

АНГЛОМОВНІ ВИДАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПІДПІЛЛЯ

1946—1947

ЛІТОПИС УПА, ТОМ 17

ЛІТОПИС УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОВСТАНСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ

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АНГЛОМОВНІ ВИДАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПІДПІЛЛЯ

1946 — 1947

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UNDERGROUND**

Edited by

Petro J. Potichnyj

**ВИДАННЯ
ОБ'ЄДНАННЯ КОЛИШНІХ ВОЯКІВ УПА В США І КАНАДІ
та
ТОВАРИСТВ КОЛИШНІХ ВОЯКІВ УПА
ІМ. ГЕН. ХОР. ТАРАСА ЧУПРИНКИ В США І КАНАДІ**

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ПРИСВЯЧУЄМО ЦЕ ВИДАННЯ «ЛІТОПISУ УПА»

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УВЕДЕННЯ ХРИСТИЯНСТВА В УКРАЇНІ

Видавництво «Літопис УПА»

ВСТУПНА СТАТТЯ

Всі документи в цьому томі походять з Закерзонського Краю — українських етнографічних земель на захід від лінії Керзона — які на базі Ялтинського договору передано Польщі. Я віднайшов їх у Державному Архіві США в 1982 році, коли їх також переключифіковано з категорії «секретних» документів і відкрито для загального вжитку.

Дорога їх на Захід не менш цікава. Це частина документів, що їх у 1946-1947 роках підпільний провід Закерзоння передав спеціальними зв'язковими, переважно жінками-підпільницями, до амбасад кількох західних країн у Варшаві, а в тому й до амбасади США.¹ Переслані військовим аташе США, вони творять досить велику групу документів (RG 319) асистента шефа штабу військової розвідки (G2) США.²

З огляду на скептицизм багатьох, навіть обізнаних і в загальному об'єктивних науковців Заходу щодо публікацій українського підпілля, віднайдення цих документів в архівах США ставить їх автентичність поза всякий сумнів.³

Значну частину україномовних видань опубліковано в 16-му томі «Літопису УПА», присвяченому підпільним журналам Закерзонської України. Тут друкуємо лише англomовні видання з цієї групи документів, а саме: «*New Lidice*» (Нові Лідіце), про знищення польським військом українського лемківського села Завадка Морохівська; *The Displacement of His Excellency Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Ukrainian Catholic Clergy of Peremyshl* (Примусове виселення їх ексцеленції єпископа Йосафата Коциловського і українського католицького кліру Перемишля), про виселення польською владою єпископа і його капітули до СРСР, ліквідацію цього стародавнього єпископства, збезчещення собору і пограбування та знищення релігійних предметів, церковного майна і цінних архівів.

Оба ці документи походять з 1946 року і написані зараз після згаданих подій. Жаден з документів не має автора і обидва мають колективний підпис «Представники українського населення, що

1. Дивись **Літопис УПА**, Торонто, Літопис УПА, 1987, т. 16, стор. 19-21, 36-38, 557-568.

2. Дивись, Lt. Col. F. S. Jessie, **Intelligence Report**, 31 March, 1947 (File # 356391); і **Intelligence Report**, 21 May, 1947 (File # 371742). Як джерело документів він подає Українську Головну Визвольну Раду.

3. Дивись, наприклад, рецензію Джона А. Армстронга на антологію Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, Eds., **Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951**. Edmonton, CIUS, 1987, в журналі *Slavic Review*, Fall/Winter, 1987, стор. 628-9.

проживає за лінією Керзона». Правдоподібно були вони виготовлені на підставі матеріалів зібраних і опрацьованих підпільною сіткою, дуже можливо Василем Галасою («Орлан»), шефом пропаганди, або Ярославом Старухом («Стяг», «Стояр», «Ярлан»), краєвим провідником, який згадує трагічні події в Завадці Морохівській у своїй статті в журналі **Інформатор**, ч. 1 (11), 1946 рік.⁴

З дальших документів «Elections in U.S.S.R.» (Вибори в СРСР) — це твір Я. Старуха з січня 1947 року, який був передрукований у березневному числі журналу **Інформативні вісті** в 1947 році, як теж перекладений на англійську мову і виданий у січні 1947 року.⁵

Брошуру «New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine» (Нова голодова катастрофа в Україні) також написав Ярослав Старух («Стояр»). Автор закінчив працю над нею в 1946 році. В січні 1947 року її перекладено на англійську мову і надруковано.⁶

Брошура аналізує ситуацію в сільському господарстві України і характеризує голодомор 1921-1923 і 1932-1933 років як інструмент радянської політики, звернений проти ворожого режимові українського населення. Голод 1946-1947 років — це лише продовження випробуваних засобів у боротьбі з неслухняним населенням у місцевостях, де не було серйозної загрози з боку українського підпілля.

Ярослав Старух («Ярлан») теж автор брошури «Spectre of Fascism» (Фашистівське страшило). Видання українською мовою з 1946 року затратилося. На Заході існує польська версія брошури з 1946 року, надрукована в оригіналі у восьмому томі «Літопису УПА» і в англійському перекладі в книзі «Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951».⁷

Ангомовне видання брошури з січня 1947 року (Фоліо 356 391) друкується тут уперше. В ній автор описує і аналізує основну характеристику тоталітарних режимів фашистівського типу і з допомогою порівняльного методу доводить, що СРСР функціонує за тими самими принципами. На його думку, італійський фашизм, німецький нацизм і російський більшовизм — це ідентичні тоталітарні рухи і системи, які з'явилися в різних країнах Європи після першої світової війни. Варто пам'ятати, що цей трактат

4. Дивись **Літопис УПА**, т. 16, стор. 144. Між іншим, варто згадати, що оба документи творили одну брошуру польською мовою під наголовком **Krwawym szlakiem stalinowskiej demokracji**, 1946, 24 стор. В цій брошурі подано, що її перекладено теж і чеською, словацькою, англійською і французькою мовами. Документи в нашому посіданні не були частиною однієї брошури.

5. Дивись, **Літопис УПА**, т. 16, стор. 299-308. Державний Архів США (Фоліо 356 391) має теж і другу копію цієї брошури в форматі 20.5x30 см.

6. Державний Архів США має два видання цієї брошури, оба з січня 1947 року. Тотожні змістом, вони різняться між собою лише тим, що одне з них (Фоліо 371 742) має гарно оформлену обгортку з ім'ям автора і на титульній сторінці, і при кінці брошури. Друге видання (Фоліо 356 391) без обкладинки і з ім'ям автора аж під кінець брошури.

7. Дивись, **Літопис УПА**, т. 8, стор. 108-202; Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, Eds., **Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951**, стор. 144-167.

великої теоретичної ваги був написаний в підпільному бункрі десять років раніше від книги **Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy**, яка створила концепцію тоталітаризму і мала величезний вплив на формування думки широких західних інтелектуальних кіл.⁸

«*To Brotherly Czech and Slovak Nations*» (До братніх чеського і словацького народів), це брошура, яка появилася українською і чеською мовами в 1946 році. Цей переклад з січня 1947 року (Фоліо 356 391) має лише колективний підпис «Українські повстанці». Автором цього видання міг бути або Ярослав Старух, або Василь Галаса. Цей останній, як шеф пропаганди, мав окрему відповідальність за зв'язки з сусідніми народами.⁹

В цій брошурі розкрита російська імперська політика супроти українського народу і його боротьби за волю та чітко викладена політична програма українського визвольного руху. Автор чи автори остерігають чехів і словаків перед легковажним трактуванням політики СРСР і закликають до спільної боротьби за права народів і людини.

Хоч матеріяли цього тому різні, своїм змістом вони творять одну цілість, коли йдеться про ідейні позиції українського визвольного руху за час і після другої світової війни.

На відміну від видань слов'янськими мовами, як теж і французькою, англійська мова зібраних тут документів дуже недосконала. Зі змісту видно, що переклади робили особи, які не знали основних принципів англійської граматики і лексики і які користувалися в своїй праці цілком певно неповним українсько-англійським або польсько-англійським словником. Пересічний англомовний читач без сумніву матиме великі труднощі розуміти тексти зібраних тут документів. Однак навіть з цими наглядними обмеженнями і перешкодами перекладачам все ж таки вдалося передати головні ідеї українського визвольного руху англомовному читачеві.¹⁰

8. Дивись наприклад: Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, **Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy**. Cambridge, Mass. 1956.

9. Дивись З. Савченко (В. Галаса), **Українсько-польські взаємини**, 1946, брошура, яка появилася теж і польською мовою під наголовком Zenon Sawczenko, **Stosunki polsko-ukrainskie**, 1946. Вона описана в творі Л. Шанковський, **УПА та її підпільна література**, Філадельфія, 1952, стор. 9.

10. Розуміючи досконало потребу інформації і пропаганди, українське підпілля присвячувало спеціальну увагу чужомовним виданням. Крім публікацій російською мовою, які в більшості друкувалися на території УРСР, поважне число видань чужими мовами появилася на Закарпатті завдяки трудові і заходам Ярослава Старуха.

Лев Шанковський у своїй бібліографічній довідці про підпілну літературу нараховує 5 книжкових видань і 9 летючок та відозв чужими мовами, які вийшли друком в Закарпатському Краї. Це, однак, далеко неповний реєстр цих видань, як видно із списку за 1945-1946 роки в Архіві США під наголовком **Читайте і поширюйте українські революційні видання**, 1947?, 8 сторінок (Фоліо 356 391). На цій листі серед 25 знаходимо 7 книжкових позицій і — серед 41 — десять летючок і відозв чужими мовами, крім російської. Ось вони:

Друкуємо ці видання перш усього як документи часу, без постороннього втручання редакторів. Мову документів залишено без змін і тільки в деяких місцях додано короткі пояснення в зносках, які виразно зазначені в тексті.

Чи і наскільки ці твори мали вплив на формування політичної opinii людей, для яких вони були призначені? Чи виконали вони свою роль як джерело інформації про український визвольний рух? На ці питання важко відповісти, але в цьому треба сумніватися. Недосконалість мови, брак сприятливої політичної кон'юнктури не дозволили цим документам пробити собі шлях до публічної opinii світу, чого так очікував і сподівався підпільний провід. І тому без більшого відгуку пролежали вони більше як сорок років у секретних сховищах західних демократій.

1. Петро Дума (Дмитро Маївський), **Большевицька демократизація Європи**, 36 стор. Два видання польською мовою, одно видання чеською мовою, одно видання французькою мовою і в підготовці одно видання англійською мовою.

2. **Деклярація Проводу Організації Українських Націоналістів**. Травень 1945. Одно видання чеською мовою.

3. Ярлан (Ярослав Старух, **Фашистівське страшило**, 1946. Чотири видання польською мовою. Одно видання англійською мовою. У підготовці одно видання французькою і одно видання чеською мовами.

4. Зенон Савченко (Василь Галаса), **Українсько-польські взаємини**. Три видання польською мовою.

5. **Чи атомово бомба врятує Англію? Відповідь Черчілеві**. Шість видань польською мовою. Одно видання чеською мовою. Одно видання англійською мовою і одно видання французькою.

6. **Nasza odpowiedz**. Жовтень 1946, 8 сторін. Одне видання польською і по одному виданні французькою і англійською мовами.

7. **Новітні варвари** і те саме під наголовком **Krwawym szlakiem stalinowskiej demokracji**. По одному виданні мовами польською, чеською, словацькою, англійською і французькою.

Чужими мовами появилися ще такі відозви і листівки:

1. **Плятформа УГВР**. Декілька видань чеською мовою.

2. **До всього культурного світу**. П'ять видань польською мовою. По два видання словацькою і французькою і по одному чеською і англійською мовами.

3. **Polacy!**. Грудень 1945. Багато видань польською мовою.

4. **Polacy Przesiedlency**. Багато видань польською мовою.

5. **Do Wojska Polskiego. Polacy Zolnierze**. Січень-лютий 1946. Багато видань польською мовою.

6. **Do Ludnosci Polskiej**. Багато видань польською мовою.

7. **Do Ogolnej Wiadomosci**. Багато видань польською мовою.

8. **Чехи! Словаки! Вояки!**. Багато видань чеською і словацькою мовами.

Крім цього були теж інші видання:

1. **Datek na fundusz walki narodow ujarzmionych przeciw tyranii bolszewickiej**. Жетон на 20 золотих.

2. **Wierchowiny!**. Березень 1946.

3. **Przymusowe wysiedlenie Eksc. Biskupa Kocyłowskiego oraz kleru grecko-katolickiego Przemysla**. 1946. 3 сторін.

4. **Nowe Lidice**. 24 січня 1946. 7 сторін.

Вони одначе не втратили своєї історичної вартості. Друкуючи їх, ми сподіваємося, що з часом вони зацікавлять об'єктивного історика і дослідника, і хоч пізно, все ж таки скажуть своє слово про останні збройні змагання за волю українського народу.

Всім, хто причинився до видання цього тому, сердечна подяка. В першу чергу п. В. Г. Люїсові за допомогу відшукати ці документи в архівах США і готовість перекласифікувати ці матеріали в відносно короткому часі. Володимиру Макареві дякую за кропітку працю коректора, а Степанові Шпакові за допомогу в праці над покажчиком.

Петро Й. Потічний

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Frank S. Jessie
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Lt Colonel, GSC
Asst Military Attache

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The covering letter of Lt. Col. F.S. Jessie from March 1947 transmitting the underground materials.

Супровідний лист полк. Ф. С. Джесіка з березня 1947 року з підпільними матеріалами.

(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.

National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

INTRODUCTION

All documents in this volume come from the Zakerzons'kyi Krai – Ukrainian ethnographic territories west of the Curzon Line – which at the Yalta Conference were given to Poland. I discovered them in the National Archives of the United States in 1982. They had been reclassified from the "secret" category, and were made available for general use.

How they came to the West is also quite interesting. They are part of a larger group of documents that in the years 1946-1947 were sent by special couriers of the Ukrainian underground leadership, in most cases women, to various Western embassies in Warsaw, including the embassy of the United States.¹

Transmitted to Washington by the U.S. Military Attache, they make up a relatively large group of documents (Record Group 319), of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence (G2).²

Because there exists a great deal of scepticism in connection with the Ukrainian underground publications even among the highly knowledgeable and objective scholars in the West, the discovery of these documents in the U.S. Archives removes any doubt as to their authenticity.³

*A large number of the Ukrainian language publications from this collection of documents were published in volume 16 of the **Litopys IHPA**, devoted to underground journals from Ukraine beyond the Curzon Line. In this volume we are reprinting only the English language materials in the following order: "New Lidice", which documents the brutal destruction by the Polish Army of the Ukrainian Lemko village of Zavadka Morokhiv's'ka: "The Displacement of His Excellency Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Ukrainian Catholic Clergy of Peremyshl", which describes the forcible exile of the Bishop to the USSR where he died in prison, the consequent liquidation of this ancient Bishopric, the act of desecration of the cathedral, the wholesale looting of religious objects, and the destruction of the church property and its valuable archives.*

Both of these documents were published in 1946, shortly after the events described in them took place. Neither document has an individual author and both are signed the "Representatives of the Ukrainian Population Living Beyond the Curzon Line". They were based on the facts collected by the underground and probably drafted either by Vasyl Halasa ("Orlan"), the Chief of Propaganda,

¹ See: **Litopys UPA**, XVI, 1987, pp. 19-21, 36-38, 557-568.

² See: Lt. Col. F.S. Jessie, **Intelligence Report**, 31 March 1947 (356 391), and 21 May 1947 (371 742). The source of documents is given in his reports as the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

³ See for example: John A. Armstrong's review of Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, eds., **Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground**; Edmonton, CIUS, 1987, in **Slavic Review**, Fall/Winter 1987, pp. 628-9.

or by Iaroslav Starukh ("Stiah", "Stoiar", "Iarlan"), the OUN leader, who mentions the tragic events in Zavadka Morokhiv's'ka in his article in **Informator**, No. (11), 1946.⁴

A third document, **Elections in the U.S.S.R.** was written by Iaroslav Starukh in January 1947. It was reprinted in Ukrainian in the March 1947 issue of the Journal **Informatyvni Visti**, and was also translated and published in January 1947 in English.⁵

The brochure **New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine** was also written by Iaroslav Starukh ("Stoiar"). He completed it sometime in 1946, and in January 1947 it was translated into English and published.⁶

The author analyzes the situation in Ukrainian agriculture and characterizes the famines of 1921-23 and 1932-33 as an instrument of Soviet policy used against the Ukrainian population which was hostile to the regime. The famine of 1946-47 is seen by him as the continuation or the use of the well-trying method of the Soviet government against the recalcitrant population, especially in Eastern Ukraine. There the threat of retaliation from the Ukrainian underground was non-existent.

Iaroslav Starukh ("Iarlan") is also the author of **Spectre of Fascism**. The Ukrainian language edition of this brochure is lost and is not available. In the West there exists a Polish version of the brochure from 1946, reprinted in one of the volumes of **Litopys UPA**, and in the book **Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951**.⁷

This English language edition from January 1947 (File 356 391) is being published here for a first time. In it the author describes and analyzes the basic characteristics of totalitarian regimes of a fascist type, and by way of a comparative method shows that the USSR functions on exactly the same principles. In his view, Italian Fascism, German Nazism, and Russian Bolshevism are identical totalitarian movements and systems that appeared in various European countries after World War One. It should be mentioned, that this essay of great theoretical importance was written in an underground bunker some ten years earlier than the book **Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy**, which placed into circulation a concept of totalitarianism which had profound influence on a wide circle of western intellectuals.⁸

To Brotherly Czech and Slovak Nations, appeared in Ukrainian and Czech languages in 1946. This translation from January 1947 (File 356 391) is

⁴ See: **Litopys UPA**, XVI, p. 144. It is worth mentioning that both documents make up one brochure in the Polish language entitled **Krwawym szlakiem stalinowskiej demokracji**, 1946, 24 pp. This brochure was also translated into Czech; Slovak, English and French languages. The documents here are not a part of one brochure.

⁵ See: **Litopys UPA**, XVI, pp. 299-308. The National Archives of the United States, (File 356 391) has still another edition of this brochure in the format IOVi x 30 cm.

⁶ The National Archives of the United States has two editions of this brochure, both of them published in January 1947. Their contents are identical, but they differ in that one of them (File 371 742) has a beautiful cover with the author's name on the title page and at the end of the text. The second edition (File 356 391) has no cover and the author's name is given only at the end of the text.

⁷ See: **Litopys UPA**, VIII, pp. 180-202; Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, eds., **Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951**, pp. 144-167.

signed "The Ukrainian Insurgents". It may have been written either by Iaroslav Starukh or more likely Vasyl Halasa. The latter in his capacity as the Chief of Propaganda had a clear responsibility for contacts with the neighbouring peoples.⁹

In this brochure the author describes the policy of Russian imperialists vis-a-vis the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for freedom. The political program of the Ukrainian liberation movement is also clearly outlined. The author or authors warn the Czechs and Slovaks not to minimize the Soviet policy with respect to their country and call upon them to join- the common struggle against the Russian invaders for the rights of nations and man.

Although the materials of this volume differ, their contents form a remarkably unified whole pertaining to the ideological positions of the Ukrainian liberation movement during and immediately after World War Two.

In contrast with similar editions of these brochures in Slavic languages and in French, the language of the documents reprinted here is rather poor. It is quite clear that the individuals who make these translations did not have sufficient proficiency in English language or grammar. Moreover in their work, they probably had to rely on an inadequate Ukrainian-English or perhaps a Polish-English dictionary. The average English reader no doubt would have great difficulty in understanding the texts of these documents. However, even with these severe limitations and obstacles, the translators did succeed in conveying to a thoughtful English reader, the main ideas of the Ukrainian liberation movement.¹⁰

We are reprinting these materials here as documents of the period, without in any way, altering their form or content. The language of these publications was left without change and only in some places were short explanations offered in the form of footnotes.

What kind of influence did these works have on the formation of political opinions among the circles for which they were written? Have they performed their function as the source of information about the Ukrainian liberation move-

⁸ See for example: Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, **Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy**. Cambridge, Mass., 1956.

⁹ See: Z. Savchenko (V. Halasa), **Ukrains'ko-pols'ki vsaiemyny**, 1946 and in Polish Zenon Sawczenko, **Stosunki polsko-ukrainskie**, 1946. The brochure is described in Lev Shankovskiy, **UPA ta ii pidpil'na literatura**. Philadelphia, 1952, p.9.

¹⁰ Strongly aware of the value of information and propaganda, the Ukrainian underground paid special attention to publications in foreign languages. In addition to materials in the Russian language, which in most cases were being published on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, a number of foreign language brochures made their appearance in Zakarzenskyi Krai primarily as a result of special efforts by Iaroslav Starukh.

Lev Shankov'skyi, in his bibliography mentioned above, lists 5 brochures, and 9 leaflets and proclamations in foreign languages published in the territories beyond the Curzon Line. However, as he himself readily admits, it is not a full count by any means. A list located in the National Archives of the United States (File 356 391), entitled **Chytaite i poshyryuite ukrains'ki revoliutsiini vydannia**, n.d. (Circa 1947), 8 pages, provides a partial listing of the underground publications for the years 1945-46. In this register there are 7 brochures, (among 25), and 10 (among 41) leaflets and proclamations in foreign languages other than Russian. They are:

1. Petro Duma (Dmytro Maivs'kyi), **Bol'shevyts'ka demokratyzatsiia Europy**, 36 pp. It appeared in two Polish editions, one Czech, one French and was being translated into English.

merit? These questions are difficult to answer but on this score, one is left with serious doubts. Rendered in a rather awkward English, and in the absence of a favourable political atmosphere, these publications failed to break through to the world public opinion, as we fervently hoped for by the underground leadership. As such, they found themselves gathering dust in the secret vaults in the archives of Western democracies.

Their historical value did not diminish, however. And it is hoped that by reappearing here, they will in time attract attention of a serious researcher and historian, and although in a somewhat belated fashion, will help contribute to the understanding of the latest armed struggle for freedom by the Ukrainian people.

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AH who contributed to the publication of this volume deserve our sincere thanks. First of all, we are grateful to Mr. W.G. Lewis for help in finding these documents in the U.S. National Archives, and his willingness to reclassify them in a prompt fashion. Mr. Wolodymyr Makar deserves special thanks for the onerous job of a proofreader and Mr. Stepan Shpak, for help in compiling the index.

Petro J. Potichnyi

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2. **Dekliaratsiia Provodu Orhanizatsii Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv**, May, 1945, Czech edition.
 3. Iarlan (Iaroslav Starukh), **Fashystivs'ke strashylo**, 1946. This brochure had four editions in Polish, one in English (reprinted here), and was being translated into Czech and French languages.
 4. Zenon Savchenko (Vasyl Halasa), **Ukrains'ko-pols'ki vzaïemyny**. Three editions in Polish.
 5. **Chy atomova bomba vriatuiu? Vidpovid' Cherkhilevi**. Six editions in Polish, one in Czech, one in English (unavailable), and one in French.
 6. **Nasza odpowiedz**. October, 1946, 8 pp. One edition each in Polish, French, and English (unavailable) languages.
 7. **Novitni varvary** and the same also entitled **Krwawym szlakiem stalinowskiej demokracji**. One edition each in Polish, Czech, Slovak, English and French languages.

The leaflets and proclamations:

1. **Platforma UHVR**. Several editions in Czech language.
2. **Do vsioho kul'turnoho svitu**. Five editions in Polish, two each in Slovak and French, and one each in Czech and English.
3. **Polacy**, December 1945. Many editions in Polish.
4. **Polacy Przesiedlency**. Many editions in Polish.
5. **Do Wojska Polskiego. Polacy Zolnierze**, January-February, 1946. Many editions in Polish.
6. **Do Ludnosci Polskiej**. Many editions in Polish.
7. **Do Ogolnej Wiadomosci**. Many editions in Polish.
8. **Chekhy! Slovaky! Voiaky**. Many editions in Czech and Slovak languages.

In addition there existed also the following publications:

1. **Datek na fundusz walki narodow ujarzmionych przeciw tyranii bolszewickiej**. Many editions in Polish.
2. **Wierchowiny**, March, 1946. Many editions in Polish.
3. **Przymusowe wysiedlenie Eksc. Biskupa Kocyłowskiego oraz kleru grecko-katolickiego Przemysla**, 1946. 3 pp. Several Polish and one English edition (reprinted here).
4. **Nove Lidice**, 24 January, 1946, 7 pp. Several Polish and one English edition (reprinted here).

NEW LIDICE*

The devastation of the Czechich village Lidice by Nazi barbarian shook once the conscience of all the cultural world. Till today has not yet been affaced in the memory that cruel crime.

However, that is not the last crime of this kind in the world. The resembling, but still more horrible, still more mass crimes are taking place and now in "peace" conditions.

As an example we below hand two reports of like crimes, perpetrated on Ukrainian population, living in the limits of present Polish State, westerly Curzon line¹, perpetrated by the Polish Army and the bolshevist commissaries.²

The ruination of Ukrainian village Zavadka Morokhivska.

For what reason has been ruined Zavadka Morokhivska?

The village Zavadka Morokhivska is situated in Carpathian mountains, westerly San river, in district Sanok. Those environs are inhabited by Ukrainian population. After the tracing of eastern frontier of present Polish State on Curzon line the part of Ukrainian ethnographical territory remained in the limits of Polish State.

The Muscovite-bolshevist Government, in agreement with its obedient Warsaw executors, decreed the displacement of all Ukrainians, living beyond the Curzon line out of their father's soil and their deportation into the depth of U.S.S.R.

(Illegible) displacement out of beyond Curzon in the time of their alliance, in the years 1939-40.³ Now, withstanding Hitler's end, Stalin decided to finish his work of Ukrainian displacement that he began with Hitler together, for he is afraid of Ukrainians leaving anywhere else behind the direct watch of his allmightly, bloodthirsty N.K.V.D.⁴

The Ukrainian people has led and leads allwhere⁵ an obstinate fight for State Independence under the sublime slogans: "liberty to all Nations, liberty to all men!" - To that fight Ukrainians are allwhere organizing all enslaved or by Muscovite imperialism menaced peoples. Moscow is

This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, File No. 329 269. Declassified by authority E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402, of NND Declassification Project 765102, W.G. Lewis, NARS, July 16, 1982.

¹ West of the Curzon line.

² Commissars.

³ Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

⁴ People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

⁵ Everywhere.

deadly afraid of that free, independent movement. For that reason had been decreed in Moscow the displacement of Ukrainians out of beyond Curzon line.

Ukrainians, however, would not relinquish their father's soil, at no cost, and would not leave for U.S.S.R., neither spontaneously, nor under compulsion. Then, the present Polish Army, at Moscow orders, under the command of Soviet officers let unfettered an awful terrorism against the Ukrainian population to may have constrained it to leaving for U.S.S.R.

In that barbarian action the Polish Army completely ruined hundreds of Ukrainian villages, and murdered thousands of innocent men.

As an example of that horrible terrorism let be the fate of a Ukrainian village, Zavadka Morokhivska. We below hand a short report about those facts.

The first assault of Polish Army upon the Village Zavadka Morokhivska and another villages, the 24 January 1946.

A long time already assailed the Polish Army under command of Soviet officers the Ukrainian villages of district Sanok as well as of another districts beyond Curzon line.

Just as the 24 January 1946, the detachements of 34th regiment of WP, garrisoned in the town of Sanok, under the command of a Soviet officer, the commander of 34th regiment, colonel Pluto, - assailed the Ukrainian villages: Vyslik Dolney⁶, Karlykiv, Zavadka Morokhivska and the other villages.

In the village Vyslik Dolney, the WP soldiers, in bounds⁷ of that terroristic action, robbed the property of population and beat many a people. 4 inhabitants of that village were wounded, in consequence of shooting, 7 were murdered amid the barbarian tortures. At the same time, the soldiers burnt 36 houses.

The same day WP burnt many houses in the village Karlykiv, robbed there the economic property of inhabitants and murdered 14 men, in that number the Ukrainian Catholic clergyman, a 70 years old man, together with his daughter and his 4 year granddaughter.

The little granddaughter of the clergyman was just in arms of a servant Magdalene when the WP soldiers fell into the house and began to beat and shoot all the inhabitants. The little girl was frightened when she saw the soldiers murdering the old priest and his daughter (her grandfather and mother), began to cry and beg the maid she might have hid her. Snagging⁸ to the nurse and weeping besaught⁹ the mite¹⁰:

⁶ Vyslik Dolishnyi.

⁷ As part.

⁸ Snuggling.

⁹ Beseechingly.

¹⁰ The small creature.

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"Maud¹¹ defend me, Maud hide me". - But the merciless soldier-beast jumped up to her and with three bayonet blows murdered the defenceless, innocent child in nurse's arms. After that, with a rifle shot he heavily wounded the maid and left her, persuaded of having killed her. Then, the soldiers burnt the parsonage.

In the village, at that time, have been murdered, in this way, 14 persons and burnt many buildings, the soldiers having menaced¹² the next time they would have killed all who would not leave for U.S.S.R.

At the same day, the WP soldiers also fell upon the village Zavadka Morokhivska. There took place the same robbery of property, beating and murdering of inhabitants.

All that had been caught were driven to the centre of village and menaced that all would have been shot for they would not leave for U.S.S.R. But, for this time, the bandits have, not been succeeded. Suddenly appeared a detachment of UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) that hindered the bandits in their bloody slaughter. They were attacked and expelled out of the village. In this way, the arrested inhabitants who were to die, have been saved.

The second assault of WP upon the village Zavadka Morokhivska, the 25 January 1946.

The 25 January 1946, at 8 o'clock¹³ the 34th regiment, under the command of a Soviet officer, the colonel Pluto, occupied the villages: Mokre, Vysochany, Kaminne and Zavadka Morokhivska.

At 8 o'clock, the second battalion, of the same regiment, surrounded the village Zavadka Morokhivska. The soldiers, corresponding to the orders of their commanders, immediately began to catch, to beat and to drive together the inhabitants to the village centre. All, that only have been caught, as men as well as women and children, were beaten and hurt with bayonets and wires. Their eyes were picked out, their chests, their ears, their noses, their tongues were cut off. The dead murdered together with living wounded were thrown into fire. So, that day, by the soldier beasts were murdered, amid unheard of tortures and oppressions, 70 inhabitants. Among the killed was a great number of children, even infants of several months.

We below hand a register of murdered, in family order.

- 1) Bilas Catharine, aged 60, wounded, thrown on¹⁴ with straw and wood and burnt alive.
- 2) Bilas Palagie, aged 50, burnt alive in the hut.
- 3) Khirileyza Mary, aged 41, the citizen of U.S.. (there born). Seven bayonet wounds, all toes broken, the right arm thrice broken, the right chest¹⁵ cut off, the head shattered.

¹¹ Magdalene.

¹² Threatening.

¹³ O'clock.

¹⁴ Covered by.

¹⁵ Breast.

- 4) Khirileyza Anne (the daughter), aged 16. The head shattered, the hands and legs broken.
- 5) Khirileyza Catharine (the daughter), aged 15. The head shattered, a bayonet wound over the knee.
- 6) Maxim Andrew, aged 70, burnt alive.
- 7) Maxim Mary (his wife), killed with an occipital shot.
- 8) Maxim Anasthasie (the daughter in law), the left leg cut to pieces, and broken over the knee, the right leg twice broken, the hands broken, three bayonet wounds of right chest and five of the left one, the whole belly cut off, the head shattered.
- 9) Maxim Stephen, aged 10, two bayonet hurts of chest, an occipital shot.
- 10) Maxim Anne, one year child, the belly cut off.
- 11) Maxim Catharine, four years child, the mouth twice pierced with bayonet, two bayonet wounds of chest, the belly ripped open thoroughly.
- 12) Thomas Catharine, both chests cut off, both legs cut to pieces. She survived still an hour and deposed¹⁶ that with soldiers there were murdering the civil¹⁷ bandits, among whom she recognized some from Niebieshchany¹⁸ (a Polish, neighbouring village).
- 13) Thomas Mary (the daughter), the nose and tongue cut off, the eyes picked out.
- 14) Thomas Anne (the daughter), the nose and tongue cut off, the eyes picked out.
- 15) Thomas Stephen (the son), the nose and the tongue cut off, the eyes picked out.
- 16) Nechysta Anne, a chest shot. She survived still three hours.
- 17) Nechysta Catharine (the daughter), aged 20, hurted in legs, was thrown into fire and burnt alive.
- 18) Bilas Eve, the back pierced through with bayonet.
- 19) Bilas Theodor, aged 65, the belly perforated with bayonet. He still survived seven hours.
- 20) Bilas John, aged 46, a back shot.
- 21) Bilas Mary, aged 38, the tongue cut off, the right hand broken, the belly pierced through with bayonet and several bayonet wounds of legs.
- 22) Bilas Sophie, aged 7, the legs and the belly cut up.
- 23) Nechystey Michael, the right hand over the knee and the left hand hurted.

¹⁶ Made a deposition.

¹⁷ Civilian.

¹⁸ Niebieszczany.

- 24) Nechysta Catharine (the wife), the left leg hurted, burnt alive.
- 25) Nechystey Tharasius (the son), a three years child, a dum-dum¹⁹ bullet wound. It expired amid dreadful pains after six hours.
- 26) Nechysta Magdalene (the daughter), aged 17, hurted and burnt alive.
- 27) Nechysta Sophie (the daughter), aged 8, hurted and burnt alive.
- 28) Nechysta Mary, six years child, hurted, burnt alive. Deposes²⁰ of it Nechystey Michael who was thrown hurted into burning house, but well nigh by miracle succeeded to fly.²¹
- 29) Dudyntchak Joseph, aged 40, a chest bullet wound, two bayonet wounds.
- 30) Dudyntchak Anasthasia, aged 40, a chest bullet wound.
- 31) Izdebska Eve, a back bullet wound.
- 32) Izdebska Catharine, a six months child, the throat cut off, head bayonet wound.
- 33) Bontchak Demetrius, aged 50, deafened with a rifle blow, burnt alive.
- 34) Bontchak John (the brother), a belly bullet wound, burnt alive.
- 35) Klamtchyk Anne, the throat cut off, a chest bullet wound.
- 36) Tsyhanyk Basilius, an hand lighting bullet wound expired past.
- 37) Tsyhanyk Catharine (the mother), the head shattered, an occipital bullet wound.
- 38) Tsyhanyk John, one chest bullet wound one chest bayonet wound.
- 39) Hrynio John, an occipital bullet wound.
- 40) Izdebskey Michael, a chest bullet wound.
- 41) Izdebskey Peter, an head bullet wound.
- 42) Kozlyk Catharine, the head shattered.
- 43) Kozlyk Anne, a chest bullet wound.
- 44) Kozlyk Eve, a chest bullet wound.
- 45) Kmetchyk Demetrius, one head bullet wound, one bayonet wound.
- 46) Khirileyza Catharine, a chest bullet wound.
- 47) Khirileyza Yaroslaus (the son) the throat cut off.
- 48) Khirileyza Peter (the brother), a back bullet wound.
- 49) Bontchak Joseph, a chest bullet wound.
- 50) Bontchak Mary (the wife), a chest bullet wound.
- 51) Bontchak Catharine (the daughter), one left hand bullet wound, one left leg bullet wound, six belly boyonet wounds.
- 52) Izdebskey Nestor, a chest bullet wound.
- 53) Netchystey Andrew, three chest bayonet wounds.

¹⁹ A type of an explosive bullet.

²⁰ A deposition made by ...

²¹ Escaped.

54) Nechystey John, two back bullet wounds.

55) Bilas Catharine, a back bullet wound.

56) Dobrianskey Nicholas, a belly bullet wound. He expired past²² 6 hours.

Save²³ enumerated victims there have been killed many other individuals that are not contained in this register. The killed together with expired (in consequence of wounds), - have been about 70 persons.

Many of having been hurt have been left cripples.

Afterwards the representatives of Polish "democratic authority" forbade to sick and wounded to consult the physician.

Simultaneously with that barbarian mass murdering took place a mass plunder. Among the other there have been robbed: 17 horses, 34 cows, 157 hens, 78 quintals of corn as well as other belongings that for so a poor, many times robbed and terrorized mountaineer's population made well nigh all their fortune. Into the bargain, the WP gangsters burnt 27 huts-shanties, that have been built after the village destruction by Germans, during the last war.

After the barbarian "action" the bolshevist deceitful propaganda asserted WP to have annihilated 80 Ukrainians Insurgents (banderovtse)²⁴, who pretendedly had shot on them out of the huts. In reality, however, during all this action, that day, there had been not given one shot, neither out of the village nor even out of the forest.

The third terroristic assault upon the village Zavadka Morokhivska, the 28 March 1946.

The 28 March 1946, at 6 o'clock in the morning, the detachments of 34th regiment of WP, equipped with machine guns and mortars, surrounded from all the sides, the village Zavadka Morokhivska.

The inhabitants, learned by bitter experience, flew into forest. But not all succeeded to fly. All that had been caught were driven to a place near the village school. Here, the together drawn people addressed a WP captain, in this way: "I shall have shot all, to a man, for you will not leave for U.S.S.R., but, instead of that, you are politicizing with banderovtse and will build here your independent Ukraine!

Afterwards, he commanded to segregate, from among together drawn people, eleven, healthy men, and to shoot them in presence of all.

As victims of that new, barbarian, terroristic act fell this day

1) Masluk John, aged 46.

2) Masluk Theodor, aged 25.

3) Masluk Nicholas, aged 26.

²² After.

²³ Aside from.

²⁴ Banderowce.

- 4) Klemtych Michael, aged 28.
- 5) Dobriansky Basilius, aged 35.
- 6) Shurkalo Joachim, aged 40.
- 7) Kozlyk Stephen, aged 18.
- 8) Khirileyza Demetrius, aged 48.
- 9) Nechystey Michael, aged 38.
- 10) Bilas John, aged 35 (killed with a rifle butt-end).
- 11) Bilas Theodor, aged 40.

Among having been shot there were many wounded from the first action.

After having perpetrated that murder, the WP soldiers burnt the rest of remained save in the first action 7 shanties and the cellars where were living the people of the miserable village. The WP bandits "generously" left unburnt only the school and the Church. But they plundered the last two cows and one horse that still were in the village.

Then, spoke the same captain again, in such words: "Thus shall be with all that do not want to leave for U.S.S.R. I command, therefore, to relinquish the village, on three days time and leave for, otherwise I shall have shot the rest. But, that you may have learned my good heart, I do not command yet to burn the school and the church where women and children may take refuge till to leave".

Notwithstanding all those dreadful, unheard of trial the inhabitants of that village, that survived, very heroically held by their father's soil henceforth and declared they would not leave for U. S. S. R. at no cost.

The pitiful, plundered rests of population shifted from the village into the forest where they were living in provisional shanties, maintaining themselves by the help of the other Ukrainian villages.

The fourth assault of WP upon the village Zavadka Morokhivska the 13 April 46.

The 13 April 1946 the WP bandits again assailed the village Zavadka Morokhivska. The one group attacked from the side of forest, and the other from the side of a Polish village Neibieshchany.

The population at seeing their red hangmen, began to fly which ever way they only could. After the flying people the soldiers opened the fire out of machine guns and mortars and automats.²⁵ Who had been caught was beaten to death or immediately shot.

In consequence of that action have been murdered:

- 1) Dobriansky Vladimirus, aged 15, shot.
- 2) Dobriansky John, aged 22, beaten and then shot.
- 3) Masluk Orest, aged 27, wounded in legs, despatched with a rifle butt-end.

²⁵ Automatic pistols.



The church in the village of Pawlocoma whose population was massacred by the Poles in March 1945.

Церква в селі Павлокома вимордуваного поляками в березні 1945 року.

(*Перемишль західний бастион України*, стор. 210.

Peremyshl zakhidnyi bastion Ukrainy, p. 210).

- 4) Bentshak Vladimir, aged 18, wounded, despatched with a stone.
- 5) Nechstey Zenon, a three years child, shot.
- 6) Khirileyza John, aged 42, the citizen of U.S.A., twice heavily wounded.

Were beaten all the women that did not succeed to fly, but fell into hands of Polish-bolshevist hangmen. Were equally beaten the children, without any exception. The soldiers also burnt 3 shanties the inhabitants had built from the time of the first assault. Likewise, they burnt the school.

To maltreated people the WP gangsters declared they would be all shot to a man, if on three days time they do not leave for U.S.S.R. The remaining people, however, declared they would rather die on their soil but for Soviet Kholhoz would not leave at all.

The fifth assault and compulsory displacement of the rest of Ukrainian population of the village Zavadka Morokhivska, the 30 April 1946.

The 30 April 1946, the WP again assailed, for the fifth time already, from beginning of the year, the oppressed, without example ruined and terrorized village, or rather the ruins of a village, and the rest of living amid them, in preceding assaults still unmurdered, inhabitants.

The village was surrounded by a large group of WP, on all sides, that nobody may have flown. Afterwards, they expelled, by force, the rest of population to the railway station, to Zahiria (Żagorz). The having been caught people was drawn on to the station under a very strong escort.

The unhappy inhabitants, expelled now, by barbarian violence, out of their native land, notwithstanding that they were living there, from a long time, under dreadful, cannibal terrorism, and sustained unheard of, bloody sacrifices, - abandoned now the ruins of their native village, bursting into tears of grief and despair, as well as hatred against their hangmen - cannibals. That day, from Zavadka Morokhivska have been carried out about 73 persons, but in that number only 4 men.

So heroically was fighting, during a long time, against the outrage of the red Polish Army a poor, many times, by Germans and Polish bolsheviks, burnt Ukrainian, Lemkavian village Zavadka Morokhivska.

Thus, in "peaceful" conditions was completely ruined the whole village and its population has been systematically murdered or expelled by those who hypocritically contend to be the saviours of humanity.

It is not such the same, but still greater, still more dreadful, unheard of crime than once loud, mass murder of Czechish population of the village Lidice, by Nazi hangmen?

Meanwhile of such, in the whole human history unheard of crime

of unparalleled cannibalism is today neither count nor end here.

The above sketched fate of Zavadka Morokhivska is not at all a single case, is not an exception, but is a picture of the whole system ruling here today, as on that side of Curzon line.

**The depositions of WP soldiers concerning the
destruction of the village Zavadka Morokhivska,
as well as murder of its population.**

PROTOCOL I

Generalia: Pawlowski Ladislaus, born the 3-rd May 1925 in the village Buzany, of district Wroclaw (Wilno province), the son of Stanislaus and Clementine born Woroniecka, Roman-Catholic, Polish, education - 4 classes of elementary school, the private of 34th regiment of WP (Polish Army) garrisoned to Sanok.

Depositions: (a short excerpt concerning the law-suit²⁶ Zavadka:
" . . . The 24 January 1946, our second battallion received from colonel Pluto an order of raiding the villages:

Morokhiv, Mokre and Zavadka Morokhivska. As regards to that, we received an explicit command of carrying off from inhabitants of those villages, Ukrainians, foot-wear, as well as other belongings that only would fall under hands.

. . . The next day, we again received an order of raiding the village Zavadka Morokhivska with the scope of burning the whole village. In the village Mokre was then still one battalion that, if necessary, would come to our assistance. In our second battalion, during that action, were also 20 UBP (Polish Security police) members of Sanok.

The chief task was executed, in the village, by 4th and 5th companies. Those companies, before starting from Sanok, still received special instructions. What sort of instructions, I do not know. My 6th company, as well as machine guns and mortars companies, were on positions, around the village. We had the task of sheltering companies, performing the action in the village. Therefore, in person, I did not take part in what happened in the village" . . .

**The 1-st March 1946.
WP private soldier,
Pawlowski Ladislaus
/sign manual/**

PROTOCOL II

Generalia: Kutyllo Francis,- born the 15 May 1918, in Kamien, of district Nisko, the son of Theophilus and Sophie, born Kurdziel, Roman-Catholic, Polish education - 6 classes of elementary school, the ensign of WP, 5th company, 34 regiment, 8 division, garrisoned to Sanok.

²⁶ The case.

