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THE  
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# **THE SHAME OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**BOLSHEVIST METHODS OF COMBATTING  
THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

**A DOCUMENTARY REPORT**

**ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN LTD.  
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## FOREWORD

*The present book is a translation of the pamphlet published in Ukrainian in the clandestine press organ of the underground Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) in Ukraine, under Communist Russian rule, in 1946.\* The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council was the body directing the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for independence. The brunt of the fight fell upon the shoulders of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).*

*Constantly hunted by the hated Soviet Russian security police and troops, and themselves carrying on the fight against the representatives of the inhuman terror regime, the authors of this pamphlet had to remain unknown to the general public. To live always with a finger on the trigger is not the same as to live in the quiet cloisters of a university, and the writing done under such circumstances must of necessity be imperfect. Nevertheless, the pamphlet is a rich source of factual material about the cruel methods used by the occupying power in suppressing the struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom and national independence between 1944 and 1946, in the early years of the renewed occupation of Ukraine by Bolshevik Russian imperialists.*

*The vast scale of the operations undertaken by the Kremlin masters to crush the Ukrainian resistance, illustrated by hundreds of incontrovertible local instances, proves also the importance that was attached by Moscow to this struggle, and what a danger it represented and still represents to the Russian Communist empire.*

*The passionate message of the pamphlet is addressed to all humanity: it is a cry for justice for the people of Ukraine now suffering under ruthless colonial oppression at the hands of Russian imperialists, at the very time when all the former colonial peoples in Asia and Africa are being given their rightful liberty. It is also a serious warning to the nations of the free world, not to abandon their resistance to the spread of the Russian Bolshevik domination, but rather to support the liberation strivings of the nations enslaved by Russia.*

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\*) "Samostylnist" ("Independence"), Vol. I, No. 1, 1946.

The cruelty and sadism of the Russian occupiers described in this pamphlet is a match to those shown in the most barbaric periods in human history. That the 20th century is actually witnessing it is a shame to our civilisation.

It must not be forgotten that the events described in this book took place in Ukraine at the time when Nikita Khrushchov ruled that unlucky country as Stalin's all-powerful and loyal lieutenant, i.e. as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The crimes against humanity described in this book took place in his "flap," under his very eyes, with his knowledge and approval, under his general command. This fact should be remembered, because it is the same Khrushchov who now wishes to project a picture of himself as an anti-Stalinist, supporter of "socialist legality" and "peaceful co-existence," in order to lull the free world into complacency, to weaken its watchfulness and preparedness, and to bring about the defeat of our civilisation with its supreme values of human dignity, respect for religion, civic and national freedom.

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## Introduction

The Ukrainian people, whose fate it has been to live within the so-called USSR, has a more intimate knowledge of the reactionary and criminal character of Bolshevism than any other people in the world. For many years, every day and every hour which the Ukrainian people has been forced to live within the borders of the Bolshevik imperium have made it realize the grim truth again and again, namely that the Soviet Union is at present the most dreadful and biggest prison of peoples in the world, in which the Russian Bolshevik imperialists ruthlessly subjugate scores of non-Russian peoples, and that the USSR stands for the biggest system of exploitation in the world, in which the newly created class of party magnates exploits millions of persons of the working classes, millions of farmers, workers and intellectuals, above all of the non-Russian peoples, in an inhuman manner. Since 1920 every day and every hour which the Ukrainian people is obliged to languish under the conditions of the Bolshevik regime corroborate the bitter truth that in the USSR, which is allegedly "the most democratic state in the world," in reality an absolute dictatorship of the Central Committee of the Communist Party alone prevails. The Ukrainian people is obliged to endure the satanic, savage despotism of the Russian secret police, a despotism which is even worse than the most ruthless dictatorship and cruellest terrorism ever heard of in the history of mankind. In the USSR democracy and the human dignity of the individual have been brutally trampled on. All those achievements which represent the progress of mankind and of which every citizen of the democratic states is nowadays so proud have been ridiculed and disparaged in the USSR.

The present fate which the Ukrainian people is obliged to endure obliges us to raise the question once more as to what Bolshevism is in reality and in practice. The policy pursued in post-war years by the Bolsheviks as regards the Ukrainian people and, in particular, their ruthless attacks against the Ukrainian national

revolutionary liberation movement and against the entire Ukrainian people, who are striving to regain their independence, do not allow us to pass over this question in silence. The said policy has so far exceeded in violence and terrorism all that the Ukrainian people has hitherto suffered under Bolshevism.

### **The Struggle of the Ukrainian Liberation Organizations**

After the downfall of the Russian imperium in 1917 and the collapse of the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary in 1918, the Ukrainian people, who had already experienced its cultural and national political rebirth at the beginning of the 19th century (inasmuch as it asserted its desire for an independent state life), established its own state — the Ukrainian National Republic — at first in the territories of the Russian imperium and, subsequently, in all the Ukrainian ethnographical territories. But this independent state of the Ukrainian people was unable to hold its ground in an unequal armed fight on several fronts, above all against the Russian Bolshevik and against the Polish imperialists. Consequently, after the First World War, the Ukrainian people came under the oppressive rule of the Russians, Poles, Roumanians and Czechs. But even during the subsequent period of its occupation by these alien powers the Ukrainian people continued the fight for its national liberation in all its territories, and this struggle was carried on either in a parliamentarian form, whenever this was possible, or as a fight for freedom waged by the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. In the interval between the two world wars a number of national liberation organizations were formed in Ukraine. Under Russian Bolshevik occupation the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU), the "Union of Ukrainian Youth" (SUM), the "Brotherhood of the Supporters of Ukrainian Independence" (BUD) and the "Ukrainian Military Organization" (UVO) developed considerable activity underground. Under Polish and Roumanian occupation the UVO, the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN), as well as certain legal democratic parties, which had as their aim the independence of the Ukrainian people, were extremely active.

World War II was regarded by all Ukrainians as a new possibility which might lead to the realization of their national political ideals. But the events of this war developed in such a way that one occupant was immediately superseded by another occupant who was equally strong from the military point of view. And each one of them aimed to bring about the complete enslavement and physical extermination of the Ukrainian people. Thereupon the Ukrainian people took up arms in order to defend its rights of existence and assert its national

political aims. Hence, during the period of German occupation in Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which comprised the best and most patriotic elements of the Ukrainian people — thousands of young Ukrainians, as well as thousands of Ukrainian men and women, was created.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was directed by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), waged a partisan war against the German oppressors in Ukraine. Since it had set itself the task of effecting the complete national and social liberation of the Ukrainian people, it was prepared to apply the same fighting methods not only against Hitler's armies but also against the imperialists of the Kremlin. For the Russian Bolsheviks were once more preparing to assert their rule in Ukraine again and, in any case, they had been regarded by the Ukrainian people as its fiercest enemies since 1918. Together with other Ukrainian political organizations, which advocated the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army took up an armed and political fight against the Russian Bolsheviks, as soon as the latter invaded the Ukrainian territories from which Hitler's armies were retreating.

It goes without saying that the Bolsheviks, since they are the greatest enemies of the liberation of peoples, immediately resolved to liquidate and ruthlessly crush by every possible means the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian people which was striving to attain the independence of Ukraine. Thus, since 1944, Ukraine has become the scene of excesses of tyranny and terrorism on the part of the Russian Bolshevik secret police. The thought alone of the atrocities committed there is enough to make one's blood run cold. And many of those who have been obliged to witness such atrocities have turned grey overnight. From 1944 onwards up to the present day the hangmen of the secret police of the NKVD constantly carry out what can only be described as a dreadful vivisection on the living organism of the Ukrainian people, — namely an intentional, systematic and criminal physical extermination of this entire people.

The fact alone that today, in the 20th century, that is to say in the century in which the principles of democracy, humanity and of the equality of rights of great and small peoples have gained the upper hand, thousands of the best sons of Ukraine have to die solely because, like all other peoples, they long to be free, is a disgrace and taint on the organism of mankind. And the fact that they are forced to die in such a manner in a state which signed the statutes of the United Nations and that in this very same state in Europe a people numbering 40 million is being systematically exterminated, — all this must inevitably evoke the sentence of condemnation of world history.

The methods to which the Russian Bolshevik occupants today resort in dealing with the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement and with the entire Ukrainian people are likewise a



disgrace to our century. These methods, which are equivalent to an abnegation of every form of progress, culture and humanity, are nothing but a large-scale depraved and cynical derision not only of the Ukrainian nation but also of all those achievements for which the noblest representatives of mankind fought and died throughout the centuries.

This treatise is intended to give the reader a true insight into the methods adopted by the Russian Bolshevik intruders against the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

### **Ideological Fight of the Bolsheviks Against the Ukrainian National Movement**

Since the Bolsheviks are well aware of the important part played by ideological, political and moral factors in the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people, they seek to combat this movement in particular in the ideological sector.

The following are some of the main methods to which the Russian Bolsheviks resort in this respect:

- a) the distortion and falsification of historical facts; a tendentious and unscientific representation of these historical facts;
- b) the liquidation of all centres of Ukrainian free scientific study;
- c) the destruction of all achievements of such centres which have been published in writing;
- d) the application of moral terrorism against the representatives of such centres and, if they continue to put up a resistance, their physical extermination;
- e) the dissemination of vile defamations directed against the present Ukrainian liberation movement;
- f) the defamation of leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement by insidious lies.

In the process of the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people it was precisely Ukrainian historical science which played an extremely important part. Indeed, it can rightly be affirmed that it was precisely Ukrainian historical science which was the decisive factor in arousing and moulding the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people and in shaping its aims for independence. And it still plays this important part today. This, incidentally, is a perfectly normal phenomenon. Since historiography transmits the past and all that was noble, heroic and patriotic in that past to the people, it serves to foster the feeling of national characteristic qualities, of national pride and patriotism in the nation, it points to examples of patriotic sacrifice which are worthy of emulation, and it teaches us how to avoid political errors. These moral and political factors are of the utmost significance to the Ukrainian people since it is still obliged to fight for its national liberation. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the imperialists of the

Kremlin, after having worked out a detailed plan by means of which to attack and overthrow the positions of the Ukrainian movement, decided in the first place to destroy Ukrainian historical science, that is to say all those values which Ukrainian historical science has developed and fostered.

The favourite method applied by the Bolsheviks in combatting Ukrainian historical science is the false and tendentious interpretation of facts in the history of the Ukrainian people. Inasmuch as Bolshevik historiography allegedly uses the "Marxist" conception of the social classes in assessing political phenomena and facts, but in reality takes as its basis in this respect the principles of the old chauvinistic and imperialist "theories" of the tsarist historiography fostered under the tsars, it judges every historical figure and its activity according to one single criterion: namely whether the historical personality or the historical event in question has contributed to the strengthening of the "union" or the "friendship" of the Ukrainian people with the "great Russian people," that is to say whether it suits imperialist Moscow to mention such personalities and events or not. Thus all truly patriotic events in the history of Ukraine (as for instance the fight of the Ukrainian people against Bolshevik aggression in the years 1918-1923) are completely passed over in silence, or else they are misrepresented in an infamous manner (as for example the entire policy of the Ukrainian "Central Rada" Government in 1917-1918), or they are branded as treachery and as a service in the interests of foreign powers.

The greatest historical service rendered by the Ukrainian 17th century Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the point of view of Bolshevik historiography was the treaty of Pereyaslav concluded between him and the Tsar of Muscovy, Alexis, in 1654. Bolshevik historiography assesses this treaty as a "union" of Ukraine with Russia. In reality, however, the treaty of Pereyaslav was merely a political alliance such as is frequently made between two sovereign states — in this case between the independent Ukrainian Cossack republic and the Muscovite state. And this was how this treaty was interpreted by its originator, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and, as is clearly evident from historical documents, also by the entire Ukrainian people. The sole purpose of this treaty was the joint fight of Ukraine and Muscovy against Poland, but by no means a "union" of Ukraine with Russia. The theory of the alleged "union" of Ukraine with Russia on the strength of the treaty of Pereyaslav was invented by chauvinistic Russian historiography in order to prove that the Ukrainian people had always longed for a "union" with Russia. In this way proof was to be produced of the "exaggerated" Ukrainian aim for independence from Russia in order to establish a basis for the present role of enslaved Ukraine in the system of the USSR. Bolshevik historiography brands Hetman Mazepa (1687-1709), just as tsarist historiography also did, as a "traitor" to the Ukrainian people and as an alleged Swedish agent who served only the interests

of the Cossack upper class but not those of the entire Ukrainian people. History, however, shows us that Mazeppa only turned to the King of Sweden, Charles XII, for help in order to sever Ukraine from Russia and make it entirely independent of the Muscovite state. The Ukrainian "Central Rada" or Central Council, a revolutionary government which was set up by the Ukrainian people during the revolution in the Russian empire and which consisted of the noblest representatives of all social classes, is designated by the Bolsheviks as "merely an agency of German imperialism" and as "representative" of the interests of the Ukrainian "bourgeoisie."

In stressing such terms as "agent" or "treachery" or "representation of class interests," or in simply passing over historical facts in silence, the Bolsheviks try to bring discredit upon all that is truly patriotic and heroic in the history of the Ukrainian people in the eyes of the masses. They seek to bring discredit upon the idea of an independent Ukraine in order to put an end to the independence aims of the Ukrainian people and to destroy the feeling of national pride amongst the people of Ukraine. For the Russian Communists would like to transform the entire Ukrainian people into a silent herd of peasants without a will of their own, into a herd of "obscure Ivans without origin and without native country."

Incidentally, the Bolsheviks apply the same criteria in assessing Ukrainian literature and the history of Ukrainian culture in general.

### **The Destruction of Cultural Values**

The new interpretation of the history of the Ukrainian people and of the history of Ukrainian literature which was already enforced by the Bolsheviks in general during the early years of their occupation of Ukraine, that is from 1920 onwards, was, however, by no means a guarantee that the educational national influence of these sciences on the Ukrainian people was completely eradicated. For the Ukrainian population possessed an extensive and manifold literature written in the spirit of the Ukrainian aim for independence. There were still numerous scholars in Ukraine and many of them were the founders of free Ukrainian scientific study who, with the voluntary support of the Ukrainian population, established centres of learning and developed their valuable research activity.

The Russian Bolshevik occupants, however, could not tolerate this state of affairs. In order to isolate the Ukrainian people completely from the educational national influence of free Ukrainian historical science, the Bolsheviks in the east territories of Ukraine put all textbooks and manuals dealing with the genuine history of Ukrainian literature, as well as all works which supported the independence aims of the Ukrainian people on the black list and destroyed them. They prohibited the teaching of Ukrainian history in the schools, and in its place introduced instruction in the history of the peoples

of the USSR. Ukrainian literature was in future only to be taught according to the official Bolshevik scheme. Rigid control was now exerted over the so-called Academy of Science of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and as far as social and political subjects were concerned it was transformed into one of the institutions of the administrative apparatus for propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. By various methods (deportation, imprisonment or execution) scores of Ukrainian scholars (including the famous historian M. Hrushevsky), who, in the name of scientific objectivity, ventured to express views which were not in keeping with the official Bolshevik course, were liquidated. All those poets, writers and other representatives of Ukrainian culture who refused to betray their national traditions, convictions and ideals were exterminated. The list of writers and poets alone who were liquidated on account of their views or their artistic activity in this connection is extremely long. It includes over 60 of the most famous names. And about 10 of the most outstanding historians were likewise liquidated. Practically all the Ukrainian linguists, ethnographers and economists, etc., suffered the same tragic fate. Since about 1930 a truly Ukrainian scientific study has ceased to exist in the eastern territories of Ukraine.

Immediately after the Bolshevik occupation of West Ukraine in 1939 and in particular after the renewed occupation of the West Ukrainian territories in 1944, Ukrainian free scientific study here, too, was subjected to hitherto unheard-of persecution. The "Scientific Shevchenko Society," which up to this time had been the most important centre of Ukrainian free scientific study in the Ukrainian territories, was transformed into a branch of the so-called Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is controlled by the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. By threatening them with deportation to Siberia and imprisonment the Bolsheviks forced the following professors of Ukrainian history at the University of Lviv (Lvov) — Krypyakevytch, Terletsky and Korduba — to abnegate their "erroneous," "bourgeois nationalist" views on the history of Ukraine. They were forced to deny publicly all that they had held to be true in keeping with their conscience as genuine scholars, and only to disseminate the views laid down by Bolshevik subversive propaganda. The purpose of this Bolshevik campaign was twofold: firstly, to disseminate false "scientific theories," which would have a harmful influence on the Ukrainian people, and to confuse and mislead the Ukrainians as to what was really the truth; and, secondly, to bring discredit upon those scholars who enjoyed a certain esteem and prestige amongst the people as scientific authorities. It was the Bolsheviks' aim to demoralize the masses, to disintegrate them from the ideological, political point of view, and to break their resistance. And this aim was to be achieved by the cunning method of drawing the attention of the public to the university professors, who, though they were learned men, were allegedly obliged to admit that they

had been in error as far as their ideas of an independent Ukraine were concerned. What then could the simple masses know of such ideas, so the Bolsheviks stressed! Since 1944 the Bolsheviks in West Ukraine have been systematically destroying all the historical, political and cultural literature which advocates the independence of Ukraine, as they previously did in East Ukraine. This literature has been confiscated not only in public but also in private libraries. And the punishment for concealing this type of literature is flogging, imprisonment, etc.

In this connection the fact must be borne in mind that such "methods" are applied by the Bolsheviks in the ideological sector of their fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement at a time when elsewhere in the world and in all the democratic states scientific study enjoys the greatest freedom; nowhere else in the world are scholars liquidated or persecuted on account of their scientific activity; nowhere else in the world are they compelled to disseminate "theories" which are enforced on them; nowhere else is scientific or any other kind of literature confiscated en masse, and nowhere else are people punished for reading the history of their nation.

### **The Defamatory Campaign Against the Liberation Movement**

A particularly fierce political propaganda campaign is conducted by the Bolsheviks for the purpose of political elimination of the organizations of the Ukrainian people which aim to establish an independent Ukraine, above all against the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.\*)

Since the Russian Bolshevik imperialists are not in a position to advance any serious argument against the national Ukrainian liberation movement which would really endanger the latter from the ideological and political point of view, they resort to the dissemination of insidious lies about the "agent activity" of this movement and about its alleged "henchman's service in the interests of Nazi Germany."

They persist in these lies particularly tenaciously in the case of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Only one fact in all their lies is true, — namely that the Ukrainian national liberation movement in general and these two organizations in particular, in defending the true interests of the Ukrainian people, are determined to fight for and attain the national political independence of the Ukrainian nation, regardless of whether this suits the plans of the antagonistic forces or not. The ranks of these organizations today comprise the best patriotic elements of the

\*) Since murdered by Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the Soviet Russian security service (KGB), in Munich on October 15, 1959.

Ukrainian people and their highest commandment is: "To win an independent Ukrainian state, or to lay down one's life in the struggle for it." And by countless deeds these patriotic elements give proof of their unswerving loyalty to this commandment. These two organizations are subordinate to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, that is to say to the supreme political leadership of the Ukrainian people. This leadership, consisting of representatives of various Ukrainian political trends and groups, was set up by the Ukrainian people during the fight against the German forces.

To talk about the "agent activity" of Ukrainian nationalism and its alleged collaboration with the Hitler regime, is to ignore in the most insolent manner four years of the heaviest and most heroic fight of the OUN on all Ukrainian territories against the Nazi occupants during the years 1941 to 1944, and is equivalent to attempting to eradicate from the annals of history four years of a fight in which the entire Ukrainian population participated. They were four years of great heroism during which thousands and thousands of the noblest-minded Ukrainian patriots, together with the leaders of this movement, either laid down their lives or were imprisoned. If one talks about the "agent activity" of the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement, one overlooks the fact that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which consisted of thousands of soldiers, was organized, formed and hardened in the fight of this movement against the German occupation. To the entire Ukrainian people and to the objective observer this is such an evident, undeniable reality that it surely needs no further explanation. If one takes into consideration the fact that the entire Ukrainian people witnessed the fight of the UPA and the OUN against the Nazi invaders, took part in this fight itself and wholeheartedly supported it, one cannot help being amazed that the Bolsheviks, who themselves are well aware of this fact, have the insolence and audacity to talk about the collaboration of the UPA and OUN with the Hitler regime. Only Russian Bolshevik occupants, who are incapable of finding any other serious and convincing political argument against those organizations, could think of resorting to such an allegation.

