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**REPRESSIONS OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION REGIME AGAINST
THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS IN DONETSK REGION
(1941 – 1944)**

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the repressive activities of the German punitive bodies against members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Donetsk region (Staline region), which continued during the period of the German occupation of Donbas region in 1941 – 1943, as well as in 1944, after the departure of part of the Donetsk OUN members to the western regions. The purpose of the study is to characterize the repressive activities of the German authorities in relation to the OUN in Staline (Donetsk) region in 1941 – 1944. In the research the methodological techniques have been applied, the list of which includes: analysis, deduction, induction, synthesis, analogy, generalization, as well as comparative historical, statistical, chronological and periodization methods, which enabled us to process the available source base and historiography and based on the data obtained, to describe in detail the stages and content of the German repressions against the OUN in Donetsk region, to analyze the course of events in a chronological order, to identify a list of names of repressed underground members, and to conduct final statistical calculations. The scientific novelty of the publication consists in a thorough analysis and systematization of archival document data and*

a critical assessment of previous research. **Conclusion.** The results obtained enable us to distinguish three stages of the German political police repressive activities, characterized by the corresponding indicators of the number of arrested members of the nationalist underground in Staline region. The article provides updated statistical information on the number of arrested underground members in 1941 – 1944, which corrects previously published figures, as well as a list of names of currently known repressed OUN members in the region. There have been analyzed the consequences of the repressive measures of the German occupation regime against Ukrainian nationalists in Donetsk region. The prospect of further research on this issue is rather doubtful, given the physical inaccessibility of archival sources in the occupied territories, which confirms the importance of this study and its practical significance in supplementing the all-Ukrainian picture of the activities of the OUN and the reactionary actions of the German authorities towards it.

Keywords: Eastern Ukraine, Donbas region, Staline (Donetsk) region, World War II, OUN, German occupation, repressions.

РЕПРЕСІЇ НІМЕЦЬКОГО ОКУПАЦІЙНОГО РЕЖИМУ ПРОТИ ОСЕРЕДКУ ОУН ДОНЕЧЧИНИ (1941 – 1944 рр.)

Анотація. Статтю присвячено репресивній діяльності німецьких карних органів проти членів ОУН Донеччини (Сталінської області), що тривала впродовж періоду німецької окупації Донбасу 1941 – 1943 рр., а також протягом 1944 р., після відходу частини донецьких оунівців до західних областей. **Метою статті** визначено характеристику репресивної діяльності німецької влади по відношенню до ОУН в Сталінській (суч. Донецькій) області протягом зазначеного періоду. Дослідження проводилось з використанням **методологічних методів**, перелік яких включає: аналіз, дедукцію, індукцію, синтез, аналогію, а також порівняльно-історичний, статистичний, хронологічний та періодизаційний методи, які дали змогу опрацювати доступну джерельну базу та історіографію і на основі отриманих даних детально охарактеризувати етапність та зміст німецьких репресій проти ОУН, а також дослідити перебіг подій в хронологічній послідовності, виокремити поіменний список репресованих учасників підпілля та провести кінцеві статистичні підрахунки. **Наукова новизна** публікації полягає в ретельному аналізі й систематизації даних архівних документів та критичній оцінці попередніх наукових досліджень. **Висновки.** Отримані результати дозволяють виділити три етапи репресивної діяльності німецької політичної поліції, що характеризуються відповідними показниками кількості арештованих членів націоналістичного підпілля в Сталінській області. Наводиться уточнена статистична інформація щодо кількості арештованих учасників підпілля протягом 1941 – 1944 рр., яка корегує опубліковані раніше цифри, а також поіменний перелік відомих на сьогодні репресованих членів ОУН в регіоні. Аналізуються наслідки репресивних заходів німецького окупаційного режиму проти українських націоналістів на Донеччині. Перспектива подальших досліджень даного питання окреслена доволі сумнівно, враховуючи фізичну недоступність архівних джерел на окупованих територіях, що підтверджує вагомість даного дослідження та його практичне значення у доповненні засадуукраїнської картини діяльності ОУН.

Ключові слова: Східна Україна, Донбас, Сталінська (Донецька) область, Друга світова війна, ОУН, німецька окупація, репресії.