Depositions: (a short excerption concerning the law-suit Zavadka M.):
: . . . "From September 1945, I, in person, took part in larger, plunder terroristical actions, regarding the compulsory displacement of Ukrainian population in following villages: Dubrivka Ruska. Sianichok, Zahutyn, Prusik, Storozi Velyki, Storozi Mali, Zavadka Morokhivska and lately Volycia, where I was taken prisoner by UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

The plunder terroristical actions, regarding compulsory displacement of Ukrainians, were very often directed by lieutenant Lewicki, as well as his assistant, Mogulski.

The first battalion most frequently started to such plunder terroristical actions, against the Ukrainian population, to environs of a small town, Bukivsko (Bukowsko). At returning from such actions the soldiers sold the robbed belongings, arranging, then, carouses.

During the quartering in the village Dukla, our 3rd battalion took part in compulsory displacement action of villages Tchoka and Tilava. The inhabitants of those villages were expelled, by force, and all their property was robbed.

The lieutenant Lewicki who managed that compulsory displacement action of Ukrainians, has in his house plenty of robbed belongings.

The 25 January 1946, during the action on Zavadka Morokhivska, our battalion was on positions in the village Mokre and had the task of coming to assistance, if necessary, to the second battalion that started to Zavadka. Therefore, I, in person, did not take part, then, in murdering of inhabitants of the village Zavadka Morokhivska".

The 2-nd March 1946
WP ensign, Kutyllo Francis
/sign manual/

PROTOCOL III

Generalia: Commander of 5th company, 2 battalion, WP second lieutenant Kuzma Bronislaus, bom the 13 October 1917, in Leningrad, the son of Ignatius and Adolphine, born Kotel, Roman-Catholic, Whiterussian, 34 regiment, 8 division, Sanok: ed. 7cl.e.s.

Depositions: (a short excerption concerning the law-suit Zavadka M.) (nota bene: Kuzma Bronislaus would not, to the beginning, avow that he, in person, took part in the action on Zavadka Morokhivska. However, when a soldier of his battalion, Pawlowski Ladislaus, stated, in his presence, that he, himself, Kuzma Bronislaus, commander of the 5th company, in person, took part in the action on Zavadka Morokhivska, as well as described those facts in detail, - then, Kuzma avowed, and gave large depositions from which we below hand a short excerption, concerning the law-suit Zavadka Morokhivska)

²⁷ Drinking bouts.

... "The commander of our 34 regiment is a Soviet officer colonel Pluto. Likewise, the commander of the second battalion, to whom appertains my, 5th company, is also a Soviet officer, captain Gutovski.

"With my battalion together I took part in numerous actions of compulsory displacement of Ukrainians, among the others, on village Prybyshiv. We received an order of a ruthless expelling of all Ukrainians, and of carrying away their property on carts to the barracks of our battalion.

"Of banderovtse I heard, very often, that they are very numerous. I heard that recently came from Ukraine a group of 6 thousands of banderovtse. I know that they are fighting for Independence of Ukraine, against the Soviets. We received, in Army, a rigorous order to fight against banderovtse, by all means, wheresoever it would be possible.

"The 23 or 24 January, we received the order of raiding the villages: Morokhiv, Mokre, Zavadka Morokhivska. The captain Gutovski commanded to seek after weapon, and besides, to carry out boots and all what would only fall under hands. At crossing to Zavadka Morokhivska, we perceived, by chance, one banderovets, as he was coming out of the forest. The soldier Kuchynski, of the 4th company, fired and wounded him so that he sank. Then, the corporal Olchevski, of 4th company, together with two another soldiers, stood in his way, and hastened to him. The soldier Ismiantchuk Witold, from beneath Bialystok, aged 27, ripped open with bayonet, his belly and chopped his head. Also the others were beating and maltreating the wounded. Then, we pulled off his boots and overcoat, was taken out his money, - how much, I do not remember.

Afterwards we went to Zavadka Morokhivska. There we began to do the same as in preceding villages, conformably to the orders of battalion commander, Gutovski. But, there we were surprised by banderovtse. It came to fight in which we lost 13 dead and 8 wounded, carts with horses and 2 mortars.

"Next day, the colonel Pluto ordered to the second and third battalion the burning of the village Zavadka Morokhivska. The second battalion raided Zavadka Morokhivska while the third occupied position in the village Mokre. Conformably to the order of colonel Pluto, the action on Zavadka Morokhivska was directed by the third battalion commander, captain Kozyra, notwithstanding that his battalion was in Mokre.

"I, with my company together, was burning the village and murdering in the centre of village. There, I, in person, have murdered one man, Ukrainian, aged about 30. I pierced through, with my bayonet, his belly and perforated him still several times. The maltreated asked to despatch him. Except this one, there, I have not killed nobody else.

"Our battalion commander, captain Gutovski was, this time, with third battalion. To the centre of village went 4th, 5th, and 6th companies that burnt the village and murdered the inhabitants. The mortars and machine guns companies occupied positions around the village, that nobody could come out of the village, and that we might not be attacked, from outside, by banderovtse.

"There were among ourselves some that spontaneously took part in that slaughter. They murdered the children, picked out eyes, cut off chests of women. To such sadists may be accounted: Kucko Stanislaus, aged 27, platoon commander of my 5th, company, and from the 4th company: a sadist, platoon commander Stanislaus Michniewicz, aged 28-29; from the 6th company: corporal Romanowski, aged 25.

"In the action of mass murder of Ukrainians in Zavadka Morokhivska took part the following officers: I, myself, Kuzma Bronislaus, the lieutenant Kopynski, aged 35, the second lieutenant Bohdanowicz, aged 25, the second lieutenant

ant Kisiel, aged 29, the ensign Ostrowski, aged 40, the lieutenant Terlecki, aged 24.

"The next day, after the burning of the village Zavadka Morokhivska and murdering of a great number of its inhabitants, our, second battalion was praised by colonel Pluto, for a very good action execution".

**The 3-rd March 1946.
WP Second lieutenant,
Kuzma Bronislaus
/sign manual/**

**In the month of July 1946.
The representatives of Ukrainian population
living beyond the Curzon line**

*Original: The National
Archives of the United
States, Washington, D.C.,
Record Group #319,
File No. 329 269.*

**THE DISPLACEMENT
OF HIS EXCELLENCY BISHOP
JOSAPHAT KOTSYLOVSKY AND
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CLERGY
OF PEREMYSHL*.**

We repeatedly informed already in our diverse publications the wide world opinion of the barbarian, unheard of terrorism, applied by the Muscovite-bolshevist occupants towards the Ukrainian people.

As a part of this martyrology of Ukrainian people are unheard of, barbarian cruelties which is surpassing this share of Ukrainian population that remained in the borders of present Polish State, westerly Curzon line.¹

The Polish-bolshevist authorities are there carrying the compulsory displacement² of the whole million of Ukrainian population out of her fathers's soil, perpetrating besides the most cruel crimes of mass murders and another similar violences. We also informed that in a sole diocese of Peremyshl (Przemysl), in consequence of that terrorism, during the last two years, have been murdered 36 Ukrainian Catholic clergymen. We below hand still one fact from the long register of those crimes.

The 27 of June 1946, at 9-10 o'clock³ in the morning, the detachments of WP (Polish Army), Military College,⁴ UBP (Polish Security Police) and MO (Citizen's Militia), at full equipment, including the helmets, surrounded the Ukrainian Catholic Chapter,⁵ the Bishop's palace and the private lodgings of Ukrainian Catholic clergy in the town of Peremyshl (Przemysl).

The neighbouring streets and squares were closed by Army and Militia cordons so, that nobody was allowed to be approached. After

This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, No. 329 269. Declassified by authority E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402, of NND Declassification Project 765102, W.G. Lewis, NARS, July 16, 1982.

¹ West of the Curzon line.

² The reference is to the exchange of populations between Poland and the USSR.

³ o'clock.

⁴ Officers' school.

⁵ Cathedral Chapter (Chancery).

that, the crowd of WP soldiers, Militia men and UBP members - those last were dressed in civil⁶ clothes - broke into interior of Bishop's palace.

All those representatives of the red "democratic" authority, after having broken into apartments, began to conduct themselves brutally, overthrowing and breaking the belongings, spoiling the furnitures and beating the Bishop's domestics amid the vulgar street curses and imprecations. Finally, they fell into apartment of His Excellency Bishop.

The majestic, grey-headed old man, His Excellency Josaphat Kotsylovsky, did not allow to be frightened or terrorized at all. When WP soldiers, Militia men and UBP members mob, with wild cries broke into Bishop's apartment and stopped before him, the representative of district sherrif, Felcozynski, and UBP chief, Dzugaj, who managed the displacement action, declared they received orders from their ministries to displace the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl with all his Chapter in U.S.S.R. - It is necessary to note that the managers of Bishop's displacement action were accompanied by the Polish officers, some of whom openly used the Russian language.⁸

But the first frightening the "democratic terrorists" reckoned on the most did not help nothing at all. - They categorically then declared that at 18 o'clock would arrive for the Bishop a lorry in which he should leave for U.S.S.R. To that time he should have been prepared for the journey.

But His Excellency Bishop boldly answered he would not abandon the confided to him diocese, in no case, without permission and decision of the Holy See, and would not leave for nowhere without the consent of Rome. - "You can do with me what you will", replied to them with dignity the grey-headed Shepherd of His Church and His tortured people, - "you may kill me or torment me but notwithstanding that I shall not leave for nowhere spontaneously".

As His Excellency Bishop had refused, in so a categorical form, his consent on leave and would not have done any preparations, the soldiers, themselves, took to pack his belongings. In reality, however, it was not at all the packing but the robbery. The soldiers and Militia men stole and took away all they could only bear and carry out. Besides, they did not hesitate to give the farther proofs of their "democratic" culture, pushing the Bishop and using the most abominable words. All their behaviour towards His Excellency Bishop was extremely brutal and vulgar.

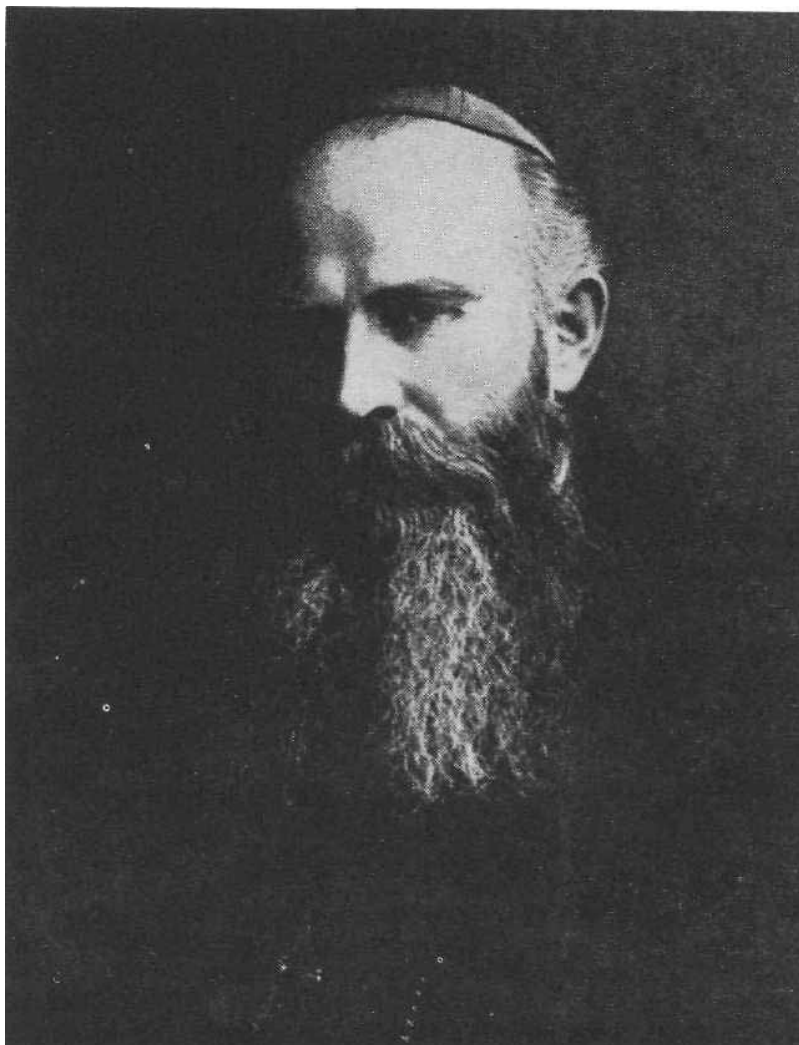
At 14 o'clock arrived the lorry. His Excellency Bishop, consequently to his declaration held out with dignity and in spite of threats was not leaving his chair. When the soldiers attacked him and, by force, would lead out him to lorry the Bishop protested once more, and remained on his place his hands holding the chair arms.

Then the soldiers, amid the imprecations and brutal behaviour, carried down the Bishop with the chair together to the street. His Excel-

⁶ Civilian.

⁷ In charge.

⁸ At that time many Soviet officers were in charge of Polish troops.



The Confessor of Faith Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky.
Ісповідник Віри Єпископ Йосафат Коциловський.
(*Перемиськ західний бастион України*, стор. 73.
Peremysl zakhidnyi bastion Ukrainy, p. 73).

lency Bishop manifested and here his decision and would not get into lorry. The escorting soldiers, then, giving escape to their hatred in vulgar imprecations, by force threw the Bishop-martyr, with the chair together, over the side-board into lorry and immediately covered it up with a tilt. At that brutal operation the Bishop was gravely bruised.

The passing by, far from Army and Militia cordons, citizens heard, at a distance, such words as: "Forward, you old, why nobody does defend you now", - and another curses and imprecations the soldiers and Government officials addressed the Bishop.

After that, the lorry with "spontaneously" displaced Bishop departed through U.S.S.R. frontier to Medica⁹ where waited already for the arrested Bishop a N.K.V.D.¹⁰ autocar that transported him, behind the other Ukrainian Bishops¹¹ into prison, probably to Kiev.

During that compulsory displacement of Ukrainian Bishopric the soldiers plundered many precious things, in that number also the golden liturgical utensils, that they broke and sold off-hand¹² to the concealers. So, they drank off a great quantity of liturgical wines moreover laughing at religious holiness. They demolished and plundered the Bishop's palace chapel. They pillaged and robbed the whole economic property, even shooting hens, in this way manifesting their "heroism" and "courage" ...

In the same way took place the displacement of the rest of Ukrainian Catholic clergy of the town of Peremyshl (Przemysl).

In the Ukrainian Catholic Chapter the modern vandals spoiled a great, very valuable library and archives. They plundered all the precious furnitures, the jeweller's articles, the museum collections. They robbed the private belongings of the clergy, including clothes and linen.

The displacement action of the clergymen had such the same course as in case of His Excellency Josaphat Kotsylovsky, but very often it was still more brutal. Besides one could hear, with the curses together, such menaces as for example,: "Begone in Ukraine, there you shall be anyhow hanged or deported into Siberia".

Out of the Chapter they carried away, by force, His Excellency Gregory Lakota, the suffragan Bishop, the General Vikar¹³ Most Rev Reshetylo, Most Rev, John Kuzych, the Rektor¹⁴ of Seminary with his brother also a priest.

But the most barbarian was the displacement of Most Rev. Nicholas Hrytselak, the Chancellor of Bishop's Consistory.

The mob of soldiers having rushed into his lodging began to conduct themselves, at once, as real robbers. They robbed all what only fall under hands, throwing out the rest, and towards all the inhabitants they behaved in the most brutal and vulgar way. The Most. Rev. Chan-

⁹ Medyka, a border town.

¹⁰ People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

¹¹ At that time all of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in the USSR were placed under arrest.

¹² Handed.

¹³ Vicar.

¹⁴ Rector.

By William J. ... 7/16/62

The displacement
of His Excellency Bishop
Josaphat Kotsylovsky and
Ukrainian Catholic Clergy
of Peremyshl.

We repeatedly informed already in our diverse publications the wide world opinion of the barbarian, unheard of terrorism, applied by the Russovite-Bolshevik occupants towards the Ukrainian people.

As a part of this terrorism of Ukrainian people are unheard of, barbarian cruelties which is surpassing this share of Ukrainian population that remained in the borders of, recent Polish State, westerly Russian line.

The Polish-Bolshevik authorities are there carrying the compulsory displacement of the whole million of Ukrainian population out of their father's soil, expatriating besides the most cruel crimes of mass murders and another similar violence. We also informed that in a sole diocese of Peremyshl (Przemysl), in consequence of that terrorism, during the last two years, have been murdered 36 Ukrainian Catholic clergymen. We below hand still are fact from the long register of those crimes.

The 27 of June 1946, at 9-10 o'clock in the morning, the detachments of WP (Polish Army), Military Police, Ukrainian Security Police and SO (Civilian Militia), at 10 o'clock, about 10 o'clock, the detachments, surrounded the Ukrainian Catholic Chapter, the Bishop's palace and the private lodgings of Ukrainian Catholic clergy in the town of Peremyshl (Przemysl).

The neighbouring streets and squares were closed by Army and Militia cordons so, that nobody was allowed to be approached. After that, the crowd of WP soldiers, Militia men and WP members - those last were dressed in civil clothes - broke into interior of Bishop's palace.

All those representatives of the red "democratic" authority, after having broken into apartments, began to conduct themselves brutally, overthrowing and breaking the belongings, spoiling the furnitures and beating the bishop's domestics and the vulgar street courtes and imprecations. Finally, they fell into apartment of His Excellency Bishop.

The majestic, grey-headed old man, His Excellency Josaphat Kotsylovsky, did not allow to be frightened or terrorized at all. When WP soldiers, Militia men and WP members mob, with wild cries broke into bishop's apartment and stopped before him, the representative of district sheriff, Pelczynski, and WP chief, Pruski, who managed the displacement action, declared they received orders from their ministries to displace the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Przemysl with all his Chapter in U.S.S.R. - It is necessary to note that the managers of Bishop's displacement action were accompanied by the Polish officers, some of whom openly used the Russian language.

But the first frightening the "democratic terrorists" reckoned on the most did not help nothing at all. - They categorically then declared that at 15 o'clock would arrive for the Bishop a lorry in which he should leave for U.S.S.R. To that time he should have been prepared for the journey.

But His Excellency Bishop boldly answered he would not abandon the apostolic to him diocese, in no case, without permission and decision of the Holy See, and would not leave for nowhere without the consent of Rome. - "You can do with me what you will", replied to them with dignity the grey-headed Shepherd of his Church and his tortured people. - "You may kill me or torment me but notwithstanding

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329269

Title page of the pamphlet *The Displacement of His Excellency Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Ukrainian Catholic Clergy of Peremyshl.*

Титульна сторінка брошури *Виселення екселенції єпископа Йосафата Коциловського та українського католицького клиру Перемишля.*

(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 329269.

National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 329269).

cellor called their attention to that they should conduct themselves as men and christians and not as bolshevists, for we all are the children of one God. To that the group's commander, a lieutenant of WP, took to him with threats and curses and began to kick and slap in the face the venerable, old man.

The wife of the tortured clergyman ran to the balcony and began to cry out for help as there were murdering the man. The soldiers, however, ran after her and drew her, by force, in the chamber back. Besides, one of the soldiers shot several times to may have dispersed the gathering people. - What happened farther on in the lodging we can only imagine from that still a long time on the street there were heard the cry of the tortured clergyman, the desperate weeping and shriek of his wife and children.

When, at last, arrived the lorry to take away the victims of the "spontaneous displacement"¹⁵ the Most Rev. Chancellor was scarcely to be recognized by accidental passers-by. For, after that Stalin's "democratic" bath he was whole beaten, on his face one could see many bruises, his left hand was put out of joint and attached to the chest. His wife also beaten, her face and hands covered with bruises, her left hand scratched, in consequence of the brutal pulling off a time piece from her hand by Stalin's red "watchmakers".¹⁶

Notwithstanding all ill-treatment that family behaved with dignity, manifesting to the end that they did not leave for spontaneously. Finally, the soldiers threw them all, by force, into lorry as before they did with all the Chapter members.

In the meantime, the WP soldiers with Militia men and the town mob robbed and pillaged the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral perpetrating there the most abominable sacrileges.

So, by help of such violence methods were compulsorily displaced, by modern, red barbarians, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops and Clergy of the town of Peremyshl (Przemysl) in¹⁷ U.S.S.R.

With that outrage act were broken once more all the human rights, were trampled all the religious and national holiness and human laws.

The resembling violence, lawlessness and terrorism acts as another many times worse, are being perpetrated over the Ukrainian people, as well as over the other, by bloodthirsty Muscovite-bolshevist terrorism enslaved peoples, allwhere¹⁸ reaches its power.

The Ukrainian people will never forget all those tortures and injuries, will never give up his fair and sacred rights to freedom and independence in a level¹⁹ with another free, cultural peoples of the world. Being deprived of them today he is fighting for them independence, will

¹⁵ Voluntary.

¹⁶ Soviet soldiers were known to rob people of their watches and for that they were popularly known as the "watchmakers".

¹⁷ To.

¹⁸ Everywhere.

¹⁹ In a manner.



Cathedral Church of Peremyshl.
Катедральна церква в Перемишлі.
(*Перемишль західний бастион України*, стор. 69.
Peremyshl zakhidnyi bastion Ukrainy, p. 69).

fight until in the world of today's prevail and will fight the more obstinately the more dreadful will be the terrorism of the enemy-occupants.

He will fight as long as to attaining the real freedom and freedom and justice in place of tyranny. Then will come the moment that he will require an account²⁰ of his present, unheard of sufferings.

In the month of July, 1946. The representatives of Ukrainian population living beyond the Curzon line.

Original: The National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, File No. 329269.

²⁰ Will call for settling of accounts .

ELECTIONS IN U.S.S.R.*

1947

To the reader **

We beg Your pardon, if in this our underground publication You will find some grammatical, idiomatical as well as technical deficiencies.

The conditions of the underground work do not allow those things to be elaborated as perfectly as we it desire.

* This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group # 319, File No. 356 391. Declassified by authority of NND Declassification Project 785001, W.G. Lewis, NARS, August 23 1982.

** In original publication this note appears on a separate page.

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THE ELECTIONS IN U.S.S.R. (A short information)

The elections in Soviet states-satellites and U.S.S.R. elections

On February 10, 1946, were held here the elections to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. Then in the course of year "were fought" the elections in all the states-satellites being formally, or in fact occupied by the Soviet Russia.

Besides, on February 1947, have been designed the elections in all the Republics, the constituent parts of the U.S.S.R.

About the course of elections in the states-satellites, occupied by the Soviet Russia openly or secretly, the world opinion is being informed more or less truly, for to them till now it has at least a limited access.

On territories of the states-satellites (Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland) Moscow has not yet mastered the wholeness of life thoroughly.

There, has not yet been carried on the basic Soviet training and management. What happens there now is only the beginning. On the other hand, Moscow must yet for some time enter into account with the world opinion, there.

Moscow was obliged to allow there at least a limited control of foreign representatives.

In consequence of that independent world opinion could be informed at least in part about the course of elections in those states-satellites.

However, how "were fought" the elections inside U.S.S.R., the world opinion had not, nor has any idea. No reports of foreign correspondents, who stay on Soviet Union's territory, have represented by no means a true picture of elections' course in U.S.S.R., for those journalists were not allowed to access to the folk's masses, therefore, could not orientate themselves in all the mysteries of bolshevik electoral terroristical management.

Below, we give a short report about the real course of the Soviet elections, so as they "were fought" here.

Anti-democratical clauses of Soviet constitution

The Soviet Stalin's constitution, proclaimed as "most democratic in the world", in reality, is in its essence quite anti-democratical one. As regards, for instance, the election question, the Stalin's constitution expressly prohibits the putting forward a candidates' roll to any individual citizens, groups or associations. It does not acknowledge any political parties or whatever political associations. The Stalin's constitution expressly avows only a sole official communist party which is only allowed to put forward the candidates.

That constitution says, indeed, that the candidates may be put forward likewise by Trade Union branches as well as factory groups or citizen's cultural organizations.

But the very constitution distinctly says that all allowed institutions

are only those of the state, and it plainly insist upon that all those institutions concerned should be directed by the communist party. Thus, the Soviet Stalin's constitution determines that only the communist party, only the state-institutions directed by that party, as well as only communist party with its own institutions may put forward their candidates.

Therefore, whatever free citizen's initiative, as well as whatever manifestation of that free citizen's will are by the very constitution expressly prohibited.

Those plain and most showy anti-democratic clauses of Stalin's constitution are being addressed, as usually, for shortsighted foreign Soviet Union order's idolaters, into coloured hues of a whole stream of democracy words.

Anti-democratical position of Soviet Russia's leaders

More clearly than by the very constitution's clauses that is testified by the utterances of Soviet ruling personalities. For instance, the very "highest godling"¹ of Soviet order, Stalin, in his book: "The questions of Leninism," distinctly says that in Soviet state are not and cannot be allowed any other institutions as only those of the state, and all they must be under exclusive and rigorous direction of a sole, state-communist party. And just here, in that system of one party, ruthless dictatorship sees Stalin all the secret of Soviet state-structure.

The putting forward of candidates

According to above quoted anti-democratical clauses of Soviet constitution, the candidates to the elections, so called "Only Bloc of Communists and Partyless,"² were beforehand designed by official communist party, or rather by its managers, for the lower party cells, in such a system of dictatorial rules, are as well without any significance.

In this way, broad folk's masses had not, and could not have any influence on elections because by such a practice of appointment of candidates has been cancelled, in fact, the very idea of elections.

For, to may elect it is necessary to elect among something.

In the Soviet elections, where was put forward only one list of the candidates who had beforehand been appointed by the party managers, - the elections have lost any significance as, in general, *there was nothing to may elect among.*

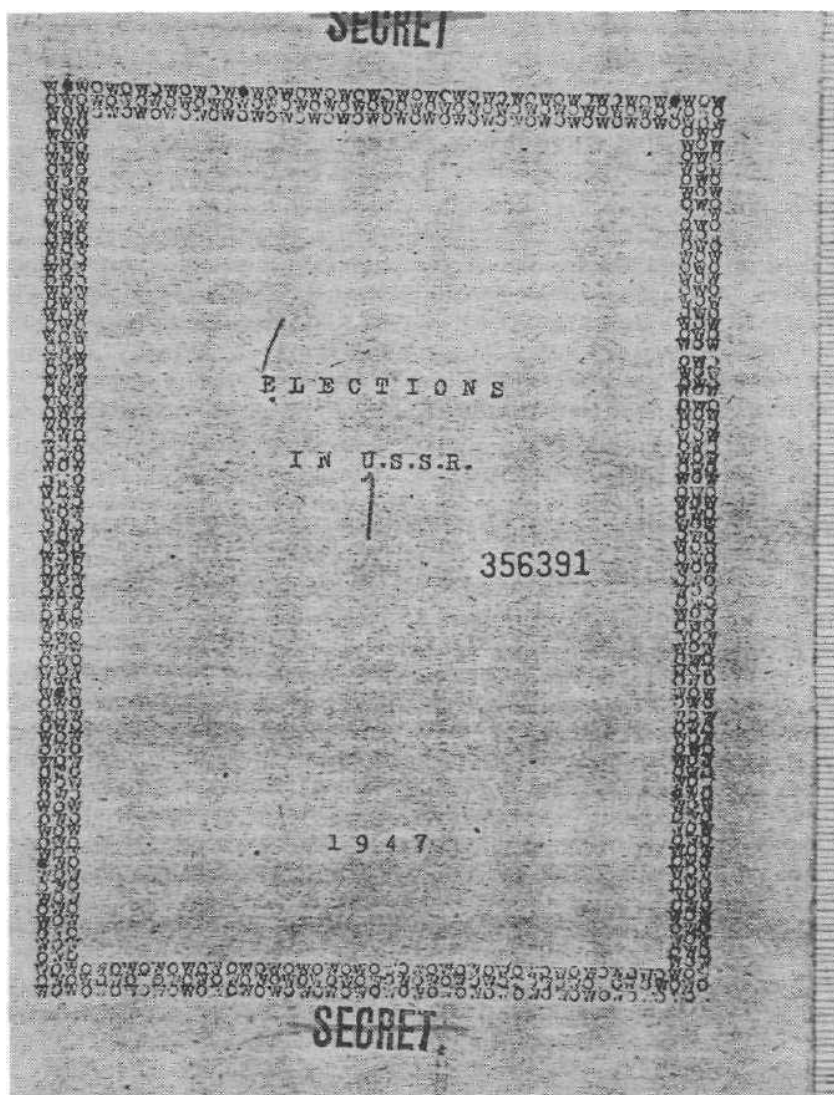
The act of "elections" was, in fact, achieved by the party managers yet some months before elections' term who designed their party-men as so called "candidates."

The election campaign

After had been appointed the "candidates," took place here so called: electoral campaign.

¹ Deity.

² The Bloc of Communists and Non-Party People.



Title page of the pamphlet by Iaroslav Starukh („Stoyar“). *Elections in U.S.S.R.*
Титульна сторінка брошури Ярослава Старуха („Стояра“), *Вибори в СРСР*.
(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.
National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

This "electoral campaign," however, had not at all anything common with the concept of that word being known in all cultural world. For, the very idea of electoral campaign signifies, in its essence, a fight between several political groups, programmes or persons for inclining towards this or that camp, this or that candidate the elector's opinion.

But anything like was not, nor could be, in Soviet system of dictatorship.

Here acted only a sole official party, sole official programme, as well as only official candidates. A test putting forward some another political group, programme or candidates, the disclosing of whatever discontent or even the very suspicion of such plans is being punished here by imprisonment and death of such "rioters."

What, then, signifies the Soviet electoral campaign?

The Soviet electoral campaign was a beforehand planned manoeuvre of official communist party to strengthen and fortify the psychological pressure on mass of population, to terrorize it much more psychologically and physically.

All the propaganda means, as radio, press, meetings, were engaged just to the end to proclaim day by day such the same official slogans and manifestos, to praise and idolize the official managers, the official party and programme.

The colossal official, clamours, electoral propaganda campaign had the task by the way of any possible means of state propaganda apparatus to terrify, to hypnotize and to mobilize the means of population, and in this way to make it a flexible, dumb, obedient instrument in the hands of managing official party clique.

The disclosing of whatever discontent, whatever different thought, whatever different point of view, or only a suspicion as to that - was synonymous with repressions and very often with a death sentence, of course, without any judgement, but only by the way of a common murder, perpetrated by state police organs: N.K.V.D.-N.K.G.B.³

As it was not allowed, here, to put forward any no-official candidate, - so was not allowed any no-official article in the newspapers any no-official broadcasting, any no-official, legal meeting, any no-official, legal speech.

Was not allowed any, even the least clause, any doubt, any critique or critical interrogation. For the things of kind are in Soviet system, in general, impossible to be thought of.

Whatever critique, in this system, even if sometimes allowed, is likewise only that official, that "organized" one - a part of propaganda delusion.

³ N.K.V.D. - People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

N.K.G.B. - People's Commissariat of State Security.

The attitude of population towards elections

According to our observation the majority of whole U.S.S.R. population, displeased with the Soviet dictatorial regime, understood well the proper end and character of that managed, electoral comedy in which was nothing to elect among, but all were obliged conformably to a command, to play a comedy of "elections."

However, the lion's majority of Soviet Union's population, from long years oppressed through the ruling dictatorial, Soviet regime, terrorized to the extremity, did not make an express mass stand, but performed with a dumb resignation being designed to it role of "electors."

Quite another was the attitude of the population in no Russia countries, occupied by the Soviet Russia, first of all, in Ukraine.

Here, besides a moment of anti-regime attitude of folk's masses, has still joined a moment of the national enslavement of those countries which called out a great discontent and resistance.

That moment was so strong that overcame even the power of official terrorism's influence.

The population of the Ukraine *having not any possibility in any way to manifest its will in elections, manifested it by the boycott of them.*

In conditions of Soviet regime not only a mass boycott of elections but also a minimal declination from an "active" part in electoral, official campaign, as well as in the elections is impossible without running the risk of terrible repressions.

An individual, single citizen has not any occasion to resist the regime's terrorism which compells him, by any open and secret means to an "active part," to "manifest his enthusiasm and discipline."

The boycott of the Soviet elections was possible only in the form of an active, stubborn, organized mass fight, including armed actions in order to defend the citizens against the terrorism of state police and its special troops which forced them to the participation in the elections.

Such a large boycott action of Soviet elections was organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). The Supreme Political Organ of Ukraine: Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.V.R.)⁴ decided to carry on the boycott of Soviet elections in Ukraine, and Ukrainian Insurgent Army organized in practice a large action of the boycott.

In conditions of the Soviet regime the boycott action of elections, carried on by the Ukrainian people on call of U.H.V.R., - soon was transformed into a wide and very stubborn fight of large dimensions.

That fight began yet some months before elections, just at the very time when the Soviets began their preparations to coming elections by means of a sharp pre-electoral terrorism.

⁴ Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council.

Pre-electoral terrorism of the Soviets

The Soviets knew very well that in Ukraine they would have not an easy task in carrying on their dictatorial elections, because there acted the Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.V.R.) together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) being based upon well nigh all the Ukrainian people.

Therefore, the Soviet regime decided to annihilate still before the elections, at any cost, that organized Ukrainian liberating movement. As the best occasion for performing of that plan should have been the march through across the Ukraine of Soviet armies from West to East after Germany's defeat.

In connection with that the Soviet authorities elaborated a special plan of the march through of their troops. The most confidential to the regime troops had in mass, for long time to lodge through all the country with the task of helping so called "interior" police - troops (N.K.V.D.) to break the resistance of Ukrainian population, to annihilate the Ukrainian underground, revolutionary movement, and in this way to prepare the ground for next elections.

In executing of this plan, however, the Soviets have not succeeded at all. U.P.A. opposed not only a passionate armed defence, but also developed an uncommonly strong political campaign which began to influence the very Soviet Red Army's troops garrisoned in Ukraine.

The freedom-loving, revolutionary, progressive slogans of U.P.A. programme, which disclosed all the falsity and evil of bolshevik, totalitarian, dictatorial regime, - found a broad alivest echo among the Red Army's soldiers, who just had returned from the front.

They, themselves, saw in Europe quite another reality as that Soviet one, and now attentively listened to our voice. The Red Army's soldiers, and very often whole Red Army's detachments would not take part in huntings and terroristical actions directed against the Ukrainian underground movement. And when even they were obliged to take part in such actions they, very often, did it only outwardly, endeavouring to not meet U.P.A. formations, to not fight and even very often helping U.P.A. with their informations and weapon.

The Soviet authority dismayed by those facts was obliged to withdraw the Red Army's troops from any direct actions against U.P.A. In that place they threw very numerous police troops of N.K.V.D. From that time on Red Army troops were used in the fight against U.P.A. only indirectly as reserves and garrisons. Of large style Soviet action against U.P.A. lasted all the summer and autumn of 1945. In a sole month of November, on territory of only one Stanyslaviv province, took place large battles of Soviet police troops N.K.V.D. against U.P.A. In those struggles took part numerous interior police troops of N.K.V.D.

Together with Red Army's troops which were drawn as auxiliary ones, there took part a hundred thousand Soviet army, in that number also panzer divisions and air forces.

However, the bolsheviks could not settle U.P.A. detachments as, for instance, on October 31, 1945, already U.P.A. detachments achieved

famous raid upon the province centre: Stanislaviv.

Afterwards, in December 1945, and January 1946, the Soviets threw into Ukraine specially chosen and trained troops in a very great quantity in order to annihilate the Ukrainian independent, free movement, and to carry on violent elections.

That new action comprised chiefly the western provinces of Ukraine, Volyn, Rivne, Lviv, Stanislaviv,⁵ Ternopil, Drohobytch,⁶ Tchernitsee,⁷ Over-Carpathian Ukraine,⁸ and in part the provinces of Shitomir,⁹ Kamyanets Podilsky¹⁰ and Vinnitsya.

In the western provinces of Ukraine, being occupied by Soviet Russia just from 1939, the Ukrainian free movement appears stronger, for here the bolsheviks have not yet had so much time for exterminating all their opponents, as was the case in central and eastern provinces of Ukraine, being occupied by Soviet Russian well nigh 30 years already.

Just for that reason, on western territories of Ukraine glowed most passionate electoral fight. From mid of December, and, here and there, from January 1946, *kept on garrisoning in every locality in every village, even in the smallest hamlets of several huts-military detachements* of interior police troops of N.K.V.D., or those specially chosen of Red Army.

The number of garrisoned military troops amounted from 10 men in the smallest hamlets, to 300-500 in bigger localities. There was neither one spot being not occupied by the soldiers.

Such a close garrisoning was never carried on neither at the war-time in front zones. So, in first days of January 1946, it was quite clear that the Soviet elections in Ukraine would this time be "martial" one. *The Soviet authorities have treated the elections in Ukraine quite expressly as a war campaign.*

The very fact of such a mass garrisoning of military-police troops in any spot of Ukraine at the time of electoral period makes evident the "freedom" and "democracy" of those elections.

On the other hand, it was clear to everyone that the garrisoning of police-military troops could not have any other purposes as those of the pressure and terrorism of population towards by the government desired course of elections.

The only job of those police-military troops consisted in violence and terrorism. They watched that nobody dared to convoke any free meetings. People were prohibited even to meet together privately in a hut for talking. The gathering was allowed only on official meetings where would speak the official agitators.

Nobody could disclose freely his thought, even in a small circle, without running the risk of imprisonment, deportation or shooting.

⁵ Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivs'k).

⁶ Drohobych.

⁷ Chernivtsi.

⁸ Transcarpatian Ukraine (now Zakarpats'ka oblast').

⁹ Zhytomyr.

¹⁰ Kamianets' Podil'skyi.

Was likewise limited very severely the movement of population between individual spots, very often much worse than in front zones, at the war-time.

In woods and villages took place incessant searches for revolutionists-conspirators. The prisons were being filled up with more and more prisoners arrested very often for only suspicion of an anti-official attitude.

That terroristical action was inseparably accompanied by an impetuous hullabaloo of Soviet propaganda campaign which fought, as usually, by means of invectives and lies, and had the task to fulfill the action of complete terrorizing of the people and in this way to prepare them for "holiday of Stalin's 100% elections."

Anti-electoral U.P.A. campaign

It would seem quite understood that at such a great terroristical pressure of all the Soviet state apparatus, including Army and police, whatever resistance or manifestation of a free, independent will were impossible at all.

However, in Ukraine, owing to an unusual activity and generosity of Ukrainian revolutionists being organized in U.P.A., as well as to generosity, perseverance and a hard heroic attitude of the common of population, notwithstanding all, - was carried on a large political, anti-electoral campaign.

How in such conditions was it possible?

The anti-electoral campaign was carried on by means of:

- a) conspirative talks and small conspirative meetings which succeeded to carry on successfully, notwithstanding all the watchfulness of gar
risoning military-police troops, thanks to solidary, unanimous attitude of Ukrainian people;
- b) conspirative spreading of addresses, shortly written instructions and calls;
- c) so called whispered explanation;
- d) posting up on visible places manifestos and appeals of U.H.V.R. and U.P.A., as well as writing on various places revolutionary calls;
- e) open mass meetings, speeches and an open spreading of manifestos and appeals in such environments where U.P.A. detachments could provide a sufficient protection to such actions repelling for some time the bolshevik military-police troops;
- f) breaking off official meetings and changing them into anti-official ones.

Thousand and a half¹¹ of combats

All that versatile anti-electoral explanation's action was carried on,

¹¹ Fifteen hundred.

in Ukraine, in a very large scale as to its territorial-reach as well as its strain and forces' investment.

In wholeness, the results possible to be gathered show that by Ukrainian revolutionists.

Were carried on thousands of anti-electoral propagandistical meetings.

Were spread more than hundred of various anti-electoral manifestos, leaflets, calls¹² lectures, pamphlets, - some of them in mass issues.

Were broken off hundreds of official meetings which were changed, then, into anti-electoral, anti-Stalin, free manifestations. The most excellent part in that played women and Red Army's invalides who, running the risk of imprisonment, deportation or shooting, payed no attention to that but came openly with protests, rapturing by their speeches whole meetings.

Were likewise delivered more than *thousand and a half of battles and combats* against the bolshevik police-troops and military garrisons, with the aim to defend the right of free elections and free word.

Five thousand of killed

In performing such a large action, in conditions of bolshevik reality, the Ukrainian independent movement experienced not only most efforts, but also many bloody victims.

During all that anti-electoral campaign were killed on battle-field in defence of free, independent will of Ukrainian people *more than five thousand of U.P.A. officers and soldiers as well as leaders of Ukrainian revolutionary, free movement.*

The number of imprisoned amounted many tens of thousands of people. Many of them perished as heroes-martyrs amidst awfulliest tortures, many were shot, many other were deported in concentrative camps in northern Russia, Siberia, and Glacial Ocean.

The anti-electoral campaign which was carried on by Ukrainian free movement in defence of the right of Ukrainian people to manifest their free, independent will at the time of so called elections to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. in winter time of 1946, - was one of the most excellent actions of kind being whenever achieved in history of political fight.

The development of elections on February 10, 1946

The bolshevik authority endeavoured to confer upon the elections a character of an organized, unanimous manifestation in advantage of the ruling regime.

But the citizenship was convinced *that there was not any one, as well as there was not anything to vote for.*

There was not any one to vote for, because in electoral rolls there were not any candidates being put forward by the will of the citizens,

¹² Slogans.

but only beforehand appointed Soviet beaters.

The people likewise know that there was nothing to vote for, because being at rule Soviet regime is a regime of totalitarian dictatorship, terrorism, hunger and full national as well as social enslavement of Ukraine.

Therefore, in lion's majority they followed the call of U.H.V.R. to boycott the Soviet elections as those by no means free and democratic, but occupationary and dictatorial ones.

Thus, the day of Stalin's elections, the 10th of February 1946, which at Moscow's wish should have been a day of unanimous manifestation in advantage of ruling regime, was changed, in Ukraine, into a potent act of all-national manifestation against Musco-bolshevik occupation as well as its dictatorial, terroristical regime.

The Ukrainian people did not go to vote

In larger towns, where lives a great quantity of inflowing Muscovite official element, this fact was not so evident, for there was almost impossible to a foreign eye to distinguish between those who went to elections and those who avoided the fulfilling of that "Stalin's duty."

But, in the villages, where lives a great majority of Ukrainian people, this fact was quite evident. In majority of the villages, especially in the western provinces of Ukraine, nobody went to the elections at all.

When during some hours no one of the electors went to vote, then, the military-police troops, garrisoned in every one spot, began by violence to drive the citizens into electoral halls. The electors, however, resisted passively or actively against that violence. Many of them fled and hid themselves. The others openly refused to go to vote notwithstanding beatings and shooting's menaces.

On that ground took place, in many a case, terroristical acts of violence. The soldiers of garrisoned military-police troops maltreated to blood the people in this way to compel them to go into electoral halls and throw into the urns the electoral bulletins. They shot behind the fleeing people many of whom were killed or wounded. They set on fire the houses of the opponents. Finally, they, themselves, threw electoral bulletins into the urns as much as they wanted.

We are in possess of till now gathered acts of terrorism and abuses, perpetrated on day of elections by Soviet police-military organs over the citizens, which comprise more than 3 thousand pages of machine print, of foolscap. There are to be found the protocols about many thousand of maltreating, many hundreds cases of killings and murders, perpetrated at the time of elections over the Ukrainian people, who would not take part in elections.

But all that is only a small part of the wholeness, which was possible to be gathered in conditions of bolshevik terrorism, by means of underground organization and underground, conspirative connections.

The day of elections to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R., - that was, indeed, a great fight where the Ukrainian people stood up unani-



Underground antielection poster from 1945.
 Підпільний противиборчий плякат з 1945 року.
 (Архів Мисії УПА, Т. III, ч. 23.
 Archive of Misiia UPA, Folio III, No. 23).

mously for liberty of manifesting their own will.

The Soviet authority wanted to make the elections an act of pro-regime manifestation, to legalize the occupation of Ukraine and its terroris-tical, totalitarian dictatorship.

The Ukrainian people changed that day into an act of unanimous manifestation against the Soviet totalitarian dictatorship, against enemy Musco¹³-bolshevik occupation.

