

IF ^{*}WAR COMES
TOMORROW



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IF WAR COMES TO-MORROW

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**THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA)
THE STANDARD BEARER OF THE IDEAS
OF LIBERATION AND FRIENDSHIP
OF PEOPLE**

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Introduction

The work we are presenting herewith to the Western reader was written in the Ukraine by a distinguished member of Ukrainian Nationalist Organization (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It shows which ideas are dominant in the Ukraine, today and what part the Ukrainian resistance movement is going to play in the common struggle of all peoples enslaved by Bolshevism.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army has already become the symbol of Anti-Bolshevik resistance—a movement which is purposeful, organized and indomitable. This army has existed and acted for eleven, eventful years. At first, it waged a struggle on two fronts—against both Bolshevism and Nazism; now, it is continuing its fight against all forms of Russian Imperialism, including its red and white varieties.

UPA has written on its standards the great slogan: "Freedom for nations—freedom for individuals," that slogan has become the battlecry of all people subjugated by the Soviet Union. The Ukraine and her indomitable army form the vanguard of those, who are fighting for freedom. It was on UPA's initiative that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was created in the forests of Ukraine (Zytomir province) in November, 1943. The First Conference of the representatives of revolutionary, political organizations and insurgent units of subjugated peoples, which took

place at the same time, has appointed the Revolutionary Committee of Subjugated Nations. Its principal task is the co-ordination of the revolutionary Liberation struggle waged by the underground movements of peoples, who are fighting for their independence and statehood.

The work we are introducing herewith to the Western reader attempts to expound the ideas and objectives of the struggle of the subjugated nations, as well as the means by which their liberation can be achieved. These ideas are a common treasure of all people aspiring to freedom. They are reflected in a most impressive way in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. The fact that UPA has organized its world-famous raids into the territories of other enslaved nations in order to propagate the ideas of common struggle and strengthen the united front of all freedom-loving peoples against Bolshevist tyranny is by no means accidental. It represents the logical development and practical realization of ideas which form an inseparable component part of the Ukrainian concept of liberation. That united front of all freedom-loving nations—the “second front”—is indispensable for the victory of the free world over the world dominated by the Kremlin despots. Without this second front the victory over Bolshevism cannot be achieved. An outside intervention alone, an external war without an extended second front inside the USSR cannot destroy the Soviet regime. The Russian Empire can be overthrown only from within through the co-ordination and synchroniza-

tion of the actions of the Western World with those of the underground liberation movements of the subjugated peoples. All students of Eastern European history confirm this self-evident truth. The co-ordination between the actions of the west and those of the enslaved nations is possible only when the West will acknowledge and accept the objectives of the subjugated peoples, namely the division of the Russian Empire into national states according to ethnic boundaries, and respect their independence and sovereignty. The future world war, which has become inevitable due to Russia's aggressive attitude, will be won by the West only when it aims not at a new division of the world into spheres of influence, but rather at the realization of other objectives that are more noble and sublime, when it is not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation.

The soldiers of the Soviet Army, who are, for the most part, the members of the subjugated peoples, will accept with enthusiasm the noble ideas of national freedom and social justice and turn their arms not against the West, but rather against the tyrants in the Kremlin. The strategic concept of a war is connected with its ideological background. The West must not allow itself to become entangled in fighting at secondary fronts of Europe and Asia, but should instead deal its principal knock-out blow at the main stronghold of evil, i.e. Russian ethnic territory. This development will prevent the enemy from mobilizing his forces in the rear. The territories of the enslaved peoples should be excluded from the reach of this

annihilating blow. The subjugated peoples will become faithful allies of the West if it accepts their ideas and acknowledges their rightful claims. The insurgent armies are operating today without any help from the outside world. Given political, moral and technical assistance, they would open an extensive second front at the very beginning of war. Thus the conflict would be localized and prevented from assuming global dimensions. The purpose of our pamphlet is to show what ideological and political work has to be done in order to build up this second front.

It is already well-known all over the world that General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, its creator and organizer and the symbol of Ukrainian Liberation struggle, fell in a battle with MVD units in March, 1950. He commanded his people never to surrender until the gold-domed Kiev is liberated, until all peoples enslaved by Russia are free and independent. General Taras Chuprynka was one of the chief organizers of the ABN. The work we are presenting herewith to the Western readers is inspired by his ideas and his deeds.

We hope that these noble ideas, for which so many unknown heroes have shed their blood, will meet with understanding and the full support of the sound majority of the Western society, for whom this book is intended.