Problem Statement. The activities of the OUN (b) in eastern Ukraine, in particular, in Donetsk (at that time Stalin) region, appear in a relevant light, taking into consideration the ongoing military situation in Ukraine, part of whose territories, including Donetsk region, was under occupation. It prompts a comprehensive study on various aspects of the above-mentioned issue, in particular, the policy of the German authorities towards the OUN from the initial stage of the war to the return of the Soviet regime to Donbas.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. Taking into consideration the considerable interest of the scientific community in the liberation struggles of the war period, historiography of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists activities and its relations with the German

occupation authorities is represented by a fairly wide range of studies conducted by the Ukrainian historians, both emigrants and modern scholars. The above-mentioned issue was studied by Volodymyr Kosyk (Kosyk, 1993, 2009), Petro Mirchuk (Mirchuk, 1953, 1968), Vasyl Veryha (Veryha, 1991), Anatolii Kentii (Kentii, 1998, 1999), I. Patryliak (Patryliak, 2004, 2010), Stanislav Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 1999), Yaroslav Hrytsak (Hrytsak, 1996), Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, Haliv, 2020), Oleksandr Ishchuk (Ishchuk, 2011) and many others. From the very beginning, the actualization of the above-mentioned issue belongs to émigré historians, who were in direct temporal and ideological proximity to the OUN and the tragic war events in general. Domestic historians continued to cover the above-mentioned topic right at the beginning of the Ukrainian independence, along with the development of the process of democratization of socio-political life, including the scientific sphere, which was accompanied by the discovery of the previously inaccessible archival documents, and at the same time a rethinking of historical processes and events. However, it was a tough issue to implement these positive trends were implemented quite slowly among the historians of Donbas, a significant part of whom continued to profess the Soviet traditions and narratives, which very quickly transformed into the pro-Russian ones. Due to the above-mentioned objective circumstances, which had deep historical roots, also determined the priorities in the topics of research by many historical departments and specialized councils, in particular at Donetsk University, and this, in turn, had influence on the topics of publications, diploma and thesis research, in which the issues on the Ukrainian national liberation movements, and even more so the activities of nationalist organizations, were at least unpopular, and in reality were under a real taboo. If a few works on this issue appeared, they retained a clear or camouflaged Soviet-Russian tone. The issues on the repression by the German occupation authorities focused exclusively on the persecution of the Soviet partisans, underground workers, civilians, ethnic or gender groups (Dobrov, 2010; Suslykov, 2010). Horlivka historian Vyacheslav Suslykov cited some sources that highlighted certain aspects of the OUN's activities in Horlivka in his collection of wartime documents "Horlivka during the Great Patriotic War and the First Postwar Years (1941–1950)" (Suslykov, 2010). It should be mentioned that the above-mentioned sources were clearly selected in a biased manner, since they all concern only the cooperation of the German administration with the nationalists, as if the former never persecuted the latter.

However, it should be stated that among the historians of Donetsk region there were also those, who quite objectively studied the activities of the OUN in eastern Ukraine and Donetsk region in particular. First of all, we should note among them Oleksandr Dobrovolsky, who devoted his life to the study of the pro-Ukrainian patriotic movements in Donetsk region. His two-volume work "The OUN in Donetsk Region. Volume I" and "From The UNR to The OUN: the Ukrainian Movement in Donetsk Region. 1917 – 1959. Volume II" (Dobrovolskyi, 2013; 2020) is the largest published collection of the documents, which was collected by the author in the Archive of Security Service of Ukraine for Donetsk region and the State Archive of Donetsk region, as well as in neighbouring regional and branch archives. The value of the publication "The OUN in Donetsk Region" is difficult to overestimate, because the archival documents published in it, which were collected personally, partly copied, and partly saved at the beginning of the war (2014 – 2015), nowadays serve as the only available sources on the subject under the study. It should be mentioned that V. Nikolskyi's monograph "The Underground of the OUN (b) in Donbas" (Nikolskyi, 2001), which was perhaps the first work of a generalizing nature. A separate chapter of the book was devoted to

the repressions of the German punitive bodies against the Ukrainian nationalists. However, according to the author, there is considerable research prospects regarding the above-mentioned topic (Nikolskyi 2001, pp. 133–134). The following works should be mentioned within the framework of the topic under consideration: Ivan Kovalchuk (Kovalchuk, 2011), Volodymyr Serhiichuk (Serhiichuk, 2005), Yuriy Shchur (Shchur, 2006), Ihor Shakhraichuk (Shakhraichuk, 2015) and other authors.

