UPA

IN WESTERN EUROPE

1948

SECOND EDITION

UKRAINIAN PRESS SERVICE (UPS)
NEW YORK PARIS LONDON

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Foreword

The Ukrainians have sometimes been called "the Irish of the Eastern Europe" and the epithet is not at all unfitting. In both peoples there is a tradition of an ancient almost legendary underground from which the stream of ardent national life has emerged for a stubborn fight for freedom and independence.

The symbol of the Ukrainian underground — the UPA — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army has now entered on the fifth year of a war being fought for freedom of Ukraine and of the Ukrainian people. Yesterday it fought Nazi-Germany and contributed much to Hitler's defeat in Eastern Europe, and today it stands as a symbol of the Ukrainian resistance against the Soviet regime.

The fate of the Ukrainian people is closely bound up with this gigantic duel between freedom and slavery, between Ukrainian democracy and Russian totalitarianism. At the same time this fight shows clearly that the way to world peace cannot be cleared by unjunst settlements and that the world has to remain loyal to the principles of morale and has to work at any cost whatever for the triumph of Right and Justice.

A free Ukraine, no longer subject to political dictation from Moscow, united and independent, is. therefore, an indispensable element in a free Europe and in a free world. The problem of free Ukraine lingers on therefore, today as one of the great problems of the world. It is closely linked up with the triumph of democracy and individual liberty in the world.

By editing this pamphlet the Ukrainian Press Service (U.P.S.) aims to tell the foreign reader some facts about the Ukrainian resistance movement and its symbol, the UPA — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — and about the events in Ukraine which are the consequence of the unbearable political and national oppression in this country. The pamphlet is the collection of the following items:

1. "Note to the Secretary of State Mr. George C. Marshall"

— by the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR);

2. "Appeal to the Civilized World" — an appeal issued by the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR);

3. "UPA Units Break Out of Ukraine to the U.S. Zone of Austria and Germany" — a statement by the Press Office of the Foreign Reprensentation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR);

4. "A Letter of the Editor of 'Ukrainian Tribune' at Munich to the editors of English and German newspapers in re of disfamation of the Ukrainian Liberation Fight by the world press agencies and newspapers;

5. "Would the Atom Bomb Save Great Britain?" — An Open Letter of the Ukrainian Insurgents to Mr. W. Churchill, written in April, 1946.

6. "The Ukrainian Underground" — an article by Nicholas D. Czubatyj condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly" — New York;

7. "The UPA Fights the Kremlin" — an article by Nicholas D. Czubatyj condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly" — New York;

8. "UPA in Western Europe" — an article from the "Gazet van Antwerpen".

9. "For a Free and Independent Ukraine" (A brief history of UPA) — an article from "Ukrainian Tribune".

10. "Ukraine: Ally behind the 'Iron Curtain'" — an article by William Henry Chamberlin condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly" New York, Winter 1948.

The illustrative material is taken from the archives of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and selected by the fighters of the UPA. It is designed to illustrate the facts given in this pamphlet.

Ukrainian Press Service.

Headquarters, March 1948.

A NOTE

to the Secretary of State Mr. George C. Marshall by the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

Sir:

Referring to my memorial of August, 1946 and to my note of May, 1947, I request the Government of the United States of America to recognize the forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) entering the U.S. Zone of Occupation in Germany and Austria as insurgents, to authorize the International Red Cross to take care of them and to facilitate a contact of them with the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

I take the liberty to call the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has not only fulfilled all demands for being recognized as insurgents, according to American international practice, but it too can be recognized as the belligerent army, because its nature fully covers the regulations of the Hague Conventions concerning the international military law. It is a national army, which enjoys an all-out support by the Ukrainian civil population, it fights for the accomplishment of a clearly outlined political program, i. e. for the liberation of Ukraine from foreign domination, i. e. from 1942 to 1944 against Germany and after that against the Soviet-Union. It is composed partly of regular military units, partly of militia, both well organized, disciplined and subordinated to the Supreme Command, now led by Gen. Taras Chuprynka. Politically the Supreme Command is subordinated to the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, which having residence on Ukrainian territory, carries out the functions of an underground Ukrainian Government and has been recognized as such by the population of the country. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) abides by international martial law, its soldiers and officers wear uniforms and national emblems. During the anti-German uprising the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) liberated a considerable part of Ukraine (Volhynia and the Carpathian Mountains), establish-

ing on this territory the normal Ukrainian administration. At present there are also under its control some Ukrainian districts that the Soviet administration is unable to govern and where the Soviet security organs venture to enter only under the escort of their own military troops. The Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) launching raiding forces beyond the borders of Ukrainian territory, gives moral support to the neighboring nations and co-operates with the other movements of neo-resistance. Owing to its political program, its military efficiency and solidarity with

They covered 1500 km in raid

other peoples in the liberation struggle, units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) were able to cross Central Europe.

The treaty concluded by the Soviet-Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia in May, 1947, can be considered as a silent recognition of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) as a belligerent army, because it was an international act which anticipated the coordination of military operations against an armed force, i. e. the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). The fact that the soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) are court-martialled and condemned to death, does not contradict this conclusion, because the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics does not abide by the Hague Conventions and imposes its attitude to the countries which are under its control.

Individually the officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) should have been undoubtedly granted the right of sanctuary. They are entitled to it, because they are the fighters against political and social enslavement. That circumstance was recognized by all conventions concerning extradition. Considered as a whole they should be treated as an army that enters neutral soil. On the basis of above said I have the honor to request respectfully the Government of the United States of America to issue on this behalf the necessary instructions to the occupation authorities in Germany.

I am able to furnish Your Excellency with all documentated evidence about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the situation in Ukraine.

Copies of this note will be sent to the Holy See and to the Governments of France and Great Britain.

I take this opportunity, Sir, to renew the expressions of my profoundest veneration to Your Excellency, and remain etc.

(-) Mykola Lebed
General Secretary for Foreign Affairs
of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

APPEAL TO THE CIVILIZED-WORLD

by the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHWR) concerning Russia's challenge to peace and international security and its bloody persecutions of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and particularly in the border regions of the Soviet-Union, of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

The Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHWR), which is the supreme national and political authority and is leading the struggle of the Ukrainian people, wants to make the following statements:

What was the purpose of the War?

The second world-war was waged by the civilized peoples against the dark powers of totalitarian terrorism and oppression; its aim was to give the world a lasting peace and order, based on the principles of freedom, democracy, humanity and social justice.

The leading civilized nations of the world have made heavy material sacrifices, and millions of human beings gave their blood and their lives at all fronts of the world in order to secure international and social relations on a basis of freedom from violence, hunger and misery.

As a result of the war many hitherto oppressed nations have regained their full freedom and their right of self-government as to their political and social order.

Ukraine is still Living under Oppression.

Unfortunately however, the Ukrainian people was not allowed to reap the fruits of this victory. The Ukrainians, one of the leading nations of Eastern-Europe, have not yet regained their independence after this war. In consequence of the armed occupation by Moscow 28 years ago, up to now they have not yet been able to reach their aim i. e. the possibility to express their own free will.

After the liberating revolution of 1917—1920, shaking off the yoke of foreign rule, the Ukrainian people declared in its manifest of January 22nd, 1918, that it had established its own independent state under the name of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Notwithstanding the heroic struggle, attended with great losses of human lives, the young Ukrainian state after four years of defensive warfare fell a victim to the imperialistic aggression of the totalitarian Bolshevist regime. The other regions of Ukraine, that is to say Galicia, Volhynia and Polesia were occupied by Poland, the Bukovina and the Ukrainian parts of Bessarabia by Rumania, and Carpathian-Ukraine by Czechoslovakia. After the conquest of Ukraine by the Bolshevists for the impression of it a so-called independent Ukr. Soc. Soviet Republic was formed, which was forcibly incorporated with the Soviet-Union and which — up to the present — has been ruled as such by the brutal violence and moral pressure of Moscow. For all that the struggle for liberty of the Ukrainians goes on in spite of the long years of bolshevist oppression, though it involves severe losses.

The Sacrifices of Ukraine in the Struggle for Democracy.

During the second world-war Ukraine has made very great sacrifices. Forced to be a member of the Soviet-Union the Ukrainian nation has fought against the dark powers of fascist agression, terrorism and absolutism. Millions of Ukrainian combatants gave their lives or were mutilated for the just case; the country itself has suffered indescribable material damages, and devastation have been caused on a large scale. Of this World War II Ukraine expected the realization of the ideas of real democracy and at the same time the possibility to establish on the grounds of really democratic self-government her own independent sovereign national state, freed from the heavy chains of the Soviet-Union.

Alas, in spite of the appalling sacrifice which the Ukrainian people has made and is still making in the struggle for the victory of world-democracy, Ukraine is compelled by force to remain a member of the Soviet-Union as its most oppressed and exploited part.

Struggle of Ukraine for Liberation.

But even the heaviest sacrifices could not decide the struggle for liberty of the Ukrainian people in favour of its full national independence. It could not realize its freedom-loving democratic ideals, and with the slogan: „Freedom for the individual, freedom for all

nations" as a basis for its political foundations the Ukrainian people in the second world-war fought an unequal battle as well against Hitler's fascist as the Bolshevist totalitarian regime.

The organization and the highest political conduct of the struggle rests with the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.); its armed branch is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A). In heavy fights the U.H.W.R. and the U.P.A. put up a stand against the brute force of the military rulers from Moscow. During Hitler's occupation the U.H.W.R. and the U.P.A. organized a strong underground resistance to punish the occupation forces for their crimes and violations and also to upset their military plans.

What do the Ukrainians want?

In their struggle for independence the Ukrainians only want what is recognized as a right of any civilized nation: to enjoy in their independent, sovereign state the disposal of their economic order and also of their relations and contacts with the other nations of the world.

Faithful to their own character as of a really democratic and freedomloving society, the Ukrainians put up an absolute stand against the United Party forced upon them by Moscow and against the totalitarian Soviet system.

Bolshevist Moscow Aims the Complete Enslavement of the Ukrainian People.

The aspiration of the Ukrainian people after its full independence meets with sharp resistance on the part of the Bolshevists, who intend to enslave this people fully. Ukraine was the most vulnerable point of the Russian Empire and now the Soviet-Union is fighting against Ukraine as the stronghold of freedomloving ideas and real democracy and at the same time as the centre of the common struggle against Moscow's tyranny to the nations oppressed by the Soviet-Union.

During the last few months the measures taken by the Soviet-Union according to a fixed plan to exterminate Ukraine have been intensified to the utmost. The Soviet regime intends to liquidate Ukraine entirely, trying by means of propaganda to declare it a stronghold of „nationalism" and thus to discredit it in the eyes of the world; in reality however, it is a question of the Soviet Union fighting against liberty and democracy. The Bolshevists want to liquidate the democratic spirit of the Ukrainians, feeling unanimous with the rest of the civilized world.

Conflict near the Polish-Ukrainian Frontiers.

The events which developed in the frontier regions of Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia seemingly formed the immediate cause to this conflict. After the Second World-War — without considering the wishes of the local population — an artificial frontier was drawn between Ukraine and Poland, more or less in accordance with the so-called "Curzon-line". This artificial frontier has cut a large part off the whole of the Ukrainian national territory and has added it to Poland together with the Ukrainian population living on it. The final arrangement of the population-question was supposed to be effected later on in a friedly way by exchange on both sides. In consequence of this "arrangement" one hundred thousand Ukrainians who have come under Poland are now exposed to the most violent persecutions of the totalitarian Warsaw Government supported by Moscow. In order to protect the helpless and innocent Ukrainian population against outrages and looting, sections of the U.P.A. came to its rescue.

In this way the Polish-Ukrainian frontier regions and the strip where these frontiers touch Czecho-Slovakia have been for two years already a menacing and most dangerous focus in postwar Europe.

Military Alliance between the Soviet-Union, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

On account of the assistance by the U.P.A. to the frontier-population, the governments of the aforesaid countries in the beginning of May 1947 entered into a formal alliance, the aim of which was according to a semi-official statement of the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Modzelewsky, made on May 7th 1947 in the Foreign Commission of the Polish Parliament: „a common fight by the three governments concerned against the focuses of the Ukrainian nationalism and their complete and decisive liquidation".

Though this action has been so formulated it is meant in reality and in practice as a fight against the whole Ukrainian people in Western Ukraine, and according to the latest reports from these frontier regions it extends all over Ukraine.

The Murderous Pacification.

On the grounds of this military agreement during the last few weeks the three allied regimes have undertaken a "pacification action" on a large scale with a special aim: the complete liquidation of the U.P.A., the armed protectors of the local Ukrainian population. Strongly armed forces of the three military allies with heavy artillery,

planes and tanks have joined in this "pacification-action"; army units of the Soviet-Union's satellites—Rumania and Hungary—also are supporting this action. Tens, nay, hundreds of Ukrainian settlements are razed to the ground by fire and the results of the never tiring industry of several generations are annihilated. The organs of the "security-service" of the allied regimes have arrested people wholesale or have deported parts of the population. Thousands of people have to leave the land where their fathers and ancestors lived and worked. Punitive expeditions carry out mass executions in accordance with sentences pronounced by military or arbitrary courts „of justice". And now, two years after the end of World War II, a new war-front has come into being in the centre of Europe.

The Lies of Moscow Propaganda.

In order to justify its murderous actions and to screen them from the world, dishonouring and compromitting at the same time the victims of these actions, the Propaganda-Department of the three totalitarian regimes opened a campaign of calumnies and lies, pretending that—according to the official statement of the Polish communiqué—in the U.P.A. are to be found S.S.-men and soldiers of the army of the Russian general Vlassow who during the war deserted to the German side, and also bands of Hungarian and Serbian terrorists. Contrary to these lies we can testify with truth that not a single S.S.-men or any foreign terrorist is to be found in the U.P.A.; this army consitsts exclusively of Ukrainian democratic elements who during the last few years fought against Hitler and who are now fighting with the same ferocity against the Bolshevist tyranny. These are the facts and the Bolshevist lies cannot alter them.

Menace to International Peace.

The Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation-Council declares that the events which are taking place in Ukraine and particularly in the adjoining regions to Ukraine, in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, have nothing to do with the "Interior affairs" of the three allied totalitarian regimes; on the contrary, important problem of an international character are at stake here, which ought to be dealt with and arranged in accordance with the existing and binding law; Nothing but the statute of the United Nations and their Security-Council can fix in this case the legal lines. At the same time the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.) states that this murderous action arbitrarily violates the letter and the spirit of the statute of the United Nations

which excludes a one-sided investigation and liquidation of this sort of situations; moreover the Foreign Representation of the U.H.W.R. denies before the whole civilized world to the three totalitarian regimes concerned the right to act biassed judges and to carry out a sentence they themselves pronounced.

We Protest against Crimes to Humanity.

Before the whole civilized world the Foreign Representation of the U.H.W.R. most strongly protests against the massacres which are committed under the disguise of extermination of "nationalism", "fascism and "collaboration", but whose only aim is to suppress by all possible illegal means the aspiration of the Ukrainians after their national independence. At the same time the Foreign Representation of the U.H.W.R. protests against the use of the military apparatus, of planes, tanks, punitive expeditions, arbitrary executions and mass-reprisals against the innocent local population as a means to finish this conflict. Finally it most sharply condemns before the whole world the Bolshevist crime of shooting all soldiers, even the wounded, of the U.P.A. who are taken prisoner and it puts an urgent appeal to all people of good-will in the whole world, to all who love the ideas of freedom for mankind of justice and humanity, and begs them to join in this protest.

The Foreign Representation of the U.H.W.R. especially applies to the humanitarian and charitable institutions of the whole world and in the first place to those which aim at the protection of human rights and begs them to organize moral and material help and support for the victims of this inhuman and tyrannical pogrom.

The Next Act in the Drama of Moscow Imperialism.

The Foreign Represeentation of the U.H.W.R. declares that the events in Ukraine must be regarded as an act of aggression and as an attack on the world due to the greed for conquest of the Moscow-Bolshevist Imperialism, which—together with the other satellites—by this murderous method wants to root out every initiative of the oppressed, freedom-loving and democratic peoples. The bloody settlement of the Bolshevists with the Ukrainians, however, is but a phase in the general imperialistic war-plan of the totalitarian Bolshevism against the democratic peoples with the final aim of complete subjugation and oppression of the people under its tyranny.

Only the Restoration of an Independent Ukraine
Can Guarantee Peace and Order in Eastern Europe.

The Foreign Representation of the U.H.W.R. repeats that the real and fundamental cause of the disturbances and cruelties of the Bolshevist "pacification" in Ukraine lies in the insatiable imperialism of Moscow's Bolshevism, which by these methods wants to keep the Ukrainian people in constant obedience and subjection. However as the Ukrainian people will never give up its struggle for national independence, a lasting peace and guarantee of international security in Eastern Europe can only be reached on the condition that this people be given the possibility to establish—in accordance with the right of self-government—its own really sovereign independent state on a basis of democratic principles.

The World Must Not Keep Silent.

In this struggle the civilized world must not unconcernedly tolerate at the same time, while there is existing an Organisation of the United Nations which wishes all nations to be treated according to the principles of autonomy, that one of the European territories a totalitarian war-of-annihilation should be waged without any international intervention inquiring into and pronouncing upon the reliability of the real facts by impartial international judges.

In the Name of Truth,

humanity and justice we appeal to the whole civilized world to take interest in and to react against the tragic events in Ukraine, in order to compel—under the moral pressure of the world-opinion—the allied Bolshevists and red Fascists to stop immediately these bloody acts of violence and mass-murder. We demand justice and full freedom for Ukraine!

We want the recognition of the Ukrainian people's right to its sovereign, democratic, national, independent state.

We demand the establishment of national, political and social relations in Eastern Europe on the basis of freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, freedom from fear and misery.

We demand an immediate cessation of the "pacification" and massacre in Ukraine.

We demand liberty for all nations.

We demand liberty for the individual.

The Foreign Representation
of the Supreme Ukranian Liberation Council.