Jaroslav Stetzko

THE Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which is carrying on the heroic fighting traditions of the Ukrainian nation, came into being during World War II. It was during that struggle, waged at first against the Nazi invaders and then against the Soviet occupants, that the number of its soldiers increased and its fighting quality improved. Its leading cadres were formed and trained during the underground revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian nation between the two World Wars. They were followed by the best sons and daughters of the Ukraine, who saw the only purpose of their lives in serving their nation and the cause of its liberation.

The UPA is a revolutionary and truly national army. Being the army of a subjugated nation, it sympathizes with the liberation struggle of other peoples, who are either enslaved or menaced by Soviet Imperialism. Moreover, UPA consistently and emphatically stresses the necessity of the closest co-operation between them and of a co-ordination of their efforts, insisting that the hateful Stalinite Empire can be overthrown only by the joint action of all subjugated nations. Therefore, UPA is against all petty dissensions and disagreements affecting these nations, since they tend to dissipate their energy instead of directing it against their mortal enemy—Soviet Imperialism. The lack of co-operation among the subjugated nations and that which is even worse, their mutual conflicts and misunderstandings, strengthen Soviet regime and facilitate its rule over them. On the other hand, a joint action on their part

would offer the strongest hope of the ultimate dissolution of the Russian Empire and the liberation of all enslaved peoples.

While fighting for a free and independent Ukrainian state, the UPA struggles at the same time for the right of each nation to a free and independent life within its own national state. UPA believes that only a system of free national states ensures their unlimited development; that only this system can ensure a nation against aggression and enslavement by a more powerful neighbour and prevent the subjugation of small and middle nations by a coalition of world powers; that only this system creates a basis for a true international co-operation in political, economic and cultural fields; that it alone can eliminate the threat of war and create the basis for a lasting peace and true friendship among all nations. This system would enable the Ukrainian people also to achieve maximum advancement and development. UPA believes that the acknowledgement of the principle of self-determination for each nation is not only the basis of common struggle and common victory of the peoples enslaved or menaced by Soviet Imperialism, but also the foundation for their broadest co-operation in the future.

The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) is the commanding authority of the struggle for Ukraine's liberation and its political directives inspire the activities of the UPA. In June, 1944 it made (in one of its proclamations) the following statement: "We welcome the struggle of other enslaved nations for their libera-

tion. We desire to maintain good neighbourly relations and to co-operate with all of them, particularly with our neighbours, on condition that they acknowledge and respect the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.”

UPA is fighting for the destruction of the totalitarian Soviet regime, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the clique of Stalin's henchmen and for a progressive order in the Ukrainian state. In its opinion, all other nations should establish a just political and economic order which would correspond with the wishes and interests of the broadest masses of their citizens. Historical experiences of our times show that an unstable political order or economic system is not only harmful to the population of any country where it had been established, but also endangers its peaceful relations with other nations. The result of this development is the predominance of imperialistic cliques, who victimize their own citizens and are a perpetual menace for other countries.

The UPA fights for a Ukrainian State without the exploiters and the exploited, where all citizens will enjoy full civil rights and liberties, where nothing will be done to build up a machinery of oppression, and where all efforts will be directed towards social and economic advancement. Human dignity will be restored and the individuals will enjoy all human rights and a high standard of living. The cultural achievements of their own people, as well as those of all civilized mankind will be accessible to them.

The great slogan—"Freedom for nations and individuals"—has become the embodiment of the objectives for which UPA is fighting.



DISTRICT COMMANDER KUCHMIY
(Killed in Action on August 5, 1948)

THE tendency towards co-operation with other nations and the attempts to create an active common front of the enslaved nations have been strongly manifested from the very beginnings of the UPA. UPA represents an uncompromising, revolutionary policy. It observes strictly revolutionary principles and will never stoop to opportunism and profiteering. Carrying on its fight against the Nazi invaders, UPA bore always in mind the unremitting menace of Soviet Imperialism. UPA had appraised this danger realistically and soundly. It made careful preparations to meet it, which did not, however, impair the intensity of its struggle against German occupants. Having the support of the masses, the UPA was able to wage a simultaneous struggle on two fronts. UPA knew that the real and complete liberation of the people could be achieved only by overthrow of both Nazi and Soviet regimes. This truth was accepted by the Ukrainian people as well as by other nations. At the same time, UPA advocated the necessity of a common struggle of all nations against German and Russian imperialists.

