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#### «DALEKIVTSI» AFTER «DALEKYI» (1948 – 1949)

*The article examines the activities of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» members (in Rivne region) after their leader Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi», was arrested.*

*It is proven that the weakening of «Dalekivtsi» was exploited by the MDB organs. They enforced their onslaught in a trial to totally destroy the OUN underground network. Together with the lack of opportunities to continue to act on their own that was the main reason which pushed the «Dalekivtsi» to reconcile with the PZUZ OUN leadership.*

*It was established that the union of conflicting Ounivtsi was accelerated by Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynko» tragic death and an appointment of Vasyl' Galasa – «Orlan», as a new OUN Regional leader.*

*The MDB department tried to prevent the reconciliation of the underground members by organizing various provocations. Nevertheless, they did not significantly affect the general situation.*

*The process of including «Dalekivtsi» into the general underground network took less than a year and considerably strengthened the position of the OUN on Volyn and Polissya territories.*

**Key words:** cleansing, SS, PZUZ, oppositional, «Dalekivtsi», Ounivtsi, reconciliation, union, MDB, provocations, falsifications.

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#### «ДАЛЕКІВЦІ» ПІСЛЯ «ДАЛЕКОГО» (1948 – 1949)

*У статті досліджено діяльність учасників опозиційного Крайового проводу «Одеса» (Рівненщина, Житомирищина, Київщина) після арешту 13 серпня 1948 р. їхнього лідера Степана Янішевського – «Далекого», «Богослова», «Томи», «Погорілого».*

*З'ясовано, що після цієї події більшість «далеківців» продовжували діяти окремо від загальної мережі ОУН на Північно-Західних Українських землях (ПЗУЗ). Частина з них остерігалися переслідувань Служби безпеки, а іншим перешкоджала об'єднатися неоднозначна постать провідника ОУН на ПЗУЗ Миколи Козака – «Чупринко», «Вівчара», «Смока», «Луки». «Далеківці» не могли забути ініційованих ним масових «чисток» в підпіллі ОУН і УПА, а також серед місцевого населення. До цього чинника додалися й нові жертви протистояння між «смоківцями» та «далеківцями». Більше того, майже одночасно з арештом Степана Янішевського, вийшов «Комунікат» суду ОУН із смертним вирокom у його справі.*

*Важкою ситуацією, яка склалася в підпіллі ОУН на ПЗУЗ вирішили скористатися органи МДБ, які розпочали винищення ослабленої мережі опозиційного Крайового проводу «Одеса». Грунтуючись на свідченнях Степана Янішевського, стосовно ймовірного нового лідера «далеківців», вони активізували розшук провідників Костопільського надрайону Івана Кроля – «Зінька» та Корецького надрайону Миколу Климчука – «Максима». Співробітникам МДБ вдалося вистежити останнього з них, який застрілися аби не потрапити до рук ворога. Таким чином новим лідером «далеківців» став «Зінько», який був прихильником якнайшвидшого залагодження конфлікту та об'єднання мережі ОУН на ПЗУЗ.*

*Намагаючись перешикодити цьому, органи МДБ виготовили та поширили в оунівському підпіллі фотоколлаж із «Зіньком», «Далеким» та співробітником МДБ Леонтієм Брушковським. Однак ворожу провокацію «далеківцям» вдалося швидко викрити та нейтралізувати.*

*Доведено, що нові перспективи для примирення відкрила загибель Миколи Козака – «Вівчара». Новий Крайовий провідник ОУН на ПЗУЗ Василь Галаса – «Орлан» слушно обрав мирний шлях вирішення проблеми з «далеківцями». Таким чином вдалося зірвати провокацію органів МДБ щодо взаємного винищення оунівців на Рівненщині, а також впродовж короткого періоду відновити єдність підпільної мережі. Зверхність «Орлана» визнали майже усі «далеківці», включно з керівниками боїв на Житомирщині та Київщині. Останнім високопоставленим «опозиціонером», до загибелі 16 червня 1950 р. в сутичці з оперативною групою МДБ, залишався Микола Мельник – «Павло». Загалом період відновлення єдності мережі підпілля ОУН на ПЗУЗ тривав менше року. Обраний «Орланом» та «Зіньком» шлях примирення, дозволив уникнути кровопролиття та зберегти цінні кадри для продовження української визвольної боротьби.*