U.P.A.-UNITS (UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY) BREAK OUT OF UKRAINE TO THE U.S.-ZONES OF AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

A Statement by the Press Office
of the Foreign Representation of the Supreme
Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR)

I. Since the beginning of September news have been running through the civilized world, spread by several press agencies, about the breaking-through of some U.P.A.-units out of the Ukrainian land west of the socalled Curzon-Line to the U.S.-Zones of Austria and Germany. The comments to these news of particular correspondents tell the ignorance of these correspondents obout the actual political situation in Ukraine and about the resistance movement of the Ukrainian people against the red totalism in Eastern Europe or of their unquestioned belief in the information-sources of Warsaw and Prague which are managed more or less by Moscow.

It is a honorable duty of the press as "Sixth World Power", (the other five are the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, France and China), to give the public of the world true and checked informations, especially in such cases where it is a matter not only of the honour but of the very existence of a people.

The longlasting fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainska Powstanska Armia, abbreviated U.P.A.) during and after World War II— at first against the Nazi occupation and its annihilation regime in Ukraine (1942—1944), later or at the same time, too, against the Bolshevik occupation and annihilation policy (1944—1947)—this defensive war of a whole people has become in fact a struggle for life and for bare existence.

II. This fight had reached its acme in spring 1947: In early May the governments of the Soviet Union and of its two satellite states Poland and Czechoslovakia have set up an up to now undivulged

military agreement to counterfight the U.P.A., as Modzelewski, the foreign minister of the Warsaw government has informed the Board of Parliament for foreign policy in Warsaw on the 7th of May.

In consequence of the then agreed upon combined and concentrated military operations of the Polish, Czech and Soviet armies—complete brigades, divisions, even special detachments and armoured car corps, supported by the air forces, cooperated in these operations which developed to a regular war—the units of the "U.P.A.-Group West" were forced to change their positions and to quit parts of their hitherto area of action.

A group on the march

III. The units of the northern detachment of the U.P.A. West, operating in the valley of the Bug river, cut through the encircling to the east, went on with their movements in the southern part of the Pripet Swamps and joined there the forces of the U.P.A. in Ukraine, forming in this region the "U.P.A. Group North".

The southern detachment of the „U.P.A. West", whose units were fighting in the area of the West Carpathes, broke through in northern direction to the territory of Slovakia. The first spearheads showed up there late in May and were followed by the combat-units in the course of the first half of June. To the pursueing Polish and Soviet troops being under Soviet command were given hard battles.

To the end of June all units of the southern detachment of the

"U.P.A. Group West" were rallied in the area of the Slovakian Ore Mountains (Rudohori) and of the Lower Tatra. On crossing the border and on advancing on the Czech troops resisted but slightly, the Slovakian troops not at all. Harder battles happened but in the areas of Svaty Martin and Ruzomberg, where the Czechoslovakian commander threw in members of an officer-school and volunteer-batallions against the U.P.A.-units. This Czech opposition was overrun or the obstacles were outflanked. The advance was continued in western and southern direction, mostly along the range of the mountains and through the woods. Skirmishes took place but when the U.P.A.-units had to pass valleys.

Early in September some combat-units reached the Austrian and German borders and were forced by Czech troops to pass into the U.S.-Zones. To them this way ended a military march of more than 1000 km.

IV. One cannot maintain the opinion to have been the plan of the command of the southern detachment of U.P.A. West or of its commander tho lead his U.P.A.-units into the U.S.-Zone and to surrender there to the American troops. The plan was rather to move to a region more favourable to guerrilla-tactics. By transferring the Ukrainian population west of the Curzon-Line into the territory of the Soviet Union and by exiling the there living Ukrainian leftover by the Warsaw government into the now Polish and depopulated East Prussia and by the concentrated military operations of the three since May allied states, the conditions for operations on a larger scale were reduced. There existed but two possibilities for the southern detachment of the U.P.A. West:

a) to cross the Soviet-Ukrainian-Polish borders like the northern detachment, thus fighting its way to the main forces of the U.P.A. in Ukraine and to continue its operations in the East Carpathes,
b) to pass into the territory of Slovakia.

All conditions favoured the second possibility on account of the following reasons:

1. The reports of the U.P.A. spearheads from Slovakia, sent on there late in May, and the experiences of the armed raids there in 1946 gave hope for support by and benevolent attitude of the Slovakian people towards the Ukrainian insurrectionists.
2. The national Slovakian resistance movement offered advantageous possibilities for moving, more so as the political situation in Slovakia was aggravating.
3. There was a promising chance to call attention of the world public to the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people against the

red eastern totalism, as in Slovakia was existing a relatively free press and intelligence service in relation to that of the Soviet Union and of those of their satellite states.

4. The normal conditions of life in Czechoslovakia gave our troops the chance to rest and to spare their fighting force.
5. At last and the most important after a successful raid through Slovakia the forces could return after all through Carpatho-Ukraine and then north over the East-Carpathes to Ukraine (East Galicia) and join there the main forces of the U.P.A.

The results hitherto verified the premeditated planning of the commander of the southern detachment of the "U.P.A. Group West".

V. The fight of the U.P.A. is not any more a local problem that could or might be localized to Ukraine, i. e. the Soviet Union. It has not simply become a question of the East European and Soviet Asiatic peoples subjugated by the red eastern totalism and destined to slavery, sweating or annihilation. It is a question of all Europe, a world problem. Therefore the world of culture, the civilized West is obliged to take up a clear stand towards this problem

a) BY RECOGNIZING THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (U.P.A.) AS A WARFARING PARTY with all following rights and duties,

b) in consequence of that BY TREATING THE U.P.A. FIGHTERS, which are forced to pass to areas not under Soviet power AS SOLDIERS OF A REGULAR ARMY having passed to neutral territory AND BY GRANTING THEM THE RIGHT OF SANCTUARY.

For:

1. the U.P.A. is a legal army of Ukraine and of the Ukrainian people that in World War II took up the defensive war against the German aggression without any support by the Allies and became thus a confederate of the Allies practically. Though not a confederate of the Soviet Union or of the Red Army it has contributed highly by its military operations to the defeat of the German East Front. It has fought for the principles of the Atlantic Charta to come true, which are neglected and violated by the government of the Soviet Union. For these reasons the U.P.A. has been forced to wage its defensive war against this neglector and violator of international obligations and principles, against this second occupant of Ukraine.
2. the U.P.A. is organized as a regular army and serves under a central chief command. The U.P.A. is dressed in military uniforms

and has rank-signs. Every soldier bears a sovereignty sign, the Ukrainian national emblem i. e. the trident prong (Tryzub).

3. the U.P.A. is observing all martial laws of both the Hague Conventions. The prisoners and captured wounded are treated according to these conventions. Within the U.P.A. are set up normal court-martials. The rights of the civil population are strictly minded: requisitions are made but for cash or orders of payment.
4. the U.P.A. serves politically by the general secretary for national defense under the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (Ukrainska Holowna Wyzwolna Rada, abbreviated to U.H.W.R.) i. e. the highest organ of Ukraine struggling for national freedom and its executive organ, the General Secretaryship of the U.H.W.R. The U.H.W.R. in Ukraine is the present sovereign of the Ukrainian people and in this capacity politically responsible for all actions of the U.P.A.

VI. For the above reasons it is easily accounted for and selfunderstood that not only the Ukrainian population supports and favours its national army, the U.P.A., to the fullest extent—for in its lines are fighting the best sons and daughters of Ukraine for five years already—but also that the Polish and Slovakian population, whose regions to cross the U.P.A. is forced by military necessities, deny neither its help nor its support. To the minimum these parts of the population show a neutral attitude.

For the U.P.A. has become in Eastern Europe the living symbol for the will of the liberty-loving peoples to resist to the red imperialism and the political subjugation of free peoples.

The civilized West, too, is obliged to give proofs of its respects to the fighters for freedom, the soldiers of a liberation army, the U.P.A.

In October 1947.

A LETTER OF THE EDITOR OF "UKRAINIAN TRIBUNE" TO THE EDITORS OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN NEWSPAPERS IN RE OF DISFAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION FIGHT BY THE WORLD PRESS AGENCIES AND NEWSPAPERS

Munich, October 26th, 1947.

To the Editorial Staff.

Dear Sirs,

these days numerous news-agencies and press-offices of the western part of the world have brought news, reports and articles about the Ukrainian problem, especially about the Ukrainian people's fight for freedom against the eastern totalism. Most of these news are connected with and concerning the latest events having happened on the Czech territory and in the Czech-German-Austrian border-region, i. e. the armed raid of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.).

As it has got known, numerical unimportant U.P.A. units have crossed the borders of the U.S.-Zones to Germany and Austria in consequence of this raid.

We regret stating these reports and news to come more often from Soviet sources or from those of the satellite states of the U.S.S.R. Thus they abound in inaccuracies, mischievings, distortions and false informations to such extent, that the public of the world hardly could get informed objectively and fully of what is really going on behind the "iron curtain". These false informations refer in particular to the liberation movements of those peoples, subjugated by the eastern totalism. This way most of the news-agencies and of the falling-in news-offices are doing moral injustice to the liberation-movements of the subjugated peoples that are not only defending the interests of their own peoples, but are also sheltering the western civilisation from the totalitarian barbarism of the East. This way are wronged as the U.P.A. as the whole Ukrainian people recently.

In the reports of combats of the U.P.A. with Soviet, Czech and Polish troops the Ukrainian insurrectionists are called "bandits", "collaboratorists", "war-criminals", "SS-men". There are even asser-

ted to be common "criminal elements" with the U.P.A. (see the news of the "United Press", Frankfurt of September 14, 1947). Similar distortions, falsehoods and unfounded indictments are also directed against Stephan Bandera, the Ukrainian politician, by charging him to have collaborated with the Germans during the German occupation of Ukraine, to then have held high positions, to be a "general", an "Hungarian nationalist" who had killed a Polish State-Secretary.— Such and more fancyful, contrived news are being spread.

No wonder, naturally, the Bolshevik propaganda spreads such fictitious news about the fight of the Ukrainian people, his fighters for freedom and his politicians. As the Ukrainian people is waging a merciless war of defense against the Bolshevik totalism since 30 years, the motives for a propaganda-warfare of this kind must be obvious to mankind. Quite well-known is the habit of the Bolsheviki to attack hardest everyone of their adversaries in views and policy and to dirty him to the worst. All the democratic West is declared by the Bolshevik propaganda to be nothing but a world of capitalists, imperialists, plutocrats, sweaters and oppressors of small nations, war-instigators, and the like, which by the way are all catchwords out of Goebbel's poison-bag. However it strikes nobody's mind, knowing the value of Bolshevik propaganda, to see the democratic world in the distorting mirror of Bolshevik propagandistic agitation and perversion. Nor is falling for such a mistake the Ukrainian people behind the "iron curtain", nor does it fall for the tissue of lies of the supporters of the Communist dictatorship. However numerous people are doing this mistake, where is concerned the fight of the Ukrainian people. The Western journalist who rejects with just indignation as a matter of course the Bolshevik charge, him or one of his collegues or even his State Department to be war-instigators, as he has had sufficient chances to check the inner truth of the Soviet propaganda, he often happens at the same time to rely without further consideration to Bolshevik sources, which defame most slanderously the Ukrainian people and its fight for freedom.

To counter in part these defamations and to help the truth to prevail we beg to submit some informations to you concerning the above mentioned topic.

1. In 1917 after the outbreak of the revolution in tsarish Russia the independent Ukrainian state was set up to bear the name „Ukrainian People's Republic". The Bolshevik government of the commissaries of the people in Moscow invaded Ukraine, and after four years of war succeeded to occcupy the territory of the Ukrainian Republic and to install there a red Quisling government.

2. Up to 1941 the Ukrainian people went on with its liberation-fight against the set-up puppy-government. This fight took on the forms of armed insurrections and of an illegal counter-movement.
3. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, by the coup d'état of June 30, 1941, the reinstallment of self-government of Ukraine by the Ukrainian National Assembly was proclaimed and a government set up. Shortly after that the chairman, members of the government and numerous Ukrainian politicians were arrested and thrown into prison and concentration camps. As soon as on June 30, 1941 Stephan Bandera, chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), was arrested, put into prison to Berlin and later on transferred to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen, where he stayed during the war of Eastern Europe.

Commander-in-Chief of an Insurgent group and his staff

4. As an answer to the German policy of extermination in Ukraine a hard underground fight began: terror was answered by parry. This national underground movement served in 1942 as basis for the setting-up of a resistance army, bearing the name of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. (Ukrainian abbreviation U.P.A.) From then on the U.P.A. is fighting for the freedom of the Ukrainian people, i. e. at first against the occupation by the German, now the Bolshevik totalism. As the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) played a leading role, and as it is playing it now too in

the fight against the Bolshevik totalism, and as the O.U.N. was of great merit for setting-up the U.P.A., these U.P.A.-fighters are called "Banderiwtsi" by the Bolshevik propaganda, after the name of the O.U.N.-chairman Bandera. The chief-commander of the U.P.A. is general Chuprynka. Stephan Bandera is one of the leading politicians.

5. In 1943 already the U. P. A. became the most important center of resistance against the German policy of oppression in Eastern Europe. It had seized whole regions of Ukraine and set up there its own administration service to that extent that the German administration was quite put out of action there.

   The U. P. A. having joined different Ukrainian political forces being ready to fight with arms the German occupation, in 1944 still under German occupation the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (Ukrainian abbreviation U. H. W. R.) took its rise as the political head office for the resistance, with power over all fields of political life. It so became the national head-government office of Ukraine, in opposition to the puppy-government by the good graces of Moscow, the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. The U. H. W. R. is keeping on operating in Ukraine and leading the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people and thus the military operations of the U. P. A. too.
6. With the U. P. A., having fought against the German totalism and still fighting against the Bolshevik totalism, never have been SS-man, Wlassow-soldiers or Germans, not to speak of bandits. For the U. P. A. has fought against the SS., the Wlassow-units, as it is fighting now against the N. K. W. D.-troops. There cannot exist within the U. P. A. any criminals, as it is an insurgent army of a subjugated people struggling for political freedom. During the German occupation of the Ukraine there were military units of other subjugated peoples with the U. P. A. Such units are now also in the lines of the U. P. A., fighting shoulder on shoulder with the Ukrainians against the Bolshevik dictatorship. During the recent military raids of the U. P. A. through Czechoslovakia the Slovakian people has welcomed most favourably the U. P. A.-soldiers and has supported them in any way, numerous Slovakians even have enlisted for the U. P. A.
7. In May this year the governments of the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia have put up a military agreement to counter-fight the Ukrainian insurrectionists. This agreement has been directed especially against the units of the U. P. A.-group "West", which were fighting west of the so-called Curzon-Line. (The

western Ukrainian border of Yalta.) The united strong military forces of the three agreeing states did not succeed to annihilate the U. P. A.-units.

As Poland, supported by the Soviet Union, transferred by force the Ukrainian population of this area into the territory of the Soviet Union and exiled the Ukrainian leftover to now Polish East Prussia, the greater part of the U. P. A.-units there were forced to fall back into Ukraine to join there the main forces of the U. P. A. Some units are still staying in the woodregions there, some started in early June an armed raid through Czechoslovakia to the west and the south. Small partitions of these units crossed the Czech border and are now in the U.S.-Zones of Germany and Austria.

8. The U. P. A.-units that have left the Ukrainian land and are operating now in the territory of the satellite states of Moscow have joined the front of the combined fight for liberation of these peoples against the Bolshevik oppression and the Moscow-sponsored puppet-governments. In Ukraine itself, where the main forces of the U. P. A. are operating, the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people is going on.
9. The Ukrainian D. P.'s (Displaced Persons) not willing to return to their homeland in Ukraine, while there is raging and triumphing the Bolshevik dictatorship, are backing up fully their brethren, the U. P. A.-fighters. They expect the democratic governments of the West to grant the right of sanctuary to those U. P. A.-units forced to march west, as for fighters for progressive ideals of freedom against oppression, reaction and dictatorship.

By submitting the above information to you we are hoping best you will use them in your sphere of activity and will consider them as cource of information for the most actual problem of today's Eastern Europe. By screening the situation behind the "iron curtain" according to the truth and especially by giving a true account of the goals of the subjugated peoples fighting for their liberation, you not only serve the objective truth, which the world has to know, but you serve your country, too. For the question of the defensive war against totalism and dictatorship is not only a question of life for the Ukrainian people and others, oppressed by the Bolshevism, but also a question of life for all the civilized world.

For the editor of the "Ukrainian Tribune"

WOULD THE ATOM BOMB SAVE GREAT BRITAIN? IS THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLISH SPEAKING NATIONS SUFFICIENT PROTECTION FROM THE MENACE OF BOLSHEVISM?

(An Open Letter of Ukrainian Insurgents to Mr. W. Churchill)

Dear Sir:

We beg your pardon if in our letter some technical, stylistic, linguistical errors should occur. The conditions in which we must work do not give any possibility to elaborate these things as perfectly as it is our desire. Our home is sometimes a forest, sometimes a mountainous wilderness, and seldom a village in our country. We are constantly in action and in fight, not only against our enemies but also against yours which are one of the most inconsiderate enemies in the world.

We write to you because your addresses delivered in March, 1946 in USA. and above all your first address delivered in Fulton evoked a very large interest and echo all over the Soviet Union, and in wide Ukrainian circles it occasioned the most lively echo. For it was the first test of an open critic of Soviet policy from the side of the most eminent political personality of today. Besides, it is generally known that you get occasion to perceive well the Soviet policy also by very direct observation at the time of your co-operation with the Soviet Union during the last war. Just for that reason your opinion on this question is of greatest importance and weight.

The sharp reaction of the official Soviet press including Stalin's addresses with brutal replics to your speech awakened here still more general interest in this speech, and that generally in the relations of you and of this part of the world opinion represented by you to "our" Soviet Union. Here we have got so far on that you are called by the Soviet press openly "a war criminal", "the only war criminal who is not yet in prison" or you are considered to be put, sooner or latter, before the trial and to be condemned.

