



The President and Fellows of Harvard College

"Kraivs'ki visti": An Overview

Author(s): JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

Source: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 22, Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe (1998), pp. 251-261

Published by: [Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036740>

Accessed: 07/10/2014 12:09

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and The President and Fellows of Harvard College are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Krakivs'ki visti: An Overview

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

Krakivs'ki visti was the most important newspaper to appear in the Ukrainian language under the German occupation during World War II. In spite of its significance, the publication has been studied very little.¹ The aim of this article is to present a brief overview of the history of the paper, largely based on the archives of its chief editor, Mykhailo Khomiak (Michael Chomiak), preserved in the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Origins

When the Soviets invaded the eastern regions of the Second Polish Republic in September 1939, thousands of Ukrainians fled from Volhynia and especially Galicia into the German-occupied territories of the General Gouvernement. Many took up residence in Cracow, the capital of the General Gouvernement, which quickly became the major center of non-Soviet Ukrainian life. A Ukrainian delegation under the leadership of the geographer Volodymyr Kubiiiovych (Kubijovyč) met with the governor general, Hans Frank, on 19 November 1939 to discuss proposals for the organization of Ukrainian affairs in the General Gouvernement. In the course of the meeting, Frank pledged his support for a Ukrainian publishing house and periodical press.

At their own meeting on the topic of publishing two days later, the Ukrainian representatives decided to establish a publishing house as a limited company headed by Kubiiiovych. This was the origin of *Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo*, which was to be the publisher of *Krakivs'ki visti*. Normally, the Germans established the limited companies that published for the non-German population of occupied areas, but the Ukrainians were keen to have their own limited company so as to have more control over their paper. Funds were raised among the Ukrainian population of the General Gouvernement to provide the initial capital for the new company.

The first director of *Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo*, Ievhen Iulii Pelens'kyi, met twice with the German press chief in Cracow, Emil Gassner, who promised to support Ukrainian publishing. Gassner gave Pelens'kyi a document that allowed him to take over the Jewish printing press of *Nowy Dziennik* on Orzeszkowa 7, which had been shut down by the Nazis. Pelens'kyi had much to do to make the press operable. He had to raise money (about 25,000–30,000 *złoty*s) to fix and buy equipment, particularly linotype matrices and type. At one point he had a stroke of good luck: an old friend who now represented a

manufacturer of linotype happened to come by from Berlin, and he allowed Pelens'kyi to purchase the necessary equipment with no deposit—just Pelens'kyi's signature on an IOU. Pelens'kyi also had to select personnel for the printing press and put together an editorial board. Oleksander Kostyk and Hryhor Andriiv, former directors of Ukrainian printing presses in Lviv, quickly rounded up a team of workers and helped put the printing press in order. V. Diakiv kept the press's books. The company *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo* was formally established on 27 December 1939 and officially registered on 16 January 1940. A Supervisory Council (*Nadzirna rada*) was formed with Kubiiovych as its head, and matters were in order by the beginning of 1940.²

Frequency and Distribution

The first issue of *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo's* newspaper, *Krakivs'ki visti*, appeared on Christmas Day, 7 January 1940. It originally appeared twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Sundays (soon changed to Wednesdays and Saturdays). As of issue number 33 (4 May 1940), the paper began to come out three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. In the first issue, *Krakivs'ki visti* announced its intention to become a daily paper,³ and this goal was achieved beginning with issue no. 111 (1 November 1940). The paper would come out daily (except Sundays and holidays) for the rest of its existence. The last issue of the daily appeared on 29 March 1945. There was a brief interruption when the paper transferred its operations to Vienna as the Red Army approached Cracow (the last Cracow issue was number 227 dated 8 October 1944, and the first Vienna issue probably appeared on 16 October 1944).⁴

When *Krakivs'ki visti* became a daily, the publishers established a weekly under the same title for the rural population, which, they felt, would not be interested in a daily newspaper. The last issue of the weekly was dated 15 October 1944.⁵

Both papers had relatively small press runs. The Germans were unwilling to allot the Ukrainian publishers as much paper as they wanted;⁶ they also severely restricted the papers' distribution.