***Ключові слова:** чистки, СБ, ПЗУЗ, опозиція, «далеківці», примирення, об'єднання, МДБ, провокації.*

**Problem statement.** At the modern phase of Ukrainian state formation, the study of liberation movement in the 40's and 50's of the twentieth century has not lost its significance. In the context of this study, certain suppressed topics, which have not fitted into the conventional historical representation of those events, are actualized. The activity of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» in Rivne and Zhytomyr regions was one of those topics. Particularly, its functioning from Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi» arrest till the time of the union with the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership remains less studied up to nowadays.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Among insufficient number of publications that indirectly refer to the mentioned problem, the following monographs can be distinguished: Dmytro Vedeneiev and Gennadiy Bystrukhin «A duel without compromises» 2007, Oleksandr Ishchuk and Valeriy Ogorodnik «General Mykola Arsenych: Life and Activities of the OUN Security Service leader», the articles concerning the issue: Valeriy Efimenko (2003), Yaroslav Antoniuk (2011), Volodymyr Kovalchuk (2012) and Oleksandr Ishchuk (2017). The basic source of the study is previously unpublished documents from 2, 5 and 13 sections of the Branch State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine. The materials are supplemented by documents issued in the 16th volume of the «Litopys UPA», memoirs of the MDB agents of Rivne region (1988) and the PZUZ OUN leader Vasyl Galasa (2005).

**The publication's purpose.** The purpose of the article is to analyse the activities of the participants of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» after their leader – «Dalekyi», was arrested.

**Statement of the basic material.** The opposition separated into a distinct network as a result of a large-scale cleansing inside the OUN and UPA underground networks on Volyn and Polissya territories, which had been initiated by OUN leader of the Northwest Ukrainian territories (PZUZ), Mykola Kozak – «Vivchar», in autumn 1945. At the end of December 1945, they were headed by a former referent of the Security Service (SS) of theregional leadership «Odesa», Stepan Yanishevskiy – «Dalekyi» (Efimenko, 2003: 214). He announced a creation of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» on the extensive area of Rivne, Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, in order to escape from the SS execution. «Dalekivtsi» continued to conduct an armed struggle against Soviet authorities over the next three years (Kovalchuk, 2012: 28–34). At the same time, in Volyn region they were involved into a conflict with the «legal» OUN underground regional leadership, «Smokivtsi» (named after one of the nicknames of Mykola Kozak). After a few minor conflicts and couple of attempts on

leaders lives, both sides tried to maintain neutrality and control their own territories (Antonuk, 2011: 132–140). The rumor about the above mentioned events on Rivne territories spread even among Siberian camps. In particular, a certain amount of the convicted Ounivtsi (OUN members) continued to call themselves «Dalekivtsi» (Porendovskiy, 2005: 14). It is assumed that the confrontation between the «Smokivtsi» and «Dalekivtsi» took lives of about 120 underground members (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin, 2007: 102). Although, the amount of victims appears to be considerably exaggerated, based on well-known sources.

During some period of time, the MDB organs (Ministry of State Security (Soviet Union)) tried to draw «Dalekyi» into cooperation, by blackmailing him with his wife and son, who were kept as hostages. When their blackmail campaign had not succeeded, they went on the offensive. Specifically, during 1947 – 1948, the MDB organs liquidated 6 members of the regional leadership «Odesa», «Dalekivtsi»boivka (a small unit of soldiers) number 91 and 137 underground organizations (which included 1,644 people, in total) (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1324. Ark. 150).

Eventually, on August 13, 1948 in the Medvedskiy forest of Korets district of Rivne region (HDA SBU. F. 5. Spr. 67426. T. 1. Ark. 25), the MDB operational group seized severely wounded Stepan Yanishevskiy (Hladkov, Fedrytskyi, 1988: 37). It is worth mentioning that twelve days after, the OUN Revolutionary Court strictly sentenced «Dalekyi» to «the death penalty without the right of appeal» (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin, 2007: 479).

The arrest of «Dalekyi» did not stop persecution of his supporters lead by the MDB organs and, on the contrary, even intensified it. For instance, on September 3, 1948 in the forest near Velyka Liubasha village of Kostopil' district, an intelligence-military group of MDB murdered Petro Tarhoniyy – «Vasko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 913. Ark. 27), a head of the regional leadership «Odesa» communications department. A wounded boivkar (soldier of a unit), Makar Pidvysotskiy – «Lys», miraculously managed to break through the hostile surrounding. However, on October 15, 1948, agent «Smilyi» informed the MDB organs that Pidvysotskiy was cured and died (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 901. Ark. 116–117) in a kryivka(bunker) near Yapolot' village, Kostopil' district.