It is quite clear that the giant majority of the Soviet Union's ci-

tizens is displeased with this propaganda of the Sovietmen. Especially we Ukrainians as well as the other peoples oppressed nationally and socially by the Russian, Bolshevistic, oppressive, dictatorial, totalistic regime have welcomed your action. We take it from your address as well as from the political situation which has been created lately that the Bolshevistic policy is more and more perceived and comprehended in the world. We see also that there are still wise poli-

Late Col. Konyk and his staff

ticians who are really foreseeing the further development of events, and are warning their peoples and all the world against the menacing danger. It is the first case since the last war, that a leading statesman is acting with an open criticism on Soviet Russia.

Rightly you warned from the unrestrained, illimitable rapacity of Soviet Russia. We should add to this many an explanation as to the present rapacious policy of Soviet Russia which has been and is being applied to us and as to what it is preparing for other nati-

ons. When you and other statesmen beyond the borders of the Soviet Union and beyond the famous "iron curtain" by remote observation, are only guessing what may be going on here, then we, the compulsory inhabitants of the "red paradise", know accurately by our own daily experience that the Soviet Union is doing with all her forces gigantic preparations for its farther conquest of the whole world. All these preparations in the economic, industrial, military and politico-propagandistical sphere are so wide, so universal, and so intensive that they will create already in the next future a great danger for the rest of the world if in this world there would not be found any power able to prevent immediately this increasing danger.

By experience of the last war the dictators of the Soviet Union are convinced that the centralistic, totalistic regime which reigned in Hitler Germany, and is also applied by the Bolshevistic system, secures a giant superiority over all other systems in the sphere of military preparations. Having a totalistic, illimited power over the immense territories, over hundred millions of men, —slaves of this totalistic power—, they can prepare war better than their adversaries.

All the mighty apparatus of the official Soviet propaganda has mobilized already today, with maximal effort, all the powers of hatred against its future adversaries on the battlefield, in the first place against Great Britain and the United States. Ten million men are exercising already today, very intensively, in the future mastery of military art. Hundred million men are incessantly working in the sweat of their brows, producing in feverish race all the necessary war utensils. No one else in the world can keep so strongly under restraint millions of men. No one can force so keenly and unconsiderately millions of men to the gravest and most exhaustive work, and extort from millions of men so much sweat and trouble for his military machine.

The totalitarian Soviet regime is in possession of millions of slaves, out of which it extorts the last sweat, giving them almost nothing for it; by this means it is edifying its gigantic, military preparations of up to now stupendous measures.

The dictators of Soviet Russia know that they are competitiveless in all the world as to the totalitarian exploitation of the powers of millions of slaves, their citizens, and of all resources of their immense territory. They know that they are competitiveless as to the mobilization of the propaganda in the whole world and as to the totalitarian exploitation of an absolute secrecy of what is going on inside of their empire behind the "Iron Curtain". On the other hand they know their competitiveless possibilities of the best totalitarian gaining

of important informations of their adversaries by the help of numerous cominternal feelers, quislings and red five columnists. And they know that they are competitiveless as to many other matters which are of greatest importance for the preparation of war.

The Soviet dictators know very well their competitiveless superiority over their adversaries, and mind that the time is working for themselves, and they only need some, not very large, period of peaceful interval, for the exploitation of their multifarious superiority in the sphere of war preparations, to prepare themselves entirely for the final attempt to conquest the world. These are not at all fantastic inventions, nor conjunctures, but quite real facts. Therefore, the warning voice of you, Mr. Churchill, is extraordinarily actual. All the world should be thankful for it to you.

Nevertheless your conclusions deduced from this state of matters have awaked here grave reservations. You affirm, with a great dose of right, that in Europe, and in all the world, the danger of Bolshevism is growing up and you assert that the soul of Great Britain and the United States are still exempt from this plague.

We should answer you that not only Great Britain and the United States are exempt from communo-bolshevism, but, in the first place a whole lot of East European peoples enslaved by Russia are inmost free from communo-bolshevism and are actively opposing and fighting it by force of arms. But as to the rest of Europe and even of the world your assertion corresponds to the real state.

We should ask, however, why is that so? Where lies the reason for the continually growing influence of the communo-bolshevism upon the world?

On the other side, if one asserts the existence of so grave a danger, one should immediately seek for some efficacious advice, for some exit. You have answered this question, but we cannot hide our doubt as to the righteousness and efficatiousness of the recipe recommended by you.

Concerning the first question, where we should find the reasons for the continually growing Bolshevistic influence upon the world, our answer is: there are three important reasons for it. The first is the dissatisfaction of many peoples with their present conditions the erroneus solution and wretchedness that reign in many a country and the breach of the declarations of the Atlantic Charter. The second one is, that many peoples living beyond the "iron curtain" do not know the truth about Soviet Russia, do not know how many enslaved peoples are living and suffering within this prison of peoples, do not know the Soviet regime to be a typical, total-terroristic regime, do not know how many shootings and arrests are done here daily,

do not know how many concentration camps, what social inequality and unjustice what exploitation, misery and general blood-thirsty terror, are here, and do not know what a great national oppression is inflicted on Ukraine and other peoples enslaved by Soviet Russia.

If other peoples knew better the Soviet reality, there would certainly not be among them any adherents of this bloody, red totalism. Alas! Just nobody knows these facts! All that Europe knows about Soviet Russia, it knows from the Bolshevistic propaganda or from arranged journeys of various personalities who cannot perceive the lowliness of life here. No trifle are guilty these same satesmen who although knowing more of the truth, keep silent about it, or are telling just reverse, guided by tactics of diplomatical regards. Yet this way they mislead the world's opinion and help the Bolshevists in their work.

How many times, for instance, have you exalted to the skies Soviet Russia and her bloodthirsty tyrants, and sometimes are exalting still today, although y o u k n e w about the r e a l state of things. With pain and sorrow we have read here these praises, delivered by various statesmen in the world, in honour of the Russian prison of nations and Bolshevistic tyranny. Up to now there has been no responsible statesmen in the world who would have as much courage and honour as to say the whole truth about Soviet Russia without diplomatic wrappings and subterfuges. We understood well the necessity of diplomatical play with this "Ally" during the war against Hitler Germany. Nevertheless this permanent policy of silently and secretly keeping "appeased" the Red totalitarians surpassed the limits of necessity, and in consequence created a new important Bolshevistic danger to the world. Please do not wonder then that in all Europe and in all the world the menace of Bolshevism is growing up. How many times did you praise Stalin and Soviet Russia and are praising it still today at the same time when your friends in Soviet Russia appreciate you only to be a "war-criminal"? How many times did vou whitewash with the stream of glib, diplomatic words the dreadful Soviet reality? How many times have you hidden before the peoples of the world the real face of Soviet Russia for momentary advantages you could get. It is self-evident that the Soviets begin to gather the results of your practice now.

This error will take bitterly revenge on all, if the directors of international politics will not immediately repair their mistakes and find a radical solution. As long as matters in the world are so rotten, that of a slight shot in Palestine, Syria, Indonesia, Greece or another deaf spot of the world they will write for months in all their papers in

the whole world, will convoke conferences, commissions, carry on consultations, pertractions, and bring the causes before the Security Council but that no one will even open the mouth, about what happens here in the Soviet Union, though here runs blood in torrents, and rages the struggle like in a true real war; though the Soviet Union leads a policy of bloody extermination of whole peoples and religions and on the other side whole peoples are heroically waging war against Soviet Russia, as long you cannot expect that the Bolshevistic influence in Europe may lessen. As long as you, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin will veil the truth about Soviet Russia and will keep on with the Bolshevists the political play, dissimulating that you do not see the bare Soviet reality, as long you may not hope to remove in any way the Bolshevistic danger. It will knock at your doors very soon.

Here in Ukraine, already for a couple of years a vehement fight against the Bolshevist slavery and tyranny is rolling. The best powers of all the Ukrainian people are inflexibly fighting with most effort for the liberty and independence of its country. In the last war this fight has grown up to the dimensious of a real war. The Baltic countries too, captured by Moscow by violence and fraud, betrayed and abandoned by the rest of the world, are combatting for their liberty. We cannot say at all that the predominance of the Moscow-Bolshevistic tyrants in Poland is the result of Communistic influence in this country. It is but the result of violence. Meanwhile you assert Great Britain's and the United States' soul to be exempt from this pestilence. You had better tell of the real "influence" of the Communism which in our countries consists but owing to the brutal violence of an strange invader. It would be better if the world-opinion could get from you the knowledge of the whole truth about the Soviet prison of nations, about the bloody tyranny of the Red tsars and about the liberating desperado-fight of the subjugated nations. You have been the con-creator of the Atlantic Charter and we hope that you desire to be the herald of the free world of the future. Therefore it would be very important in many respects if you would tell your people the whole truth about the Bolshevism, because the first step to combat the influence of Communo-Bolshevism in the world is just to open the eyes of the ignorants by the frank declaration of the truth about the Soviet reality without wrapping anything in the wraps of diplomatic considerations.

The third reason for the dilatation of Bolshevistic influences in the world—is the fluctuating, yielding, conciliative policy of the chief powers of the world in relation to the Bolshevistic policy. The Bolshevists showed themselves masters above all in the art of exploiting the mistakes of others. Today they exploit very skillfully the opportunistic adjustment of the West-European and American politicians who desire by all means to avoid for as long as possible the explosive of an open conflict. Knowing it the Bolshevists play at short-delay to gain time for their final preparations for the world-clash. Just in this, in the shortsightedness and opportunism of many statesmen responsible for the course of the international life, in their submissiveness to the Bolshevistic blackmailings, provocations and plays at delay—lies the third reason for the increase of the Bolshevistic danger for the world.

It will help nothing to complain about the dissolving effect of the Bolshevistic influence in the world. In the first place, it is necessary to remove all reasons for the rising and growing of the Bolshevistic disease. It is necessary to change the policy and tactics of the responsible directors of the chief democratic powers who, by their up to now feeble and fluctuating policy of retreats, made possible the dilatation of the power and influence of Soviet Russia in many countries. It is necessary to remove radically all causes for general discontent which prevails in various countries, because on it the cancer of Bolshevism lives and spreads.

Yet the most important thing which alone can free the world permanently from this danger and shame of the XX. century—which is for the human culture the existence of the bloodthirsty, Bolshevistic tyranny—is the liquidation of the said source of the disease, i. e. the liquidation of the Bolshevistic power and empire. Otherwise if that task would not successfully carried out in short time, the Bolshevistic danger would grow up very soon to enormous measures. It would come then the moment you speak so eloquently of, that all the human civilization would be endangered in its foundations. But, perhaps it would be then too late. Another moment may come much sooner than it is thought by you, perhaps.

And there is no one in the world, even among the most clear-sighted statesmen who could perceive the whole immensity of this danger and of this calamity! Who will understand and perceive the proper essence of the spectre of the Red Bolshevistic Fascism? Let them ask us Ukrainians, who have lived under its yoke for almost 30 dreadful years. No one else but who had lived for a longer period of time in this red "paradise", can perceive the proper essence of it. But even what you have said in your address is sufficient to evoke in the world the liveliest alarm and to incline the politicians to find remedies.

"The danger of Bolshevism is growing up day by day"—you warn.

What shall we do in this situation? How shall we counteract, where find the exit from this situation?

To find the proper answer to this question is most important. And here the chief mistake of your argumentations seems to us to lie. For after having asserted that a menace of continual dilatation of Communo-Bolshevism is hanging over the world, you advise simply the alliance of the English speaking peoples. If, having pushed forward the project of such an Alliance, you have meant by that the necessity

Polish-Ukrainian fraternization in the woods

of mutual war preparations of Great Britain and the United States in view of an approaching World War III, we could understand it. But it is not at all sufficient as you do not give any advice, how to object, how to counteract, how to remove the proper peril which lies in the continual increase of the Bolshevistic influence. Just to be joined to the circle of Great Britain and the United States, is not sufficient today any more, even for the safety of these same countries. For what would be then,—and all the rest of world would deliver up as spoil to Bolshevist flood, as they have delivered once Ukraine, White Russia, and peoples of Caucasus, later the Baltic countries and now

the rest of Europe and of world beeing closed in the alliance of Balkans and Poland, and are amounting already the abandoning of "English speaking nations?" From such a policy would not come any safety even for themselves but a very quick catastrophy. How many times was the world already assured of the indivisibility of safety today rightly? Perhaps you believe the atom bomb will save Great Britain and the United States even when the flood of Bolshevism will submerge all Europe and Asia? Perhaps having atom bombs you want to defend yourselves and win the war even doing so without the other peoples? For why did not answer most important question, how to counteract against the increase of the Bolshevistic power and influence in the world?

The English-American Alliance, however, will not hinder this process. On the contrary, the abandonment of the other peoples on such important fields of the farther development of the world's politics, may still sooner cast these peoples into the embraces of the Bolshevistic polyp. If one asserts the gravest danger to be the constant increment of the Bolshevistic influence in the numerous countries of Europe and the world, then the first task should be to find remedies against it. The plan of a close military alliance of Great Britain and the United States with the scope of efficacious preparations of military forces of these powers for the inevitably approximating World War III, that will be one thing: at the same time yet must follow the action against the Bolshevism, and the preparation for the trial at an all-world-scale among all peoples of the world. It depends above all on those peoples now under Bolshevistic yoke, because on their attitude will depend in the first place the degree of weakness of Bolshevistic Russia in this near world-trial, to which trends the development of things.

We acknowledge greatly and esteem highly the culture and power of the Anglo-Saxonian peoples. However, we can assure you that if you will exclusively restrict the defense and fight against the Bolshevism to endeavours for the safety of your own peoples, neglecting others, especially the peoples already, subjugated by Russia, i. e. Ukraine. White Russia, the Baltic peoples, the peoples of the Caucasus, the peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe—then nothing will help Great Britain. Neither even the most powerful atom bomb, nor the Alliance with the United States of America would save Great Britain! If the Bolshevistic polyp would reign over ther immense spaces from Vladivostok to Central Europe; from the North Pole to the Mediterranean Sea, and if its followers would grew as you asserted on the rest of Europe and Asia and even another continent, if

it wrapped up with its hundred branches more than milliard men there would not exist then any ocean, any bomb which could hinder it. Sterile and vain are all such hopes.

Nothing but the instantaneous fight against the Bolshevism and its Russian fortress, the fight in an all-world round-up, embracing all peoples of the world an all spheres of life, could create an efficatious bolt and put an end to its development. It is necessary to match the universal wordly wide, decomposing stormy action of the Bolshevism by similarly eager preparations. And it is necessary to find the definitive way, that is to decide courageously to remove this constant peril by the liquidation of its Russian fortress.

If the menace of the Bolshevism shall definitively be removed, if the world shall repose at last, and if shall begin an epoch of durable, peaceable development,—there must be liquidated the last source of disturbance, war and tyranny which is Bolshevistic Russia. Without being based on the power of the Russian empire, without the connection with the uncommon strong, rapacious Russian imperialism, the Communism would never be and the Bolshevism would never become such a menace and danger for all the world and the human civilization. Russia is properly an enormous prison of numerous, once independent nations which it succeeded to subjugate under its power in the course of history. Today it is continuing the same policy of dilatation of her power under the shape of propaganda of Communism or socialism. The question of a durable liquidation of the Bolshevistic peril is, therefore, the question of the liquidation of this prison for peoples, which is Bolshevistic Russia, the question of the recuperating of liberty and independence by the peoples enslaved in this prison of peoples. Russia has grown up to the great world-power which began to menace the world-security only after having subjugated under its power Ukraine and other peoples. Russia would cease to be the menacing aggressor if it were dispossessed of the reign over Ukraine and other peoples of the Black and Baltic Sea Basin. That is the most important, the most far-going question on which will depend in a decisive degree the future shape of the world.

The organization of the fight against the dilatation of Bolshevistic-propaganda in the world as well as the organization of the fight for liquidation of the nest and source of Bolshevistic Russian empire—is, in the first place, the question of organization of those European powers which have learnt at best by their own experience the proper essence of Bolshevism and are leading for a long time already the active fight against it. As to that Ukraine with its revolutionary, progressive, anti-Bolshevistic, liberating movement may serve as a pattern to many a nation.

Your affirmation, Mr. Churchill, surprises us very much that Great Britain and the United States have not yet succumbed to the Bolshevistic influence and that you put in them only your hope in the fight for saving the human civilization from the barbarism of the totalitarian Red tyranny.

We should like, therefore, to point out here, that Ukraine lives already for 30 full years under the dreadful yoke of the Bolshevistic Russian occupation and endures, on account of this, extremely great, bloody sacrifices; nevertheless it has not succumbed to the Red's influence. If the Ukrainian people had today the possibility of the free expression of its will, as, for instance, in Great Britain—then you would ascertain that here, in Ukraine, there are much less adherents to Communism than in any other country.

As to the active fight against the Bolshevistic tyranny the Ukrainian nation takes indisputablely the first place. Notwithstanding the most dreadful and bloody mass—persecutions which are equal solely to the Hitleristic ones—the Ukrainian people is leading, still now, a very large, political and armed, revolutionary liberating fight against the Bolshevistic occupation for its liberty and independence. In this fight the Ukrainian people is standing in a common liberating front with other peoples subjugated by Moscow. This fight is led today in the first place by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which is delivering unnumbered bloody struggles with the Bolshevistic invader. This fight assumes very often such great mass-dimensions that it may equal to real war-battles. In this fight against the occupation by Soviet Russia Ukraine has suffered till now as great sacrifices as the other nations did not even endure in all the former wars. There are in the world not many peoples that in fight for their liberty have offered so many sacrifices as has offered and continues to offer till today our country in a heroical fight relying exclusively on its own forces. We are surprised and sorry whenever our gigantic investment into the anti-Bolshevistic fight is overlooked.

Concluding these our considerations, we underline once more, that the exact knowledge of the Bolshevistic reality, from direct observations for many years and from a perpetual right against the red tyrants and the knowledge of its connection with Russia's old imperialistic, rapacious, aggressive tendencies teaches that the permanent liquidation of the Red Russian prison of nations must connected with the creation, of a file of free national organisms on its place.