What has prompted the Bolsheviks to resort to such a lie, which after all only compromises them, and how do they apply this lie in practice in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement?

In the first place the Bolsheviks have resorted to the lie about the "collaboration" of the UPA and OUN with the Nazis because, for formal reasons and in view of the real longing of the Ukrainian masses, they cannot deny the fundamental idea of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, namely the idea of an independent Ukrainian state. That would be contrary to their "principles" and from their point of view "unpolitical." In addition, they have also had to find at least some fictitious "political" argument for the continuation of their fight against the revolutionary movement.

Hence, in resorting to an infamous lie, they have invented the "argument" about "collaboration" in order to ridicule the idea of an independent Ukrainian state as an exaggeration and obsession in the eyes of the masses.

Whilst the Bolsheviks on the one hand cannot deny the formal right of the Ukrainian people to a state of its own, they endeavour on the other hand, in contradiction to various facts and sound common sense, to convince the Ukrainian people that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is an independent, united state of the Ukrainian people. "For what kind of an independent Ukraine can the Ukrainian people fight?" the occupant asks insolently, and his agents repeat this question. "The idea of an independent Ukraine, as interpreted by the Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents, is nothing but a cloak worn by the leaders of the Ukrainian underground in order to conceal their henchman's service for payment in German marks in the interests of the Nazis," so the occupant adds. The purpose of this lie about the collaboration of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and of the UPA and OUN with "foreign intelligence services" is manifold:

a) to circulate a lie about the collaboration of the leaders of the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement with foreign powers, some of whom are even hostile in their attitude towards Ukraine;

b) in this way to arouse distrust in the ranks of those who advocate Ukrainian independence;

c) to misrepresent the revolutionary fight for an independent Ukraine as agent activity;

d) to separate the masses of the movement from their leaders;

e) to convince these masses that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is allegedly an independent state of the Ukrainian people, and lastly,

f) to break down their resistance and thus put an end to the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people which constitutes a grave danger to the Bolsheviks.

In this way they hope to continue unhindered their criminal policy, which aims to destroy the entire Ukrainian people, until they attain ultimate success. This insidious trick is by no means new as far as the relations of the Ukrainian people to imperialist Russia in the course of the centuries are concerned. Indeed, these tactics are old ones and must inevitably appear particularly hypocritical and infamous to everyone, even to persons who are politically ignorant, for they are typically Bolshevik tactics.

The Bolsheviks also persist in circulating false rumours to the effect that the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement aims to re-introduce a capitalist order of society with big landowners in an independent Ukrainian state.

Contradictory to these allegations, however, the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement has always stressed most emphatically, and continues to do so, that it is opposed to the revival of the old feudal, capitalist social order in the future Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement has always emphasized that it is fighting for the introduction of a new social order which will make the exploitation of the individual, either by some other person or by the state, impossible. This is perfectly obvious from the "platform" of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council which was adopted in July 1944, as well as from the "programme resolutions" which were drawn up by the 3rd Congress of the OUN in 1943. It is also proved by countless measures which the OUN has carried out in the course of the social and political campaign of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. This, however, does not deter the Bolshevist liars from affirming that the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement is active "in the interests of the big landowners and capitalists" and that it manifests a hostile attitude towards the Ukrainian working classes. In order to bring discredit upon the Ukrainian revolutionary movement the Bolsheviks, as already mentioned above, spread infamous and false rumours about the individual leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Their abominable attacks are directed against practically every prominent representative of the Ukrainian political emigrants in the revolutionary camp, as well as against all the esteemed representatives of the Ukrainian underground movement in the Ukrainian territories.

As an example of the infamous methods of which the Bolsheviks are capable we should like to quote the Bolshevist interpretation of an incident in the life of the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera. On account of his revolutionary activity the Nazis already arrested Stepan Bandera in 1941, that is immediately after the outbreak of the German-Russian war. He was then interned in the German concentration camp Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg until October 1944. This fact alone is surely proof that the OUN never in any way collaborated with the Germans. But in order to deprive the Ukrainian underground movement of this argument and to bring disrepute upon a prominent representative of the Ukrainian liberation movement (and Stepan Bandera always enjoyed the greatest esteem amongst the Ukrainian masses), the Bolsheviks hit upon the following trick. Manuilsky, the so-called Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, had the audacity to affirm in a speech which he held at a teachers' congress in Lviv on May 5, 1945, that "the Germans apparently arrested Bandera at his own wish." According to this statement, Bandera himself gave his consent to this arrest and imprisonment. This allegation is an unparalleled example of cynicism. And not only the entire Ukrainian people were of this opinion, but the originator of this defamation was also well aware of this fact. When he tried to refute a statement made by the Greek delegate in



the Security Council to the effect that the Greek trade unions had been dissolved at the wish of the Greek workers themselves, Manuilsky described this statement as "a piece of insolence on the part of the Greek monarchists, who are of the opinion that one must believe their ridiculous talk at any price" and said that "such sarcastic statements as this are an insult to the Security Council." ("Radyanska Ukrayina" of September 10, 1946.) But be that as it may. The execrable and criminal nature of all the ideological and political methods used by the Bolsheviks in their fight against the Ukrainian national liberation movement is most glaringly reflected in the fact that they endeavour to circulate their lies, which are intended to poison the soul of the Ukrainian people, among the masses through the media provided by the contemporary modern state. For well over thirty years the Bolsheviks, at the cost of the Ukrainian population, have in the Ukrainian territories maintained an army of thousands of propagandists and agitators, have been publishing hundreds of periodicals, building broadcasting stations, and producing films, solely with one aim in mind; namely, to lull the suspicions of the Ukrainian people and to paralyse, depreciate and publicly ridicule all that is sacred to the people. In this way the Bolsheviks intend to train the Ukrainian people to become obedient slaves of the Kremlin imperialists. By comparison the Ukrainian national liberation movement, which is obliged to carry on its activity underground, only has relatively few technical means at its disposal in order to expose the Bolshevik lies to the masses.

The large-scale political subversive activity of the Bolsheviks has become particularly obtrusive during recent years.

As an example of the so-called mass-campaign amongst the Ukrainian population, as practised and defined by the Bolsheviks, we should like to quote the following extract from a secret resolution adopted at the plenary session of the Volhynia regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on October 3, 1944:

"4) The main task of this activity amongst the masses in the provinces shall in the near future consist in enlightening the masses everywhere on the fact that the sovereignty of our state was only achieved by the Ukrainian people under the leadership of the Bolshevik party and only with the active help of the great Russian people, our brother. In addition, the people must be constantly enlightened on the fact that Ukraine is now truly free and independent and that it can only exist in the brotherhood of the family of the peoples of the mighty Soviet Union.

"The attention of the people must constantly be drawn to the fact that... all such persons as Symon Petlura, Konovalets and their like only invited the German imperialists to Ukraine in order to enslave the Ukrainian people and abandon it to the German overlords and capitalists. It must also be emphasized that people like Bandera, Melnyk and other OUN adherents supported and still support the

German fascists and that they helped and are still helping the Germans, the arch-enemies of the Ukrainians, to destroy and exterminate the Ukrainian people.

"It is imperative that the political campaign amongst the masses should expose the provocative and mendacious nature of the watchword of the Ukrainian-German nationalists — 'For a free and independent Ukraine.' On the strength of the constitution of Soviet Ukraine the population must be enlightened on the fact that the Ukrainian people has already attained its freedom and its sovereign rights under the leadership of the Bolshevik party and that the Ukrainian territories have been united in a great and sovereign state, whereas the Ukrainian-German nationalists of the Bandera and Melnyk clique, as well as other OUN members, are waging a fight against the Ukrainian people by no means for a 'free and independent Ukraine' but for a Ukraine ruled by the big landowners and the capitalists, for the enslavement of Ukraine by the German fascists, and for the transformation of the Ukrainian people into German slaves.

"In explaining the history of Ukraine it is essential to emphasize the fact that attempts are made to misrepresent this history in a nationalist light. The real heroes of the Ukrainian people, such as Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Bohun, Kryvonis, Semen Paliy, Ustym Karmaliuk, Parkhomenko, Shchors, Kovpak, Oleh Koshov and others, must be popularized, and the treacherous and anti-national activity of Mazeppa and other traitors must be exposed and branded.

"14) The plenary session of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine draws the attention of the Party organizations to the fact that the political campaign amongst the masses shall set itself the following tasks as its ultimate aim: the dissolution of nationalist cliques, the training of the masses to hatred against the German-Ukrainian bandits, and inclusion of the entire population in the active and ruthless fight against these bandits..."

As can be seen from the above resolution, the scope of the political deception of the masses includes not only "current" lies about the revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian people (which still continues) but also all academic questions, as it were, of the history of the Ukrainian people. But these questions are not brought up in order to explain them in the light of historical truth, or to broaden the historical knowledge of the people, or to further the latter's national and political training, but solely for the purpose demanded by the said "resolution," namely to falsify the truth, to ridicule historical tradition, and in this way to undermine and demoralize national feeling.

The main emphasis in this Bolshevik propaganda campaign amongst the Ukrainian masses is on the allegation that the "mighty Soviet Union is invincible" and that its "invincible Red Army possesses the most progressive war technique in the world," for which reason the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people is futile and hopeless.

"Against whom do you want to wage war? Against the Soviet Union?" a Bolshevik agitator asks the Ukrainian farmers in broken Ukrainian. "You must bear in mind that the Soviet Union today occupies half Europe and that the Red Army has defeated the mightiest army in the world, which was organized by Hitler. We have many thousands of tanks and planes, as well as armies numbering millions of soldiers at our disposal. At present we dictate to the whole world. What have you to offer against all this? A few machine-guns and rifles! We shall kill you all off like mice. Against whom are you venturing to wage a war? There will not be a trace of you left after one or two days!" The average dull-witted Bolshevik agitator is quite content to use such and similar arguments. In any case, it is much easier to threaten the Ukrainian people than to convince it of the wrongness of its aims and aspirations. Hence the threats about tanks and planes and the "invincible" Red Army. And the dull-witted and equally conceited Russian soldier, who is obsessed by ideological fanaticism and what is allegedly the most just idea in the whole world, threatens with his armed fist. This is indeed entirely in keeping with Russian tradition and Russian insolence. And that is how the Ukrainian farmer interprets the Russian Bolshevik propaganda campaign.

Incidentally, the fact must be stressed that the Bolsheviks always resort to force when spreading these poisonous lies; they force the population to attend the propaganda meetings and to view propaganda films, regardless of whether the population wishes to do so or not, and they overwhelm the people with propaganda literature, agitatory pamphlets, and false press rumours, etc.

In order to circulate the vilest lies which the world has ever heard and to terrorize the Ukrainian people, the Bolsheviks on the one hand mobilize every means of propaganda which the terrorist dictatorial regime has at its disposal. On the other hand, in order to withhold the truth from the Ukrainian people, the Bolsheviks liquidate Ukrainian scholars, destroy Ukrainian free scientific study and eliminate it from all educational institutions, and impose cruel penalties for every word that is spoken in defence of the truth; in short, all those who actively support and defend the truth are ruthlessly deprived of their freedom and even of their life.

Such are the fighting methods of the Bolshevik usurpers against the ideological and political principles of the Ukrainian liberation movement and against the moral values of the Ukrainian people. Hundreds of years ago the civilized world already branded such fighting methods as infamous, mendacious, anti-national and reactionary.

In their efforts to disparage and discredit the Ukrainian national liberation movement the Bolsheviks do not confine themselves solely to propaganda and to "theoretical" arguments. For the same purpose they also resort — above all with the aid of the secret police — to more concrete, more forceful and "more effective" means, with which we shall, however, deal later on.

## **The Armed Campaign Against the Liberation Movement and the People**

In addition to the Bolshevik political propaganda campaign against the ideological principles of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, the Soviet Russians have also organized a terrorist and armed campaign against all the organizations in the Ukrainian territories which advocate the independence of Ukraine. These organizations are, above all, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), the UPA and the OUN; in short, this terrorism is directed against the entire Ukrainian people who sympathises with and supports this fight for freedom.

Since it was unable to gain the upper hand over the revolutionary fight waged by the Ukrainian people, the Soviet Russian secret police (which in the course of time has constantly changed its name, from NKVD to NKGB, MVD and MGB\*), in addition to its own police troops, also resorted to the use of troops of the Soviet Army, with their entire equipment, such as, for instance, heavy machine-guns, trench mortars, artillery, tanks, aircraft of every type, searchlights, armoured cars and, very frequently, armoured trains. The fight of the Bolshevik secret police and of the troops of the Red Army against the UPA detachments and other armed units of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement on numerous occasions assumed the form of large-scale modern front operations, in which all troops and types of arms took part either directly or indirectly. The UPA detachments, on the other hand, only used the lightest types of infantry arms (mainly rifles and automatic and light machine-guns).

During the encirclement offensive which began on April 15, 1945, in the Eastern Carpathian Mountains and was directed against the Ukrainian underground army, operations were carried out not only by the special troops of the secret police, the regular defence reserves of the individual districts and bases in this territory, and the so-called "annihilation battalions," but also by a division of front-line units of the Red Army with its complete equipment: heavy machine-guns, artillery and armoured cars. For days on end reconnaissance planes flew over the villages and mountains in this territory and dropped incendiary and explosive bombs and fired machine-guns on peaceful settlements. 112 harmless Ukrainian inhabitants were killed in this way.

During wartime operations between the Soviet Army and the German troops on the Kovel-Strypa front in Volhynia the Bolsheviks threw in several divisions against the Ukrainian underground movement in the months from March to July 1944. These armed clashes

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\*) At present KGB. Editor's note.

reached their height in a fierce battle at Hurby on April 24, 1944. In order to break through the lines of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Bolsheviks threw in a large number of tanks and planes.

Infantry and tank units of the Soviet Army, which were supported in their operations by artillery and aircraft, took part in the encirclement offensive launched against the villages and forest regions of the triangle Yaniv-Zhovkva-Yavoriv (Lviv region, West Ukraine) in June 1945.

On September 17th and 18th, 1945, an entire regiment of the Soviet Army from the town of Volodymyr Volynsky attacked the area known as the forest of Zavadiiv (in Volhynia) and for two whole days this area was under heavy artillery fire.\*)

On the whole, the following numerical proportion is characteristic of the revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian people against the Russian Bolshevik occupants: on the Bolshevik side, numerous detachments of the NKVD numbering many thousands of soldiers, various special detachments that have been specially trained to fight against partisans, and entire divisions of Red Army troops trained for front-line service, with their complete war-material and their superior technique and, in addition, commanded by experienced generals; moreover, these huge forces are protected by the hinterland, that is to say by the whole USSR. On the side of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, on the other hand, only some thousand young Ukrainians, inspired by patriotism, who yesterday were still schoolboys, and a number of trained insurgents, whose sole arms are rifles, hand-grenades and revolvers. These arms are by no means uniform in type and they are always distributed in such a way that those who are given a hand-grenade or a revolver do not receive a rifle. These insurgents number but some thousands, and those in command of them are usually persons who until recently were schoolboys, farm labourers, or industrial workers and have acquired their qualifications not by any military training but in the fire of direct combat. The partisan detachments possess no military bases, nor have they adequate equipment, food supplies and a hinterland. They are obliged to fight at a time when their enemy is no longer engaged in an external war and so is no longer hampered in his actions. Neither can they count on the least help from the outside world. The disproportion of numerical strength on both sides is enormous. The only factor which is an equivalent for the immense superiority of strength of the enemy is the unswerving and unshaken faith of the Ukrainian insurgents in the justice of the cause for which they are fighting.

Concentration of greatly superior forces in manpower and technical means is one of the fighting methods resorted to by the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian underground movement. But even

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\*) In view of the task and aim which we have set ourselves, we consider it appropriate here and henceforth to illustrate our statements solely by quoting certain typical cases. — *Editor's note, 1st edition.*

though the Bolsheviks have inflicted heavy losses as regards human life on the underground fighters and on the UPA by applying these tactics, they have not been able to achieve their ultimate aim — the complete annihilation of the Ukrainian underground movement. For in spite of all the large-scale Bolshevik campaigns, that is to say in the encirclement offensives, in which scores of divisions of the Soviet Army took part, it has been impossible to defeat the UPA and the OUN (in view of the specific attendant circumstances of the Bolshevik regime all the OUN members are armed), mainly thanks to their masterly application of partisan warfare tactics and to the support of the Ukrainian population.

### **Scorched Earth Policy and Resettlement of the Population**

When the method applied hitherto proved to be less "effective," the NKVD executioners hit upon other, more barbarous and far more criminal "methods." In their fight against the UPA the Bolsheviks set fire to vast tracts of forest-land in those regions in which they expected to encounter a large concentration of UPA forces. They had already applied these tactics in previous years but more or less only sporadically and in individual cases. By means of this barbaric action the Bolsheviks wanted to force the UPA detachments and individual groups of the underground fighters to leave the forests and, by attacking them on open terrain, thus make it easier for them to fight the insurgents.

The forest fires started by the Bolsheviks in numerous districts were planned in different ways according to circumstances. Frequently only tracts of forests were destroyed in which the presence of Ukrainian UPA men was suspected. At the same time, sentries were posted along all the adjoining clearings and paths. It was their task to shoot all insurgents who tried to escape out of that part of the forest that was on fire. As a rule the fire spread to the entire forest. The forests were either set on fire by the NKVD units operating there, or else were bombed by planes. Sometimes the NKVD entrusted this task to its secret collaborators.

In the spring of 1946 practically all the vast pine-forests in the region of Kovel (including the whole of the forest of Tsuman) and in the northeast part of the region of Lviv (in the immediate vicinity of Sokal, Rava, Radekhiv and Brody), stretching over dozens of miles in a fairly densely populated region, the forests surrounding the town of Stanyslaviv and numerous smaller tracts of forest land were completely destroyed by fire.

In addition, much woodland along the railways, highways and other important communication routes in the operational terrain of the UPA were either felled or burnt out by the Bolsheviks in 1944 in order to set up observation posts against the insurgents.

The material loss to the country as a result of these measures was enormous. Over 3,600 acres of the Lopatyn-Hrytsevolya forests (in the Lviv region) were burnt out. And between Toporiv and Triytsia (in the same region) 9,000 acres of forest land were destroyed by fire. This method of destruction was applied by the Bolsheviks at a time when the forests in Ukraine, which in any case is one of the poorest countries of Europe as regards forest land, had already been sadly depleted by the events of the war and as a result of Bolshevik predatory exploitation.

But the Bolsheviks did not confine themselves solely to the destruction of forests. In numerous cases they also set fire to villages and hamlets, as well as to individual houses situated in or on the edge of forests. Thus the following villages were, for instance, destroyed by fire: Volytsia Radvanets'ka, Kutu near Triytsia, Lisovi near Toporiv, and Dobrolivka near Shchurovychi (in the region of Lviv).

In order to render contact between the UPA, the revolutionary underground movement and the Ukrainian population difficult, the Bolsheviks forced the latter to leave the villages and hamlets that were situated close to forests and in most cases destroyed them by fire.

In the region of Morochna in Volhynia, for example, the peasants were evicted from all the hamlets by the NKVD. Epidemics and infectious diseases then broke out in many cases amongst the expellees, who were now forced to share a house elsewhere with several other families.

At the beginning of 1946 the inhabitants in the district of Zhuravno in the region of Drohobych were evicted from the following estates and hamlets: Luchky and Partseliatsiya near the village of Novoshyn, Zabuhay and Kovbasa near the village of Kotoryny, Vilshanytsia near the village of Monastyrrets, Filvarky and Zapodryny near the village of Buyaniv, Lisnychivka near Chertizh, and Partseliatsiya near Korchivka.