Simultaneously, the PZUZ OUN regional leadership of the decided to take an advantage of the difficult situation experienced by «Dalekivtsi». They tried to make «Dalekivtsi» to cooperate, by distributing «The OUN court order on the «Dalekyi» case» among the underground members. It declared: «It is the last time the OUN court appeals to all honest and true revolutionaries who are still in the ranks or under the influence of the provocative and sabotaging organization which belongs to the traitor, «Dalekyi». You must immediately: a) leave the ranks of the aforementioned criminal organization, b) subordinate to the true and legitimate leaderships of the OUN which operate in the area, c) submit an individual report on your former activity and explain your participation in a provocative and sabotaging group» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1320. Ark. 27).

A reaction of «Dalekyi» to the previously mentioned events was unknown (Ishchuk, 2017: 125). At that point of time he was under interrogation in the MDB prison (Ishchuk, Ohorodnik, 2010: 117). According to the UkrSSR (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) Prosecutor's sanction since August 28, 1948, the convict, Stepan Yanishevskiy, was announced as Vasyl Ivanovych Petruk, who was born in 1913, in Boryslav, a city situated in Drohobych region (HDA SBU. F. 5. Spr. 67426. T. 9. Ark. 451). Subsequently, for the sake of conspiracy, his personal information was classified under the operative alias «Vysokiy» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1028. Ark. 75).

According to MDB materials, Stepan Yanishevskiy presented his extensive testimonies in the course of their interrogations (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 878. Ark. 126). In particular, «Dalekyi» stated that the OUN leader of Korets subdistrict, Mykola Klymchuk– «Maxym», would probably take his post. That was a reason why MDB organs had intensified their work on his involvement into collaboration. It was revealed that «Maxym» had been re-buying the necessary goods and ammunition in Zhytomyr from a Soviet official, a native of Samostrily village (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1010. Ark. 53). Shortly after those events the MDB officers secretly arrested him and enlisted in cooperation. In September 1948, «Maxym» told an MDB agent that for many years his deputy Dmytro Zalouslyki – «Zeleniy», had been suffering from a wound received in a battle with the NKVD operational group. «Maxym» asked the agent to arrange him with false documents for «Zeleniy» to be cured in the Zhytomyr Regional Hospital. After coordinating his actions with the MDB operatives, the agent helped «Zeleniy» with documents. His connection with «Maxym» was made through Volodymyr Dyadenko – «Volod'ka». After «Zeleniy» recovered from an operation, he handed a secret note over to «Maxym». The note content was unknown to MDB agents. Considering that they assumed their agent had fallen under suspect and their operation should be ended. The next morning, when «Zeleniy» was discharged from the hospital the agents seized him right on the street and delivered by car to the MDB prison. «Volod'ka» was also arrested on the highway when he tried to catch a ride directing to Samostrily village.

During interrogations, «Zeleniy» flatly refused to testify and tried to commit suicide in his cell. Although, shortly afterwards, as a result of torture, he disclosed the hiding places of «Maxym». Immediately after those events, under the supervision of the MDB staff members, «Volod'ka» wrote a note which stated that he had got in a car accident near Novohrad-Volynskiy and resided in a local hospital.

A few days later, «Maxym» summoned the agent to Samostrily. He asked the agent to arrive by motorcycle, for them to be able to drive to the Kyiv – Lviv highway. The MDB department made an ambush and placed two cars on the highway with their agents, who pretended to be kolhospnysk(collective farmers). Under the guise of repairing their car's motor and wheels, the agents made a trap. Nevertheless, in 18 kilometers from Samostrily village, the motorcycle unexpectedly broke down. The agent had to lead «Maxym» by feet to one of the ambushes explaining that he had been forced to leave the runner on the highway. After that, the agent and «Maxym» together with the runner, Mykola Mel'nyk, went to take the motorcycle. Near one of the cars, the agent send a signal and the operational group attempted to capture «Maxym». However, «Maxym» began to fire back using a gun he had hidden under his garment. He received a bullet wound to his leg but at the end he refused to surrender and shot himself (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 984. Ark. 54–60). Finally, the MDB authorities conducted a series of operations, arrested 445 participants of the OUN underground and killed 79 of armed boivkars as a result of «Dalekyi» testimonies (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 875. Ark. 44).

The MDB also used Stepan Yanishevskiy to identify the assassinated leaders of the OUN underground on Volyn and Western Polissya territories. Therefore, the head of the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership, Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1095. Ark. 16–23), shot himself, surrounded by the MDB operational group on the night of February 8, 1949 in the kryivka(bunker) under the house of Tymophiy Parhomei, a resident of Pitushky village, Mlyniv district.