Such a policy would agree with the sublime paroles of the Atlantic Charter, and, in case of the so imminent and inevitable war against Bolshevistic Russia, would contribute to the deliverance of the power-

ful, national energies, enslaved in the tyrannical irons of this empire. These energies would enable, in a most eminent way the victory in this war that otherwise would be dubious.

The famous, for centuries wellknown, sagacity of the English political art which always consisted in the capacity of gaining other peoples to its own side, would play in the imminent trial against the Bolshevists a very great and very decisive part,—if only the English policy could find the most suitable solution in order not to maintain the totality of the Russian empire but to chose the line of dividing it into the constituent national parts according to the just ethnographical principles.

This our letter which we turn to you and your congenials we cannot, alas, sign with our own names, as it is usually admitted in the democratic cultural world. We are writing it, however, in the name of our very numerous like-minded countrymen who have learned your address from numerous conspirative editions and have assumed such an attitude towards it as it is suggested above.

Our endeavours, in as expressed in the present letter, represent before the world, beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union the thoughts and ideas of the Ukrainian insurgents, united in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This army is directed politically by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council which is now the supreme politico-representative organ of the independent will of the Ukrainian nation.

We remain, Sir, very respectfully

Yours

Ukrainian Insurgents.

In the Carpathian Mountains, October 1946.

THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND

By Nicholas D. Chubaty

Condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly", New York.

It may seem strange to the average American to speak of the Ukrainian Underground. About a year ago at San Francisco an "independent" Ukraine was admitted to the family of United Nations. Its chief representative, Dmytro Manuilsky, has taken a prominent part in denouncing the imperialism of the democracies and has vociferously attacked Great Britain for blocking the right of the Indonesians to national independence. He has followed the policies of Stalin and the Soviet Union in every particular and meanwhile Soviet propagandists and their American fellow travelers boast that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union has been solved and that "Soviet ethnic democracy" has brought about a new sigh in national relations. To all such people the Ukrainian Underground can be merely composed of unrepentant and benighted capitalists and their dupes, people who do not understand the great blessings of being expelled from their homes, forced into collective farms, starved and deported by millions, to enhance the glory of Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party and Moscow.

Yet the record of the purges, the constant illusions to the menace of Ukrainian nationalism by high Soviet leaders, all point out the living vitality of the real Ukrainian spirit, not that Moscow-inspired Communist organisation that appears at all international gatherings and bows obsequiously to Moscow at every turn. It is that spirit burst forth with new vigor during the confusion of World War II and has written a new page in the Ukrainian struggle for liberty and democracy, as the civilized world understands those terms. It is this native Ukrainian movement that formed the Ukrainian Underground which fought for Ukraine against all the invaders of the country. The Soviets, the Germans and the Poles all hated admit its existence but as we pass into the post-war world and survey the problems of eastern Europe, we are struck by the vitality of this little-known real

effort of men and women struggling against great odds to regain their liberty.

It will remain impossible for the western democracies to understand fully the origins and aims of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement against all occupants of Ukraine, i. e. the Soviets, the Germans and Poles, as long as one sixth of the globe, ruled by the Stalin dictatorship, is shut off by an iron curtain, past which no American journalist can penetrate. That curtain has the definite purpose, of screening from view all the evils and sores of the Soviet system, all the racial discrimination against Soviet dominated peoples, all the religious persecution of the non-Orthodox, and finally all the exploitation within all the Soviet boundaries by the Moscow-dictated regime. It is against this Soviet system, under which the highly publicized "sovereign" Soviet republics are actually treated as mere provinces of Moscow and mercilessly exploited, that the peoples of Soviet Russia are rebelling. It is precisely against this system that the Ukrainian underground came into being.

During the first three years of the war the existence of the Ukrainian underground was deliberately ignored not only by the Reds but by the Nazis and Poles as well. The Nazis remained silent about it even when it was fighting against the Reds, just as the latter kept quiet about it when it was warring against the Nazis. For neither was it convenient to recognize it for what it was, a force representing the centuries-old Ukrainian independence movement.

Nazi Fight Against 1941 Declaration of Ukrainian Independence.

Rumors of the existence of the Ukrainian underground leaked out to the outside world in the early years of the war. These were vague but the first clearcut report was that of Arvid Fredborg, Berlin correspondent of the Swedish daily, the Svenska Dagbladet, in his book "Behind the Steel Wall", published in 1944 by the Viking Press in New York. In it he revealed the existence of a strong independence movement in Ukraine which was so disrupting Nazi plans there, that the Nazi gauleiter of Ukraine, Erich Koch, conducted a purge of Ukrainian nationalists.

"To the jubilation of Moscow", wrote Fredborg, "Koch cleaned out the Ukrainian nationalists. An informed German explained this to me as follows: "Since we ourselves plan to take over the entire Ukrainian territory after the war", he said, "naturally no Ukrainian nationalism can be allowed to grow up". Under such conditions it

is readly understandable why German eastern policy was a fiasco. But that was not enough. The administration succeeded in whipping up among the Ukrainians a real hatred for Germany. Masses of Ukrainian nationalists were shot — after having been betrayed, it is said, by Russians whom the Germans had taken into their service. Among these men were former Ogpu agents.

The purge of Ukrainian nationalists mentioned by Fredborg was a result of the events which occurred during the Nazi advance upon the Soviets. The main event was the proclamation of the Ukrainian Independent State in Lviw on June 30, 1941.

Behind the proclamation was the Organization of Ukrainian Na-

The arms are cleaned every day

tionalists, which under the leadership of its Western Ukrainian leader, Stephen Bandera, had been active in this terrain already during the time of Polish rule. The proclamation was made immediately following the Soviet evacuation of Western Ukraine.

The president of the revolutionary parliament of the new Ukrainian state was the venerable Dr. Kost Levitsky, the premier of the Western Ukrainian Republic in 1918. Its premier was Yaroslav Stetzko, one of the leaders of the Western Ukrainian underground during the time of Polish rule.

The proclamation of Ukrainian independence was an utter surprise to the Germans and placed them in an awkward position. For

them to approve this "fait accompli" was equivalent to the abandonment of their plans to transform Ukraine into a colony of the German Lebensraum. On the other hand, to oppose it would be to reveal their real plans at the very outset of their military penetration of Eastern Europe and thereby array its peoples against them from the beginning. In the light of their strategy, the latter meant the loss of great sources of assistance, for they realized the significance of the mass desertion of non-Russian soldiers of the Red Army during the first months of the war.

In the face of this dilemma the Germans at first pretended not to notice the presence of the new Ukrainian state administration. This was not particularly hard since the war with the Soviets was then demanding all their attention. The first break in this pseudo-armistice between the Germans and the Ukrainian nationalists was Hitler's decree of August 1, 1941 making Western Ukraine a part of the Polish Gouvernment General.

This act immediately aroused the Ukrainian underground against the Nazis. Organized groups of Ukrainian propagandists, the so-called "Advance Groups", gradually filtered eastward into pre-war Soviet Ukraine, up to the very Soviet-Nazi front, and organized local Ukrainian administrative units wherever they went. In this they were aided by the German preoccupation with their advance so that they left virtually unoccupied, the territory which they had captured, except for their lines of communication.

Soon the advocates of Ukrainian national independence penetrated into the very capital of Ukraine itself, Kiev. There it was planned to proclaim the establishment of an independent Ukraine state. Just about that time, however, the first clash between the German and Ukrainian independents took place. A Nazi order directing the transporting of Ukrainians as workers to Germany was countered by the leadership of the Ukrainian underground with an order forbidding it. The Nazi replied by mass arrests of Ukrainian nationalists. In one day alone, September 15, 1941, the Nazis not only arrested all the members of the Ukrainian government but also several thousands of Ukrainian nationalists, especially the regional leaders. Tens of thousands of them were sent to concentration camps, while thousands of others were executed. This was the purge wich Fredborg mentions in his book, and which led to the creation of a Ukrainian underground army to fight against the Nazis and later against the Soviets as well.

Reports on Ukrainian Underground From Behind the Iron Curtain.

No matter how the Bolsheviks have attempted to conceal the very existence of the Ukrainian underground forces, they have from time to time involuntarily brought out its existence quite strikingly. The first such affirmation was the appeal made publicly in July, 1944, by the Premier of the Ukrainian SSR, N. S. Khrushchev to members of the Ukrainian underground forces. Several weeks later a similar appeal was made by President Hrechukha of the Ukrainian SSR.

The existence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (in Ukrainian: Ukrainska Povstancha Armiya-UPA) was further affirmed by Comrade Manuilsky in April, 1945, in the course of an address given at the University of Lviv and acknowledging the award to him of an honorary degree. Finally, another official acknowledgement by the Soviets of the army's existence was at the Moscow trial in June, 1945 of the Polish underground movement. According to the Moscow radio bradcast of June 22, one of the defendants tiestified that he had come to Poland upon orders of General Bor-Komarowski, leader of Polish armed forces outside of Poland, ostensibly in order to negotiate with Osubka-Morawski, then head of Polish Committee in Lublin (the present Polish Provisional Government), but actually to convey instruction to the underground Polish forces from their leader to contact immediately the staff of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) for the purpose of collaboration against the common enemy, Soviet Russia.

Following the early fragmentary reports more constant and detailed news about the Ukrainian underground forces fighting against the Reds made its appearance in the foreign press and over the radio. Thus on July 6, 1945 a Polish broadcast from London said: "For several days already the Red Army has been engaged in bloody and very costly fighting with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which has intensified its activities and opposition against the Communist regime".

Similarly, the London Polish daily, "Dziennik Polski", reported under the heading of "Banderivtsi in Eeastern Galicia", that since August, 1945 units of the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army", named Banderivtsi after their leader Bandera, have been operating in the forest regions of Rava Ruska-Yavoriv. In the last engagement the Reds lost 233 soldiers an 75 of their police, while the Banderivtsi lost 318 men".

In the course of his interview with American newsman in January, 1946, the Polish General Rola-Ziemierski revealed that in the fighting around Peremyshl between the Ukrainian underground forces and the Polish Army, 984 Ukrainians were slain while 3,500 were captured.

The pro-Soviet Polish forces have also been involved in this fighting. The New York Daily News reported in three dispatches of January 29, 30 and 31 of this year about the attacks upon the Poles by the Ukrainians because the former were actively lending themselves to Polish forcible repatriation of Ukrainian displaced persons west of the Curzon Line to the Soviets.

Some very significant reports on UPA was given to American correspondents by Colonel Yanoshek, a Slovak. According to him in the triangle formed by the Polish and the Czechoslovakian frontiers, between the towns of Sanok and Lupkiw, there is armed force of 20,000 Ukrainians fighting against Red Army detachments. This Ukrainian army is supposed to be well clothed, armed with light guns, and its insignia is the trident (an emblem of their national independence aspirations), which each soldier wears on his hat. It receives its supplies and arms by planes, dropped by parachute, and gets paid in American money. Yanoshek said that the army is anti-Russian as well as anti-Polish, but that it is on peaceful terms with the Czechs and the Slovaks. Its ultimate aim is to create an independent Ukrainian state and to help other enslaved European peoples gain their national Freedom. With the coming of spring, he added, its numbers and strength will be increased tenfold.

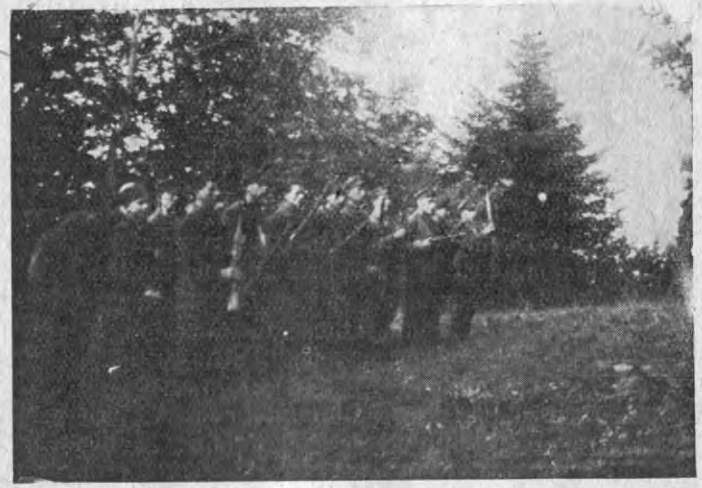
Other informants say that the size of this army is much greater, and that in it are not only Ukrainians but Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Caucasians and others, including a constantly increasing number of Red Army deserters. In all, it is supposed to number about eighty thousand men. Further information on it is added by Homer Bigart, a New York Herald Tribune reporter, in the April 18 dispatch. He details its activities, and stresses that the insurgents behave well toward the civilian populace, leave unscathed churches even when they have to destroy whole villages, and since they strive for an independent Ukraine they are both anti-Russian and anti-Polish.

Naturally, much more detailed information concerning the UPA is being drawn from Ukrainian sources themselves, including the official publications from the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation which represents the insurgent forces politically. From them it is clear that these forces constitute the strongest anti-Soviet movement in Europe to-day.

Rise of the UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The blow which the German dealt the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in September 1941 merely hastened the clash of the UPA with the Nazi invaders. Forerunners of the UPA appeared in northern Western Ukraine, in Volhynia.

These Ukrainian partisans became particularly active during the winter of 1942 when the Germans faced a crisis. At the time the partisans operated manly in the wooded sections of Volhynia, and centered their attention upon the railway line of Berlin- Warsaw, Kovel, Kiev, one of the principal lines of German communication.



Novices are drilled ordinarily in leasure hours

During that winter, too, the Red partisans also made their appearance, and were met with marked hostility by the nationalist partisans. To distinguish themselves from the Red partisans the nationalists adopted the name of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and set themselves up along strictly military lines. When spring arrived the UPA extended the scope of its action as far as the Dnieper river. Its ranks steadily grew in number, augmented by soldiers of other nationalists, as well as Red Army deserters.

In 1943 Ukrainian partisan units made their appearance in the southern part of Western Ukraine, and fought against both the Nazis

and the Reds. At that time they were mostly engaged in taking vengeance for the excesses committed against the populace by both the Nazis and the Reds. By summer, in Galicia, units of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense (as that it is the way the partisans called themselves) occupied most of the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian terrain. Their punitive expeditions, however, penetrated deeply all over. Already they had established their supply depots and officers schools.

When early in 1944 the counter-offensive began to roll to the eastern boundaries of Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian nationalists realized that they were about to face a foe who in some respects was even more powerful and merciless than the Germans. As a result the National Self-Defense units merged in the UPA, under one command.

The Conference of Soviet Enslaved Peoples' Representatives.

The rise of the UPA and its spirited fight against the Nazis and then the Reds as well, acted as a tonic to the other peoples enslaved by either or both of these oppressors. As a result of the well planned and directed propaganda of the UPA command, its armed detachments were in many cases treated as neutrals by the forces of the satellites of Nazi Germany. At the same time the political branch of UPA propagandized among those German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern Front. It was quite successful here as these former Red Army soldiers detested German imperialism and oppression as much as they did the Russians. A constantly increasing number of them, of White Ruthenians, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tartars and even Russians filtered into the ranks of UPA.

The net result of this process was the convening on November 21 and 22, 1943 of a conference of representatives of Soviet enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, attended by 39 delegates, and held somewhere between Western Ukraine and the Dnieper. The conference drew up a platform of common aims of the enslaved nationalities and adopted a common slogan: "Freedom of the Individual; Freedom of the Nations." This conference was similar to the one held in Kiev in 1917 of non-Russian peoples. Then as now Ukraine was acknowledged as the strongest bulwark of their freedom.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council

The second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets raised the apprehension that this occupation would turn out to be of long duration. The general strategy of the Ukrainian independence movement had to therefore be broadened and laid out accordingly. First of all, however, full national unity had to be secured.

This compelled the High Command of the UPA to create a united underground leadership, all-national and non-partisan in nature, namely, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, which came into being on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Western Ukraine. It included representatives from all parts of Eastern and Western Ukraine. The common aims of the Ukrainian underground find

Ukrainian Insurgents in ambuscade

eloquent expression in the Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, the text of which is quoted in part below.

Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council:

Ukrainian People!

Through revolution, with the arms of our finest sons, you rose in 1917—1918 and on the ruins of imperialism, under which you were enslaved for centuries, you created a Shrine of Freedom — the Ukrainian State.

Angry winds unfurled your victorious banners over all cities of Ukraine. They proudly flew over Kiev, Lviv, Chernihiv and Khust.

They led into battle the young Ukrainian Army and swirled on the war vessels of the Black Sea Fleet.

Your centuries-old enemies ruined this holy shrine but you, Ukrainian people, preserved it in your heart as a sanctosanct ancestral heritage. In the subsequent quarter of a century of your struggle for the freedom of the Ukrainian Land, for your own independent state, you made sacrifices running into millions of lives.

It is not in the cause of your freedom that the imperialistic aggrandizers are waging this bloody and cruel war. For you they bring only ruin, enslavement and death. You did not allow yourselves to become enslaved but demonstrated an unyielding determination to live in independent statehood on your native land. On guard over your freedom, you have set up-from the Carpathian peaks beyond the Don to the Caucasus-armed cadres of your sons—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Ukrainian People!

This gigantic task requires unprecedented tenacity, unprecedented devotion to the cause, but primarily the union of all independence revolutionary forces under one political leadership.

Therefore- in order to unite all national-liberation elements of the Ukrainian people, in order to direct their struggle for freedom from one common center, in order to represent their political will before the world, and finally in order to counter the attempts of the enemies of the Ukrainian nation to shatter a united Ukrainian independence front, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council has been brought into being. It has now taken over the direction of the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people.

