun with some nationalist literature (publications made in Prague: «Territory issue», «Almanac», «OUN Decalogue», «Our aims», «Rules of the nationalist», ones published in Volyn: «Confront the bootlicker» and in Kyiv – «New Ukrainian word») and gave him the order to intensify organizational work. Dubrava, a printing worker in Pervomaisk town (now Mykolaiv region), was assigned to provide a permanent connection between Odesa and Kyiv. However, he was soon arrested by police.

In the meantime, F. Krykun submitted a request to the Romanian military mission in Kyiv to move to his homeland and receive an opportunity to settle in the capital of Transnistria – Odesa. He returned to Odesa after acquiring the necessary documents on May 22, 1942. At that period, S. Nekrasov managed to get a permit from the Romanian administration to establish a small cooperative and S. Bondarchuk received a position of procurer there. The cooperative bought a car and a pair of horses to work in the districts³⁰.

The OUN(m) Odesa regional leadership included about ten people. Among them: university professor Fedir Shumlianskyi, merchant Roman Shchyrskyi (resided at Yamska Street, 108, apartment 4), 60-year-old director of the Ukrainian Lyceum № 6 Yevhen Pylyshenko, a former Komsomol member, shipbuilding engineer Vsevolod Bondarchuk and Sofia Manuilovych-Bondarchuk («Musme»). Each of them formed and managed one's own cells, even though, their participants did not always know that they belonged to network of «Melnykivtsi». They considered all Ukrainian nationalists to be a single structure³¹. Quantitatively, the «Melnykivtsi» network of Transnistria was significantly inferior to the «Banderivtsi» network. In particular, the last one had 140 members. Among them 24 held leading positions 65 «Banderivtsi» resided in Odesa³².

The occasional «Melnykivtsi» meetings took place in the house of S. Bondarchuk (Kinna Street, house, 14, apartment № 22). Upon learning of that, Bohdan Yavorsky («Dyректор») sent them his informant – a navigator of the Black Sea Shipping Company, Mikhail Humennyi. In June 1942 he took the oath and became a member of the OUN(m)³³. After that, M. Humennyi received an alias «Mykhas», a code for communication and a task to attract new members, preferably from the local youth. In a few days, M. Humennyi met with his acquaintance Anatolii Tsviakh in Derebasivska Street, handed him a leaflet and offered to join the «Melnykivtsi» underground. In a similar way, he tried to encourage Victor Saenko, an electrician from the Opera House, to join the network. However, both of them stated that they were not interested in that

²⁹ Щур Ю. Радянські спецслужби проти націоналістичної Одеси. *Націоналістичний портал* (23 липня 2016). URL: <http://ukrnationalism.com/history/2186-radianski-spetssluzhby-proty-natsionalistychnoi-odesy.html>

³⁰ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 36-37, 69-71.

³¹ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 5. File 2996. Vol. 1. P. 173; File 8583. Vol. 1. P. 321; File 25307. Volume 1. P. 113; AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 8493. P. 32; SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 45; Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 74.

³² SSA SSU. Fund 6. File 74327. Vol. 1. P. 106.

³³ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 5. File 25307. Vol. 1. P. 107-112.

proposal. In July 1942, B. Yavorskyi («Dyrektor») met with his informant on Feldman Boulevard and inquired about the conversations of the OUN (m) members at S. Bondarchuk's apartment. M. Humennyi («Mykhas») said that F. Krykun repeatedly called Stepan Bandera an impostor, and his supporters – the «upstarts». «Dyrektor» was very indignant about that. Being unable to contain his emotions, he called Krykun a bastard and ordered M. Humennyi to sever ties with the «Melnykivtsi»³⁴. At that period, F. Krykun used another alias – «Ivan»³⁵.