### Methods of Bacteriological Warfare

In addition to the destruction of forest land and the eviction of the peasants from estates and villages in the vicinity of forests, the Bolsheviks also resorted to the criminal method of bacteriological warfare in their fight against the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement.

In July 1946, for instance, the NKVD in Volhynia distributed quantities of poison amongst its secret co-workers and instructed them to murder UPA fighters and members of the OUN by putting this poison into the water and food supplies. In the spring of 1946 the NKVD in the district of Stanyslaviv, on learning that the UPA was purchasing injections on the black market in order to prevent a

typhoid epidemic, supplied this market with specially prepared poisonous injections which were so strong that the victims died within a couple of hours after dreadful agony. Fortunately, the doctors of the UPA discovered this criminal Bolshevik plot, but only after a number of insurgents had died as a result of having been given the injections in question.

At the same time, that is to say in the spring of 1946, numerous prisoners who were suffering from typhoid fever were intentionally released from concentration camps in the region of Stanyslaviv by the NKVD so that they would infect the population and thus also the UPA and the underground fighters. In addition, the Bolsheviks also sent special agents, who posed as escaped prisoners from camps, as beggars or fortune-tellers, to individual villages; they had instructions to visit houses and villages on the edge of forests and leave microbes in the form of typhus lice there. Since the UPA fighters frequently sought refuge in such remote spots, the Bolsheviks hoped that they would in this way contract typhus. For the same reason the Bolsheviks also decided to stop all measures to combat the typhus epidemic which was raging at that time in certain parts of Ukraine, for they hoped that in this way the epidemic would also spread to the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. According to the Bolsheviks' plans the insurgents would contract typhus from the population and the UPA would thus be decimated. In the districts of Kalush and Dolyna in the region of Stanyslaviv, for example, the UPA was obliged to combat the epidemic amongst the population by resorting to its own measures, above all by inoculation. In spite of the fact that bacteriological warfare is prohibited by international law and that no army, not even Hitler's army during World War II, ever dared to resort to such criminal methods, the Bolsheviks had no scruples about using bacteriological warfare in their fight against the UPA.

In this connection we should also like to mention that the Bolsheviks usually used explosive bullets in their fight against the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, in spite of the fact that this type of ammunition is prohibited by the international conventions on warfare.

Since the Russian Bolshevik occupants were well aware that the most favourable terrain for partisan activity in West Ukraine is the mountainous region of the Carpathians (that is, if food supplies there are ensured), they decided to prevent insurgent action there by artificially creating famines. The Red Russians carried out their plan in this respect in the following manner: in the first place, they forcibly deprived the population of the poor crops which this infertile region yields, since they assumed that if the inhabitants themselves had nothing to eat, they would not be able to give the insurgents anything. At the same time, they issued orders prohibiting the inhabitants from buying grain in other places. The people of the



Carpathian region, who have always had to eke out a meagre existence and at present are burdened with exorbitantly high quotas, compulsory "loans" and taxes, are more or less obliged to live solely on potatoes, and as regards this food, too, the amount which they may consume is calculated beforehand. In addition, the various district committees issue new orders every year prohibiting the purchase of grain and also the conveying of grain to the mountain districts.

The Russians thus organized a systematic hunger blockade, which lasted for years, in the Carpathians. The purpose of this artificially created famine was to force the UPA detachments to withdraw from the Carpathian regions.

The same type of hunger blockade was also organized by the Russians in the region of Polissia on the Prypyat (Pripet) River, which is likewise a favourable terrain for UPA operations.

### **Tortures Inflicted on Insurgents**

At this point we should like to stress explicitly that the members of the UPA and the OUN on the whole do not allow themselves to be taken prisoner. If their situation is hopeless, they either shoot themselves or kill themselves with hand-grenades to avoid being captured alive by the enemy.

This attitude on the part of the members of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is based, above all, on their ideological principles, their ideals and their unswerving patriotism, but at the same time it is also inevitable in view of the dreadful tortures inflicted on revolutionaries who are captured by the Russian Bolsheviks. There are, of course, exceptions, namely cases where wounded insurgents are taken by surprise by the enemy, or where they have been deprived of their means of fighting and are thus physically unable to put an end to their life. If they are not shot on the spot by the Bolsheviks, they are held in Bolshevik captivity. We only intend to refer to such cases briefly, however, at this point.

All the insurgents and revolutionaries who are captured by the Russians are subjected to rigorous interrogations by the NKVD security police. And these interrogations are in reality nothing but a dreadful form of physical torture. We do not intend to go into details as regards the "usual" treatment in this respect, such as interrogations lasting for months, the various methods of depriving prisoners of sleep, intimidation, moral coercion and terrorism, less serious physical ill-treatment, etc. In order to obtain information about the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, the Russian NKVD sadists resort to every inhuman measure imaginable: they torture the prisoner with red-hot iron bars, they skin him alive,

and tear out hair and his nails; they cut off the genitals of male prisoners and the breasts of female prisoners. They crucify prisoners and hang them in such a way that they do not die immediately, twist their fingers and toes, stab them in the back, and, in order to increase their agony still more, put brands in their wounds.

On May 9, 1945, the Bolsheviks killed an insurgent in the village of Nadorozhna near Otyniya, in the district of Stanyslaviv, and dragged another insurgent, whom they had captured in a field, into the village and tortured and maltreated him before the eyes of all the inhabitants until he dropped dead.

On August 11, 1945, NKVD men in the course of a surprise attack captured two insurgents in the village of Kobyn in the region of Chernivtsi. They dragged the two insurgents to the village of Drazhnytsia, where they then proceeded to torture them for hours on end. Since the insurgents remained loyal to their oath and refused to divulge any information, the NKVD men rounded up some of the oldest inhabitants of the village and in their presence then cut off the insurgents' genitals. They then tossed the two prisoners onto a dung-heap, where they died in dreadful agony.

On October 8, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Staryy Hvizdets near Horodenka, in the district of Stanyslaviv, took Vasyl Medvedyk and his son, who were collaborating with the UPA, by surprise. In the course of the interrogation which followed, they cut a cross in the flesh of the father's back.

On November 16, 1945, the Bolsheviks captured two insurgents in the village of Stetseva (in the district of Kolomyia). They cut the sign of the Ukrainian trident in the forehead of one of the insurgents.

During the large-scale encirclement operations in the Eastern Carpathians in May 1945 the NKVD men resorted to particularly sadistic treatment when dealing with prisoners; in the course of the interrogations they pulled the skin off the prisoners' hands, tore out their finger-nails and toe-nails, stabbed them in the face with bayonets, broke their bones, knocked their teeth out, and pushed cartridges up their noses. All these tortures were carried out before the eyes of the local inhabitants who were forced to be present and to look on. Many of the women who witnessed these dreadful scenes turned mad.

On March 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks captured two young insurgents in the village of Pidpechary in the district of Stanyslaviv, — Yaroslav Stefaniv, aged 20, and Vasyl Lohaza, aged 19. Orders were immediately given that they were to be interrogated. Since they remained loyal to their oath and refused to betray military and underground secrets, they were tortured in the most dreadful manner: their genitals were cut off and their naked bodies were then branded with hot iron. They were subsequently dragged through the town and thrown into the river, where they drowned.

The Bolsheviks very often shot the UPA fighters whom they had captured on the spot, that is to say at the scene of the combat.

On November 6, 1946, for instance, they shot a UPA infantry-man, who came from East Ukraine, in the village of Kolodiyivka in the district of Stanyslaviv.

On December 27, 1946, they shot the UPA infantry-man Pavlo Slobodian at the scene of combat in the village of Pidpechary.

On December 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks murdered a UPA infantry-man by the name of Dmytro Oliynyk in the village of Dobrivlyany (in the district of Stanyslaviv), where a combat took place.

During 1944 and 1945 the Bolsheviks were in the habit of publicly hanging UPA fighters and underground revolutionaries en masse.

From March to July 1945 hanging was carried out on such a large scale in those regions of West Ukraine which were already a base of the Bolshevik front that there was hardly a village or a town in which one of these mass-executions had not taken place. In some districts the bodies of insurgents of the UPA could be seen hanging on every telegraph pole along the highway for about a mile (as for instance in the village of Myshkovychi near Mykulyntsi, in the region of Ternopil).

In order to intimidate the Ukrainian inhabitants and to make them afraid of cooperating with the Ukrainian underground movement, the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1945 began to resort to the method of public mass-hanging of UPA soldiers in the rayon (district) centres and other large towns. Executions of this kind took place in Berezhany, Chortkiv (Ternopil region), Strilyska Novi (Drohobych region), Bibrka (Lviv region), in the town of Korets (Rivne region), as well as in many other large and small towns of West Ukraine.

All those insurgents and underground fighters captured by the Bolsheviks who survived the tortures inflicted on them by the NKVD and whose spirit the Bolsheviks failed to break were sentenced by the Bolshevik "people's" courts to long terms of imprisonment of at least 20 years, which usually meant deportation to Siberia and internment in a concentration camp. After a few years in one of these camps the prisoner was bound to die. Deportation of political prisoners under the tsarist regime was child's play compared to the Bolshevik methods in this respect. The Russian "socialists" have indeed surpassed their tsarist reactionary predecessors!

As already mentioned, the Bolsheviks inflict savage tortures on the captured UPA fighters in order to force them to betray military and underground secrets. They seek to break the morale of the UPA soldiers, to rob them of their human dignity and thus bring about their complete spiritual collapse. The Bolshevik hangmen endeavour to force the UPA fighters and revolutionaries whom they have taken prisoner to divulge information about the bases of the UPA detachments, about their commanders and fellow-fighters, about the food supplies of other insurgents with whom they were in contact, as well as about their families and about all persons whom they know to have been connected with the UPA and the underground movement in general. In addition, the Bolsheviks force the prisoners

to appear in public at mass meetings, especially at meetings of persons whom they know from their activity in the UPA. On such occasions the captive UPA soldiers are compelled, at the orders of the Bolsheviks, to make public statements to the effect that they condemn the fight they have formerly carried on for an independent Ukraine, that they admit their "mistakes" and are "grateful" to the Soviet government for having given them a chance to return "to peaceful work." When confronted by the NKVD with such alternatives, some of the prisoners break down and become the voluntary tool of the NKVD men. Very often, these prisoners, whose spirit and morale have been broken by NKVD terrorism, later come to their senses and, finding life unbearable, then usually commit suicide.

An insurgent, for instance, who had been taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks was brought to the village of Boratyn near Zabolotsi, in the region of Lviv, on January 4, 1946. When the Bolsheviks tried to force him to show them the grain depot of the UPA, he felt that he could not betray the UPA and so he committed suicide by jumping into a well.

There have been numerous cases in which insurgents who had been taken prisoner have realized the tragedy of their position and, driven to the depths of despair, have snatched weapons from their NKVD guards in order to commit suicide, or, for instance, some sharp object for the purpose of cutting their throats or an artery, in order to redeem their honour in the eyes of their fellow-men and, above all, their honour as a UPA fighter.

By resorting to such methods, the purpose of which is to bring about the moral collapse of the fighters of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement by means of a terrorism unparalleled in history, the Bolsheviks are pursuing a twofold aim: namely, not only to combat the said movement, but also to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian people and, in fact, demoralize them by pointing out that these insurgents allegedly repeat all they know like parrots. "Such is the character of all these insurgents" that "we shall soon be able to liquidate the entire underground movement." On the one hand, the Bolsheviks publicly make these false assertions, but, on the other hand, they completely conceal the fact that the Ukrainian underground movement has thousands and thousands of heroic deeds to its credit; they distort all these true facts and, resorting to all the propagandist means at their disposal, spread the story of occasional and usually very insignificant cases in which a UPA fighter has broken down under the indescribable terrorism inflicted on him. Only the Bolsheviks are capable of such methods, which aim to mislead and confuse the Ukrainian people and fill them with a sense of hopelessness. After having obtained information about the Ukrainian underground movement from insurgents whom they have terrorised and morally broken, the Bolsheviks usually (in fact, in most cases) shoot the latter or else sentence them to long terms of imprisonment.

To quote one such case: on January 7, 1946, the Bolsheviks shot the former UPA fighter Vasyl Zubyak in Kolodiyivka, in the region of Stanyslaviv, after he had been terrorized and morally broken to such an extent that he gave them information about the insurgents in certain secret hiding-places that he knew.

In 1945 the Bolsheviks began to organize insurgents whose morale they had broken in special so-called provocation detachments. These special detachments were under the command of NKVD officers and were used to fight the Ukrainian resistance movement as a whole. But we shall deal with this question in more detail later.

### **Tortures Inflicted on the Wounded and Falsification of Their "Repentance Statements"**

Wounded UPA soldiers are treated in exactly the same way by the Bolshevik hangmen as the UPA fighters who are taken prisoner.

In the majority of cases wounded and captured insurgents are shot on the spot, namely at the scene of combat, by the Bolsheviks.

During a surprise attack on the village of Yamnytsia in the district of Stanyslaviv, for instance, the Bolsheviks captured a UPA infantryman who had been wounded. They pretended they were going to release him but then killed him on the spot by shooting him in the back.

On May 27, 1945, in the same village these Bolshevik monsters stabbed a UPA soldier, who had been wounded and captured by them, to death with their bayonets.

During a fierce combat between UPA detachments and Bolsheviks near Hurby (in the region of Rivne in Volhynia) on April 25, 1945, the Bolsheviks murdered 100 insurgents who had been wounded and 200 other persons who had joined the UPA as members but who were not armed.

On March 5, 1946, the Bolsheviks seriously wounded Fedir Leoniak in the forest near Ispas, Kolomyya (in the region of Stanyslaviv). They then beat him to death with the butts of their rifles.

On January 31, 1946, the Bolsheviks captured 3 female nurses of the UPA and 2 insurgents who were ill. UPA infantryman Khmil and a nurse of the name of Varka promptly told the Bolsheviks that they would not divulge any information about the Ukrainian underground movement to them. They were thereupon both shot on the spot. The others were taken to the Bolsheviks' barracks and immediately interrogated. One of the nurses refused to say anything

during her interrogation and was therefore tortured by the Bolsheviks in a most bestial manner: they broke her hands and her ribs with a heavy metal bar and then shot her. The execution of the other nurses was carried out by Lieutenant Leshchov, a co-worker of the Russian security police unit stationed in Kolomyia. He took them along to their parents' houses (they came from the same village), and when they were in front of the house and about to be shot he asked the girls if they knew what they were dying for. Their answer was: "We are dying for an independent Ukraine." Thereupon they were shot before the eyes of their parents. Their corpses lay in the snow for two weeks, and sentries stood on guard to prevent anyone from trying to bury the bodies. After two weeks the bodies of the Ukrainian girls who had been murdered were torn to pieces by dogs.

A common method applied by the Bolsheviks at that time, too, was to inflict dreadful tortures on wounded and captive UPA fighters in order to force them to divulge information about the underground movement. The fact that someone has been wounded makes no difference to the nature of the interrogation methods applied by the NKVD.

For instance, on October 19, 1945, NKVD men raided a UPA field-hospital in Svydnyk near Turka (in the district of Drohobych). Two UPA nurses, who had been badly wounded, and 3 civilians in the hospital fell into the hands of the NKVD hangmen. During their interrogation the latter made them sit on a red-hot kitchen-stove.

In Polonychna near Kamyanka Strumylova (region of Lviv) the Bolsheviks on July 1, 1945, tortured a wounded UPA soldier, whom they had taken prisoner, to death.

On March 3, 1945, during the big Bolshevik encirclement operations directed against the bank of the River Dniester at Isakiv near Tovmach (in the region of Stanyslaviv), an insurgent by the name of Verbovyi, who had been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy. When the NKVD men asked him what he was fighting for, and he told them that he was fighting for an independent Ukraine, one of them stabbed him with a bayonet.

On June 9, 1945, NKVD men brought an insurgent, whom they had wounded and then taken prisoner, to Narayiv near Berezhany (in the region of Ternopil). There they tortured him to such an extent during interrogation that he died.

On March 24, Bolshevik hangmen in the village of Pidzviryntsi near Komarno (in the region of Drohobych) threw a UPA soldier, who had been wounded in combat, into a fire which they had started in a building, and murdered him in this barbaric manner.

It is only in exceptional cases that the Bolsheviks take the trouble to see that wounded UPA fighters, whom they have taken prisoner, are restored to health, namely when they know that the person in question enjoys considerable authority and prestige in the under-

ground movement or amongst the population. In such cases the Bolsheviks aim to break his spirit completely by terrorism and then make use of his name for the purpose of demoralizing both the Ukrainian underground movement and also the public.

In most cases, however, members of the Ukrainian underground movement who are captured by the Bolsheviks refuse to divulge any information and do not break down. Nor do they sign the "repentance statements" put before them. These are signed in their name by the Bolsheviks in spite of fierce protests on the part of the prisoners (usually, however, without the latter's knowledge) and then circulated in the form of leaflets by the Bolsheviks.

This, for instance, was what they did in the case of the UPA commander Rudyy. He had been taken ill with typhus and whilst moving from one base to another fell into a Bolshevik ambush. His horses took fright as he had fainted and led him straight to the Bolsheviks, who took him prisoner. Not long after this incident leaflets were circulated which contained a statement, allegedly signed by Rudyy, to the effect that he had made a big "mistake" in fighting in the ranks of the UPA against the Bolsheviks. He added that he had now realized his mistake and had volunteered for service with the NKVD organs of his own free will. It was also pointed out on the leaflet that Rudyy had decided to make good for his "mistakes" by "helping" the Soviet government to destroy the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. And it was likewise stressed in the said statement that Rudyy had allegedly helped the Bolsheviks to liquidate the commander of the UPA-North Command, Colonel Klym Savur. This entire "statement" by Rudyy was an invention on the part of the Bolsheviks. The Russian occupants made use of the fact that the UPA commander Rudyy, who was a sick man, was in their hands and falsified a statement in his name. The purpose of this falsification was to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian population and of the revolutionary cadres by circulating compromising news about such a well-known personality.

The names of Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries are frequently used by Bolshevik propaganda to create the deceptive impression that the Soviet government allegedly "forgives" all those who are taken prisoner alive and "repent," and even gives them a chance to engage in "peaceful work" if they belong to the leading strata of the revolutionary underground movement.

The Bolsheviks in this way also made use of the name of a leading member of the OUN, Dorosh. Together with his comrades, who were poisoned by a Bolshevik gas-grenade in their hideout, Dorosh was taken prisoner by the Red Russians.

A similar case was that of Lieutenant Vitovsky, who went by the name of Zmiyuka, an outstanding UPA commander and a son of

Colonel Dmytro Vitovsky, who was a well-known statesman and military leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement during the First World War. Bolsheviks used his name on leaflets and made out that he was still alive and also that the Soviet government was allegedly only too willing to "forgive" all members of the Ukrainian underground movement (soldiers in the ranks as well as leaders) who made a statement of repentance.

The fate of all these insurgents who have been wounded and captured is the same as that of all UPA fighters who are taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks. The latter sentence them and either deport them to remote regions, or else put them in prison or in camps for long years.

Cases such as the following, which occurred in the village of Komariv near Halych (in the region of Stanyslaviv), are also typical of the Bolsheviks' methods. In August 1945 the Bolsheviks, in the course of their large-scale purges, arrested an 18-year old girl. During the first interrogations the girl was beaten and tortured in the most brutal manner. When she eventually collapsed in a coma the Bolsheviks left her lying there. Relatives then took her to hospital, but a few days later she was thrown out of the hospital on the grounds that she was an ardent "Bandera supporter." Shortly afterwards she died at her parents' home.

### **Desecration of the Graves of Freedom Fighters Killed in Action**

The Russian Bolshevik barbarians even desecrate the graves and dead bodies of Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries who have been killed in action. In this respect they resort to the most bestial methods imaginable. The corpses of the freedom-fighters are tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the roads, pierced with bayonets, crucified, hung up on public squares and burnt. Burial is prohibited for weeks on end, and guards lie in ambush near to the corpses to make sure that none of them are removed. The field of combat on which the UPA fighters have been killed in action is then mined in order to prevent anyone from removing the dead. Their bodies are later buried together with the carcasses of animals. The Bolsheviks engage in feverish investigations to find the graves of insurgents whose bodies have been buried secretly and usually at great risk to those concerned. Anyone who buries an insurgent is arrested by the NKVD. Whenever the Bolsheviks discover such a grave they immediately open it, destroy the cross on it and remove the body. They desecrate it and either bury it somewhere else together with the carcasses of animals, or leave it lying in a ditch or on a dung-heap on the outskirts of the nearest town, etc. The corpses are usually left lying about completely naked as the Bolsheviks remove all the garments in which they were attired.