Within the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council are banded together representatives of the Ukrainian revolutionary-liberation forces as well as of various political groupings from throughout all parts of Ukraine, who have adopted the independence platform as the only true one in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council is the supreme and sole governing organ of the Ukrainian people during the establishment of a government of a Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council swears before you, Ukrainian people, that:

It will fight to make you the sole master of your soil,

For a just social order without oppression and exploitation,

For the destruction of serfdom,

For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land,

For free enterprise for the worker,

For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of the economic order,

For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national culture.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council places on the altar of the struggle to attain these ideals its work and its very life.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council greets the struggle of enslaved people for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbors, in neighborly friendship and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies.

Ukrainian People!

We are conscious of the fact that our liberation struggle demands heroism and bloody sacrifices, and above all unshakable faith in your own truth. We believe in your creative powers, as only they are a guarantee of our victory.

We believe you will not bring shame upon your native land.

The heroic struggle of your ancestors and the memory of their knightly death in the cause of Ukrainian statehood — is a dictate to you.

We therefore call upon you: Rise and fight for your freedom and for your nation. Unite yourselves in your struggle, and strengthen your spirit.

Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

Headquarters, June, 1944.

In addition to issuing the above proclamation, the Council worked out a political program for the entire Ukrainian underground, revealing in it the principal bases upon which an Independent Ukrainian State would be founded. The program envisages a democratic process of installing government authority in a free Ukraine and reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their form of government. Economic democracy is also envisaged in it, but one based on the right of private ownership and free enterprise. The present communist system, alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to the spirit of the people, is to be replaced by a system of cooperatives, which have proved themselves very popular in Ukraine.

The provisional constitution of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council also makes provision for its administrative organs and the method of their election. Its center must always be in Ukraine, it says, with only its delegations permitted to go outside the borders.

The Struggle of the Ukrainian Underground against Soviet Russia.

The German retreat from Ukraine was utilized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to gather for its use as many weapons as possible and new methods of warring against Moscow were adopted. Thus the UPA detachments do not fight against the Red Army. Instead their agents circulate among the Red soldiers, assuring them that the action of the UPA is directed not against them but only against the NKVD men and the Communists in general who abuse the Ukrainian people.

The first aim of UPA action is to defend the Ukrainian people against their mobilization into the Red Army and also against the Soviet seizure and transportation our of Ukraine of its wheat and other grain. The action is also directed against the political demoralization of the populace by the occupying authorities. This is directed against not only the latter and their NKVD agents but also against any informers or collaborators who may be found among the populace itself.

The Ukrainian underground has by this time developed quite a good press service of its own, and has radio connections with the outside world. Its press organs are the periodicals "Ideya i Chyn" (Idea and Action), "Za Ukrainsku derzhavu" (For the Ukrainian Nation), "Povstanets" (Insurgent), as well as a humorous and satirical paper "Perets" (Pepper). The press organ of the Supreme Council is the periodical "Vistnyk UHVR", while the organ of the UPA Army is the "Vistnyk Informativny Sluzby UPArmiyi". Copies of these publications have by now arrived in this country.

The most recent important activity of the Supreme Council was the boycotting of the February, 1946 elections to the Supreme Soviet. That this action perturbed the Soviets can be seen from the Soviet press itself and also by the fact that Moscow mobilized Ukrainian scholars and writers to go out among the people and agitate against this boycott.

The struggle of the Ukrainian insurgent forces continues to the present day as periodical reports of it appear in the American press, as recently as early May of this year. The UPA organ itself gives of the raids made by UPA detachments upon NKVD centers and

troops, with exact figures given of how many of NKVD men are being killed, a figure which already runs into thousands. Likewise the number of UPA men killed is also given, together with citations of many of them for gallantry in action.

In retaliation the NKVD-ites burn entire villages and transport en masse their whole populations to forced labor camps, wherever they suspect there is any sympathy in the village for the Ukrainian underground movement. In this manner, within recent times the Ukrainian land has known more than one "Lidice".

In reality the struggle of the Ukrainian underground is a continu-

Ukrainians massacred on account of supporting Ukrainian Insurgents

ation of that centuries-old struggle which the Ukrainian people have been waging to win their national freedom, and which they revided with added fury in the quarter of a century following the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic, which rose into being in 1917 and was overthrown by the Bolsheviks and the Poles in 1920. The fight of the Ukrainian underground against the Soviets in reality lasted until the Second World War. At the same time for twenty years is resolute in its determination to keep on fighting for Ukrainian national independence until full victory is won.

To safeguard lasting peace it would be well if the western democracies were to look this reality of the Ukrainian situation under the

Soviets squarely in the face. They need to face openly the fact that behind the iron curtain of the Soviet Union there are millions of people who by tradition and spirit are one with them in their belief in the principles of liberty and democracy. They need to face clearly the fact that the Soviet Union is a prison of nations and not a new and better form of life and to bend every effort to pierce the iron curtain and make sure that the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms are respected everywhere. Then Ukraine will be truly represented by Ukrainians in the United Nations and mankind can have a sincere support in proceeding fearlessly on its great task of building a warless and prosperous world.

THE UPA FIGHTS THE KREMLIN

by Nicholas D. Chubaty

Condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly", New York

When about a year and a half ago, on the basis of authentic and trustworthy reports, the present writer discussed the Ukrainian Underground, and especially the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainska Povstancha Armia, UPA), he felt somewhat uncomfortable in his task. The statements made in that article seemed so sensational at that time that many of the readers of our Quarterly, must have surely refused to believe in the possibility of the existence of such a strong resistance movement directed against the all-powerful U.S.S.R.

Soviet Propaganda and Soviet Reality during the War.

To the average American reader such information was the more suspicious because the Communists and their Fellow-Travelers in this country had succeeded, by means of planned propaganda, which they conducted between 1940 and 1945, in so thoroughly besmirching the Ukrainian movement of liberation and in presenting it as a Nazi agency that all struggles to win the freedom of Ukraine from its Moscow conquerors at that time appeared suspicious, to say the least. Thousands of Ukrainians belonging to the movement of national independence, who were good democrats and enemies of all brands of totalitarianism, became victims of that same psychosis and were immediately after the fall of Germany, handed over to the Soviets by the occupation authorities of the Western democratic countries. That was done on the basis of shamelessly lying reports of the Soviet representatives in all the occupation zones of the Western Allies with regard to the fulfilment of the decisions reached at the Yalta conference of sad memory.

The anti-Ukrainian propaganda, expertly arranged by the Soviets, raged most fiercely at the time when tens of thousands of

Ukrainian patriots had already, as early as the fall of 1942, begun their struggle against the Nazi occupation forces in Ukraine, and were being executed by the German firing squads, or were filling to capacity the German concentration camps. To-day these facts have been corroborated by material one hundred percent certain and authoritative. But one cannot by that means resurrect the Ukrainian victims of Soviet cynicism.

The sympathy which this country had shown towards the Soviets during the past war simply closed the eyes of the people to the horrible reality prevailling in eastern Europe. The heroism of the Red Army was extolled as a matter of course until western Europeans had themselves seen the brutalities, robberies, and violence of these eastern barbarians perpetrated on the defenceless population of Budapest and Vienna.

Those in the Anglo-Saxon world who admired the Soviets continually repeated the empty phrases about the solidarity and patriotism of the "Soviet people", about "Soviet ethnic democracy", about the ideal solution of the national problems under the Soviets — until the time when there began to trickle to Western Europe and to America the news about the mass transportation to forced labor in Siberia of the populations of Ukraine, White Ruthenia and of the Baltic countries. Among the new information the most important concerned the anti-Russian underground movements in almost all those countries. The liquidation of several Soviet republics on account of their disloyalty to the Kremlin became a further proof that not all the population of the Soviet dungeon of peoples was standing solidly behind Moscow, as was depicted by the pro-Soviet propaganda.

Naturally enough, the extent of the insurrection of the nations subjected by Russia would have assumed catastrophic proportions for Moscow, had not the mad Nazi policy of racial superiority immediately set about to destroy in mass the slav population of the Soviet Union which in the first weeks of the conquest welcomed the Germans as liberators. The masses of the Ukrainians and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. then refused any reconciliation with the Nazis, not out of any warm feeling for Stalin, but because of their own physical instinct of self-preservation.

It is strange that the Soviet as well as the Sovietphile propaganda beyond the borders of the U. S. S. R. purposely kept silent even about the struggle of these peoples against the Germans. Their aim, of course, was to prevent any information about the existence of national movements in the U.S.S.R. Especially did the Kremlin

remain silent with regard to the struggle of the Ukrainian patriots against the Nazis, in order not to reveal to the world the true political spirit of Ukraine as well as the strength and extent of the Ukrainian movement for independence.

It is true that at Yalta Stalin mentioned to Roosevelt and Churchill something about internal difficulties when he demanded a separate place for Ukraine in the United Nations as well as the union of the dynamically national Western Ukraine with the Soviets, but the world heard nothing more from the lips of the Soviet dictator about those internal difficulties.

Divine Service with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

The Soviet Information Service passed over in silence even the assassination of the chief of the Nazi S. S., Victor Lutze, who was a deputee henchman to Heinrich Himmler, by a detachment of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army in May of 1943, along the Kowel-Brest line. The assassination by the same detachments of Marshal Vatutin near Kreminets in Volhynia, about year later, was likewise kept secret.

It was only in 1946, when the Western democratic world had begun to recover from the pro-Soviet intoxication, and when the Red Russian barbarism revealed itself before the world forum in all its ugly nakedness of brutality and cynicism, that the press and the

public of the democratec countries began to lend a more friendly themselves through the iron curtain and revealed the desperate struggle being waged against the Soviet tyranny by the national underground movements extending from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and as far as the steppes of Turkestan.

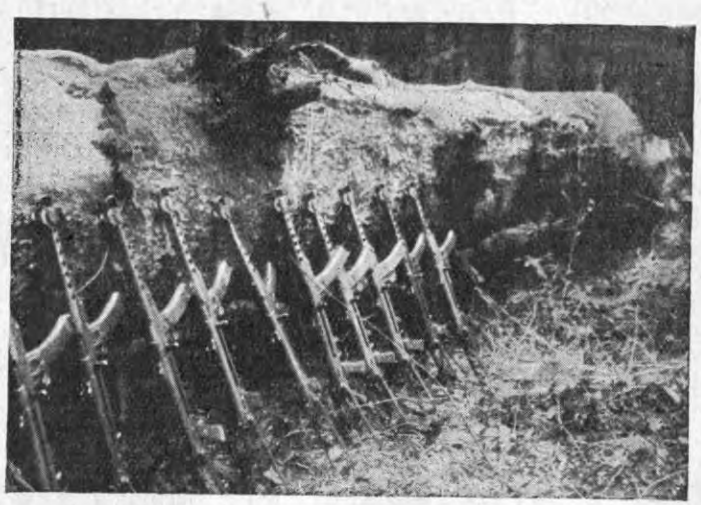
The ethnic democracy of the Soviets, so glorified by Henry A. Wallace, Curliss Lamont, and other Sovietophiles, revealed itself in the light of new information as an intolerable dungeon of peoples which the members of the national underground movements, composed of ninety-nine percent of the farmers and workers, have taken upon themselves to destroy. Created by the initiative of the Ukrainian underground movement, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples flung down a challenge to the Kremlin Politburo.

And yet, among the movements of liberation prevailing among other nations subjected by the Soviets, the greatest publicity in the past few months has been acquired by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which had been inaccurately called in the Western press after the name of one of the Ukrainian patriots, Stephan Bandera — Banderivtsi. The UPA is a revolutionary army of the Ukrainian people. For three years now since the end of military operations it has been proudly offering stern opposition to the powerful Red Muscovy whose excellently trained detachments of the MVD are not quite capable of coping with it.

This Ukrainian revolutionary army is fighting to-day on the steppes of Ukraine in the Dnieper regions; from time to time it occupies whole strips of the Carpathian mountains, and of the boggy regions of northern Ukraine known as Polisya. For months on end it fought in south-eastern Poland, i. e., on the Ukrainian ethnic territories which Moscow had given to Poland. Detachments of the UPA are fighting to-day in Czechoslovakia hand in hand with the Slovak nationalists. They even cross Hungary into Yougoslavia where they lend a helping hand to the Yougoslavia "krusars" who are struggling with the tyranny of Stalin's stooge, Tito. The press had recently reported that several detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, numbering over 100 persons, reached the borders of Bavaria and had handed over their arms in the hands of the American military authorities on the territory of the American occupation zone in Germany. To-day it is interned in Deggendorf, Bavaria.

The Battles of UPA in South-Eastern Poland.

Almost during the entire 1946 and in the first month of 1947 the Warsaw correspondents of the American press reported fierce battles of the UPA with detachments of Polish police troops on the territory of the present south-eastern Poland. The Polish government had effected a transfer of the Ukrainian population either to the Soviets or to the western Polish territories acquired from Germany. The place of the evacuated Ukrainians was to have been taken by the Poles. But the character of that territory did not change thereby.



Automatic weapons of Ukrainian Insurgents

That was precisely why the UPA had begun its armed action and set about to destroy the Polish police detachment as well as to send up in smoke the buildings and houses of the villages from which the Ukrainians had been evicted. That was done, of course, to prevent the Polish government from resettling these places with Poles. In like manner all along the Polish-Soviet border some eight hundred settlements are said to have been destroyed and what was once a fertile region was changed into a wilderness.

Several court actions against the captured members of the UPA in Warsaw, some of which were even filmed with a ulterior motive,

became a living proof to the world of the struggle undertaken by the Ukrainian people against such bartering of their land by the Polish-Soviet alliance. The climax of the struggle came in the first months of 1947, when the Ukrainian insurgents killed the Polish Communist vice-minister of War, General Swierczewski, well-known as the Communist leader of the Spanish partisans in the battles against Franco in Spain, where he went under the name of General Walter.

The event forced the Soviets, Poland and Czechoslovakia to conclude a tripartite understanding, in May 1947, regarding mutual aid in the destruction of the UPA-West detachments which operated here. This coordinated action of the three neighboring states of the Soviet bloc and the complete removal of the Ukrainian native population of those regions which gave assistance to the Ukrainian insurgents, finally forced the detachments of the UPA to abandon south-eastern Poland and transfer their action to Slovakia where they found a favorable element and sympathies among the Slovak population which was predominatly in sympathy with their hanged president, Father Tiso.

The Battle in Slovakia and in Czechia.

The battles of the UPA-West developed in Slovakia in the spring and summer of 1947. An eye-witness of Slovak nationality who recently arrived in the United States gave the author of this article the following information about those battles: — In May the Czechoslovakian government proclaimed a state of war emergency in the entire Slovakia. As in the time of war, people were forbidden to move freely between populated areas. In the evening one was not allowed to leave his house. The military detachments of the Slovaks which had been sent against the UPA went over to the side of the Ukrainians without offering any battle. Young people began to join the ranks of the UPA. And it was this movement that forced Prague to take the struggle against the UPA in its own hands with the aid of the Czech troops, pro-Communist police organized specially by the Russian MVD, and the separately mobilized Communist partisans.

The Prague press thoughout the summer published extensive accounts of the battles of the UPA with the Czech detachments. The non-Communist newspapers quite regularly did not conceal their sympathies with the heroic stand of the UPA. The liquidated detachment of the UPA "Burlaka" drew special attention to itself by its heroism, excellent training, as well as the perfect morale of

its fighters. This detachment, under the command of Lieut. Wolodimir Shigelsky, surrounded in the Slovakian mountain region of Mala Tatra by a force twenty times its size, defended itself successfully for a long time until the treachery of a local worker of Ukrainian origin, who was trusted by the command of the detachment, helped the Czech troops to capture the staff. At the same time detachments of the "Burlaka" troops succeeded individually in breaking through the siege.

Among those heroes who were captured was a sharp-shooter, Olha Hanash, a young woman known under the pseudonym of Ophelia, who, according to the Czech nepspaper "Lidowa Demokracie", commendably defended her own honor and that of her nation.

The detachment of the UPA, pressed out of Slovakia by the Czech armed forces, retreated in separate fragments across Moravia and into Czechia where, on account of their anti-Soviet attitude they found sympathy even among the Czech population. This forced the Czech government to announce a cash reward and a medal for every Ukrainian partisan captured. The route of the detachments of the UPA which were pressed by the Czech armed forces led obviously towards Bavaria where they expected to surrender their arms to the Americans in the hope that the time would come when they could again one day resume their duty in the defence of their nation.

The battles of the UPA on the territory of Czechoslovakia reverberated several times in the Czech parliament. During the first phase of this warfare the matter was presented to the Chamber by the Czech Vice-Minister of Military Affairs, General Ferencik. This member of the Czech government gave the names of the detachments of the UPA, such as — the company of Khromenko, Burlaka, Kremin, and others. He also mentioned an officer of the UPA, Kalinovich. The Vice-Minister likewise explained to the members of the Parliament the political background of the UPA. There was nothing to prove, he stated, that the UPA received uniforms, weapons, food and medicaments by air, but that portion of the eastern part of Slovakia (where Ukrainians live) sympathized with them because they were fighting for an independent Ukraine.

During the second phase of the warfare which took place on the territory of Czechia itself, the Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Ludwig Svoboda, himself addressed the Parliament regarding the battles with the UPA detachments.. He gave the exact number of casualties on both the Ukrainian and Czech sides, and described the UPA as an excellently trained and perfectly organized military force. Its

armed equipment was good. There was a discussion in Parliament on this subject, there were also interpellations, which, however, have not fully reached the press. Evidently, the Czech government did not wish to vex its Soviet protector by popularizing the Ukrainian cause.

The Press of Western Europe on the UPA Action.

The operations of the UPA on the territories of a country, which is not separated from the western world by an iron curtain, had found their echoes in the press of western Europe and that of the United States, because it was for the first time that those nations saw appear before them an anti-Soviet power heretofore unknown. This subject was dealt with by the Swiss newspaper "Der Bund" in its number of August 20, 1947. That article states that it is impossible even approximately to compute the numbers of the UPA now operating in Slovakia, because that country is mountainous and for that reason is very appropriate for partisan operations. The friendliness of the population is very helpful to them. The insurgents avoid decisive battles with large detachments of troops. They themselves operate in small detachments which maintain liason by radio. The secret of the succes of the UPA, according to observers, lies in the long battle experience of the officers and in its long practice of the art of war.