The electoral falsehood

The Soviet authority proclaimed immediately after the "elections" the "triumph of the Block of Communists and Partyless," pro which pretendedly voted 99% of electors.

That is an evident manifold lie!

Firstly, that is a lie if only for that reason that there were no elections at all, if though the whole matter be examined from purely theoretical side, because there was nothing to elect.

That was only a by the Soviet regime beforehand planned act of a compulsory manifestation in advantage of only one by Soviet government appointed list. Such an act contradicts to the very idea of such an institution as elections.

Secondly, that was a falseness because the participation in those elections was not free but compulsory one, accompanied by terrorism and repressions.

Thirdly, that was a falsehood because the quantity of electors, constrained by force to appear in electoral halls did not amount at all by the Soviet government and proclaimed cipher of 99%.

Here, in Ukraine, on whole territory, - the quantity of compulsory voters did not amount if only 50%, and in seven western provinces if only 10%.

With this attitude at the time of elections the Ukrainian people manifested quite expressly their extremely negative relation to enemy, Musco-bolshevik occupation.

On the other hand, that was *the vote confidence of Ukrainian people to the Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council* as to their Supreme Political Managing Organ and Representative of independent will of Ukrainian nation, the calls of which were followed, at the time of elections by broadest folk's masses of Ukrainians who for fulfillment of them willingly offered their property, blood and life.

After the elections

The electoral action of Soviet regime has not ended with the day of proclaiming the 99% triumph.

After that began in a still larger scale fighting out against opponent "electors." The military-police troops, garrisoned from month-two before the elections in all the spots of western provinces of Ukraine, have not

¹³ Muscovite.

been pulled away, but they kept on garrisoning till April, and in many a locality still longer.

By help of them began the Soviet authority, after the elections, a still larger action of men-chases and huntings, imprisonments and deportations into Siberia.

The deportations to Siberia, being practised here by the Soviet rule all the time, now assumed huge dimensions. In some environs the number of deported families amounted 30-80 a spot.

New elections in 1947

On February 1947 the Soviet regime designed new elections, this time to so called "Republican Soviets."

They will have the very same anti-democratical character as the preceding ones to the Supreme of U.S.S.R., for they are not at all an institution of any elections, but only a compulsory, official manifestation. That is, indeed, only an act of proclaiming by bolshevik party beforehand appointed candidates, which is being accompanied by government propaganda and terrorism.

The Ukrainian people consider them as well preceding ones as an enemy propaganda terroristical action.

It is necessary to note still one moment. The lion's majority of the "deputies being" elected," i.e. appointed "from Ukraine" to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R.; as well as huge majority of the candidates being designed now to Republican Soviet of Ukraine - are not at all of Ukrainian nationality. They are quite foreign people: the generals, government officials, party commissaries etc...., sent and designed by Moscow.

The Ukrainian people either do not know them, or know them, but hate them from the bottom of their heart as their oppressors, bloody tyrants and leeches-exploiters. They are not any representatives of Ukrainian nation, but only those of enemy Musco-bolshevik occupation. The majority of them does not even speak Ukrainian.

Any "democratico-parliamentary" institution of Ukraine occupied by the Soviet bloody sway - are only an instrument of Musco-imperialistic policy!

Conclusion

One of the most important functions of by bolshevik regime carried elections is always outside propaganda, i.e. the delusion of the world opinion.

Alas, the bolshevik propaganda in pushing forward such a delusion is very often successful. With endless declamations about democracy, ballot, elections, workers' rights, etc., but first of all with artificial management and propaganda comedies the bolsheviks succeed, very often, to cheat "bigly" and to "beguile" many foreigners being not accustomed to such a falsehood and to as far pushed huge propaganda management.

Even better informed foreign correspondents who abide at Moscow permanently are likewise not aware of the real state inside Soviet empire.

For, they are not allowed to the terrified and terrorized soul of the average Soviet citizen. They only see now those citizens are marching during demonstrations with outcries and banners, but they do not know how that was materialized, how it was managed. They see the people applauding Stalin's picture in the streets, in movies . . . , but do not know how this people were for long years trained to that. They do not know that in the citizen of Soviet totalitarian kingdom of terrorism, after thought, another word. They do not know that after tens of years of bloody training their hands are always ready to applauding and their mouth to crying: hurrah!

They see the bear skilfully dancing, but do not know and do not see how he was trained, and is being trained further on, on hot glowing plate.

But not all people allowed to be terrified and terrorized. Moscow has not succeeded to train all to dance on glowing N.K.V.D. plate.

The best proof of that is, above all, the activity and fighting of Ukrainian free, independent movement and like movements of many other by Soviet Russia enslaved nations.

That appeared, among the other things, quite expressly during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R., and appears, further on, in the wholeness of life.

The Ukrainian people together with the other peoples being enslaved in U.S.S.R., are fighting passionately for their freedom and independence, and will not interrupt this fight under no pressure of falseness, lie and terrorism. January, 1947.

Excerpts from U.H.V.R. - U.P.A. Calls¹⁴ Proclaimed During Anti-Electoral Campaign.

UKRAINIANS!

Away Stalin's imperialist tyranny:

Away Stalin's compulsory elections:

We will not go to vote for terrorism, imperialism, slavery and tyranny, for hunger and misery!

We will go to democratic elections in free Independent Ukrainian State!

UKRAINIANS!

We will not go to vote for Stalin and his party dictatorial clique!
We will not go to vote for new red bourgeoisie, for party exploiters, for the leeches of people's blood!

We will not go to vote for compulsory work for hunger pay, for stakhanovshchina that extorts sweat and blood from the worker!

¹⁴ Slogans.

¹⁵ Stakhanovite movement.

We will not go to vote for kolhosps,¹⁶ for slavish work of the peasants, for forced taking off, for the advantage of the party, all corn, for unheard of nowhere in the world exploitation and plunder of any property, work and blood of the workers and peasants!

We will not go to vote for imprisonments, for concentrative camps, for Siberian deportations, for burning of our villages by savage N.K.V.D. gangs, for mass maltreatings, shootings and murders being day by day perpetrated by Stalin's police!

We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Ukraine: We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and many other countries of Europe and Asia which have been occupied, by violence, through red Muscovite imperialism!

We will not go to vote for new imperialist wars for which prepare themselves bloody Stalinite imperialists!

We will not go to vote for those who betrayed and annihilated the ideals of French Revolution about the rights of man; who betrayed and ruined Christian culture; who have been faithless to any ideals of Socialism!

Away bolshevik monoparty dictatorship, totalitarianism and terrorism!

Away bloody, red fascism - full brother of German nazism!

Long live freedom of human thought, of faith and word! Long live freedom of press, literature, art and science, contradicted and ravaged in totalitarian system of bolshevism!

Long live freedom of meetings, freedom of critique, freedom of political and parliamentary representations! Long live freedom of political, social and professional organizations!

Long live free elections and parliamentary democratic governments, pushed aside and spoiled in bolshevik regime!

Long live freedom of work! Long live all workers' right to the products of their own work! Long live social justice, welfare and happiness of all men!

Original: The National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record-Group #319, File No. 356 391.

¹⁶ Collective farms.

371742

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STOYAR

NEW
FAMINE CATASTROPHY
IN
UKRAINE

KIYIV 1947 LVIV
U.P.A.

This our publication is a true translation from that underground Ukrainian which appeared in January, 1947.*

In the purpose to present to broad circles of common opinion a genuine picture of political fight inside U.S.S.R., it has also been translated into English and French.

Editors

To the reader

We beg Your pardon, if in this our underground publication You will find some grammatical, idiomatical as well as technical denciences.

The unprecedentedly difficult conditions of underground work under the police-terroristical bloody Soviet sway do not allow those things to be elaborated as perfectly as we it desire.

This pamphlet was written by "Stoyar" (Iarosalv Starukh), who was the underground leader in the Zakerzons'kyi Krai (Ukrainian ethnographic territories in Poland), and published in Ukrainian in the journal "Informatyvni Visti", IV, No. 9, 9 March 1947, pp. 2-9. It also appeared as a pamphlet in Ukrainian and other languages.

This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group # 319, File No. 371742. *Declassified by authority of NND Declassification Project 785001, W.G. Lewis, NARS, August 23, 1982.*

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PREFACE

The West European, as in general the whole world opinion is well nigh thoroughly unacquainted with many an event which take place inside Soviet Union and are covered with a profound secret. On the other hand some other events though are in some degree being known to the world opinion, but very often in a false light.

For instance, the world opinion was lately informed a little about one of such events, viz., about the extremely heavy-material situation inside U.S.S.R. But almost nobody is being acquainted with true dimensions of such a situation, nor with its true causes.

A few world press organs, for example Manchester Guardian transmitted by B.B.C., on February 27, 1947, brought large reports about very meagre financial situation inside U.S.S.R., about miserable living of Soviet Union's population, about it that even in Moscow one can see many unnourished, hungry people.

However such a statement, though based on true observations of foreign correspondents, in fact, does not exhaust the whole truth, being watched and hidden before them by a very legion of trained provocators, propagandists, managers of a mass delusion, as well by a general dread of terrorized people afraid of disclosing the truth.

Nor do they know, all the more, the genuine cause of such a condition, when they adduce - following here various utterances of the government personalities - as an explanation of the reasons of such a big ruin of the Soviet economy, the war consequences, the lack of the tractors, etc...

We below present a translation of an underground U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army's) publication about the famine in Ukraine under the Soviet occupation.

The acquaintance with the purport of this Ukrainian, independent, free, underground publication will enable the readers to learn the genuine explanation of one of the most actual problems of contemporary Soviet reality, being camouflaged before the world by an iron curtain of the terrorism and false propaganda.

I

NEW FAMINE CATASTROPHE IN UKRAINE

The official announcements of the Soviet government about the condition of Soviet agriculture

Social crime and political bribery

In the first half of 1946, appeared in Moscow some official notices about excellent U.S.S.R., food situation. These Moscow's radio and press notices were soon repeated by well nigh all the world press and broadcasting services.

Such announcements, however, were of course, issued for the propaganda purposes, to beguile the shallow-minded foreign idolaters of the red Kremlin's godling.

To support such a propaganda with the "facts", the Soviet government announced the abolishment, by the end of 1946, of the food rationing system in whole U.S.S.R. To impress much more the foreign countries, Moscow sent to France 500-thousand tons of corn, to Yugoslavia likewise some hundred thousands, to Poland over 200 thousand, as well as probably to some other countries.

At the very time, as it is known, in many a country of the world was felt a certain food lack, which was openly discussed in the international press and wireless, being, as usually, amplified such wants.

Moscow has not failed to avail herself of that in her propaganda campaign, announcing that in whole capitalist world, pretendedly, reigns an awful hunger, but there, in their country more and more is growing a general welfare.

By means of such a propaganda campaign, as well as forwarding the corn abroad Moscow endeavoured to influence the result of elections in France and other states.

That was, of course, a common bribery! But not only a bribery was it, but also a colossal crime towards U.S.S.R. population as well as a scoff at any most primitive concept of the truth.

For, at the very time of the Soviet propaganda hullabaloo about the increase of Soviet Union's welfare, and the forwarding of the corn abroad for propaganda purposes, the U.S.S.R. population **suffered already a serious hunger**, which in a short time has changed into a very famine catastrophe.

An example of the soviet subterfuges.

Who did not know it from their own, immediate, not staged observation they could find a corroboration of that in the further Soviet government announcements.

In a relatively short time after had been pronounced the "trium-

¹ Deity (Stalin).

phant" Moscow's announcement about the welfare in their Soviet kingdom, - when the elections in France and Czechoslovakia were over, - appeared, quite unexpectedly, a notice that the abolishment of the food rationing system would be adjourned and the food rationing would be prolonged till to the end of 1947, in consideration of getting worse the food situation.

That was the first government official "swallow," which for those who understand the Soviet official language, the Soviet propaganda subterfuges, - should have provided an occasion to the consideration that behind such a notice was hidden something serious.

When the Soviet government, itself, avowed a worsening of the food situation, then, or those who are aware of Soviet Union's mysteries, it should have been a signal of catastrophic condition concerned.

Soon after that appeared a new official announcement of TASS which was still more interesting and even sensational for the world press.

Sensational avowal

Immediately after the crops, in the half of September 1946, the Soviet government announced a catastrophic condition of the kolhosp² economy.

That announcement, as to its essence, was really one of the most interesting and sensational documents of in, which whenever appeared during all the time of 30 year Soviet rule.

In that official notice the Soviet government avowed a catastrophic situation in the kolhosps, stated that the peasants, availing themselves of past-war conditions as well of the loosening "of discipline," have been ill-disposed towards the kolhosp (i.e. collective) economy, "selfwilledly" changed it into a private one, "grab" the kolhosp property, etc.

That is, that the Soviet government avows that the peasant masses, i.e. 70% of all U.S.S.R. population, do not admit the Soviet kolhosp (collective) structure, are boycotting it, as well as openly object it.

And that happens just to-day, after 30 year of Soviet rules, after victorious war end . . .

In this announcement we disclose, further more, not less important and sensational statement that the whole Soviet state apparatus, which was managing the kolhosps, but not discharged its duty.

In the kolhosp administrations, is being stated by this official announcement, have been spread in mass the abuses and thefts. The exorbitant expenses, the lack of any control, the bribes, bribery, protectionism, misuses, parasitism and thefts, — behold a picture of thousands of the kolhosps and state farms, is stated by the very announcement.

The kolhosps' managers, is said further on, in this TASS communique, are living prodigally above means, the peasants have been transformed by them into the socage slaves. In the kolhosps the peasants have been deprived of any firm voice; there are not any democratical

² Collective farm.



Title page of the pamphlet by Yaroslav Starukh („Stoyar”), *New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine*.

Титульна сторінка брошури Ярослава Старуха („Стояра”), *Нова голодова катастрофа в Україні*.

(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 371742.

National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 371742).

forms of management; nobody is inclined to the desires and claims of the peasant . . .

Further on, follow severe orders and penalties for like abuses.

Immediately after that announcement began a "scouring."³ A wave of imprisonments and sentences comprehended a large circle of the kolhosps peasantry and the Soviet state administration including high-placed persons.

Simultaneously, conformably to the government orders, began a broad press campaign for "curing"⁴ the conditions in the Soviet peasant economy.

Analysis of an announcement

When we look a little nearer at the purport of that announcement, pushing aside any propaganda ballast and subterfuges, then, - we shall disclose there some very important moments.

1. the statement of the fact that the masses of peasantry are displeased with the Soviet kolhosp system:
2. despite 30 years of terroristical training the peasant masses *are actively opposed* to the Soviet regime, boycott and spoil the kolhosps, and change them into individual farms of economy, notwithstanding that in the Soviet Union such an action signifies running the risk of the most severe repressions. The fact of an active resistance of the peasants, state by the Soviet official announcement, possess a very great importance.

That denotes the passage of the folk's masses from the pass-ivism to the revolutionary forms of resistance and fight.

3. The official statement of a full degeneration of the Soviet administration, decayed with theft, bribe, extortion, comfortableness, protectionism, etc. . .

That statement will be still more significant when we acquaint *who is that administration*.

Why, that thievish, rapacious administration, being in such a way anathemized by the official TASS announcement, - is just the mainstay of the Soviet regime. That is, as says the constitution, the "managing marrow" of the Soviet order. That are just *the very party communists*.

There are just those "elected", "better," "foremen" of the Soviet order. That are the pupils and the product and bloom of 30 years Soviet order. That are just those who, as says the very announcement, in another place, autocratically manage the whole life not admitting the folk's masses to any voice.

And now we are being informed, from official source, that they are thieves, briberists extortioners . . . Holy truth!

³ Purge.

⁴ Improving

4. Of a great importance in this announcement is that the folk's masses in the kolhospes are in the condition of the socage-slaves!
5. Quite explicit statement of the very announcement that the quoted "transgressions and abuses" which are not at all some separate facts, but a general mass phenomenon which embraced the wholeness of the Soviet country economy.

All that together sounds as unlikely sensation. It seems to be literally excerpted from some of our revolutionary address, but not from an official Soviet announcement.

Who is guilty?

Which is the cause of such an unexpected, sensational announcement? Where its aim, which consequences?

The cause of issued announcement is quite clear for us: the Soviet government could not farther more pass over in silence the real state of things, for it became too much obvious, notorious and loud. For that reason Moscow was obliged to confess, in part, that fact, with the purpose to falsify the real causes and call general attention towards by her desired direction.

Avowing the catastrophic condition of the country economy, the Soviet government, by means of such an announcement, as well as press campaign, "scouring" and condemnations endeavours to throw the whole blame for misuse on individual persons.

In fact, however, *is guilty*, here, *the whole system*.

Is guilty the Soviet economy system, - and, which is more important and fundamental, - is guilty the Soviet system of totalitarian dictatorship which brought up such a people who are being called, now, the worst criminals-thieves, idlers, squanderers . . . Is guilty just that system of dictatorship which pushed forward such criminal elements to principal posts, which assigned them all the state administration, which proclaimed all those criminals, during all the time; "better people," "-the formen" who are only entitled to "any power and best living," - and the folk's masses which have been deprived not only of a fundamental right, to manage, themselves, the life, but in general of any rights.

Is guilty the system of the Soviet, party totalitarian dictatorship which enabled the concealment of that catastrophic condition for long, very long years.

Only in such a system of totalitarian party dictatorship was it possible that before some month-two all the world was a witness of the Soviet hullabaloo about the welfare and happy, wealthy living, and hardly a month after the world heard about the catastrophic condition, about full bankruptcy of the country economy, etc., etc . . .

The arguments and conclusions concerning those facts are innumerable, as well as numberless and extremely negative are the attributes of that dictatorial, imperialist, Soviet regime.

The design of the Soviet government. The announced worsening of peasants' lot. Fraud and swindle.

The design of the announcement concerned was to throw the blame for that catastrophic bankruptcy of the Soviet economy on individual persons, on "administration," "malefactors'," "sabotagists," "violators of the Soviet laws," etc. . .

On the other hand its aim was the endeavouring once more to cheat the folk's masses, as well as the narrow-minded, hypnotized, Soviet regime's idolaters, with the assurance that henceforth as if it would be "all right", as if would follow the improvement, for there were detected and scoured the "malefactors," pushed away the misuses - the cause of any evil.

Just here lies the swindle and fraud - of the announcement. For, when we get acquainted a little nearer with its purport, we see that by itself has not also been falsified the genuine cause of the bankruptcy of the country economy which lies profoundly in the very foundations of the Soviet dictatorial system, - but also has not been announced at all any improvement of peasants' lot.

The TASS communique hypocritically says that the peasants fell victims to the administration abuses, that they have been bereaved of democratic right to manage their own kolhosps, that they have been pushed aside from any voice, deprived of any rights and turned into the socage slaves, likewise is being announced the right against such misuses.

It would seem, then, that there should have come an improvement of peasants' condition. But that is only an appearance. For, the Soviet announcements it is necessary to treat more accurately.

The above mentioned part of the very announcement is being destined for the naives, for those who cannot decipher the official language of the Soviet government. But who understand the official Soviet language they will in the very announcement suppose just the contrary.

For in it is being announced quite clearly not any improvement of the lot of the kolhosp peasantry at all, but just its worsening.

From the very announcement springs plainly that the Soviet government is not as affected through misuses of its pupils, as rather through the fact that the peasant masses - leave selfwilledly (what an awful crime!) the kolhosps and attempt, with their own will, to restore the individual house-keeping. Just for that, above all, is being reproved, in the announcement, the administration has not passed its examination and has not been able to keep the peasant masses under rigorous restraint of the kolhosp discipline. For that, that the kolhosp managers allowed the peasant masses to leave and spoil the kolhosps.

When we consider further more that announcement, we shall see that there has been announced, first of all, - the compulsory return of all the peasants who have left the kolhosps, to the very yoke, back. There has been announced, further on, a large increase of the *kolhosp discipline!*

Behold, where is the secret of the very announcement! That is: still bigger rope on the neck of the kolhospnyk,⁵ on the neck of the

⁵ Collective farmer.

working people!

The utterances about the restoration of the "kolhosp Soviet Democracy" and removing of the socage orders, are and will always be hollow sounds only. They are only decorative phrases for cheating the credulous who are not aware of the Soviet lying language!

For, what an improvement, what a democracy is this when to all which has been till today, now has being announced still larger aggravation of the regime.

Are being judged now the thieves and squanderers? - Yes, but they are being judged by the very criminals! They judge one another - for it that there was extorted from the working people to little corn, that they allowed the loosening of the "kolhosp discipline."

Behold what is the matter! Behold what has been announced, in practice:

Still larger, still worse yoke!

Still larger plunder! Still larger terrorism!

The camouflaged avowal

Except those very important conclusions about the significance of that announcement, it is necessary to note that there has been hidden in it the confession of a new mass famine in U.S.S.R.

Though that has not been said quite openly but what properly do signify the utterances about the catastrophic condition or the country economy? - The Soviet government would not avow openly the fact of a hunger catastrophe, but called it only a "catastrophic condition" of the country economy.

However, if we compare this announcement with those above mentioned about the prolongation of the food rationing system until the end of 1947, as well as a "bad food situation," then this fact will be quite clear even without an immediate knowledge of the Soviet reality.

Pretty much material for that provide likewise various camouflaged Soviet press voices especially in the reports about against this background judicial processes which, however are being bigly staged and camouflaged to hide real state of things.

Therefore, in them we find only indirect, vague confirmation of the hunger.

The "catastrophic dryness" ⁶

Yet, as a very strong well nigh open avowal of it is to be considered the Soviet government announcement on January 20, 1947.

There, were related all-year results of new Soviet five year plan in all the economy branches. Beside different ciphers⁷ of successes in the development of industry, - about the agricultural production was

⁶ Drought.

⁷ Figures.

said it to be in a very bad condition on account of catastrophic "dryness"⁸ which afflicted in 1946 broad U.S.S.R. territories. To this matter was dedicated very much place.

The report says that in early months of 1946, well nigh all the spring and summer - wide territories of Moldavia, Ukraine, Volga-country, and West Siberia were afflicted by a dryness of such vast dimensions which were not noted from more than fifty years. That dryness, was said further on, ruined the seeds and caused a very deep lowering of the corn production. Notwithstanding that, was reported in the very announcement, "thanks to preeminence of the socialist kolhosp structure of economy, the results of crops are by no means smaller than those of 1921, when has also been noted an awful dryness though smaller than that of 1946."

At reading such a notice every one has an impression that it was issued just for the purpose in any way to excuse the catastrophic hunger situation.

Anybody is being impressed that the chief point of the whole announcement as well *the purpose of its appearing* is the passage about "dryness," and any other paragraphs have just been prepared to hide the bankruptcy of the Soviet economy by help of the ciphers, as if "in the other branches are to be noted successes," and only agriculture "has gone to the devil," on account of the "dryness."

But it will be sufficient to consider the time in which appeared this announcement, i.e. a whole year after the dryness, - and to compare it with another, above mentioned official reports, to may state with whole clearness that something is there out of order, that these government statements not only do not agree with themselves but contradict each other.

Evident contradiction

All those three announcements say the very same about: "meagre, bad food situation," about "catastrophic condition of agriculture." Then, all in order.

But quite another appears the whole matter when we consider the causes of this situation. Here appears a shocking difference and contradiction.

The former report said about the abandonment by the peasants of the kolhosp (collective) form of economy, the mass selfwilled return to individual house-keeping, the mass thefts and sabotages, the bankruptcy of collective economy, the misuses, thefts, abuses of agricultural, administrative state apparatus.

Also, it has been officially stated that the cause of bad condition of agricultural production is to be considered the interior crack and decay.

Meanwhile, here, in the latter report the only named cause of that is the "dryness." Then, what is properly true? The "dryness", or formerly named "disturbance?"

The former report said about the decay of the kolhosp economy,

⁸ Drought.

and still more of the kolhosp state administration, and this latter one informs that just "thanks to pre-eminence of the Soviet kolhosp economy," in spite of "dryness," it was possible to reap the crops.

How, then? It follows that this "decayed," socage, undemocratic, "thievish" kolhosp system, as it has been represented in the former report, - is just this "pre-eminent system" of the Soviet order which has saved U.S.S.R. from the consequences of unheard of dryness? —

It seems that in the former report announced "catastrophic condition" of collective agriculture is just that magic saving remedy of the Soviet order?

The Soviet secret

The secret of those, as if at the first look incomprehensible contradictions is to be found just in the very announcement which states that despite unheard of dryness, despite bad crops, despite complete downfall of agriculture *just this kolhosp system secured the state the reaping of relatively great quantity of corn.*

Behold, what a secret! Behold where is that magic power of that system!

Just after such an examination of the whole matter it appears quite clear why the Muscovite sovereigns extol to the skies that their system:

For, this system, as they, themselves, confess, despite unheard of dryness, despite complete ruin of the agriculture, despite thefts, abuses, and general decay of agriculture, nevertheless secured them the delivery of a great quantity of corn.

That is such a magic system that it secures the government the delivery of corn even in the case of completely bad crops, even when the half of crops was stolen, dissipated, spent on drink, - by the representatives and pupils of the very government.

This system distinguishes itself with such a magic power that it could secure the Soviet government the delivery of corn, despite that the producer of that corn, the working peasant is, as they themselves, incautiously confessed, "in condition of the socage slave."

That is a system which extorted from the peasant his last corn. That is a system which furnished "the state", i.e. the ruling party-clique with corn, at the very time, when the producer of this corn, the working peasant, - hungers and, literally, starves.

Behold, where is the secret of stupendous enthusiasm of the Soviet godlings with their kolhosp system!

They rejoice and boast of their invention, for that is the best colonial exploitation system! Because that is a system of compulsory work! That is, as they, themselves, are day by day reciting, - a system of discipline! That is a system where some people, being constrained with "discipline", must work, - and the other pull, steal and grab.

They may, indeed, rejoice and boast of, the Kremlin blood-tiplers. - Is that not a great success, when to-day, at such a ruin of agriculture and such bad crops they, by help of such a system, pulled off so much corn?

Who another, in the world be able to such a wonder, that today, a year after unheard of from hundred of years dryness and bad crops, a year after the ruin of agriculture, caused by the Soviet, thievish administration, a year after, indeed, catastrophic famine, - a state may boast of having pulled off, notwithstanding all, from its subjects, corn?

The "matchless pre-eminence" of the Soviet kolhosp. The biggest charge.

The bolsheviks boast of a "matchless pre-eminence" of their kolhosp order.

Where is that "matchless pre-eminence" they are till now reciting so much of? Perhaps in it, that this Soviet order, as they, themselves, before some three months proclaimed, - brought about a complete ruin of agriculture, occasioned a general discontent, general abuses, thefts, wastefulness, socage slavery, - is to say with their own words.

We know in which consists that "pre-eminence" of the Soviet kolhosp order! It consists in it, as the bolsheviks boast of in their announcement, from 20 of January 1947, that this order "secured the state" the pulling off the corn from the peasants, in spite of dryness, inspite of by them causes downfall and decay of economy, in spite of general wretchedness and famine of the peasants.

Is not this fact the bolsheviks are yet boasting of, - the greatest accusation against themselves?

They may boast of the Kremlin blood-tiplers, for despite that the people starve, swell and die, - they are not short neither of bread nor of wine. The magic "matchless" Soviet kolhosp system secured them all. There, in Kremlin, today, much more revelries, receptions, wines, champagnes than in times of the czars and courtiers!

They ever treat, entertain, and make drunk, there, various foreign guests-visitors. They export outside the corn being grabbed at own peasants. - On them, at czar's mood, expensive "furcoats" and "furs". They present still with them their guests. As for instance was presented with such a new "marshal fur," in remembrance, the English Marshall Montgomery. With such furs, they said, are being furnished here all our marshalls.

Well, but how are being dressed at the very time the kolhospnyks (peasants)? - Worse than the scarecrow in the millet.

They, the blood-tiplers, have furnished their two hundred generals with the golden swords, and all that at the very time, when the working people have been changed into the socage slaves and starve from hunger? - Behold where is the secret of the Soviet "matchless" system and all in which they are delighted!

Into the foreign visitor's eyes they throw dust with the furs and make them drunk with champagnes, so that they be deaf and dumb on all which happens in the Soviet kingdom. And the working people they endeavour to beguile with the show processes⁹ against the "sabotagists

⁹ Show trials.

and thieves," in order to throw the whole blame on the culpable individuals.

However, they shall not succeed in beguiling anyone.

The people know that the Soviet government - is a government of the plunders and thieves who invented and support, further on,¹⁰ that plunder-thievish hunger system. The people are able to comprehend all their announcements from which follow that just those thieves, just that thievish, as is said in the very announcement, state administration has been pulling off¹¹ last grain.

The people know that the Soviet government insist upon its administration just to compel it to extort, to take away, to deprive the people of most corn.

It is not necessary to seek far for the proofs, how correctly understand the people all the secrets of the Soviet policy. We can find it in the very announcement, where is said that the peasant masses oppose the kolhosp work as well as leave and ruin the kolhosps.

Another example: Not long ago, the late "president" of the Soviet Union, Kalinin, soon before his death, wrote an article. "With assistance to the propagandists. Some questions of the party-political work in the village" (**Wilna Ukraina** ("Free Ukraine,") - a bolshevik paper in Ukrainian language -, from 26 of September, 1945.), in which he advised the bolshevik propagandist-fibbers, how they should tell lies to the people. "The people is not stupid now", Kalinin wrote literally, "they observe the events in their own way, and demand an answer."

"It is necessary, then, to prepare themselves for such a reply, to may get out of hardest question. Behold, says in the very article, further on, Kalinin, when he was lately in a certain village, and on that occasion cheated the people about the golden communist pears on dried kolhosp willows,¹² country woman courageously interrupted his speech, - and directly declared: "You are saying such a different. We have heard it for a long time already, and know it by heart. But I see something another: behold, on your feet fine, handsome top-boots. But I have not any. Neither my children have any. Likewise in this our kolhosp all the people are bare-footed." -

Kalinin advised the propagandist, in such cases to get out by help of some arguments as if "it were not equitable the state representative to be as ragged as an average peasant, otherwise their state were in the world without any significance. "What do you want," replied Kalinin, "that the representative of the Supreme government come to you in clogs?"

He even says that he succeeded to convince the peasants with such a trick.

However, we are certain that any reasonable people, who are being dispossessed of the last piece of bread, who are being for tens of years dressed worse than the scarecrows amidst the millet,¹ who themselves,

¹⁰ Continue.

¹¹ Confiscating.

¹² "Pears in willow trees" is a synonym for empty promises.

¹³ In a field of millet.

with their children together have to starve and die from hunger for this only and that the Kremlin rulers may wage their imperialistic wars, -that they may "for the representation purposes: be nicely dressed, - not only may not be convinced by such tricks, but also they will call out still greater indignation and still greater hatred to all this new exploitative bourgeoisie.

Like remarks and conclusions about the contemporary condition of the Soviet Union's agriculture provide the Soviet government official announcements, as we have above considered them. -

But the genuine reality is much more awful. And its name is only one striking word: **the famine!**

II THE REAL SITUATION AND ITS CAUSES

The catastrophic famine

The king hunger has come again and impartially prevailed over the life of broadest folk's masses. - In Ukraine, but not only in Ukraine, but also in Belorussia and Russia the famine has assumed such dimensions that to-day in the beginning of 1947, the people are dying from hunger, in mass.

The high-roads have been crowded with unhappy, swollen people who jog on imploring piece of bread. The largest crowds of them tend towards the western provinces of Ukraine, to Galicia and Volynia. There the famine has not yet assumed such dimensions as in the East.

"Here," they say, "you have still an America" Hence, these begging crowds of hungry people are generally being called: the "Americans."

The hunger is so large and so mass one that very often have been noted the cases of a mass death. Also, likewise in the year 1933, not rarely happen the cannibalism cases.

Now, it is still impossible to foresee how large dimensions will assume that catastrophe, for we are just in the beginning of the year, and the most critical situation will come, as usually, before the crops. However, some who are being acquainted with the real state suppose that the famine, will, this time be not less than the hunger catastrophe of 1933.

We will not stop any longer at describing the hunger cases as well as the dreadful hunger death pictures, as all this is too much being known to us. But we rather turn to analyse the causes and effects of this fact.

About that was said pretty much in the first part of this publication where we were analysing the Soviet government official announcements. And now, comparing them with here presented real situations we see with all the clearness all those reports, notwithstanding the confession of a "catastrophic condition" of the agriculture to be, in fact, - still very far to the truth.

The Soviet government said something indirectly, having in view

the falsifying of the reasons of that catastrophe, but has not avowed at all the real situation, nor has taken up any real measures to counteract it.

The Soviet government avowed "bad food situation," but all the blame for it, in last announcement, it threw only on dryness.

We shall consider, then, all the matter.

Was the dryness really the cause of the hunger catastrophe?

The dryness, in fact, took place, here, and doubtless influenced pretty much the result of the crops. - However, the dryness is not the only reason, and not even that main one of the famine.

The dryness took place in the first half of 1946, and the famine has full began still before the crops, in spring of 1946. That is, that on the arising of 1946 famine that dryness could not yet have any influence.

The 1946 dryness may have had its consequences just in 1947 year, but by no means, - it could have been the reason of the famine which has begun still in spring of 1946, also, before the dryness. That is, that the famine should have had another reasons, and the dryness has only strengthened them, or rather will strengthen them in current 1947.

Which reasons, then, have called out this hunger?

The answer is clear: the very one that is said of in above mentioned Soviet government official announcement, viz., - the catastrophic situation of the Soviet economical policy.

This is one of the first reasons. But not at all the only one. There are yet some other. That has been testified by all the 30 year history of the Soviet regime.

The catastrophic condition of the Soviet economy Three famines

The famine in U.S.S.R. has not appeared at all for the first time.

An awful famine raged, here, in 1923. - At that time perished from hunger millions of men. Now is said that the hunger had been caused as if by the dryness of 1921. But, in fact, the genuine cause of at that time famine, which involved millions of the victims - was the Soviet government policy which endeavoured to stifle by help of the hunger the insurrection of the peasants, which glowed, then, in Ukraine.

The Soviet sources avow that between 1921-22, they had had to do, in Ukraine, with a *general peasant insurrection* against them.

Only in three early months of 1921, i.e., from January to March, it is reported in the "Outline of the V.K.P./b/U. (The Communist Party of bolsheviks of Ukraine) history,"¹⁴ the Soviet troops annihilated, in Ukraine, 117 groups of insurgents and underground organizations, as well 15 thousand of insurgents-partizans.

These facts testify, the, quite openly the true, *political* reason, the *political* "dryness" which lay in the base of 1923 hunger.

¹⁴ The reference is to the official Stalinist version known as the "Short Course".

The second still awfuller famine raged, in Ukraine, in 1933 year.

It took away again some six million victims. That famine had much more distinct political reasons. That was a by the Soviet government organized plan famine! It should have broken the resistance of the Ukrainian peasant masses against by Moscow forced upon collectivization, as in general against the Muscovite occupation of Ukraine.

The 1933 famine Moscow has not even endeavoured to excuse with a "dryness."

And now, - we have to do with a third huge famine, the third horrible hunger catastrophe.

Has it really been caused only by "dryness?"

When we consider the former facts, as well the whole Soviet policy and economy which has caused a constant starving, constant lack of foods, during all the time of the Soviet regime, - then, we must state that the hunger phenomenon in the Soviet Union is a chonical one, being connected with the very history of this regime.

The chonical famine, that is an inseparable attribute and result of the Soviet order.

The famine - tried instrument of the Soviet policy.

We must state that the constant starving - as well as the mass famines - are not only a result of the awkwardness of the Soviet economy, but also an instrument of the Soviet policy, first of all, that national¹⁵ one!

Let us remember only that the first famine of 1923, raged to the utmost, in the richest part of the Soviet Union, in Ukraine, which before the WORLD WAR I provided with corn the half of Europe.

And the second famine of 1933, reaped its horrible crops also in Ukraine. And finally this third one - which anew has attacked the Ukraine!

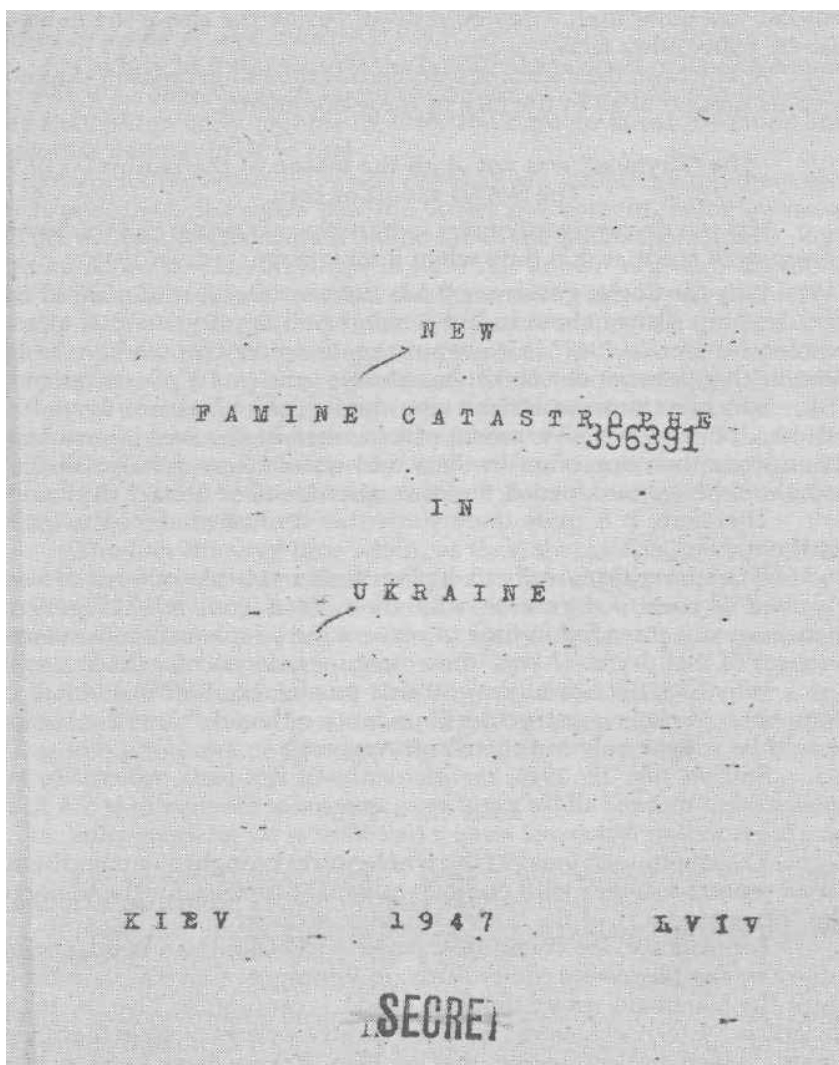
Let us remember, further more, that the famine of 1923, was accompanied again by a large action of all-national resistance against the Soviet occupational regime and its system of collectivization.

And finally this third one contemporary famine appeared just at the time of a new, extremely obstinate and mass, all-national liberating fight of the Ukrainian people the best manifestation of which is the armed fight of U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

When we consider that at any time, against the growing wave of liberating fight of the Ukrainian people Moscow always organized her *counteraction* by help of a hunger, - then we shall see that the hunger, this the greatest mass murder of millions of men, *is a conscious, plan, organized action of bolshevik Muscovy which considers the famine as an instrument and weapon of her imperialist policy for enslaving and exterminating the other nations!*

That these conclusions, that the actual famine as well as the former ones, in the Soviet Union, have had in their fundament the political

¹⁵ The nationality policy.



Title page of the other edition of the pamphlet by Yaroslav Starukh („Stoyar”), *New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine*.
Титульна сторінка іншого видання брошури Ярослава Старуха („Стояра”), *Нова голодова катастрофа в Україні*.
(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.
National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

reasons, are quite true, - can be proved, beside the above mentioned, also by many other facts.

At any case, the excuse of a dryness as the hunger reason - cannot keep its ground at all in the face of these arguments.

**The "dryness" was not at all the reason of the famine
The Soviet export of corn.**

Has the dryness really been as horrible, — why did not the Soviet government see it at that time when it took place, viz., in 1946.

Why the Soviet government has not seen that fact, during all the year keeping silence about it, but remembered the dryness just after a whole year, i.e., in 1947? Is it not strange, the more that we have to do, here, with a government which has always managed a plan economy?

For, here is not a farmer who might sometimes not foresee the results, -but here is a government which is carrying on such an economy, that sooner than any other in the world should have foreseen all that, and should have understood the consequences of so a huge dryness.

Therefore, it is quite understood that it must render an account for them.

If in spring 1946, really took place such an awful, unheard of from hundred of years, - dryness, - why, then, the Soviet "folk's"¹⁶ government have not provided in time to prevent the people before the consequences of that dryness? Was, there, not a whole year for that?

Why was the Soviet government proclaiming still in the half of 1946, here, in their country "the abundance of bread," as if the famine should be sought only in Britain and America?

Stilly on July 12, 1946, *the Moscow radio and press, followed by the London; New York and all the world press, announced the crops in U.S.S.R. to have been excellent and exceed many a time those of the preceding years.*

The communist press of the whole world brought as to this theme broad reports together with endless, as usually, praises for the honor of the "pre-eminence" of the Soviet structure economy.

For instance, the communist paper: "The Ukrainian Word," being edited by the Muscovite communists, in Winnipeg, Canada, in order to cheat the Ukrainian emigration in Canada, - on July 24, 1946, p. 16, in the article, "In Soviet Union," reported about excellent crops in the Soviet Union, which has surpassed that of 1945. "There have been reaped already 7,500,000 acr."

The Soviet commissary¹⁷ (now "minister") of agriculture of Ukraine, Butenko, on so called "All-Slav Congress", which took place at that time, in Moscow, made a huge propaganda speech where he said, among the other, that the Ukraine reaped in the 1945 year already over 85% of pre-war best corn production, and in many other important branches considerably surpassed the pre-war production level.

¹⁶ The "people's" government.

¹⁷ People's Commissar of Agriculture.

Of Butenko's statement availed themselves numerous communist press as inside as well outside U.S.S.R. -

On July 10, 1946, already the bolsheviks boasted of having reaped at that time already, great quantity of new crops . - And to-day, they say that still in early months of 1946, the dryness burnt the crops and even the humus, itself to coal . . .

Therefore, either there was not at all any dryness, or, if there was such one, then, it follows that the Soviet government, being aware of all the menace which hanged on the life of the million's of citizens, kept silence about it, dissembling¹⁸ to have not known nor seen anything, but to have been informed about the dryness of 1946, hardly in the 1947 year . . . Was it not, perhaps, for that reason to may the easier export the corn abroad for the propaganda purposes, in this way to influence the elections in France and other countries for the advantage of theirs?

Let us ask, therefore, - how was it with the export of corn abroad? How many hundreds thousand and millions tons of corn did the Soviet government export quite openly, still with a clamorous propaganda, abroad, to France before the elections, to Poland, to Yugoslavia and to many other countries? -

Thus, in the very time when, as they, themselves, avow, in their own country raged a terrible dryness, the Soviet government grabbed at the peasants their last grain and exported it outside, in this way condemning its own unhappy subjects, its own peasants, the producers of that corn, - to the hunger death!

So is it? Behold, what a "folk's" government! Behold what a dryness devoured the hard-earned work of the people, and condemned them to the tortures of a hunger death, on their own soil!

Always the same

Let us ask, further more, - does it not happen the very same, now, after an official avowal of "catastrophic food situation?"

Have the Soviet governemnt ceased exporting, further on, the corn abroad, now?

We do not know it exactly what happens, now, but in many a foreign paper we meet, farther on, fresh reports about the Soviet Union supplying them with corn. And yet, we know very well that in the Soviet policy it is quite possible, for it does not come into account with the interests and life of the folk's masses at all.

We know that the Soviet Union at the time of an awfulest famine, in the years 1932-33, in mass exported the corn abroad, dumping it practically for nothing on the world markets in order to cause the world a general economical bankruptcy.

We also know that the Soviet Union exported corn all the last year, the year which is now being called by themselves that of "unprecedented dryness."

¹⁸ Pretending.

Behold, how has gone astray the corn. Behold, how sucked up the Kremlin criminals the people's bread - the foundation of human life.