On May 27, 1946, an insurgent by the name of Boyan was wounded by Bolsheviks in ambush in Yavche near Bukachivtsi (in the region of Stanyславiv). Next day his body was thrown into a well in Korolivka near Kolokolyn by the Bolsheviks.

On July 18, 1945, the Bolsheviks removed the crosses on the graves of UPA soldiers in Polivtsi near Bilobozhnytsia (in the region of Ternopil). At night NKVD men used to lie in wait in the cemetery.

On December 2, 1945, an insurgent of the UPA-East Command was killed during a combat against the Bolsheviks in the village of Chornokintsi near Probizhna (in the region of Ternopil). For five whole days NKVD men lay in wait near the body in order to catch anyone who might attempt to remove it and bury it.

On August 20, 1945, the UPA company commander Zalizniak and his Cossack batman Kolya were killed during a combat against the Bolsheviks in Hrad near Kolky in Volhynia. The Bolsheviks took their bodies to Kolky and there hanged them publicly.

On January 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks hanged the body of an insurgent by the name of Yura whom they had killed in the park adjoining the village soviet in Pidpechary, in the district of Stanyславiv. The body was only clad in underwear, and the Bolsheviks had nailed a board bearing the words: "Bandit Yura" on the dead man's chest. Bolshevik sentries stood on guard by the corpse for two days. It was then removed to a pit and mined but not buried. It remained there until March 25th.

On the same day two UPA soldiers were killed in action in the village of Pidluzhzhia near Stanyславiv. The Bolsheviks tried to force a farmer, Mykhailo Dolishnyy, to drag the two bodies, which were tied together with barbed wire, to the village soviet. As he refused to do so, however, he was given a severe beating by the Bolsheviks. The latter then tied the bodies to the tails of horses, dragged them as far as the village soviet and there hanged them. The corpses were left hanging there for four days.

On February 20, 1946, NKVD men in the village of Tiaziv near Halych in the region of Stanyславiv, murdered Maria Kovalchuk, the mother of the UPA commander Borodatyy, who was well-known in this area, during interrogation. The Bolsheviks then took the body to Halych and threw it on a dung-heap near to the premises of the NKVD.

On July 4, 1946, the Bolsheviks killed a UPA soldier by the name of Stepan Lidchyn in the village of Horokholyna near Bohorodchany (in the region of Stanyславiv). They then gouged out the dead man's eyes.

On October 11, 1945, during a surprise attack carried out by the NKVD on the village of Richka near Kosiv (in the region of Stanyславiv), the UPA company commander Sviatoslav shot himself so that he would not fall alive into the hands of the Red Russians. His body

was then secretly mined by the Bolsheviks. Whilst it was being interred the mine exploded, killing a seventy-year old woman, Maria Stefuranchyn, who was kneeling in prayer at the grave, and two small boys.

On October 29, 1945, the NKVD fiends opened the graves in Mechyshiv near Berezhany (in the region of Ternopil) since they hoped to discover the bodies of underground fighters in this way.

Nowhere in the world have the bodies and graves of soldiers killed in action been desecrated in such a way. It is only the Bolshevik criminals who are capable of such bestial methods.

### **Agent-Provocateur Activity and Subversion — the Main Methods of Warfare**

The Russian Bolsheviks are not in a position either to crush the Ukrainian independence aspirations on the ideological front, or to vanquish the Ukrainian revolutionary organizations in a direct, armed fight, that is to say in open and honest combat. Hence they resort to their usual methods of combat against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, — the use of agents-provocateurs and treachery, and in this respect they do not shun the vilest methods. The agents' activity can be classified as internal and external, according to where the agents engage in it.

The most dangerous form of agent activity is, of course, the internal one. This represents a deadly danger to the revolutionary underground movement since it is based mainly on conspiracy and can thus have disastrous effects as it attempts to destroy the said movement from within.

As early as 1911, after the outbreak of the German-Russian war, the Bolsheviks realized during their retreat from the Ukrainian territories that the real danger to their rule in Ukraine was not Hitler's army but the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian people. For this reason they left thousands of agents behind in Ukraine, who in many cases were secret members of the Communist Party or of the Komsomol (the Communist youth organization). It was the task of these agents to win the confidence of the Ukrainian underground movement, which aimed to establish the independence of Ukraine, and to engage in their treacherous subversive activity in this field. As a result of the chaos caused by the war in some districts, these agents in some cases managed to infiltrate the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement. This was facilitated by the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom was constantly extending to new territories. And it was here, in particular, that they set about their subversive work, which aimed to seriously

damage the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. We should like to emphasize at this point that many of the Bolshevik secret agents who were in Ukrainian territory at the time of the German occupation only wormed their way into the Gestapo and other police departments of the Hitler regime because they hoped that the Germans would crush and liquidate the Ukrainian independence aims. Some of the sources and documents on this subject have already been published in the Ukrainian underground press (see "Ideya i Chyn" — "Idea and Deed," No. 8). In order to be able to combat the Ukrainian independence aims more successfully through the Germans, the Bolshevik secret agents in the Gestapo and in the Ukrainian underground movement cooperated very closely. At the same time these agents were to prevent the carrying out of orders issued by the UPA Command Headquarters regarding the fight against the Bolshevik partisans, who received their orders from the Kremlin. Once these Bolshevik partisans had penetrated Ukraine, they robbed the Ukrainian population mercilessly and were a great obstacle to the young UPA since they occupied some tracts of forest land.

The main task of the internal Bolshevik agent activity during the German occupation of Ukraine was, by means of camouflage, to win the confidence of the Ukrainian underground movement, which aimed to establish the independence of Ukraine, as far as possible, and to occupy leading positions in this movement in order to deal it a fatal blow by betraying it when the Red Army re-occupied the Ukrainian territories again.

This task — the extermination of the Ukrainian underground movement — was to be carried out by the agents sent to Ukraine by the following means:

a) by treacherous attacks on UPA commanders and leaders of the underground movement (these attacks were usually carried out by the Bolshevik agents during combat);

b) to supply the NKGB, the security police, with all the secret orders and instructions, documents and information on the plans and activity of the Ukrainian underground movement. The NKGB was interested above all in information as to when and where conferences and meetings of the leading men of the underground movement were to be held, as to which of the leaders of the movement would be present on such occasions, and as to where these persons lived;

c) to sabotage the activity of the underground movement, and in cases where Bolshevik secret agents held leading posts in the movement, to prevent the carrying out of orders;

d) to divert the activity of the underground movement in some sector or other into a false course in cases where agents held a responsible post in the movement;

e) combats were to be avoided or to be commanded badly in order to undermine the strength of the UPA in this way (where agents

acted as commanders). In addition, hostile reprisals were to be introduced against the Ukrainian population;

f) to initiate political meetings which would compromise the revolutionary movement;

g) to cause misunderstandings in the underground movement and to undermine the trust which the members had in each other;

h) to build up an extensive network of internal agents in the organizations of the Ukrainian underground movement;

i) to foster signs of corruption amongst the underground fighters and in the UPA units.

The traitors sent into the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement by the imperialists of the Kremlin were, however, by no means able to fulfil the tasks set them by the latter. Nowhere did they succeed in achieving the aim which they had set themselves — namely to destroy or seriously harm the Ukrainian underground movement. The security organs of this movement were so well organized that they were able to discover the Bolsheviks' treachery in time and counteract it successfully. Nevertheless the Bolshevik agents here and there succeeded in treacherously shooting a commander of the UPA or a leader of the underground movement, in causing insignificant political and moral damage in some of the smaller operational sectors of the UPA by distorting political directives issued by the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and in weakening some UPA detachments by intentional provocation to combat. But all other attempts on the part of the Russian Bolshevik occupants to smuggle traitors into the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement proved futile.

When sending internal agents to Ukraine during the early months of the operations of the UPA the Bolsheviks made considerable use of the so-called "deserters" from the Soviet Army. When the Bolsheviks learnt that the UPA had exhorted the soldiers of the Soviet Army to desert, they sent their trained agents into the ranks of the UPA in the guise of deserters.

But this trick was soon discovered.

In this connection we quote an extract from the minutes of an interrogation held in the case of an NKVD agent and soldier of the Red Army who was captured by a UPA detachment on September 12, 1945:

"I, Stephan Polikarpovych, a soldier of the Red Army, field post No. 93355, last served in a sniper company in the town of Kovel. From here NKVD Lieutenant Mishchenko sent me to reconnoitre the terrain in order to ascertain where Bandera units were located. I was to carry out reconnaissance in the rayons (districts) of Kamin

Koshyrsky and Kovel. I was allowed ten days in which to carry out this task. I was given instructions to the effect that if the UPA should take me prisoner whilst I was engaged in this task, I was to pretend to be a deserter from the Red Army, to join the insurgents and win their confidence, and in this way find out where the UPA detachments were stationed and the assumed names of their commanders. I was also instructed to steal the marching-pack belonging to the UPA commander, to make off with it and then report to the nearest NKVD unit. From there I was to be taken back to Kovel.

When he commissioned me with this task Lieutenant Mishchenko pointed out that if I fell into the hands of the insurgents and did not return to the NKVD, he would deport and wipe out my family and would also try to kill me. On the other hand, if I fulfilled my task and returned, I should receive a reward..."

Thus one of the main methods applied by the Bolsheviks in recruiting internal agents consists in moral and physical terrorism, intimidation, persecution of the families of the underground fighters, bribery, the promise of well-paid posts, etc., — "methods" which no honest person would adopt.

The nature of this recruiting varies according to whether the NKVD is in direct contact with the prospective agent (for instance, if an insurgent is taken prisoner during an encirclement operation), or endeavours to recruit an agent through intermediation (as for example through his family). In the former case, the process of recruiting is roughly as follows: the insurgent is captured alive by the NKVD. To begin with, an attempt is made to convince him of the hopelessness of the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people in view of the international situation and the invincible armies of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, the NKVD men start uttering threats to the effect that all the insurgents will be hounded down and that mercy will be shown to no one. At the same time, they suggest to the insurgent in question that he should cooperate with the NKVD. If he does not agree to do so, he is promptly threatened with tortures, death and the extermination of his entire family. Incidentally, the Bolsheviks take good care to promise him a tempting future if he is prepared to engage in agent activity for them. If the insurgent continues to refuse their offer, the NKVD men now begin to apply physical tortures and threaten to deport his family to Siberia. If he then finally agrees to cooperate, a detailed plan is carefully worked out as to how to conceal his absence from the UPA or the real reason for his release by the NKVD. He subsequently is entrusted with his first task and the NKVD establishes secret contact with him. Indirect recruiting is carried out as follows: either through the family or through the girl-friend of the insurgent in question. In this case the main method consists in moral coercion: in the event of resistance on the part of the insurgent concerned, he is threatened with the destruction of his family, the confiscation of his property, and, lastly, with his own liquidation.

## Organization of the Network of Secret Collaborators of the NKVD

When it became apparent that the NKVD methods of international recruitment of agents were not proving much of a success owing to the moral steadfastness of the Ukrainian underground fighters, the NKVD set about organizing the network of external agents, the so-called *seksots* or secret collaborators, with particular intensity.

These agents and their activity certainly represent a plague under which the Ukrainian people in the USSR are obliged to suffer: part of the Ukrainian population has been terrorized by this class of secret co-workers for over 25 years, whilst the rest of the population has only been forced to endure this evil since World War II. The secret co-workers of the NKVD carry on their activity everywhere: in the rural areas, in the towns, in the schools, and in the factories and *kolkhoz* brigades. One can encounter them amongst good friends and even in one's own home. They are feared and hated everywhere. But at the same time, everyone knows that they themselves might be forced any day, by terrorism and blackmail, to engage in this vile "work," which the whole world regards as reprehensible.

It is the task of the secret co-workers to be the "eyes and ears" of the Bolshevik secret police. They have to collect news about the Ukrainian underground activity, about its bases, contacts, movements, intended actions, hideouts and depots, and about persons of the civilian population who are in touch with the underground movement. All this information must then be handed over to the Russian Bolshevik secret police. It is also the duty of these co-workers to obtain information about all the persons with whom they are acquainted, about all their movements, what they talk about, what plans they make, and why they are happy or sad. They are instructed to pass on all this information secretly to the secret police. It is also their task to circulate falsified news which compromises the underground movement, to stir up ill-feeling against the UPA amongst the people, to shake the latter's faith in the success and expediency of the revolutionary fight for freedom, to exaggerate the defeats of the UPA and to deny news of its victories, to poison persons who are taking an active part in the revolutionary liberation movement, and by various ways and means to spread information and literature that is compromising and thus enables the NKVD to arrest the persons concerned. In order to be able to carry out all these tasks they have to pose as honest persons, as kindly neighbours, and, in fact, very often as good patriots and enemies of the Soviet government. They must frequent places where they are likely to meet persons who belong to the underground movement; for the purpose of reconnaissance they have to go into the woods and forests and pretend to be gathering mushrooms or firewood; at night they have to sneak up to the windows of their neighbours and eavesdrop whenever they hear three or four persons conversing; they very often have to disguise themselves as beggars and go to other villages, where they

then beg at the houses of persons whose names they have been given beforehand, and sometimes they have to disguise themselves as fortune-tellers; in other words, they have to move about unobserved, to stand in the shadows, as it were, and keep their eyes and ears open all the time.

The chief methods applied by the Bolsheviks as far as the activity of the secret co-workers' network is concerned are mass-terrorism, blackmail of every type, and bribery. The sphere of activity to which these agents are assigned by the Bolsheviks includes every class of the Ukrainian people, regardless of the latter's position, age or profession.

The Ukrainian people, however, — in particular in those districts in which the Ukrainian national liberation movement is most active — are in the moral respect the soundest element to be found in Europe since the war. For this reason, the Bolsheviks' method of bribery when recruiting secret co-workers is crowned with little or no success. Hence the NKVD usually prefers to resort to physical and moral terrorism combined with extortion.

The main category of mass-terrorism, used for the purpose of recruitment and also to camouflage this recruitment, are mass-arrests. There is not a single village or a town in Ukrainian territory today which did not experience mass-arrests during the years 1944-1946. In fact, in the course of this comparatively short period mass-arrests were carried out several times. And the victims were from the entire Ukrainian population, including boys and girls who were mere children, as well as aged persons. All these persons were subjected to the notorious NKVD interrogations. They were given statements to sign, to the effect that they would secretly collaborate with the NKVD for the purpose of combatting the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, and the following methods of coercion were used by the Red Russian secret police in order to force them to sign: they were threatened with the most dreadful forms of torture, with the confiscation of their property, and with dismissal from their jobs, etc. They were coerced by means of lies and accusations, or else they were tortured in a barbarous way. After these arrests the innocent victims usually returned home with the whole body a mass of bruises and weals that had been inflicted by the Bolshevik secret police. The reason why they were ill-treated to this extent was solely that they had refused to sign statements to the effect that they would collaborate with the NKVD.

In the village of Nemyach in the district of Pidkamin (region of Lviv) there were only 5 persons in January 1946 who had not been interrogated and tortured by the NKVD.

Very often persons were driven to despair by the terrorist methods of the NKVD and committed suicide. On October 15, 1945, Ivan Kovalyk of Koziv near Dobromyl (in the region of Drohobych) hanged himself for this reason.

To illustrate the methods practised by the Bolsheviks when recruiting secret co-workers we should like to quote the following testimony given by a farmer of the village of Polonka near Lutsk, Volhynia, who was discharged from the Red Army as an invalid and was later arrested by the NKVD:

"I was arrested together with five other persons from our village. At first I had no idea what was the matter and why the NKVD should have chosen to arrest me. When we arrived at the NKVD building, however, I saw that there were already a number of other persons from the village there, waiting to be interrogated. Eventually it was my turn, too. The interrogation began with some questions about my personal particulars, that is to say about my life. Various questions were then asked about my family, my domestic circumstances and my social status, etc. After a while, the NKVD chief put the suggestion of my collaborating with the NKVD to me and assured me that I should, of course, receive material support and reward from the Soviet government for my collaboration. I was so taken by surprise on hearing this impudent suggestion that I was quite dumbfounded. The NKVD man added: 'You will inform us whenever Bandera people visit your village and whom they visit on such occasions; you will also find out who gives them shelter and who supplies them with food and helps them in other respects, and which of the villagers cooperate with the Bandera people or are constantly in touch with them. If you are afraid, however, that someone might discover that you are collaborating with the NKVD, we shall arrange matters so that there is no danger in this respect. You need not come to us personally. You can pass on any information that you obtain to us through your family or relatives in another village. In due course we shall summon various persons who are not working in collaboration with the NKVD, including yourself, to appear at the rayon headquarters of the NKVD, and no one will therefore have any suspicions as regards you. Whenever we want to visit the village and you, we shall previously summon several more farmers to appear at our headquarters, and no suspicion will therefore be attached to you...' I began to point out that I was an invalid and indicated my crutches, without which I am unable to walk. I said that in view of this fact I should not be able to walk about in the village, gathering information. But the NKVD man refused to listen to me. He affirmed that I was just the sort of person that the NKVD needed, since no one would suspect me, as I was an invalid. He then put a piece of paper with some writing on it in front of me and told me to sign it. I refused to do so. Thereupon the NKVD man jumped up from his chair as if he been struck by lightning; he went quite red in the face and started to shout at me. He began to curse God and his mother and father in the true Russian fashion. 'I shall have you chained up like a dog because you're a bandit like all Ukrainians!' 'You can do what you like with me' I replied. 'You can even shoot me. I can't give you any information because I don't get about at all.' The NKVD



man became more and more furious. He then marched me out of the room and locked me in a woodshed and went away. I sat there shivering until late in the evening, for it was bitterly cold. I had already given up all hope of being released, but late at night the NKVD man called me into his office again and once more tried to persuade me to become an informer. He threatened me with confiscation of my property and liquidation of myself and my entire family. He said that I would be sent to the same place where my parents already were (they were exiled to Siberia in 1940). I was no longer capable of answering back, so I kept silent. The NKVD man once more demanded that I should sign the document that he had written. And once more I refused. He then wrote out another statement. It said that I did not recognize the Soviet government and refused to submit to it and to co-operate with it. The NKVD man now told me to sign this statement. But I refused to do so, and added that I recognized the Soviet government and that I had even fought at the front for it, with the result that I was now such a crippled invalid that I could no longer walk, let alone do any work. The NKVD man started shouting at me and cursing me again and went for me. When he eventually realized that I could not be persuaded to sign the statement, he told me that I must not say a word about this conversation with the NKVD to anyone and that if I did, I should be put into prison for ten years. He added that if any of the Bandera people should visit me, I was to report this fact to the NKVD. 'You just be careful, — we shall keep an eye on you,' he threatened. I raised no objections this time. He then handed me back my identity card, grabbed me by the collar and, cursing me volubly, kicked me out of the room. By the time I had made my way back to Lutsk painfully and slowly and reached home it was long past midnight..."

As we have already pointed out the NKVD endeavours to recruit secret collaborators from all social classes of the Ukrainian population. Not even the clergy are spared, but are forced by the NKVD to collaborate with the latter. And numerous cases have been ascertained in which Ukrainian teachers who have been transferred from the eastern territories of Ukraine to West Ukraine have been forced to take part in special courses for agents and have had to sign a statement that they will collaborate with the NKVD in fighting the Ukrainian liberation movement.

During the years 1944-46 the NKVD carried out numerous mass-arrests of young girls. The latter were beaten during interrogation and were forced to sign a statement that they would collaborate with the NKVD. In the prisons (for this purpose schools, buildings that had been damaged during the war, cellars, and garages, etc., were usually used) drunken NKVD men held wild orgies during which they raped the girls and infected them with venereal diseases.