The war created conditions that were favourable for the spreading of these ideas. Above all, it opened greater possibilities for the direct contact with various nations. The Ukraine became a theatre of merciless military operations where various national contingents were concentrated. They were pressed into service in the German Army through the madness of Hitler, who made

these people die for his maniacal plans of world domination. It was among these troops that the UPA launched its educational-political activity.

A particularly intense campaign was started by UPA among German allies—Italians, Hungarians and Rumanians, as well as among the French, Belgian, Yugoslav and Czech citizens, who were pressed into the German army or labour detachments. These people gladly read insurgent leaflets, from which they could learn the truth about the reactionary policy of Hitler and their own Quisling governments and acquaint themselves with military and political situation all over the world. These bold and inspiring messages were also convincing. They strengthened their morals and confirmed their belief that Hitler's tyranny would be ultimately overthrown.

This informative campaign culminated in an appeal to all these people to engage in an active struggle against the Nazis, disobey the orders of their military authorities, turn the arms that were in their possession against the Germans, join the UPA and assist it by every means. The responses to these appeals were numerous; there were cases when these soldiers refused to fight the UPA or surrendered when forced to fight. Some servicemen delivered up their weapons, uniforms, equipment and material. Many patriots—Italians, Serbs, Czechs and others—deserted the German Army or labour formations, joined UPA and put at its disposal, not only their abilities, skills and knowledge, but also their lives. This friendly attitude towards UPA on the part of

the German allies was a general phenomenon. Thus, e.g. the German Command was forced in 1943 to withdraw all Hungarian units assigned to fight the UPA in Volhynia because of their friendly attitude towards the insurgents.

In addition, the UPA informed these soldiers about the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. This fight strengthened their morale and incited them to oppose actively the forces of German imperialism.

The Italians, Rumanians, Hungarians, French, Belgians, Serbs, Croats, Czechs and the members of other national contingents were constantly confronted during their sojourn in the Ukraine with the evidence of the doings of Soviet regime. The UPA exploited this fact to show them the true face of Soviet imperialism. It realized, that the Nazi Germany would be superseded after her inevitable defeat by the imperialistic U.S.S.R. and that this development would bring a direct danger to the independence of the Rumanians, Hungarians and other peoples. It was obvious, that they would only change their oppressors and that all nations would face the problem of Communist, fifth-columnists in their midst. The UPA realized that these nations would once more have to fight Soviet Imperialism in the ranks of their own armies of national liberation, and not as Nazi mercenaries. Consequently, UPA helped the Italian, Rumanian, Hungarian, French, Dutch and Yugoslav workers and farmers in uniforms and overalls to realize that the U.S.S.R. is a country where all nations are ruthlessly enslaved,

the alien formations in the German Army and of where democracy is suppressed and all basic human rights violated, where workers and farmers are ruthlessly exploited by a new class of Communist overlords, where terror, violence and lawlessness rule. UPA made them realize that Soviet Imperialism constitutes a mortal danger for all freedom-loving nations of the world.

Thus, at the very beginning of its existence, UPA laid the foundations for a common struggle of all European nations against the Bolshevist Imperialism, i.e. for the policy which is more imperative today than ever before. The UPA paid its main attention to the so-called "national battalions" of the German Army, which were composed of the Byelorussians, Georgians, Tartars, Uzbecks, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Tadzhiks, Turks, Kazaks, and other peoples. They were former Red Army soldiers, who were taken prisoners by the Germans and joined the "national battalions" either driven to despair by hunger and unbearable conditions in POW camps, or because of their ignorance. These peoples who had heroically opposed their first oppressor, Tsarist Imperialism, have never ceased to fight against its successor—Bolshevist Imperialism. It was the Soviet aggressors, who had destroyed their independent states built upon the ruins of the Tsarist Empire, suppressed their national liberation movements, enslaved their peoples and turned their countries into mercilessly exploited colonies. Some of them believed it possible to liberate their countries by fighting in the ranks



GUARDS OF THE GREAT CONFERENCE OF U.H.V.R., 1944

of German Army. This reasoning was, of course, completely wrong and the UPA launched an intensive informative action to show these peoples that these ideas were misleading and deceptive. UPA made them realize that the Nazis did not intend to liberate them, but, on the contrary, attempted to subject them to their arbitrary domination in the same way as the Soviet imperialists.

Therefore, the UPA appealed to them to stop fighting for Hitler's Empire and serving as Nazi tools in the fight against the European nations enslaved by Germany. It is true, there were also in the "national battalions" some outspoken Nazi hirelings, bandits and secret Soviet agents; however, a great number of those soldiers were honest people and to these UPA appealed—to the desert the German service, join the UPA and engage in the struggle against Nazi and Soviet imperialists, the enemies of democracy and progress and the worst foes of freedom-loving peoples.