The London periodical "East Europe" dealt with the UPA operations even more extensively, and the Holland press agency KARTO gave exact information regarding the manner of fighting, and the military equipment in the operations of the UPA against both the Nazi and Bolshevik forces. They present-day operations are there illustrated by a detailled little map.

One gathers from that little map that the UPA is divided into groups: East, North, South and West. The operations in southeastern Poland and in Czechoslovakia were conducted by the group West. Group East operates along the borders of the wooded and steppe Ukraine, to the north of Kiev and in the Dnieper regions. Separate detachments of that group crept slowly as far south as the Dnipropetrovsk region, and eastward beyond the Dnieper to Kharkiv itself.

Group North has a lasting and unconquered base in the boggy terrain of Polisya, and maintains contact with the White Ruthenian army which operates in northern Polisya. Cells of the Ukrainian underground are said to exist likewise in Odessa, Grimea and the Donetz Basin. Some time ago the press reported the transfer of

Marshal Zhukov to the command of the Odessa district, where Ukrainian nationalists were said to have caused grave disturbances.

Marshal Zhukov disappeared from both the Ukrainian and Soviet horizon, as is reported, on account of his failure to suppress those Ukrainian disturbances. There is no doubt that the very reason for Zhukov's liquidation lies somewhere else, perhaps in his sympathetic stand towards the western world.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian insurgent movement in the depths of Ukraine, in the Dnieper region, has not been extinguished. This would seem to be corrobated by a report from Istanbul by the

Ukrainian Insurgents are inoculated by their sanitary personel

Austrian Press Agency. That report, which appeared towards the end of August, 1947, states that Moscow had ordered the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Bulgaria into deep Ukraine for the purpose of suppressing the insurgent movements.

It is only natural that the iron curtain which separates the Soviet realm from the Western world, prevents us from getting exact information about the extent of the insurgent movements in that part of Ukraine which has now been the rule of Red Moscow for some thirty years. Recently there were unconfirmed reports in the American press as to the gigantic proportions of those movements, but in the West no one is in a position either to confirm or deny them.

The Political Effort of the Ukrainian Resistance.

The political representative of the UPA is the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), a revolutionary organization which is united with it, and which has connections, by means of its representatives, not only among the individual peoples subjected by the Soviets, but likewise beyound the borders of Soviet influence. At the initiative of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council there was formed the above-mentioned Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples whose aim is to coordinate the underground action of the other peoples, which are subjected by the Soviets, with the action of the UPA. And it is precisely here that one finds the reason why the UPA, even when it is pushed out of the Ukrainian territory, finds friends and sympathizers on the territory of the neighboring peoples. The slogan of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples is — "Liberty to the Individual, Liberty to Nations".

The agents of the UHVR have also undertaken an action of desintegration among the Red Army soldiers, especially among those who belong to the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. It is impossible to say to what extent the disintegration among the Red occupation army, as represented by numberless desertions, is the result of the efforts of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, and to what extent it is a natural reaction in the spirit of the people who have come to know the life of the people living beyond the Soviet Europe and have seen for themselves how untrue was the Bolshevik propaganda about the hell in the capitalist countires.

It was recently reported in the press that a high personage in the Soviet military hierarchy, the chief of staff of the Soviet occupation army in Germany, General Chaparidze, had deserted. His name betrays his Georgian origin; Georgia, of course, is one of the nations oppressed by Moscow.

Anti-Soviet Revolutionary Movement and Western Nations.

The more detailed information reaching the West about the anti-Soviet revolutionary movement speaks with an ever-increasing intensity of one thing — that the tsar Stalin and that of his stooges Vyshinsky, Gromyko, Manuilsky, and others is not so strong as would appear from their cocksure and provoking speeches on the terrain of the United Nations. On the contrary there are many reasons to think that this Eurasian tyranny is resting on a volcano which is as yet too weak to burst out and shatter to pieces the

utterly detested Kremlin and that forge of a world revolution — the Politburo, as well as the entire Moscow rule over a sixth part of the world. But the volcano is boiling. It is continually active and hides within itself an inestimable potential power which the western nations should be able to take advantage of for the purpose of taming the quarrelsome Soviet spirit. That potential power the western nations must even now take into account with a view to future world crises. They must even now oppose the demagogic and deceitful cry of the Soviets: "Liberty and independence to colonial peoples" with their own, which is much broader in scope: — "Liberty and independence to all the peoples of the globe, and destruction of all tyranny". The great binding power of this cry will be contained in its universality, sincerity and justice.

It would be a catastrophe for western civilization if the western nations did not take advantage of that slumbering force of the revolutionary spirit of the East-European peoples now under the leadership of the present champion of anti-Soviet revolutionary forces — Ukraine. "Ukraine has always tended towards freedom", said Voltaire in the second half of the eighteenth century. By its heroism Ukraine proves to-day that this conviction of Voltaire was true not only in the eighteenenth century; it is also true in the present atomic epoch of humanity.

UPA IN WESTERN-EUROPE

(from the "Gazet van Antwerpen", 28th Sept. 1947)

Ukrainian fighters for liberty openly in revolt against Moscow.

For some months the world-press has now been writing on the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (The U.P.A.: Ukrainska Powstanska Armia) in the territory of Soviet-Ukraine, and especially in the Carpathians. Within the last few weeks this affair has become of still greater actual interest, since it has become known that some groups of this secret army are trying to force their way through Czecho-Slovakia to the Anglo-American zones of occupation in Germany and Austria.

There may be wondering who these people are, what they want, why they have not yet laid down their arms and got to lead normal, peaceful lives.

A member of the Ukrainian Liberty Movement, gives the following answer, which we illustrate by the accompanying maps:

"In the world-press the U.P.A. and its activity has very often been associated to the names of several leaders of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and has consequently been designated as „Banderowci" or "Bander-gangs". The U.P.A. however, does not deserve this reproach at all. *The activity of the U.P.A. is inseparately linked up with the problem of the construction of the sovereign Ukrainian State.* This is not a fiction, as the reality of the existence of the Ukrainian people, numbering forty millions of persons and occupying 360.000 square miles of ground, is not a fiction either.

Short Historical Survey.

The Ukrainian sovereign state has existed since the eigth century, and not until the fifteenth century it was subjected by Polish violence. The Ukrainian Cromwell—Bohdan Chmelnyckyj—saw an opportunity, however, to rebuild and to consolidate it against Polish and Tartarian aggressions. The Russian czars, especially Peter the Great and

Catharina II., subjected Ukraine to military and political oppression, and swept it away from the map of Europe in the course of the eighteenth century. After the Russian revolution in 1917 Ukraine regained its independence, but in a three years' struggle the communistic minority in Ukraine with the military assistance of the Russian Bolshevists, forcibly put an end to the Ukrainian People's Republic, established a communistic regime, and brought about a "free" annexation to the U.S.S.R.

Hope for Liberty Revived.

In this way Ukraine got implicated in the second world war as one of the Soviet Republics subjugated by the Bolshevism. Like other peoples of the U S S R., the Ukrainians hoped that in this war they would succeed in throwing off the Russian yoke. A compromiseless struggle on two fronts, however, was left, as against German as Russian imperialism. And for this very struggle for a sovereign Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian people secretly organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the U.P.A., in the year 1941, out of its own resources and means only.

The Fight Continues.

During World War II the U.P.A. inflicted very heavy blows on the Germans. Its exact name and its purpose remained unknown to the West for a long time still, as the Soviet propaganda put the heroic feats of the U P.A. the credit of the red partisans. The U P.A. is an implacable enemy of the Bolshevism and of the communistic Ukrainian" Quisling government with the Russians Manuilsky and Kaganowitch as chief members.

The U P.A. acknowledges as the only legal government the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U H.W.R. :Ukrainska Holowna Wyzwolna Rada), which led the anti-German fight of the Ukrainian people, and is continuing the fight against the Russians as well.

A real Army.

The U.P.A. is the only underground army in Eastern Europe, having under arms about 200.000 Ukrainians — men and women, older and younger people, workers and farmers, intellectual laymen and clergymen. — It is equippped with arms seized from the Germans and the Russians, and has numerous supply centers at its disposal, as well as training camps and field-hospitals, which are well camouflaged and guarded in the mountains, forests and marshlands.

In this implacable struggle the U P.A. has performed striking actions. So in May 1943 e.g., the Chief of the Hitlerian S.A. and debuty of Himmler, Victor Lutze, was liquidated with h's staff by U P.A.-soldiers; in a bloody clash with a U P A.-detachment on February 7th, 1944, the Soviet-marshal Watutin, the commander of the so-called First Ukrainian Front, was mortally wounded; on March 27th 1947, the Polish vice-minister of war, General Swierczevski, who under the pseudonym of „Walter" commanded the international brigade in Spain, and was virtually the red dictator of Poland after the war, was killed in action, together with all members of his staff.

Alliance against the U.P.A.

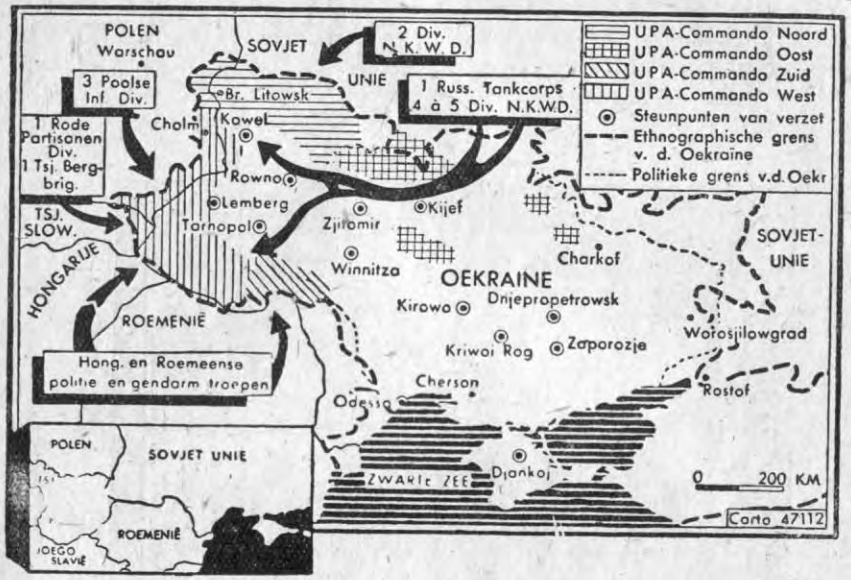
This year Moscow has decided to destroy the U.P.A. stronghold in the Carpathians. For this purpose a treaty of a common fight against the U.P.A. was signed by the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Taking part in this action were 3 Polish infantry divisions, a Czech mountain brigade, a Russian tank corps and 4 divisions M.G.B. (the Russian Gestapo), Russian and Polish paratroops, and some aeroplane formations. Besides Rumanian and Hungarian military units were compelled to act as auxiliary troops (See map).

Bloody reprisals were inflicted upon the Ukrainian population: houses were pillaged, villages set on fire, men and women shot down. All this did not break the resistance, however. The red aggressors suffered great losses of men and materials (amongst other things three aeroplanes were shot down, and the railway lines Leopol—Uzhorod and Berehiw—Uzhorod were blown up); besides three groups of the U.P.A., numbering six to eight thousand men began a great march to the West.

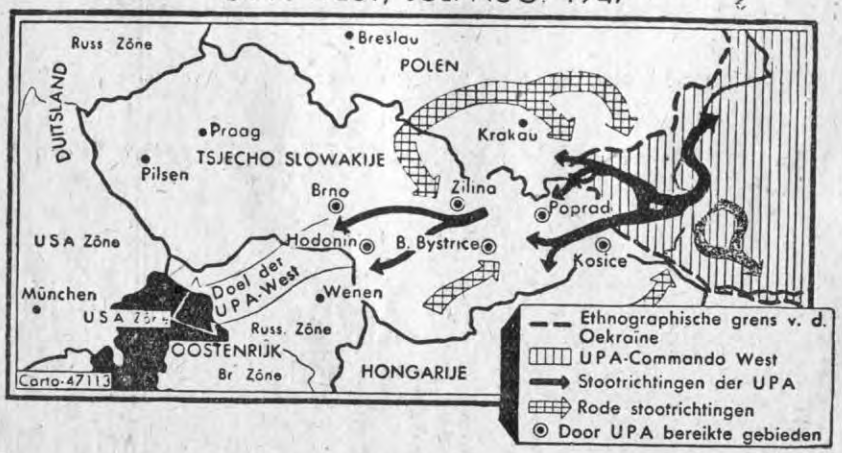
Through Czecho-Slovakia.

By quick marches, sudden raids, these undaunted fighters of the U.P.A., equipped with automatic arms, operating in detachments consisting of 50 men, have taken the whole of Slovakia, and advanced 510 miles, skirmishing incessantly with the Czech police troops and military units. (See the map). The advanced U.P.A. detachments have been seen west of Brno (Czechia), and according to official informations of the Austrian frontier guard, some of these have crossed the Czech-Austrian frontier between Ravensberg and Bernhardsthal in the first days of September already. Besides small groups of the U.P.A.-soldiers in green uniform have been seen in

THE SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE
May-August 1947



UPA-WEST, JULI-AUG. 1947



the district of Mistelbach in the forest near Ernsbrunn. The commandants of the frontier posts concerned declare that the U.P.A.-detachments on Austrian territory do not constitute a danger. The Austrian gendarmery has been ordered not to take any actions against the U.P.A.-soldiers, as they are equipped with automatic arms, and are superior in power if it should come to a fight. The U.P.A.-soldiers themselves declare that their main force is to be found near Pressburg. By no means they want to cause damage to

Mass with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the woods

the territory, as their sole purpose is: to free Ukraine from the Russian yoke.

Appeal to the U.N.O.

The Czech Government does not take either severe measures against these bold fighters, who face all dangers with a real contempt of death and are looked upon as invincible. But the head of the Czech staff has indeed made an appeal to the former Czech and Slovakian partisans to get incorporated with the Partisans Division which is being organized for the fight against the U.P.A.

It is quite possible that the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A.,

General Taras Chuprynka, who has led these three U.P.A.-groups from Ukraine to Western Europe, has been led to this decision by certain political and propagandistic considerations.

As it is known already, the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), Mykola Lebed, has sent an urgent note to the United Nations Security Council, requesting an immediate investigation of the state of affairs in Ukraine.

The bloody persecution of the Ukrainians by the Russians has been answered by a strong protest of all Ukrainian emigrants, numbering several millions.

Challenge to Moscow.

The U.P.A.-fighters themselves, however, are now once more proving by their heroic advance that the Ukrainian people will not lay down arms before the Russian yoke will be cast off and total sovereignty will be acquired. In the notices to the peoples of Slovakia, Czechia and Austria, the U.P.A. declares on this behalf that it is fighting against Bolshevistic Russia for the sovereign Ukrainian state, and it summons all peoples of Eastern and Central Europe to rise up against Moscow, which oppresses them:

The U.P.A.-soldiers behave tactfully towards the population, and so it is no wonder the population of Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and Czechia likes the Ukrainian desperados, and supply them with provisions and medicaments.

Difficult Problem for Washington.

The Head-Quarters of the American occupation troops in Germany announced lately on September 11th:

> „American troops disarmed and intered a detachment of 36 soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in the area of Passau. This U.P.A.-detachment, equipped with machine-guns and automatic pistols, succeeded in forcing its way from the Carpathians through Czecho-Slovakia via Linz (Austria) to Wildenraan near Passau, in four weeks' time."

On account of this fact the General Secretary of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), Mykola Lebed, as well as the representative of the Ukrainian emigrants in America, Stephen Shumeyko, have sent letters to the Secretary of State Mr. George Marshall and the U.S.A. War Department, in which the right of sanctuary is asked for the U.P.A.-fighters.

The detachment interned by the Americans belongs to the vanguard of the eight thousand men main force.

So Western Europe has not only seen protest notes and memorandums, but it has also made acquaintance with the almost legendary resistance army, which on its banners has written so very human words: "Liberty for all Nations! Liberty for the Individual!"

FOR A FREE AND INDEPENDENT UKRAINE !

by Lev Shankovsky

(Condensed from "Ukrainian Tribune" of October and November 1947)

"Ukraine has always
aspired at freedom"
Voltaire

1.

Almost three years have passed since V-E Day. In Ukraine, however, the war is not yet finished and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is still waging its relentless struggle for a free and independent Ukraine. In spite of the "iron curtain" news about the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) find an echo even on the pages of the world press, although the true picture of the Ukrainian resistance movement is accurately not known. Recently extremely interesting informations about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have filtered through to the outside world. They tell about the increasing scope of operations and more daring raids by the UPA in Poland. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria. It is one proof more that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has increased to such proportions that it has now become a serious threat to the Soviet-Union and its satellites: Poland and Czechoslovakia. But still more significant is the report about the enthusiastic and general support given by the peoples of the Soviet satellite countries to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its fighters.

Unfortunately the informations about all these events in the world press abound in falsehoods and distortions. The reporters of the world press show an understandable aversion toward genuine information about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its 5 year's fight for freedom. Furthermore, such reporters are curiously disinclined to utilize for their conclusions facts proved even by American official sources (cp. "New York Herald Tribune", European

edition on Sept. 20 and Sept. 22). In consequence to that the Americans are given such fantastic and contradictory reports about this valiant army and its fight that they need an immediate correction. Having this in view we are willing to give here a brief history of an army which during the last five years in a most valiant way battled the Brown and Red invaders of Ukraine.