Initially, based on an analysis of trophy documents, the MDB investigators came to a conclusion that during their operation the victims were Ivan Lytvynchuk – «Dubovyi» and

his two guards. Three days later, their conclusion was reported to the UkrSSR MDB Minister, Lieutenant-General Sergiy Savchenko. However, shortly after it became clear that their precipitate resolution was incorrect. The investigators came to an alternative conclusion that Mykola Kozak (Kovalchuk, Ohorodnik, 2011: 114) was the victim as it was supported by the acquired photographs, descriptions of appearance and other materials.

On February 12, 1949 Major Bykov, who was a 1st Division Head of 2-N MDB UkrSSR, showed the prisoner № 43 – Stepan Yanishevskiy, an image of Ivan Lytvynchuk – «Duboviy», Mykola Kozak – «Chuprynko», and Grygoriy Trotsiuk – «Verkhovynets». The former head of the regional leadership «Odesa» recognized and named them undoubtedly. Right after, the investigators showed the photos of the three OUN victim bodies who were killed on February 7, 1949 to Yanishevskiy. On those photos «Dalekyi» recognized Mykola Kozak, whom he knew well. The identities of the other two killed underground members were unknown to Yanishevskiy. Then he had been taken to the prison courtyard where they showed the previously mentioned bodies. «Dalekyi» confirmed that Mykola Kozak's body was placed between two other victims. As a support to his statement, he mentioned that the victim had two yellow metal teeth implants in his upper jaw. An immediate body review approved that detail (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1061. Ark. 84–85).

Notwithstanding those tragic events for the liberation movement, they had accelerated the reconciliation between «Dalekivtsi» and the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership. A new «Dalekivtsi» leader, Ivan Krol' – «Zin'ko», and the PZUZ OUN leader, Vasyli' Galasa – «Orlan», had quickly reached understanding (Halasa, 2005: 129). What is more, according to the evidence provided by imprisoned «Dalekyi», in June 1948 he discovered from «Roman» that the PZUZ Regional leadership was headed by a new person. He described the leader, who had just arrived from Galicia, as «quite intelligent and educated man..» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1063. Ark. 86). Therefore, it is possible that, under other circumstances, «Dalekyi» and «Roman» would be looking themselves for an opportunity to negotiate with the new PZUZ OUN leader. By that time, there were generally less than 200 «Dalekivtsi» members participating in the OUN underground network on Rivne and Zhytomyr regions (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 875. Ark. 44). They were united into three subdistrict OUN leaderships (Korets – headed by «Maxym», Kostopil' – headed by «Yaroslav» and Sarny – headed by «Chereshnya»), 22 district leaderships and boivkas, 23 underground organizations (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1320. Ark. 25–26).

Vasyli' Galasa recalled that the local Ounivtsi were tired of mutual killings, they were seeking for ways of reconciliation: «The movement participants on PZUZ had experienced various spiritual upheavals at the time of «cleansing» and intelligence forces attacks, they suffered countless terrible tragedies, various profound emotions, which eventually developed the noblest feelings, trembling and loving attitude towards the Organization (as they have suffered immeasurably for it and because of it, endured through so much). Frequently, the story of the «ancient» times began with a long silence, pensive sighs, and only after that a phrase: «What we have lived and suffered through, what tragedies have we seen, that is out of our might to describe or retell». And then a sad story was pouring out. It is also characteristic that, by recalling those events, the PZUZ OUN members had a melancholy veil with tragic sensations upon their eyes; cheerful clear loud laughter was a rarity. Life joy returned to our ranks as the training intensified, a new guidelines were created and the work itself had started» (Ishchuk, 2009: 16).

Syl'vestr Pryiamak – «But'ko», and Volodymyr Kudra – «Roman», who headed the OUN underground networks on Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, had immediately joined the reconciliation process (Miedviediev, 1992). Due to mediation made by «Mruchka», they received a new district leader (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1274. Ark. 34) and continued their anti-Soviet

struggle (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1275. Ark. 334). Their activity was evidenced by the fact that the MDB department engaged 119 agents and 700 informants to search for «Roman» and «But'ko» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1299. Ark. 98).