Table 1. *Krakivs'ki visti* (The Daily): Press Run

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Issues</i>	<i>Total Newspapers</i>	<i>Average per Issue</i>
1940	156 ^a	1,118,680	7,171 ^b
1941	292	3,040,100	10,411
1942	291	2,980,000	10,241
1943	295	4,442,000	15,058 ^c
1944	298	5,008,775	16,808 ^d
1945	70	1,569,505	22,422
Total		18,159,060	

Table 2. *Krakivs'ki visti* (The Weekly): Press Run

Year	Number of Issues	Total Newspapers	Average per Issue
1940	8	57,000	7,125 ^e
1941	50	357,250	7,145
1942	52?	886,000	17,038?
1943	52	976,000	18,769 ^f
1944	42	1,135,000	27,024 ^g
Total		3,411,250	

SOURCES (TABLES 1 AND 2): "Redaktsiia 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Michael Chomiak Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, 85.191/23; issues of *Krakivs'ki visti* (daily 1941–1944, weekly 1944). Cf. Volodymyr Kubiiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii 1939–1941. Istoriiia Ukraïns'koho tsentral'noho komitetu* (Chicago, 1975), p. 280.

NOTES (TABLES 1 AND 2):

- a. 32 issues twice weekly, 78 thrice weekly, 46 daily.
- b. At a meeting of the Supervisory Council (*Nadzirna rada*) of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo held on 30 December 1940, a press run of 8,000 was reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.
- c. At a meeting of the Supervisory Council held 9 July 1943, a press run of 15,000 was reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.
- d. At a meeting of the Supervisory Council held 1 January 1944, a press run of 26,500 was reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.
- e. At a meeting of the Supervisory Council held 30 December 1940, a press run of 5,600 was reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.
- f. At meetings of the Supervisory Council held 9 July and 18 November 1943, press runs of 18,000 and 20,000 respectively were reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.
- g. At a meeting of the Supervisory Council held 1 January 1944, a press run of 26,000 was reported. Chomiak Papers, Minutes of the Supervisory Council, 85.191/27.

The readership of *Krakivs'ki visti* was located mainly in the General Gouvernement and in Germany (where many Ukrainians worked as forced laborers), but also in German-occupied Europe and allied countries (Slovakia, Italy). A few issues were sent to neutral countries of Europe and North and South America, and some even to Manchukuo and China.⁷ At the end of 1940, of 5,000 subscriptions to the daily, 2,400 were sent to addresses abroad, and of 3,000 subscriptions to the weekly, 600 went abroad.⁸

The paper could not be sent, however, to the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, where the bulk of the potential readership lived. On 9 March 1943, Kubiiiovych, the head of the Ukrainian Central Committee, Khomiak, the editor

of *Krakivs'ki visti*, and Ostap Tarnavs'kyi, representing Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo, met with Press Chief Gassner to try to convince him to lift the ban on circulating the paper in the Reichskommissariat. Gassner said that it was not in his competence to change the policy, that this was a matter for the Ministry of Eastern Territories and the Reichskommissariat to decide.⁹ The editors of *Krakivs'ki visti* did send some issues into the Reichskommissariat as a publication exchange with newspapers there, but with mixed results. The editor of *Ukraïns'kyi holos* in Proskuriv (now Khmelnytskyi) wrote to chief editor Khomiak on 9 June 1942: "We inform you that you should not send us your periodical anymore, because we can only receive those periodicals that come out on the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine."¹⁰ On the other hand, on 23 July 1943, the editor of *Dzvin voli* in Bila Tserkva sent over a number of issues of his paper, requesting a regular exchange of publications.¹¹

When *Krakivs'ki visti* first appeared, its founders had envisioned an audience made up of peasants, workers, and refugees.¹² The division of the paper into a daily and a weekly marked a differentiation between, respectively, the intelligentsia on the one hand and the workers and the rural population on the other. In 1944, Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo made a point of sending the Christmas holiday issues to Ukrainian workers in Germany.¹³