One girl, for instance, admitted that she had been released from the prison in the town of Lopatyn in May 1945 after she had been raped by 50 NKVD men.

Coercion is usually used by the NKVD in the following cases:

a) if someone has "trespassed" against the Soviet government (for example, if someone in his family is a member of the underground movement or is living abroad, if there is incriminating testimony in his files, if documents are secretly given to someone with provocative intent, or if information has been received about a person from a secret co-worker, etc.);

b) if someone is dependent on the state in an economic respect (for example, someone employed in the administration, or in some state concern, or as a teacher, etc.);

c) if someone is exposed to persecution on the part of the Soviet government on account of his social standing (for example, a "kurkul," wealthy farmer, or a merchant, etc.).

All these categories of persons are treated by the NKVD in various ways. If a person has "trespassed" against the Soviet government, he is threatened with imprisonment and with deportation to Siberia. Collaboration with the NKVD is then suggested to him as the only way of saving himself. If a person is employed in a state concern or in a factory, then the following suggestion is put to him: either collaboration with the NKVD, or else dismissal from his job and deportation to the far north of the USSR. If a person is a "kurkul" or wealthy farmer, the NKVD men try to impress the following facts on him: "You are well aware that the Soviet government liquidates all kurkuls; therefore if you want to save your life and your property, agree to collaborate with the NKVD." The victim selected by the secret police has the following possibilities to choose from: either collaboration with the NKVD, or imprisonment, or deportation to Siberia. Persons who are approached in this way have indeed to be steadfast of character if they are not to accept the suggestions put to them with regard to how they can save themselves. Since practically every citizen has, however, "trespassed" against the Soviet government, it is easy to visualize the extent to which the NKVD has organized the secret collaborator system. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that one out of nine or ten citizens in the USSR is forced to collaborate with the NKVD, at least to outward appearance. We should however like to point out that very often the efforts of the NKVD end in the person selected to become a secret co-worker signing the statement forced on him purely as a matter of form and merely promising to pass on information to the NKVD, but not actually doing so later on. In this respect the Ukrainian people show amazing powers of resistance.

The Bolsheviks also endeavour to recruit secret co-workers amongst schoolchildren outside school. The children are tempted with sweets and money to engage in agent activity. They are frequently threatened with arrest, too, or are given a beating, etc. They are instructed to report all they see or hear to the brigade or Komsomol overseers.

Above all, they are forced to inform against their relatives and against neighbours. This has happened on various occasions, for instance, in the West Ukrainian town of Ternopil.

There have also been numerous cases in which Bolshevik doctors (as for instance in Chortkiv and other towns) have been instructed not to give Ukrainians medical treatment unless they are secret co-workers of the NKVD. In some hospitals the doctors, who themselves are co-workers of the NKVD, suggest to their patients prior to an operation that they should agree to collect information for the NKVD secretly, otherwise they will be refused medical aid and treatment, which would mean death or lingering illness for the patient.

In organizing treachery with the aid of terrorism the Bolsheviks are not, however, merely pursuing their aim of dealing the revolutionary underground movement a deadly blow. They have set themselves far greater aims. Inasmuch as they make treachery the duty and a matter of honour of the individual citizen, the Bolsheviks are seeking to disintegrate the Ukrainian population completely. Inasmuch as they endeavour to destroy all standards of civic and religious morals and ethics, the Bolsheviks are seeking to bring fratricide and mutual destruction upon the Ukrainian people. And the methods they practise in order to achieve this aim are terrorism, coercion and lies. They aim to demoralize the Ukrainian people to such an extent that they will kill each other in the general confusion which the Bolsheviks are trying to arouse amongst the Ukrainians. Only the Russian Bolsheviks would think of resorting to such vile methods.

Another method used by the Russian Bolshevik occupants in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is that of provocation.

On the strength of the facts ascertained so far, it can be assumed that the Bolsheviks are pursuing three main aims in resorting to the method of provocation:

a) by some camouflage or other, to infiltrate the underground movement and then openly and in short combats to annihilate all the members and supporters of the underground movement;

b) in the guise of the UPA to further brigandism and in this or in some other way to compromise the revolutionary fight and stir up hatred amongst the Ukrainian people against the revolutionary movement;

c) to circulate false information about individual revolutionaries in order to undermine the faith of the underground fighters in their leaders and encourage self-destruction in this way.

In the years 1945-46 it was an almost everyday occurrence in the regions of the revolutionary underground movement for NKVD men to disguise themselves as insurgents in order to find out the

communication bases, get through to the individual underground leaders and then kill them there. Disguised thus, they carried various weapons on their persons, wore the Ukrainian trident on their caps, and only spoke Ukrainian to each other. They would enter some village late in the afternoon and would greet anyone they encountered with "Hail Ukraine!" Once in the village, they would go along to some house which, according to information received by the NKVD, was frequently visited by insurgents. They would then try to establish contact with a liaison man there. If the NKVD men succeeded in doing so, they would either arrest the liaison man on the spot, or else would tell him to take them to one of the underground leaders. If the liaison man did not realize what their game was in time, the NKVD men succeeded in getting through to an underground leader. But such cases were comparatively rare. For the experience of the men of the underground movement as regards such plots and also their intuition usually resulted in the NKVD men being exposed in time.

Even when the Bolsheviks had no information about the contacts of the underground movement they would enter some house during the night, in disguise, and behave just like the insurgents and set about winning the confidence of the farmer whose house it was. Taking into account the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is a mass movement and therefore not everything can be kept a secret, and that most of the villagers knew quite well which persons in the village were in touch with the insurgents most frequently, the NKVD men would then ask the farmer in question for a "contact." If the latter did not realize in time that he was the victim of a cunning plot, the Bolshevik trick succeeded. But fortunately this has seldom been the case.

In cases where the Bolsheviks' trick succeeded, they dealt with the UPA fighter or co-worker of the UPA in question in an unbelievably sadistic way. And they applied the same sadistic methods against all persons who exposed Bolshevik agents to the population.

On April 29, 1945, in the village of Solukiv near Dolyna (region of Stanyslaviv), NKVD men who were disguised as insurgents gave a farmer's wife, Anna Marchuk, a dreadful beating because she warned the people in the first house that she found out that the men whom she was showing the way were not insurgents but NKVD men.

On March 16, 1946, some NKVD men disguised as insurgents provoked a farmer and two girls in the village of Pidlyptsi near Zolochiv (in the region of Lviv). These three persons fell into the trap and collected food for the "insurgents." Shortly afterwards, they were arrested by the NKVD men and ill-treated in a terrible way.

The cunning to which the Bolsheviks resort in order to win the confidence of the population and to find out the underground contacts, can be seen from the following typical cases. In the spring of 1946 NKVD men disguised as insurgents on two occasions set up

an ambush by the wayside on a road in the rayon of Bolshivtsi in the region of Stanyslaviv. They fired at some cars that were passing and then apparently took the NKVD officers of the rayon headquarters prisoner. They subsequently appeared in the nearest village and insisted that they wanted to be taken along to the UPA units in order to hand over their "prisoners" to the competent higher authorities of the underground movement. Although this trick appeared to be very smart, it did not succeed.

When disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, the Bolsheviks behave in a particularly brutal manner towards the Ukrainian population, especially when they do not succeed in establishing contact with the underground movement.

On March 21, 1946, a group of Bolsheviks disguised as a combat group of the Ukrainian defence service tried to enter the house of a farmer in the village of Oplitsko near Lopatyn (in the region of Lviv). When the farmer refused to allow them to enter, they forced their way in. They then gave the farmer and his wife a dreadful beating and dragged them into the forest on the pretext that both of them were secret co-workers of the NKVD. There they proceeded to ill-treat and torture their two victims all night.

On November 19, 1945, Bolsheviks disguised as insurgents looted the houses of many of the villagers in Kydaniv near Buchach (in the region of Ternopil) and ill-treated the inhabitants. One of the persons who was robbed was a former soldier who had been demobilized from the Red Army. He recognized some of the marauders as NKVD men from the district headquarters and next day went along to the NKVD and demanded the return of his property which had been stolen. The NKVD men thereupon threatened to shoot him if he told any of the inhabitants of the village who it was that had organized the raid.

On January 27, 1946, Bolsheviks disguised as Ukrainian insurgents arrested a young girl, Anna Rohata, in the village of Berezovytsia Velyka near Mykulyntsi (in the region of Ternopil). They blindfolded her and took her to a cellar which was supposed to be a hide-out. Here they "interrogated" her and tortured her in a most brutal way, for she realized that she had fallen into the hands of NKVD men and therefore refused to give them any information. After they had interrogated her, they threw her into a quarry nearby. Next night they repeated the torture. After the "interrogation" the Bolsheviks left the girl blindfolded on the ice-bound river nearby.

All through the month of December 1945 a group of Bolshevik bandits, disguised as UPA fighters, terrorized the districts of Rokitno, Mezhyrich, Hoshcha and Korets, which are part of the region of Rivne, and robbed the inhabitants.

On February 1, 1946, NKVD men disguised as insurgents arrested a Ukrainian woman, Ksenia Verbylo, in the village of Myshkovychi near Mykulyntsi (in the region of Ternopil). Since she refused to give them any information, they threw her into the river.

The following is an extract from a statement made by Ivan Varbir, whose assumed name as an agent was "Olaks," and recorded in the files of the Ukrainian defence service. Varbir was a secret agent of the NKVD.

"...In addition to the said tasks [he is referring to espionage — Editor's note], I was also instructed to rob the inhabitants of food, clothes and money and then to spread the rumour that Ukrainian insurgents had carried out this looting. I was to share the loot with Lieutenant Trachenko and Sub-Lieutenant Leniuk, the representative of the NKVD in the village of Zhadova Stara (in the region of Chernivtsi)..."

In order to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian population and to compromise the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, which is striving for the independence of Ukraine, the Bolsheviks, by means of oral propaganda and leaflets, spread lies about combats with UPA detachments, in which the latter have allegedly suffered heavy losses, and also about the alleged death of various well-known UPA commanders, as well as about murders allegedly committed by UPA soldiers against innocent civilians. (There can be no doubt about the fact that the Bolsheviks use the murders they themselves have committed for such propagandist purposes in order to combat the insurgents.) In addition, they report on incidents which have never happened, or else they intentionally falsify incidents to their own advantage. In order to demoralize the population by alleged defeats of the UPA, the Bolsheviks organize large-scale combats involving entire companies; on the one side are NKVD men in uniform, and on the other, likewise NKVD men dressed as UPA soldiers. After a few shots have been fired by the Bolsheviks in these "combats," the "UPA commander" orders his men to surrender unconditionally to the Bolsheviks. The NKVD men disguised as insurgents lay down their arms, raise their hands above their heads, and "surrender to the Bolsheviks." The latter usually film such mock-battles and then show the film in all the cinemas in Ukraine. Fortunately, the Ukrainian people are only too well aware of the Bolsheviks' tricks to fall into the trap.

In order to mislead the people still more as to what is Bolshevik deception and what is the truth, and to make it more difficult for them to determine between friends and foes, and thus in this way shake their faith and determination and, at the same time, throw the underground movement into confusion and hamper its activity, the Bolsheviks organize special combatant groups with provocative intent.

In addition to specially trained NKVD men (who constitute the majority), these combatant groups usually consist of prisoners and insurgents, who are held as captives by means of NKVD terrorism. NKVD officers are in command of these groups. They adhere strictly to partisan tactics. On the whole they keep in hiding in the terrain, seldom appear in villages, avoid the population, go into ambush, and imitate the tactics of the UPA down to the smallest detail. They are

all disguised as insurgents and only speak Ukrainian. It is their task to hide in the vicinity of clearings and paths in the forest, to keep a watch on various parts of the forest, to establish contact with small UPA units, the UPA commanders or the leaders of the underground movement, and then kill them in a hand-to-hand combat. In the rural districts these Bolshevik units pretend to be part of some UPA detachment which is well-known in the district; they make out that they have been cut off from the main group during a combat and are now trying to establish contact with it again. Disguised as UPA soldiers, they rob the inhabitants of food, clothes and money. They grumble about their commanders and the leaders of the underground movement, ill-treat the population, and promote brigandism in the truest sense of the word. The purpose of all this is to stir up the population against the UPA and the underground movement by this behaviour and thus dissuade the people from co-operating in any way at all with the underground movement and the fight for freedom.

The NKVD officers in command of such provocative combatant groups, together with the NKVD rank and file, force the former insurgents, whose spirit has been completely broken by terrorism, to take part in the vilest bestiality before the eyes of the people. They then impute all these atrocities to their victims, the former insurgents, in order to stir up the hatred of the population against the latter and thus against the UPA and the revolutionary liberation movement in general. Surely nothing could be more vile and abominable than these Bolshevik methods.

In the spring of 1946 a provocative combatant group, the so-called OZONA, which was organized by the NKVD district headquarters in Demydiv, terrorized the district of Kozyn (in the region of Rivne). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants knew that this group consisted of NKVD men and exposed the latter on more than one occasion, the group continued its criminal activity disguised as a UPA unit. It continued to maintain this disguise even after relatives of insurgents and persons suspected of co-operating with the UPA had already been arrested. The methods practised in this respect were as follows: persons were arrested during the night and taken to the forest nearby. Here dreadful tortures were inflicted on them; their hands were tied together and pressed between blocks of wood; an iron bar was forced between their knees and their hands and they were then hung up on a tree and beaten. These methods of torture were applied in order to make them disclose the names of insurgents or of persons who were trying to evade service with the Red army to the NKVD men. The latter, for instance, arrested and ill-treated a woman by the name of Vasylyna Boychuk. As a result of the tortures inflicted on her, she fell into a coma. She was then dragged to the outskirts of the village and left lying in a ditch unconscious. The same ill-treatment and torture was inflicted on her daughter, Olya, by the NKVD bandits.

The Bolsheviks are very fond of inventing and circulating all kinds of lies about the individual leaders of the underground movement in order to compromise them and bring discredit upon them amongst the members of this movement and the Ukrainian population. A favourite method of the Bolsheviks is to spread rumours about the alleged collaboration of individual outstanding members of the underground movement with the NKVD. The purpose of this method is the self-destruction of the underground movement.

During a raid carried out in the spring of 1946 in the districts of Busk and Olesko, in the region of Lviv, a number of letters and notes addressed to various UPA commanders and underground fighters were circulated. According to the contents of these letters and notes, the persons to whom they were addressed were allegedly secretly in touch with the NKVD, had already carried out a number of tasks, and had received new ones, etc. One must admit that this certainly was a cleverly thought out trick on the part of the NKVD. And it needed keen discernment on the part of the members of the underground movement and a certain length of time to see through this trick.

In order to bring discredit upon insurgents and revolutionaries who remained morally steadfast in spite of all the tortures inflicted on them, the Bolsheviks intentionally took them to densely populated villages and towns so that the inhabitants would see the insurgents and think they were traitors (a similar case, for example, occurred in February 1946 in the village of Pidpechary, near Stanyslaviv).

On numerous occasions the secret police — as a rule with the aid of some secret co-worker or other — smuggled incriminating material into the possession of some person who was regarded with suspicion, in order to have a formal reason for arresting the person in question, confiscating his property, torturing him, and also coercing him to make him agree to become a secret co-worker.

On February 18, 1946, the NKVD in the village of Trostianets near Zolochiv (region of Lviv) arrested the parish-priest, the chairman of the village soviet, a teacher and all the personnel of the village administration because they had allegedly buried weapons. It was later ascertained that these weapons had been smuggled into their possession by the Bolsheviks themselves.

In the village of Klyuchiv Velyky near Pechenizhyn (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks accused a farmer, Vasyl Vasylychuk, of having mutilated a corpse in a dreadful way by burning its arms. This was an excuse for the Stalinist gangsters to confiscate the property of said farmer and, in accordance with the principle of collective responsibility, also the property of 30 other farmers.

The following is a typical example of the lengths to which the Bolsheviks will go as regards provocation in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement:

In the districts of Horokhiv, Dubno and Demydiv in the region of Rivne the NKVD, disguised as the OUN, organized an entire network



of underground organizations which were set up according to the system of the OUN, as far as positions, communication bases and activity were concerned. The aim of these organizations was: firstly, to rope in the entire revolutionary element in their ranks in order to liquidate it completely at the first opportunity; and secondly, to develop an activity, under the guise of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, which would bring disrepute upon this movement in the eyes of the population.

Similar attempts to set up provocative organizations disguised as the underground movement were carried out in many other villages and towns. In particular, the NKVD endeavoured to set up such organizations in the schools in order to lure the patriotic but inexperienced youth of Ukraine to join them and then subsequently liquidate these young people.

### **Terrorism, Atrocities and Sadism as Deterrent Measures**

One of the main factors to which the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement owes its strength in the Ukrainian territories is the wholehearted support accorded to it by the broad masses of the Ukrainian population. The Russian Bolsheviks are well aware of this fact and for this reason they do their utmost to bring about a breach between the underground movement and the general Ukrainian public and to turn the population against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement.

In order to achieve this aim the Bolsheviks resort to what is probably the most effective means — terrorism. And they apply it on a large scale and with unparalleled ruthlessness, brutality and sadism.

Mass punitive expeditions to Ukrainian villages and towns, in which special NKVD troops consisting of several thousand men, equipped with the latest achievements of the science of war, took part; mass arrests, beatings, ill-treatment, tortures, the murder of persons who were usually innocent, deportations to Siberia, confiscation of property, the burning down of entire villages and individual farms and houses, the execution of hundreds of harmless inhabitants, — all this was a daily occurrence during the years 1944-46. No country has ever experienced such atrocities in its history; and not even Ukraine, which has suffered much in the course of its long history, had ever experienced such terrorism up to that time. Compared to what is now happening in Ukraine and to the dreadful crimes committed by the Russian Bolshevik usurpers there, even the atrocities committed by the Tatar invaders, which represent the grimmest era in the history of East Europe, seem mild. Up to a few years ago not even the most criminal mind (except, of course, the minds of the Russian Bolshevik criminals) could have conceived such terrorism and ill-treatment as is now being inflicted on an entire

people in Ukraine. For what is now happening in Ukraine and of which we feel bound to give an account, is not a sinister story invented by imagination but actual reality, a daily reality in the Ukrainian territories, a reality in which 40 million Ukrainians are forced to live.

The following account will give a rough picture of the dismal conditions in Ukraine during recent years.

It is dusk. The village is surrounded by numerous companies of special NKVD troops. Camp-fires are burning in the vicinity of the village. The Cheka hangmen are warming themselves in front of the fires, or else are having a sleep there. All the entrances to the village are blocked by sentries. On all the elevated points which dominate the terrain, machine-guns are being set up. The village is surrounded by a cordon of NKVD men. A little further in the rear, on the edge of the forest, there is another cordon. Somewhere in the bushes one can hear the hum of 2 or 3 tanks and armoured cars as they are being set up in a camouflaged spot. Patrols, close together, are walking slowly up and down on all the footpaths and roads leading to the village. They have specially trained dogs with them. It will only be a few minutes now before this horde, urged on by the politruks (political commissars) and completely ruthless as a result of constantly murdering, feeling hungry and cold, and being very often drunk, starts to overrun the peaceful village. Only a little while before disaster descends upon its inhabitants, for the village is surrounded by Red Russian encirclement troops.

The raid has already begun. Hundreds of inhuman brutes leave the camp-fires, holding loaded weapons in their hands, as well as long wires with which they poke into hiding-places. The Russians enter the village. The dogs begin to bark. The sound of rifle-butts beating against closed doors is audible. And the sound of window-panes being smashed now follows. The Russians begin cursing in their usual fashion. Scared-looking people, half-dazed with sleep and clad only in undergarments, come out of their houses and hurriedly vanish inside again. Here and there one can hear the cries of children startled out of their sleep and the screams of frightened women.

A few minutes later chaos reigns in the village: the shouts and curses of drunken NKVD men, the screams of women and children, the sound of shots fired from automatic pistols and machine-guns, the smashing of glass and crockery.