The MDB organs were seriously concerned with «Zin'ko» activity intensification. Under interrogation, «Dalekyi» confirmed that it would be impossible to persuade him to plead guilty and start collaboration with MDB. Therefore, they decided to ruin his reputation in the PZUZ OUN leadership circles and use the OUN Security Service for assassinating him. The MDB concluded that «Dalekivtsi» were still under suspicion by analyzing a letter which «Orlan» sent to «Semen». They decided to use that fact to split the underground movement. For that purpose, the MDB operatives made a «brief statement about the embedding of «Dalekivtsi» agents into the «Smokivtsi» environment and the first results of its functioning». The statement mentioned that «Tygr» (the previous alias «Zin'ko») was involved to work as an MDB agent. Allegedly, it was mentioned that he had been assisting to cautiously eliminate the OUN underground leaders. In addition, on the basis of a seized trophy OUN photo, MDB produced a photo collage (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1417. Ark. 207–208) on which the landscape was replaced and «Dalekyi» image was cut and inserted together with «Zin'ko» and Leontiy Brushkovskiy, an MDB operative agent (Ishchuk, 2009: 46). That photo falsification together with the notebook containing the agents attendance schedule, some notes, «Short study of CPSU history» and some pencils were placed into a kit bag. The simulated «ambush» was arranged by the MDB operational group of Sosnivka subdistrict to imitate that the kit bag had been «lost» in Vorobiiivka village in a garden of Roman Pasichnyk, who was an OUN supporter. He did not report to the Soviet authorities that he had discovered the bag with those secret documents. Due to that fact, the MDB agents concluded that Pasichnyk handed it to Ounivtsi (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1417. Ark. 209–211). However, that MDB falsification did not achieve required results. Obviously, the OUN underground members uncovered that falsification immediately as they knew their enemy was prone to falsifications and provocations.

The last «Dalekivtsi» leader who switched to «Orlan's» side in May 1949 was Oleksander Dubovets – «Mukha» (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1226. Ark. 113–115), an OUN leader of Hoshcha district. Thus, the PZUZ OUN underground unity was restored.

The only «Dalekivtsi» member that «Orlan» did not accept was Mykola Mel'nyk – «Pavlo». Mel'nyk was not excused for his former cooperation with the NKVD organs and continued to be regarded as a Soviet agent (HDA SBU. F. 2. Spr. 1027. Ark. 159). Eventually, these allegations were unjust. On June 16, 1950, on the territory of the Korets district, «Pavlo» died in an ambush which was made by the MDB platoon led by Lieutenant Odintsov (HDA SBU. F. 13. Spr. 372. T. 90. Ark. 114).

Even over a long period of time, the conflict between «Dalekivtsi» and «Smokivtsi» had unexpectedly appeared one more time in August 2015. At the Voronukha hamlet near Shchekychyn village, Korets district of Rivne region a local resident accidentally stumbled upon a metal drum buried in the ground. Afterwards it was proven that the drum belonged to the subdistrict leader Yuriy Bernarchyk – «Chornohuz». All the documents discovered in it were «OUN court orders concerning the «Dalekyi» case» starting from August 25, 1948. Probably, after assassination of «Chornohuz», the location of the documents hiding place was lost for the OUN underground. Only after 67 years, a confrontation incident, which was hidden in a «time capsule», supplemented the whole picture of those distant events (Marchuk, 2015).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, after Stepan Yanishevskiy arrest, the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa» continued its activity. The main article thesis is to prove the influence

of an individual on the Ukrainian liberation movement advancement and the aspiration of underground members to unite.

It was proven that after one of the split initiators – the PZUZ OUN leader Mykola Kozak – «Chupryncko», – had died, the process of reconciliation accelerated. That process was considerably supported by the attitude of Vasyli' Galasa – «Orlan», a new OUN leader on Volyn and Polissya territories.

The MDB department decided to use the weakening of «Dalekivtsi». They intensified their onslaught against the underground network and methodically had been assassinating the «Dalekivtsi» leaders. They organized various provocations for the purpose of ruining OUN leaders reputation. At the same time, the MDB agents actively used the testimonies provided by the imprisoned «Dalekyi».

The intensification of assault by enemies and their lack of any prospects to continue the struggle on their own, encouraged «Dalekivtsi» members to seek ways of reconciliation with the PZUZ OUN Regional leadership.

Throughout the year, the participants of the oppositional regional leadership «Odesa», including the leaders of the underground network of Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions, established contacts with «Orlan» and joined the OUN common network. The only «Dalekivtsi» member who, until his death, continued to operate on his own, was Mykola Mel'nyk – «Pavlo».

The activity of the «Dalekivtsi» deserves more thorough and complex research. It provides a possibility to show the versatility of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and undermine established stereotypes.

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