Editors

Pelens'kyi had some difficulty finding a suitable chief editor for his planned newspaper. There were a number of talented editors from Lviv in Cracow, but many of them declined to assume the editorship because they feared Soviet reprisals against their families back home in Galicia. It seems that the first person who was tapped for the position of editor in the very earliest stages of the project was Hryhorii Stetsiuk,¹⁴ who had been editor of the Lviv newspaper *Nash prapor* from 1932 to 1939. The sources leave no clue as to why he did not take up his position as editor of *Krakivs'ki visti*. When the paper first appeared in January 1940, its editor was Borys Levyts'kyi (Lewytzkyj), but he did not last long in the job. According to Kubiiovych, Levyts'kyi had to leave the position at German insistence when he published information on the Russo-Finnish war—even though the article was copied directly and without commentary from official German sources.¹⁵

After Levyts'kyi, Mykhailo Khomiak was appointed chief editor,¹⁶ and he remained chief editor of the daily until the end. Khomiak belonged to neither of the warring factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and this non-party status made him *persona grata* to the Germans.¹⁷ Kubiiovych assessed Khomiak's contribution as follows: "I cannot pass over the services of editor M. Khomiak as chief editor of *Krakivs'ki visti*. He was able (always in harmonious cooperation with the leadership of the Ukrainian Central Committee and the directors of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo) to bring aboard regular and free-lance contributors to both papers [the daily and the weekly]—correspon-

dents from the General Gouvernement and beyond; he also had the ability to sense what could be written and how in the severe German reality, and he gained some trust among the German officials, without which the work would have been impossible."¹⁸ Kubiiovych's remark about the always harmonious cooperation with the directors of *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo* was disingenuous. In fact, Khomiak had a number of unpleasant run-ins with one of the most influential of these directors, Ivan Kotsur. Kotsur felt that discipline at Orzeszkowa 7 was lax, and that this was the reason why the paper was coming out late—after 6:00 PM. He demanded a change of routine at the office and monthly reports from the chief editor. Khomiak regarded this as high-handed and petty, and ignored Kotsur's demands. But Kotsur used his influence to undermine Khomiak quite seriously. He had Kubiiovych appoint Vasyl' Mudryi as the real chief editor of the paper, reducing Khomiak to a mere figurehead. Mudryi would determine the content of each issue and the responsibilities of every member of the editorial board, while Khomiak would be, in effect, his secretary, and would continue to run the text of the paper to the German censors. This arrangement lasted only a short time, from 28 April to 21 May 1941. In his memoirs, Kubiiovych skirts around this incident, mentioning only that Mudryi was excluded from the editorial board by the Germans after he wrote a lead editorial "in which mention was made of the inimical attitude of Ukraine's western neighbors to the Ukrainian people."¹⁹

The deputy editor for almost the entire existence of the paper was the very talented Lev Lepkyi (brother of the famous novelist Bohdan Lepkyi). Lepkyi, in his fifties, was older than the others. Khomiak, like most of the members of the editorial board, was in his thirties. Others who served on the editorial board of the daily included Roman Kupchyn'skyi, Mar'ian Kozak, Iaroslav Zarembo, and Petro Sahaidachnyi. All of these (as well as Khomiak and Lepkyi) were Galicians. There was one editor from Central Ukraine, Fedir Kovshyk (born in the Poltava region), and one from Pidliashshia, Ariadna Korovyts'ka.²⁰

The first editor of the weekly was Vasyl' Kachmar, but he served only a very short time (until 31 December 1940). For most of the weekly's existence the chief editor was Iuliian Tarnovych, a prolific but narrow-minded man (anti-Jewish, anti-Orthodox) with expertise in the history of the Lemko region. On 6 August 1944, Khomiak took over the editorship of the weekly (in addition to his duties as editor of the daily), but only to preside over its liquidation.²¹

Relations with the Ukrainian Central Committee

The Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) was formally established in June 1940 as the official umbrella organization of all Ukrainians in the General Gouvernement. It was headed by Kubiiovych, who styled himself "Leader" (*Providnyk*) and envisioned a highly centralized Ukrainian leadership. He was the nominal owner of 13 of the 20 shares of *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo*.²²