We shall quote some examples of the numerous leaflets distributed by the UPA in large quantities among the soldiers of "National Battalions."

"Georgians:

". . . When the war between Germany and Russia broke out, you did not desire to protect the Soviet Union, that new prison of nations. Some of you joined the national units within the German Army. Thus you strove to help to defeat your worst foe—Russian Imperialism.

However, your hopes were not fulfilled. The Germans, as everybody knows, have launched in territories occupied by them a policy of enslavement, plunder and physical extermination.

Georgians! Cease dying for the German plunderers and Russian imperialists! The Ukrainian nation appeals to you to engage in a common struggle against our common enemies. Join the Ukrainian Insurgents, from your national units."

(From the leaflet in Russian "Georgians", September, 1943).

“Sons of Turkmenistan :

“ . . . The Germans needed you as cannon fodder for their imperialistic conquests. The Germans, like the Soviets, bring our nations slavery and physical extermination. A proof of this are the German doings in the Ukraine.

Turkmen! Desert the German conquerors. Join with arms in your hands the Ukrainian Insurgent units who are fighting both German and Russian imperialists.”

(From the leaflet in Russian “Sons of Turkmenistan, September, 1943).

The appeals of the UPA met with a favourable response among the soldiers of the “national battalions.” They understood the significance of the struggle waged by the Ukrainian people, who were also enslaved by the Soviet regime. Soon, they became convinced that their proper place was in the ranks of UPA, in the common fight against German and Russian imperialists.

Soldiers of national battalions responded to the appeals of the UPA and began to come over, first individually, later in masses. Within the UPA there were formed national units of the Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanians, Tartars, and other nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

This was a great achievement in the common struggle against the most terrible enemies of mankind—German and Soviet imperialists. Thus, the foundations for a true international friendship were laid and the common front of the enslaved nations came into being. It was based not only on the necessity to fight a common foe, but

also on mutual respect, confidence and the acknowledgement of the principle of self-determination.

The national units within the UPA were growing quickly. This was at least partly due to the frequent appeals of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

“Circassians, Kabardines, Ossets, Chechens, Adigs, Lezgians, Ingushes!

Sons of the mountains! Stop being blind tools in the hands of German imperialism! Remember the legacy of your proud ancestors, who fell for the freedom of the Caucasus! The Ukrainian nation appeals to you to engage in the common struggle against your unremitting oppressors. Let us build a powerful front against the enslavers of mankind!

With arms in your hands, join the national units with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army . . . Prepare your forces for an all-out revolution against the Russian-Bolshevist tyranny! We are united in our common struggle under the slogans ‘Freedom for nations—freedom for individuals’.”

(From the leaflet in Russian bearing the above title, November, 1943).

“Azerbaijans: Only the united efforts of all subjugated nations can overthrow the imperialistic plunderers of Moscow and Berlin and establish independent states in the Caucasus and Asia.

We appeal to you to strengthen the ranks of your national units within the Ukrainian Insurgent Army."

(From the leaflet in Russian "Azerbaijans," November, 1943).

When the Nazis began to roll back from the Ukraine and when it became obvious that Germany would lose the war, UPA warned the soldiers of national battalions not to retreat with German imperialists and not to throw in their lot with them. Instead it appealed to them to join the insurgents and prepare for the common struggle against Kremlin imperialists. Here is one example:

"Uzbeks: The forces of German imperialism facing their doom try to entice you within the old German borders.

All enslaved European nations are engaged in a struggle against the Nazi monster. The Germans deserted by their allies are retreating into Europe. Bloody Bolshevism is taking over the Ukrainian territories. Do not retreat with the German forces! National units of eastern peoples are being formed within the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Uzbeks! Join the Ukrainian Insurgent forces with arms in your hands! Let us unite our strength to deal a mortal blow at Russian imperialists!"

(From the leaflet in Russian "Uzbek Askars," December, 1943).

In fact, many soldiers of the national battalions, being true patriots of their countries, res-

ponded to this insurgent call of warning and joined their national units attached to the UPA to fight in their ranks against Soviet imperialists.