In every farmyard there is a group of 20 to 30 Bolshevik gangsters. In addition to automatic weapons and hand-grenades, they are also armed with long, thick wires. They proceed to knock down the haystacks and to throw sheaves of corn and straw out of the barns. Inside the houses they set about smashing stoves and pulling up the floor-boards. Very often, before the terrified womenfolk have even had time to get dressed, the entire household has been smashed to bits. The NKVD men then start looking for secret hiding-places and subterranean passages, etc.

They have not found anyone hiding. But they enter the house once more and order the farmer's wife to make breakfast for them — consisting of eggs, roast duck, samohon (home-distilled schnaps) and varenyky (pastry filled with all kinds of delicacies). If the farmer's wife assures them that she does not have all these things, they beat her with the butts of their rifles and kick her, etc.

They then start raiding the pantry, and steal anything they find there or anything they discover in chests and cupboards. Some of the NKVD men start casting lascivious glances at a young girl, the daughter of the house. Her mother begins to tremble with fear for she knows what these looks mean. She motions to the girl to disappear. But this time there is no danger of the girl being raped, — she is merely arrested, whereupon her mother protests tearfully and the NKVD men let off a tirade of curses.

In a house nearby the NKVD men have discovered a hiding-place. The sound of hand-grenades exploding can be heard. A man who has shot himself in the hiding-place is dragged out. Two other men, armed with a rifle and a revolver, now jump out of the hiding-place. They fire at the NKVD men. But the situation is hopeless, for it is a case of two against thirty. Uttering the words: "Long live independent Ukraine!" one of the men collapses, shot by a bullet fired by the NKVD men, whilst the other shoots himself with his revolver. A little while later, flames and clouds of smoke can be seen spurting up out of the house in question.

On the plot of ground outside the house the NKVD hangmen are interrogating the woman who owns the house. They question her as to who lived in the house with her and what the persons' names and work were. But she refuses to tell them anything. Thereupon they torture and murder her. Her body is then thrown into the fire. The bodies of the two insurgents are likewise consigned to the flames, but beforehand their heads are chopped off, for the NKVD men intend taking them to the rayon (district) headquarters later on. The body of the third UPA fighter, whom the NKVD men assume to have been a commander, is taken along to the rayon headquarters without being maimed beforehand. The chaos continues. The village is enveloped in flames and clouds of smoke, and there is a smell of burning corpses.

In another house the NKVD men have secured a roast duck and some samohon. And they now proceed to "breakfast" by the light of the fires. Not in the least put out by the dreadful smell of burning corpses, they drink a toast to the "Soviet government" and then start trying on the blood-stained boots which they pulled off the insurgents whom they have just shot dead. Meanwhile the investigating judges of the NKVD have taken up their headquarters in the schoolhouse. No classes are held during the raid. The judges have piles of papers in front of them. All the persons arrested in the village are brought before the judges and are heavily guarded. Women, men, children and old people are taken along to the schoolhouse by force. By the evening there are already hundreds of persons who have been arrested.

The NKVD men beat their victims until the blood spurts out of their wounds. Statements regarding collaboration with the NKVD are put before them for them to sign. The NKVD men are determined to get information from them as regards the underground movement. Some of the persons arrested are interrogated on the spot; others are taken to the district headquarters on lorries.

The razzia lasts four days. After every nook and cranny has been searched, and the entire village resembles a heap of rubble and ashes, and at least 80 per cent of the villagers have been arrested, interrogated and beaten, the razzia eventually comes to an end. Singing the well-known Russian song "I know no other land where people breathe so free...", and shouting curses at the Ukrainian underground movement, the "local population" and "independent Ukraine," the special troops of the NKVD leave the village. The inhabitants kneel down in prayer and beg God to spare them from the possibility of another raid of this type within the next few days.

The picture given here is by no means an exhaustive one but merely a rough and brief sketch of the type of raids carried out in the years 1944-46. This kind of razzia is merely one of the chief means of realizing Bolshevik rule in Ukraine and of crushing the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, who, in order to defend the rights to which they are entitled, have been obliged to resort to arms. With the aid of such razzias, taxes are imposed and collected, the population is forced to obey orders, and people are sent to slave-labour camps in the Urals and in the Donets Basin, etc. It is only by means of these razzias that the Ukrainians are roped in for the "organization" of the so-called "annihilation battalions" and the militia. And, lastly, these razzias are used as a means of combatting the Ukrainian underground movement.

They are frequently organized simultaneously in a large number of villages and sometimes in the entire district (25 to 30 villages), or in several districts at the same time. In such cases the region in question resembles a sector of the fighting front in the truest sense. For the Bolsheviks dig trenches, set up machine-gun barrages everywhere, as well as patrols; the network of communication lines is extended, and crowds of soldiers are to be seen everywhere, — in the villages, outside the villages, on the edge of the forests and in the bushes. For days on end, the firing of machine-guns and automatic weapons and the explosion of grenades can be heard, and buildings are on fire, etc. Thousands of persons are arrested and interrogated. Thousands are tortured, hundreds of families are deported to Siberia, and scores of persons are shot on the spot without being tried before a court.

At this point we should like to quote the following excerpt from the orders for one of these mass razzias which were issued by the NKVD Colonel Shcherbyna, who was in charge of a big razzia in the Hutsul region of the East Carpathian Mountains in the spring of 1945:

1. "In all inhabited areas of the rayon military garrisons are to be set up; 3) as from April 15th this year onwards until this order is revoked, all persons without exception shall be prohibited from

moving from one inhabited area in the rayon to another without permission of the military commanders stationed in the inhabited areas in question; 4) all persons who move from one area to another in the rayon without said permission shall be arrested at once and put in prison; 6) all persons in whose houses insurgents or persons who are trying to evade service in the Red Army lie in hiding, must report this to the military commander immediately. Persons who fail to fulfil their duty in this respect shall be arrested at once and their families deported; 7) all military commanders must conduct a thorough search of all buildings, towns and villages in all rayons in order to track down and arrest all insurgents in hiding, as well as all persons shielding them and also all persons seeking to evade military service in the Red Army. All persons who put up any resistance shall be liquidated; 8) all families whose members are in hiding from the Soviet government must be brought to the collecting point at the rayon headquarters without delay for the purpose of deportation to Siberia."

In addition to these razzias, the Bolsheviks also carry out special terrorist raids, with smaller troop units, on villages. Since these raids are the same as the razzias, only on a smaller scale, we do not intend to give a detailed account of them.

From autumn 1945 onwards the Bolsheviks, for the purpose of crushing the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people even more drastically, began to set up the so-called garrisons, i.e. military occupation units numbering from 20 to 200 men (according to the strategical importance of the place in question), in those areas of Ukraine where the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement was developing its activity. From April 1946 onwards, these garrisons were set up in practically 60 per cent of all the villages. The territory occupied by these garrisons assumed the appearance of a military camp. The absolute despotism of the NKVD prevailed throughout the entire territory, and terrorism assumed even more drastic forms and greater proportions than had hitherto been the case.

### **Persecution of the Relatives of the Freedom Fighters**

The Russian Bolsheviks are very consistent in the manner in which they apply the principle of the responsibility of the family. Not only do they arrest, torture and deport to Siberia the nearest relatives of the insurgents and underground fighters, but very often also their distant relatives. The NKVD persecutes not only the families of the active members of the Ukrainian underground movement, but also the families of all emigrants, and not necessarily political emigrants.

But parents, wives, husbands and children, that is to say the nearest relatives of persons and UPA fighters who are members of the revolutionary underground movement, are persecuted with the greatest cruelty and ruthlessness. Such persons never feel safe either

by day or by night. They can always expect an NKVD raid on their houses at any moment. And the procedure in such cases is always the same. The same curses and the same questions as to where brothers, husbands, sons or daughters are hiding. And the usual threats: "You are a lot of gangsters," "We shall shoot all of you like dogs," "There is plenty of room for all of you in Siberia," etc. On such occasions the Bolsheviks very often destroy the house of the persons in question, or smash the furniture, and steal anything they can lay hands on. For hours on end they interrogate their victims and beat them until they collapse in a dead faint: they arrest them, put them in prison, torture them anew and question them about the members of their family who are active in the underground movement. The NKVD hangmen threaten them with deportation or execution; sometimes they release them, only to start interrogating them again a few days later. They are told that they will only be released from prison if they disclose the whereabouts of their relative who is a member of the underground movement to the NKVD. Sometimes one member of the family, but very often the entire family is arrested. As a rule, those who are arrested might as well bid life farewell. Arrests are usually carried out during the night: the victim is roused from sleep and is dragged out of the house half-attired, regardless of what the weather is like. Women with small children, and husbands and wives are frequently arrested. They are then separated — mothers from their children, and husbands from their wives — and deported to Siberia. Whilst they are in prison prior to deportation, they are not allowed to receive any parcels or gifts from their relatives. Many of the women, children and old persons die in prison before they are deported. And as a rule they do not survive more than one or two years in Siberia.

In spring 1945, 420 persons who were relatives of Ukrainian underground fighters were brought to the transit camp in the town of Truskavets (in the region of Drohobych). Of this number 70 per cent were persons of the female sex and 30 per cent persons of the male sex; 60 per cent were children and minors, and 30 per cent were aged persons.

On April 5, 1946, 6 families from the village of Kolodrubby near Komarno (region of Drohobych) and 6 families from the village of Poverhiv in the same district were deported to Siberia by the NKVD. The families concerned had lost some of their relatives in active service as underground fighters.

In the village of Ridkiv near Kozyn (district of Rivne) all persons who had sons, brothers, fathers or husbands in the UPA were sent to slave-labour camps in the Donets Basin by the NKVD.

In April 1946 the NKVD arrested all the families of insurgents in the district of Liubeshiv in Volhynia. Their entire possessions and property were looted by the NKVD and the former Red partisans who were living in Liubeshiv.

On February 14, 1946, the NKVD murdered a man of the name of Dmytro Leniuk in a most dreadful way in the village of Uhryniv Horishny near Stanyslaviv, after previously showing him the body of his son who had been an insurgent.

On September 7, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Olesha near Tovmach (in the region of Stanyslaviv) set fire to the house of an underground fighter known as "Liutyy," and then threw his wife and children into the flames twice. The woman managed to save herself, but she was thereupon arrested.

In the winter of 1946, 14 families who had relatives amongst the insurgents were deported from the district of Stepan, near Rivne. On May 8, 1946, 8 more families from the same district were deported to Siberia.

We quote below an account given by a 16-year old boy whose sister was an active member of the Ukrainian underground movement:

"The NKVD men took me by surprise during the night at my home. I was alone, since my mother used to spend the night in other people's houses because she was afraid of the NKVD. There were about 30 NKVD men. I began to cry and the NKVD men shouted and cursed at me and called me a bandit. They pulled me out of bed and told me to put my clothes on and be ready to start in three minutes' time. When I went to put my shoes on, I found they had gone, — one of the NKVD men had already stolen them. So I was obliged to go barefoot. (It was the beginning of March, there was a lot of snow outside and it was freezing hard.) They put me on a lorry and I was taken to the next village, where there was a garrison. There I was put into an empty room which was not heated. There were no boards on the floor and no panes in the windows, only bars in front of the openings. Early next morning an NKVD lieutenant appeared and started questioning me about my sister: about her whereabouts, where she was living and when she had last been at home. I refused to give him any information. Thereupon the local leader of the NKVD appeared and ordered me to take all my clothes off and lie down on the floor face downwards. He then began beating me on the back, head and shoulders with a wooden lath. When it broke in two, he took hold of another one. Eventually I fainted. When I came to again, he asked me whether I was now going to tell him all I knew about my sister. I told him "no." Thereupon he seized hold of my hair and pressed my face against the ground. Blood started spirting out of my nose; the ground was soon soaked with it and my whole face, eyes and mouth were smeared and daubed with mud and slime. This torture lasted for about 15 minutes. Then I fainted again.

They kept me in this room for three days. I had no shoes or socks on my feet, and during the whole of this time I only received about a pint of warm soup. Every day I was interrogated for hours on end, and I was either threatened with execution, or else they promised me all sorts of things. But I refused to give them any information.

On the fourth day they took me to a garrison town. Here the interrogation began again. I was forced to do the heaviest kind of work. And they let me sleep on some bricks which I had obtained for this purpose.

Several weeks elapsed before I was taken to the prison in the district headquarters. Here the NKVD chief began to interrogate me once more. It was not until three weeks later that I was eventually released.

The day after I had arrived home half-dead, an NKVD man appeared at the house, dragged me into an empty room, knocked me down, gagged me and started hitting me with his revolver as hard as he could in order to make me give him information about my sister. As a result of this torture I fell into a dead faint..."

By the end of 1946 the NKVD had arrested or deported to Siberia at least 80 per cent of those families whose members had any contact whatever with the underground movement. All the families of the underground fighters who were persecuted by the Russian secret police were likewise forced to lead a life in hiding.

### **Collective Responsibility and Reprisals Against the Population**

In addition, to persecute the families of the underground fighters, the Bolsheviks also apply the principle of collective guilt and responsibility on a large scale with regard to the Ukrainian population.

For every anti-Bolshevist action on the part of the Ukrainian underground movement, the Bolsheviks, since as a rule they cannot discover the actual perpetrators, take their revenge on the Ukrainian population. As reprisals for actions carried out by the UPA they frequently burn down whole villages and individual farms and houses, shoot innocent persons and ill-treat the peaceful Ukrainian population.

On April 23, 1946, a group of insurgents were engaged in a combat with NKVD police in the village of Dychky near Rohatyn (in the region of Stanyslaviv). In order to avenge their casualties the NKVD men burned down 28 farms in the village which belonged to persons who were completely innocent and had no connection with the UPA. They also set the rest of the village on fire by means of rockets.

In the village of Stratyn in the same district the Bolsheviks set fire to 8 farms as revenge for the death of their sergeant.

During the period from January 10th to April 30th, 1946, the Bolsheviks set fire to 50 farms, or razed them to the ground by some other means, in Burshtyn district of the region of Stanyslaviv.

On April 25, 1946, the Bolsheviks murdered two girls, who were gathering strawberries, in the village of Rozhniv, Zabolotts district,



Lviv region, as revenge for the casualties they had suffered during a combat with the UPA. The girls' names were Emilia Yaremko and Halya Lesiuk.

In the village of Pohoriltsi near Hlyniany, in the region of Lviv, the Bolsheviks shot a whole family: husband, wife and seven-year old child, for having sheltered insurgents in their house.

On February 13, 1945, the Bolsheviks burned a woman alive in the village of Ivanie Zolote near Zalishchyky (in the region of Ternopil) solely because insurgents had engaged in a combat with them in the vicinity of her house.

On December 21, 1945, the Bolsheviks set fire to the farm belonging to a woman by the name of Paraska Voloshchuk in the village of Matiyivka near Kolomyia (region of Stanyslaviv) solely because an insurgent had sought shelter there. They also threw a young girl, Maria Rybak, who was in the house at the time, into the fire and she was burnt alive.

For the same reason, Bolsheviks set fire to a farm and shot Mykhalo Sahan, his wife and his daughter, in the village of Kozivka near Birky Velyki, in the region of Ternopil, without even bothering to interrogate them.

Following Hitler's example, the Bolshevik occupants held innocent civilians as hostages. If, during a certain period of time fixed by the Bolsheviks, the underground fighters appeared or engaged in any activity at all in the place in question, the hostages were killed and their property confiscated. This method was practised by the Bolsheviks mainly in 1945 in all the areas of Ukraine in which there was a lively activity on the part of the underground movement.

We have already mentioned the mass-arrests carried out by the NKVD for the purpose of recruiting secret co-workers. In addition to these arrests, other large-scale and also individual arrests, sometimes for a short period, were carried out every day. The purpose of such arrests was the general and constant terrorization of the population, by means of which it was hoped to gain information about the underground movement.

People are frequently arrested for no reason at all, and in the towns these arrests are usually carried out secretly and generally at night. The NKVD men on these occasions behave in an indescribably brutal manner. During the post-war years of the Russian occupation all the prisons throughout Ukraine, built by various occupants of the country, have been filled to overflowing. Many newly erected buildings have been converted into prisons. During the waves of mass-arrests, schools, offices of various state concerns, premises of various cultural institutions, private buildings, and cellars, etc., are often used as prisons. It is indeed significant that the first building to be newly erected in the town of Ternopil, which was completely destroyed

during the German-Russian front-line fighting in the spring of 1944, was a prison. And it was promptly filled with prisoners who had meanwhile been housed in other buildings, but the schools and hospitals that had been destroyed during the fighting were not replaced so quickly! Thousands of Ukrainians are constantly being arrested, quite apart from all those that the NKVD deports to far distant regions of the USSR. By the end of 1946 the NKVD had put about 1 million Ukrainians in prison (the NKVD never discloses how many persons it arrests and imprisons).

Conditions in all the Soviet Russian prisons are dreadful, to say the least. The cells are so overcrowded that there is not even room to sleep on the floor. The prisoners are frequently put into rooms that are damp and filthy, or in cellars. None of them receive any bedding, not even a pallet of straw to sleep on. As a result of overcrowding in the cells and lack of fresh air, prisoners frequently faint. All the prisons are unbelievably dirty. Infectious diseases, such as typhus and venereal diseases, are a very common occurrence amongst the prisoners. Incidentally, NKVD men suffering from syphilis spread venereal diseases by raping women-prisoners. The food in the prisons is very poor; very often the prisoners only receive 200 grams of bread and a pint of soup per day. Parcels which their relatives send them generally never reach them. A very large percentage of the prisoners consists of women and young persons.

At the end of January 1946, in the town of Kovel in Volhynia the NKVD arrested 80 persons, of whom 70 per cent were schoolchildren. Similar arrests were carried out at the same time in the following rayon (district) centres: Turiysk, Holoby, Kamin Koshyrsky, Manevychi, Matsiyiv, Kolky, Kyvertsi, Stepan' and Derazhne. And in every case, the persons arrested included numerous young people.

In May 1945, mass-arrests were carried out amongst the secondary school youth in the town of Ternopil.

In November 1945 mass-arrests were carried out in the towns of Berezhanly and Buchach in the region of Ternopil.

In order to obtain information about the underground movement from the persons who have been arrested, the Bolsheviks apply the most dreadful forms of torture.

In the village of Hayi near Vynnyky (in the region of Lviv) the Bolsheviks tortured a girl in a most brutal way in order to force her to give them information about the underground movement. They cut off her feet and her breasts, smashed her hands and legs, and tore out her hair.

On June 15, 1945, in the village of Pnivye near Nadvirna (in the region of Stanyslaviv), Bolsheviks hung up a woman whilst interrogating her, in order to force her to divulge information.

On June 14, 1945, the NKVD arrested 80 women in Debeslavka in the vicinity of Kolomyia. The purpose of this arrest was to force them to disclose information about the underground movement. During the interrogations the women were beaten in a most brutal way. Two of them, Paraska Solovych and Anna Kovaletska, had their hands broken by the NKVD men.

On February 22, 1946, in the village of Trostianets near Zolochiv (region of Lviv), NKVD men burnt a girl's hands with red-hot wires in order to force her to give them information about insurgents.

On May 29, 1946, in the village of Hayi Ditkovetski near Brody (in the region of Lviv), the Bolsheviks arrested two sisters. One of them was then murdered during interrogation.

On May 7, 1946, NKVD men arrested a youth, Oleksa Shablii, on an estate in Oseredok near Hoshcha (in the region of Rivne). During interrogation he was tortured to such an extent that his nervous system was injured; a bayonet thrust pierced one side of his body. When he failed to get any better after a week had elapsed, he committed suicide by hanging himself.

### **Torturing of Children**

Since the Bolsheviks are determined to obtain information about the underground movement at any price, they do not even hesitate to torture children.

In January 1946, for instance, the Bolsheviks arrested a number of young boys in the village of Nemyach near Pidkamin (in the region of Lviv). One of them, Hryts Dubyna, born in 1931, was questioned about his brother, a UPA fighter. The NKVD men rammed a stick down his throat and beat him whilst they were questioning him; then they tied a rope round his neck and hung him up until he fainted, whereupon they poured water over him. Two other boys, Luka Tsiupan, (born in 1933), and Volodymyr Boyarsky, (born in 1931), were tortured in the same manner.