The dryness, they say now. But still a month or two ago they wrote of abundant crops. At that time, day by day, the Soviet radio and press uttered shouts about how many thousand how many million tons of corn they, on "stakhanov mood"¹⁹ pulled off from Ukraine.

Why were they not saying of the dryness at the time of crops and immediately after?

Why did they not say that the kolhospnyk could not supply the state with corn on account of dryness?

Why does the dryness appear but now, when the unhappy kolhospnyk (peasant) has been "cleaned" and sucked up to the last grain?

Why, not long ago, they said and cried something another: bread for the state! First corn for the state! Also that second for the state! Afterwards - still various "funds": "For Red Army's fund!" "For war loan!" - and for any other red, Stalin's chimera.

And after all that had ended, began anew: "Sell the state all overpluses," "all surpluses." - And all that "with enthusiasm," spontaneously!"

But what "overpluses," what "surpluses" has seen or heard whosoever at unhappy kolhospnyk's? Besides, what surpluses were possible when the dryness, as they say now, burnt everything?

After they had finished with "overpluses" and "surpluses," then, they set about the "individual, own stores", and anew has rung: "Sell the state corn from your own stores!" - Give and give! All, altogether, according to the plan, and "over the plan!" . . .

Thus, they have cleaned out, sucked up everything, that to-day it is, indeed, dreadful to look at this the most fertile, the richest country in whole Europe, where now starve millions of people, where the men eat each other! . . .

Behold, what a dryness! - Therefore, nobody but the Stalin's red locust has dried and sucked up everything altogether.

Are aware of that at best the people, themselves! - The peasant is aware of that why is he starving now, for he knows where to have gone astray his corn, his hardship. He knows his corn to have been taken off, have been grabbed!

Likewise the hard working workman who has to hunger, is also aware of the reason of it.

He saw as the corn was pulled off and exported, grabbed and spent, how has been wasted by their orders the whole economy. He asks now, — where were lost the crops? He asks, — why in the Soviet Union, on a colossal, over - 22 million km²-territory, 30 years already last constant lacks of foods, constant starving, frequent hunger catastrophes as nowhere, in any though the smallest and poorest country?

Do you ask the starving people, - and they will tell you the best, why the famish.

¹⁹ In a manner of stakhanovites, or very quickly.

From many a mouth will break loose implications against the Soviet regime, the only culprit of this horrible calamity.

"They have taken it away, they have grabbed it!" - with such words on their lips are dying along the high-roads swollen human shapes!

When they come now in whole groups to the West Ukraine begging a piece of bread, and the people, here, sometimes refuse, - as they themselves, have been cleaned up and grabbed of all, having been put upon them five, and even seven times any contingents, and they, themselves, began now to hunger, - then, these new-comers always reply in the same manner -: "Here, you have still an America! Wait a little, after being some years under the Soviet rules, it shall be, then with you worse than it is now with us, for you will have not even had anybody to may ask for . . ."

In any questions, in any talks, the starving peasants (kolhospnyks), who are afraid of nothing already, - say openly that: the only reason of all their pains - is the Soviet Regime!" As long the Soviet regime will be at rules, - till then there will not be any good to anybody!"

The people is also being aware of where has gone astray the bread. As to that, appeared numberless, new folk's saying, as for example this one:

*"Rye and wheat — was carried off abroad,
Barley and oats - took off M.T.S.
And I who was working in the kolhosp
Am dying, now, by the road."*

(N.b.: M.T.S., that is , the machine-tractor station. -The kolhosp, that is, the collective Soviet farm).

Like folk's sayings may be quoted in an innumerable quantity!

The people know the true reason of the famine. - The peasants also say of the dryness which, in fact, afflicted some provinces, - but all they unanimously assure that the corn was yet in such a quantity that it were sufficient.

But, they have been grabbed this time of corn much more than in the preceding years.

The Soviet war preparations

The people are also aware of how much corn was transported into colossal stores where it lies without any benefit to anyone.

It remains, there, *prepared for the war!*

Ten times more than has been exported abroad, the Soviet regime has transported into the colossal stores, carefully watched, very often maintained in a strict, military secret preparing itself for the case of a new war.

Then, the corn, despite the dryness, despite the Soviet disorderly economy would still have been gathered as much as were sufficient for the living, were not the wasteful abroad exporting economy, were not the Soviet imperialist preparations for a new war.

The Kremlin tyrants long for a rule over the whole world. They prepare themselves for a new war! To this end, for the bribery sake, they export abroad the millions tons of corn.

And for these imperialist, new war plans, - they bereave the peasants for their last grain, hiding it for themselves for the war time, into the stores, at the very time condemning the millions of the working people to hunger and death.

The question that cannot be left without answer

The Kremlin blood-tiplers clear themselves now — with a "dryness", as they say.

However, why is not this dryness there, in their Leningrad, Moscow, Kremlin?

Why there, with them, only endless parades, only expensive wines run, and they boisterously amuse themselves over all the world? Why so pompously and prodigally are being entertained by them the foreign guests, when such a dryness, when the people starve?

Why is not equal dryness, there, for all? Why is the dryness only for the peasants and workers, for ill-fated kolhospnyks and coal-miners, for those who wish their hard work produce, in their brow's sweat and toil, the bread?

Hundred year was not such a dryness, they say, - however, the fat Stalin's belly has not fallen in, nor sunk even for one centimetre!-

The dryness, - but with the real Soviet Union situation unacquainted foreigners, who again and again come to Moscow, cannot cease boasting of how they are, there being fed and made drunk with expensive wines, - and describe, afterwards, in the newspapers, how in Moscow one may be quite comfortable. -

And were it not better, perhaps, instead of one or the other entertainment, one or the other parade, - to save some thousand of the starving people?-

Were it true that the dryness should be meant the real and only reason of the famine, then, it could be helped still, how were it late!

One can still get bread in the world!

If one is as rich as to spread his all world propaganda, to amuse himself at expensive parades, *to spend on war preparations and dizzy, mad armaments, to equip his satellites, in Yugoslavia, Poland and another countries*, which surely costs big milliards, - why can he not *save the people from a hunger death*?

Behold still one question that cannot be left without an answer.

To any reasonable people it is probably clear that had the Soviet regime wanted to save the starving people from the hunger death, this might have been done still now.

But just in this lies the fundamental reason that the N.K.V.D.-ist, Stalin's criminals do not want it!

They have condemned the people to death!

They have been convinced that the peasant masses are displeased with the kolhosp system, with the Soviet regime.

They officially even stated, - as we say it being in the beginning examined announcement - that the peasants in mass abandon the kolhosp, and refuse to work in them.

And so the bolsheviks, as an answer to that, invented their old, by them many a time tried remedy: the famine.

They say that the horse only jibs, when it is being bred with oats. But being left only with dry straw it will cease thinking anything other.

They have even scientifically grounded a whole theory as to that.

And in practice, this is not the first time at all that they test the working two legged kolhosp horses carrying them from bread to straw in order that they don't jib, don't rebel against the kolhosp enslavement, do not leave the kolhosps, but beg piece of bread and sing about "happy kolhosp living," when getting a miserable handful of grain for their hard work.

The famine - the Soviet political action

Just here we come to the most important assertion, - *that this famine is also a political action of the Soviet regime, directed against the peasantry in general, but above all, against Ukraine.*

The Soviet regime is in as much in possess of all manner of means that, were it at least a little human, were it impressed at least a little with the distress of starving and dying millions of people, had it not carried on *just a consciously organized cannibal extermination action*, - it might, very easy, still to-day ward off this catastrophe.

The Soviet Union is, of course, in possess of diverse, colossal means, of divers natural riches for which it were easy to help the famishing people.

In the Soviet Union is being produced every year if only gold, itself, in such a quantity (of course, by gratuitous slavish work) that in this regard the Soviet Russia has occupied the second place in the world.

And if only for that, being not mentioned, here, any other still more valuable riches, without any difficulty one might have provided necessary food for helping the starving people. -

But in vain we should expect it from that regime, from that company of the criminals who are organizing themselves, this still one mass murder of the millions of men!

After all, must they, themselves, have organized this so called "catastrophic dryness!" After all, just they, themselves, the Kremlin blood tipplers, grabbed, and still now wheresoever they only could, they grab and take off the corn, paying not any attention to any "deliveries," to any "norms."

Give for two, three, and even five years - in advance, "are they saying amidst the mockeries.

They, in fact, grab what only they can take off, hiding the fact of a hunger catastrophe with an announcement about a "worsening" of the food situation."

Yet, here is the matter of the famine and death of the millions of men.

Stalin is afraid of a war now

However, this time, that crime will have done them no good.

This famine marked, as it was said above - with very distinct political reasons, will also involve no less consequences.

Fighting out, by means of the famine the peasant masses, Stalin with his whole imperialist clique together, have tied themselves very seriously, their hands with that inside situation, with that interior war which is being waged by them by means of hunger.

They are constrained, now already, to many a concession for the advantage of their adversaries. Just for that reason Stalin has become so soft-hearted towards various inter-national questions, and again and again he is advertising divers talks with foreign representatives whom he endeavours to appease and calm, praying for the peace and harmony, though still not a long time ago he spoke very martially. - The inside situation, that inside "hunger-war, "has constrained him, for a certain time, to be softened.

Stalin, simply, is afraid of a war now. He believes new war to be inevitable. He, himself, longs for it, and febrily²⁰ prepares himself, by all means, for it. However, he wants to adjourn it for some time as he must, first of all finish the inside war to may be prepared for that exterior one. - This huge hunger action of the Soviet regime is also to be considered as a planned part of such preparation, viz., that is a stifling action of any displeased, revolutionary elements to pay the way for next war campaign. Stalin prepared himself for the imminent war, but he is afraid of it, now, for he is aware of what will say, what will do in such case the millions of starving people.

The people will find their hangmen, and will settle their matters with them! Just of that are afraid the Kremlin tyrants!

- This menace, however, hangs over them as the sword of Damocles, and will not pass by them, whenever it would happen! - In last war the Stalin's clique was safed against the vengeance of the people's masses by mad, cannibal policy of Hitler who aspired to equal and even surpass Stalin, himself. Yet, this time, the Kremlin tyrants shall not be rescued by any wonder!

To the fight

The task of the Ukrainian revolutionists, inside the Soviet Union, is: to acquaint the broadest folk's masses altogether with real reasons and purpose of Stalin's famine, on this ground to mobilize into a gushing volcano all the forces of all-national consciousness and hatred against the hangmen - as well as organize still more broad, still more powerful revolutionary fight!

Having been on Kremlin invented a Stalin-sun, - let us disclose to whole our people as well to any other enslaved peoples, - how it burns and dries up anything!

Let us disclose, and give a genuine and proper name to the Stalin's famine!

²⁰ Feverishly.

Let be flamed a passionate, all-national revolutionary fight against the Stalinite hunger producers!

Let them know our people to have not died without defence! -Today already, the glorious Ukrainian Insurgents, directed - by Supreme Political Organ of Ukrainian Nation, Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.V.R.) - have liquidated and divided among the people hundreds of the kolhosps, creameries and stores in many a province, for instance, in: Kamyanets²¹ Podilskey, Vynnytsya, Shytomyr, Volynia, Rivne, Ter-nopil, etc. . .

Their example will be followed, in a next future already, by the whole Ukraine!

Anyone in whom still smoulders a sparklet of free human spirit must understand that only exit from such a situation is: the fight!

Let us not swell and die from hunger - but let us stand up to arms!

Let us get back our own bread from the stores! Let us ruin the enemy centres whereto he is gathering our bread, milk, meat and "beans!"

Let us annihilate the Stalinite party parasites, leeches and their hirelings!

Let us waste the whole occupation apparatus of plunder and exploitation! Let us by force object any "plunder-loans," taxes, deliveries and norms! Let us give not anything!

Let us tear off any occupant's dispositions! Let us liquidate his stores and divide them among the hungry people!

Let us be not afraid of any repressions, fight and death! - It is better to fall in the fight than swell and die amidst the hunger pains! -Let us change the Stalin's famine into a mass anti-Stalinite fight! -

A common, mass, all-natural revolutionary fight will involve less victims than a famine!

And outside the Soviet Union, behind the limits of this kingdom of permanent hunger, - let be our task, of Ukrainian revolutionists, - to hammer out of that awful fact, of that martyr's hunger of millions of the Ukrainians - a powerful weapon against the Soviet Stalin's tyranny, to accelerate, with any means its defeat!

Let this famine become a weapon against its inventors! - Let the calls of the millions of our hungry, starving, dying brothers - stimulate us to that.

²¹ Kamianets' Podils'kyi; Vinnytsia; Zhytomyr.

Glory to Ukraine

January, 1947

Stoyar

(Iaroslav Starukh)

**Long live Independent Common Ukrainian State! Long Live Free
States of all Nations in reciprocal alliance, friendship and fraternity!**

Liberty to nations! Liberty to man!

Death to tyranny!

*Original: The National Ar-
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Group #319, File No. 371
742.*

YARLAN

SPECTRE OF FASCISM

KYIV

1947

LVIV

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Introduction*

In the world of to-days, we are witnessed of an immensely interesting phenomenon which is the vehement strife all about so called fascism problem in spite of fascism's defeat.

At least, it would seem so to anyone who reads different newspapers and publications of newly-baked "democrates."

It seems, however, that after so a deep, so a shattering military as well as political defeat which set both regimes having been in Europe and in all the world a personification of fascism notion, - after so a profound and "totalitarian" defeat, sealed with the death of both leaders, authors and representatives of those fascist regimes - there should not be a place, in the human society, for such a discreditable phenomenon.

Meanwhile, as it would seem that question has never been so actual and loud - one was never fighting and writing so much and so vehemently all about the problem - as just to-day!

Everywhere, in every newspaper, in every speech and writing, on every page we meet one and the same "fascism danger," "the fight against the fascist reaction," etc. . .

According to those newspapers, that danger exists, lives, is growing and spreading, farther on, everywhere, in whole world: in Ukraine and Finland, in Poland and Yugoslavia, in Greece, in Turkey, in China and Portugalia, not excluding, even U.S.A., where as it is by such newspapers report: "... the Congress Commission for anti-American activity affairs examination" is also nothing another as only "a typical reactionary fascist institution which persecutes the best American patriots and democrates."

Never before, even in the times of the greatest successes of Mussolini and Hitler, and a long time after, one was writing of that so much and so vehemently as just to-day, after their defeat and death . . .

It seems, then, that the spectre of fascism frightens and shakes the world farther on . . .

More than twenty years until the outbreak of the last war in the East we were taught that fascism was a storm column² of capitalistic system. The capitalist system, pretendedly corrupt in its foundations, could not maintain itself, farther on, on the way of normal functions, on account of its interior weakness and class fight.

To maintain itself at any cost, it had recourse to the last saving board which were for it, for some time, the fascist dictatorship. So, then, the fascism were the last product of dying capitalism.

* This pamphlet was written by "Yarlan" (Iaroslav Starukh) who was the underground leader in the Zakerzons'kyi Krai. It also appeared in Ukrainian, Polish and French languages.

This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, File No. 356391. Declassified by authority of NND Declassification Project 785001, W.G. Lewis, NARS, August 23, 1982.

¹ The Congressional Committee for the Un-American Activities.

² The vanguard.

But that argumentation has not stood the life test.

To the fight against fascists Italy and Hitlerite Germany rose just as first the classical states of capitalism and democracy: Great Britain, United States and another.

As the first victims of fascist robbery, also fell Czechoslovakia, Poland and another peoples with more or less capitalistic system, too. That could not be brought in any, even the most trickish way, under the class-fight concept where fascism were a bourgeoisie instrument against the workers.

The whole peoples fell as victims of the assault and destructive terrorism of fascist states. To the fight against the invasion and oppression of the fascist states solidarity arose also the whole peoples.

Allwhere³ the fight against the invasion of the fascist states most expressly acquired a character of the fight for the national liberation, for restoration of state independence of by violence, in the beginning of war, by aggressive and rapacious imperialism of the fascist states subjugated peoples.

In this way, the fight against fascist Block, which glowed in last war, was not that one for such other economical system, but it was the fight for human freedom, for the rights of the individuals and the peoples, being contradicted by fascist ideology and brutally trampled by violence of upon that ideology grown states.

Just now, in the face of unknown till now by many a people calamities of foreign occupation, of slavery and terroristical regimes, the peoples perceived the real, by nothing supplied value of freedom an expression and guarantee of which are the independent, national states, edified upon principles of democratic system.

So, in last war quite expressly arose two opposite ideological camps between whom rolled the decisive fight: the camp of aggression, imperialism and terrorism, called the fascist one, and that of human freedom, called the democratic one.

But, that division not ever was clear. Some states went to war, on this or on that side, voluntarily, the other ones only constrained to it by the circumstances, or in the hope of drawing up from it their own profits.

Thus, in the camp of the states having been at war against the fascist Block, found themselves certain powers which were compelled to war against the manacing neighbours' aggression, but besides they never had nor have in main nothing common with a free camp of democracy.

That indistinct ideological division was darkened yet more after war. The victorious banners of free slogans endeavour to profit to their own aims any political speculators, even those who in main have another views, and are carrying on a policy contrary to the concepts of democracy.

³ Everywhere.

All the file of political deceivers of larger or smaller world scale endeavour to hide their real designs under the shape of hullabaloo about democracy.

On the other hand, the political adversaries willingly are being combated by anathemized fascism's mark.

To-day the concepts of democracy and of fascism are being fenced to the left and right so broadly and plentifully that common people lose any orientation what properly, in such a situation are signifying those notions.

Therefore, it is necessary to establish the proper essence of fascism and democracy concepts, as well as who pertain to the democratic camp and who to that of fascism.

In present publication we are going to explain the notion of fascism in general - as well as of that red one.

To the reader

We beg your pardon if in this our underground publication you will find some grammatical, idiomatical as well as technical deficiencies.

The conditions of underground work do not allow those things to be elaborated as perfectly as we it desire.

Editors*

*Additional title page is after this note in original publication.

THE FIRST PART

THE FASCISM IN GENERAL

The beginnings of fascism movement

The fascism movement was born in Italy, immediately after WORLD WAR I. In the beginning it had an anti-communist and anti-anarchical character, and endeavoured to maintain the totality and order of Italian State.

It had not at once a developed, crystallized, own ideology. With the course of time, however, after it had possessed the power, during the long years of state rule it developed its own, plainly definite ideology which found the suitable support and confirmation in of many years standing practice.

At the very time with the development and victory of fascism movement in Italy, arose in some other States of Europe, of those times, more or less similar political movements that independently from their individual names were called the fascism movements, after the model of their Italian prototype.

The most prominent representative of such a political movement beyond Italy was - the Nazi movement in Germany.

Both those movements left past them a very great quantity of materials, as in the sphere of ideological works as in that of the long practice rule, which gives us the possibility to may denote quite clearly the principles and character of those movements.

The notion and attributes of fascism

The totalitarian dictatorship

The fascism may be defined shortly as: a system of totalitarian structure of the state.

It is founded, in the first place, upon the ruthless dictatorship of a state ruling personality, for instance: "il duce", "der Fuhrer", or another "leader"...

He is governing dictatorially, resting upon his "party", by help of which he possessed the rule.

In a fascist government, there are in practice no constitutional, no civic rights and, in general, no freedoms. In all, there is in force exclusively the will, or rather the licence of the dictator and his confidences.

When, sometimes, there are left to the citizens whatever theoretical or practical rights, even in such a case they are not being based upon the fundamental, constitutional, legal foundations, they do not possess any features of permanence, but depend from dictator's will, and in every moment may be pushed aside or changed.

In the range of such narrow-minded citizens rights, we meet in certain totalitarian systems, belong, among the others, some remainders

of democratic arrangements as: elections, parliamentary representations etc. . .

Such remainders are usually very miserable, they have a quite changed, quite deformed and turned form, and in practice are beings applied so, that those institutions properly lose entirely their primordial signification, and remain in the hand of dictator a flexible instrument of fulfilling of his boundless will.

The pushing away of human individual

The state, in a totalitarian system, ceases to be a legal organization, but is only a representative of force and violence.

In the official ideology - that is called by various nice phrases, as: "the preference of the state over the individual", "the preference of the common interest, represented by the state over the egotistical, individual interests etc. . .

In reality, however, there is hidden behind it the deprivation of human individual of all fundamental citizen's, and in general - human rights in advantage to the almighty, dictatorial state apparatus^

The man, the individual, is disappearing more and more. Instead of that is growing the signification and the control of the state over all spheres of individual and social life.

The man is being transformed into the servant and slave of the state, i.e. of a handful of men from the state apparatus who believe themselves to be the only representatives of the state.

In that system, the "omnipotence" of totalitarian, dictatorial state is increasing so much that very often is being pushed aside to the second plan the same notion of the nation the latter being meant as a secondary factor or as that "obsolete" one.

To the state and to its power ascribed the fascism doctrine so a colossal and decisive signification in human life, that it pushed aside not only the individual but also the national community.

The state apparatus was transformed into an omnipotent, totalitarian machine, in that system, and the man became there a dumb screw which may be turned from above as one will.

All totalitarian regimes were evolving more and more in such direction. It is generally known of long, that very absolute power, being without any limitation, naturally tends to its enlargement until maximum of totalitarianism's limits.

The centralism system

As a logical consequence of that system was also larger and larger state centralism.

The wholeness of life of great state territories, being directed to least minuteness by severe dictator's hand from the state central, created the elements of totalitarian regimes power, by means of which they came into prominence before the rest of the world.

Such centralistic system created much of a false splendour, which intoxicated dictators.

The police terrorism

The totalitarian regimes are being called, very often, quite right: the police ones.

A large police control, the police terrorism are very often the chief support of totalitarian regimes.

As an eloquent example of that may serve Hitler's regime, not only in the occupied countries, but also in that of his own.

The ruthless, bloody regime of policy terrorism gives to totalitarian, dictatorial power an impression of omnipotence, which is one of the chiefest attributes of any totalitarianism.

The totalitarianism, as a structure form of fascism, is in the first place, a police terrorism.

The official propaganda

A resembling attribute of totalitarian regimes is: the inflated, monopolized propaganda.

The mouth of citizens is shut by the police control and terrorism. At the same time, the official propaganda disposes with well nigh illimitated⁴ means of state apparatus. In such conditions, it is not only fulfilling the task of mobilization of common opinion in advantage to the ruling regime, but also it is very efficaciously completing the police terrorism, the weighs as a dread stone and a whip above the head of dispossessed of all rights "equalized" man.

The glorification

The glorification of the person of a "duce" "Führer", or another "leader", at first an organizer and leader of concerned movements, then, after power's attaining, a dictator, - loses any healthy measures, and is being transformed into illimitable glorifying of him as: "Great" "Ingenious", a supra-man, almost God . . .

This illimitable, idololatrous glorification of dictator's person is also a very characteristic feature of any fascism regime.

The gigantomania

All totalitarianisms distinguish themselves, among the others, through a very strong inclination to gigantomania.

That flows up not so from to such endeavours favourable centralis-tic economy, but rather from psychological impulses, viz., from the pride and selfconfidence of individual sovereigns, as it is so vividly illustrated in the ancient biblic history about gigantic Babilon Tower, which is quite true in enlightening the source of such a psychological phenomenon.

For, all absolute sovereigns-dictators usually endeavour to note their name in the history with certain, unheard of achievements, to edify

⁴ Unlimited.

themselves durable monuments after the example of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs, authors of pyramids.

So, they drain the immense marsh areas, dig new colossal canals, edify giant factories and tracks, gigantic representative edifices . . .

Yet, who of the present, or still more of the later would contest those to be, in some degree, good works and things, and even really great.

However, all that appears quite otherwise when we consider that those in themselves good and useful things and works the dictators are fulfilling not to common welfare, but to their own glory and haughtiness, and very often are performing that with the methods of violence and slavish labour of their subjects.

As in those proud, ancient, of thousand years pyramids, or in magnificent castles of mediaeval sirs, as well in those, but thousand-fold acre, gigantic edifices and another works of contemporary totalitarian sirs and tyrants, every stone and every cubic meter of the excavated soil are being poured with streams of tears and blood of the modern slaves, the millions unhappy victims and dictators-tyrants.

What now, that those gigantic edifices, factories and' canals may here-after serve, perhaps, to good aims, when to-day they are arising from slavery, calamity, violence, tears and blood, when for the cost of their splendour and future usefulness the tyrants would buy acknowledgement, glory and oblivion of their crimes.

No work, even the greatest and most gigantic may justify, in least measure, in the eyes of really cultural people, the criminal terrorism and slavery's methods, by help of which it has been performed.

Instead of admiring the gigantic works being announced, again and again, by the propaganda of totalitarian states, we ever will ask: first of all, by which means, by whose labour and cost they have been executed? How many thousand of unhappy condemned of concentrative camps were working, there? How many perished there, how many were shot? How much tears and blood was poured ere those canals, those edifices, those factories in deserts, in swamps, or in Polar taigas have been built to the glory of tyrants?

Those very same works, performed with another methods, in conditions of freedom, would many a time be useful and laudatory. But, being performed by violence and slavish labour, at the cost of life and sufferings of hundreds thousands of men, - being performed to the haughtiness and glory of dictator, or to increase the potency of his unrestrained, rapacious appetites, they bring to the community not the benefit and fortune, but still heavier burden and yoke, and to the dictators they will bring not by them desired glory, but the everlasting curse.

The monopoly parties

There is yet one very characteristic attribute of all totalitarian systems, after which they may be without any difficulty discerned from any other systems, i.e.: the monopoly of one, official party.

The totalitarian states allow the activity of only one party, tyrant's instrument. All the other parties, political groups and even political

creeds, all independent human thoughts are, very often, prohibited and persecuted.

In the last time, that throughout reactionary, tyrannical monoparty policy, in its consequence suffocating any development of human spirit, inconsistent with the future of human being itself, - is, under the pression of cultural world opinion, being masked in certain countries with a false board of several official parties, or such a block of them.

In reality, however, that is only a propaganda trick, calculated on "cheating" of naives.

The dictatorship and totalitarianism are afraid of any truth and critic, are afraid of human freedom, are unable to support its light.

Therefore, they convulsively keep themselves in shadow of the obscure reactionary violence's powers. For, there where comes to voice free, human spirit and the light of truth, there, the decaying one party dictatorship cannot keep its ground.

The turn to past

All fascistico-totalitarian movements, very willingly bind their ideology with past epoches, and even with dark ancient times.

From there, they very often draw out their inspirations. Because in those times they discover so by them beloved figures of severe absolute sovereigns, kings, czars, emperors and leaders who with their autocracy, bellicosity, and their power's gleam impose on being full of admiration imitators and candidates to the very same sovereigns, sirs, tyrants so much, that they forget whole centuries of difference and human progress which followed.

Digging up and glorifying those ancient times, they seek there, above all, just the justification and corroboration of their methods of absolutism, "leadership", rapacity, cruel ruthlessness etc ...

That is the conscious back-turning from the path of development, of human progress, to the times of past barbarism.

The militarism

The fascistico-totalitarian regimes endeavour to attain maximum of military potency.

To that purpose they devote all possible means. Thus, they carry on the militarization of the wholeness of life, an intense development of armaments industry, the mobilization of whole opinion to military scopes.

In consequence of that, the state is being transformed into one great military camp, which usually ends, sooner or later, with the war outbreak.

The destroying elements of bellicosity's fury, once being unfettered, seek their escape, and drive those who are being ensnared with them, to the war cataclysm. Besides, the cannons, tanks, ammunition, dynamite, bombs and hundreds thousand of military specialists nobody produces to amusement.

The constant play at war, ever ends with a real war. The totalitarian mobilization of fascist states creates the constant danger to the other peoples and states.

The imperialism

The totalitarian systems distinguish themselves in their foreign policy by a showy, rapacious imperialism.

All the fascism ideology, as well as all its attributes, find just in an unrestrained, blood-thirsty, rapacious imperialism their best expression, crown and escape.

The ruthless dictatorship, the centralistic organization of the wholeness of life, the complete subordination of the individual, and sacrificing of his interests and life to will and direction of totalitarian godlings the overgrown militarism, as well as the other attributes of totalitarian system surely lead to the inflaming of always greater appetites, to the imperialism, to the applying of force and violence, to the robbery and rapacity also in foreign relations.

Mr. Byrnes, the Secretary of State of U.S.A. was quite right when he said, not long ago, that the Nazi march to the world conquest began with a terrorism and tyranny inside of its own country, and reminded, that we should not forget this so very instructive moment.

For, the state power being extended to maximum possibility, at the cost of freedom and rights of citizens, accustomed to the methods of terrorism, and to ruthless dispensing with the life of its subjects, finding nowhere any limits, quite naturally tends to its every larger dilatation outside.

The racism

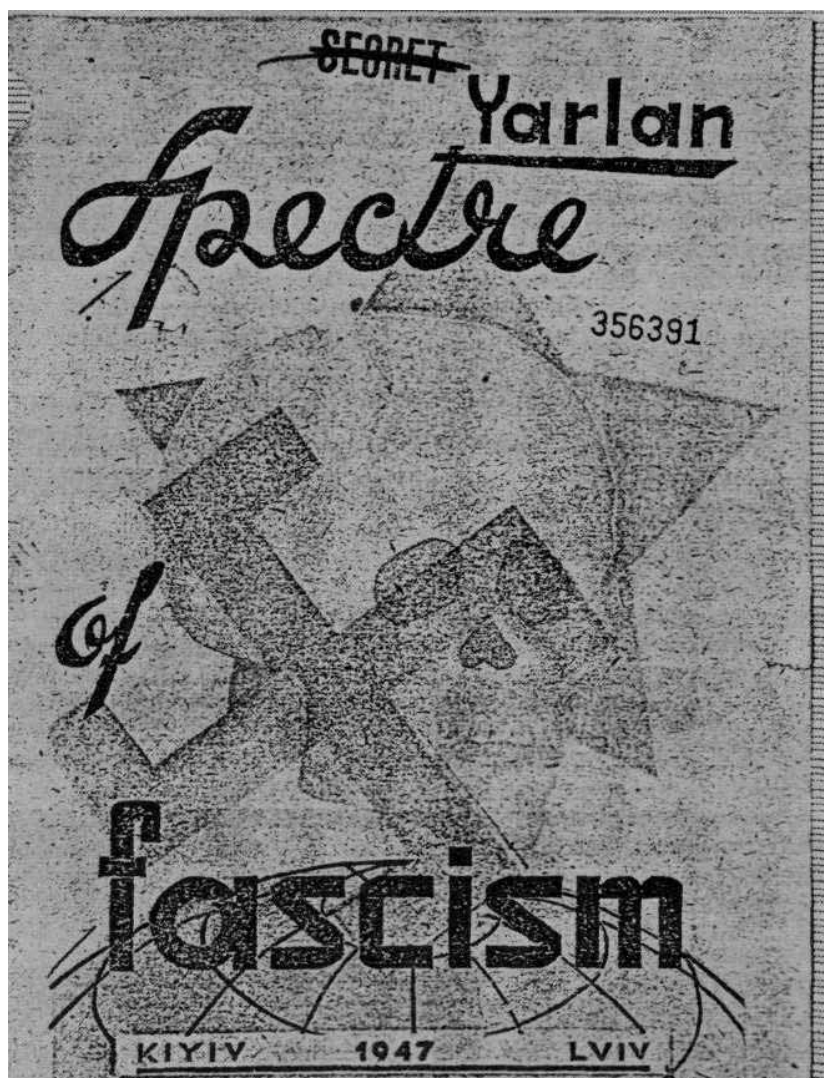
Their bloodthirsty, unrestrained imperialism, the ideologists and directors of fascist states endeavour to "justify" with a thesis of so called "superiority" of their nation, of their race and of their system over the other nations.

In reality, it is a common robbery of the stronger over the weaker. Being armed from head to foot, being educated in a wild, rapacious bellicose, militaristic spirit, the plunderer assails the weaker, and endeavours to annihilate him or to subordinate to himself.

That has nothing to do with announced cultural and ideological problems which only serve to shield the real contents.

Especially, showy and dangerous in its racy maddeness was the ideology and practice of German Nazism (Hitlerism), which openly proclaimed and carried on the complete extermination of another peoples and races.

But not all imperialist plunders confess it so openly, though they all dream of their "superiority", "vocation" to the "liberation" and to "make happy" the others, under which it is to be understood their bloody sway.



Title page of the pamphlet by Iaroslav Starukh („Stoyar”), *Spectre of Fascism*.
Титульна сторінка брошури Ярослава Старуха („Ярлана”), *Фашистівське
страшило*.
(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.
National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

The trampling of moral principles

The policy of the fascist states does not acknowledge any binding obligation or whatever moral principles.

The policy, in general, is being known allwhere and in all the times from its mutability and perversity, or, delicately saying, from its "elasticity." In return to that, it waited through many a succulent definition.

But, all what is being known till now in the history of diplomacy, turns pale in comparison with perverse methods of fraud, falsity and the most refined "machievellism" of the states of fascist type.

The policy of the normal status, in spite of the most "flexible" methods, however, must enter into account with the common opinion, is being bounded with it, and, to some measures, depends upon it. It must enter into account with the principles and creeds confessed by community concerned.

Yet, the policy of fascist states, not entering into account with no one and nothing, applies, close the methods of totalitarian violence, the resembling methods of totalitarian lie and perversity.

All the obligations and treaties, all the assurances of "everlasting" friendship, all proclaimed slogans and ideas, speeches and oaths, all the principles upon which the community and humanity might build their relations and common life, - in contact with the policy of totalitarian life and violence or fascistico-totalitarian states, lose any practical significance, of which we are witnesses, now.

Such would be the short review of the notion and chief attributes of the systems of fascist type.

That gives us the possibility of discerning them, even in the cases when they are being masked by the other exterior shields.

In any case, when may arise a doubt as to that, - allwhere we meet a blind fending with the fascism name, it is necessary to state, at once, the real state. The answer will be easy and clear:

THE FASCISM is there, where is dictatorship, totalitarian system, violation of individual rights, the state centralism, police terrorism, concentrative camps, one party system and state propaganda, where reigns the official compulsory exaltation and glorification of the ruling dictator, where reigns militarism and rapacious imperialism, where is not any national and personal liberty, where is not any freedom of conscience, of thought, word, print and association, where are not any real and free elections and parliamentary representations and governments, where is not any humaneness, but the hatred the terrorism and robbery.

Behold the picture of that spectre, which frightens till now the whole humanity and its phantoms . . .

All the peoples and all the men who desire to live in freedom, peace and justice, who desire to insure themselves, and still more their children and descendants, against terrible consequences of slavery and cannibalism, *must decidedly stand to arms* for once for more world liberation from that danger, for the removal from globe any system of dictatorship and totalitarianism.

THE SECOND PART

THE RED FASCISM OR THE BOLSHEVISM

Where is the truth?

How otherwise appears the above sketched picture, in the words and deeds of those who are making the greatest clamour today, all about the fascism danger, and are fencing to the outmost with that concept, slandering the others, and to themselves ascribe an antifascism name, but not explain at all, what properly, in their opinion, signifies that so often used notion.

In the first part, we have elucidated the notion and the attributes of the fascism, in general, and now we are going to establish the position as well as the proper signification of the red and the real anti-fascism concepts.

The lie and falsity

To-day, the bolshevik propaganda hides very often its face behind an "anti-fascism" screen, stamping all the bolshevism adversaries with the fascism name.

Using such methods, it finds that notorious fascism danger, very often, not in great, imperialistic, totalitarian potencies, where, first of all, it should be sought, but, in: Switzerland, in Greece, in Finland, in Lithuania, in Ukraine, etc . . .

That is surprising, what a fascism, what a danger they find in small, high-cultural, throughout democratic Switzerland, or such the same small, cultural Finland? Or, in Ukraine, which being oppressed, herself, during whole centuries by all manner of imperialisms, abhors them most thoroughly, and desires nothing more as only her liberation and freedom, and that in the whole world may prevail a free system of national and really democratic relations, which to us, Ukrainians, may help in definite insurance of equal rights.

Above all, to us, Ukrainians out of regard to our till now lasting position and the whole history course, as well as to deep-rooted, natural national attributes, - there is not and cannot by anything more strange and adverse, as whatever system of dictatorship and totalitarianism, of violence, exploitation and imperialism, which brought so much pains and disasters to our people. For that reason all the endeavours of the Ukrainian nation have the most progressive, most free character.

The fascistico-totalitarian, military-imperialistic systems arise, find suitable ground, and come to power, not in the midst of small, or subja-gated nations, but, on the contrary, by rule, among the great, ruling, state peoples who endeavour to spread their potency and domination.

The fascistico-totalitarian ideologies and systems, as it has been manifested in preceding part, are an expression of the great-power imperialistic endeavours.

The liberating, independent movement of Ukrainian nation, to the outmost progressive, in all the spheres of life, as well as another like

movements, called by the bolshevik propaganda by the fascism name, - evidently have nothing common with any fascism.

It is also impossible to affix a fascism name to the antibolshevik, but sincerely democratic movements which prevail in Switzerland, Finland, Sweden and another resembling countries, which do not menace anyone, and in their inside relations observe democratic orders.

So, when we meet such objections to-day, it is evidently lie and falsity.

Where is to be sought the real fascism danger?

The true and real fascism and war danger; the totalitarian dictatorship, totalitarian terrorism, militarism, the rapacious and bloody imperialism, as well as all with them connected disasters are elsewhere to be sought.

That danger, for certain peoples, for a long time, existed in fascist Italy. In larger measure, it menaced the whole Europe and even the whole world, from the side of Nazi Germany. In the largest measure, however, it was and is to be sought not elsewhere, but just in the bolshevik Russia, herself, which cries so much of her so called "anti-fascism."

For certain peoples in Europe, who are not acquainted with the practice of the Russian bolshevism, but only with its clamorous propaganda, who till now tax the bolshevik Russia, according to the theories of socialism, communism or internationalism, — our aforesaid affirmation of her fascism's face, may be a surprise, perhaps. All the more, as in last WORLD WAR II, the Soviet Russia took an alive part in Nazi Germany's defeat.

For the Ukrainian people, however, who experienced all cruelties of Hitler's fascism, in its dreadfulliest, "Eastern" edition, during the recent, three years lasting occupation of Ukraine, who also experienced, for more than 25 years, the Soviet rules, and now again, after Germany's defeat, anew experienced them during three years, - for the Ukrainian people, who in this way, underwent the most fundamental practice of both those regimes, it is quite clear that both those regimes as to their practice, are quite resembling one another, and belong to the very same fascism type.

The ruthless dictatorship of Soviet Russia

Our assertion, that the Muscovite bolshevism with its fundamental attributes corresponds to the genuine, almost classical fascism, in its worst and most dangerous edition, - we base, as was said above, on our immediate, many years lasting observation of its practical reality.

That is irrefutably confirmed by review, and comparison of its characteristic features with in the first part enumerated fascism attributes.

The Muscovite bolshevism, not in the communism theory, but in its practice, is above all: a ruthless tyrannical dictatorship, brought to maximum of limits.

That is a system of all-powerful, all-embracing totalitarianism and state centralism. In a level with that, goes, as ever in all totalitarian systems, a totalitarian terrorism.

Bloody terrorism and glorification of the tyrant

As to its dimensions, the bolshevik terrorism is not giving way in anything to most bloody Nazi practices.

In the bolshevik practice we also meet, being known to us already from the other fascist systems, a ruthless dictator's domination of with nothing restrained autocrat and bloody tyrant, as well as at his command and desire cultivated idolatrous exaltation and glorification of his own person.

Nowhere in the world, in no religion do not praise, do not adore the men their deity as much as in the bolshevik "paradise", its compulsory inhabitants and condemned together must adore, praise and loudly idolize the bloodthirsty Kremlin's idol, and themselves abase.

The endless concentrative⁵ camps

The Muscovite bolshevism is, further more, a system of colossal concentrative camps; of Siberian deportations, of compulsory work of many millions of slaves, a crowd of innumerable political prisoners, -and a system of mass death executions.

The camps of horror, of human fall and degeneration, those famous Oswiecims, Maydaneks, and Dachau's death's factories, were not only at Western, totalitarian barbarian, but were and are till to-day at his so to say, Eastern brother. The only difference is, that about millions of unhappy victims of those camps nobody says⁶ save that Katyn⁷ case...

And here, those Eastern Oswiecims, Maydaneks Dachaus, Vinnitsa⁸ and Katyns are, for certain, not less as they were in Nazi Germany.

No eye, however, looks into what happens there, in those death's and human pains' camps on Solovki Islands, in tundras and Polar snows on far, frosty banks of Petchora⁹, Vologda, on Glacial¹⁰ Ocean's coasts...

The bolshevik assassins better guard their horrible secrets, and mask themselves better, then their comrades after the very same butcher-cannibal trade from Hitler's sign.

For innumerable victims of that terrorism, there is no difference at all who is, who torments and murders them. There is only one profound persuasion, and together the most true confirmation those to be

⁵ Concentration camps.

⁶ Speaks.

⁷ The execution in Katyn forrest of several thousand of Polish officers captured by the Red Army in 1939.

⁸ Vinnytsia. A city in which several mass graves were discovered of Ukrainians, executed by the Soviet political police in the early 1930s.

⁹ Petchora.

¹⁰ Arctic.

the very same terrorist methods, the very same systems and the very same criminals-cannibals.

The collective responsibility

The bolshevik system is, further on, a system of collective responsibility. Such a system is rejected in the whole cultural world, being based on law.

Here, however, for the thoughts and acts of the man is responsible not only he, himself, but also his wife, his children, his parents, his relatives, near and well known persons some times, even ordinary neighbours and country men.

From all the citizens, here, is being required, under presson, the accuratest, active cooperation with the police, in the form of a constant denunciations.

Who in accomplishing of that, in the whole world despised, but here "honourable", denunciation's duty is negligent or too slow, he is being considered as an enemy and an accomplice, together with the bolshevism adversaries, then, as a candidate to one of mass graves, or of concentrative Polar camps.

The mass murder of millions of men

The Nazi regime was being known from its mass killing practice of millions of men. In concentrative camps, in colossal death's factories the Nazi criminals murdered, suffocated with gas, and burnt the millions of men. The conscience of the whole world has been shaken with that crime.

However, such a crime was not the first one as were not the first the wild, brown totalitarians in inventing such the methods of mass extermination of the conquered, subjugated peoples.

Their comrades, red totalitarians, were applying, and apply such the same methods. We look, for instance, into what happened in Ukraine after the bolshevik victory over the Ukrainian Republic, especially in the years 1932-34.¹¹

In that time, the red murderers-totalitarians, or the bolsheviks, arranged an horrible, mass murder of about ten million of the Ukrainian people.

Yet, they have perpetrated that not with the methods of gas and electric chambers, to which their technique those times was not yet adequate, - but, by means of a very simple method: a planned organized mass hunger.

¹¹ The artificial man-made famine directed against the Ukrainian population by the Soviet regime in which millions of people died of starvation.

The impartial testimonies of West European and American journalists and politicians

Thousands of the documents are at hand, as a proof of that unquestionable crime, as from objective, foreign sources, as from those official Soviet ones.

Behold, what reported, for instance, an American journalist, Harry Lang, in New-Yorker "Forwards", after he had toured the vast territories of Soviet Union (1).

... "Six million victims of plan organized hunger" ...

"Even against the nerve shock secured world would dumbfounded, if it overheard all the facts about the hunger in Ukraine, in all the truth. That was not by natural causes called hunger, no, that was a by the men organized hunger, a plan hunger."

"I was obliged to steep my pen in blood of my heart to may write the articles in "Forwards", of what I saw in Russia. I saw, there, a hunger harvest, a death harvest. I saw people swollen from hunger, as they fell everywhere on the streets."

"In Ukraine, I was informed of six million of the starved ..."

The purpose of hunger — to break the national aspirations of Ukraine

Edwald Ammende, writing his articles, after his return from Soviet Union, related:

"... From the moment of the bolshevik revolution, the mass of population in U.S.S.R., except Red Army, Soviet officials and privileged party-layer, is suffering a chronic hunger."