At first we are willing to state that the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is a continuation of that centuries-lasting struggle which the Ukrainian people is waging to gain its national freedom. It is a continuation of the Independence War which was waged at the close of World War I (1918—1921). The will of the Ukrainian people to become masters of their own soil was shown by the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic on Jan. 22, 1918, by the revolutionary parliament— the Ukrainian Central Rada. This Ukrainian National Republic was recognized de facto by Great Britain and France, and de iure by Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, Georgia and Poland. But this democratic Ukrainian Republic was immediately attacked by the Bolsheviks, the Poles, Denikin's White Russians and the Rumanians, and after four years of ceaseless heroic resistance against foreign aggressors it ceased to exist. By February 22, 1922 Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The twenty year's period of modern Ukrainian history following the War of Independence (1921—1941) is a period of revolutionary fight and even open warfare against the occupants of Ukraine. It was the time when Stalin himself declared that Ukrainian nationalism constituted a "grave danger" for the Soviet Union. To the Ukrainian people it was the period of ruthless extermination of Ukrainian patriots, abhorrent pacifications of the Ukrainian population, economic exploitation and forced labor in concentration camps, religious persecutions and political deprivations of the human rights. All these measures definitely aimed at the complete annihilation of the Ukrainian people to prevent them from attaining their national aspirations of human and national freedom.

Then, on June 22, 1941, the lightning attack of the Germans came upon the Soviet Union. In a few weeks the German armies occupied Ukraine, and once again the Ukrainian people had changed its "masters". There was no reason for rejoicing. The Germans did not came as liberators but as conquerors. It Hitler had wished to liberate the oppressed populations, he could have found help and support on a wide scale in Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia,

etc. But he did not want allies, but slaves. During the opening weeks of the campaign in the East, soldiers deserted from the Soviet armies by hundreds of thousands. They expected to take part in the liberation of their countries. But Hitler sent them to the camps where they had to die of hunger and misery because he rejected all plans to draw the peoples of the Soviet territories into the struggle against the Bolsheviks. There is no doubt today that the chief reason for Hitler's debacle is his blundering policy in the East, especially in Ukraine.

The leading Ukrainian nationalist circles had no illusions as to the real plans of Germany with regard to Ukraine. In this respect the experience of 1918, as well as the German attitude to the question of Carpatho-Ukrainian independence in 1939, served as a lesson. Nevertheless preparations were made to proclaim the Ukrainian aspirations after freedom and their readiness to defend this freedom against any enemy. In conformity with these preparations, on June 30, 1941 the Ukrainian National Assembly proclaimed the re-establishment of a Ukrainian Independent State and appointed a Provisory Government. Answering to this proclamation, which was a clear challenge to the German Government to declare its policy, the Gestapo immediately applied reprisals and violence. Thousands of Ukrainian patriots were put to concentration camps, together with Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, Prime-Minister of the new government, and Mr. Stephen Bandera, Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Many other prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or hanged. Three members of the Ukrainian government were murdered by the Gestapo. To the jubilation of Moscow, the Germans purged the Ukrainian nationalists and thus hastened the clash which led to the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Thus from the first days of the German occupation of Ukraine a relentless struggle began between Nazis drunk with power and success and the Ukrainian people. This struggle cost Ukraine hundred thousands of casualties and brought it an unbelievable destruction. What was once a land of proud beauty has become one of the most desolate places in whole Eastern Europe. It should be kept in mind that this war against the Germans was launched at the time when the German power was at its peak and when Nazi Germany celebrated her greatest military victories. It flared up, when other nations, getting aid of their governments in exile and the support of Western Allies, were only thinking of the organization of resistance movements. The Ukrainian people started its armed resistance against the Nazi invaders at the time, when corresponding movements in Western Europe were not yet born (1941). It was perhaps one of

the first Underground armies which operated on a big scale against Nazi Germany, although it got no aid from anybody and relied only on the own forces of the Ukrainian nation.

"Liberty, property, life
and honour are all at stake"
George Washington

2.

We make no secret of the fact that the Ukrainians want to be independent. They struggled for their independence under the rule of the Russian Czar. They worked towards it during their subjugation by Austria. They fought for it during the first World War, and in 1918—1921 won it for a short time. They even terrorized all occupants of Ukraine in their effort to gain this independence, and they do not recognize the present Soviet occupation of the Ukrainian territories.

We make no secret of the fact that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought the Nazis with the same vigor as it is fighting the Soviets today. Altbough the enemies of the Ukrainian independence want the world to believe that the Ukrainian Insurgents are German-inspired "bandits", the world must find out the truth that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) started in building its strength in the war against Nazi Germany. Long before the time when Prime Minister Churchill announced that any "man or state who fights against Nazism will have our aid", Ukrainian fighters for Freedom entered the fight against the Nazi invaders of their country and received no aid from anybody. In the fall of 1941, at the peak of German military power, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) started the fight against the occupants of Ukraine which is going on until the present time.

The first Ukrainian guerilla detachments appeared in Polessia, the northern part of Western Ukraine, as soon as in 1941. They were an instinctive Ukrainian answer to the German terror-measures and the cruelties which were committed upon the Ukrainian people. To distinguish themselves from the Red partisans, the Ukrainian guerillas called themselves "Ukrainian insurgents" and fought simultaneously as against the German military rule, resisting enormous food requisitions and deportations for slave labor to Germany, as against Soviet partisans which appeared in Ukraine.

At the close of 1942 a large insurgent force arose in Ukraine under Ukrainian nationalist leadership. The nationalist orders forbidding the transportation of Ukrainians as slave laborers to Germany enlarged the clash between the Germans and the Ukrainian nationalists.

The Mobilization Order issued by the provisory leader of the Organazation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Mykola Lebed, was entirely successful. Some ten thousands of armed young patriots went underground and joined the guerilla detachments to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Soon the High Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed and major Klachkivsky (Klym Savur) was appointed Supreme commander of the Ukrainian insurgent forces. His chief of staff was general Stupnytsky, a former officer of the Ukrainian National Army (1918—1921) under Otaman Petlura.

By spring of 1943, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) extended the scope of its actions. It steadily grew in number, augmented by Ukrainian militiamen, former Soviet prisoners of war and Red army deserters. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was able to enlist Georgians, Azerbaijans, Tartars, Uzbeks and others into national formations. The leaders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were able to convoke the Conference of the Enslaved Peoples which was held on the territory occupied by the UPA on Nov. 21—22, 1943 and was attended by 39 delegates of different nationalities. A base was formed during the conference upon which a common fight of the enslaved peoples against the Communist-Russian imperialism could be carried out. It adopted also a common slogan: "Freedom to the Peoples, Freedom to the Individual" which should enlighten the common fight.

In the beginning the Ukrainian guerilla activities were limited to the woody marshlands of northern Ukraine. By summer 1943, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) could extend its actions as far as to the river Dnieper in the east and to the Carpathian mountains and the Subcarpathian region in the west. At this time, operating chiefly in Volhynia (group: UPA-North), the UPA centered its attention upon the highway and railway line: Berlin—Warsaw—Kovel—Kiev which was one of the principal lines of German communication in this area. In consequence the transportation of food to Germany was paralyzed, people transported for slave labor to Germany could be released, the German supply and ammunition trains were blown up. In the fight with a Ukrainian insurgent detachment the Chief of the German SA, Victor Lutze, was killed on this highway.

The whole Ukrainian population took an active part in the guerilla activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The fight against Nazi-Germany was wholeheartedly approved by the Ukrainian people who consequently gave its full support to the UPA.

Owing to this, the UPA was able to occupy the vast territories of Ukrainian soil. Whole districts and regions in Ukraine were under

virtual control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which not only fought the German occupational army, but also maintained administration and control over a large portion of the Ukrainian territory. By autumn of 1943 and spring of 1944 the Nazi-Germans were only in possession of main communication lines and of large urban centers. The rest of the Ukrainian territory was controlled by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and administrated by it. The population recognized the rule of the UPA and obeyed its orders. In fact this was a state within a state, acting independently from the occupational regime. Officer schools, military hospitals and Red Cross organizations, repair shops and factories, primary and secondary schools, forest administration were acting under the control of the UPA. The UPA has by this time developed quite a good press service of its own with many organs and publications, non-excluding humorous and satirical magazines.

By spring of 1944, units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army occupied most of the Carpathian and Subcarpathian region and of Eastern Galicia. At this time they were mostly engaged in judging both Nazis and Reds the cruelties committed on the population. Sudden raids of the UPA succeeded in destroying prisons, liberating prisoners, and exterminating outposts of the occupational regime.

Three times during the German occupation of Ukraine the Nazi Germans launched their offensives against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The entire campaign was fierce and bitter. The enemy used aeroplanes, artillery, tanks, followed closely by infantry. Several Nazi attacks against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), e. g. the attack against the Black Forest near Stanislavov in Eastern Galicia, could be repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy. Counter attacks of Ukrainian insurgents and shock troops launched at several points frustrated temporary enemy successes at other points. At least the Nazi offensives were broken and the Germans were defeated. They could only answer with an unheard terror against the civilian population. At this time, at the close of 1943 and in the beginning of 1944 the whole of Ukraine was the theater of continual bloody scenes. Ukrainian patriots were shot or hanged by thousands and in all cities of Ukraine these executions were performed in public. But even these executions could not break the spirit of the Ukrainian people.

Faced by the very grave danger of Soviet re-occupation, the High Command of the UPA gave the initiative for the creation of a united underground leadership, all-national and non-partisan in nature, i. e. the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.). It came into

existence on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine. According to its constitution the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council is the supreme and sole governing organ of the Ukrainian people during the time of its revolutionary struggle and up to the time of the establishment of government of a Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State. Its center must always be in Ukraine and its representation only is permitted to go abroad.

On the date of its convocation, the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation delegated to general Taras Chuprynka the responsibility for all operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He was appointed Supreme Commander of the UPA and he is holding this post up to now.

Ukrainian People!

> . . . You did not allow yourselves to become enslaved but demonstrated an unyielding determination to live in independent statehood on your native soil. On guard over your freedom you have set up . . . armed cadres of your sons— the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.
>
> From the Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (June 1944).

3.

During the last months of 1943 and the first months of 1944, when the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll near to Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) consisted of 4 large groups: (1) UPA-North operating in Polessia and northern Volhynia, (2) UPA-West in Eastern-Galicia and in the district of Kholm. (3) UPA-South in Northern Bukovina and in the region of Kamyanets-Podolsk and Vinnitsa, and (4) UPA-East in the wood-sectors north of Kiev and Zhitomir, in the area of Bazar — the battle-field of famous Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik uprising in 1921. These 4 groups comprised more than 200,000 armed Ukrainian insurgents which were united under one command — the Supreme Command of the UPA with general Taras Chuprynka at the head, and they controlled an area of more than 200,000 sq. km. with a population of more than 15,000,000 inhabitants. In these areas the Germans were forced to retire leaving strong garrisons in a few large towns. The communication between those towns was only maintained by strong convoys and only on main roads. Not for a moment did the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) permit the Nazi invader to feel himself master of Ukraine!

It is remarkable that Ukraine, being a flat country with few forests, was not favourable for a guerilla warfare. Only Western Ukraine with its marshy forests of Polessia and Northern Volhynia in the north and with the Carpathian Mountains in the south presented rather advantageous conditions for it. In consequence the armed anti-Nazi Ukrainian resistance movement was limited to the hilly and swampy regions of Western Ukraine, having strong resistance groups only in the large towns of Eastern Ukraine, like Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Stalino etc. These groups did not cease to be active to the present day according to constant rumours and reports on which appear in the world press.

Already at the time of the German occupation of Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was forced to fight against the Red partisans. The Red partisan movement in Ukraine was not a popular resistance movement. Red partisan groups were only regular army groups which remained behind the frontline, were dropped by parachute or filtered through from the north, from their base in White-Ruthenia. Being too weak to attack the Germans, these Red partisans rambled about the Ukrainian villages, preferring to plunder them and to murder the Ukrainian patriots. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was forced to protect the Ukrainian population against these "liberators" and made life in Ukraine unbearable to them dispersing and forcing them to withdraw.

When the Soviets, strengthened by the increasing flow of lend-lease material began to expel the Germans from Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) utilized the German retreat to gather for its own use as many weapons as possible. The troops of the UPA attacked and disarmed the retiring detachments of the German and Hungarian army and police, capturing weapons, fighting-vehicles, clothing, shoes and other war material and seizing ordnance stores with weapons and ammunition. When the Soviet war-machine began to roll over the territory occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the latter could meet the new enemy fully prepared for the struggle which is fought even today.

It must be emphasized that at this time UPA detachments did not fight against the Red Army which consisted here mainly of Ukrainians (the armies of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Ukrainian front). They only defended themselves preferring to circulate among the Red soldiers and to distribute leaflets summoning them to the fight against the Communist dictatorial regime. Besides, their activity was directed against the restoration of Soviet military and civilian authority. The UPA systematically opposed the mobilization of Ukrainians for the

Red Army and routed the NKVD (special political police) units by sudden raids on administration centers which caused heavy personnel losses for the new occupant. This action was combined with the action against the local Red quislings and collaborators as well as against the agents of the NKVD among the local populations. Simultaneously the UPA detachments opposed the restoration of the collective farms and the transportation of wheat and other food out of Ukraine as well as the deportation of the Ukrainian population into semi-slave labor camps in Donbas and farther north and east.

In trenches of Ukrainian Insurgents in the Carpathians

The first battle on a large scale with the Red Army can be considered a conspicuous success for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). A Red Army detachment was routed by town of Kremenets in Southern Volhynia in winter 1944 and one of the leading Soviet military commanders, Marshal Vatutin was mortally wounded in this battle and he subsequently died in a hospital in Kiev. Unfortunately the Ukrainian price for this victory was also very high. Major Klachkivsky, the commander of UPA-North and his chief of staff fell in this uneven fight.

At the time when the Soviet war-machine was engaged in the fight against the Nazis, the Soviets could not organize a serious military

action against the UPA. For several times the Bolshevist government has only presented an ultimatum ordering the Ukrainian insurgents to surrender and promising amnesty. Soon the Bolsheviks realized that the only thing which would crush the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) would be for the Soviet government to exile the whole of the Western Ukrainian population into Russia and Siberia, and to replace them by Russians. By spring and summer, 1945, the Soviets began their famous deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan (Central Asia). The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was forced to stand to arms. At this time its activities reached to the proportions of a regular war. Answering to the activity of the UPA, the Reds launched a great offensive which was personally led by Gen. Lt. Ryassny, Minister of Interior of the Ukrainian SSR and supervised by Premier S N. Khrushchev. This offensive was called the Khrushchev-Ryassny offensive and lasted incessantly from spring till autumn, 1945. It was a series of attacks and pauses and was the hardest kind of fighting for the Ukrainian insurgents. The enemy used aeroplanes, artillery, tanks, he blocked up villages and roads and tried to encircle the groups of the Ukrainians insurgents. The latter defended themselves by mining the roads, trails, natural cross-roads and even the streambeds. Several battles were given by Ukrainian insurgents in the forests of the Subcarpathian region.

> . . . Upon your courage and conduct rest the hopes of our bleeding and insulted country.
>
> George Washington (1776)
>
> . . . Our liberation struggle demands heroism and bloody sacrifices, and above all unshakable faith in our own truth.
>
> From the Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (June 1944).

4.

The great offensive of Khrushchov-Ryassny could not break the resistance of the UPA. The battalions and companies of the UPA withdrew to the Carpathian mountains and from there continued the fight against the Communist oppressors. Small groups of the

resisters remained in the country and made sudden raids on the admistration centers and NKVD posts. At this time more important action of the UPA was the boycotting of the February, 1946, elections to the Supreme Soviet. That this action perturbed the Soviets can be seen from the Soviet press itself and also by the fact that Moscow mobilized Ukrainian scholars and writers to go out among the people and agitate against this boycott. Already in November, 1945, great actions against Ukrainian participation in those elections took place in the whole country. The anti-electional meetings were organized elsewhere. In anti-electional proclamations we can read that "these elections cannot represent the will of the voters, because the electional law is set forth in that way that only the candidates of Communist and partyless block can be elected and the voters have the only choice of balloting on official lists. In consequence such elections cannot be the expression of the people's will, they are only a mockery at democracy and the free will of the voters". Ukrainians boycotted the elections under the slogan of protestation against the suppression of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples, against terror and violence reigning over Ukraine and other countries. In another anti-electional proclamation we read: "Communists lie all over the world that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic is a free and independent state. We shall retort to this common lie with a general boycott of elections. We are obliged to tell the world that we are against dictatorship and tyranny. Long live true democracy! Long live free elections in a United Independent Ukrainian State!

Another principal action of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was the action against the forced re-union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Russian Orthodox Church as announced by Moscow on March 17, 1946. The bloody persecution of Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine is confirmed in a statement by Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, reported in "New York Times" of March 1, 1946. Cardinal Tisserant asserted that east of the Curzon line Soviet policy aimed at the destruction of Catholicism, and that Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine were deported, imprisoned, put to forced labor and killed if they refused to join the Orthodox Church. More than one fifth of the priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had already been banished to Soviet Central Asia according to Cardinal Tisserant.

It is noteworthy that no Ukrainian Bishop associated himself with the declaration of the so-called Synode which proclaimed the abolition of the clerical sovereignty of the Vatican. All Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of Western Ukraine were already arrested on April 11, 1945,

seminaries were closed and the police carried out house-to-house searches and investigations. The last Ukrainian bishop, who lived west of the Curzon line, Msg. Josaphat Kotsylovskyy, was forcibly transferred by the Red Polish authorities to the east and handed over to the Soviets. The bishop of Carpatho-Ukraine, Msg. Romzha. has been arrested too. Ukrainian Stepinac — the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Msg. Joseph Slipyi, has been already condemned to 8 years of forced laber. The persecution of the Ukrainian Catholics on account of their religious conviction prompted the Holy See to issue an Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XII to the world (Orientales omnes ecclesias). There he wrote: "The conditions of Ukrainian Catholics fill our paternal heart with bitterness we hear that in those regions which were recently conquered by the Russians our dear Ukrainian brothers and sons are persecuted in a severe manner because of their loyalty". In connection with this persecution the proclamations of the Ukrainian resistance movement stated: "Neither the Red divisions that were directed against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, nor the bloody terror of the Russian-Gestapo-NKVD could break the Ukrainian resistance. We are convinced that the Russian police-NKVD will not subjugate the spirit of the Ukrainian resistance. Suppression of religion, introduction of Orthodoxy by means of force strenghten the front of our struggle and widen its perspectives . . ."