The issues of the repressive activities of the German administration against the OUN in eastern Ukraine during the occupation period of 1941 – 1943 remain unstudied, even taking into account the sources available in Ukraine. The coverage of these little-known pages, on the one hand, will complement the picture of real historical events, and on the other hand, it will enable us to refute, unfortunately, the persistent Soviet-Russian myth about the exceptional partnership and cooperation between the Ukrainian nationalists and Nazi Germany. This article is aimed at solving the outlined objectives, which, based on the processing of archival documents, highlights the facts of persecution and repression by the German punitive bodies in Staline (modern Donetsk) region against members of the OUN, and at the same time provides a clarifying assessment of the scale of nationalist activity in this region.

The purpose of the study is to characterize the repressive activities of the German authorities in relation to the OUN in Staline (Donetsk) region in 1941 – 1944.

Research Results. After the retreat of the Red Army, with the beginning of the occupation of Donetsk region by the German and Italian troops in October 1941 (on October 23, the town of Staline was invaded, which was soon renamed Yuzivka), a new German military administration was established in all towns and districts. At the same time, given the temporary favour of the new government, the Ukrainians were recruited to administrative positions, as a result of which certain managerial positions were transferred to them. The first wave of Ukrainization took place in the autumn of 1941, with the arrival of the Ukrainian translators together with representatives of the German authorities to the eastern Ukrainian region, the overwhelming majority of whom were from the western regions and at the same time OUN members. From the end of 1941 to the spring of 1942, the second wave of Ukrainization took place, which consisted in the arrival of the OUN central leadership members to the east in marching groups and the beginning of work with the local population. The third wave, which began in the spring of 1942, is characterized by the occupation of new administrative positions by local representatives of pro-Ukrainian movements and at the same time the OUN members. At that time, the nationalist underground network was quite extensive, which enabled representatives of the Ukrainian side to occupy managerial or auxiliary administrative positions, and thus to form legislative and executive acts at the local level, as well as work in the fields of economy, education, culture, media, police, and administration.

However, from the beginning of 1942 onwards, the OUN leadership was aware that in the near future the German command would radically change its attitude towards the participation of the Ukrainians in self-government, including in Donetsk region: “*The Germans do not trust the “Ukrainian police” and the Schutzmen, especially on Left Bank*” (Litopys UPA, 2011, p. 384). The activity of the OUN members in raising the national consciousness of the population, which led to mass Ukrainization, as well as the transition of the Ukrainian underground from cooperation with the German administration to confrontation with it, led to the deployment of mass repressions against nationalists. At the same time, the situation at the front caused the spread of panic among the German command, which also affected the attitude towards the

local population, giving rise to fears among the Nazi administration about the beginning of an internal struggle between the local population and the German authorities in the occupied territories: *“It has been definitively determined that the Bandera movement is preparing an uprising in the Reichskommissariat, the ultimate goal of which is the creation of independent Ukraine. All activists must be immediately arrested and, after a thorough investigation, secretly eliminated as criminals”* (Hunchak, 2007, p. 76). From the Report of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) of Germany on the repressions against communists, partisans and the OUN (Bandera) and OUN (Melnyk) in Ukraine dated February 28, 1942, it becomes clear that the main enemies of the German authorities in the occupied territories were identified as the Soviet partisans and OUN members, who were extremely active: *“In Zhytomyr, Kremenchuk and Stalino, we managed to arrest a certain number of Bandera supporters who tried to unite the population concerning the idea of political independence of Ukraine”* (OUN in 1942. Documents, 2006, p. 55). The reactionary repressive actions of the occupying German authorities against the activities of Ukrainian nationalists unfolded in three waves of terror. The forerunner of the beginning of the repressions was the forced evacuation from the Stalin region of members of the first group led by V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky in February 1942. When they were replaced by the group of I. Klym and Ye. Stakhiv, the local organization began to move to underground struggle, but the repressive policy against the nationalists had already been launched. This position was provoked not only by the activities on the ground, but also by the reaction of the central German authorities to the events in Lviv and the Act of Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine by Ya. Stetsko long before the events at the front (Stetsko, 1976, p. 462). Thus, the first wave of repressions against nationalists in Stalin region took place in January 1942, the second – in August–November 1942, and the third wave fell on June–September 1943. Interestingly, in the western and central regions, the first waves of repressions began much earlier, in particular from the winter of 1941 and lasted until January 1942 (Armstrong, 1990, p. 138).