"But, in the last hunger catastrophe a great role also played the national problem, which till now has not yet been solved. In U.S.S.R., likewise in czar's Russia, exists a state, Russian people who is fighting against

(1) [The excerpts from foreign press are being quoted after: M. Ealey's, "Away from Moscow." Lviv, 1938, and Basil Mudrey's, (Vasyl Mudryi): "The ill-fated wars of Ukraine," Lviv, 1933. Both in Ukrainian.]

the other people, and, first of all, against the Ukrainians and White Russians."

"The purpose of that fight is, to restrain the national endeavours to the independence. I should clearly and openly state, with all decisiveness, on base of disclosed, uncommonly great differences and antagonism in regard to Ukrainian nation, that Russia directly tends to the physical extermination of greater part of the present generation, in Ukraine ..."

During the hunger the corn was being exported abroad

Bob Ryplay, a journalist of "New-York American," reported:
"... in only one, 1932 year, in Ukraine, and North Caucasus, then, in

the richest, bread abounded countries, starved over four million of peasants."

"The hunger was called not by any bad crop but was organized by men. The Soviet authority deprived the peasants of their crops, and, at the same time sold bread abroad, when millions of her subjects starved.

The starved, shot, deported . . .

Melcoln Maggaridge,¹² one of the proved friends of Soviet Union, after he had returned, from his twelve years' stay in U.S.S.R., reported:

"... Travel in Ukraine, or in North Caucasus, the richest and most fertile Soviet Union's provinces. To-day, they look on like steppes: the fields overgrown with weeds, the people, swollen from hunger expect a sure death. Talking with those unhappy condemned, you will find out how many people starved, how many were shot and how many were condemned to deportation by the Soviet authority ..."

To exterminate whole nation ...

W.I. Chamberlain, a fanatical adherent of bolshevism, after he had returned from his twelve years' stay in Soviet Union, reported:

"... The Soviet authority purposely called the hunger catastrophe of 1933, with the aim to break the stubbornness of Ukrainian peasantry."

"That is the first regime of whole history which used the hunger as an instrument of the national policy."

"With cold blood, there were murdered millions of men, without any request or judicial investigation. Hundreds thousand of the daredevils preferred to die, and they perish now in Siberian concentrative camps."

"Russia of to-days, is the old, absolute czar's state. G.P.U.,¹³ that is the old police espionage system of czarina Anne, from XVIII century. The field workers, are the socage slaves of yesterday. The murdering of class-enemies, that are the old pogroms ..."

"The Soviet regime, is to be considered as a great historic tragedy, the tragedy of cruelty and extermination of innumerable quantity of men..."

"Le Matin," on ground of a talk with the delegation, which visited the Soviet Union, reported:

"The hunger in Ukraine was called by Moscow artificially, out of political regards. The to-days' situation in Ukraine: The ruin, the hunger, sepulchral stillness. Are dying, in mass, whole villages and environs..."

"To may entirely annihilate all endeavours of Ukraine to independence, the Soviet rule organized a plan mass hunger death, with the

¹² Mulcom Muggeridge.

¹³ Glavnoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie - Soviet political police.

purpose to exterminate the whole nation the only guilt of which was: the freedom longing."

In that time, "Le Matin" inserted some large leading articles in which was described accurately the mass catastrophic hunger in Ukraine, the dreadful, shaking facts of cannibalism and extermination of whole environs, based upon accurate, verified depositions of trustworthy witnesses.

One of the greatest world catastrophies

John Geres, ex-Secretary of Loyd George, related in "Manchester Guardian":

"Ukraine, that always in welfare abounded country, now is an ordinary desert. The Ukrainian peasant terrified, persecuted, famished, desires only a spontaneous death. To-day, in Ukrainian village is still as on cemetery ..."

Mr. John Geres, succeeded to visitate, in that time, the Soviet Russia and Ukraine. He toured many a Ukrainian village, and in his articles, inserted in "New York American," described colossal, shocking hunger tragedy, in Ukraine. He, himself, saw, along the tracks, the corpses of the starved, and talked with the dying peasants.

Dr. Ammende, in his Open Letter wrote:

"The catastrophe in South Soviet Union's countries (Ukraine, Caucasus), in 1933, is to be considered as the most horrible disaster which whenever took place on the globe ..."

The 76-th Session of the League of Nations about the hunger in Ukraine

At the same time, like articles and informations appeared in American newspapers: "Chicago Tribune", "New York Times", and in English ones: "English Churchman", "Daily Telegraph", "Christian Herald", "Yorkisher Observer." In Swiss papers: "Journal de Geneve", "Neue Zuricher Zeitung", and in many other world press organs.

The question of hunger in Ukraine, was moved, at that time, in an interview of a correspondent of Geneve's "Le Matin", Mr. Corab with Mr. Movinkel, the Foreign Minister of Norway.

Mr. Movinkel, who was at that time, the chairman of the 76-th session of League of Nations, said the correspondent of "Le Matin" that though the whole world keeps silence about horrible tragedy of Ukraine, his own conscience did not allow him to be silent.

Mr. Movinkel rose the matter on a secret session of League of Nations, and endeavoured, the session would approve a decision about the necessity of intervention concerning this cause, to help the people who has been condemned, by violence, to death.

However, the League of Nations, after long debates, decided that it would be better to pick not a quarrel with Moscow . . . And assigned the whole affair to International Red Cross entrusting Mr. Movinkel that

he, himself, would move the cause before the Soviet authorities.

Quite right wrote "Daily Telegraph," on August 9, 1933: ". . . Pilatus took water and washed his hands . . ." ". . . Should a like position be held also by our British community, concerning the matters which are well nigh impossible to be believed in 1933 year. Surely, there are some who from political or business's reasons are deaf on such news, but, should they however, be reckoned among the representatives of the British people who always and allwhere become famous by virtue of his deeds?"

A little further, the author of this article, gives an account of his journeys, and describes the horrible facts of hunger, in Ukraine.

Alas, it has been shown, that there were much more of deaf, blind and dumb. . . But, this is another affair. We turn to theme, again.

Behold, some short passages from numerous writings and articles, as well as from various publications of foreign observers who succeeded to look, a little nearer behind the heavy curtain of horrible bolshevik experiments.

The official Soviet sources about the fact of mass hunger in Ukraine

Pretty much of resembling proofs may be gathered from involuntary utterances of the Soviet press, in spite of all its endeavours, to hide, at any cost, the real state of things.

We will indicate, here, only one proof of that mass murder, excerpted from the Soviet sources, then, from most official and convincing ones, namely from the Soviet official census.

The eloquence of some statistics

The general census in U.S.S.R., carried out in the year 1939, showed a stupendous, unheard of yet never in so a short time, percent decrease of Ukrainian population.

The Ukrainian population, after the official, Soviet census, from 1926, composed over 23 of all Soviet Union's inhabitants, and in 1939 amounted only 16%.

If we count over that immense percent decrease of Ukrainian population to corresponding proportional numbers, - it comes to 6-9 millions of lacking population.

Still more striking is the fact, if we compare the above mentioned results of the census with proportional increase of Ukrainian population in preceding periods, the natural increase of Ukrainian population, in last hundred of years, considerably surpassed that of the Russian, and was one of the greatest in the whole world.

So, for instance, in the years 1895-1926, the official statistical censuses showed the increase of Ukrainian population 54%, and of Russian one only 42%. Then, the natural increase of Ukrainian population was permanently greater than that of the Russian.

But, between two last censuses (1926-39), it suddenly broke down so considerably, that during this short period of twelve years showed a percent decrease of Ukrainian population: from 23% to 16%.

In the light of those official proofs, the mass murder of about 10 millions of Ukrainian population by the bolshevik regime, in memorable years of hunger, is an unquestionable fact.

The very same cannibalism

"... That is the first regime of whole history which used the hunger as an instrument of national policy . . .", wrote the above mentioned W.I. Chamberlain.

How eloquent and persuasive sound those words, giving evidence of complete identity between the Soviet regime and that of Hitler, just now, when in Nurnberg process we heard about the very same Hitler's plans of extermination of East European Slav peoples, by means of hunger:

The concentrative camps, the most mass shootings and crematory furnaces seemed to Hitler too weak, too slow extermination instrument, so he reached out for a lesson to his "Eastern brother", to his concurant: Stalin, and worked out a plan of extermination, by help of hunger of tens million of men, with that "ingenious" Stalin's invention, without any superfluous troubles of building new, technical, precise arrangements a great quantity of which would require the performing of a plan of extermination of hundreds million of men.

The brown or the red totalitarian tyranny is the very same system, the very same mass crime of plan cannibalism.

New hunger catastrophe in 1946-47

Just to-day, in our eyes, is being repeated again the horrible experiment of an organized mass hunger, as an instrument of bolshevik policy towards the enslaved peoples.

Many, with at head Ukraine, by the bolshevik regime enslaved countries, decided to profit the shock caused by the Second World War to enlarge their aspirations to freedom and independence.

In Ukraine, a large liberating fight has been developed by U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), directed by U.H.W.R. (Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council).

The Muscovite bolshevik regime is carrying on a furious fight and persecutions against this liberating movement of Ukraine and another by itself subjugated peoples, by help of numerous police troops.

However, the Muscovite government has not succeeded, till now, to stifle this liberating revolutionary movement of Ukraine and another peoples by any, though most and bloody mass persecutions.

Now, the bolshevik government attempted again to use its old, proved remedy, namely, the mass organized hunger, to break, finally, the stubbornness of subjugated peoples, and their opposition towards Moscow.

The bolshevik government took off, by violence, from the peas-

ants, by means of the police military troops, the majority of crops.

For that reason, in 1946, has begun, in Ukraine, as well as in another Soviet Union's territories, a new wave of an awful hunger.

The crops of 1946, have not appeased that hunger, because the Muscovite government immediately, by help of military troops, took off from the peasants still more corn than in the last year.

Thus, the hunger phenomenons have been long-then also after the crops, and now, in the beginning of 1947, the hunger begins to assume the character of a new mass catastrophe.

Many tracks are, now crowded by whole troops of miserable, half-dying people who reach as far as they only can to seek bread.

The people are dying allwhere from hunger, on fields, on ways, in an alarming quantity.

Of what dimensions will be, this time, that hunger catastrophe, - it is yet impossible to say, now. But, many are being convinced that the catastrophe will be similar to that from 1933 years, and surely will necessitate whole millions of innocent, unhappy victims.

The bolshevik government could not, also this time, hide before the world this fact, but announced, in several communiques, to have to do with "great food difficulties," on account of a "dryness."¹⁴

However, such an explanation is quite untrue. The dryness took place only in some Soviet Union's provinces, but it has not caused the hunger, at all. The best proof of it is the fact, that in the same time the bolshevik government exported very much corn in France, in Poland, in Yugoslavia, and in other countries to assist, there, the communist agitation.

Thus, the hunger had been caused, in reality, by the bolshevik economy and policy. The hunger had been caused and organized by the bolshevik government which took off from the peasants, by violence and terrorism, the corn, and partly exported it abroad, partly distributes it there where people correspond to the policy directed against the enslaved nations, but the most part of it the bolsheviks keep in colossal magazines, prepared for war.

In this way, in some places there are colossal magazines with corn, and in another ones are swelling and dying from hunger people who produced the corn with their own heavy work, and who have been dispossessed of it by violence and terrorism.

Behold an image of this terroristical regime, which enslaves and murders, for its purposes sake, millions of men, whole peoples, just as it was done by the very same Nazi cannibal.

The one party system

The bolshevism, further on, is a system of one, official, monopoly party.

Any other political parties, groups, or even quite innocent sign

¹⁴ Drought.

of an own, independent political thought, have been anathematized, here, or proclaimed as an "inimical", contrrevolutionary activity, and have been stifled bloodily.

Even in the same ruling, monopoly, bolshevik party were bloodily stifled any signs of independent thinking. All what is not a blind commands performing, what does not begin and end with tyrant's idolatry, is, here, condemned to persecution and extermination.

Thus, was liquidated the Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP), and in the place of it the red Muscovite imperialists created a "Communist Party (of bolsheviks) of Ukraine (KP(b)U).

All old Ukrainian Communists, even most fanatically devoted to the Communism idea and party, the very same who with their own hands, once, helped (1917-21) "their Russian comrades" in the armed conquest of Ukraine, who, afterwards, for long years, occupied the highest posts of Soviet Ukraine and of U.S.S.R., who, themselves fought against the Ukrainian independent movement, - they themselves, were arrested and murdered just for: "Ukrainian nationalism." (In those times, there, was not yet invented the expression: "German-Ukrainian").

In that number, were bloodily liquidated (or as was officially proclaimed, some finished, as "suicides,"), among the others: the first "creator" of Soviet Ukraine, George Kotsyubynsky,¹⁵ then, Lubchenko,¹⁶ Tchubar,¹⁷ Rakovsky,¹⁸ who were for many years, the "presidents" and chiefs of Soviet Ukraine. Afterwards, Skrypnyk, Zatonsky¹⁹ (Skrypnyk, was not only a government member, but in general one of the eldest and most conspicuous party leaders, a personal friend and cooperator of Lenin), Nicholas Khvylovy²⁰ - the most eminent author of Soviet Ukraine, then: Shumsky,²¹ Volobuyev, Krushelnytsky,²² and thousands of the others.

They all, no "nationalists," no "contrrevolutionists," no socialists, or any other adversaries of communism, whose liquidation is not even mentioned, here. All they, above mentioned, as well as thousands of their comrades, were just the Ukrainian communists, just the founders, and very often the authors of communist movement, - they all were, later bloodily liquidated, not rarely with their wives and their children together.

Even the author of powerful, international song, in Ukrainian language, Nicholas Voroney,²³ distinguished with prizes and premiums for composing of that most strongest in all the languages war hymn of international proletariat, - was forced to go to exile his son being liquidated . . .

¹⁵ Iurii Kotsiubynskyi.

¹⁶ Liubchenko.

¹⁷ Chubar.

¹⁸ Rakovskii.

¹⁹ Zatonskii.

²⁰ M. Khvyliovyi.

²¹ Shumskyi.

²² Krushelnytskyi.

²³ M. Voronyi.

Who was learned the Soviet reality, he knows for what reason! Because this hymn: "Arise you persecuted and hungry . . ." - is, to-day, with its contents, a proper anti-bolshevik, revolutionary hymn, and it thunders as an insurgence's call of all the hungry and persecuted . . ., then, of the largest masses of the Soviet Union's oppressed peoples, against the new dominators, bourgeoisie and Kremlin czars.

The mass bloody liquidation of scientists, authors, cultural leaders. The kingdom of terrorism and horror

Not only for another, fictitious or real creeds, but also, for instance, for the using in a scientific Dictionary of only one word, unpleasant to the almighty ruling clique, here, are being sentenced tens of scientists.

Some editorial troupes for the edition of the Ukrainian-Russian dictionaries, - the troupes composed of the most prominent scientists, were shot in complete, because they used in Dictionary an expression: "dvoye veder" (two pails), instead of: "dva vedra" (another Ukrainian expression of the very concept, but more resembling that Russian), or for the other resembling words . . .

They did not guess, ill-fated, that the Kremlin's hangmen would be displeased with that and would find out, for that reason, an objection of a "fascist sabotage" of those scholars, for "tearing off the Ukrainian language from that Russian one . . ."

Were also shot thousands of professors, scientists, poets, painters and dramatists, for similar "dreadful" crimes . . .

The mathematicians were objected of not using the Russian word: "Perpendicularney," but used that another, Ukrainian: "priyamovysney." The geographers were objected of using an expression "mapa", instead of that Russian "karta," "rivnyk," instead of that Russian: "equator," etc . . .

The dramatists were persecuted for: "nationalistic translation" of such, for instance world famous operas as: Aida, Carmen, etc. . .

For many years education commissary of the Soviet Ukraine, one of the eldest and the prominentest bolshevik party's workers: Nicholas Skrypnyk, was liquidated for, among the other, that: "he endeavoured to maximum of breaking off the Ukrainian language from that Russian one, and instead of the Russian words he purposely introduced into Ukrainian language the Polish and Czech words . . ."

Meanwhile, Skrypnyk did not understand neither Polish nor Czech, and, of course, could not have any purposes of carrying on such language's operations.

Just, as the artistic exhibition of the Ukrainian painters, in the year 1937, was closed, and the painters were surrendered to repressions for, as was related by "Pravda," having painted in their landscapes: " . . .sorrowful, deserted villages, broken hedge-rests, miserable country-huts, dead cows, poor pitiful, emaciated country woman, empty, overthrown knealing-through . . ."

Consciously or unconsciously, represented the painters a genuine, Soviet landscape, and, of course, immediately had to lay down in anyone

Katyn, or to suffer in any one of unnumerable "Oswiecims" in Siberia, etc. . . etc. . . to infinity. . .

Thousands of examples, of names and facts may be brought to as a proof of that horrible, ruthless, just mad, terrorist policy, applied by the bolsheviks towards Ukrainian nation.

For the unacquainted, those are incredible things, for unintelligible and like to some propaganda gossips . . . Alas, in all their dreadful reality, quite fidel.

The terrorism and death rule in the bolshevik regime also with human thought and science.

Why, the Soviet state has realized Socialism . . . pushed aside illiterateness . . . Now, we have plenty of schools, then, we do not need to care for the want of scientists or artists . . .

In the place of the one or the other thousand of shot, will be produced, in a "udarnoye" pass, a double issue of the new, of certain more obedient and submissive scientists who, learned by experience and suitably trained, will instantaneously guess the thoughts and desires of their "producer" and "employer."

They will glorify him and adore, paint, sing and pray to him what possible . . . In their brow's sweat, they will work for him in cold and hunger, they will spontaneously vote, without end work's races, lifting the work's hours quantity even to 16 a day! They will work, will vote, will fight, will starve, and all that "spontaneously", "to him", "our Kremlin's sun . . ."

And will be for the whole world and incomprehensible enigma of surprising "unity" in suffering and abasement . . .

The Soviet totalitarianists have learned, very well, as we see, the immense role that is playing, in whole live nature: the terror, and have applied their "wonderful" invention, with whole ruthless brutality to millions unhappy Soviet Union's citizens.

Why, they say, even the bear may be trained to dancing provided his feet be roasted . . .

The individual deprived of all rights

As in all being known to us fascist systems so, but in still greater measure, in that bolshevik one, the human individual is quite dispossessed of his fundamental rights, is "equalized," and reduced to a mute screws role, in colossal state machine, - to an inanimate building material, in the hand of a handful of privileged musters, almighty leaders of state apparatus.

Any one election, constitution, representatives and any other like institutions, in so a signification as they are being known in the rest of civilized world, — are out of question here.

There are some "substitutions" and the remainders of those institutions, nothing another.

With all possible means is being advertized "the most democratic of the whole world Stalin's constitution," but all that is one, great, totalitarian lie and bluff.

It would be sufficient, for instance, to look on, a little nearer, and in detail to examine even if the same official clause of that "most democratic constitution," to may documentally state the whole hugeness of the bolshevik constitution's falsity.

For, not only the practice, but also the same official constitution is, in its essential contents, anti-democratic, for expressly securing the governments and rule not to the sovereign will of the people, but to the management of the dictatorial clique, only monopoly communist party.

Moreover, in practice, the only real constitution is: the terrorism of the bolshevik police (N.K.W.D., N.K.G.B.).

Also all the conquests of enlightened epoches and culture's development, here, in the bolshevik system, have been cancelled, and the life has been retracted from the path of progress to that of totalitarian barbarism.

The full corroboration of our assertion we find, when a little nearer look on the further characteristic features, common to any totalitarian, fascist regimes and systems, namely, to above mentioned gigantomania, reactionary retrograde to past, the monopoly, official propoganda, militarism, imperialism, racism, etc. . .

The Soviet gigantomania

The Soviet gigantomania is being so commonly known, and by the bolsheviks, themselves, to exaggeration advertized, that it is not necessary at all to prove the existence in them of that totalitarian disease.

We only remind, once more, about the psychological impulses which are lieing in the foundations of that phenomenon, common to all the totalitarianism.

Namely, that is not at all the welfare and happiness of the citizens, but without limits pride and magalomania of the dictators who would, thus, make themselves "immortal."

On the other hand, it is connected with the without example exploitation of all human powers, and very often with the direct, slavish work, applied at the building of those colossuses and giants.

Their dimensions, sometimes, may dazzle the spectator, unconscious of the real state of things, who is looking on them from far, just in the same position, as we, to-day, are looking on pyramides of the pharaohs.

However, we, know from our own dreadful experience, that all those splendid edifices and canals, all those railways, tracks, mines and towns, which arise as the mushrooms, as far as to the Glacial Ocean's borders, are built on, without example in the whole history of the world, slavery and exploitation, on blood and quite literally, on human bones.

Those giants are being built by the millions of workers, chained by a public and official work's constraint, amidst the unprecedented and incredibly heavy conditions.

The another, still greater giants are being built in immense Polar state of concentrative camps of N.K.V.D., by millions of political condemned, destined to extermination.

However, certain successes of a centralistic, totalitarian economy,

being evident, among the others, in some great enterprises of that gigan-tomania, - are unquestionable.

Why, such successes we have seen at any tyranny, totalitarianism and absolutism, very often not smaller than those of the bolshevik Russia.

Such successes we have seen in German Nazism and Italian Fascism, as well as in the other absolutist and centralistic states, as in present as in past.

It is clear and natural, that a great plan economy has its unquestionable plusses. The problem of a great or small, individual or collective economy, however, is not at all indissolubly connected with the Soviet rule.

There, may be discussed, put forward and introduced into life various social and economic principles. That may be done by every one people, by every one state provided they acknowledge it as advantageous, - quite independently from the bolshevism and from by Moscow imposed rule.

The Soviet propaganda pertinaciously affirms, that the most eloquent proof of bolshevik policy's fairness is the fact that Soviet Russia, under their rules, has grown, during those 29 years, to a great-power world potency. And that is true.

However, by that is corroborated our fundamental assertion of the likeness of totalitarian regimes. For, it is also true, that the Nazi regime, in a twice shorter time led out the defeated, divided, impoverished, disarmed, post-Versailles Germany to still higher summit of potency, which after six years of its rule already aspired to world reign.

It may be only concluded from that with methods of war mobilization, of violence, terrorism, etc . . . , sometimes, really may be extracted from people more sweat and effort, and may be carried on many a difficult thing. But, it is by nobody contradicted.

A quite another thing is, when all that is being measured not by temporary, exterior successes, but by the measure of righteousness, justice, conformity with the binding principles or, on the other hand, by the measure of its historical worth.

In this light, the successes of the Nazism have not sustained any proof at all, and have not brought to the German people neither fortune nor better being. In the same way, will have finished the Muscovite, bolshevik successes.

Them who do not see that, we shortly answer: Should we renounce all our ideals of freedom for the sake of those successes of the Nazism, fascism and bolshevism, in the sphere of a great, centralistic state economy?

Should we renounce, for that sake, the dearest treasure of human life, without which it is not, and cannot be, any humanity save that a miserable, animal vegetation?

Is it true, that for the sake of the arrangement of economic life, it is necessary to renounce human liberty, and to introduce a state totalitarianism?

Should we believe, that for ploughing the soil with a tractor, and

not with a plough, it is necessary to renounce our freedom?

No, hundred times no! - We do not intend, never, at no cost, neither to renounce our freedom's treasure, nor to believe a false propaganda which keeps on persuading of the necessity of dictatorship and totalitarianism with so-called plan economy's considerations.

We believe, and we know, that all economic affairs of our world may be quite well arranged, to good and welfare of whole humanity, without any totalitarian dictatorship.

We also believe that it will succeed, in a short time already not with the victory of a totalitarianism, but just with its fall!

Not the Socialism, not the Communism, not the social development and progress, but the "reaction" and slavery are the attributes of any totalitarian regimes.

Concerning the question of a social nature, it is necessary to state that neither fascism, nor Nazism, nor the more the bolshevism have efficaciously resolved that problem.

The militaristico-imperialistic policy, incessant armaments' races, the constant extension of the police and propaganda apparatus, and finally and in consequence of such a policy, the war, itself, - have devoured and destroyed the normal, social structure of those states, and have spoiled not only the welfare, but also the existence, itself, of the majority of citizens.

Not only the successes gained by those regimes, at cost of the freedom's restriction of the citizens, by the applying of centralistic economy, but also the normal state of social insurance of population has been ruined in those states, in consequence of the adverse results of totalitarian system.

Italy is in ruins now, and the Italian nation suffers an awful misery. The very same in Germany.

And here, in our "beloved", red "paradise," it is still worse, in spite of the victory.

Thirty years we are witnesses (and victims) of a colossal plan totalitarian economy. Thirty years all the Soviet newspapers, movies, radio, theatres, painters, speakers, - have been crying and reciting about unheard of sky-high successes about now, happy life, about socialism, progress, etc . . .

And all those thirty years, till to-day, inclusively, the mass of the citizens, except only party-layer, has been suffering an awful wretchedness, hunger and misery.

Instead of, in the first years promised, "2 hours of work, a day" ("the machines will work, "was said . . .), we have to work: 10,12, and even 16 hours, a day.

Have to work heavily even women and children. The children have to work under the mask of "mass practical craft learning and professional knowledge." The women have to work in underground mines . . . Why, they have been equalized in rights with the men, therefore, they should not be refused in working underground . . .

In Great Britain, in France and in America, notwithstanding mil-

lions of unemployed, there one is always short of underground workers. But, here, the happy made woman has been completely equalized in worrying in underground mines, and that in so incredibly primitive conditions, that in the other states there would never work the men!

So, in place of by Marx anathemized accord²⁴ work, which extorts last human forces, have been introduced, there, the "social races," the famous "stakhanovshchina,"²⁵ and the compulsory norms. Thus, has been outstripped not only the accord system, but also the slavish, sorage system of the past.

Therefore, we find in those new social orders an unheard of change for worse of the life conditions, constant needs, hunger and misery.

All celebrated, glittering successes of totalitarian economy are being devoured by adverse results of that regime. There remains only an exterior lustre, and the vain propaganda promises of future miracles.

Thirty years, however, was probably been a long period enough to may have proved a full incapacity of totalitarian, bolshevik system of organizing of the social life in the way of progress.

All totalitarian regimes showed themselves, in that regard a noxious reaction, but no progress at all, for they retracted the welfare and being of large human masses, by them ruled, for whole centuries back.

The social policy of totalitarian states, first of all, that of the bolsheviks, - is socially reactionary also from those regards, that it creates a great inequality, injustice, and exploitation.

The totalitarian dictatorship gives to ones, who are being at rule, a colossal preponderance over the others, and even over the majority which is not a rule.

The man who has in his hand weapon and power, who rules the other men, who is a dictator, or at least a member of dictatorial clique or party, — he has a great preponderance over the rest of men, the, immeasurable privileges.

The greatest social inequality in the world, is just the exaltation of the ones, by help of violence, and the humiliation of the others.

The paper equalizing by the nationalization of fortunes not only does not equalize anything, but the more enlarges the social inequality and injustice to maximum of limits, for it gives quite openly all the fortunes, without any restriction, into the hand of a handful of the privileged dictatorial clique.

There, where is the dictatorship, - is not, and may not be any equality, any social justice. The dictatorship is, in itself, a reactionary phenomenon.

The great, plan economy may have some very positive consequences provided it keeps on human freedom.

²⁴ Piecework.

²⁵ Stakhanovshchina - stakhanovite movement.

The turn to past. The ideological changes

Now we return to our basic argumentation. Its next element is the assertion of the reactionary retrograde of the bolshevism ideology to that of mediaeval barbarism.

That objection, more than any other, may appear strange, at first sight, to all who have not experienced, nor have learned all those ideological changes the Soviet Russia has passed, those last ten years.

Owing to ruthless methods being to the outmost applied by centralistic economy, as well as to such a ruthless, without any limit totalitarianism. Owing to the wholeness of the life being placed on foot of war mobilization, - the Soviet Russia succeeded, with the help of ruthless, unhuman methods to extort from about 200 millions other citizens, above all from the Ukrainians, the maximum of work and costs, on which she has grown up, during that time, to the range of a first class world potency.

At the same time with the applying of those fascistico-totalitarian methods in wholeness of the state life, parallelly took place, by force of natural sociology's laws, indissolubly connected with them processes of ideological changes.

The red, original, international, bolshevik messianism was being colored, more and more, with the elements of a common nationalism, of greater than usually strain and tension, - quite likewise in the other systems of fascist type.

There, in that process, worked the most diverse powers and collective psychology's laws, as general as those specially connected with the nature and history of the Russian people.

Behold, what related about that one of the most conspicuous party workers, Skrypnyk: "The great-power prejudices have been sucked out with mother's milk, and became in many, very many of our party's comrades insuperable and very strong instincts. In consequence of that, from the side of majority, there is only a theoretical acknowledgement of our national policy's program. At proceeding to the act, however, there is not neither force nor will. All our program's theses, in confrontation with reality, remain only a losed charter..."

The author of these words, one of the eldest party workers, the personal friend of Lenin, had to have paid with his life for such a courage, likewise thousands of another Ukrainian communists. For, the "great-Russian," "great-power" "instincts," "sucked out with mother's milk," showed themselves for a long time's space, in the bolshevik party, really stronger than any theoretic program's principles.

To that ideological change's process of Soviet Russia helped pretty much a conscious imitation of fascist principles and methods.

The bolshevik dictators could not be asleep having in view the original success of their fascist concurents.²⁶ So, they desired, as we saw it, in many a case to imitate their methods and to exploit those powers on which they built their potency.

²⁶ Competitors.

Thus, we might have observed a larger and larger reciprocal imitation and real approaching of interior similitude of competing totalitarianists.

One of the most characteristic phenomenons of that process was a quite distinct and radical turning in the national relations,²⁷ and the historiography's science.

When in the first bolshevism's period, all the past of czar's Russia, as well as the interior and exterior czar's policy were condemned and stigmatized, - so, now, with the increase of new, bolshevik Russia's powers, the bolsheviks have radically turned, even in the historiography sphere, to a quite contrary extremism. Namely, they have turned to traditionalism, to the whitewashing and adoration of the whole past Russian history.

Suddenly, they have forgotten all that, what till now they, themselves, had tought as an inviolable sacredness of Marx's historical learning, the czar's reaction and imperialism, czar's rapacious policy, as well as the oppression by them of the other peoples, and they have turned to all that what till now had been anathemized as fascism and reaction.

Quite likewise the German Nazis, and Italian Fascists sought their inspiration, their ideals and models in past, medieval epochs, or in those of the ancient Germanism, emperors, Roman commanders and legions, so the bolsheviks, from their side, ran up or that "miraculous" remedy to the very same source.

Thus, have been disintered, and among "progress's" godlings reckoned: the great imperialist and oppressor of the other peoples, the czar Peter the Great, the generals of czarina Katherine the Second, and all the file of another historical personalities.

They all have been gilded and drawn among the heroes, almost "saints."

So, was, in last time, disintered the czar Ivan the Terrible. Even the recent czar's historiography was ashamed of idealizing of the figure of that, almost mad barbarian, in all the world famous, from his backwardness and ignorance, from his maddening caprices and cruelties.

However, the bolshevik history, cinema, press and literature, today are praising and extolling to the skies his figure, as an example of the best sovereign, the best builder and creator of the Russian empire who desired to transform Moscow into "third Rome."

His mad, imperialistic plans and appetites, appealed to the red Kremlin's tyrants of to-days so much, that for their sake they are justifying and whitewashing all his cruelties and crimes, they are passing over in silence his maddness, they are drawing him among: - their "saints."

We have, lately, read in the newspapers, that even on foreign screens are about to appear the films of the Soviet production about Ivan the Terrible . . . In such way, the Russian generals and czars, have suddenly jumped up from the camp of reactionists, imperialists and fascists to that of the "progress" and Soviet democracy.

²⁷ Nationality relations.

However, as it is quite certain that they, themselves, after so many centuries past their death remained the very same reactionists and of human freedom and progress enemies, as they were in their life time, so, it is clear, that not they, themselves, but their last adorers achieved so a curved spring from bombastic theories of socialism, communism and internationalism into the bare, fascistico-imperialistic reality! Thus, it was shown that the same totalitarian path leads to the very same consequences.

That was exactly, almost prophetically related still before some forty years, by certain Russian philosophers and revolutionists.

They foresaw, in that time already, that if Lenin had arrived to the power he would have been, with whole his group together, more absolute and despotic then the white Russian czars of those times . . .

The centrabstic view having been uttered by Lenin in the columns of a Russian, emigrants' paper: "Iskra" (The Sparkle), as well as the position of Lenin's group of those times towards diverse questions, especially towards the question of independent movements of Ukraine, Poland, Finland, and another by Russia enslaved peoples, - demonstrated, in those times already quite expressly that the bolshevik group found itself on the way necessarily conducting to such results.

For, every power, by force of natural development's tendencies, tends to the extending of its competencies, and, finding not on that way sufficiently strong restrictions, in its foundations already being centralistic and absolute, soon must be transformed into a despotic tyranny.

But, there is yet no end. Those common moments between the bolshevism and fascism, between the ideology and practice of the red bolshevik totalitarianism and the very same as the black fascism, and more and more numerous.

The unrestrained militarism of Soviet Russia

One of the similitude's moments between the bolshivism and fascism, is, farther on, in all fascistico-totalitarian regimes identic, uncommonly strong militaristic tendency.

In the Soviet regime, the militaristic tendencies have assumed such immeasurable dimensions that this fact conferred upon the wholeness of economic life, upon the youth's education, and in all the ohter spheres — a prominent character.

The famous five years plans of the Soviet industry are nothing another as just a program of war industry's development.

The whole state apparatus is febrilly²⁸ working on farther militarization of the life. Any powers which were only to be mobilized, have been thrown to that awful races of armaments, and war preparations.

The life and welfare, the freedom and happiness of the citizens have been sacrificed to insatiable Molochus of imperialism and militarism.

²⁸ Feverishly.

The Muscovite dictators are dreaming of how they may become the first military potency of the world, likewise, not long ago, had dreamed the godling of the German fascism - Hitler.

But as a crown of all bolshevik system's attributes likewise in German Nazism and Italian Fascism, is to be considered: the rapacious imperialism.

The imperialist match for the rule over the whole world

The imperialism of bolshevik Russia is many times stronger than that of former Russian czars.

The bolshevik Russia, following the steps of her czar's predecessors, conquered, by an armed invasion and violence, first of all: Ukraine, White Russia and Caucasus, later the Baltic countries and Finland, and now, following the same historical way, started to the conquest of Poland and Balkans.

In her dreaming, and not only dreamings, but in the plans and preparations, as her next fight-stage is - the world domination!

The unrestrained eagerness of the world domination, dressed with propaganda garments on different ideas, as: panslavism, socialism, communism, etc . . . is the chief attribute of the Russian bolshevism. .

The red Russian imperialism is the most showy and the most dangerous imperialism of our times, which, as to its tension and appetites, may be compared only with that of Nazi Germany.

The maddening racy²⁹-chauvinistic tendencies

The ideology of the Russian bolshevism is also not destitute of a very strong racism's madness.

In their outside propaganda fencing uncommonly strongly with the slogans of equality of all the peoples, races and men, the bolsheviks all those principles treat as propaganda slogans, exclusively.

The proper purpose of any bolshevik endeavours has always been, and is: the conquest of an absolute power over the whole world.

All the other, any other slogans and programs, being voted and changed so often by the bolsheviks — are only the fight's means to above mentioned aim: the world domination. According to this, the bolshevik Russia, outside announcing the most splendid programs and slogans, at the same time, inside her empire is applying quite different principles.

The official government's leaders as well as the press and whole inside propaganda, have quite expressly broken with the principles of racy-national equality and displayed a very strong campaign of Russian nations's exaltation, as the "first" amidst the other nations, as "most merited," "most qualified" "to the management," as a "managing" one, etc.

²⁹ Racist.

Any other peoples should obey their "elder managing brother." He, himself, is only called to the management, and all the others to obeying and executing . . .

Moscow, first of all, that is the "capital" of the whole world.

What if someone attempts a different say! In a clear, intelligible language that "managing" is over and allwhere synonymous with: "ruling." That fable of a Russian people, pretendedly "chosen" and "elected" specially to rule the other peoples being in need of his protection and management, - is a phenomenon of the very same racy madness we have recently seen but in another, German-Nazi edition.

The totalitarian monopoly propaganda

To the range of common features which connect the bolshevik system with those fascist ones, also appertains the institution of a monopoly official propaganda.

In the bolshevik system that is a real nightmare and plague of the citizens.

To its disposition have been given: the state monopoly and immeasurable, without limits material means.

The whole fine arts and literature have been pulled off from the pedestal of human spirit's temple, and with the press, cinema and radio together have been harnessed to propaganda services.

Even the religious organization, many years oppressed and persecuted, has been, in part, restored its leading posts being filled with confidential members of party and police, and has been harnessed to the official propaganda carriage.

In the exterior front, the bolshevik propaganda is a first attack's weapon smoothing the way to the Russian imperialism.

In that interior one, it completes the police terrorism discharging the function of a whip with which the mass of the citizens is incessantly being scourged and compelled to a strained and over any norms and human powers work, to may augment the means, necessary to the red tyrants in accomplishing of their mad plans of the world conquest.

The policy of falsity, fraud and treason

Just in concluding the breaking off the agreements, obligations and promises, the Soviet politicians and diplomats have far outrun all their facist comrades.

The Soviet policy, in general, has not avowed any moral principles, and is cynically deriding them as prejudices. The Soviet policy, that is an art of lie and deceit, of perfidy and refined machiavellism.

The Soviet politicians and diplomats have always considered with pride as their greatest, revolutionary invention the art of a cynical delivering of sublime, allhuman slogans, the dispensing of the highest ideals, which have been a dreaming and a holiness of the whole world, of whole humanity, - with the purpose to may, with a cold, perfidious meanness,

profit them to their imperialistic aims.

There is no such a secressedness, no such a word of human language they would not trample, fencing with them as with a propaganda weapon, without any care for carrying into life those sublime principles.

The noblest propaganda is by them on a level with the most unhuman and the most cruel practice of to-days. The very same may be said as to the international relations, agreements, treaties and alliances.

As an eloquent proof of that, may serve their, almost half an year leasting pertractations with Great Britain and the other potencies, in the year 1939, concerning anti-Hitler's alliance, an then, quite unexpected, sudden alliance of the Soviet Russia with Hitler.

First Hitler's collaborationists

Any one adversaries of the bolshevism, though having after them long years of anti-Hitler's fight, though being, as to their creeds, the fairest and sincerest democrats, - in the bolshevik propaganda, now, they are the Nazis and Fascists.

Only, they, themselves, are convicted to have a right and a monopoly for "anti-fascism," in spite of that just they, themselves, were concluding agreements of friendship with Hitler, were arranging receptions, joint photographs, sent him immense quantities of wheat, benzine and iron, and in most critical moments of 1939, they annihilated the creation of an anti-Hitler's block, and, indirectly through their perfidious policy, but directly through their alliance, wheat and benzine they helped Hitler in evoking the war and in flooding with blood Europe.

They helped Hitler in evoking the war and in subjugating of half of Europe, and he helped them in enslaving of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, in capturing of Western Ukraine, Besarabia and East-South of Finland...

Then, all in best order . . . They, themselves, are allowed, they may all, to be on friendly terms even with the devil, himself, or with Hitler provided their imperialistic businesses may profit of that . . .

But, that it is inconsistent with all the moral principles, that it is dishonest and vile, that for it millions of men must pay with their pains and blood, that those are just by all, in the whole world, condemned methods of totalitarianism and fascism, - that is no business of their...

Why, to that purpose they have developed their awful propaganda apparatus which should whitewash the black, blacken the white, screw out one, turn the other, paint honest and noble men as fascists, and notorious totalitarianists, the recent Hitler's assistants, the most flexible in regard of his policy collaborationists from 1939, as: "anti-fascists."

Black, brown and red fascism

The review of chief attributes of the Russian bolshevism, which endeavours to play in the world opinion the role of a basic anti-fascist movement, - proves not only a great likeness, but also the uniformity and identity of the bolshevik regime with those typical fascist ones.

The bolshevism is the very same totalitarian-dictatorial, military-

imperialistic system, but still more showy one.

The Italian Fascism, the German Nazism and the Russian Bolshevism are the very same totalitarian systems and movements which arose and developed after the First World War, in various countries of Europe.

Their uniform sociological nature is resembling each other so much, that the bolshevism may be called boldly a Russian fascism, or better: a Russian Nazism, and Nazism may as well be called a German Bolshevism.

No doubt, there exist between them also some differences.

Had its peculiarities the Italian Fascism, possessed then the German Nazism (Hitlerism), are they also in the Russian Bolshevism.

The environment of a people, in the midst of which had arisen and grown up his modern, totalitarian movement, confers upon him many a particular feature.

The world-wide reach of contemporary Russian imperialism, the expressor and realizer of which is the Bolshevism, differs, for instance, in many a matter, from Italian Fascism, which was the expressor of still young and relatively small Italian state.

There are yet some another differences - the greatest: those in the sphere of theoretical and ideological doctrine.

The Russian Bolshevism has accepted, as an expression of its uncommonly strong imperialistic tendencies, - a large internationalistic doctrine, by means of which it has possessed the largest world-wide reach, and has been enabled to apply special tactics and propaganda, which any plainest imperialistic aspirations and conquests covers with would be internationalism.

Just for that reason, it is, in the midst of its totalitarian-fascist comrades, the most dangerous, the doctrines of which being much more narrow and frank, had not given to them neither so a large reach nor so a flexible and dangerous tactics.

But, to-day, after the fall of Black Italian Fascism and of Brown German Nazism, it is necessary to pay more careful attention to the fact that there has still remained one member yet of that "honourable" family, Red Fascism, or the Russian Bolshevism.

That is the last, but more dangerous enemy of human freedom hiding its real, imperialistic face beyond a panorama of an internationalism, and its totalitarianism beyond a false Red "democracy."

Conclusion

To the Fight Against the Red Spectre of Fascism, whose peril is much more greater than it would appear to many a people in Europe, as well as in the other continents, should solidarity stand up the whole cultural humanity.

The heroic fight many years carried on by Ukrainian people against the bolshevik imperialism and tyranny or throwing of the yoke and for the winning of his state independence - should be a MEMENTO and an example to all those peoples who have not yet learned the bolshevism

from their own, immediate observation.

How long an immense territories of Central-Eastern Europe and of Asia prevails a system of imperialism and tyranny, so long exists a mortal peril for the other peoples. During the last War have been ascertained of that: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and, in part, the other peoples.

Now, are being ascertained of it: Yugoslavia, Turkey, Persia and China. Soon, shall be ascertained of it the another peoples, and even the whole world.

Only - the liquidation of the bolshevism, and the shattering of that awful prison of nations into individual constituent parts, built upon the principle of self-determination of nations, - may liquidate that constant source of danger.

Alas, many a people in Europe and over does not understand yet all the horror of bolshevik dialectics, policy and propaganda, and has not any idea of what properly happens inside of the bolshevik empire, - as well as what is being prepared, there, for them, themselves.

Just those peoples, being blind and deaf on all: the first ones, sometimes, in best belief allow to be led on a string of bolshevik propaganda to their own catastrophe. The second ones, some opportunistical politicians, close their eyes even to quite apparent facts, and seek infamous and treacherous compromises with insatiable bolshevik polypus, to may as long as possible put of the burden of inevitable trial on the others, perhaps, provided they, themselves, do not insure a danger, but as long as possible may traffic, may profit even with the cannibals, themselves.

The third ones, - certain blind politicians and demagogues - excellently prepare the ground and pave the way to the bolshevism, with their suicidal, shortsighted policy of nationalist jingoism, or class egoism. From that arises injustice which creates the best soil to the bolshevism. If the shortsightedness of the world politicians lasts over, we may, then, say it with whole certitude, - over the world shall arise again the phantom of a till now unheard of catastrophe and bloody slaughter.

The Ukrainian people has nothing to be losed already, for it had been destined to him to have get acquainted and to have surpassed all the dreadfulliest experiments of Nazism and Bolshevism, never upon earth in all human history heard of cruel persecutions.