The failure to attract new members to the «Melnykivtsi» network became their main problem. In particular, a similar situation happened to S. Bondarchuk in Kryve Ozero village (now Kryvoozerskyi district of Mykolaiv region). Local cooperative worker Semenyuk stated that «he would better sell sausage than do some shady affairs»³⁶. The same mischance repeated in Vradiivka village (now Pervomaiskyi district of Mykolaiv region). There was no possibility to use the «Travelling Ukrainian Theater» to encourage new members joining, as its functioning was prohibited by the Romanian authorities³⁷. Despite those obstacles, the «Melnykivtsi» managed to agitate some supporters in several districts of Transnistria³⁸. For instance, a procurer Pavlo Oleksienko encouraged two local teachers from Pishchanka village (now Vinnytsia region), a veterinarian from Isaievo village and a principal of the Andriev-Ivanivska school (now Berezivka district, Odesa region) to join the «Melnykivtsi» network, in September 1942. S. Bondarchuk and Roman Shchyrskyi managed to involve Rakhubenko, a teacher from the Shyriaiv district, and Halia (her surname is unknown), a secretary of the praetor of Kotovsk (now Podilsk city, Odesa region) into an underground activity. Halia succeeded to build her own network which included both the city and district³⁹.

At the same time, the head of the OUN Regional leadership in Romania, Andrii Boiko, tried to set up a branch in Tiraspol city, which at that period was a part of Transnistria (now it is the capital of the unrecognized territory formation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic; officially a part of the Republic of Moldova), by using a student of the Electro-Mechanical Faculty of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, Myroslav Kwiatkowskyi. In the summer of 1942, the young man started his internship at the Tiraspol Repair Plant of Steam Engines. However, he failed to create a new network branch. As it was stated in the interrogation report, M. Kwiatkowskyi explained his failure by the fact that the vast majority of the urban population were Romanians and Moldovans, there was almost no Ukrainian population⁴⁰.

Nevertheless, further on Tiraspol had been an important communication point between the «Melnykivtsi» of Bucharest and Odesa. M. Kwiatkowskyi received a permit to travel to Odesa with the assistance of his uncle Franz-Ferdinand Sukhoboky, who was a lawyer in the Transnistria Governorate. What is more, his aunt Lidia Sukhoboka provided him with an address of the Ukrainian Theater actors, husband and wife, Leonid and Tetiana Kornienko, who maintained ties with the OUN(m) network. In the

³⁴ Ibid. P. 152.

³⁵ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 24998. Vol. 1. P. 70.

³⁶ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 45.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 41, 111-112.

³⁹ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 72.

⁴⁰ SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 224.

early September 1942, M. Kwiatkowskyi arrived in Odesa, where he met the mentioned couple. While sightseeing, he went to the Archaeological Museum, where he met a guide, Nina Dokont (a student of the Faculty of History and Philology, she was admitted to the organization on September 9, 1942 under an alias «Haidai») and her father. Both Nina and her father adhered to pro-Ukrainian views. The Dokont family lived near the museum in a house by the sea (Lastochkina Street № 4). After the conversation, they invited M. Kwiatkowskyi to be a guest at their home. On September 10, 1942, N. Dokont introduced him to a proof-reader of «Odesa Newspaper», Viacheslav Lypnytskyi (on June 30, 1942 he was accepted as a member of the organization under an alias «Gnat»). As they took a walk through the Taras Shevchenko Park, they were discussing European events, the Holodomor consequences of 1932-1933 years and an eternal confrontation between Russians and Ukrainians.



Fig. 3. Myroslav Kwiatkowskyi
(SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 158)

M. Kwiatkowskyi noted that the «Melynkivtsi» are the legal successors of Symon Petliura's independent business. They have an extensive network of supporters among the leaders of the occupation bodies of all Ukrainian lands. At the right moment, the «Melynkivtsi» will seize power and restore statehood. Shortly after, M. Kwiatkowskyi established contact with F. Krykun through the Kornienkos. During their conversation, the latter inquired about the events in Bucharest and asked to tell their leader, A. Boyko, that «the «Melynkivtsi» of Transnistria are keeping themselves busy». A few weeks later, M. Kwiatkowskyi presented the Odesa regional leader with the underground publications: leaflets with portraits of PUN leader Andriy Melnyk and Mykola Sciborskyi, newspaper «New Age», brochures «Independent Thought»,

«Bazaar», «Holodnyi Yar», «Second Winter Campaign», «Volyn» and others. At the same time, in the conversation with F. Krykun, he noted that the local «Melnykivtsi» often communicate with each other in Russian, which was unacceptable⁴¹. Also, through a German soldier, he handed over two kilograms of paper, copy paper and 70 German marks to Odesa «Melnykivtsi». Simultaneously, F. Krykun tried to create his own printing house to intensify propaganda work, in late 1942. For that purpose he withdrew 3,000 marks from the cooperative. He found a spot to place it, the roof of the house № 1 Lermontivskyi Lane. However, there were not enough funds for the roof repair and a purchase of the printing equipment. Due to the lack of funds, the establishment of the printing house was suspended⁴².