In Donetsk region, the first mass arrests began approximately in January 1942. In early 1942, V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky and members of the OUN group in Yuzivka (Staline) were summoned to the Gestapo and isolated under house arrest until their forced departure from Stalin region at the request of the German administration. Some members, mostly representatives of the OUN Central Leadership from the western regions, left the region. At the same time, in January 1942, in Horlivka, the head of the education and upbringing department, I. Holub, was arrested for nationalist articles published in the newspaper “Ukrainian Donbas”: *“So fundamentally the article focused on the goals of Ukrainian nationalists that it was not in the interests of the Germans, and Holub was arrested”* (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 269–270).

Another wave of repression, which came in August – November 1942, spread among regional cells. Thus, On September 22, 1942 F. Cheliuk and A. Yastremsky, the members of Olhynsky underground sub-division of the OUN, were arrested (both were imprisoned in Yuzivka). At the same time, S. Derzhko (Kashchenko), the first district leader of Mariupol region, was arrested. Ye. Stakhiv wrote that S. Derzhko was the first one to be arrested, although the very date of the arrest is not indicated (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 140). It is clear that the arrest was made in the spring of 1942, and it was the first one, as we talk about the chronology of the activities of another group under the leadership of Ye. Stakhiv and I. Klym. During face-to-face meeting betting, S. Derzhko stuck to his views and declared: *“Ukrainian independent patriots are fighting for Ukrainian sovereignty against the Germans and Bolsheviks, because there is no difference between them”* (AUSSDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36824, pp. 47–78).

While under arrest, he refused to have food delivered to him in prison, fearing the arrest of other members of the underground and his family. As a result of such sacrifice, S. Derzhko (Kashchenko) died in prison, in December 1942 (Shankovskiy, 1958, p. 171). The arrests of Mariupol cell resumed in December 1942 and continued until the first quarter of 1943.

In the spring of 1943, the third wave of repressions took place, which hit Sloviansk, Kramatorsk, Horlivka, Krasnoarmiisk (Pokrovsk), Yuzivka, Olhynka and Horlivka. During this period, approximately 50–60 people were arrested. Some of the prisoners were shot, some were taken to the camps, and some members of the OUN were released before the approach of the Soviet army. Considering the small total number of underground members in organizations, these are quite significant numbers (Dobrovolskyi, 2013, p. 13). In March 1943, as a result of the Gestapo interception of documents of the OUN in Kyiv, a member of the OUN from Yuzivka was arrested (last name unknown) (Kosyk, 1993, p. 225), and from April 1943, according to the report of the OUN, it is known about mass arrests in Kramatorsk (CSAHAAU, f. 3833, d. 1, c. 113, pp. 1–25), provoked by reports to the Gestapo on members of the Ukrainian underground by a burgomaster Chopin (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 346–347).

In 1943, among the members of Sloviansk cell, arrests gained a significant scope. The first person arrested on May 3 and imprisoned in the town of Horlivka was Petro Mykhailovych Shynkar, the head of Sloviansk underground, a deputy of the town council, a member of “Prosvita” and schools inspector. Among the others arrested are the following: Fedir Starodub, during the German occupation, worked for a teachers' cooperative as a supply agent (arrested by the Germans and taken to a concentration camp in Germany); Serhii Kittel – a teacher (imprisoned for a month in the SD prison); F. Vynohradov – a burgomaster of Sloviansk (arrested and deported to Germany). In May – June 1943, Zinaida Kaun was arrested, A. Miakushko – on June 17, S. Posunko, M. Botvin, P. Marapulets, F. Chernyk, and M. Cherkaschenko (“Mazepa”) were arrested on June 18. Only owing to the timely warning of “Mazepa”, Ye. Stakhiv, who was in Sloviansk at the time, managed to avoid detention. S. Posunko and A. Miakushko were sent to the Dachau concentration camp, and M. Botvin and P. Marapulets were probably shot (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, pp. 33–40).