On November 22, 1945, NKVD men arrested a youth, Ivan Hubchak, in the village of Luka Mala near Birky Velyki (in the region of Ternopil). As he refused to give them any information about the underground movement, they dragged him into a wood and murdered him.

In a wood near the village of Dobryvody, near Kozyn (in the region of Rivne), NKVD men arrested a boy who was minding some horses. They accused him of collaborating with the insurgents, beat him in a most cruel way, tied him to a tree and left him there.

In the village of Polytsia near Rafaylivka in Volhynia, the Bolsheviks in the winter of 1946 arrested a number of 14-year old girls; they tore off their clothes, beat them and poured water over them in order to make them disclose information about insurgents.

On August 1, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Stebnyk near Lysets (in the region of Stanyslaviv) got hold of a 12-year old boy, Vasyi Drahanchuk, and beat him most cruelly in order to force him to give them information about the UPA fighters and the underground movement. But in spite of the dreadful treatment to which he was subjected, the boy refused to tell them anything.

The NKVD men, who are so ruthless and bestial because they can do anything they like and can commit any crime unpunished, also organize mass-murders of persons who are completely innocent, including old people and small children. They often murder entire families who have committed no offence whatever.

On March 27, 1946, in the village of Poduvilna near Peremyshlyany (in the region of Lviv), for instance, Bolsheviks murdered two children who were playing by the wayside. Both of the children were little girls, — one of them was one and a half, the other twelve years old.

In the village of Belzets near Olesko (in the region of Lviv) Bolsheviks arrested a schoolboy called Lozovy in a field. Whilst interrogating him, they broke his hands and his ribs and eventually murdered him. That same evening they threw his body into a corn-field outside the village. It was found there by his mother next day. She thereupon made preparations for his burial. His schoolmates made a wreath and had just assembled for the funeral when the Bolsheviks suddenly appeared again. They seized the coffin containing the body and dispersed the schoolchildren. They then drove off with the coffin and the body in the direction of the district centre. Before they arrived there, however, they removed all the clothes off the body and then threw it into a ditch.

### Arbitrary Murders and Arrests

During a raid on a forest in the vicinity of the village of Snovychi near Zolochiv (in the region of Lviv), on May 1, 1946, the Bolsheviks killed an old man of seventy who was gathering wood.

On July 29, 1946, in the village of Pidzvirynets near Komarno (in the region of Drohobych), Bolsheviks shot a farmer whilst they were allegedly taking aim at a stork.

On June 26, 1945, Bolsheviks fired on some people who were working in a field not far from the town of Bohorodchany in the region of Stanyslaviv. Two of them — 40-year old Yustyna Yaremko and 24-year old Mykhaiylo Romaniuk — were killed.

On June 6, 1945, three drunken NKVD men staggered into the schoolhouse in the village of Hutsulivka near Kolomyia (in the region of Stanyslaviv); they entered one of the classrooms, where a lesson was in progress, and proceeded to fire their revolvers over the heads of the terrified children.

On October 6, 1945, NKVD units carried out a raid on the mountain pasture of Stanymir (near Nadvirna in the region of Stanyslaviv). There they came across a girl who was herding cattle. After raping her, the NKVD men murdered the girl in a most cruel manner.

On March 26, 1946, the local NKVD commandant shot a 17-year old girl, Maria Komashko, in the village of Ispas near Kolomyia, in the region of Stanyslaviv, for resisting when he tried to rape her.

We could quote thousands of other cases which are proof of the brutal way in which the Bolsheviks treat the peace-loving Ukrainian population.

On December 2, 1945, a farmer, Petro Tarhonsky, who had been wounded four times during the war, and his son Ivan were gathering firewood, when a combat developed nearby between UPA and NKVD units. So as not to have any eyewitnesses of the Bolsheviks' casualties, the latter shot the farmer and his son. Their bodies were found next day. There were some empty cartridges lying next to them, and it was obvious that the two men had been shot in the back of the neck.

The following incident occurred in the vicinity of Tsuman (in the district of Rivne) on May 15, 1946: the NKVD rounded up a large number of men and women for the purpose of making them take part in a raid against the UPA. They were to advance in an extended line in front of the NKVD men. They were then either to divert the firing of the insurgents onto themselves, or to force the latter to cease firing, so as to enable the NKVD men to advance.

On February 19, 1946, two inhabitants, Vasyl Vovk (born in 1905) and Oleksa Vovk (born in 1902), of the village of Uzin near Stanyslaviv, were released from the prison in Stanyslaviv. That same evening the so-called "strybky" (members of the annihilation units) appeared at their home and informed them that they had received instructions from the NKVD to arrest them again and take them to Stanyslaviv. Four days later, their wives, who were on their way to the prison with some food for them, found the bodies of their husbands, with their eyes gouged out, on the edge of a forest.

On December 5, 1945, NKVD men murdered an entire family by the name of Slavych in the hamlet of Berezivka near the village of Kolodiyivka, in the district of Stanyslaviv, for no reason whatever. At night when the whole family was asleep, the NKVD men crept up to one of the windows of the house and threw four hand-grenades through the window. The groans of the mother of the family and two of her daughters, who had been fatally injured by the grenades, could be heard, but this did not prevent the NKVD monsters from forcing

their way into the house. The eldest, married daughter, Maria, managed to escape out of the house with her little boy, but the NKVD men fired at her and she dropped dead outside the house. The father of the family, farmer Vasyl Slavych, who had already been injured by a grenade, was then shot on the spot. Another daughter of the family was killed in the same way. Thus the NKVD men murdered seven members of the family: Vasyl Slavych, his wife, their three unmarried daughters, and their married daughter, Maria Stelmakh, and her four-year old son, Ivan. The only person who managed to save himself was Maria Stelmakh's father-in-law, Dmytro Stelmakh. In spite of the fact that he, too, was injured, he managed to hide behind the stove and was concealed by the body of Mrs. Slavych. After this dreadful atrocity the NKVD men stole all the clothing and food supplies in the house.

In addition to unfounded mass-arrests, the Bolsheviks also carry out equally unfounded house-searches which have the same aim, namely to track down members of the underground movement. Their methods are the same as those to which they resort during their razzias, and for this reason we shall not deal with them here. We should, however, merely like to add that in all the regions in which the UPA operates there is probably not a single house in any of the rural areas which has not been thoroughly searched at least once.

The NKVD also seeks to track down members of the underground movement by the method of casual interrogation at random. This method is as follows: the Bolsheviks start a casual and apparently harmless conversation with strangers in trains, station waiting-rooms, in the foyers of cinemas, in libraries, on lorries, or simply in the street. The NKVD man in question then tries to find out as much as he possibly can about the person whom he has accosted, — who he is, where he comes from and where he is going, etc. Since the NKVD men very often wear ordinary civilian clothes, it is very difficult for anyone accosted in this way to know that the man who is talking to him is a member of the notorious NKVD. If anything strikes the NKVD man as suspicious during the conversation, he promptly arrests the person whom he has accosted.

### **“Annihilation Battalions” as a Means of Fostering a Fratricidal War**

The Soviet Russian occupants by no means content themselves with trying to drive a wedge between the Ukrainian population and the liberation movement by applying various methods of provocation. With the aid of unparalleled terrorism and propaganda lies, a network of secret agents of the NKVD is built up amongst the population.

In addition, the Russians do their utmost to involve the Ukrainian people in a fratricidal war and to bring about the destruction of the revolutionary liberation movement by the Ukrainians themselves. The ultimate aim of the Bolsheviks in this respect is, as we have already indicated, to effect the complete moral collapse of the Ukrainian people and to discredit the Ukrainian independence aspirations. In order to achieve this and other Bolshevik disintegration aims, the Red Russians decided to organize the so-called "annihilation battalions" ("istrebitelnyye bataliony" in Russian, nicknamed "strybky" in Ukrainian), or "self-defence units" or "village militia" as they are also called, in the Ukrainian villages. By setting up these organizations, the Russians intend to rope in the masses of the Ukrainian population for the purpose of actively combatting the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement. The idea is to foster and stir up an open fratricidal war, in which one brother terrorized by the NKVD kills the other brother merely because the latter is fighting for the national cause of the Ukrainian people, namely the liberation of Ukraine from the Bolshevik yoke.

At first, the NKVD tried to set up the so-called "strybky" (members of the "annihilation battalions," derived from the Russian word "istrebit" = to annihilate, or extirpate) with volunteers. But when no one volunteered and when all persuasion, promises, privileges and threats, etc., on the part of the NKVD proved of no avail, the NKVD resorted to another of its usual methods. Regardless of the fact that the entire Ukrainian population, young and old alike, is on the side of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, the Russians began to organize these destruction battalions by force. The main element on which they counted in this respect were soldiers who had been discharged from the Red army and young boys who had not yet reached military age. These persons were summoned to the district headquarters or else to the village soviet or club. They were there given a lecture on their duties, of which the foremost, so it was stressed, was to combat the underground movement; a commander (as a rule an officer or an older non-commissioned officer of the NKVD) was appointed, rifles and ammunition were distributed, and, finally, the persons present were threatened with arrest, deportation to Siberia and execution in the event of the "battalion" surrendering its arms to the insurgents. The "annihilation battalion" was thus forcibly organized in this way.

There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that the Ukrainian population put up a vigorous resistance against this action on the part of the enemy. The NKVD rarely succeeded in organizing a meeting in the local clubs, once the inhabitants realized that the purpose of such a meeting was to organize an "annihilation battalion." And it frequently happened that the day after rifles had been forcibly distributed amongst the demobilized soldiers or youths of the village, the latter threw them away in the vicinity of the village soviet or the NKVD district headquarters.

In such cases the NKVD resorted to terrorist measures. People were arrested, beaten, coerced and threatened with deportation to Siberia, etc., in order to force them to accept the weapons and to do compulsory service in the "annihilation battalions."

On February 19, 1946, the Bolsheviks in the village of Poltva near Hlyniany (in the region of Lviv) arrested 9 youths because they had refused to accept the weapons forced on them and to join the "annihilation battalion."

In the village of Ridkiv near Kozyn (in the region of Rivne) 20 men were summoned to appear at the NKVD headquarters. The NKVD "put the suggestion to them" that they should accept the weapons. When the men, however, refused to do so, they were arrested and taken to the district headquarters. After they had been tortured by the NKVD, they were forced to sign a statement to the effect that they accepted the weapons "voluntarily." When Fedir Vivsyyk, a demobilized soldier of the Red Army, however, refused to accept a weapon, the NKVD men flogged him to such an extent that he was in hospital for a month afterwards. After he had recovered to a certain extent and was able to walk about again, the NKVD tried again and again to force him to accept weapons.

In September and October 1945, the Bolsheviks arrested all the young men in the villages of Slovye, Netsi and Pidsynovka, in the district of Sedlyshchany in Volhynia, because they refused to serve in the militia.

During the same month 22 demobilized soldiers were summoned to appear at the military headquarters in the village of Putsen in the district of the same name. There they were then mobilized inasmuch as they were forced to accept the weapons handed out to them. At the same time, they were given the choice of either joining the militia or an annihilation battalion.

In the village of Dovzhnytsia in the district of Kolky in Volhynia, NKVD men fastened a board on the back of a youth who refused to serve in the local annihilation battalion: they then proceeded to beat him until he said that he was willing to accept a weapon and serve in the battalion.

In the district of Ratne in Volhynia those who refused to serve in the local annihilation battalion were made to stand out in the open under guard and were left to starve and shiver with cold. This form of persecution only came to an end when a person said he was prepared to join the annihilation battalion. The brutish NKVD men frequently tortured such persons to death and then cut their throats or hanged them and circulated the rumours that they had committed suicide.

In the village of Sityane, near to the village of Kurtylis in the district of Ratne, NKVD men put burning straw under the bare feet of the youths of the village in order to force them to join the annihilation battalions.



As a result of the beatings inflicted on them by the NKVD men, Ukrainians who had been arrested by the NKVD for refusing to join the annihilation battalions, frequently returned home after two or three weeks with their whole body a mass of bruises and wounds.

As a rule the NKVD forced the "strybky" soldiers to sign a statement worded as follows:

"I (surname and Christian name), born in the year..., herewith pledge before the NKVD that I will take up arms and fight against the UPA gangs and their accomplices until they are completely annihilated. In doing so, I will not spare my strength, nor will I hesitate to lay down my life for our Soviet fatherland if it should be necessary. I shall take the greatest care of the weapon that I have received and shall not hand it over to anyone else..."

The NKVD seeks to demoralize the young Ukrainians who have been forced by the Russians to join an annihilation battalion or the militia by fostering licentiousness and drunkenness amongst them, organizing wild carousals and orgies, and cultivating barbarous customs. On the strength of numerous facts it can easily be ascertained that the Russians are, above all, intent upon destroying all national and human morals and ethics among the young generation of Ukrainians, and degrading them to the level of animals so as to be able to do with them what they like.

The Bolshevik campaign regarding the organization of annihilation battalions for the most part proved a failure. The weapons intended to be used against the Ukrainian underground movement and forced on the young Ukrainians were very often voluntarily placed at the disposal of the insurgents, since the young Ukrainians in question usually went over to the UPA in groups and were constantly in touch with the Ukrainian underground movement. And the Russians, alarmed at this collaboration on the part of members of the annihilation battalions with the insurgents, were often forced to disband the battalions which they had organized with so much difficulty. But be that as it may, nothing could be more base and vile than the method adopted by the Bolsheviks in order to combat the Ukrainian underground movement, — namely that of trying to stir up hostility between brothers.

### **Deportation and Demoralization of the Ukrainian Youth**

Another measure to which the Russian Bolsheviks resort in their fight against the Ukrainian independence aspirations is the deportation of practically the entire Ukrainian youth. On various pretexts these young people are abducted. Most of the young Ukrainians between the ages of 17 and 23 are called up for service in the Red Army. The Ukrainian units of the Red Army are as a rule sent to the Far East. Large numbers of Ukrainian boys and girls are sent to far distant regions of the USSR in order to work there, — either

in the coal and iron ore mines, in the factories and other concerns, or as lumberers in the extensive Russian forests. Many of the boys are forced to attend the schools for so-called factory vocational instruction (FZN schools). Thus the Red Russians have to a large extent "purged" the territory of Ukraine of the strongest fighting element, namely the young people.

The Bolsheviks also seek to bring about a demoralization of the Ukrainian population by organizing so-called clubs in the rural areas and forcing the young people to join the Komsomol (Communist youth organization).

Officially, the clubs are intended to be centres of "culture and enlightenment," that is to say hotbeds of Bolshevik propaganda, in the villages. In practice, however, they are often the scene of carousals and orgies in which the "strybky," NKVD men and representatives of the Komsomol take part, and which the young people of the village are forced to attend. But in most Ukrainian villages these clubs fail to thrive. And where they do exist, they are usually opened only two or three times a year. This is the case when representatives of the administration visit the villages on official Bolshevik holidays or festivals. On such occasions the Ukrainian inhabitants remain indoors so as not to be forced to take part in the "festivities" organized by the clubs.

It is the duty of the Komsomol to train the youth in the Bolshevik spirit, that is to stir up the young people against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement.

Below we quote the definition of the task of the Komsomol in the regions in which the UPA is active, a definition laid down in a secret resolution of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. (We have already quoted this resolution elsewhere.)

"...It is the duty of the town and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine to accord systematic support to the Komsomol organizations in their political mass-work amongst the youth. In this respect attention must be devoted in particular to increasing the ideological influence of the Komsomol organizations on the youth, to enlightening the youth as to the harmful character of Ukrainian-German nationalist brigandism, and to including the youth in the direct fight against the latter..."

Since the young people of Ukraine, who are inspired by the revolutionary fight and in this connection have the support of their parents, are well aware of this task of the Communist youth organization, they do everything in their power to resist their inclusion in the Komsomol. Young persons who join the Komsomol of their own free will, or who do not put up enough resistance when asked to sign a statement to the effect that they will join the Komsomol, are boycotted not only by other young Ukrainians but by the public in general. But in this respect, too, the Bolsheviks do not give in easily. In the district of Burshtyn in the region of Stanyslaviv, for example, they started organizing the Komsomol by resorting to force. They summoned all the young people to the village soviet and

forced them to sign statements to the effect that they would join the Komsomol. Those who refused to sign these statements were beaten by the NKVD men, and the latter then signed the statement in the name of the young person in question.

In many places the existence of secret Komsomol organizations has been ascertained. They have been founded by the NKVD for the following purpose:

a) to conceal them from the Ukrainian underground movement and the nationally conscious Ukrainian public, who are definitely hostile to the Komsomol organizations;

b) to encourage those elements whose resistance is feeble — fortunately there are very few of such elements amongst the young people of Ukraine — and who are afraid of joining the Komsomol because of the opposition of their families or acquaintances;

c) to make the activity of such Komsomol members, as co-workers of the Bolshevik secret police, more effective. It goes without saying that these secret Komsomol organizations to an even larger extent than the legal ones become organizations of Bolshevik secret co-workers. It was ascertained that secret Komsomol organizations have been formed in many rayons (districts), as for instance in the district of Kalush, Halych and Tovmach, all of which belong to the region of Stanyslaviv. On the whole, however, they have proved a miserable failure as regards Bolshevik propaganda for recruiting young Ukrainians for the Komsomol.

### **The Persecution of the Church**

In a truly barbarous manner the Bolsheviks insult the religious feelings of the Ukrainian population. We do not intend to discuss in detail the official persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the campaign directed towards its conversion to Russian Orthodoxy. As a result of this campaign countless priests, including the entire Greek Catholic episcopate, were put into prison and numerous churches were closed down. Comprehensive accounts of these facts have been published in the Ukrainian underground press. The aim of the campaign was:

a) to destroy the Greek Catholic Church as a national and religious institution, since it sought to protect the Ukrainian people against Moscow's Russification plans, and

b) by means of terrorism to persuade part of the clergy to collaborate with the NKVD and in this way to undermine the authority of the Church amongst the Ukrainian people. In addition to the official persecution of the Greek Catholic Church, the Bolsheviks frequently loot churches, turn worshippers out of the building during divine service, destroy the pictures and statues of saints, and openly insult the religious feelings of the Ukrainian people.

In the village of Mokra near Pinsk (in the Byelorussian SSR), for instance, NKVD men on various occasions entered the church during divine service without baring their heads. In January 1946 the local NKVD chief in the same village rushed into the church, threatened the worshippers with a revolver and drove them out of the building.

On May 13, 1946, a religious procession from East Ukraine visited the famous monastery in Pochayiv (in the region of Ternopil). In front of the monastery the procession was attacked by NKVD men, who seized hold of the banners and tore them to shreds; they then started beating the worshippers and the priests. All the pilgrims were arrested by the NKVD.

On June 19, 1946, Bolsheviks raided the church in the village of Verbizh near Shchyrets (in the region of Lviv) and stole the vestments, banners and sacred vessels.

At Easter 1946 the local NKVD chief in the village of Korchyn near Skole (in the region of Drohobych) rode into the church on horseback during divine service.

In September 1945 NKVD men looted the church in the village of Zdyshiv, in Kamyanka-Buzka district (in the region of Lviv). They then made all the girls in the village assemble in the church; in a completely drunken condition the NKVD men dressed themselves in vestments and proceeded to give a parody of the divine service, using blasphemous and obscene language. They drank all the wine and ate the consecrated bread. They told the girls whom they had forced to assemble in the church that they had been arrested and wanted to set fire to the church and burn them alive, but the highly indignant villagers prevented them from doing so.

### The Public Health and Food Situation

We have already referred to the fact that the Russians intentionally did not take any measures to combat diseases, as for instance spotted fever, which raged in some places, in the Ukrainian territories, but, on the contrary, sought to spread them systematically. The same also applies to venereal diseases. These were spread by the Bolsheviks by the mass-infection of girls and women in the prisons, as well as by the mass-rape of women by soldiers of the Red Army, who are still stationed in the Ukrainian villages. No measures whatever were introduced to combat these diseases. Indeed, medical care for the civilian population, especially in the rural areas, is most inadequate.