ESTABLISHING COMMUNICATION WITH THE ROMANIAN REGIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE OUN (M)

At the beginning of 1943, Volodymyr Zhukovskiy («Zhuravel»), who worked as an interpreter in the German army (fluent in German, Italian, French, Romanian and Ukrainian languages), arrived at the Archaeological Museum of Odesa from Bucharest. Through N. Dokont he established communication with S. Bondarchuk and M. Kwiatkowski. They met with F. Krykun at the train station and discussed the state of the local organizational network. Furthermore, they handed over a new batch of literature to the regional leader, as well as leaflets with the images of Andriy Melnyk, Mykola Stsiborskyi, Omelian Senyk and also some brochures⁴³. An interesting fact is that the part of the OUN(m) campaign materials fell into the OUN (b) members' hands in Transnistria and were even perceived by them as their own. In particular, Mefodii Pavlyshyn («Victor Lisovskiy»), a head of the Odesa regional branch of the OUN (b), warned Vira Boichenko, an underground activist from Ananiiv town, Podilskyi district, Odesa region, that her distributing of the «New Day» newspaper is unacceptable⁴⁴. Even though, the quantity of the «Melnykivtsi» agitation of the OUN(m) in Transnistria was significantly smaller comparing to the printed products of the OUN(b)⁴⁵.

In February 1943, a meeting of the OUN(m) of Odesa took place at S. Bondarchuk's apartment. In the meeting they discussed a need to send a delegation to the Bishop of Odesa with a request to give priests the permits to conduct their services in the Ukrainian language. S. Nekrasov and R. Shchyrskiy were appointed responsible for the task.

The next meeting was conducted in March 1943 at S. Nekrasov's apartment (Lermontivskyi Lane, house 1, apartment № 2). The publication about the establishment of the «Ukrainian National Liberation Committee» in Kharkiv in the «Odesa» newspaper was the reason for their gathering. As a result of that article discussion, the members of the regional leadership prepared a letter to the Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories, Alfred Rosenberg. The letter emphasized that it would be appropriate to establish a representative office of the Ukrainian National Liberation Committee in Odesa and expressed hope for German to support Ukraine's

⁴¹ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 6456. Vol. 1. P. 75; File 24998. Vol. 1. P. 36; File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 155-156; SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 173-283, 300.

⁴² AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 45.

⁴³ SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 284-286.

⁴⁴ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 25662. Vol. 1. P. 133.

⁴⁵ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 6456. Vol. 1. P. 18.

independence⁴⁶. Shortly after Bertha Haaz, a German who was also a Bondarchuk's acquaintance (she was married to a Ukrainian), helped to translate the letter. The next day F. Krykun and O. Moiak bring it to the German troops headquarters (Gogol Street)⁴⁷. Based on the analysis of the content of the letter, it can be stated that the «Melnikivtsi» of Transnistria expected to receive the support from the Germans. Even despite the fact that the Germans led repetitive repressions against the OUN members. They strived for unification of all Ukrainian-populated territories in one territorial entity and believed that in the New Europe created by the Germans, Ukraine would gain independence.