In Pokrovsk, repressions also took place during that period. In particular, in July 1943, Vsevolod Yakubovych, the mayor and head of the OUN town branch of Pokrovsk, was arrested. He was detained while purchasing weapons for the UPA and sent to the prison in Yuzivka for nationalist activities: “*On September 4, 1943, he was seen among the second arrestees who went under convoy to the camp located at plant #114*” (AUSDDR, f. 379, c. 58, pp. 99–108), and later transported to a concentration camp. The following arrested in Pokrovsk district were: Vasyl Ivanovych Petrenko, Yuriy Holyk, Ivan Haleta, Ivan Chubuch, Hryhoriy Pyvovarov, Viktor Alekhyn (died from an air bomb in Augsburg in the spring of 1944), Vasyl Ishchenko, Samoilov, Mykhailo Kuznetsov. All of them were forcibly deported to Germany in 1943. Anton Yastremsky, the head of Olhynka cell and starosta of Olhynka, was re-arrested by the Gestapo for active political activity mid-in 1943. In the summer of 1943, in Kramatorsk, the arrests were provoked by SD agent Hansiy (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 14–17), on whose report there were imprisoned S. Kutiev (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 59–60), O. Zinchenko, I. Serdiuk and P. Shynkar. In Horlivka it is known about the arrest in 1943 of Hryhoriy Miroshnychenko, whose further fate is unknown.

Mass arrests also took place in Mariupol in the summer of 1943. One of the first, on June 22, 1943, was Yakiv Zhyzhura, and his wife and two children were shot as the Jews by the

Germans. The list of repressed people continued with the following underground members: Ivan Halushko, arrested and sent to the prison in Yuzivka for 4 months in 1943; Feropont Synitsyn, his wife Klavdiya Synitsyna and their daughter, arrested by the Gestapo on June 22, 1943; on the same day, Fedir Lichman was arrested and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. He was released in April 1944 by American troops and probably forcibly interned in the USSR, where he was immediately detained by the NKVD (AUSSLR, c. 22907-r, pp. 95–103). During this period of time, the Gestapo killed Stepan Kashchenko-Derzhko (according to O. Dobrovolsky, he was shot), Ivan Halushko, Yakiv Zhezhura, Moroz (R. Morozenko), I. Lysy and Roman Yukhymets. Also the detained were Velychko, Kashkald, M. Stasiuk, A. Iry-Avramenko, T. Hrytsiv, Donets, Sichynsky, Semeniuta, N. Bolharska-Butkova, Haidar, Stepanenko, Vollhryk, Maria Poet and Tiak (theater artists) and 10 people more. Sichynsky and T. Hrytsiv were shot. In February 1943, during the re-arrest of A. Iry-Avramenko and M. Stasiuk (AUSSLR, c. 22907-r, pp. 95–105), the interrogation revealed what exactly caused the mass arrests of OUN members. They were provoked by a report to the Gestapo by Mr. Valko (a former member of the OUN, a recruited NKVD agent during the “trial of the 59” in Lviv in 1940) (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 145), and at the same time an SD agent under the leadership of P. Bordychevsky). It was P. Bordychevsky who organized an agent network to monitor OUN members in various institutions, collected information about the underground and prepared reports to the Gestapo. An unsuccessful attempt, organized by members of the OUN, provoked the intensification of the work of P. Bordychevsky, who almost completely destroyed the Mariupol cell, achieving the arrest of about 50 people (Shankovskyyi, 1958, p. 167). Ye. Stakhiv notes that almost 20 members of the OUN in Mariupol were shot because of Mr. Valchyk's report in May 1943 (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 146). In addition, with the approach of Soviet troops, P. Bordychevsky fled with the German administration, leaving access to the archives of the DKS, which contained information about all members of the OUN, thus helping the Soviet special services to complete the destruction of the underground. However, his escape was short-lived, as he was later arrested by the NKVD (AUSDDR, c. 36824, pp. 338–339).

The director of the theatre and one of the leaders of the Mariupol underground, A. Iry-Avramenko, was arrested by the Gestapo three times: twice in Mariupol in 1942 with the demand to report on members of the OUN, and the third time in 1943 in the village of Shyroke, Dnipropetrovsk region, where he evacuated and opened a pottery business, while at the same time hiding young people from being taken to forced labour in Germany. In total, during his life, A. Iry-Avramenko was arrested 8 times by different regimes – 1916, 1918, 1923, 1929 (AFSBLR, c. P-74277, p. 459), 1932, 1943, 1943, 1944. The last, eighth arrest by SMERSH took place in 1944, immediately after the occupation of the territory by the Red Army, which ended with an execution on April 25, 1944. The central apparatus of the OUN suffered much less from the repressive actions of the Gestapo. The head of Yuzivka town organization, I. Svichynsky, was first able to evacuate to Dnipropetrovsk region in the summer of 1943 and avoided arrest: *“The German gendarmerie had information that I was engaged in the distribution of illegal nationalist literature, the content of which was directed against the Bolsheviks and against the Germans under the slogan of the struggle for the so-called “Independent Ukraine”, which should have served as the basis for my arrest. This assumption turned out to be quite reasonable, because immediately on the second day after my departure, German gendarmes came to the laboratory to arrest me”* (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 21287, pp. 11–12). However, shortly after the Soviet troops advanced, he was also detained by the NKVD. One of the leaders of the group, Ivan Klym,