At the same time West group of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was concentrating all its efforts on preventing the Red Polish Government from forcibly ejecting the Ukrainian population of the territories West of the Curzon line to the Soviet Union. In accordance with the Soviet-Polish treaty of Aug. 16, 1945 the Soviet-Polish State boundary was established. The Polish authorities announced officially that all Ukrainians must leave Poland to be transferred to the Soviet-Union. The Red Poles turned Ukrainians out to make room for Poles who were moved from the districts ceded to the Soviet-Union (territories east of the Curzon line). Hence the very activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the area of the Soviet-Polish frontier, its attacks on lines of communication which have successfully stopped the transfers for the time of this action. It must be emphasized that this action was carried on by the Red Poles with a terrible terror. The Red Polish "Security" troops and Polish Army under Bolshevist Command destroyed whole Ukrainian villages, setting fire to them, plundering and murdering their inhabitants in a most ruthless way.

Simultaneously with the defence of the Ukrainian population given by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) the Ukrainians abroad

organized a great action of protestation against the Polish-Bolshevist violences.

Fighting became fierce in this area. Meanwhile on March 28, 1947, one of the leading Red Polish generals, Vice-Minister of War, general Walter-Swierszczewski, was killed in fight with Ukrainian insurgents. It was the sign that the activities of the UPA increased to such proportions that they became dangerous for the Soviet-Union and its satellites. Consequently they concluded a mutual anti-Ukrainian assistance pact on May 12, 1947 and began the direct action against the UPA. Overwhelming forces of the Soviet-Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia were brought into action against the UPA-West. But even the aeroplanes, tanks, and special light troops could not break the resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The Supreme Command of the UPA elaborated its own plans and divided UPA into small detachments. The main forces of the UPA West broke the encirclement of the overwhelming enemy forces and passed into Ukraine to continue their fight against the Communist oppressors. Other detachments were ordered to raid Czechoslovakia and the Balkan states with the purpose of mobilizing the forces of the other peoples subjugated by Moscow for the common fight against Bolshevism. Small detachments came to the U. S. Zones of Germany and Austria.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the overwhelming forces of Red Moscow and its satellites, which continues on to the present day is the great contribution of the Ukrainian people to the civilized world. As long as this struggle continues there can be no possibility of a Soviet war against the Western democracies. The Soviet turn will come when this fighting ends and the Soviets will overrun the forces of the UPA and its allies (Poland, Slovakia, Yougoslavia). Then the Red Nazis will turn towards the West and bring this "liberation" to the democratic peoples, as they brought it to Ukraine thirty years ago. Caveant consules!

UKRAINE:
ALLY BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

by William Henry CHAMBERLIN

(Condensed from "Ukrainian Quarterly", New York, Winter 1948)

This is an age of global struggle between Soviet communism and western civilization. The former is committed to slavery, the latter to freedom. Soviet communism is the continuation, in aggravated form, of medieval Russian Tsarist absolutism, made alluring, in the propaganda sense, by borrowing some perverted western collectivist ideas which, in practice, make the individual a helpless robot in the grip of a state that controls every detail of political and economic life.

Western civilization assumes differing political and economic forms in different countries. But it possesses a wide common denominator in Christian and humanistic respect for the dignity of man, in maintenance of the ideal of liberty under law. Such characteristic Soviet institutions as the omnipotent secret police, the completely controlled press, the slave labor camps where millions of unfortunate human beings are overworked and starved to death, are unthinkable in any country that belongs in the camp of western civilization.

Now if these cruel and tyrannical features of the Soviet regime were restricted to Russia they would not furnish a cause for political concern to people in the United States and other free countries. We could set them down to the evil heritage of Russian autocracy and hope the Russian people would outlive them.

But there is the very strongest and most credible testimony, that of such leaders of the Russian Revolution as Lenin and Stalin, that the Soviet Communists are not content with their victory in Russia. They will not be satisfied or feel safe until they have conquered the entire world by a mixture of subversive propaganda and armed force.

Stalin has published a book, "Problems of Leninism", which has all the authority in Russia that Hitler's "Mein Kampf" possessed in Nazi Germany. In that book Stalin quotes Lenin with approval as follows:

> "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states are inevitable."

One could quote many similar citations from the writings of Lenin and Stalin. A distinguished political refugee from Eastern Europe, a Socialist with long experience of Communists, their philosophy and their methods, said to me after a long talk in London in 1946:

> "So long as there is one free country the Soviet rulers will not feel safe or secure. They will conduct intrigues and propaganda against it; they will denounce it as imperialistic; they will do everything to destroy that last citadel of freedom."

The aggressive propaganda of the Soviet Union against the United States, a propaganda offensive that has been intensified during this last year, offers ample confirmation of this Socialist's interpretation of the situation. Well-meaning and naive Americans sometimes suggest that the Soviet leaders are animated by fear of the United States and its supposed design to attack Russia.

This is sheer nonsense. The Soviet rulers are astute and realistic enough to know that neither the American Constitution nor American popular psychology would permit an aggressive preventive war. They know that America demobilized with pellmell speed and has not yet adopted any form of universal military training. The Soviet Union has kept a far larger number of men under arms and maintains a system of universal conscription.

There is an element of fear behind the constant and restless Soviet expansion. But it is not fear that could be removed by any act of the United States, short of making a communist revolution in this country and installing Mr. William Z. Foster in the White House. It is fear of the still small voice of freedom.

What Stalin and his associates cannot endure is the sight of free and prosperous societies outside their own frontiers. To be sure the Russian people are kept almost hermetically sealed off against normal foreign contacts, against association with foreigners, against non-Communist books and magazines that might present favorable sides of life in non-Communist countries.

But millions of Soviet citizens in Red Army uniforms have seen a considerable part of Europe during the late war. They have seen what preposterous lies their government propaganda in the press, on the radio, in political speeches has been telling them about conditions in "capitalist" lands. They have learned that the countries of eastern

and central Europe, even after they were shattered, broken and impoverished by war, are far ahead of the Soviet Union in a thousand details of comfort and cleanliness, in the standard of living for the masses of the people. One of the most widely repeated sayings in countries of Europe which have experienced Soviet occupation is:

"Two things are bad for communism. The Red Army has seen Europe. And Europe has seen the Red Army."

The Soviet leaders cannot endure that even a small corner of any country that has been marked for annexation or political absorption should remain free, in order to point the contrast between the Communist and the non-Communist ways of life. This is why the Soviet Government was so insistent on annexing the last bit of Ukrainian territory. This is why Soviet spokesmen emphasize the supposed need for a strong centralized "democratic" government in Germany, that will stamp out "the last remains of fascism." One can properly understand this demand only if it is kept in mind that by "democracy" the Soviet leaders mean communism, while "fascism", to them, is often synonymous with freedom and democracy.

Any interpretation of Soviet aims and policies which proceeds on the assumption that the Soviet regime is a normal nationalist government, pursuing limited strategic and security aims, is foredoomed to disillusionment. It will always be impossible to come to any permanent agreement with the Soviet rulers (barring of course, some sweeping and unpredictable political change inside Russia), first because their ambitions as Communists revolutionaries are insatiable and unlimited, second, because they conclude treaties and agreements only to violate them and make promises only to break them.

Addressing the Communist Party Central Committee in the early thirties, Stalin declared: "We shall not yield an inch of our own soil; we do not covet a foot of foreign soil." This sounded like the reasonable statement of the leader of a country committed only to national self-defense. It should be noted that Stalin did not say: "We do not covet a foot of foreign soil,—except Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Karelian Isthmus, Petsamo, the Western Ukraine, almost half of pre-war Poland, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine, Koenigsberg, South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, etc."

The Soviet Union which, according to Stalin, "did not covet a foot of foreign soil" has annexed about 280,000 square miles of foreign soil. More than that, it has reduced to subjection a much larger and more populous area, represented by the nominally independent states of Poland, Rumania, Yougoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Albania and the parts of Germany and Austria which are

under Soviet military occupation. The method of subjugation has been very simple. Moscow-trained Communists have been installed in key posts in what are nominally coalition governments. The independent leaders are murdered, like Petkov in Bulgaria, or beaten and imprisoned, like Jovanovitch in Yugoslavia, forced to flee for their lives, like Mikolajczyk in Poland, imprisoned for life, like Maniu in Rumania.

There are some gradations in the degree of subjugation. Czechoslovakia and Finland enjoyed some internal autonomy. But the general pattern of complete control of these satellite countries from Moscow

A group on the march

has been vividly illustrated by the recent Communist coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia and Stalin's pressure upon Finland for a "mutual assistance" agreement.

The suggestion is sometimes made in more or less veiled form that America could and should come to an agreement with the Soviet Union on a basis of dividing up the world into spheres of influence. Any such proposal would be inconsistent with the Atlantic Charter and with the ideals which the United States proclaimed during the war.

But the suggestion of this kind of a division of the world is not only immoral; it is profoundly impractical. For the Soviet rulers have proved over and over again that they cannot be trusted to observe

any agreement whether phrased in the precise terms of a written treaty or in the vaguer phrase of an oral understanding.

It is a matter of record that the Soviet Government concluded, on its own initiative, treaties of non-aggression and neutrality with its five western neighbors, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. It is also a matter of documented record that Stalin proved just as eager as Hitler to expand his frontiers at the expense of his neighbors' independence and territorial integrity. Every one of these treaties was torn up like a scrap of paper at the first convenient opportunity, during the first months of the Second World War.

Soviet actions made a mockery of Soviet promises in insure "free and unfettered elections" in Poland at Yalta, to co-operate in the use of democratic methods in countries liberated from the Nazis. There has been equally conspicuous Soviet bad faith in regard to the Potsdam Agreement, with its assurances that Germany would be treated as an economic unit, that democratic parties would be encouraged in Germany. (All political groups except the Soviet stooge Socialist Unity Party have been suppressed in the Soviet zone in Germany.)

There was an informal wartime understanding between Churchill and Stalin that the Soviet Union and Britain should share influence in Yugoslavia, that Greece should be definitely within the western orbit of influence. But Yugoslavia became a complete Soviet satellite and the Soviet Government has encouraged the present government in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania to give shelter and aid to Greek Communist guerrillas, who are trying to overthrow the legal Greek government and who have succeeded in creating conditions of great confusion and misery along the northern border of Greece.

The United States Government, through a most unwise and morally indefensible secret agreement at Yalta, conceded to the Soviet Union joint ownership of the railway system in Manchuria and a naval base at Port Arthur, at the southern tip of the Manchurian peninsula. The Soviet Government, on its side, promised to deal only with the legal government of China. But as soon as Soviet troops had occupied Manchuria. Chinese Communist forces, in rebellion against the Chinese Government, were invited into Manchuria, transported on Soviet controlled railways and armed and outfitted with captured Japanese material. As a result Manchuria at this time is almost lost to China. Nationalist troops are clinging precariously to a few main towns.

It has been made clear repeatedly that if the Soviet Union is given an inch of leeway it will take a yard. Before the outbreak of the Second World War Soviet leaders repeatedly expressed satisfaction with their country's frontiers, with the independence of Finland and

the Baltic states. They asserted that, with one sixth of the world at their disposal, they possessed everything necessary for "building socialism". But the whole history of Soviet pre-war, war and postwar diplomacy has been full of intrigue and land-grabbing.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that, if the United States should recognize the legitimacy of all Soviet annexations, and the right of Moscow to dominate all Europe up to the Stettin-Trieste line, Stalin's appetite would diminish. On the contrary, every new Soviet acquisition in the past has served as a springboard for further aggression. Soviet domination of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, for instance, has been a lever for pressure against Greece. The installation of Tito's dictatorship in Belgrade has been exploited for rendering aid to the Italian Communists. The Soviet Union has used its military occupation of sections of Germany and Austria as a means of trying to pull both these countries into the Russian sphere of influence.

Through its Communist party fifth columns the Soviet Union today has guerilla shock troops operating far in the rear of the political frontier which America and Great Britain have erected against further Soviet expansion. The political moral seems obvious. Cold wars, like shooting wars, are not won by static and defensive tactics.

If there are totalitarian fifth columns, unfortunately, in that part of the world which is still, by and large, in the camp of freedom, there are fighters for liberty behind the iron curtain. Some of the most stubborn of these fighters for liberty are in the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which carried on a remarkable two-front struggle against both forms of totalitarian tyranny, the Nazi and the Soviet Communist, during the period of the war.

Since the end of the war Ukrainian guerilla forces, under the redoubtable Taras Chuprynka and other leaders, kept up a persistent struggle against Soviet tyranny along the boundaries of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Ukraine. They succeeded in ambushing and killing the Polish Vice-Minister of War, General Swierczewski, better known under his pseudonym of General Walter. It was under this name that he fought with the Communists against Franco in Spain.

There were several combined military actions of the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak government against the UPA, which last year transferred its main base of activity from the Polish border regions to Slovakia. Isolated Ukrainian units are still fighting in mountainous, wooded and swampy regions of the Soviet Union. The existence of these forces probably explains why the iron curtain has been slammed

down with special severity in the Western Ukraine. No independent foreign journalist has been able to visit this region since the end of the war.

The UPA during the war called on the peoples of the Soviet Union, especially the non-Russian peoples, to fight with arms in their hands both against Hitler and against Stalin. It did not possess enough military organization, heavy artillery or modern weapons to hold permanently any large area. But the whole world would be much freer, safer and more hopeful if the political objective of these Ukrainian insurgents, destruction of both forms of totalitarian tyranny, had been realized.

A book which has been published about the origin, growth and activity of the UPA by Mikola Lebid reprints the texts of interesting appeals which the UPA issued while it was carrying on active operations on Ukrainian soil. The following slogans appear in all these appeals: "For an independent sovereign Ukrainian state! Freedom to the peoples! Freedom to the human being!" One of these appeals is addressed to Ukrainian volunteers who fought with the Germans. It is dated September, 1943,when the tide of war had already turned against the Germans. Pointing out that the Nazi tyrants had tried to exploit the hatred of the Ukrainian people for communism without giving them independence, the appeal calls on the volunteers not to retreat with the Germans, not to surrender to the Bolsheviks (for both courses would probably lead to death), but to pass over with arms in their hands to the UPA. The appeal concludes:

> "We shall fight for the Ukrainian independent state and for independent states of all the peoples whom the Bolshevik hangmen have enslaved.... The peoples of Europe do not want Hitlerism or Bolshevism.... In our struggle with Bolshevik imperialism Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijan Tartars, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turcomans, Tartars, Russian workers and all other peoples of Europe and Asia will help us."

There were other, similar appeals to the Georgians, to the Volga Tartars, to other non-Russian peoples, each adapted to the grievances and historical background of the people concerned. Still another is addressed to the soldiers of the Red Army. It ends with the following slogans:

> "Death to Hitler and to Stalin! Death to the Berlin and Moscow inciters of war! Down with imperialist war! Long live the revolution of the oppressed peoples! Long live the self-governing states of all peoples! Long live peace and friendship of peoples!"

Following the historic tradition of Ukrainian revolutionaries, the UPA tried to organize a league of peoples oppressed by Soviet tyranny and formed national detachments out of Georgians, Tartars, and various peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The liquidation by the Soviet authorities of three former autonomous republics (the Volga German, Crimean and Kalmyk) and of some nationality districts in the North Caucasus offers conclusive evidence about the hollowness of the official claim that the non-Russian nationalities are enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet regime.

In an age of war, revolution and totalitarian aggression all frontier lines tend to become provisional and uncertain. The First World War led to the revival of states like Poland, which had ceased to exist as a nation for more than a century, and Czechoslovakia, which had lost its national identity for a much longer period. The Japanese grip on Korea, Formosa and Manchuria seemed unbreakable until Japan went down in complete defeat in the Second World War.

The Soviet Union has changed boundary lines and obliterated the national existence of peoples in Eastern Europe in complete disregard of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, of which it is a signatory, and of specific treaties which it concluded with its western neighbors. Nor is there any sign that the process of Soviet would-be expansion has ended. As the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin, recently told the House of Commons:

> "It is the policy of the Soviet Union to use every means in its power to get Communist control in eastern Europe and, as it now appears, in the West as well."

The Soviet Union respects no boundaries in its cold war against the United States. It tries to enlist the aid of every force of subversion and disintegration in all the five continents. It has its corps of conscious and unconscious agents working on American soil.

It should be the policy of the United States to stand for the liberty of all oppressed peoples under Soviet rule, regardless of whether they came under this rule before or after 1939.Ukrainian political refugees should be treated on the same basis as refugees from Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Recognized leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement should be made just as welcome in the United States as men like Mikolajczyk, Nagy, Gorgi Dimitrov and Matchek. They have every right to a place in the east European freedom front, which should offset the Communist treason front in Western Europe and other parts of the world.

Indeed the knowledge and experience of Ukrainian nationalist leaders should be of inestimable value to this government. Only

recently they have been fighting against the Soviet tyranny with arms in their hands. They must possess an expert knowledge of the mood of the peoples behind the iron curtain, of the Ukrainians on both sides of the 1939 Soviet frontier. They should know from firsthand contact with the situation what are the strong points of the Soviet system and what are its most vulnerable weaknesses, what themes and slogans would be most effective in psychological warfare in this part of the world.

The entire recent trend of events, the formation of the Cominform, the breakdown of discussion about Germany, the Soviet declaration of war on the Marshall Plan, Bevin's call for union in Western Europe, points dictatorship and the nations which have retained free institutions.

It is important always to remember that this is a struggle not of races, not of peoples, but of ideas. There are traitors to western Christian civilization in the countries of Europe which are outside the iron curtain and also in this hemisphere. And behind the iron curtain there are many human beings who have risked death and slavery for the sake of freedom.

The Ukraine can be a most valuable ally behind the iron curtain if the possibilities of its nationalist movement are fully realized and exploited in America.

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