It must be also pointed out that the UPA accomplished a great deal towards the enlightenment of Red partisans, especially among those who were opposed to every kind of oppression and slavery and who sincerely desired the liberation of all nations and the happiness of the working masses . The Red guerilla movement was organized by Soviet emissaries, who exploited the hardships suffered by the population of German-occupied territories and pressed many of the disappointed into their own partisan units, often by fraud and violence. These units consisted largely of paratroopers sent from behind the battle line and operating in some parts of the Ukraine, especially in woody areas adjoining the Byelorussian territory. They undertook time and again large-scale operations and minor attacks against the Germans. UPA exposed to them the objectives of Stalin's policy and convinced them that his criminal designs aimed at extermination of the revolutionary liberating movement of the Ukrainian nation and paved his way for ultimate world domination. UPA pointed out to them that their political leaders and military commanders, instead of fighting the Germans, incited Red partisans against the insurgents and terrorized the Ukrainian population, knowing that it was the mainstay of UPA. UPA also informed Red Partisans of that which would be their reward in case of Stalin's victory over Hitler and warned

them not to be lulled by the hope of internal changes in the U.S.S.R. which were promised liberally by Soviet political commissars. UPA made them realize that the destruction of German and Russian imperialism was a necessary condition for a free and happy life of the enslaved peoples.

In October, 1943, the Supreme Headquarters of the UPA directed this appeal to the Red partisans, (quoted in fragments) :

“Red Partisans:

You were right in entering the fight against the German invaders. Nobody can sit idly contemplating the picture of what is going on in the Ukraine and other German-occupied countries. To fight actively against Nazi barbarians is the sacred duty of every honest person.

But, while destroying the existing evil, we have to think about a better order for the future. What kind of order do you think should replace the German slavery? Should Hitler's 'New Europe' be replaced by the Bolshevist U.S.S.R.?

No! We are not fighting for such a change, we do not desire this order in the Ukraine and in the world since both German and Soviet imperialists are the mortal enemies of our peoples.

Red Partisans! Extend your battle front and, after exterminating the German usurpers, direct your arms against the Kremlin henchmen and their agents! Drive away the political commissars and commanders delegated by Moscow! Take the road of progress to a great future! Unite with the enslaved nations against the oppressors for

a happy future and for a new order established by free nations in their independent states!"

Thus the UPA clearly showed the enslaved nations of the U.S.S.R., the soldiers of the national battalions and Red partisans, whom they had to follow and how they were to fight for their liberation. The heroic struggle of the UPA and its great achievements have drawn to its ranks members of all nations oppressed by Soviet imperialism. The fight of the national units of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. along with the UPA is a separate vast chapter and does not come within the scope of this article. We shall limit ourselves to mentioning a few facts.

On June 25, 1943, a UPA detachment routed completely after a three-day battle the Soviet partisan marauders in the neighbourhood of Teremno (Volhynia). In this engagement a Georgian unit distinguished itself.

(From UPA battle report, August 1, 1943).

In August, 1943, a UPA detachment consisting of Uzbeks, Georgians and Russians killed 60 Germans in an engagement in Mlynivka region (province Rivne).

(From a press released of UPA newspaper "To Arms", August, 1943).

On April 29, 1944, national units under Com. Yastrub participated and distinguished themselves in a big battle of UPA forces with the NKVD battalion near the village of Zaliznycia (district Kremianec). Enemy's losses were 240 killed.

(From a battle report by Com. Yasen).



A GROUP OF WOMEN UPA MEMBERS

The informative work among the U.S.S.R. nations and their common struggle in the ranks of the UPA soon brought important results. The First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia was summoned on UPA's initiative and took place on November 23-26, 1943, on the territory which the insurgent forces had cleaned from German troops. In this conference, which had historical importance, there participated, beside the Ukrainian delegation, the representatives of eleven other people, the Azerbaijanans, Bashkirs, Byelorussians, Georgians,

Kabardines, Kazakhs, Ossets, Tartars, Circassians, Chuwashees and Uzbeks. They represented the true desires of their nations to fight against German and Soviet oppressors for their national and social liberation, for the right to lead a free life in their independent states in close friendship with all other peoples. The conference worked out a series of political resolutions and solved some questions of organization aiming at strengthening and extending the common struggle of the subjugated nations of the U.S.S.R. The conference also adopted a proclamation to all enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, in which the political situation of the subjugated peoples was explained and the prospects and tasks that loomed ahead were discussed.

An extract from the said proclamation follows:

“The end of this war alone will not solve the present difficult situation. To achieve this purpose it is necessary to overthrow the whole existing political system, to destroy the imperialistic clique and to build up a new order in Eastern Europe and Asia. This new order will exclude the possibility of enslavement of one nation by another. It will exclude every kind of imperialism and will guarantee free development of all peoples. This order must be based on a system, where each nation will establish its own independent state on its ethnic territory. This order can be realized only by a national revolution, by a merciless struggle against the imperialistic ruling cliques.