Kubiiovych felt that as the leader of the Ukrainian Central Committee, he was the ultimate authority in all matters concerning *Krakivs'ki visti*. In a letter to the editorial board on 28 April 1941 he clarified his views, making the following points, among others: (1) *Krakivs'ki visti* was the official organ of the Ukrainian Central Committee, therefore its editorial policy must be completely in line with the policy of the Committee; (2) the editorial board was responsible to him (Kubiiovych) as the Leader of the Ukrainian Central Committee, and he would decide all disputed issues with regard to the editing of the paper. In this letter, Kubiiovych appointed Myron Konoval's' as liaison between the Ukrainian Central Committee and *Krakivs'ki visti*.²³

A less peremptory formulation was later found in the "Norms for the Cooperation of the Press Organs of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo with the Ukrainian Central Committee" of 1 July 1943. Article I stated: "The press organs of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo, in the first place the daily and weekly *Krakivs'ki visti* and the weekly *Kholms'ka zemlia*, champion the direction of activity and political line of the UCC and endeavor with all their influence to contribute to the success of individual actions of the UCC. On the other hand, they enjoy full moral support and representation before the authorities on the part of the UCC."²⁴

An undated self-characterization not only defines the relationship of *Krakivs'ki visti* to the Committee, but affords a more general insight into the paper's self-image:

The Ukrainian daily *Krakivs'ki visti* is an independent periodical (that is, excepting the censorship limitations and regulations of the authorities, to which it must adhere in connection with the general circumstances); it coordinates its ideological-political direction only with the responsible Ukrainian leadership in the General Gouvernement, that is, at the present moment with the Ukrainian Central Committee. *Kra[kivs'ki] visti* is an all-national organ, beyond and above parties and religious confessions; it stands on the platform of Ukrainian nationalism; it champions the view of the need for a united national front; it steers clear of any internal Ukrainian polemics;²⁵ it propagates constructiveness, political realism, unity of leadership and obedience to authority.²⁶

Relations with the German Authorities

When requesting permission to turn *Krakivs'ki visti* into a daily, Kubiiovych characterized the paper as having "a purely informational character." The only political material would come from the German press agency DNB and from "reputable" German periodicals. With regard to foreign affairs, the paper would strictly follow the line of the press office. It would eschew any involvement with internal Ukrainian polemics.²⁷

Even with this profession of complete obedience, the paper was constantly running into difficulties with the German censors. "There was hardly a single

issue of *Krakivs'ki visti*," wrote Kubiiovych, "in which the German censor did not cross out at least a few sentences or chapters or even whole articles or feuilletons."²⁸

At the meeting of Kubiiovych, Khomiak, Tarnavs'kyi, and Gassner, at which the issue of distribution of the paper in the Reichskommissariat was raised (9 March 1943), the Ukrainians also pleaded for some modification of the censorship. In particular they sought two rights: the right to print articles on historical themes, notably on the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1920, and the right to publish reports by foreign correspondents. In both cases, they argued, the present German policy was playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks. Gassner replied that only Berlin could change the policy, not he.²⁹

The restrictions of German censorship did damage to the paper. Mykola Shlemkevych, who worked in *Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo*'s office in Lviv, wrote to chief editor Khomiak on 29 April 1942 to call his attention to the "dangerous editorial crisis" that he—and not only he—perceived in the paper. He argued that the editorial board was "simply paralyzed"; that there was no editorial presence in the paper. There was no attempt to interpret life as it was experienced at the time; it was "only a mosaic of accidental submissions, with which the editors fill[ed] the pages of the periodical."³⁰ In response, Khomiak admitted that in spite of the editors' best efforts, the paper was not what they had hoped it would be. He placed the blame squarely on the German censorship, which prohibited treatment of any of the burning issues of the day: "*Krakivs'ki visti* cannot even publish what the German papers publish, and the German papers themselves have become absolutely colorless, as the Germans themselves recognize."³¹

In spite of these difficulties, there can be no doubt that *Krakivs'ki visti* enjoyed more autonomy than any other legal Ukrainian-language publication under the German occupation.

Regional Tensions and Opportunities

Regional differences have played a prominent role in modern Ukrainian history, and this is true also with regard to the history of *Krakivs'ki visti*.