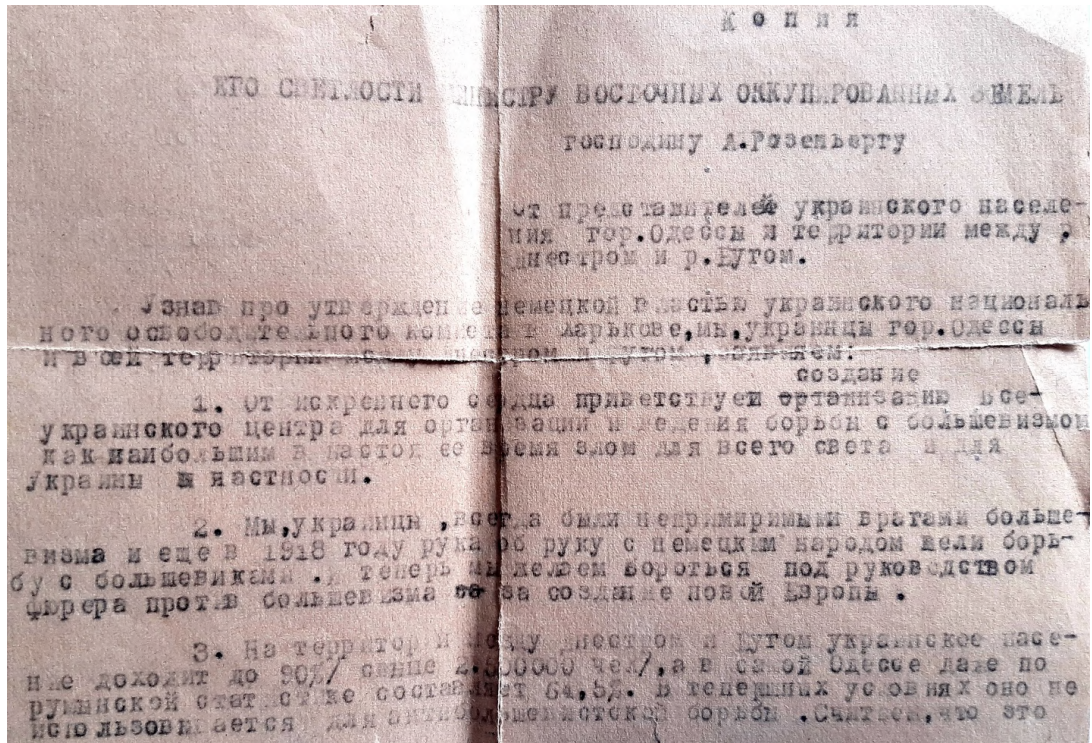


Fig. 4. Letter from Ukrainians of Odesa to Alfred Rosenberg (AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 200)

The «Banderivtsi», on the contrary, treated the Germans more radically as they believed that Ukraine would gain independence only on the ruins of both Germany and the Soviet Union. They were the first OUN members who suffered from the repressions on the territory of the Reich Commissariat «Ukraine» and often were forced to flee from persecution to Transnistria⁴⁸. Gradually, the «Banderivtsi» managed to establish cooperation with the Romanians (Pahiria)⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 200.

⁴⁷ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 75.

⁴⁸ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 6838. Vol. 1. P. 55.

⁴⁹ Пагіря О. Переговори між представниками ОУН(б) та військово-політичними колами Румунії у 1943-1944 рр. URL: <http://www.territoryterror.org.ua/uk/publications/details/?newsid=738>

The local «Melnykivtsi» were left without allies in Odesa before the return of the Soviet government. At the end of 1943, in S. Bondarchuk's apartment, the members of the regional leadership of the OUN(m) discussed their further prospects for activity. It was decided to suspend the activity and evacuate the network members to Romania. The carts and horses were purchased specifically for that purpose. Some «Melnykivtsi» were provided with fake documents that allowed them to immigrate to the west with the German population of Transnistria⁵⁰.

At the end of 1943, Omelian Tovstiuk, OUN member, left Odesa for Bucharest under the pretence of leaving for a business trip (he worked as a railway worker at the Sortuvalna station after Peresyp town). He received a work report and a copy of A. Rosenberg's letter from F. Krykun, which he had to hand over to A. Boiko. On his return from Bucharest, O. Tovstiuk delivered 5,000 lei to F. Krykun for the development of the organization⁵¹.

At the end of February 1944, V. Zhukovskiy again came back from Bucharest to N. Dokont's house and brought the following newspapers to F. Krykun: «The Offensive», «Kraków reporter», «Our days» journal, brochures «Nationocracy», «Territory issue», «Symon Petliura», «Olga Basarab», «Nation and leader» and the other. Due to the impossibility of storing the materials, N. Dokont had a quarrel with her parents. Therefore, she carried the literature in a briefcase to the apartment of Efrosyniia Kobylianska on Khersonska Street, 16, 6fl⁵².

REPRESSIONS OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES AGAINST THE «MELNYKIVTSI» OF TRANSNISTRIA

During the evacuation of the Romanian troops from Transnistria, some members of the OUN(m) left for the west. For instance, V. Kokovskiy, Rengach, Kysil and others⁵³.