also managed to leave for Lviv by order of the central leadership, but his fate was also not happy – on March 9, 1944, he was executed by the Germans being hanged in Drohobych (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 121).

In this regard, it is important to note that the OUN members and representatives of the central or regional leadership could not afford to be arrested, so they tried to commit armed resistance or suicide. In particular, during an attempt to be detained by the Gestapo, the leader of the Yuzivka town department of Stalin district, Oleksandr Salo (Voron), was killed in Mykolayiv, and members of the regional leadership, Tymish (Verkhovy) and Roman (Yukhym), were executed in 1944, already during the hasty retreat of the Germans. Roman Antoniak, an agitator in Stalin and Dnipropetrovsk regions, and Taras Shkavritko, a member of the first group, were shot under similar circumstances.

To assess the number of supporters of the Ukrainian idea in eastern Ukraine, one should not forget about the German administration's campaign to forcibly recruit workers, the so-called Ostarbeiters, to Germany. We can assume that some of the active Ukrainian youth who collaborated with the OUN were deported to Germany in 1942, because the scale of repatriation from Left-Bank Ukraine is simply impressive: 971,832 people were deported to Germany from eastern Ukraine, while the total number of those deported from Galicia, Slovakia, Holland, France, and Italy, together with Soviet prisoners of war, was 462,743 people, i.e. more than half less (Kosyk, 1993, p. 267).

It is likely that the reaction of the German occupation administration to the diverse activities of the OUN in Donetsk region was identical to the situation in the western and central regions of Ukraine. After the Ukrainian underground became more active and its members occupied certain administrative positions, as well as with the beginning of active propaganda work and the expansion of influence in the cultural and public spheres, the German command decided to get rid of all nationalist elements through repression, so that these movements would not gain excessive authority among the population. German Report No. 21 from the occupied areas of the East confirms this thesis: *“The Bandera group should always be considered the most radical Ukrainian independence movement. While in the early months this group had an impact with its propaganda, initially in Western and Central Ukraine, this work gradually spread to the rest of Ukraine. It is the Bandera movement that shows the most hostility towards the Germans. It repeatedly insisted that the Germans must be thrown out”* (Kosyk, 1993, pp. 578). In addition, a rapid approach of the front gave rise to panic among the Germans, a desire for revenge, and a search of traitors, which only intensified repressive measures.

Today, for various reasons, it is impossible to determine the exact numbers of members of the nationalist underground repressed by the Gestapo. On the one hand, the Soviet authorities tried to disseminate information about the crimes of the German administration against the population in the occupied territories, and therefore the lists of those shot or imprisoned were constantly and systematically published, being in the public domain. On the other hand, it is practically impossible to determine from the list of the Ukrainians killed or imprisoned by the Gestapo exactly those who suffered for nationalist activities. Firstly, the Soviet authorities not only concealed the real scale of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Donetsk region and Ukraine in general, but also tried to avoid the question of its existence. Secondly, most likely, the names of Ukrainian nationalists killed by the Germans were not publicly mentioned by the Soviet authorities, especially not in the same context as the Soviet partisans and underground fighters. Thirdly, this information was classified, especially until the mid-1950s, as the hunt

for underground groups and the arrests of OUN members continued until that time. The last reason may be the fact that even after Ukraine gained independence and the declassification of part of the archives, the issue of the rehabilitation of the OUN and UPA, both at the state and public levels, was accepted not only ambiguously, but even undesirable. This controversy had a pronounced regionalism, with eastern Ukraine and Donetsk region, in particular, being in a position of extreme “irritation”.