But all those opportunistical world policies who seeming to be blind and deaf, now pave the way to the red vampires, shall be sorry for their blindness, soon.

The only saving, the only exit from present situation is: instantaneous organizing of the United Anti-Bolshevik Block of freedom loving Nations to definite trial against the Bolshevik Spectre, for removing from the world surface the last peril of totalitarian tyranny.

The Ukrainian people, united, under the direction of his Supreme Political Organ: Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.W.R.), is carrying on a passionate fight against bolshevik totalitarian tyranny and imperialism, and calls to this fight all the other freedom loving peoples of the whole world.

Christians of all the countries - unite! Be organized, unite to the fight against the red totalitarianists, the deadly enemies of *Christianism, Culture and Freedom!*

Socialists of all the countries, - unite! Be organized, unite to the right against the traitors of *Socialism*, against the red tyrants and hangmen who bloodily exterminate any genuine socialism's followers:

Communists of all the countries, who sincerity and honestly confess your *Ideals* - collect yourselves! Collect yourselves, unite to the fight against the traitors and enemies of your *Ideals*, against the Muscovite communo-fascists who murdered thousands of your true, best comrades.

Workers and Proletarians of all countries - unite! Be organized, unite to the common fight against the slavery and tyranny, against the excessive labour and exploitation, against the hunger and wretchedness which bring to the whole world new Kremlin czars, new red bourgeoisie, the leeches, and exploiters.

All Peoples and all *Men* who desire to live in *Freedom Peace and Happiness* - be on your guard! Be on your guard, be organized, unite to the fight against the awfullest reason and ruin of human culture and civilizational which threatens from the side of bloody Muscovite-bolshevik tyranny's demon!

Long live the common front of all the peoples against the Muscovite-bolshevik imperialism.

Long live the Anti-Bolshevik Front of Nations!

Long live Independent Ukraine! Long live Independent States of all Nations of Central and Eastern Europe and of Asia in reciprocal brotherly friendship and cooperation!

Long live freedom of conscience, of thought of word, of print, of meetings and associations!

Long live free, exempt from any pressure Elections and before the people responsible Parliamentary Governments!

Long live social *Equality, Welfare and Happiness!*

Away Red Communo-Fascism! Away Communo-Hitlerite totalitarianism! Away Muscovite imperialism and bolshevik communo-jingoism!

Away any chauvinism, any national and class egoism, any hatred, reaction, exploitation and injustice which pave the way to the bolshevik imperialism!

Long Live Liberty of Nations and Individual!

Long Live New, Free World on ruins of Nazi and Bolshevik tyranny!

Long Live Free, and Happy Progressive Humanity!

Original: The National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, File No. 356 391.

**TO
BROTHERLY
CZECH AND SLOVAK
NATIONS**

1947

This our opuscle is a true translation from the publication which appeared in 1946, in Ukrainian and Czech languages.*

In the purpose to inform suitably wide circles of common opinion, it has also been translated into English and French.

Editors

To the reader

We beg Your pardon, if in this our underground publication You will find some grammatical, idiomatical as well as technical deficiencies.

The conditions of the underground work do not allow those things to be elaborated as perfectly as we it desire.

* * *

* The authors of this pamphlet are not known.

This copy of the pamphlet was found in the National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, No. 356391. Declassified by authority of NND Declassification Project 785001, W.G. Lewis, NARS, August 23, 1982.

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TO BROTHERLY CZECH AND SLOVAK NATIONS

**An explanation of Ukrainian Insurgents concerning the
accusations of Bolshevik propaganda.**

**The interest of public opinion about U.P.A. fighting. The lying
informations of bolshevik propaganda.**

The necessity of true informations.

The mass of Czech and Slovak public opinion is acquainted very well with the existence and activity of Ukrainain Insurgent Army (UPA), however, about our activity not all are being informed in a true light.

Concerning that, the reports of numerous, Czech and Sloval press organs, influenced and directed by bolshevik propaganda, are usually quite infidel and untrue, so that the readers of present, official press are unable to create themselves a genuine picture of things.

Many people have had no possibility of meeting neither our Insurgent Revolutionary Army nor our political literature. However, they would like to get acquainted a little nearer with our real purposes.

That desire of the mass of public opinion has been large enough, so that even the inimical to us bolshevik propaganda was obliged to avow it. Though, for a long time it endeavoured to pass over in silence or to conceal the fact itself of U.P. A. existence as well as all our fighting.

But, with the course of time our fight became so loud that even our enemies could not keep secret, furthermore, but have been obliged to utter about it.

For instance, a bolshevik paper, appearing in Bratislava, in Slovak, under the title: "Bojovnik"¹ (The Warrior), Slovak Partizans Union's organ, on June 1, 1946, in the article: "The Carpathian Mountains' Romantic. The Banderovtse. Their beginnings, activity and mission," reported:

:" . . . With the appearance of armed Banderovian formations being generally known under the name: U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), occurs many a question as to their actual activity, task, political course as well as possibility of their operation. Those question, as regards the present political conditions, are intricate enough."

In another place of the very same article we read: ". . . In the press there appeared many articles and reports which enabled the society to get acquainted with the purposes of those armed formations which more than a year after WORLD WAR II are carrying on a passionate fight against the Soviet and Polish authorities ..."

Though the above cited article says that the press informations "enabled" the mass of society to get acquainted with U.P.A. activities, however, in reality those articles and reports which appeared in the Czech and Slovak press, directed by bolshevik propaganda, have not at all enabled anybody to may be acquainted with those questions, but, on the contrary, they have led the readers into error because their informations about our fight are not only tendencious but quite directly untrue, imagined from the first word to the last one, and purposely prepared to cheat and lead into error the common opinion.

¹ Bojovnik.

For that reason, we give to all who wish to know the objective truth from the first, genuine true source, this our explanation as an answer at objections and lies directed against us.

Our explanation should not be "intricate" and "difficult", as it was the case with certain bolshevik propagandists from "Boyovnik" (The Warrior), from Rude Pravo" (Red Law) or from any like papers, but, we hope it will be simple and plain because sincere and true.

The objections of bolshevik propaganda

The most used objections of the Czecho-bolshevik press against us, Ukrainian Insurgents are sequent:

- I. The Ukrainian insurgent movement appertains to the "reaction" camp.
 - II. The Ukrainian Insurgents collaborated with the Germans.
 - III. The Ukrainian Insurgents spread anti-Semitism.
- Behold our answer:

I

Upon which arguments is founded the objection of "reaction?" - we expect an open discussion, proofs and facts

Do we, Ukrainian Insurgents, really appertain to the camp of "reaction?" - Upon which is being based such affirmation? Arguments pro-it?

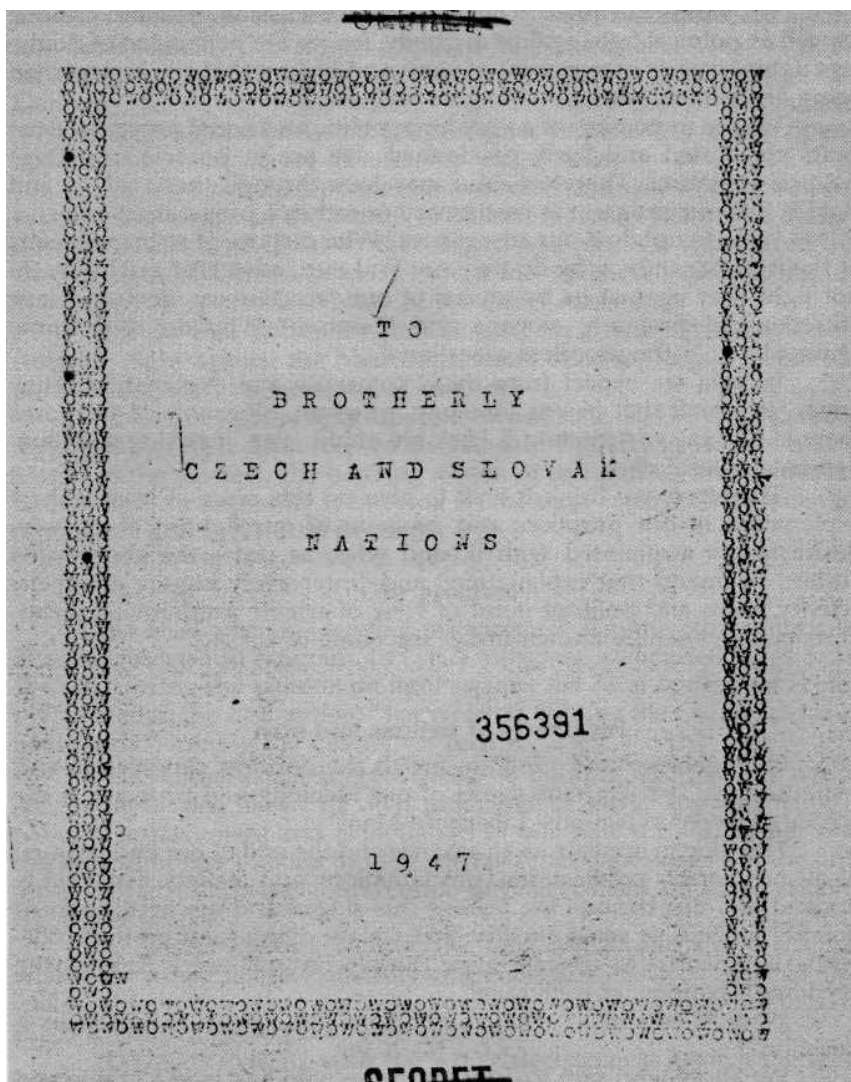
You may diligently look through all the pages of "Rude Pravo" (Red Law), "Vikhodno-Slovenska Pravda"² (Eastern Slovak Truth) "Boyovnik" (The Warrior) as well as many other bolshevik papers in Czech and Slovak language which reported - and report further on -about us, but you will find there no arguments, no proofs for such objections except a proofless affirmation. Do you seek diligently if you succeed to find at least one analysis of our program and slogans we are fighting for, - if you succeed to find in them an analysis or a critique of our political literature.

Then, you will be persuaded that in no bol-shevik papers it has never been such a case.

The bolshevik propagandists in their writings do not analyse neither our program nor our slogans and political literature. They avoid and are afraid of any open discussion with us, because they know their weakness as regards it, because they know that for us intercedes the truth and all the power of justice and righteousness of our political position.

Just for that reason, they do not fight against our political point of view, do not fight by means of arguments and proofs, but exclusively by means of invectives and lies.

² Vikhodno-Slovenska Pravda.



Title page of the pamphlet *To Brotherly Czech and Slovak Nations*.
Титульна сторінка брошури *До братніх чеського і словацького народів*.
(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.
National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

Yet, we are not afraid at all of an open discussion, polemic, critique as well as political fight against anybody, for we are persuaded of doubtless righteousness of our point of view, and believe that any honest man being acquainted with it must agree with us, here.

We are in possess" of a very large politic and social program, from years elaborated and fairly proclaimed. We are in possess of a large political literature. Therefore, You may look through these things and state if this our program is reactionary or rather a progressive one.

Why do not do it our adversaries? Who dispose of so many means of their propaganda, why do they not find our "mistakes" out? Why do not fight they against us by means of our "reactionary ideology", our "reactionary" program, slogans and literature? Why do they throw against us only the proofless assertions?

In vain we expect from them any reply and explanation. They know very well that in our ideology, program, slogans and purposes there is nothing of "reaction." They are afraid even of raising such fundamental questions.

Therefore, we think it well to give on this place at least a short explanation of our purposes and program of our fighting them who desire to get acquainted with it, and who, as states the above cited author; "demand that explanation" and "intensively inquire about the activity, tasks and political point of view of armed Banderovian formations being generally known under the name of U.P.A."

For liberty of nations and man

Our ideology and program are to the outmost progressive and revolutionary. The supreme thesis of our ideology and program is the slogan: "Liberty to Nations! Liberty to Man!"

This slogan appears as an essence and the end of our endeavours, on all our books, publications, proclamations and leaflets. For, that is our end and our banner. We believe this slogan and are fighting for it bloodily for tens of years already, and we are dying for it on the battle-fields, in prisons, in concentrative camps, on gallows, - just for the freedom or nations, of individual.

What is bad in it, what reactionary? Who dares to object us a "reaction"?

We know who says it. That say those who enslaved Ukraine and all the file of another peoples, those who are afraid of our liberating fight and, being afraid of the slogan of freedom of nations and man, they endeavour to defame us, for they are the enenies of any national and human freedom.

No, not we are reactionists who are fighting for freedom of nations and individual, but the reactionists are just those who enslaved tens of peoples, who established the dictatorship and tyranny and oppress any free human thought.

The Ukrainian liberating revolutionary movement has behind it tens of years of heroical tradition already. It has always been to the outmost free, progressive and revolutionary. To us was always strange

any enslavement of the other peoples. We always would rise up against any enslavement. Our slogan: "Liberty to Nations and Man" is not at all anything new or conjectural, welcomed just after the defeat of Nazi Germany, as we see it for instance, at the newly-baked "democrates" who speculate and stick the other's principles because they cannot openly appear with their own of dictatorship and tyranny.

The Ukrainian independent movement has always fought for progressive, free ideals. In the month of March, 1941, still before the occupation by Germans of Ukraine, that slogan was officially introduced into the program of Ukrainian independent movement as the heading one by virtue of a special resolution of the Great Assembly.³

Just on that point, for that slogan, for those ideals came to a stubborn fight against the Nazi oppressors, at once, from the first day of the occupation by Germans of Ukraine.

When during that fight arose on turn of 1942-43, U.P. A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) it also accepted that slogan: "Liberty to Nations and to Man", as the chiefest, the heading slogan of its fighting, and comes out with it, and consequently is carrying on the fight against all the enemies of national and individual freedom.

Our program

In a level with that leading principle are also the other principles of our ideology and program. In U.P. A. program, elaborated in the years 1943-44, during the passionate fight against the Nazi oppressors, being proclaimed in the declaration: "For which is fighting the Ukrainian Insurgent Army", among the others, we read:

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is fighting for that any nation may enjoy a free life in its own independent state. The removing of national enslavement and exploitation of one nation by the other one, the system of free nations in their own independent states - is the only order that gives an equitable solution of national and social question in the whole world.

"U.P.A. is fighting against the imperialists and those empires where the ruling nation culturally and politically enslaves, and economically exploits the other nations. Therefore, U.P.A. is fighting against U.S.S.R. and Nazi-German "New Europe."

"U.P.A. is fighting with the whole decisiveness against the lying international and fascistic-nazi-socialist programs and political conceptions, for they are nothing another as an instrument of rapacious, imperialistic policy. Therefore, we rise against the imperialistic systems of Russian communo-bolshevism and Nazi hitlerism."

U.P.A. rises against it that one people, realizing his own imperialistic purposes, "Liberates," "takes under his shelter," under "protection" the other ones, for behind those deceitful words are hidden disgraceful

³ The Congress of the OUN.

⁴ What the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is Fighting For?

contents of enslavement, violence and plunder. Therefore, U.P. A. is fighting against the Russo-bolshevik and Nazi pillagers until the whole Ukraine will be cleaned up from all such "protectors" and "liberators," until will be secured the Independent Common⁵ Ukrainian State, where the peasant, the worker and the intellectual may culturally and well off live and develop."

"U.P.A. is fighting for a full liberation of Ukrainian people from the Muscovite-bolshevik and Nazi yokes, for the erection of an Independent Ukrainian State without any extortioners and bolshevik commissaries, without N.K.V.D.⁶-ists and party-parasites."

"In the ranks of U.P.A. are fighting the Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals against their oppressors, for Ukrainian Independent Common State, for the National and social liberation . . ."

Further on, follows a large political and social program and an out-line of the future Ukrainian State structure, for which is fighting U.P.A. With regard to that this program is so revolutionary, so progressive, and - so to say - so "left" one, that even the leftest and showiest communism followers cannot openly contradict its righteousness and equity.

Just for that reason the bolshevik propaganda does not dare even to accost our program, our purposes and proper, real contents of our fight. For that reason it does not come out to a fair fight against us, but is fencing only with the invectives by means of which it cheats the unacquainted.

For, what is it in our program bad, what unjust and reactionary? Perhaps that, that we Ukrainians, desire to our people the very same rights as them possess the another peoples of the world, may be called a "reaction"?

Over fifty peoples of the world of to-days are in possess of their own independent states. And, when we, Ukrainians, a 45 millions European nation will have the very same right to our own free life, should it be a "reaction"?

No, those who are fighting for the liberation of their own people as well as in general for human freedom are in no case reactionists. The reactionists are just our adversaries, the Muscovite-bolshevik imperialists who subjugated by violence Ukraine under their dreadful yoke and oppress, exploit, and by force denationalize and physically exterminate our nation.

Freedom-loving and socially-revolutionary traditions of Ukrainian people - the source of U.P.A. birth and its program's fundament

Also in our inward, socially-structural program you will in vain look for any trace of any backwardness or reaction, as it was manifested above. We have remained faithful to the outmost progressive, socially-revolutionary — traditions of the Ukrainian people.

⁵ Unified.

⁶ People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

Smierc bolszewickiej
tyranii !

W rezultacie "wywołani" naszymi krajami przez bolszewickich zabórców zanalizować się muszą pod okiem bolszewickim i samim i razem donajdąmy niebezpieczeństwo okupanta, jeżeli jak Ukraina, w większej mierze, inni jak Polska i drugie nowookupowane narody, narodzić nieco mniej, lecz wszystkich opokę w najbliższej przyszłości jednokrotnie straszną nie wolno, równo zagadkę, jeżeli nie stracić na siebie czasu trwania bolszewickiej. Jednym ze środków niebezpieczeństwa uwarunkowań narodzić przez bolszewików - jest wysiedlenie i przesiedlenie niepojedynych osób i rodzin, a dalej kolonizacja i kolonizacja, kolonizacja kompleksów terytorialnych i narodowych na inną teren, bardzo często na Sybir i w głąb Azji, czego wielu z Was w przeszłości doświadczycie już na sobie. Nie jest to rzecz mała, tysiąclecia ludzi straszących i ich rodzinnych siedzieli, praktycznie w hitlerowskich Niemczech i jeszcze na większą skalę w bolszewickiej Rosji, przekreślenie wreszcie ludzkiej prawdy i narodzić najbliższe podstawy, na których opierała się ludzka wolność i dotychczasowe szerokości.

Na te koi krajje sta delala ideje stružne planje i samirje bol-
sievickih tura, na na pravlenc, - vsialnina, praveslania, vrie-
szenia i zaisczenia celce urador.

Rosja polkneł. Już dawał o sobie w swojej dotychczasowej literaturze i polityce znać. Teraz gotuje się do tego w rzeczywistości i jeszcze z większym rozmachem.

[illegible][illegible]

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All the traditions, all the literature of Ukrainian people as well as all his creeds and feelings are indissolubly connected with the fight for the national and social equality and justice.

For whole centuries we have been oppressed, exploited and spoiled by black demons of any occupants-imperialists as well as by them by violence imposed all manner of the parasites. The Ukrainian people has detested from all his heart any social inequality and injustice, for he, himself, has experienced them to the outmost and knows the best the lot of a slave. It seems that there is not in the whole world such another people to whom would be so detestable all manner of social inequality and injustice.

As the most ardent advocate of those ideals of the Ukrainian people is to be considered our greatest national poet and revolutionist, Taras Shevchenko.⁷ He is being known very well to the large circles of the Czech people from his revolutionary views, for he by his mighty passionate, revolutionary word had sung - also the liberating fight of the Czech people.

He called the Ukrainian people to the fight for the national and social liberation, for Ukraine "without yoke and master."

By the same way of progressive ideals of freedom, equality and justice led the Ukrainian people also our second great national poet: Ivan Franko as well as the other prominent national leaders.

From those profound revolutionary traditions of the Ukrainian people was also born the recent Ukrainian independent movement and our present Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The best sons of Ukrainian nation could not inactively endure the dreadful enslavement of their people, into which he has been driven by Nazi-German and Muscovite-bolshevik occupants. They resorted to an armed defence and are pouring over their blood in a heroic, passionate fight against the invaders.

In conformity with these ideals has also been elaborated the program of our liberating insurgent movement which in any consideration is the most progressive and freedom-loving.

**No landlords, no bourgeoisie, but young peasants,
workers and intellectuals are to be sought amid the
ranks of Ukrainian liberating movement**

The bolsheviks like very much to babble about the social descent of people, reproaching them with their appertaining to the class of the landlords, capitalists etc . . .

Concerning us, however, their objections are quite senseless. For, our revolutionary, insurgent cadres well nigh exclusively consist of the young kolhosp⁸ youth, of without any propriety or with a very little one peasantry as well as young workers and intellectuals.

⁷ Taras Shevchenko.

⁸ Collective farm.

After 29 years of the bolshevik rule, especially after the carrying on into life of the collectivization in the Central and Eastern Ukraine, here, on these territories has remained only a poor, miserable, proletarianized, kolhosp peasantry and a part of the town-proletariate.

The young generation that is righting in the ranks of our liberating movement was born and grown up under the bolshevik rule already, underwent its all proofs and practices, and does not remember any other social conditions.

But, it knows and sees its misery and wretchedness, knows and sees the enslavement of its people, and for that reason is fighting so passionately in our ranks.

The same is to be said about the West Ukraine which has recently been occupied by the bolsheviks.

We, Ukrainian Insurgents, the Ukrainian Independentists-Revolutionists, we are the young generation of Ukrainian progressive, freedom-loving peasants, workers and intellectuals, the young Ukrainian proletariat of the villages and towns.

We know very well where are to-day to be sought the real extortioners-exploitators, the leeches of the national blood.

Those leeches-exploitators - is the bolshevik ruling class of a new bourgeoisie, the new rogues who parasite without any limits upon the hard work, sweat and blood of our enslaved subjugated people.

Just against them, against that new, exploitative, imperialistic, bolshevik bourgeoisie is carried on, here, our liberating, revolutionary fight.

Nonsense of an international reaction

The bolshevik propaganda which cannot find any concrete objections of a basic, political and ideological nature, imagines the various accusations about the connection of our movement with the "international reaction."

The above cited "Bojovnik"⁹ (The Warrior) among the others reports: "... Who succeeded to look a little nearer into the obscure intrigues of the world reaction, to learn its activity's methods, its purposes, that is not surprised with the existence of "Banderovtse."¹⁰

"... They are financially and materially being succoured ..." "... We do not wonder, then, at the exact informations of some over-sea press agencies by which the contemporary romantik¹¹ of Carpathian Mountains is caught and represented so accurately and convincingly as if they had there their own special correspondents. "... These as well as many other facts convince us that what is taking place in Carpathians to-day, is a barometer of the world activity of with the international law irreconcilable means of fighting of the world reaction."

⁹ Bojovnik.

¹⁰ Banderovce.

¹¹ Romanticism.

"...Beyond the ocean lives the brother of by Germans murdered Bandera¹² who is to be considered as one of the leaders of Ukrainian movement on-emigration and who is maintaining the relations with the world reaction and colouring the Carpathian romantik of to-days."

"...At the very time when the victorious Great Powers sat down at the conference table to may fix the victory fruits and create the foun-daments of a permanent world peace, the reactionary elements of the world capitalism began to support the formations of Ukrainian extremists and to help them."

"...So it came to that, that during the session of Security Council, which has to care for the lot of humanity and preserve it before the new world war, - over Carpathians appeared the airplanes with food, munition and money ..."

The truth about Stephen Bandera

Concerning like objections being repeated to the infinity by the bolshevik press organs in many a country, it will be sufficient only a short explanation.

In America there was not and is not no Bandera's brother. Still before Second World War was imprisoned and deported into Siberia the old father of Stephen Bandera. Then, in the first days of the war outbreak, the Germans imprisoned Stephen Bandera, himself, with his two brothers. Both Bandera's brothers were murdered by the Germans in the concentrative¹³ camp of Oswiecim,¹⁴ and Stephen Bandera, himself, during the whole war time remained in various concentrative camps.

On this occasion, the bolshevik illiterate propagandists invented the leave of Bandera's brother in America, Stephen Bandera, himself they are burying still at his lifetime, proclaiming him to be dead already, and imagining many other like, quite untrue and illiterate absurdities to may bind together the uncertain ends of their lives about the dependency of the Ukrainian independent movement from "international reaction."

The liberating national fight is the natural and sacred aspiration of any people

The very same methods were used by Nazi propaganda. The Nazis willingly would join the whole liberating fight of the European peoples with "English plutocracy" or with "American Jews."

In reality, however, the former as well as the latter assertion is quite untrue, for *the fight of the nations for their liberation, their national equality and sovereignty does not spring from any international specualtions or intrigues at all, but from the national endeavour of any living national organism to live with his own, independent, free life.*

So, as the fight of the Czech nation did not depend on any foreign

¹³ Concentration camp.

¹⁴ Auschwitz.

money, but it was an expression of the Czech people's endeavour to his own independent state, against the German occupation, - as well the fight of the Ukrainian people against the Polish, German and Muscovite occupation is an expression of the Ukrainian people's will as well as his sacred right to his own independent state life.

Who says the fight of the other people for his own independence to be intrigues and money of the "international reaction" such one offends his own people, throwing a stain upon him.

**Without any outer help, without any dependency -
we are carrying on our right against any powers
of international reaction**

The more, as regards the Ukrainian nation, such an objection is quite senseless because all our liberating efforts have depended till now exclusively on our powers of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian liberating independent movement has never depended on no one, and has not received whenever any even the modes-test help from any outer power.

The Czech people, during the inimical occupation, was considerably assisted in his liberating endeavours. But, no of the honest men may object, from this reason, that the Czech liberating movement was an agency, depended upon the outer powers. For, that is quite certain, that the only real source of the Czech people's liberating endeavours was the freedom and independence's longing.

As well as many other peoples which whenever carried on the liberating fight, not rarely were assisted in various ways, by their allies. But we, Ukrainians, have not been assisted by anybody, but we fought and are fighting being exclusively depended on our own forces.

When, also, no one of honest people of the world may object the Czech people as well as many other peoples that they in their freedom endeavours have been the instruments of the outer intrigues despite that they rely have been assisted, - who, then, dares raise such an objection against the Ukrainian people which has not been assisted even in the modest way by anybody?

All the ideological and political foundations of our movement are independent and fair. We have raised a great deal of freedom of nations and of man, and that in the fullest and fairest form, and are fighting for this great, sacred ideal with the most consequence.

We openly rose against any imperialists, against any invasion, enslavement and oppression. There is now in the world no such a political movement which had the courage to intercede so consequently for those sublime, revolutionary, freedom-loving ideals.

Therefore, when the bolshevik propaganda organs report our fight to be "the barometer of the world activity of the reaction power," they are right in as much as our large and powerful more and more greater and louder fight is now really a factor of international importance, is, as they report: "the barometer of the world activity" but of no "reaction powers," but of the revolutionary powers of freedom, being just directed

against any reaction, against any powers of reactionary imperialism, against slavery of nations and man.

II

No collaboration with German occupants

The second objection being directed against us by the bolshevik propaganda is that we Ukrainian Insurgents, collaborated with the German occupants.

There is no difficulty in that we may plainly and exhaustively answer this objection, for we are in possess of such arguments that must convince every one about the full untruth of such invectives.

Those arguments will show that, in reality, there is not to be found any collaboration with the German occupants, but, on the contrary, the most passionate fight against them.

The nazi ideology contrary to our principles

As the first our answer are to be considered the above, in the first point of our explanation, already shortly mentioned our ideological and political principles, our program and our purposes which contradict thoroughly the possibility itself of whatever collaboration with the Nazis and in general with any occupants.

With the German Nazi occupants we haven't collaborated and we could not collaborate, for that first reason that the racy¹⁵ and totalitarian-dictatorial ideology is in its foundations already quite inconsistent with our ideology.

All our creeds, faith, program, endeavours, all we believed and were fighting for, for many years, the freedom-loving ideals of human equality, justice, national righteousness, humaneness and social justice - contradict the system of Nazi racism, dictatorship, totalitarianism and terrorism.

All imperialist occupants — deadly enemies of Ukrainian people and his liberating fight

With the German Nazi occupants we have not collaborated and could not collaborate still more for that reason that they were carrying on an imperialist rapacious policy toward Ukraine and another countries.

How was it possible that we, Ukrainian Independentists, could collaborate with those who did not acknowledge the independence of our nation, but on the contrary were enslaving oppressing and exterminating, our fatherland and our people?

To everyone it is clear that such objections are a full lie and an absurdity. For, we fought and we are fighting against any occupants and against any occupations of our native country, whatever they would be.

¹⁵ Racist.

We have been and we are against anyone who would try to enslave our people, without any regard how is he called, and what slogans and ideologies is he proclaiming.

We have never agree and we will never agree with no one who wanted to occupy our country and would not grant the right of our nation to a full state independence on Ukrainian ethnographical territories. So it was in the past, so it is now, so it shall be in the future.

Therefore, all those who endeavour to reproach us, Ukrainian Insurgents, with a collaboration with the enemies, oppressors and invaders-occupants of Ukraine, they charge themselves with a lie and make a fool of their unreasonable, untrue propaganda.

Against opportunists, collaborationists and traitors

Upon which do the bolshevik propagandists base their objections?

They base their objections upon the misinterpretation of the facts. There was among the Ukrainians a handful of men who collaborated with the Germans from dread and hatred to the bolsheviks, or from advantage's longing.

Every people has had such collaborationists. However, the Ukrainian independent liberating movement has had nothing common with such opportunists-collaborationists.

Such phenomenon has rigorously been combated by us as a national treason. We have fought against the bolsheviks for many years and are fighting till now, but by no way with the Germans together.

When we fought so long and so passionately against the Muscovite-bolshevik occupation, it was not for that we change it with that German one or any other one.

The lying and infidel bolshevik propaganda endeavours to misinterpret the real facts and to represent the Ukrainian-German collaborationists as "Ukrainian Independentists," Ukrainian-German Nazis etc

However, in fact, the Ukrainian independent, liberating movement has had nothing common with any collaborationists. We have combated very strongly the phenomenon of the collaborationism and have not allowed it to be spread among the Ukrainian people.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian-German collaborationists rigorously combated the Ukrainian insurgent independent movement and helped their masters-German, occupants of Ukraine to exterminate bloodily the Ukrainian Independentists.

Let the facts say

About the real attitude of the Ukrainian liberating independent movement towards the German occupation the best, the most expressly say the facts.

Behold some short facts that will say the most plainly and convincingly the whole truth about the real attitude of the Ukrainian independent movement towards the German occupants.

The resolution of a ruthless right in case of German occupation

In the spring of 1941, several months before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in the East, took place a secret Congress of Ukrainian Independentists,¹⁶ where have been pushed aside from our ranks all the unsteady, unrevolutionary elements who might fluctuate calculating on Nazi conjuncture, and have been condemned and rejected all the tests of introducing into Ukrainian life of any Nazi-bolshevik principles of leadership and racism.

At the same time, foreseeing the possibility of an imminent war in the East and an eventual change of the Muscovite-bolshevik occupation of Ukraine by that Nazi Germany one, has been accepted as the first point of our political program the resolution that:

"We will carry on by all possible means the revolutionary fight for the liberation of Ukrainian people, with out any regard to any territorially - political changes which would may happen on the East European territory's zone."

Forseeing the possibility of such changes, from our side were made some preparations to may assume towards them our independent, free political attitude, dictated by the honour of the Ukrainian people.

The revolutionary act of proclamation of independence of Ukraine on June 30, 1941

Conformably to those resolutions we, at once, from the first day of the war in the East rose against the German occupational policy.

We decreed to set the Germans allwhere before the "faits ac-complis" of proclamation of independence of Ukrainian State.

The loudest expression of it was the act of proclamation of the renovated Ukrainian Independent State, which took place in Lviv, on June 30, 1941.

On June 30, 1941, on the first day of the leaving by the bolshevik forces of Lviv, was immediately summoned the National Assembly, and was festively proclaimed the renovation of the Independent Ukrainian State, as well, as was created the Independent Ukrainian Government, under the name: "The Ukrainian State Government,"¹⁷ which all was broadcast by radio.

The Ukrainian Independent State Government under the headship of a well known Ukrainian independent political leader: Yaroslav Stetsko, immediately took over, by revolutionary order, the power in its hands.

¹⁶ Fighters for independence.

¹⁷ Ukrains'ke Derzhavne Pravlinnia.

P O L A K Y .

W przeciągu lata, Jesieni i pierwszego okresu zimy 45 roku mieliśmy dużo dowodów ze społeczeństwa polskiego w większości uświadomionego stosunek do ludności ukraińskiej na bardzo pozytywny. Mielimy tu nie mało dowodów szczerej współpracy na wspólnej walce przeciw imperialistycznej Rosji Sowieckiej, która jest wrogiem wrogim wolnościowo-niepodległościowym domom obu naszych naródów.

Szerokie kręgi społeczeństwa polskiego odznaczały się też od okacji przynajmniej wyrażenia ukraińców, jako brzoji bolszewickiej. W licznych wypadkach przedstawiciele różnych warstw i politycznych kierunków polskich opadli przeciwukraińskiemu terrorystycznemu i wyniszczeniemu akcji i pomagali ludności ukraińskiej uniknąć jej straszliwych skutków. W niektórych okolicach polskie organizacje polityczne wydały nawet ułtuki uznające wojsko polskie, milicję i społeczeństwo do zaprzestania tej akcji i zobowiązania wojskowych oficerów sowieckich, którzy uwrznię w polskie mundur, kląć jako przeciwników ukraińskich i przeciwpolskich polityk. Wszelkie zamiatane były wszelkie objawy aktywnego sprzeciwu tej terrorystycznej i bolszewickiej polityce.

Oto podoficer wojska Polskiego dostawczy rakiety przetransportował ją w miejscowości W. powiatu przemyskiego i zniszczenia oddziałów UPA, zabrali swoich żołnierzy, szedł z nimi w kierunku wsi Bolesław Gzostochowski i narzucając się do nich szepotał: "Chłopcy co to jest?" "Witka Bolesła - panie komendantzie." "A co to?" i wyszedł z kłosem pięciokrotnym gwintem. "To gwintem sowieckim?" "A za co chcecie włożyć chłopcy, że Polak i Witka Bolesła, czy to gwintem bolszewickim?" - "Za Polaka, za Witka Bolesła?" - odpowiedzieli chorzy żołnierze. "Witka-odczekał się dalej podoficer, - pamiętajcie o tym, jak pojdziecie dzisiaj, wypełniając rakietę, do lasu. Nie usuwajcie ze brzońców, zachowajcie się tak, żeby nie widzieć nic, ani nie nie słyszeć, bo to nie nasza sprawa i nie nasz interes. A oni tam wleza przeciw bolszewikom. To jest przecież nam na rękę. Może już nie długo, może już nie trzeba będzie i nam wzmocnić razem z nimi, korzystając z ukrycia tych samych lasów." Następnie wyszedł dwóch swoich zaufanych żołnierzy, jako parlamentariuszy, do oddziału ukraińskiego,awiadamiając o swoim postępowaniu i taktyce.

W innej miejscowości podoficer, komandujący oddziałem W. zniszczenia, tylko z jednym żołnierzem zaufanym, wbiegł się w noc do wsi ukraińskiej odległej 8 km. by zawiadomić, że na drugi dzień ma być tam obława i żeś na okoliczne lasy.

Podobny fakt, wśród wojska, milicji, urzędników polskich oddziałów partyzanckich, organizacji niepodległościowych, oraz ludności cywilnej, było dużo więcej i nie tutaj jest to najistotniejszy uświadek.

Ważne jest także same działania w stosunkach polsko-ukraińskich do pewnego urzeczywistnienia wielkich celów, jakie sobie postawiliśmy, a mianowicie do wspólnej platformy politycznej, do wspólnej walki wyzwoleńczej, i wspólnej polityki obu naszych narodów razem z innymi aspirującymi z nami narodami w przyszłości dla zniszczenia pewnej, przeważającej niepodległości naszych naródów, bezpodległości od groźby wiktowego alianckiego i rosyjskiego imperializmu i nieświadomości na arenie międzynarodowej o wadliwych dyktando narzuconych alabam przez wielkie konstytucje monarchiczne, do spełnienia tylko i wyłącznie przy wspólnej polityce naszych naródów i zaciętnych nam naródów wrodków wchodzącej Europy.

Także wielu, które dochodzi do tych samych stosunkach społeczeństwa polskiego i ukraińskiego, całego świadectwem są wyliczone powyżej niektóre efekty świadomego dobitnie oporu, że jesteśmy już na tej przewidzianej drodze, że jest już nieuchronny pierwszy socjety, siłami którego winniar zwyciężyć iść dalej, że do pełnego uregulowania postulatów naszej nieobecnej polityki narodowej.

Widzi jest obraz tego wielkiego naszego życia i zwycięstwa.

Underground leaflet from 1945, *Poles*.

Підпільна летючка з 1945 року, *Поляки*.

(Архів Мисії УПА, Т. XII, Г., ч. 3 (1945)).

Archive of Misiia UPA, Folio XII, H., No. 3 (1945)).

**The fact of proclamation of independence of Ukraine,
on June 30, 1941, - an expressly Anti-German act.
The beginning of Anti-German fight**

Our action, on June 30, 1941, was in that time already, an explicit act of a serious, political nature. By this act was outstopped, and beforehand destroyed the introducing of German occupationary, bloody sway, as well as was raised in its foundations the German policy towards Ukraine.

Now, the Germans could not play and pretend to be the "liberators of Ukraine from the bolshevik yoke," but were at once obliged to show their real, imperialistic face.

They were obliged to come into contact, as well in Ukraine as in all the territory of the whole Eastern Europe, at that time already, - with the powerful front of national revolutions, with the united front of the fight of all nations for their freedom and independence.

It is necessary to underline, that the act of 30 of June, 1941, which constituted a powerful anti-German demonstration, and was a great importance for the whole further lot of German occupation of Ukraine, - was achieved by the Ukrainian Independentists, at the time, when the Germans found themselves on the top of their successes and triumph, when the whole Europe kept on moaning under the heavy brutal boot of bloody, German occupation, and when also the Red Army left in a hurry the territories of Ukraine, retreating till to Volga, and the millions of its soldiers went over and surrendered into the German captivity.

It was not an easy task, in such a situation, without any outer support, to raise so openly and decidedly against that second potent power, before which then, it seemed, trembled the whole world.

However, the vigour of our idea and the ardour of our faith in the right of our nation as well as of the other nations, to their free independent life *were greater and stronger* than all those obstacles.

Despite that we fought for more than 20 years already against the dreadful potency of the Muscovite-bolshevik occupation, we now rose at once, openly and decidedly against the new, German occupation.

In this way, we found ourselves in a very difficult situation between two colossal fronts, fighting against two greatest military potencies of the world, of that time: Nazi Germany and bolshevik Muscovy.

Against the former and the latter imperialist we rose with an equal fairness, with an equal decisiveness for our right to the independence and free own life.

There were many people who considered such our policy as an unreal and maddening one, for they could not understand, how was it possible without own State, without any outer support, to start up to arms against two so powerful adversaries.

However, we choosed just the track of the hardest fight, but at the same time that of the honour and faithfulness to our principles, in this sacred faith that the idea of the national and individual human liberty was an immortal one, and the triumph of two potent tyrannies — our enemies, was a transitory one.

At that time it was hard and unclear. And to-day too, our fight is not easy at all, but to-day it is quite clear that just we were right choosing the track of a hard, heroic fight for immortal ideals of freedom. For, the one occupant of Ukraine, one dreadful imperialistic tyranny is not here, already. It has fallen, has crumbled into dust, but our nation and our independent movement is living, as it was living, is fighting, as it was fighting, and is going on to the victory of our sacred ideals.

The German terrorism directed against the Ukrainian independent movement

The German occupants encountering such a "welcome" in Ukraine, understood well the purposes of our action, as well as its danger for their policy in Ukraine and in general in Eastern Europe.

Therefore, they rose at once with all the decisiveness against our movement. They proclaimed the creation in Ukraine of their "Reichskom-missariat," and in the first days already after the war outbreak, they imprisoned the leader of the Ukrainian independent movement, Stephen Bandera, the Head of Ukrainian State Government: Yaroslav Stetsko with his cooperators together, as well as many other the most prominent Ukrainian-Independentists.

Stephen Bandera, for the whole war time was held by them in various concentrative camps, together with thousands of Ukrainian Independentists. Two Bandera's brothers were murdered by the German cannibals in the concentrative camp of Oswiecim.¹⁸

In September 1941, yet during the vehement fighting of the Germans against the Soviets, was arrested by Germans, beyond the river of Dniro (Dniepr), near the town of Poltava, a distinguished leader of Ukrainian anti-bolshevik movement: Nicholas Lemyk,¹⁹ and together with the whole group of Ukrainian Independentists his cooperators was shot. Nicholas Lemyk, was being known to the wide circles from that he shot in the year 1933, in the bolshevik consulate, in Lviv, the substitute of the bolshevik consul in Lviv, as a sign of the protest against by bolsheviks organized plan mass hunger in the Central and Eastern Ukraine. Lemyk was condemned, then, by the Polish court for life prison. But in consequence of the war he escaped from prison, and then was shot by the Germans in such, above cited circumstances.

The German Nazis, from the first days of their arrival in Ukraine, ruthlessly exterminated the Ukrainian Independentists, even such ones who were for long years the most passionate fighters against the bolsheviks. At the same time, when was shot Nicholas Lemyk, the Germans imprisoned thousands of Ukrainian Independentists, from whom many were shot.

In the capital of Ukraine, Kiev, were murdered by the Nazis (Gestapo) such excellent leaders of Ukrainian independent movement, as

¹⁸ Auschwitz

¹⁹ Mykola Lemyk

Demetrius Myron,²⁰ Alexander Sak, and many hundreds of the other ones.

In the prison of Lviv, was murdered by Nazis (Gestapo) one of the most prominent leaders of the Ukrainian Independentists: John (Ivan) Klymiv Legenda.²¹

All Nazi prisons in Ukraine were crowded by Ukrainian Independentists. In all villages and towns of Ukraine were put up the placards with the announcements of being shot for the appertaining to Ukrainian underground independent organizations, to "armed U.P.A. bands," to "Banderabewegung" (Banderabewegung) etc.....

Behold, how in reality appears our collaboration with the German occupants. The fighting the prisons, the concentrative camps, blood and death - that was our real attitude towards the German occupants, - as it is the very same, now towards those bolshevik ones.

By Nazi (Gestapo) was issued a special instruction concerning the fight against the Ukrainian independent movement, where was said, that for the German domination in Ukraine was much more dangerous the Ukrainian national movement than that communist one, and, for that reason was ordered a ruthless extermination of the Ukrainian Independentists.

And now, the very same prisons as it was at the time of German occupation, are anew crowded with hundreds thousand of new Ukrainian political prisoners, new victims and martyrs, new blood and corpses.

Have been changed only the prison's watchmen, only the hangmen. But, have remained the very same methods, the very same tortures, the very same system of occupationary oppression and terrorism, - as well as has remained the very same liberating fight of Ukrainian nation against the occupants.

How ridiculous, then, appears now the babbling of the bolshevik propaganda about our "collaboration" with the Germans! That is the very same what was said by the Germans about our "collaboration" with the bolsheviks. For, the Germans said and wrote, on all manner, that our liberating movement was only a "Moscow intrigue," a "Moscow hand," - and we were "the bolshevik agents."

By the Germans we were called "the Muscovite-Ukrainian Nationalists," or directly "the Communists." By the bolsheviks we are being called now: "the Ukrainian-German Nationalists" and lately they, little by little, are seeking still new names.

But, the real essence of the whole affair is to be sought in the instructions where as the Germans as the bolsheviks in the same manner, say, that the most dangerous movement for them, in Ukraine, is - the Ukrainian independent movement.

For, the Ukrainian independent movement, in fact was, is and shall be the gravest enemy and the most dangerous for any occupant of Ukraine!

²⁰ Dmytro Myron.

²¹ Ivan Klymiv-Legenda.

SECRET

За Самостоятельные и Независимые Государства Народов Восточной
Европы и Азии!

Свобода Народам и Человеку!

ГИМН УГНЕТЕННЫХ НАРОДОВ СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА.