The paper originally was founded for the Ukrainian population of the General Gouvernement outside Soviet Ukraine, that is, primarily for the Chełm (Kholm) region and Pidliashshia (Podlasie) and for the Lemko region. Yet the editorial board was composed almost exclusively of recent emigres from eastern Galicia. This was to be a source of tension, especially between the editors and the Orthodox archbishop of Chełm and Pidliashshia, Ilarion Ohienko. Archbishop Ilarion expressed his dissatisfaction with the paper directly to the German press chief, Gassner. When Kubiiovych, Khomiak, and Tarnavs'kyi went to talk to him about other issues altogether (the meeting of 9 March 1943), Gassner first made them listen to the archbishop's complaints and demands. The archbishop accused the newspaper of denigrating the Orthodox Church

and propagating Greek Catholicism among the Orthodox population of the Chełm region and Pidliashshia. He demanded more Orthodox representation in the Ukrainian Central Committee and 50 percent of the stock of *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo*. Although Gassner read aloud the archbishop's grievances, he did not take them very seriously.³² The Orthodox consistory repeated and concretized the archbishop's accusations against the newspaper in a document Ilarion forwarded to *Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo* in August 1943. When *Krakivs'ki visti* was founded, the memorandum stated, its primary purpose was to spread Ukrainian national consciousness in the polonized Chełm region; but already in 1940 the editors had deviated from this path and turned the newspaper to the service of exclusively Galician and Greek Catholic goals. The memorandum listed a number of articles said to have besmirched the Orthodox Church and propagated Uniatism. It objected to the paper's glorification of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Halych, Andrei Sheptytskyi, and its denigration of Orthodox hierarchs.³³ Although Kubiiovych and Khomiak regarded Archbishop Ilarion's accusations as totally without foundation, from my reading of the paper I do not think that this is the case.

In spite of such tensions, the most striking feature of *Krakivs'ki visti* was its incorporation of contributors from all regions of Ukraine. By the end of 1941 all Ukrainian lands were either occupied by Germany or by Germany's allies. This resulted in the most intense national-cultural interaction between Ukrainian regions that had ever taken place up to that moment (and the like was not to be repeated until the end of the 1980s). Thus, it was in *Krakivs'ki visti* that many Galician readers were first introduced to the cream of the nationally oriented Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia, including such luminaries as Hryhorii Kostiuk, Oleksander Ohloblyn, and Iurii Shevel'ov. The Transcarpathian Iuliian Revai also contributed to the paper. Of course, these newly heard voices could not speak on the hottest issues of the day, but they did write some remarkable pieces on history and literature and helped to widen the horizons of the Galician readership.³⁴ It was this intellectual ferment that made *Krakivs'ki visti* such an interesting paper, in spite of the conditions under which it had to function.

NOTES

1. There is a short survey of all the periodicals published by Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo in Cracow: O. I. Luts'kyi, "Periodyka 'Ukraïns'koho vydavnytstva' (1939–1945 rr.)," in *Ukraïns'ka periodyka. Istoriia i suchasnist'. Dopovidi ta povidomlennia druhoï Vseukraïns'koï naukovo-teoretychnoï konferentsii 21–22 hrudnia 1994* (Lviv and Zhytomyr, 1994), pp. 62–66. There is also one specialized study of *Krakivs'ki visti* alone: John-Paul Himka, "Kraïivski visti and the Jews, 1943: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Second World War," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 21(1–2) Summer–Winter 1996: 81–95 (an earlier Ukrainian version appeared in *Filosofs'ka i sotsiologichna dumka* in 1994). The paper is not mentioned in the standard study of the Polish-language press in the General Gouvernement: Lucjan Dobroszycki, *Reptile Journalism: The Official Polish-Language Press under the Nazis, 1939–1945*, trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven and London, 1994).
2. Ievhen Iulii Pelens'kyi, "Pered dvoma rokamy," *Krakivs'ki visti* 2 January 1942. Volodymyr Kubiiiovych [Kubijovyč], *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii 1939–1941. Istoriia Ukraïns'koho tsentral'noho komitetu* (Chicago, 1975), pp. 249–58.
3. "Vid redaktsii," *Krakivs'ki visti* 7 January 1940.
4. "Redaktsiia 'Kraïivski visti,'" Michael Chomiak Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, 85.191/23. Also Chomiak Papers, 85.191/20, Issues of *Krakivs'ki visti* (weekly 1944). The brevity of the interruption is amazing considering the difficulties caused by the move. See "Vyrobnychi mozhlyvosti u Vidni," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/30.
5. "Redaktsiia 'Kraïivski visti,'" Chomiak Papers, 85.191/23; Issues of *Krakivs'ki visti* (weekly 1944); Kubiiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 272.
6. Meetings of the Supervisory Council of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo held 18 November and 29 December 1943, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/27.
7. Kubiiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 278.
8. Meeting of the Supervisory Council of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo held 30 December 1940, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/27.
9. "Zvit z narady u shefa presy," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/29.
10. Ibid.
11. "Vyrobnychi mozhlyvosti u Vidni," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/30.
12. "Vid redaktsii," *Krakivs'ki visti* 7 January 1940.