In view of the above mentioned, the need to clarify real data on the number of members of the nationalist underground in Donetsk region repressed by the Gestapo became more urgent. In an interview with a historian A. Porypaliak, information is provided that in the town of Yuzivka the Gestapo killed about 100 members of the OUN in 1943 (Porypaliak, 2018), while Ye. Stakhiv in his memoirs notes that in Mariupol during the spring of 1943, out of 50 arrested, 20 OUN members were killed (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 146), and according to O. Dobrovolsky, the total number of people arrested in Stalin region was 50–60 people in 1943 (Dobrovolskyi, 2020, p. 270). Given such significant statistical discrepancies, there is a need for a thorough recount of the number of repressed members of the Ukrainian underground in Donetsk region by the German authorities in 1941–1944. The archival documents processed by the author allowed us to determine the following statistics with a list of names of members of the Ukrainian underground in Stalin region repressed by the Germans: (AUSDDR, fund for discontinued cases, c. 36641, pp. 246–247; c. 36824, pp. 251–252b) (Table 1):

Table 1

**The Number of OUN members arrested by the German administration
in Stalin region in 1941–1944.**

Cell	Surname, name	Quantity
First group	V. Bolharsky-Bulavsky	10–12
Horlivka	H. Miroshnychenko	1
Mariupol	A. Iryi-Avramenko, Ya. Zhyzhura (+two children and wife were shot), S. Kashchenko-Derzhko, T. Hrytsiv, F. Lichman, Yukhymets, H. Lytvynenko, I. Lysyy, I. Halushko, Zhorzh, Velychko, Kashkald, M. Stasyuk, N. Bolgarska-Butkova, K. Sinytsyna, F. Sinytsyn, R. Moroz (Morozenko), Donets, Sichynsky, Semenyuta, Gaidar, Stepanenko, Volhryk, M. Poet, Tiak, I. Holub, F. Cheliuk, Ivanytsky, Ostrianyn	32
Olhynka	A. Yastremsky	1
Yuzivka	T. Shkavritko, Tymish (Verkhovy), O. Salo (Voron), Roman (Yukhym), M. Kryvoshapko, D. Fomichev (shot), I. Klym (shot), R. Antoniak	8
Pokrovsk district	V. Petrenko, Yu. Holyk, I. Haleta, I. Chubuch, H. Pyvovarov, V. Aliekhin, V. Ishchenko, Samoilo, M. Kuznetsov, P. Yakubovych	10
Sloviansk	P. Shynkar, F. Starodub, S. Kittel, F. Vynohradov, Z. Kaun, A. Miakushko, S. Posunko, M. Botvin, P. Marapulets, F. Chernyk, M. Cherkashchenko (Mazepa)	11
Kramatorsk	S. Kutieva, O. Zinchenko (died in the camps in 1949), I. Serdiuk	3

The total count gives a figure of 76–78 OUN members who were repressed by the German authorities, of whom 64 individuals were identified. Thus, the figures obtained from the analysis of criminal cases are in the middle between the data of A. Porypaliak and O. Dobrovolsky. One can only assume that O. Dobrovolsky did not include the members of

the first group in the statistics, because in the end they were released from arrest and sent outside Stalin region. However, given the objective problematicity in the availability of the entire set of sources, it is simply impossible to speak about the final results.

When analyzing the consequences of the repressions by the German occupation regime, it is worth noting that they severely affected the organizational structure and personnel of the Stalin Regional Centre, depriving the underground of many activists. As a result, this affected the further activities of the OUN in the region, significantly weakening its position before the arrival of a more dangerous and cruel enemy – the Soviet government. This assessment is based, among other things, on archival data on the twice as large-scale repressions against the OUN members by the Soviet penal organs, which began after the capture of Donetsk by the Red Army in 1943 and continued until the end of the war and the post-war period.

Conclusions. Summarizing the above mentioned, we should state that the topic of the nationalist underground of the OUN (b) activities in the Donetsk region and in eastern Ukraine in general today appears in an extremely relevant light, given its lack of research and a certain contradiction in the results achieved by different authors. In particular, this concerns the analysis of the repressive policy of the German administration against the OUN in Stalin region during the occupation period of 1941 – 1943. A careful study of available archival sources made it possible to clarify the chronology of events and distinguish three waves of repression. In addition, it was possible to clarify the data previously provided by historians regarding the general statistics of the Gestapo-repressed underground nationalists of Donetsk region, and to identify the vast majority of them by name, finding out their affiliation with the relevant city or district OUN cells. The analysis of the consequences of the repressions was also provided against the OUN underground and their influence on the further course of events.

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