This is what one of our correspondents writes about conditions in this respect in some of the districts in Volhynia:

"In the district of Kozyn, which is inhabited by more than 30,000 persons, there are only five first-aid men, who were given a superficial training during the war. One of them is in charge of the health department in the district

centre (where there is not a single doctor). The clinics in the rayon are not heated and most of the windows are broken or cracked. There are no medical supplies and no equipment. Apart from aspirin and iodine, no medical supplies or drugs whatever are available.

There is a makeshift clinic for infectious diseases in the rayon. Persons suffering from typhus, for instance, are housed in the dirtiest spot in the village of Zhabokruky Velyki, namely in the old school-building. Fifteen yards away from it there is a new building, in which small children are taught. About 25 paces further on is the village church. Persons suffering from typhus are treated by a first-aid man, whose knowledge of diseases dates back to the tsarist era and who is only acquainted with three diseases, scabies, typhus and "espanka" or Spanish influenza (any disease which he does not recognize he classifies as one of these three).

For 6 rayons there is only one hospital in Dubno, but the rural population has not a very high opinion of it. It is practically impossible for the average person to get treatment there. Admission or treatment involve producing a recommendation and also a certificate to the effect that the patient is not in any way suspected of collaboration with the underground movement. And in addition to the official cost of treatment, large sums of money have to be paid to the staff as bribes."

One of the most important means adopted by the Russian occupants in their fight against the Ukrainian national liberation movement and against the Ukrainian people in general is economic exploitation, or in other words, the looting of food supplies.

We have elsewhere referred to this type of looting in the Carpathians and in the region of Polissia. This method is, in fact, applied everywhere in Ukraine. The Bolsheviks fix huge quotas for the delivery of supplies of grain, milk, meat, vegetables and fruit, to the state, as well as huge taxes, loans, insurances, etc., but they make no attempt to put a stop to the looting and marauding which is carried on by the Red Army and by other military units.

During the years 1945 and 1946 this marauding and looting on the part of these various units, together with the terrorist activity of the NKVD, assumed particularly alarming proportions. At all hours of the day and night farmers in the rural areas and especially those whose farms were close to main highways were obliged to put up with raids on the part of these gangsters in uniform. They looted anything they could lay hands on, — flour, fat, shoes, clothes, money, and even bee-hives. They smashed the furniture and stole watches and clocks and any other articles of value that they could take away with them. During the spring and summer months, groups of soldiers used to raid the gardens and fields and steal vegetables and potatoes. The Bolshevik authorities took no steps to prevent this looting and marauding, for it was entirely in keeping with their aim, namely that the Ukrainian farmers who had been robbed should thus be unable to help the Ukrainian underground movement in any material way. Although the Russian occupants had not succeeded in seriously harming the Ukrainian underground movement, they did nevertheless in this way inflict serious economic losses on the Ukrainian farmers and workers. For the latter were now forced to

endure starvation and to wear rags instead of clothes. The Russian Bolsheviks had reduced the Ukrainian people to such a state that the acquisition of a piece of bread and of even the poorest of clothes was the main problem which occupied them, and for this reason the Red soldiers concentrated their activity in this field.

### **The Famine of 1946**

In 1946 a big drought destroyed the harvest in most of the regions of East Ukraine. But in spite of this natural catastrophe the Red Russians did not reduce the compulsory quotas for the delivery of grain and other agricultural products to the state. Those farmers who had harvested no grain whatever were obliged to buy it whenever they could so that they could deliver the fixed quota of grain to the state. Failure to fulfil the delivery quotas was punished in exactly the same way as during normal times. A farmer's wife in Southern Bessarabia (district of Izmail) was, for example, forced to travel to Stryy (in the region of Drohobych) in order to buy grain there, which she then had to deliver to the state on the spot as the compulsory quota. The Bolshevik administration had developed its system to such "perfection" that it was able to receive the contingents from the people of the Izmail district in the region of Drohobych, which was a long way from the former district (the distance between the two amounts to several hundred miles).

As a result of this policy it was inevitable that a famine broke out in most of the regions of East Ukraine in 1946. In order to save themselves from starving to death, millions of Ukrainians went to the regions of West Ukraine in search of bread.

From June 1946 onwards, the following tragic scenes could be witnessed every day in the regions of West Ukraine:

A train packed with persons who are starving draws in at some station or other. They are all completely emaciated and exhausted; they look like skeletons dressed in rags, and they carry big rucksacks and bags on their shoulders. They swarm out of the train and proceed to pitch a camp for the night. During the night they light a fire to keep warm. A meagre meal is eaten out of tins and enamel basins. Then they put their rucksacks under their head, move closer to each other to keep warm, and go to sleep on the damp ground.

Next morning they flock in hundreds to the nearest villages, towns and markets. On the markets they buy corn, potatoes or flour, or else exchange their last shirt or their last dress for these wares. In the villages they beg a little bread, a few grammes of beans and some potatoes from the inhabitants. They have been reduced to such a state of starvation that they will exchange anything they are wearing for food. Some of them take on jobs as labourers on a farm in order to get food.

Two or three days later they return to the station with a few pounds of corn, flour or beans. In the meantime hundreds of other starving people have arrived there. Suddenly the NKVD men surround the station and give orders that all rucksacks are to be emptied. They then rob these starving persons of the meagre supplies which they have managed to collect in order to save themselves from starving to death, supplies which they have bought with their last garment or last money, or which have been given to them by kind-hearted and compassionate people. Clashes frequently occur on such occasions between the starving population and the NKVD. Stones are thrown at the NKVD men, and they in turn fire on the crowd. And many a mother never sees her starving children again...

It is an established fact that murder was sometimes committed by these starving creatures, who, incidentally, were also suspected of cannibalism. But the population of the so-called USSR was reduced to such a barbarous state by the Bolshevik Russian clique!

The famine caused by the Bolsheviks in 1946 bears a certain resemblance to the famine which was artificially created in Ukraine by the Russians during the years 1932-33 and which claimed about 7 million victims amongst the Ukrainian population.

In order to seize all the grain supplies in the western regions of the USSR for the state, the Bolsheviks introduced a decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, to the effect that the population of the eastern regions was prohibited from buying food and conveying the latter to the eastern regions. The reason given for this prohibition was that all the agricultural products in the Ukrainian western regions were allegedly affected with a blight. The purchase of grain was prohibited in view of the campaign regarding reserve supplies for the state.

This policy which has constantly been pursued by the Bolsheviks — the physical extermination of the Ukrainian underground fighters, unheard of terrorism against the Ukrainian civilian population, the attempts to involve the Ukrainian people in a fratricidal war, the intentional spreading of venereal diseases and typhus epidemics, the dreadful conditions in the prisons and concentration camps, the economic exploitation of the Ukrainian population, starvation and famine, and the refusal of medical treatment to the Ukrainian population, — all this has one aim, namely the complete physical extermination of the Ukrainian people. For as long as the Ukrainian people live on, their independence aspirations, too, will live on and will continue to endanger the plans of the Kremlin imperialists as regards conquering and ruling the world. The Red Russian imperialists dealt with the Tatars, Chechens and Ingushes by deporting these peoples from the territory in which they had lived for centuries and resettling them in other parts of the USSR. In the case of the

Ukrainian people, who number 40 million, the Red Russian imperialists will find it impossible to realize such a plan. But one could to a certain extent eliminate the "Ukrainian threat" to the Russian imperium by physically exterminating not the entire Ukrainian people but, at least, the factor which is most valuable biologically and politically, namely the youth of Ukraine and the entire element which is actively striving to set up an independent Ukraine. Indeed, for years the Russian Bolsheviks have been liquidating this "Ukrainian threat" with a ruthlessness and cruelty of which only the degenerated Red Russians are capable.

### **The Elections and the Climax of Terrorism**

The procedure of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 10, 1946, was characteristic of the situation in the Ukrainian territories under Bolshevik occupation during the years 1944-46. In order to ensure the "appearance" of the population at the election booths and to prevent a complete boycott of the elections by the Ukrainian population, the Russian occupants began to set up military units (the so-called "garrisons"), consisting on an average of about 20 to 60 men, in every village in Ukraine from about the middle of January 1946 onwards. In many cases these garrisons consisted of as many as 100 to 200 men. From the first day that they were stationed in the various villages, grim terrorism prevailed. It was only by means of razzias that these Russian intruders managed to force the Ukrainian population to attend the propaganda meetings held prior to the elections. These meetings were held in buildings that were surrounded by machine-guns drawn up in readiness to fire on anyone who refused to attend the meeting. M. Hrechukha, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, who had been put up as a candidate for the constituency of Berezhany, appeared at one of these meetings protected by a special NKVD detachment numbering 8,000 men. And it was this NKVD detachment which carried out extensive razzias in the entire region.

On the day of the elections the terrorism reached its climax. The population refused to vote. People hid, or fled into the forests nearby and held anti-Bolshevist demonstrations. By noon only 5 per cent of the inhabitants in the entire Ukrainian territories, which were swept by the revolutionary movement, had voted. Bayonets, rifles and other weapons were then used to deal with the obstinate Ukrainians. In numerous cases the soldiers used tanks and armoured cars to force people to go to the election booths. People were dragged along by their hair, they were bound with rope and barbed wire, or they were tied together and driven on lorries to the polling stations. The history of "world democracy" has surely never



experienced anything like the incidents which occurred in Ukraine on this election day. Hundreds of persons were shot and maimed because they refused to vote; thousands were arrested, thousands were flogged and tortured, and thousands of dwellings were destroyed. In the case of countless persons who could not even be induced to vote by the tortures inflicted on them, the soldiers of the garrisons voted for them! As a result of this deception, the ballot-boxes often contained hundreds of ballots more than the number of voters listed. Actually, there were not more than 3 per cent of the Ukrainians entitled to vote who voted of their own free will; 30 to 40 per cent only voted because they were terrorized into doing so, whilst the remaining percentage did not vote at all. According to official Bolshevist data, however, "98.8 per cent of the registered voters took part in the elections."

On January 17, 1946, NKVD men in the village of Volya Zhovtatska near Kulykiv (in the region of Lviv) shot a Ukrainian by the name of Mykhaylo Derkach for refusing to vote.

On February 2, 1946, 40-year old Hryhoriy Burko, 42-year old Mykhaylo Senkiv, 32-year old Vasyl Stronnytsky and 42-year old Petro Huzvira, all of them inhabitants of the village of Zheldets, in the Kamyanka-Buzka (also known as Kamyanka Strumylova) district (in the region of Lviv), were shot by the NKVD for refusing to vote.

In the village of Kosmach near Yabloniv (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks discovered three farmers hiding in a wooden hut because they did not want to vote. The Bolsheviks promptly murdered them, slit their bodies with their bayonets, cut off their heads and threw them on a fire.

During the "preparations" for the elections, NKVD men in the district of Halych set fire to 51 farms, in the district of Stanyslaviv to 41 farms, and in the district of Bohorodchany to 6 farms. At the same time, they also arrested 590 persons in the district of Halych, 214 persons in the district of Stanyslaviv, and 160 persons in the district of Bohorodchany. In the district of Halych 6 families, including 6 children, were deported to Siberia, in the district of Stanyslaviv 3 families, and in the district of Bohorodchany 12 families, including 7 children. 33 persons were killed in the district of Halych, 58 in the district of Stanyslaviv, and 14 in the district of Lysets (in the region of Stanyslaviv).

In the village of Blyudnyky near Halych (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks seized a member of the election committee, Ivan Shaturna, who had refused to vote. They beat him with the butts of their rifles, tied a rope round his neck and dragged him along to the polling station. On the way there they hit him with their rifles and pricked him with their bayonets every few yards to make him hurry. Shaturna, however, still refused to vote. Thereupon the Bolsheviks tied his hands together with

a rope and threw him into a well. Shaturna was a demobilized soldier of the Red Army and had taken part in the German-Russian war from 1941 to 1945.

In the same village the soldiers of the garrison there locked all the persons who refused to vote in the cellar of a dairy and filled the cellar with water. For five hours these persons were obliged to stand in the water which reached up to their necks. When the Bolsheviks returned and asked them whether they were now willing to vote, they once more refused to do so.

In the village of Kolodiyivka in the district of Stanyslaviv the Bolsheviks dragged a woman, Maria Yakubiv, to the polling station by her hair.

In the village of Pidpechary in the district of Stanyslaviv NKVD men shot Anna Ovrach because she refused to go along to the polling station.

Volodymyr Borysovych, an inhabitant of the village of Komariv in the district of Halych, committed suicide since he could no longer endure the blows inflicted on him by the Bolsheviks.

In the village of Selyshcha in the district of Halych NKVD men locked up all those who refused to vote in the house belonging to the chairman of the village soviet and then set fire to the building. They fired on all those who tried to escape out of the burning house.

### Unsuccessful Appeals to Capitulate

In addition to our account of the fighting methods adopted by the Russian Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, we should also like to mention the so-called "appeals" addressed to the Ukrainian people by the puppet government of the Ukrainian SSR. In these "appeals" the so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR exhorted the members of the Ukrainian underground movement to leave the forests, to cease the armed underground fight against the Soviet state power and, together with their leaders, to surrender. The Soviet Ukrainian government appointed by the Russians promised that all the underground fighters and insurgents who surrendered of their own free will and showed that they repented would be "forgiven." They were likewise promised a suitable, peaceful occupation. Persons who are misinformed or naïve might easily interpret such "appeals" as a kind of amnesty on the part of the government of the Ukrainian SSR for all those persons who have taken part in the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom. Actually, the situation is quite different, however. In the so-called Soviet Union there is no such thing as an amnesty for political prisoners. Political opponents of the Communist Party are simply liquidated and by no means amnestied. And this fact is corroborated by Communist practices so far. For one must bear in

mind that "these appeals addressed to the 'members of partisan groups' promise 'forgiveness' to all those 'misled and deceived persons' who, within a certain fixed period of time, report to the NKVD, inform against all their political co-workers, betray all the military and underground secrets that they know, and collaborate with the NKVD..." (This passage is quoted from a Ukrainian underground publication entitled "The Year 1945 in the Ukrainian Territories.") A further passage from the same book states: "...As can be seen, the conditions of 'forgiveness' were so insolent and cynical that no honest-thinking member of a political organization or of a revolutionary liberation army could possibly accept them..."

Recent experience has likewise shown that all those who surrendered did not enjoy their freedom for long. For soon after a few weak-willed individuals had reported to the NKVD, the Bolshevik press began to publish articles containing admonitions to be "vigilant," since there were allegedly "disguised supporters of the Ukrainian independence aspirations" amongst these persons. And the NKVD actively supported the "public opinion" expressed in the press. Most of the persons who had reported to the NKVD were arrested by the latter and deported to the interior of Russia.

On May 27, 1946, all the persons who had "repented" in the district of Stepan' in the region of Rivne were seized by the NKVD on the pretext of mobilization.

On December 10, 1945, the NKVD arrested the former UPA fighter Koloda in the village of Ozeriany in Volhynia. A few months previously he had reported to the NKVD in order to "repent."

The other persons who reported to the NKVD were either forced to collaborate with the Bolsheviks, or else to fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement in various ways. "...These persons were forced to drive round with the NKVD men and point out hiding-places and houses in the rural areas, as well as friends and acquaintances to them. They were also forced to terrorize the Ukrainian population. As a result of this 'amnesty' many of the 'persons amnestied' went mad or committed suicide, whilst the rest sank to the lowest level of human vileness..." (from "The Year 1945 in the Ukrainian Territories")

But the Bolshevik press and broadcasting stations make no mention whatever of all that has been happening in Ukraine during the past few years, that is to say the fierce fight put up by the Ukrainian people, a fight which has assumed huge proportions, and the terrorism applied by the NKVD against the Ukrainian population. During the above-mentioned years (and also later) there was hardly a single article published in the Bolshevik press which gave an objective account of the true situation in those Ukrainian territories in which the revolutionary fight was being conducted. Not a single report which gave an account of actual events in Ukraine was published in the Bolshevik press. The same press which mentions

the smallest strike in the USA and the smallest demonstration in Egypt or elsewhere in detail, or which feigns indignation at the suppression of the liberation movement in Indonesia by the Dutch, never once reported the big clashes between Bolshevik troop units and the UPA which occurred practically every day in Ukraine; and this same press by no means expresses its indignation at the suppression of the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainian people by the NKVD. All previous and present events in Ukraine are simply hushed up, with the exception of the foul defamations against the Ukrainian liberation movement, which are gone into at length by the press. This policy is merely another method of combatting the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, a method of which only the Russian Bolshevik "democrats" are capable.

### Soviet Jurisdiction

On reading our account of all the atrocities committed by the Bolshevik criminals, anyone who is not a "citizen" of the so-called USSR but of a truly democratic country (the citizens of the USSR are all only too well acquainted with the state of affairs which we have described) is bound to ask: "what about the jurisdiction in the USSR? There are, after all, courts in this state which are even called 'people's courts!'"

We should like to quote but one example in order to show the real nature and character of the Bolshevik "people's courts."

On April 24, 1946, a man by the name of Manoyil Karalash was proceeding from the village of Chorny Potik to Bridok (in Zastavna district, in the region of Chernivtsi). On the way there he met a lorry, on which the commander of the "annihilation battalion" in the same district, Khrystenko, and the commandant of the counter-espionage detachment, "Death to Spies" (Smersh), Aleksandrov, were riding. As Karalash had known them personally for some time, he greeted them. There were also some other NKVD men on the lorry whom Karalash did not know. Khrystenko told Karalash to ride along to Chorny Potik with him and show him where the priest Father Kostyniuk lived. Karalash agreed to do so as he had no idea what the NKVD men wanted to see the priest for. Actually, as was later ascertained, they were going to Chorny Potik to murder the priest's whole family. Soon afterwards, the NKVD began to spread the rumour that this dreadful murder had allegedly been committed by Bandera supporters. Karalash openly denied this false rumour and indicated who the real murderers of the priest and his family

were. Thereupon he was arrested by the NKVD and on June 23, 1946, he was sentenced by the district judge of the town of Zastavna to two years imprisonment for allegedly spreading defamatory propaganda. During the trial the judge, a man called Bondarenko, put the following questions to the accused: "Was it really Khrystenko whom you saw? One person can look very much like another. Khrystenko was in Chernivtsi on the evening in question. You are an honest man and should really not have to languish in prison. Retract your statement that Khrystenko is guilty." The accused thereupon replied: "I was not drunk! I know Khrystenko personally and I maintain what I have already testified..."

This is a very typical case of Bolshevik "jurisdiction." Its task is the same as that of the NKVD: to accelerate achievement of the aim which the Kremlin criminals have set themselves, — namely "to destroy the independence aspirations in Ukraine at any price."

## CONCLUSION

Such are the methods which the Russians apply in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement and against the entire Ukrainian people, — methods which are criminal and atrocious, to say the least.

But even with the aid of such gangster tricks and criminal machinations the Russian Bolshevik occupants by no means succeed either in destroying the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, or forcing the Ukrainian people into complete submissiveness. Almost fanatical idealism which inspires the Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents helps them to endure the most dreadful tortures. And the Ukrainian people have actually emerged as the victors out of the long and unequal fight against the Russian Bolshevik occupants and their agents. The liberation movement, which has as its aim the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke, is today stronger than ever. As in former years, the Ukrainian people continue to put up a fierce resistance against the terrorist policy of the Bolsheviks and to support the Ukrainian revolutionary freedom fighters. The apparently invincible NKVD can find no completely effective way of dealing with the independence aspirations of the Ukrainian people, which today meet with far more sympathy and understanding than was formerly the case not only amongst the other peoples subjugated in the USSR but also amongst neighbouring peoples living on the borders of the USSR.

The day of the final liberation of the Ukrainian people is rapidly approaching. And this legitimate political development, which is in keeping with the greatest wish of the entire Ukrainian people, can not be impeded by any terrorism. Nor can any plans, however criminal they may be, nor any of the treacherous methods applied by the Russian Bolshevist occupants prevent this development.

The inevitable and logical result of this process is bound to be an independent Ukrainian state.



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