Насилем жестоким республик Свободу
Злодейски забрала советская Русь,
Но будет разрушенный силой Народов
Наследник ца, изма — Советский Союз.

Довольно терпеть нам насиле, обманы,
Кремлевское рабство сметем мы в борьбе,
Вперед, все народы, вперед на тиранов,
И станем владыками сами себе!

Сквозь бури и грозы мы шли до Свободы,
Но Ленин Свободу на штык нанизал,
А Сталин нас мучил за верность народу
И в рабство колхозов нам путь показал.

Довольно терпеть нам насиле, обманы,
Кремлевское рабство сметем мы в борьбе,
Вперед, все народы, вперед на тиранов,
И станем владыками сами себе!

Мы с боем выходим из рабства и плена,
Захватчиков подлых с пути мы сметем,
В борьбе мы решаем судьбу поколений, —
Свободу народам и людям несем.

Довольно терпеть нам насиле, обманы,
Кремлевское рабство сметем мы в борьбе,
Вперед, все народы, вперед на тиранов,
И станем владыками сами себе!

— 0 —

СМЕРТЬ МОСКОВСКО — БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКОЙ ТИРАНИИ!
ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ ЕДИННЫЙ ФРОНТ УГНЕТЕННЫХ НАРОДОВ
В БОРЬБЕ ПРОТИВ БОЛЬШЕВИЗМА!

— 0 —

SECRET

Underground leaflet, *Anthem of the Captive Nations of the USSR*.
Підпільна летючка, *Гімн поневолених народів Радянського Союзу*.
(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 371742.
National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 371742).

The anti-German underground literature

In Ukraine, under the German occupation were edited many underground Ukrainian independent papers, journals, political pamphlets and books. In all those publications was carried on an open anti-German, political fight, in its the most decisive forms.

We discovered decisively and ruthlessly all cannibal purposes of Nazi German imperialistic policy, and we called the Ukrainian people and the other peoples of Eastern Europe, joined with us by a common lot to the ruthless fight against the imperialists.

Our underground, anti-German literature was so copious and strong that it will remain for ever the glory for the Ukrainian people, reminding him of his successes of the liberating fight against the German occupation.

For, our underground literature then directed the dispositions and thoughts of the widest folk's masses of Ukraine.

Where was then the bolshevik anti-German literature? Where were their anti-German papers, leaflets and pamphlets?

They were not, then, in Ukraine, but far behind the front, in Moscow, or beyond Ural, and from there they threw, from time to time, down from airplanes and leaflets.

For, since it was short, in Ukraine, with the bolshevik Army and police, it was also short with the bolshevik political power, here. The only political power which remained in Ukraine and organized from the very beginning of the German occupation the fight of the Ukrainian people against that new occupation - was our liberating independent revolutionary organization.

This fact found its very strong echo and evidence, among the others also in the quantity, quality and character of the underground literature.

All our underground papers, all our underground literature which was edited in Ukraine in the first years of the German occupation and called the Ukrainian people to the fight - was the revolutionary literature of Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization as well as U.P.A. literature.

For, the Ukrainian revolutionists have not left the people in his hard moments, have not fled behind Volga and Ural, have not only advised the people by radio from beyond thousands of kilometers, have not fallen on parachutes.

We have remained with the Ukrainian people and have not left him, on his father's soil in all his difficultest experiences, in his pain and fighting. We addressed the people by direct alive and printed revolutionary word, we share with the people the lot of deportations on compulsory, slavish works to Germany, - and we organized the fight against those deportations as well as against the mobilization of Ukrainians in German Army, as in general against the German occupation in the whole-ness.

Anti-German proclamations

As a proof of the righteousness of our above cited affirmations

we could adduce, here, main excerpt. ... from our underground, anti-German literature.

We below adduce some excerpts . . . , from only one our address, from the time of the German occupation of Ukraine, but on wish,²² we could present to the reader the whole volumes of our like publications.

Behold, some litteral excerpts from our printed proclamation against the compulsory mobilization of the Ukrainians to the German Army, which was issued in the first months, 1943.

Liberty to Nations! Liberty to Man!
Give from hand to hand!

**Acquaint all with real purpose of sly
German manoeuvre!**

UKRAINIANS!

Drunk of its military successes in West, South and, in the first months, in the East, the German militarism has trodden down almost all the peoples of the Western, Southern, Central, and Northern Europe, and, having put so called "allied" with him nations into his vassal-dependency, he took with the whole, Prussian brutality and ruthlessness to realize the most important part of his rapacious plans in the East: to conquer the Ukraine as his colony!

He has shamelessly trampled the natural law of Ukrainian people to his own independent state life, as well as such the same laws of another European peoples.

With the prisons and concentrative camps, then, with the shootings replied the German imperialism with word and act manifested will of Ukrainian people to organize his own nationally-state life.

After he had torn to pieces, by the ignominious cordons the Ukraine, and developed his occupationary-colonial system, he began to exploit and to plunder our father-land, in the same way as it had done the bolsheviks.

To may weaken the physical powers of Ukrainian people, he has exterminated the millions of Ukrainian war-prisoners who had surrendered themselves, for they would not fight for the Muscovite-bolshevik imperialism.

He has driven the hundreds thousand of Ukrainian men and women into the slavish work in Germany, and the Ukrainian towns and villages he has plunged in blood of the civil population, under the shape of the fighting against the communism.

He has not spared no one, neither little children, the pregnant women, the old men whom he shoots and burns, nor the honour of the Ukrainian, by him violated maidens.

But, it happened what was not expected by the German imperialism.

After he had put against himself almost all the European peoples and the whole world, being more and more torn off from inside by the more and more growing up fight of enslaved peoples, he has been dislocated under the blows of his war adversaries.

To may save himself before an inevitable catastrophe, in his hypocrisy and without limits stupidity together, he designed to involve in the fight for his

²² On request.

own interests the same by himself enslaved nations.

Those who bloodily ruined the Ukrainian State Government of 1941, and shot its founders, unexpectedly are now proclaiming the creation of so called "Ukrainian liberating Army" and another "Galician divisions," to the common fight against the bolshevism.

UKRAINIANS!

The German imperialism is short of blood of the German soldier. Therefore, he endeavours to seek the recruits-gun's meat²³ among the enslaved by him nations, especially among the Ukrainian nation, -in Ukraine.

The fight of the enslaved nations, in the first place that of the Ukrainian one, more and more vexingly touches the German oppressive system.

For that reason, the German imperialism seeks a way to may weaken and finally break up that fight. To-day, he endeavours, by means of the creation of so-called "Galician Division" or so called "Ukrainian Liberating Army," to lull the watchfulness of the Ukrainians and to sow among them the illusory hopes on the change of his policy into the benefit of the Ukrainian people, throwing the Ukrainians the ones against the others.

UKRAINIANS!

The creation by the German imperialists of so called "SS Shooter's Division Galicia," or so called "Ukrainian Liberating Army," is a sly occupant's manoeuvre, being calculated on cheating of the Ukrainian people.

For, at the same time, the German imperialism is carrying further on to prattle to credulous about the "new Europe." He refused to acknowledge the sacred right of the Ukrainian people to his own independent state life. He will not let slip from his rapacious claws Ukraine, at no cost.

Had to drip with blood, further on, being cut to pieces by the cordons the alive body of Ukrainian people? Had to act unalterably, further on, in Ukraine, the German colonial oppression as well as the lawlessness and terrorism of Gestapo?

The Ukrainian nationally-cultural life has gone, underground. The prisons are overfilled with the Ukrainian patriots-independentists.

Had the German socially-economical apparatus of exploitation - and plunder to suck on, further on, all the life juices from Ukraine?

Had to be carried, further on, the colonization of Ukraine?

Therefore, not for Ukraine, but for her hangmen, the German imperialism, has to bleed so-called "SS - Shooter's Division Galicia," so called "Ukrainian Liberating Army."

UKRAINIANS!

By the "pogroms" of the Ukrainianship marked the years of his bloody sway, in Ukraine, the Muscovite imperialism of the white czars.

With the streams of blood, with the death of millions being murdered by hunger, being deported into Siberian tajgas,²⁴ wrote the history of the "liberation," and "unification" of the Ukrainian nation the Muscovite imperialism of the red czars.

And now, endeavours to realize the same "liberating" policy the German imperialism.

However, as has not had any effect the Stalin's comradeship of nations and his "joyful and happy life," in the kolhosp's yoke, as will not have any effect the German "new Europe with her illimitable freedom to may pray to God."

The Ukrainian people endeavours to realize his own State, to attain the

²³ The cannon fodder.

²⁴ Taiga.

power on his own territory, to realize the order and harmony, which will serve the interests of the development of the power and welfare of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian people will not bleed for the other's imperialistic interests and with his own hands hammer the yoke of his enslavement. The Ukrainian people is conscious of it that to assist the one or the other imperialism in their reciprocal concurential²⁵ fight for the enslavement of Ukraine, would signify to fall inevitably as a victim of the one or the other of them.

The Ukrainian people will give all his power only to the revolutionary fight for the *Ukrainian Independent Common State*.

In that his fight against the foreign imperialists the Ukrainian people will stand up shoulder to shoulder with those peoples which acknowledge his right to his own independent state life.

The endeavours of the Germans to create so-called "Ukrainian Army," or "SS-Division Galicia," is by the Ukrainian people considered as a sly occupant's manoeuvre to involve the Ukrainian people into the fight for the interests of the German imperialism and to force him to strengthen with his own hands his enslavement.

The Ukrainian Army may be organized only by the Ukrainian people, himself, as well as by his own independent Government and *to them only it may serve*.

The Ukrainian people will not allow to become a laughing-stock of the nations, and will not save this one whose boot strangles his chest.

The Ukrainian people will not allow to be menaced with the bolshevik danger. The Ukrainian people is carrying on for 25 years already a stubborn fight against the bolshevism.

However, the Ukrainian people is not at all interested of changing the one slavery by the other, and for that reason will not be the gun meat for the German imperialism.

The Ukrainian people is conscious of it that the way to the victory over the Muscovite-bolshevik imperialism does not lead in the alliance with the Germans, but only in the fight for the independent national States of the enslaved nations with a contemporary fight against the German imperialism.

Under those banners the Ukrainian people is carrying on the fight against the Nazism and the bolshevism, and in that fight he unites with all those peoples which avow them. Under those banners the Ukrainian people will win!

Under the blows of revolutionary powers of the enslaved nations will fall down the Nazi-German imperialism as well as will fall down that Muscovite-bolshevik one!

The Ukrainian blood and Ukrainian life will be given *only* for the Ukrainain *cause*!

Against all manner of imperialisms which long for the Ukrainian soil and endeavour to enslave the Ukrainian nation!

For liberty of nations and of man!

For Ukrainian Government on Ukrainian territory!

For Independent Common Ukrainian State!

For Independent National States of enslaved Nations!

* * *

The above cited excerpts from our proclamation, from the first

²⁵ Competitive.

months of 1943, give an evidence quite expressly of our real relation to the German occupants.

Such and like proclamations, pamphlets, reports, articles, leaflets, slogans, papers etc... of anti-German contents we may quote, if necessary, many more.

With that, however, is not at all exhausted the register of our "collaboration" with the Germans. . .

Yet comes a special, large chapter of an armed fight.

The armed fight of U.P.A.

When our act of proclamation of Independent Ukrainian State was answered by the German occupants with imprisonments and shootings, we stood to arms.

The armed opposition of the Ukrainian people against the German occupation, organized by the Ukrainian Independentists, grew up from day to day.

That opposition has soon grown to an uncommonly strong armed revolutionary movement, being widely known as: Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)

Why, no one may contradict the fact that U.P.A. rose, organized itself and attained its great power just in the fight against the Germans!

Ask your brethren, the Czech peasants from numerous Czech colonies in Volynia who saw our struggles, and they will tell you about the beginnings and growing up of U.P.A.

They will tell you how passionately U.P.A. fought against the German occupants, how annihilated them, how threw away the Germans thoroughly from many a district of Ukraine, and established there its own, national revolutionary rule.

They will also tell you, with what a brutality the Germans combated the Ukrainian independent movement, how they shot and burnt tens thousand of men, how they ruined, here, not a sole Lidice, but many hundreds of Lidice, many hundreds of our villages and towns, and murdered an immense quantity of our peasants and intellectuals.

Till now jut out the cinders of hundreds of Ukrainian villages, ruined by the German occupants, as a revenge for the liberating fight of U.P.A.

Till to-day the Ukrainian people keeps in mind the heroical struggles of his Revolutionary Insurgent Army against the German cannibals-imperialists.

U.P.A. annihilated hundreds of German trains, hundreds of magazines, offices, thousands of autocars. In the fight against U.P.A. fell tens thousand of Germans.

Not even one track, in Ukraine, could at ease be passed through by the German autocar. Not only a sole German soldier, but also a small group of them did not dare to appear beyond the limits of by then occupied towns otherwise no one could see them again, and their rifles

and automatons²⁶ enlarged U.P.A.'s ranks.

Those are the pages of an immortal glory of a people which being oppressed by all manner of imperialisms, occupied by colossal armies of the greatest world potencies, alone, without any support, rose against them, with his only hands conquered in the fight thereupon and created his Insurgent Army, his independent armed forces.

One of the most prominent leaders of Ukrainian independent movement: Ivan Klymiv Legenda, later murdered amidst the tortures in the German prison (in the year 1942), threw to German occupants an loud challenge, in the first week after the inroad of the Germans in Ukraine, in the month of July, 1941, saying: "You have come, here, as occupants, - but shall not return back. The Ukrainian (soil?)²⁷ will receive you with open arms, but shall also be your grave."

U.P.A. has fulfilled with honour the call of his murdered leader, and made the Ukrainian soil a grave for a numerous number of German occupants.

The same it shall be with all occupants, who would be going to rule over our fatherland. They all, sooner or later, shall find, here, their grave.

Three years of U.P.A. liberating fight after dereliction by Germans of Ukraine

Thus looked our "collaboration" with the German in the light of above cited facts. The more untrue objections against us directed, could probably never be invented. The bolshevik propaganda adheres them now, being unable to put forward any reasonable arguments against us.

The bolsheviks fight against their numerous adversaries by means of various arguments, availing themselves of their feeble sides.

However, in the fight against our liberating movement they cannot adhere nothing, even in the least measure, for *our ideology as well as our program excelling by the most progressive revolutionary ideas and principles of the largest all-human reach, - is in possess of the best weapon in the fight against the bolshevik lie.*

Therefore, the bolsheviks, in general, cannot fight against us on an open platform, cannot adhere nothing, and have to lose beforehand any discussion. Just for that reason, they are obliged to fight against us with only such untrue objections and terrorism.

Concerning the objection of the collaboration with the Germans and the dependency of our movement from the German policy, the bolsheviks are fully aware of their complete defeat, if only for that sole reason, that to-day, in the beginning of 1947, out the Ukrainian ground, - but the Ukrainian independent movement acts further on, with by no means least power.

In the fourth year of the new bolshevik occupation, is carried further on - without interruption heavily political and armed mass fight

²⁶ Automatic pistols.

²⁷ The word is unclear.

of the whole Ukrainian nation against the enemy occupation.

The argument of "German intrigue", "German hand", "German money", "German weapon", "German parachutes", and any other "German" secret, miraculous inventions, by that fact was thoroughly been compromised.

In November, 1943, the Red Army was already in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. In the first day of January 1944, it was already on the Western Ukrainian territories, on Volynia, - and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which till then fought against the Germans, found itself, at that time, in majority, behind the front, in the rear of the Red Army.

The whole 1944, 1945 and 1946 years, the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) has sustained sole, in that unequal, titanic fight the attacks of colossal Soviet armies, Soviet propaganda, and Soviet police apparatus.

And now, on the threshold of 1947, it is carrying on that inflexible fight, further on.

Where, then, the Germans? Where the German Army of which, here, is not even any track?

No, - here is no place for the Germans, for a foreign intrigue or agency, but is only the invincible power of a great, alive, immortal ideal - the ideal of human liberty!

Here, is to be sought the invincible power and heroism of the whole our people who bleeds in a stubborn fight offering in it the hecatombs of blood, - nor his liberty and independence, for his right to a free, independent state life.

There are not many peoples in the world, who would whenever have sacrificed so many victims and manifested such a stubbornness and such a mass heroism, in the fight for their freedom. Even in this great Second World War there were not many peoples who would have suffered so many losses, as them has suffered, and is suffering till now, Ukraine, this our fatherland, in the fight for her freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian people, after the Second World War already till now has suffered more bloody losses for that to him dearest freedom's ideal than many other peoples had suffered during the whole war time.

In the face of those facts, the assertion of the bolshevik propaganda about the "German intrigue" has fully been defeated and compromised.

Just here, lies the source of the new objections about the "international reaction" we have considered in the first point of our explanation.

The bolshevik propaganda febrily seeks some exit from that vexatious situation, as they have not succeeded neither stifle nor hush up the fact of the further liberating fight of Ukrainian people which is being continued the fourth year already after the dereliction by the Germans of Ukraine.

Therefore, they endeavour to lay the blame for it on the "international reaction," to may hide the genuine fact of their rapacious imperialistic policy in Ukraine, as well as the fact of the liberating fight of the Ukrainian people against their occupation. For, that fact compromises all the lying bolshevik propaganda in the world about the progressive

and just solution of the national question in the Soviet Union.

The real Hitler's partners and first real collaborationists

To the end of that our explanation concerning the objection of the collaboration of Ukrainian liberating movement with the Germans it is necessary to note that all these objections are being pushed forward by those who themselves, had collaborated with Hitler from 1939 - 1941, and helped Hitler very considerably in his first great successes which have just decided about the character and dimension of that Second World War. Therefore, a very heavy burden of human misfortune and blood weights on them.

The bolshevik propaganda relies upon the short human memory. But, we remember very well the speeches of Molotov in which he had extolled to the skies the Hitler's Germany.

We remember the reciprocal visits of Molotov and Ribbentrop at Stalin's and Hitler's, the common conferences, the common rapacious plans of the conquests, the common receptions and banquets, the common photographs of those criminals, in the papers, on which they smiling hand in hand, well nigh kissed one another rejoicing at the bloody work of the Second World War.

We remember still better now the bolshevik commissaries extorted from the unhappy kolhospnyk the last corn to may assist Hitler.

We remember how they presented Hitler with our oil and benzin,²⁸ in order that he might better wage war and enslave the Europe.

This their alliance, this their criminal partnership we have not forgotten and we will not forget.

In vain they endeavour to reproach the others with col-laborationism. Just, they themselves, are not only the first col-laborationists and Hitler's partners in that war, but also the first incendiaries of this awful war.

They still wait for their judgement, their Nurnberg!

III

The anti-semitism

The third objection being pushed forward against us by the Czecho-bolshevik propaganda is: the pretended anti-Semitism of our movement.

In a manifesto of the Czecho-Slovak Army, directed to our detachments, dispersed from the airplanes, we read:

"You have applied to us, the soldiers of the nationally-democratic Army with a leaflet in which you appeal to us to fight together with you against the bolshevism and the Jews."

²⁸ Gasoline.

~~SECRET~~

Wolność narodom!

Wolność Wschodowi!

Śmierć tyranom!

DO WOJSKA POLSKIEGO.

POLACY ŻOŁNIERZE!

Zaprzędani cudzymi, kremlewskim dyktatorom, dzisiejsi kierownicy szwadronu kaza Wam terroryzować i wypędzać ludność ukraińską w jej ślad, jak również rozkazują Wam robić oblawy na Wschodnich waszych braci, patriotów polskich. Podli wysiżnicy moskiewskiego dyktatora i zdrajcy waszego narodu chcą z Was zrobić ślepe narzędzie do wykonywania planów czerwonego moskiewskiego imperializmu, a Wasz polski mundur i godna narodowe chcą wykorzystać dla swoich barbarzyńskich, ludobójczych celów.

Tamist-jcie jednak, żołnierze polscy, że ta droga wystugiwania się cudzymi imperializmem, jest nie tylko nieczna i hanieśna, ale również szkodliwa dla Was samych. Kto pomaga cokolwiek wzmocniać więcej i potęgę imperializmu Moskwy - ten gotuje i kuje te więcej własnemu narodowi. Kto z Was zapominał może stuletnią niewolę rosyjską, ten niech pamięta, że w bezkresnych śniegach Sybiru jest dość miejsca, obok świętych mogił i kości Wschodnich i naszych ojców i dziadów, nie tylko dla Was, ale i dla Was. To co dzisiaj będzie nam - jutro czeka Was, Wschodnich braci i siostry - jeżeli dzisiaj nie stanemy razem, jedyną wspólną frontem, za wspólną, najwyższą i najszlachetniejszą wszechludzkie ideały braterstwa, równości i wolności wszystkich ludów i wszystkich ludzi, przeciw ciemnym siłom barbarzyńskiego imperializmu, totalizmu, dyktatury i tyranii jakie niesie cała Europa moskiewski czerwony faszyzm, zwany bolszewizmem, lub zapewnić niesłusznie swany komunizmem. Jeżeli więc dzisiaj nie uda się nam rozbić potęgi krwawego imperializmu czerwonej Moskwy - to jutro będzie Wasza dola taka sama, albo jeszcze straszniejsza, jak dzisiaj nasza.

Żołnierze Wojska Polskiego! Zwracamy się do Was tą drogą, bo wierzymy, że nie wszyscyście daście zrobić z siebie ślepe narzędzie moskiewskich wysiżników. Wierzymy, że jest między Wami dużo prawdziwych, szczerych Polaków - patriotów, prawdziwie szczerych, a nie fałszywych stalinowskich demokratów. Pomyślcie więc, w imię czego walczyć w obecnych okolicznościach, czyje rozkazy wykonujecie, w czym interesie przelewacie swoją krew? Pomyślcie, gdzie Wasze miejsce, czy po stronie tych, którzy walczą o interes Moskwy, czy przeciwnie, w szeregach tych, którzy walczą przeciwko Moskwie i jej imperialistycznym, zaborczym zakusom, samo, jak walczyli dotychczas przeciw Hitlerowsko-niemieckim imperialistom.

Żołnierze Polacy! Nie słuchajcie usług moskiewskich, którzy rozkazują Wam terroryzować i wypędzać ludność cywilną, którzy chcą wykopać Wschodnimi rękoma jeszcze głębszą przepaść między naszymi narodami. Postępujcie tylko tak, jak rozkazuje Wam Wasze ludzkie sumienie i patriotyzm narodowy, który wymaga nie walki między nami, lecz wspólnych wysiłków dla wspólnych wielkich celów wolności. Dużo Polaków i Ukraińców, najlepszych patriotów, łączy dziś jedno wspólne cierpienie i wspólna walka. Idźcie i Wy tą drogą, a nie drogą hańby i zdrady.

My, Ukraińscy Powstańcy, nie walczymy przeciwko Polakom, tylko przeciwko bolszewickim najęźdźcom. Zapytajcie o tym setki Wschodnich Kolegów żołnierzy WP, którzy przeszli w czasie walk na naszą stronę, lub otoczyli przez nasze powstańcze wojska, poddali się i później zostali przez nas zwolnieni. Nikt z nich nie znalazł jednego słowa narzekania. Wszelkich żołnierzy - uciekających Polaków - traktujemy nie jak wrogów, lecz jak synów narodu z którym łączy nas wspólna niedola całej okupacji i wspólne dążenie do wolności. Zgodnie z tymi zasadami zwalniamy ich, lub przesyłamy na ich życzenie przez odpowiednie kontakty do szeregów polskiej partyzancki.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12065, Sec. 5-402

~~SECRET~~

320000

Underground leaflet from 1946, *To Polish Army*.Підпільна летючка з 1946 року, *До польського війська*.

(Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 329269).

National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 329269).

In the other place of the same manifesto is also paid that we pretendedly called the Czecho-Slovak soldiers "to fight against the Communism and the Jews ..."

The authors of that official address assure that they would not follow such a call, because they know that the fight against U.P.A. costs their country "millions of crowns," and finally declare: "We will fight against you to the last soldier ..."

Like affirmations in which we are being objected very often by the Czecho-bolshevik press of an anti-Semitism are quite senseless.

We have to do here not only with strange and ridiculous arguments about "millions of crowns" as well as with an official assurance of the government Army to fight against U.P.A. to the "last soldier," but also we meet, in the first place, the anti-Semitism's argument.

Even the "New-Yorske Listi" from 2nd of February 1946, influenced by this bolshevik propaganda, wrote "....The Banderovtse have strewn the whole Eastern Slovakia with the anti-Jewish leaflets."

All those objections we shortly answer: such proclamations or leaflets have never appeared. We have never edited nor spread nowhere, from our side, neither here, in Ukraine, nor the more in Slovakia any anti-Jewish leaflets.

In all our political literature, underground revolutionary papers and proclamations, neither now, nor at the time of the German occupation you would seek in vain if only one word directed against the Jews. Like objections are nothing other as a sterling invective and lie.

As well as we have never taken a part in any anti-Jewish actions.

During the German occupation, in numerous U.P.A. detachements also served the Jews, especially the physicians where they found a shelter and a protection, helping with their knowledge the U.P.A. fight against the terrorism of the German occupants.

The Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.W.R.), in its platform has expressly secured the lawful equality of all civic rights of all citizens of Ukraine, of all national minorities, then, also of that Jewish one.

To us, in general, is strange and odious any national difference and intolerance, any group of national egoism, chauvinism, pogroms and any other like phenomenons. We consider them as a churlishness, wildness and cannibalism.

We, Ukrainians, have for long centuries been enslaved as a without state nation, and have experienced, ourselves, many like phenomenons. Therefore, we hate them, reject them and combat them, longing for a cultural, tolerant, nationally-righteous order where any people, any individual, any human community and any nation would be secured as to its fully equality of all rights.

These ideals may never be put up with any anti-Semitism and pogroms, of which we are accused quite groundlessly by the bolshevik propaganda.

The spreading of an anti-Jewish movement would be noxious to our liberating fight, itself, for it would lead astray the whole folk's interest on a false path.

We have to turn our whole energy towards the real enemy, which is for our nation the Muscovite rapacious imperialism.

Not the Jews have captured and hold under their occupation the Ukraine, but just the Muscovite imperialism. Therefore, our fight must be directed not against the Jews but just against the Muscovite imperialists!

Let witness about our real attitude towards Jews, the Jews, themselves, the citizens of your State who met our insurgent forces, during the raids of our detachments on Slovak territories, in the month of April 1946.

Our detachments met there, in Your country many Jews, but addressed themselves to them always sincerely and friendly as well as to any other people. We are also in possess of some written certificates of the Jews who voluntarily offered money gifts on purposes of U.P.A. fighting.

We will, once more explain in this place, with the most emphasis, that we are the herald of humane ideals of human progress and right, and, at the same time, decided enemies of any terrorism, violence and pogroms.

Our enemies are exclusively - the enemies of human freedom, in the first place, the Muscovite imperialists, who have enslaved by an armed violence our father-land, spoiled our independent State and established a regime of a unheard of terrorism.

Our attitude towards Russian people and Slav brotherhood's idea

Our fight against the Muscovite-bolshevik occupation may call at some readers an impression of our inimical attitude towards the Russian people.

We will, then, also in this matter give a short explanation.

Ukraine has found herself for several centuries under the Russian bloody sway, for the Russian czars had broken by fraud and violence the Pereyaslav treaty (1654), concluded with then the Hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Little by little, they have turned Ukraine into a colony, occupied by the Russian forces.

The Ukrainian people, however, has never avowed his enslavement, had never consented to be a serf of the other people, and has never resigned his independence.

From that reason, has been carried on a long stubborn fight of the Ukrainian people against the Russian oppressors.

When in the 1917 year, the Russian czars empire had been shaken in its foundations, under the blows of the revolution, - the Ukrainian people has rid himself of the strange to him domination, and has built his own independent Ukrainian State, with the capital in the ancient central town: *KIEV*.

But the restorers of the Muscovite imperialism, this time the red ones, brutally broke all the principles of the internationalism and of the workers' brotherhood by them announced and declared war to the Uk-

rainian State in spite of that a rule there was, then, the worker's Socialist Government.

After three years of war they by armed violence spoiled the Ukrainian State, conquered and occupied our territories.

The Ukrainian people, however, have not acquiesced in his enslavement, but has carried on the liberating armed defence till to-day.

Notwithstanding the passionate fight against the Muscovy sway over our father-land, we, in the name of sublime, all-human ideals, being confessed by us, do not believe ourselves to be the enemies of the Russian people in wholeness but only the enemies of his imperialistic elements.

We do not fight against the Russian people at all, but exclusively against the Russian jingoistic imperialists, against the plunderers and subjugators who, under the various, cunning slogans, by violence conquered the Ukraine under their power and keep her in a brutal slavery.

With the Russian people, as well as with the other ones, in the first place with our neighbours - brotherly Slav nations, we want to live in the best harmony, comradeship and a real fraternal alliance, under the condition, however, of granting our equal right to our own State and independence on our ethnographic territories.

The Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council,²⁹ by which is directed that liberating fight on all Ukrainian territories, and represented our fight before the outer world, — in its platform, from June 1944, has proclaimed that: "U.H.W.R. (Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council) is longing for an understanding and a peaceful relationship with all the neighbours of Ukraine, on base of the mutual acknowledgement of the right to own States on ethnographic territories of every one nation."

Our claims, stated in this our declaration are quite right and natural. Therefore, not we are who break the Slav unity and brotherhood, but they who for the sake of their narrow reactionary egoism and chauvinism contest the equal right of the Ukrainian people to his own independent State.

The brotherhood, that is a sublime thing provided it is sincere and real one, provided it is based not only on the words but also on the works.³⁰

Those who carry on a policy of the imperialism, conquests and enslavement, they contest and spoiled the very idea they so often refer to.

Therefore, we consider those Russians who acknowledge our fundamental national rights, as our neighbours and brothers. But those chauvinists and imperialists ones, though with the words they announce the Slavism, and even the internationalism, we consider them as we are ourselves by them considered—as our greatest enemies who have dispossessed us of freedom, and endeavour to transform us into the slaves.

However, we firmly believe that after the removing of present condition of the enslavement of Ukraine, and after the establishment of

²⁹ Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

³⁰ Deeds (Actions).

a free, national order in the East of Europe, righteous and just for all the nations, based . . . on principles of the nation independence, will fall off the cause of the hostility and fight between our nations.

As the cause of the present enmity is the injustice, and imperialism, after the removing of it, will also be removed its consequences. Only then will be possible a real, fraternal alliance of free Slav nations.

* * *

Behold our explanation of the objections, being spread against us, Ukrainians, Insurgents by the Czecho-bolshevik press, as well as by various manifestos, leaflets and another publications managed by the bolshevik propaganda.

That the picture of our endeavours, being handed to you in a real light, may be fulfilled, we will, to the end, tell you about the actual life of the Ukrainian people which is the nearest to you of all the Slav peoples as for his neighbourhood as well as for his sincerity fraternal heart sake.

The actual life of Ukrainian people under Muscovy-bolshevik occupation

The Ukrainian people is now dispossessed of all political and cultural rights

The life of our people under the bolshevik occupation is very heavy, now. It differs in nothing from that German one.

That Ukrainian people lives in an unheard of heavy national and political slavery, being by violence dispossessed thoroughly of his political and cultural rights.

For outside, in the propaganda, it is very much being said about the "independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic", "Government", "commissariats" (now ministries!) etc...

In reality, however, Ukraine is by the bolsheviks dispossessed of all state rights, being established by them, here, a full centralization and absolute power of the Muscovite centre.

USSR, in reality, is not at all a union of states, but a sole state. Moreover, it is by no means a federative state, but that to the outmost centralistic one, with a sole absolute totalitarian, dictatorial, tyrannical regime.

Thus, under such a regime Ukraine is deprived of all even the least political rights.

The like is to be said about the Ukrainian language as well as the wholeness of the Ukrainian cultural life.

The Ukrainian language is officially allowed, but exclusively for outside propaganda purposes. But, in reality, has been carried on, and is carried further on, - a complete, hundred percent russification of the whole life, language and soul of our people.

To-day, here, in Ukraine, is not neither one university nor one college where the Ukrainian language would really be that reading one.³¹

³¹ Language of instruction.

All exclusively in Russian. In all offices one is exclusively working in Russian. In army also lords exclusively the Russian language.

Absolutely all, including the movies and tram tickets, is now based on Russian language in all the towns of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian language is openly being abased and persecuted. It has got so far, that now in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev, no one dares to speak loudly, in the street, his native language.

And it will be reduced to the same allwhere³² for even in Lviv, where the bolsheviks manage just not long ago, to-day, the russification advances very quickly on, beginning from the electric and tram tickets, and ending on university, offices and shops.

And such one is called, at scorn and mockery, to throw dust into the world eyes - the "Ukrainian Soviet Republic!"

The same is to be said about all the other rights of Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainians are allwhere pushed aside, and abased. The Russian people is openly being raised as that "higher", "managing" and "ruling" one, and we, Ukrainians, are being considered as a "work cattle."

In the Russian bolshevism are to be noticed, now, the very strong racy³³-jingoistic tendencies, after the Hitler's model.

From that reason, the Ukrainian people as the enslaved and defenceless one, has to suffer very heavy experiences, especially the most refined experiments of a violent denationalization (russification).

The facts of terrorism

The Ukrainians are being not secured as to any collective or individual rights, neither as a separate people nor as the individuals.

Allwhere rules dictatorship, terrorism, men huntings, arresting, prisons, mass deportations into Siberia, maltreatings, burnings of farms and of whole villages, and shootings of people as in mass as in individual.

No one of us is certain of a day or of an hour of our life.

Behold a short report of some facts of the bolshevik occupant terrorism, drawn up from only one part of Lviv province (from 12 districts), for only one year's period.

From 17 of July 1944 to 17 of July 1945, on territories of the sequent districts of Lviv province: Lopatin,³⁴ Radekhiv, Sokal, Mosty Velyki, Rava Ruska, Nemyriv, Mageriv, Shovkva,³⁵ Kulykiv, Yaritchiv,³⁶ Kamyanka Buska³⁷ and Novo-Milatin,³⁸ - the bolshevik occupants have imprisoned: 3472 Ukrainians. Have deported into Siberia: 2123, in that number, 898 women and 601 children. But, that is only 30% of having been destined, for, the rest is hiding itself, or defends itself with armed hand.

³² Everywhere.

³³ Racist.

³⁴ Lopatyn.

³⁵ Zhovkva.

³⁶ Yarychiv.

³⁷ Kamianka Buz'ka.

³⁸ Novo-Milatin.

In that time, bolsheviks have murdered on territories of those 12 districts: 1917 Ukrainians, in that number, very often quite impotent 120 old men, 89 women and 68 infants.

They publicly violated 333 defenceless women. They carried: 3522 men-huntings³⁹ on people in the villages and 1204 larger men-huntings on forests.

They burnt: 2706 farms, plundered and demolished yet⁴⁰ 2650 of them.

Many thousand of being hunted men have been deported as prisoners on compulsory works.

They demolished and plundered: 40 churches.

They imprisoned: 28 clergymen.

They pulled down, cutting down the crosses: 545 tombs.⁴¹

Thus, even the dead have not any quiet, here. Even they are pestered by the Soviet "democratic" terrorism!

All the libraries, with the works of the Ukrainian as well as of the world famous authors have been brutally destroyed by the bolshevik police, at once, if only they had been discovered.

In this way, have been ravaged: 136 libraries, spoiled the priceless treasure of the Ukrainian and all-world culture.

The numbers of corn, potatoes, meat and another food, being pulled off by the bolshevik "liberators" from Ukrainian population of those districts reach many hundreds thousand of quintals and are greater than those pulled off by the Nazi plunderers.

The above-mentioned numbers from 12 districts of only a sole province are here cited as an example.

It is necessary to note, that these numbers, though how dreadful in their contents, and for a foreign person certainly improbable, - in reality, however, are far inaccurate. For, in conditions of an awful terrorism of the bolshevik occupation, even a normal breath of a man is difficult, what to say of drawing up such important statistics.

And it is necessary to note that by those numbers is illustrated the whole horrible truth of our actual life. For, the same is taking place in all the districts of all the provinces of our enslaved country.

Allwhere, here, rules such the same unheard of terrorism, allwhere take place the wild huntings on men, the plunders, tortures and shootings.

It is necessary to remember, here, also about the compulsory displacement of the whole villages and even of the whole territories.

Thus, the bolshevik men-beasts, together with their Polish serfs, have displaced by a brutal violence more than half-a-million of the Ukrainian people from their native country, from beyond so called Curzon's line.

³⁹ Manhunts.

⁴⁰ Additional.

⁴¹ Tombstones.

That was also a great bloody crime perpetrated over our people by the plunderers-imperialists.

You should be informed very well about that crime, because through Carpathians fled on the Slovak territory many Ukrainian peasants, very often whole villages, to seek there, in Your Country a protection against the awful Polish-bolshevik terrorism.

Our peasants believed that on territory of the cultural Czechoslovak Republik they would find a human, if not a brotherly reception.

Alas, also there has been disclosed something another. The Czech communists, under the command of bolshevik ruffians, on their part plundered the Ukrainian unhappy peasants, giving them up to the Polish-bolshevik men-hunters, back...

It has been disclosed, then, that even amidst so generally known from his culture and democracy Czech people, under influence of the bolshevism, some elements have grown wild, and became from men -the beasts.

The wretchedness, exploitation and slavery of the workers

Also the social condition is not at all better under the Soviet regime.

You are very often said that in Soviet Union have been solved all the social problems, conformably to the will and needs of the workers and peasants, that has been realized the Socialism, removed the exploitation, and has been built a better life.

In reality, however, that all is a lie. In reality, here is taking place something quite contrarious.

All the power, here, is kept by a small handful of the dictatorial, party-police clique. The Soviet police (N.K.V.D. - N.K.G.B.)⁴² is, here, fulfilling an illimitable power and lawlessness over the life of all the citizens.

This party-police dictatorial clique, not only deprived peasant-worker folk's masses of the whole power and political rights, secured by them in the revolution, but also took off all the social rights.

Thus, the workers and peasants have been turned, here, into the beggars and slaves.

The worker, here, is attached to the compulsory work above his normal forces.⁴³ The work, here, is compulsory one. No one is allowed to change the place of his work or the kind of labour.

Everyone has to work, here, at least 10 hours and the mean work lasts, here, 12 hours, and still more.

To everyone is being fixed, here, a very high compulsory work norm. Moreover, the Soviet authority organizes so-called races⁴⁴ and "Stakhanovshchina", to extort from the worker the last forces and the last sweat. For all that receives the worker a very small hunger wage, so that he cannot even live upon.

⁴² People's Commissariat of State Security.

⁴³ Strength.

⁴⁴ "The Socialist competition.

Allwhere, here, reigns an unheard of wretchedness, and simply a hunger.

Are situated well only the party officials and police members who are the masters of the life and death of all defenceless citizens.

The exploitation of the workers, as it had been before the Soviet rule, so it lasts till now, but it is still greater, still awfuller and does good the ruling allmighty party clique.

Those who are at dictatorship, at rule, are-in possess of all, including an illimitable power over the life of the citizens, and a simple worker or peasant are being considered as only an object of a ruthless exploitation and terrorism of the ruling class of state lords.

In that system, has arisen a whole class of the Soviet aristocracy, bureaucracy, so-called "Party Active",⁴⁵ party "best men." Thus, all is in hands of those "best men."

As we see, that is also by the name literally the class of a new ruling aristocracy.

Here, have been compelled to the underground work⁴⁶ thousands of girls and women.

Look at Donbas: here, you will see thousands of young girls and of old women. There, you will see even the children, constrained by violence to the gravest underground work.

You will see, there, how our "happy" worker creeping on his belly in the low, underground mines, is carrying on his ill-fated life in a slavery the worst of it has never been known till now.

Behold, what a lot, what a heavy fate of the oppressed and exploited workers in our "worker" state!

The kolhosp socage,⁴⁷ slavery and wretchedness of the peasants

Not better, but still worse is the life of the peasants.

The peasants have been dispossessed of the whole property and have been constrained to the work in the state farms, which has been changed very soon into a servitude and socage of the worst sort.

Our peasant has to work on the state-party farmstead, under the control of the state driver, without any advantage from it for himself.

All corn takes off the state. The peasant is paid for his work by a hunger assignment, the corn being calculated in grammes.

Do not believe what You say⁴⁸ the lying Soviet propaganda about a "happy, joyful life" of the Soviet Union citizens, - but hear only the Soviet radio.

⁴⁵ Party activists.

⁴⁶ Work in the coal mines.

⁴⁷ In medieval England, the status, tenure or holding of a sokeman. Jurisdiction over certain territory or certain men.

⁴⁸ What you are told.

Take the pencil in Your hand and calculate well those "grammes", being an official assignment of our peasant, for his "trudoden" (work-day),⁴⁹ and You will satisfy yourselves⁵⁰ of the whole awful falsity of the Soviet propaganda about our "happy wealthy life." Then, You will be acquainted with the whole profundity of our misery, or without interruption hunger and our slavish fate.

For, our peasant is paid for a "trudoden" (a work-day), i.e. for the whole day of work (and in reality for several days), from dawn to dusk, ... 1 kg of corn!

Such "work days" may be worked, for the whole year of the hard work in a kolhosp, hardly 100-200. Then, even after the official Soviet statistics, being announced in radio and newspapers, of which you may convince yourselves, the peasant gains for himself and his family, for the whole year of work in a kolhosp farmstead, hardly 1-2 quintals of corn.

Certainly, there, in Your Country, there was not, and is not, any as poor peasant family, as would gain as ridiculously few!

At such a little work pay, arises, in general the question, how the people may, in general, live upon?

There, in Your Country, the people would surely not live upon. But, here, the people have to vegetate, have by whole years to suffer from hunger.

For You, that is surely not an easy matter to believe it. Therefore, we advise You once more, to take in hand the Soviet official papers, and to hear the Soviet radio, but do You read and hear carefully, critically, to may catch out from beyond the propaganda babbling and falsity, the real, concrete facts.

Do not be enraptured by the void, artificial declamations about it that the Soviet authority has paid the peasants (kolhospniks) so and so many thousands grammes of corn, but immediately take a slip of paper, and calculate carefully how many kilograms and quintals will amount those horrible thousand of grammes. Then, You will surely burst out laughing at that cheating, for You will be ascertained of how little, how miserable, how hungry will appear, then, the final ciphers!⁵¹

And consider, that we do not receive even this little. Mind, that even this ridiculously little to live upon, here, is yet far to reality, because the Soviet authority the Soviet party "best men", who are our masters and lords of our life and death, will yet steal not little even from that last.

And to that what will remain at last, will add the endless taxes, compulsory plunder loans and from all the sides another duties!

Thus, in reality, the peasant (kolhospnyk) receives, here, for his daily or of two days work very often only: 15-30 decagrammes of corn, and when fortunately a half of kilogram, - this would be very much!

How, in such a case, you will ask, is possible any life! Why, that is impossible, here must be something out of order with these ciphers!

⁴⁹ Labor day - the norm to be fulfilled in a day.

⁵⁰ Yourselves.

⁵¹ Numbers.

Sloboda narodom ! Sloboda jednotlivcovi ! Smrt tyranstvu !

Cesko-slovenským vojakom!

CESI ! SLOVACI ! VOJACI !

Kedaleko od Vas dejú sa strasne veci. Mnoho divizii polackého a bolsevičského vojaka i polície vyhnať ukrajinské obyvateľstvo z jedín, drancujú jeho majetok, pali domy, hodia deti do ohňa. Vydrancované, vyhnané biedne, nestastné obyvateľstvo vyvážajú v zime za strasných mrazov, ako dobytok do vyhnanstva.

Kazdy hamanny clovek, vidiac nyslychane v dejinach ludstva polako - bolsevičske laceratstvo, pachane na mierumilovnom ukrajinskom obyvateľstve, obrati sa s hromu, a vola po pomste!