13. Meeting of the Supervisory Council of Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo held 1 January 1944, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/27.
14. Pelens'kyi, "Pered dvoma rokamy."
15. Kubiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 274.
16. According to "Redaktsiia 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Levyts'kyi was editor until 30 January, and Khomiak [Chomiak] took over on 6 February 1940. However, there is a letter of 4 January 1940 from Oleksander Gonta-Skrypchenko already addressing Khomiak as *nachal'nyi redaktor*. Chomiak Papers, 85.191/33.
17. Interview with Alexandra Chomiak (widow), 17 August 1999.
18. Kubiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 277.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 274 (see also p. 276). Letter of Kotsur to Khomiak, 23 November 1940; letter of Khomiak to Kubiiovych, 26 November 1940; letter of Kotsur to Khomiak, 12 April 1941; letter of Khomiak to Kotsur, 14 April 1941; letter of Kubiiovych to *Krakivs'ki visti* editorial board, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/28; also "Redaktsiia 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Chomiak Papers, 85.191/23.
20. Fairly full information on the composition of the editorial board can be found in "Redaktsiia 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Chomiak Papers, 85.191/23. Curricula vitae of *Krakivs'ki visti* personnel can be found in the Chomiak Papers, 85.191/32. Editors' dates and places of birth are given in a letter of Kozak to Abteilung Presse in Cracow, 14 December 1942, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/28.
21. "Redaktsiia 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Chomiak Papers, 85.191/23; Kubiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 276. The characterization of Tarnovych is my own, not the source's.
22. Kubiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, pp. 251–52.
23. Chomiak Papers, 85.191/28. This is also the same letter in which Kubiiovych appointed Vasyl' Mudryi as chief editor.
24. "Normy spivpratsi presovykh orhaniv 'Ukraïnskoho Vydavnytstva' z Ukraïnskym Tsentral'nym Komitetom," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/30.
25. This refers especially to the paper's formal neutrality with respect to the split in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists between the followers of Mel'nyk and Bandera.
26. "Pravyl'nyk dlia Redaktsii shchodennyka 'Krakivs'ki visti,'" Chomiak Papers, 85.191/28.
27. Letter of Kubiiovych to Leiter des Presseamtes in der Abteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda bei der Regierung des

- Generalgouverneurs in Krakau, 29 September 1940, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/28.
28. Kubiiovych, *Ukraïntsi v Heneral'nii hubernii*, p. 273. For specific examples, see p. 274.
 29. "Zvit z narady u shefa presy," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/29.
 30. *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.
 31. Letter of Khomiak to Shlemkevych, 20 October 1942, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/29.
 32. "Zvit z narady u shefa presy," Chomiak Papers, 85.191/29.
 33. Ilarion to Ukraïns'ke vydavnytstvo, 24 August 1943; "Doklad" of 14 August 1943, Chomiak Papers, 85.191/30.
 34. Unfortunately, *Krakivs'ki visti* has never been indexed. The best way to gain an overview of who contributed to the paper is to check the lists of honoraria paid: Chomiak Papers, 85.191/32.