After the return of Soviet authorities to Odesa, on April 10, 1944, F. Krykun was mobilized into the Red Army. He later served as a private in the 248th separate chemical defense company of the 248th Odesa rifle division. On July 15, 1944, the KGB arrested his brother Mykhailo Krykun (he served as a private in a tank extermination battery of 260th shooting regiment). On August 1 of the same year, the «SMERSH» Counterintelligence unit of the 248th Odesa rifle division detained F. Krykun. On February 12, 1945 he was sentenced to death by shooting by the NKVD military tribunal in Odesa region and his brother Mykhailo received 25 years in a prison camps⁵⁴. F. Shumlianskyi was also sentenced to 25 years in prison camps by the military tribunal of the 53rd Army on June 6, 1944⁵⁵. During October 2-5, 1944, the NKVD military tribunal in Odesa region tried the case of ten local members of the OUN(m) on a closed session: Stepan Bondarchuk, Sofia Manuilovych-Bondarchuk, Vsevolod Bondarchuk, Viacheslav Lipnytskyi, Osyp Tovstiuk, Vasyl Boiarchuk, Olga Baulina, Nina Melnychenko, Gavryl Morozov and Viktor Kryzhanivskiy. Their sentences differed significantly. S. Bondarchuk was sentenced to execution by shooting, S. Manuilovych-Bondarchuk, O. Baulin received 25 years of prison camps with

⁵⁰ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 75.

⁵¹ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 154-155; SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 301.

⁵² AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 162; SSA SSU. Fund 5. File 47894. Vol. 2. P. 301.

⁵³ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 25726. Vol. 1. P. 308; SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 41; Fund 65. File C-13749. Vol. 1. P. 474.

⁵⁴ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 1. P. 205.

⁵⁵ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 5. File 27689. Vol. 1. P. 210.

confiscation of property, and V. Bondarchuk – 5 years of prison camps, S. Manuilovych and V. Kryzhanivskiy – 5 years of camps with confiscation of property. G. Morozov and N. Melnychenko were acquitted by the court⁵⁶. On April 17, 1944, Yevhen Pylyshenko was arrested by the KGB of Odesa region. On December 4 of the same year, he was released and the case was dismissed for lack of evidence⁵⁷.

On December 2, 1944, in Sofia city (Bulgaria) M. Ratushnyi, a former OUN(m) member, was arrested by the «SMERSH» military counterintelligence. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison camps by a military tribunal of the 37th separate rifle army⁵⁸. On August 2, 1952, the MGB employees of Odesa region investigated 10 OUN(m) members and 80 people associated with them⁵⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the first OUN(m) members arrived in Transnistria in September 1941. However, they did not form their own network and partially joined the OUN(b). Fedir Krykun («Morskyi»), who arrived from Kyiv, was the first to start organizational work in the early 1942. In his activities he relied on the procurement cooperative. The Odesa regional branch of the OUN(m), created by «Morskyi», included about ten people. They were mostly from the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Odesa and several among them were Soviet agents. In the summer of 1942, the OUN(m) members of Transnistria managed to establish permanent communication with the National leadership in Bucharest. From the leadership they periodically received propaganda literature and funds. Gradually, the OUN(m) developed its own network in Odesa, as well as in many regions of Transnistria. Most of its members had no idea that they belonged to that branch of the once unified OUN organization. In terms of the number of members and the scale of its activity, it was significantly inferior to the OUN(b). Despite competition between the two branches of the OUN in Transnistria, there was never any open confrontation. The «Melnykivtsi» focused on cooperation with the Germans, and the «Banderivtsi» focused first on their own forces and later on an alliance with the Romanians. There were repeated occasions when the OUN(m) members switched to the competitors side. Before the return of the Soviet government a part of «Melnykivtsi» of Transnistria moved to Romania. The rest of them were arrested by the NKVS-NKDB agencies, given long prison terms or the death penalty.

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⁵⁶ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 5. File 8583. Vol. 1. P. 380; Fund 6. File 28523. Vol. 2. P. 15-17.

⁵⁷ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 8493. P. 33.

⁵⁸ AA SSU in Odesa region. Fund 6. File 25726. Vol. 1. P. 324.

⁵⁹ SSA SSU. Fund 2. File 2191. P. 41.

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