My, ukrajinski Povstanci zacalime boj so zbraňou v ruke na obranu svojho naroda, na obranu ludského práva a života. Nedopustime, aby polako - bolsevičské bandy s vojsko drancovali a bezrestne mordovali našich ľudí a vyhnanili z rodnej zeme. Budeme sa brániť všetkými jestvujúcimi prostriedkami proti polako - bolsevičskému červenému ludocratovi, ktorí napodobujú a pokračujú v hanebanej "vyhladovacej" práci vraha Hitlera.

Dejiny, kde vydrancujú a vyženú našich otcov z rodnych chat - aby ludocratí z našej práce nemali uzitok a aby sme zaprotestovali pred svetom i dejinami proti tým atasným zločinom ako konajú na nasom narode cervoni moskovski tyrani a jich polski priatlubovci - su nasimi vlastnymi rukami zalene.

Cesi a Slovaci! Ked budete stat na svojich hraniciach v Karpatoch, z ich hrebenov uvidite, ako kazda noc horia domy, sa cele dediny na prástors 800 km. od karpatských hrebenov po nízny tok rieky Buh. Podivajte sa, ako tam polako - bolsevičské vojsko vyhnať na sneh a mraz ľudí a mordujú jich, ako tam starci, ženy a deti utekajú po lesoch v treskajúcej zime, aby si zachránili hole životy, je to horsie, jako za tatarskej pohromy.

Take brutálne nasilie, ako masove vrazdy pokojného obyvateľstva, uvaznovania, ošerovania, vyvazanie na Sybir, a na ostrovy severného ladového oceánu, vyhnanstvo do koncentračnych taborov, drancovanie a teror deje sa dnes v celej Ukraini!

Nech to bude vystrašujú všetkým narodom, ktorí este neoznáma bolsevičsku praktiku zblilaka.

Pamätajte se taky isty strasny osud caka v budúcnosti i Vase narody, len co sa bolsevičské jarmo nad Vami usvni. Moskovski bolsevičski imperialisti taky osud pripravujú celej Europe. Preto dnes prvou povinnostou všetkých slobodomilovných akutočne demokratických narodov je: postaviť sa spoločne do obrany a boja proti nebezpečeniu nového červeného fašistického totalného tyranstva, jaké nesie cele u svetu moskovsky imperialismus.

Ukrajinsky narod bol prvou osetou moskovského červeného fasizmu a prvý sa postavil do boja proti nemu. Dnes cela Ukrajina a s nou všetky krajiny veľkanského vassenia narodov SSSR horia v ohni revolučného povstaleckého boja nevidaných rozmerov. V ohni boja tvori sa spoločný celosvetový front všetkých narodov zotročených a aj ohrozených bolsevičským tyranstvom.

Ukrajina vola si Vas, nasi bratia - susedia do boja za tu veľku a svatu vec.

Vojaci Česko-slovenské armady!

Ste vojakami, ale máte ľudské srdce a svedomia. My vieme, ze Vy Cesi a Slovaci ste synovia kultúrnych a skutocne demokratických, politicky veľmi srelých narodov, preto sme presvedceni, ze sa postavite spoločne s nami proti bolsevičskému - polackému barbarstvu a ludzratstvu.

Ked ste cestni ludia, ked ste demokratmi, ne pocuvajte bolsevičskej lzivej propagandy, ne pocuvajte tych, ktorí vychvalujú červenú diktaturu a kazú Vam vojovat proti Ukrajincom. Neuposluchnite jich, ale pomahajte srdcom a skutkom ukrajinskému narodu v jeho nestasti a v jeho hrđi-nakom boji.

My Ukrajinci, sme Vasi najblizsi susedia a bratia. Sme jednej slovenskej krvi, máme rovnake ideale, sme rovnako slobodomilovní, demokra-

Underground leaflet from 1946, *Czechs! Slovaks! Soldiers!*

Підпільна летючка з 1946 року, *Чехи! Словаки! Вояки!*

(Архів Місії УПА, Т. XII, Е., ч. 2 (1946).

Archive of Misiia UPA, Folio XII, E., No. 2 (1946)).

Then, we answer you clearly and fairly: the only way the peasant may live upon in Soviet Union is the theft of the state kolhosp property, or rather "the theft" of his own property of which the peasant had been deprived once by the state party clique. If the peasant not stole, he would surely not live upon neither a sole month . . .

These are no jests, no exaggeration at all, but our dreadful, socage kolhosp reality'

It is clear that only in the state language this may be called a "theft." For, in reality, the peasant is not the thief at all, because this is his own property, his own hard-earned pay, his own toil.

The thieves and plunderers are only those who are to-day at rule, those who dispossessed him of his ground,⁵² who took off his freedom, and who deprive the peasant and the worker of their work and pay.

The miserable living of intellectuals

Not better is it with the intellectuals who have kept their honour and have not followed in service of the police apparatus.

The financial living of them is very miserable. But still worse feels everyone intellectual, no matter in which profession he worked the constraint to be obligatorily a police denunciator and propagandist of by him hated being at rule terroristical regime of dictatorship.

Though living in wretchedness, everyone has obligatorily to say, to write, to sing about the "happy" life, and all that with enthusiasm. Everyone has to denunciate his brothers, to discover at his best friend any, even though the smallest mistake, the slightest word, motion, look, which might be disinclined to the ruling tyranny. He has even to guess the thoughts of his related,⁵³ and immediately denunciate, accuse and judge them . . . otherwise - the prison, the concentrative camps, Siberia, shooting . . .

Thus, everyone intellectual as everyone worker and peasant, as well as any other citizen who does not belong to the narrow clique of party "active", has to live constantly in wretchedness, and in a strained, unbearable atmosphere of espionage, denunciations, fear and terrorism.

The new hunger catastrophe

This year, the condition of a general misery instead of improving, since it is already the second year after for the Soviet Union victorious War, has grown worse.

In consequence of the gigantic armaments of the Soviet Union to conquer aB the world, in consequence of the indolent Soviet economy, and, finally, in consequence of the general robbery and abuses of the Soviet party bourgeoisie, - the general wretchedness of the population has grown again, and reached well nigh the limits of a colossal hunger catastrophe.

⁵² Land.

⁵³ Relations.

On all ways, you may meet to-day large processions of hungry, ill-fated people who are jogging on, imploring a piece of bread, and ditch are dying from hunger. Thus . . . it is got so far, that, here, men are going anew to eat men!

Yet, a few months ago, the Soviets were boasting of their "welfare" and the Soviet government sent to France, before elections, 500,000 tons of com, to Poland 200 thousands tons and still a several times some supplements, to Yugoslavia 200 thousands tons with supplements, -extorting the last grain from the unhappy kolhosp workers.

And now, TASS⁵⁴ is constrained to report again and again, in official communiques, about "the necessity to lengthen the allotment system of bread for the whole 1947 year . . .", about the "dryness",⁵⁵ "abuses", about the worsening of the food condition", "the self-willed injuring of the Soviet laws by the state officials, the introducing of the socage in the kolhosps.." etc . . .

These official TASS communiques corroborate, in fact, all by us pushed forward⁵⁶ objections as springing from the official source.

When we shall study them exactly, then, having pushed aside all the lying propaganda excuses, You shall find there at least a partial image of the dreadful, hunger, Soviet reality.

The Soviet official communiques endeavour to throw the blame for that, now on "dryness" then, on individual persons of the Soviet bureaucracy, as the "violators of the Soviet laws".

In reality, however, the only genuine reason for this catastrophic condition is the whole actual Soviet system, - the system of imperialism, totalitarianism, dictatorship, terrorism, tyranny, robbery, exploitation and slavery.

Shall arise persecuted and hungry

Against this wretch,⁵⁷ slavish living, against the unheard of enslavement of the nations and of the man is boiling now in the Soviet Union an ocean of the folk's anger and hatred!

The millions of "persecuted and hungry" citizens of the Soviet prison of nations expect impatiently the moment of the "revenge time", as it is announced by Internationale⁵⁸ words.

Here, is boiling now, in fact, a volcano of the hatred and of revenge longing on the hangmen.

The Second World War has not given to the peoples of the Soviet prison of nations any sufficient possibility to pull off the hated yoke.

Hitler with his maddening policy of imperialism and of cannibal terrorism turned the tracks of this War on quite another rails. Instead of a revenge over the bolshevik yoke, has had to follow, first of all, a defence

⁵⁴ TASS - Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union.

⁵⁵ Drought.

⁵⁶ Presented.

⁵⁷ Wretched.

⁵⁸ A rallying song of Communism, composed in French by Eugene Pettier in 1871.

against Hitler-cannibal, himself.

But now, when the Nazi Germany has been ruined, all the peoples and all the citizens of the Soviet Union impatiently expect the moment of the final revenge on the second totalitarian tyranny.

The liberating fight of Eastern Europe is headed by U.P.A.

To-day already is rolling, here, a passionate and large fight against the Soviet bloody sway despite the dreadful terrorism of the Soviet police organs: N.K.V.D.-N.K.G.B., - with the Ukrainian nation at the head.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which organized during the German occupation and carried on a stubborn fight against the German occupants victoriously weathered the storm of numerous struggles, the crossing of the German and bolshevik fronts, and has not laid down arms before new, repeated bolshevik occupant, but is carrying on against them the fight just as it was fighting, once, against the German occupants.

The whole liberating fight of Ukraine is directed by the supreme political organ of Ukrainian nation: Ukrainian Chief Liberating Council (U.H.W.R.), to which is subordinated U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

The revolutionary liberating fight of U.P.A. has assumed very large dimensions and has shaken the very foundations of the whole Soviet Union.

The whole Red Army as well as the whole U.S.S.R. is now talking about our fighting and refreshing themselves with its fame and legends.

The uncommonly strong, heroic fighting of U. P. A., being carried on, in the name of the sublimest and noblest progressive ideals of the people's and human freedom has shaken the consciousness of the largest masses of all European and Asiatic peoples of the Soviet Union.

U.P.A., by its heroic fight, has torn as under the heavy slavery curtain, lighting over the Eastern Europe the torch of new, great, freedom revolution that, in the next future already, will finally ruin the actual order of slavery.

U.P.A. is leading all the East European and Asiatic peoples of Soviet prison of nations, to a new, free, independent life.

The source of U.P.A. creation and fighting are the profound life laws

To-day, in the beginning of 1947, are just three years since the Soviet occupation has returned on Ukrainian ground.

In a few months will also be three years from the moment as the Germans has been cast from all Ukrainian territories, and their place occupied the bolsheviks.

Also in the world the war is over.

However, the armed fighting of Ukraine is carried further on with the great, unheard of effort.

With us together, this fight is carried on by numerous another by Soviet Russia enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and of Asia.

ІНСТРУКЦІЯ ПРО ПОДПІЛЬНІ ВИДАННЯ
 ЗА ЧАСИ РЕВОЛЮЦІЙНИХ ПЕРІОДІВ І
 ПОСЛІДНЬОГО ПОСЛІДНЬОГО ПЕРІОДУ

Протягом 1944 і 1946-го років появилися на українських землях під московсько-болгарською і під німецько-фашистською окупацією наступні українські періодичні підпільні видання:

1. **ГРОНІ І ЗІНІ** – видання Кривокутської організації Українських націоналістів, – великий друкований журнал, провідний орган української національної політичної думки.
2. **ЗА НАМІСКОМ ДІВЧАТУ** – видання організації Українських націоналістів, – підпільна газета, революційна газета українського самостійницького руху, великого формату, друкована й ілюстрована.
3. **ЛОВТАШЕНЬ** – видання УНА, – боєвий революційний втракт українського повстанського руху, друкований, книжкового формату.
4. **УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ЦЕРЕДЬ** – видання УНА, – гуморстично-сатиричний журнал, друкований, багатолістрований першорядними карикатурами.
5. **МОДНІ ВІСТІ** – видання УНА, – модерна шкільницький журнал з кольоровим друкованим наддруком, ілюстрований карикатурами.
6. **ІНФОРМАТОР** – видання УНА, – великий друкований журнал.
7. **ПРОСВІТЯНИСТ** – видання Кривокутської організації пропаганди, виступу і політичного руху, великий друкований журнал науково-політичного характеру.
8. **ШКОЛА НАПІСНОГО** – видання УНА [Говерля], великий друкований журнал.
9. **ІНФОРМАЦІЙНІ ВІСТІ** – друкований журнал УНА, – місяць інформативні й ідеологічно-політичні матеріали.
10. **ОПІСНИЙ ВІСТІ** – видання УНА, – боєвий політичний та ідеологічний журнал.

Title page of the list of underground publications from 1945 and 1946.
 Титульна сторінка списку підпільних видань з 1945 і 1946 років.
 (Державний Архів США, Група 319, Фоліо 356391.
 National Archives of the United States, Group 319, File 356391).

What phenomenon is this? Where is its source? Where its secret? Where its reason?

From where in our enslaved people, ruined by so a long occupation, ruined by war, by the fronts and by colossal battles, which took place on our ground, is to be found such a power, such unheard of in the world stubbornness, to may so long, so heroically fight against the Soviet empire which is in possess of the whole colossal armies, before which trembles well nigh the whole world?

Such a question is surely set by many a people there, in Your Country.

The bolshevik propaganda knows it well and for that reason prattles You, as it was aforesaid, about that as if "unclear" question, about as if "masked, secret machinations of the world reaction", about U.P.A. fighting as. if a "barometer of the world reaction activity" etc

But, we will ask You: who of intelligent people may believe it? Who may believe some who are able to bleed for whole years in such a stubborn, unheard of, heroic fight for the sake of a certain "reaction"? And, how is it in practice possible?

Such an explanation contradicts to all the laws of common sense as well as to the principles of Marx's materialistic life notion.

Marx says clearly that "the being creates consciousness." Therefore, as follows from that, the under-Soviet being creates an anti-Soviet consciousness, and on this base is growing up the anti-Soviet fight.

Which, then, is, in practice, the best answer, the best explanation of U.P.A. fighting foundations and sources!

That explanation says: if in the Soviet Union exists such a great discontent of the Ukrainian and another peoples, if there exist and grow up the anti-Soviet revolutionary tendencies, if for whole years there exists and is carrying on a passionate fight of large dimensions U.P.A. - then, all this should have its profound reason in the Soviet reality.

The Soviet regime, being a regime fo imperialistic enslavement of nations, a regime of dictatorship, terrorism and wretchedness, has created the base of a general discontent of by it enslaved peoples, with Ukraine at the head, - and compelled them to seek their saving in an armed revolutionary fight.

The bolshevik propaganda alchemy, with its deceitful explanations about the "intricate", well nigh "miraculous", "mysterious" machinations of the "world reaction," is unable to satisfy anyone who seek a reliable answer of such grave problems.

* * *

We address You, Brothers Slavs, Czechs and Slovaks, with this our explanation not only to defend our honour and our cause against the false objection of bolshevik propaganda, that says You the untruth about our fight, but also in Your own interest, to tell You the whole truth

⁵⁹ Soil.

about the Soviet prison of nations, and to warn You before it which expects You, Yourself, if you allow to be drawn in into the snares being laid on You cunningly by the worst enemies of the people's and individual freedom.

We, Ukrainians, know very well the Soviet slavery from 29 years already. We are fighting almost thirty years against that awful tyranny, and think it our sacred duty to say the truth about it as well as to warn You before it.

Do not allow to be led into error by -anything. Do not believe any nice, seductive words but look at the works. Do not believe this to be in fact the workers' state and the workers' rule, for that is untrue. This is a state and a rule of a new degenerate, bureaucratic aristocracy, a new parasitical bourgeoisie. Do not believe also the Soviet democracy, as it is by no means a democracy but a tyranny. Do not believe their socialism or communism, for it is neither socialism nor communism but a state capitalism and a state socage. Do not believe their internationalism, because it is in no wise an internationalism, but an egoistic, jingoistic Muscovite great-power, exclusive imperialism which enslaves and exterminates ruthlessly many Slav peoples without any regard to any brotherhood. They had not hesitated to exterminate by terrorism and an artificially organized hunger the millions of Slavs-Ukrainians, and they will surely not hesitate to do the same with You, if only nothing will stay on their way, if only they will grasp You rigorously in their hands.

Defend Yourself, Brothers, Czechs and Slovaks, as well as all our Brothers Slavs, before that dreadful fate. Do not allow to be insidiously beguiled by their sly lies. Do not allow to be drawn in into a full slavery. Do not go, Yourself, for Your death!

We, Ukrainians, Your nearest neighbours and Your Brothers after common to us Slav language and blood, we address You across the iron, impenetrable cordons of the Soviet prison of nations. We address You, Brothers, from our heavy kolhosp socage and underground, slavish workers' mines, from the endless concentrative camps of death and deportations in Siberia and along the Arctic Ocean, we appeal to you from our heroic, insurgent battle arrays:

Stand with us together to the common fight against the tyranny, - for freedom of nations and of men, for a new, free structure of our great Slav, brotherly people's family of nations which will secure to all our nations freedom and independence, - for a new, free world without slavery, terrorism and dread, without exploitation and misery, without mutual slaughter and wars:

⁶⁰ Deeds.

Let us upset, Brothers, with common efforts and tyranny, and
let us establish a new, better world of free nations and men!

January, 1947

UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS

Original: The National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C., Record Group #319, File No. 356 391.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.B.C. - British Broadcasting Corporation
K.P. (b.)U. (C.P. (b)U.) - Communist Party (bolsheviks) of Ukraine
M.T.S. - Mashine Tractor Stations
N.K.G.B. (N.K.H.B.) - People's Commissariat of State Security
N.K.V.D. (N.K.W.D.) - People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
O.U.N. - Organization of Ukraine Nationalists
TASS - Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union
U.D.P. - Ukrainian Government (1941)
U.H.V.R. - (U.H.W.R.) - Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council
U.P.A. - Ukrainian Insurgent Army
U.R.S.R. - Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
U.S.A. - United States of America
U.S.S.R. - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
W.P. - Polish Army

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ЛІТОПИС УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОВСТАНСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ

Літопис УПА – це серійне книжкове видання Його завдання – опублікувати, з дотриманням джерельної точності, документи й матеріали до історії УПА, а також стимулювати й видавати праці про діяльність УПА та історію України того періоду взагалі. Кожний том або група томів Літопису присвячені окремим темам і мають назву. Частина томів охоплює історію УПА за певний період на більших територіях, як, наприклад, на Волині, в Галичині, на українських землях під Польщею тощо. Кожна з цих територій може мати два-три, а то й більше томів. Додаткова серія книжок буде присвячена загальним темам, або збірникам спогадів, праць, або може бути книжкою одного автора на якусь тему. Збірники появляються не періодично, а в залежності від підготовки й опрацювання наступного тому. Нумерація книжок Літопису може йти інакше, ніж за оголошеним територіальним планом чи хронологією подій. Документи передруковуються з дотриманням джерельної точності, зі збереженням загальної форми оригіналу. Конечні виправлення чи відтворення пошкоджених місць відзначаються квадратними дужками або – де потрібно – пояснені в примітках. Так само відзначаються додані редакцією слова, пояснення чи заголовки в тексті. Інші підпільні матеріали – мемуари, меморандуми, публіцистика тощо – передруковуються без пропусків, проте мовні й правовисні виправлення детально не відзначаються, хіба в особливих випадках. Як правило, передруки беруться з оригіналів, але при відсутності оригіналу до уваги береться найвірогідніша копія чи передрук. В усіх випадках точно подається джерело, а у випадку передрукованих архівних матеріалів – теж місце збереження даного матеріалу. Кожний том має довідник осіб та місцевостей і словник неясних слів, скорочень та маловживаних чи незрозумілих слів.

LITOPYS UPA – CHRONICLE OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

Litopys UPA is the series of books, produced with the aim of publishing source documents and materials relating to the history of the UPA, as well as stimulating and publishing works about the activities of the UPA and, in a more general way, the history of Ukraine of that period. Each volume or group of volumes of Litopys UPA is devoted to a specific theme and has a separate title. Some of the volumes deal with the history of the UPA in a given period of time or in a given region – for example, in Volyn', in Halychyna, in the regions of Ukraine held by Poland and so on. Two, three, or even more volumes may be devoted to general themes, to collections of memories, or to single books by individual authors dealing with particular questions. The appearance of Litopys UPA is not periodic, and depends on the pace at which successive volumes are compiled and prepared for print. The volumes may appear in an order other than indicated above, based on a territorial and chronological principle. In reprinting documents, we adhere strictly to their sources and preserve the general form, language and orthography of the originals. Places in the text where corrections have had to be made, or where the original documents have been damaged or had to be re-constituted, are designated with square brackets, or, if necessary, provided with explanatory footnotes. Words, explanations, or titles inside the texts that have been added by the editors are indicated in a similar manner. Other underground materials – memories, memoranda, works of publicists and the like – are also reprinted without omissions, but only in exceptional cases are linguistic and orthographic corrections indicated. Reprints are based on original texts. In cases where the original text is not available, the reprint is based on the most reliable copy of reprint. The sources of all materials used are clearly indicated and in the case of reprinted archival material, their present locations are also given. Each volume is provided with an index of names of persons and places and a glossary listing names that may not be clear, abbreviations and rarely-used or incomprehensible words.

ЛІТОПИС УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОВСТАНСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ

Серійне книжкове видання документів,
матеріалів і наукових праць до історії
Української Повстанської Армії

Досі появилися такі томи Літопису УПА основної серії:

Том 1. Волинь і Полісся: німецька окупація; книга перша: Початки УПА; документи і матеріали. Книга містить політичні й організаційні документи та матеріали до історії УПА на Волині та Поліссі. Третє, виправлене видання, 1989 р., 256 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи, схеми.

Том 2. Волинь і Полісся: німецька окупація; книга друга. Книга містить підпільні документи і матеріали про бойові дії УПА на Волині й Поліссі. Друге, виправлене видання, 1985 р., 256 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи.

Том 3-4. Чорний ліс: видання команди Станиславівського тактичного відтинка УПА, 1947 – 1950 роки. Книга перша і друга. Книги містять меморіяли, біографічні нариси й документи про дії відділів УПА Станиславівського ТВ УПА. Частина матеріалів – оповідання, новели й вірші.

Том 3, книга перша: 1947 – 1948. Друге, виправлене видання, 1987 р., 272 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи, схеми.

Том 4, книга друга: 1948 – 1950 (продовження). Друге, виправлене видання, 1989 р., 288 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи, схеми.

Том 5. Волинь і Полісся: німецька окупація; книга третя: спомини учасників. Книга містить спогади, рецензії і додаткові підпільні матеріали про дії УПА. Між мемуарами – повідомлення про договір про ненапад між ГК УПА й угорською армією. 1983 р., 312 стор., мапи, ілюстрації.

Том 6. УПА в світлі німецьких документів, 1942-1945; книга перша: 1942 – липень 1944. Книга містить аналізи, меморандуми, повідомлення, звіти, а також переклади українських документів для центральних політичних, військових і поліцейських установ. 1983 р., 256 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи.

Том 7. УПА в світлі німецьких документів; 1942-1945; книга друга: Серпень 1944-1945 (продовження шостого тому). 1983 р., 272 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи.

Том 8. Українська Головна Визвольна Рада; документи, офіційні публікації, матеріяли; книга перша: 1944-1945. Книга містить основні документи Першого Великого Збору УГВР, передрук органу Президії УГВР *Вісник* (ч. 4 (7), серпень 1945) і статті та матеріяли з 1944-45 рр., які стосуються цілоти визвольного руху. 1980р., 320 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи, схеми.

Том 9. Українська Головна Визвольна Рада; книга друга: 1946-1948. Книга містить видання УГВР *Самостійність* і *Бюро інформацій УГВР* та інші матеріяли. 1982 р., 520 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи, схеми.

Том 10. Українська Головна Визвольна Рада; книга третя: 1949-1952. Збірник містить документи, офіційні повідомлення, публікації й матеріяли УГВР в Україні, між ними *Бюро інформацій УГВР*, вип. 4-6 і 9. 1984 р., 424 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 11. Тернопільщина: список впадших героїв української революції в боротьбі з московсько-більшовицьким окупантом за час від 13 березня 1944 до 31 грудня 1948 року. Це підпільне видання містить біографії 725 осіб, які загинули на території Тернопільської округи. Крім того, подає нові дані про смерть близько 100 невідомих повстанців, які загинули на території округи. 1985 р., XXXII – 248 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 12. Третя подільська воєнна округа У ПА («Лисоня»): містить видані командою воєнної округи короткі описи боїв відділів УПА – «Лисоня» від листопада 1943 до серпня 1945 року, збірник підпільних пісень *Повстанський стяг* – виданий з приводу п'ятиріччя УПА, в 1947 році, – та інші документи й матеріяли групи УПА «Лисоня». 1989 р., 352 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 13. Перемищина – Перемиський курінь; книга перша: Денник відділу «Бурлаки» (Володимира Щигельського) – містить денник цього відділу («Ударники»-4, 94а) за час від жовтня 1946 до 24 жовтня 1947 року, ведений бунчужним «Буркуном», з епілогом Богдана Іука («Скали»). Книга має також різні документи сотні – списки вояків, господарські документи тощо. 1986 р., 370 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 14. Перемищина – Перемиський курінь; книга друга: Денники й документи – містить денники сотенного «Крилача» (Ярослава Коцьолка) з 1944 і 1947 років, продовжувані по його смерті сотенним «Бурлакою» (Володимиром Щигельським), денник сотні «Крилача» (ведений бунчужним «Орестом») і документи обох сотень. 1987 р., 262 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 15. Костянтин Гіммельрайх: Спогади командира відділу особливого призначення «УПА-Схід»; спогади. Автор – киянин – оповідає про свої переживання від вибуху війни 1941 року до «звільнення» з УПА і рейду на Захід в 1945 році: мобілізація до ЧА, німецький полон, окупований Київ, участь у підпіллі ОУНм, к-р вд. УПА (ОУНм) в Карпатах, старшинська школа УПА, мандри по Поділлі й к-р вд. особливого призначення «УПА-Схід». 1987 р., 266 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 16. Підпільні журнали закерзонської України, 1945-1947. Збірник містить передруки таких підпільних журналів: *Тижневі вісті, Лісовик, Інформативні вісті, Інформатор і Перемога*. Всі числа цих журналів супроводяться англомовним резюме. Збірник має статтю про історію підпільної видавничої діяльності на Закерзонні та Акт оскарження О. Лебедович. 1987 р., 608 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 17. Англомовні видання українського підпілля, 1946-1947. Збірник містить передруки підпільних видань: *Нові Лідіце, Виселення єпископа Коциловського, Вибори в СРСР, Нова голодова катастрофа в Україні, Фашистське страшило, До братніх чеського і словацького народів*. 1988 р., 192 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 18. Карпатська група УПА «Говерля»; книга перша: Документи, звіти та офіційні публікації. Містить передрук підпільного видання командування групи *Шлях перемоги*, звіти команд тактичних відтинків УПА й звіти командирів відділів та підвідділів УПА, 24 ТВ УПА «Маківка». 1990 рік, 328 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 19. Карпатська група УПА «Говерля»; книга друга: Спомини, статті та видання історично-мемуарного характеру. Включає збірку нарисів і споминів, друкованих у підпіллі. Майже всі спомини написані старшинами і вояками УПА ще на Україні або відразу після переходу на еміграцію. 1992, 357 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 20. Показчик до «Літопису УПА»; книга перша: 1-19 томів. Книга містить показчики псевдонімів, прізвиськ, географічних назв, інституцій, поазбучні списки авторів та надрукованих матеріалів й інші дані про перших 19 томів «Літопису УПА». 1994, 528 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 21. УПА в світлі німецьких документів, 1941-1943; Книга третя: Червень 1941 – травень 1943. Книга містить звіти, меморандуми, а також переклади українських документів для центральних політичних і поліційних установ. 1991, 271 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 22. УПА в світлі польських документів; книга перша: Військовий Суд Оперативної Групи «Вісла». Містить вирoki, звіти та кореспонденцію Військового суду Оперативної групи «Вісла» за період від травня до вересня 1947 р. 1992, 627 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 23. Медична опіка в УПА: документи, матеріали і спогади. Більша частина книги – це спомини санітарів, медиків, лікарів й інших працівників санітарної служби й Українського Червоного Хреста (УЧХ). В книзі теж поміщені підпільні документи й біографії працівників УЧХ. 1992, 480 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 24. Ідея і чин: орган Проводу ОУН, 1942-1946. У цій книзі передруковано головний політично-інформативний журнал Проводу ОУН на Українських Землях, що видавався в роках 1942-1946. Журнал містив важливі інформації про боротьбу УПА, німецьку та російську окупаційну політику, розвиток української політичної думки. 1995, 592 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 25. Пісні УПА. Збірка пісень, тематично пов'язаних з боротьбою УПА. Збірник включає не тільки властиві пісні вояків УПА, але й укладені пізніше в тюрмах і концтаборах, чи уложені народом. Збірник містить тексти пісень, їх варіанти, мелодію і варіанти, а також дані про саму пісню, її авторів й оспівуваних у піснях героїв чи події. Збірник містить понад 600 пісень чи їх варіантів. 1997, XXIU+556 стор., тверда обкладинка, ноти.

Том 26. Українська Головна Визвольна Рада. Документи, офіційні публікації, матеріали. Книга четверта: Документи і спогади. Збірник містить протокол ВЗ УГВР, доповідь на цьому зборі й інші документи: вибір з листування президента УГВР Кирила Осмака, переговори з польським підпіллям, Угорщиною й Румунією, слідчу справу Миколи та Петра Дужих й інші документи. У книзі також спогади членів УГВР й інших осіб про утворення та діяльність УГВР 2001, 658 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 27. Роман Петренко: За Україну, за її волю; спогади. Автор – волиняк – оповідає про свою діяльність від вибуху війни у 1939 до відходу на Захід у 1945. Спочатку автор був діячем ОУН Сарненської округи (від січня 1942 в підпіллі), згодом – шефом господарського відділу ШВО УПА «Заграва», від літа 1943 – ГВШ (потім КВШ УПА-Північ, командир Дм. Клячківський) і від літа 1944 – старшиною для особливих доручень при ГСЗС УГВР під керівництвом М. Лебеда. 1997, 279 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації, мапи.

Том 28. Марія Савчин: Тисяча доріг; спомини. Автор оповідає про свої переживання від вибуху війни (від 1944 до 1953 – в підпіллі) до свого приходу на еміграцію у 1954. Від 1945 була дружиною В. Галаси,

заступника пров. ОУН Закерзонського краю, від 1947 співробітника ГОСП в Карпатах, і від 1948 – пров. ОУН ПЗУЗ. Авторка перебувала разом з ним на Закерзонні, в Карпатах, на Волині а також – у тюрмі КГБ у Києві. 1995, 600 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 29. Іван Гарасимів («Палій»): 3 юнацьких мрій – у ряди УПА, це розповідь учасника підстаршинської школи УПА в Карпатах та ройового в сотні У-І (94), про його бойовий шлях в УПА від осені 1943 до осені 1947 в Карпатах та на Лемківщині. Спогади дають цікаву картину із щоденного життя повстанців та їхніх командирів, як теж про важке становище українського населення на цих теренах. 1999, 336 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 30. Степан Хрін (Степан Стебельський): Крізь сміх заліза; спогади. Книга містить два спогади Степана Стебельського («Хріна»), к-ра ТВ УПА 24 «Маківка» – «Крізь сміх заліза», «Зимою в бункері» та спогади Олексі Конопаського («Острроверха») – «Спомини чотового УПА Острроверха». Автори оповідають про свої дії в УПА від 1944 до 1949 року на Лемківщині та Дрогобиччині. 2000, 552 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 31. УПА на Львівщині і Ярославщині. Спогади і документи вояків УПА ТВ «Розточчя», 1943 – 1947. Книга містить спогади «Сої», «Спартака», «Зенона Семеніва» та інших членів відділу УПА к-ра «Бриля». Також подаються оперативні звіти к-ра «Бриля» та к-ра «Гамалії» («Переяслави І» та «Переяслави ІІ») з Тактичного Відтинку УПА «Розточчя». 2000, 324 стор., тверда обкладинка, схеми, ілюстрації.

Том 32. Медична опіка в УПА: документи, матеріали і спогади. Книга друга. Велика частина книги – це спомини санітарів, медсестер, медиків, лікарів і інших працівників санітарної служби й Українського Червоного Хреста (УЧХ). 2001, 581 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 33. Тактичний Відтинок УПА 26-ий «Лемко»: Лемківщина і Перемищина (Документи і матеріали). Книга містить документи і матеріали, що відносяться до історії та діяльності відділів УПА ТВ-«Лемко» в рр. 1944-1947, оперативні звіти, накази інструкції та вказівки, рейди УПА, та документи Підстаршинської школи ім. полк. «Коника». 2001, 900 стор., тверда обкладинка, мапи, організаційні схеми, ілюстрації.

Том 34. Лемківщина і Перемищина – «Холодний Яр», «Бескид», «Верховина»: Політичні звіти. Книга містить організаційний розподіл підпільної мережі Лемківщини і Перемищини, кадрову обсаду підпільної сітки та політичні й інформативні звіти з терену за роки 1944-1947, 2001, 974 стор., тверда обкладинка, організаційні схеми, ілюстрації.

Том 35. Показчик до «Літопису УПА»; книга 2: томи 21-34, томи та 1-3 Нової Серії та томи 1-3 серії «Бібліотека». Книга містить показники псевдонімів, прізвищ, географічних назв, інституцій, поазбучні списки авторів та надрукованих матеріалів й інші дані про томи «Літопису УПА» Основної та Нової Серії, як також книги «Повстанські могили» т.1 за ред. Євгена Місила. 2002 р., 870 стор., тв. обкл.

Том 36. «Книга полеглих членів ОУН і вояків УПА Львівщини». Книга містить взяті з радянських архівів короткі біографії членів ОУН і УПА, які загинули на Львівщині. 2002, 1058 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 37. Іван Лико, «На грані мрії і дійсності: спогади підпільника. 1945-1955». Книга містить спогади Івана Лика («Скали», «Богдана») – «На грані мрії і дійсності» та спогади Миколи Терепенка («Медведя») – «На грані двох світів». Автори оповідають про пережите ними в підпіллі на Лемківщині та в польських тюрмах. 2002 р., 644 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 38. Петро Й. Потічний, «Архітектура резистансу: криївки і бункри УПА в світлі радянських документів». Книга містить схеми та описи різних криївок УПА й запілля, та перелік з'єднань Червоної Армії та Внутрішніх Військ НКВД, які були залучені до боротьби проти підпілля, зібраних в Архіві Внутрішніх військ Українського Округу за рр. 1944-1954, який знаходиться в Колекції ім. Петра Й. Потічного при Університеті Торонто. 2002, 430 стор., тверда обкладинка, схеми, ілюстрації.

Том 39. Тактичний відтинок УПА 28-й «Данилів»: Холмщина і Підляшшя. Документи і матеріали. Містить огляди й документи про дії УПА на Холмщині й Підляшші в 1945 – 1948 роках. Між документами – звіти Холмського ТВ УПА, хроніки (денники) сотень УПА, звіти зі зустрічей представників УПА з представниками польського резистансу з ВіН-у («Вольносьць і Незавісосьць»), звіт із зустрічі з англійським кореспондентом, та інше. Більшість документів походить з Колекції Петра Й. Потічного при Університеті Торонто. 2003, 1058 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 40. Тактичний Відтинок УПА 27-й «Бастіон»: Люба-чівщина, Ярославщина, Томашівщина. Документи і матеріали. Містить огляди й документи про дії УПА в 1945–1948 роках. Серед документів – звіти Команди Тактичного Відтинку, хроніки відділів куреня УПА «Месники», звіти й огляди керівництва II Округу ОУН «Батурин», господарські звіти тощо. Більшість документів походить з Колекції

Петра Й. Потічного при Університеті Торонто. 2004, 600 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Том 41. Президент УГВР Кирило Осьмак. Книга містить документи та матеріали про Президента УГВР Кирила Осьмака, його життя, наукову діяльність і смерть. 2004, 880 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

Готуються до друку томи:

Головний Командир УПА Генерал Роман Шухевич–Тарас Чупринка. Книга містить документи та матеріали про ген. Романа Шухевича–Тараса Чупринку, його життя, підпільну діяльність і смерть.

Літопис УПА: Історія видавництва. В книзі буде подано інформативні матеріали про початки та розвиток “Літопису УПА”, видавничий комітет, редакцію й адміністрацію та співпрацівників і фундаторів видавництва.

У новій серії, т. зв. Київській, у співпраці з Інститутом української археографії та джерелознавства Національної Академії Наук України Державним комітетом архівів України та Центральним державним архівом громадських об'єднань України появилися такі томи «Літопису УПА»:

1. Видання Головного Командування УПА. Книга містить такі видання: *До зброї*, № 16, 1943, *Повстанець*, № 1-6, 1944-1945, *Український перець*, № 1-3, 1943-1945 та *Бойовий правильник піхоти*. Київ – Торонто, 1995, 482 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

2. Волинь і Полісся: УПА та запілля 1943 – 1944. Документи і матеріали. Книга містить документи Головної Команди УПА–Північ та документи Військових Округ «Заграва», «Богун», «Турів» та «Тютюнник». Київ – Торонто, 1999, 724 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

3. Боротьба проти УПА і націоналістичного підпілля: директивні документи ЦК Компартії України 1943-1959. Збірник містить найповніше зібрання документів ЦК КП(б)У – постанови з'їздів, пленумів політбюро, оргбюро, секретаріату, які супроводжуються інформативними записками, повідомленнями та довідками. У книзі також представлені листи, стенограми засідань та виступів членів ЦК КП(б)У. Київ–Торонто, 2001, 652 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

4. Боротьба проти УПА і націоналістичного підпілля: інформаційні документи ЦК КП(б)У, обкомів партії, НКВС–МВС, МДБ–КДБ (1943–1959). кн. 1, (1943–1945). У книзі зібрані документи з історії боротьби сталінського режиму проти українського національно–визвольного руху протягом 1943–1945 рр. Усі подані матеріали мають інформаційно–звітний характер. Київ–Торонто, 2002, 597 стор., тверда обкладинка.

5. Боротьба проти УПА і націоналістичного підпілля: інформаційні документи ЦК КП(б)У, обкомів партії, НКВС–МВС, МДБ–КДБ. (1943–1959). Книга друга: 1946–1947. У книзі зібрані документи з історії боротьби сталінського режиму проти українського національно–визвольного руху протягом 1946–1947 рр. Усі подані матеріали мають інформаційно–звітний характер. Київ–Торонто, 2002, 574 стор., тверда обкладинка.

6. Боротьба проти УПА і націоналістичного підпілля: інформаційні документи ЦК КП(б)У, обкомів партії, НКВС–МВС, МДБ–КДБ. (1943–1959). Книга третя: 1948. У книзі зібрані документи з історії боротьби сталінського режиму проти українського нац.-визвольного руху протягом 1948 р. Усі подані матеріали мають інформаційно–звітний характер. Київ–Торонто, 2003, 523 стор., тверда обкладинка.

7. Боротьба проти УПА і націоналістичного підпілля: інформаційні документи ЦК КП(б)У, обкомів партії, НКВС–МВС, МДБ–КДБ. (1943–1959). Книга четверта: 1949–1959. У книзі зібрані документи з історії боротьби сталінського режиму проти українського національно–визвольного руху протягом 1949–1959 рр. Усі подані матеріали мають інформаційно–звітний характер. Київ–Торонто, 2003, 716 стор., тверда обкладинка.

Готуються до друку томи:

Волинь, Полісся, Поділля: УПА та Запілля 1944–1946. Документи і матеріали. Збірник містить документи керівництва УПА–Північ і УПА – Південь, Краєвого проводу ОУН ПЗУЗ і НВРО та груп (Воєнних Округ) «Заграва», «Богун», «Тютюнник» і з'єднань груп «ЗЗ» (ПЗК «Москва»), «44» (ПСК «Одеса»).

Воєнна Округа УПА «Буг» 1944–1948. Документи і матеріали. Збірник містить документи керівництва і окремих підрозділів ВО та пресові видання УПА, теренові керівні і звітно–інформативні документи ОУН.

Серія «Літопис УПА» – Бібліотека

1. Юрій Ступницький. Спогади про пережите. Автор – волиняк – оповідає про свою родину та переживання від юнацьких років (кінець 30-х) до виходу з ув'язнення в середині 50-х років. Автор є сином начальника штабу УПА полк. Леоніда Ступницького, разом з яким у 1943 р. пішов до УПА, де навчався у старшинській школі «Дружинники». Після арешту в 1944 р. поневірявся по тюрмах і таборах Радянського Союзу. Київ, 2000, 128 стор., м'яка обкладинка, мапи, ілюстрації.

2. Володимир В'ятрович. Рейди УПА теренами Чехословаччини. Монографію присвячено одному з маловідомих аспектів історії українського національно-визвольного руху 1940-1950 років – рейдам УПА чехословацькими теренами. Обрана тема дозволяє авторові показати розмах національно-визвольної боротьби в Україні, її вплив на події у післявоєнній Європі, без чого неможливе правильне і об'єктивне тлумачення суспільних процесів того часу. Львів, 2001, 208 стор., м'яка обкладинка, мапи, ілюстрації.

3. Ярослав Грицай – «Чорнота», Параскевія Грицай. А рани не гоїлися: Спомини «Чорноти». У книзі описані спогади чотового командира УПА «Чорноти» про події, що відбувалися в 1943-1945 роках на Закерзонні, та про його страдницьке життя в більшовицьких тюрмах і концтаборах Сибіру. Мемуари підготовлені до друку дружиною автора Параскою Грицай (з дому Ротко), яка протягом довгих років відтворювала розповіді свого чоловіка, уточнювала, доповнювала та систематизувала їх. Львів, 2001, 332 стор., тверда обкладинка, ілюстрації.

4. Спогади вояків УПА та учасників збройного підпілля Львівщини і Любачівщини. Книга містить спогади Василя Левковича («Вороного»), його дружини Ярослави, сотенного Миколи Тарабана («Тучі»), вояків УПА Івана Філя («Шеремети»), Івана Василевського–Путко («Вуса»), оргмоба Костя Міхалика («Думи») та зв'язкової Катерини Когут–Лялюк («Грізної»). В книзі подана коротка згадка про Якова І. Чорнія («Кулю», «Мушку», «Ударника»), командира Перемиської 6 ВО УПА, авторства Федора Лопадчака. Львів, 2003, 448 стор., тверда палітурка в суперобкладинці, ілюстрації.

5. Мирослав Горбаль. Довідник-пошукуєць. Реєстр осіб, пов'язаних з визвольною боротьбою на теренах Львівщини (без Дрогобиччини). 1944-1947 (за архівними документами). Книга є підсумком опрацювання архівних документів з фондів Державного архіву Львівської області за 1944-1947 роки. Ці документи мають інформаційно-звітний характер (також плани заходів, стенограми нарад, протоколи засідань та допитів, підпільні документи, прокурорські аналізи, агентурні справи тощо) й викривають суть боротьби комуністичного режиму проти національно-визвольного руху на вказаних те-ренах. У довіднику подані ключові ідентифікаційні дані про осіб, які були пов'язані з тим рухом, та джерела інформації цих даних. Львів, 2003, 416 стор., м'яка палітурка.

“ЛІТОПИС УПА” В МЕРЕЖІ INTERNET

Заходами Адміністрації видавництва “Літопис УПА” детальну інформацію англійською мовою про видання та споріднені матеріали можна знайти в мережі Internet за адресою:

<http://www.infoukes.com/commercial/litopys-upa/index.html>

Ця інформація складається з чотирьох груп.

1. Вступ до серій (Introduction to the Series), який дає загальні інформації про “Літопис УПА” та цілі видавництва.

2. Інформації про замовлення (Ordering information), які дають короткі інформації про кожний том серій та як їх замовляти.

3. Книги “Літопис УПА” (Litopys UPA volumes), де про кожний том подається не тільки повна бібліографічна інформація (титульна сторінка, дата і місце публікації, число ISBN, ціна та редактор книги), але також повний текст вступної статті та резюме матеріалів тому. Текст ілюстрований знімками, які знаходяться в книзі.

4. Споріднені матеріали (Related Materials). У цій групі подані публікації інших видавництв, що відносяться до теми УПА та збройного підпілля в Україні.

Інформацію українською мовою можна знайти на новій web-сторінці за адресою:

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Й
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