In a fight against the common foe—the Soviet and Nazi imperialists—a united front of all eastern peoples is indispensable. The victory of national revolution cannot be won without mass enthusiasm. The subjugated nations of the East have taken the road of this sacred struggle. They have achieved important results. . . Our fight against imperialists is being waged in full solidarity with the nations of Western Europe. . . Thus, the struggle is spreading all over Europe and the whole territory of the Soviet Empire, attracting all subjugated nations as well as Russian and German peoples, oppressed by their own imperialistic cliques. Millions of Red Army soldiers scattered throughout Europe and Asia, in trenches, in the rear and in German captivity, millions of workers in war plants and collective farms, slave labourers in Germany and Siberia—they all form the great revolutionary army of the East. They will be the instrument of our final victory.”

No wonder that the existence of the national units in the UPA and the achievements of the conference of the Subjugated Nations caused concern to both Nazi and Soviet imperialists. They raged at the very thought that the subjugated peoples would no longer die for their schemes of conquest, that these nations found the right road—the road of the common struggle against slavery, tyranny and totalitarianism of both Fascist and Bolshevik varieties. The common fight of the Ukrainian people and other U.S.S.R. nationalities especially caused concern

to Soviet arbitrary rulers, who had claimed to represent the enslaved nations and used to declare to the rest of the world that the nationality problem was solved most fully and in the best way by their regime; that all U.S.S.R. nations were living freely and enjoying equal rights. However, the fight of the UPA. and the national units attached to it, as well as the Conference of the Subjugated Nations were a forceful denial of these lies. The wily schemes of Soviet imperialists were now unmasked. The Kremlin resorted to new tricks: it started a campaign of defamation against UPA and intensified the activity of its secret agents to undermine from within the common struggle of the subjugated nations. However, these NKVD schemes were detected and completely defeated. The attempts to destroy or at last weaken the UPA with the assistance of Red guerilla warfare failed. The Red partisans in the territory under UPA control were completely exterminated. The national units of subjugated nations attached to the UPA played an active part in these operations.

THE RULE of the Nazi invaders in the Ukraine was supplanted by that of the Soviet occupants. However, UPA was used to their tactics and met the old oppressors in an open fight. At the same time UPA came into contact with Red Army men, millions of whom were simple workers, farmers and intellectuals of many national origins pressed into the Red Army and terrorized by a harsh discipline.

While they fought the German invaders, their hatred of the Soviet regime remained unabated. On their west-ward march, they saw with their own eyes what Nazi "new order" had brought to the occupied territories; they also knew from their own experience the "blessings" of the Soviet system; therefore, the ideals of the UPA, its struggle against German and Soviet imperialists and its objectives—the complete overthrow of both totalitarian systems and liberation of all enslaved nations—became extremely popular with them. These ideas expressed their own conscious or subconscious desires.

It goes without saying that the war enabled the Red Army soldiers to see and learn much and helped them to understand better the criminal nature of the Soviet system. These men, accustomed to the hardships of front-line warfare have also learned to be bolder and less submissive.

It was to these Red Army men of various national origins that the UPA directed its main attention. (This article does not deal with the work of UPA among Red Army Ukrainians).

The Kremlin slave masters fully realized that the ideas of UPA were extremely dangerous to them. Taking advantage of their monopoly of propaganda services, they in different ways misled and deceived the Red Army masses. Thus, e.g., Kalinin taught his agitators how to deal with Red Army men of non-Russian nationalities as follows: "To a soldier—either Georgian, or Kazakh, or Uzbek—who does not fight well or shows negligence, the agitator should talk like this: 'Do you really want us not to take part in this war while all other peoples are fighting like lions? How is it possible to keep out of this war?' . . . If soldiers tell you: 'Why are you talking to us like this and scolding us?', then you can reply: 'It, too, am an Uzbek (or a Kazakh), and I love our people no less than you do, and, therefore, I am talking like this'."

(From the "Handbook of the Agitator," 1948).

When these agitators arrived in the Ukraine, they launched a campaign of lies and slander directed against the UPA and Ukrainian liberation movement. Those blood-suckers and hangmen of millions of human beings, cynically maintained that UPA was against the people, that it murdered Red Army men and that it did not fight the Germans. These shameless lies were spread by Soviet propagandists to thwart the fraternization between the Red Army soldiers and the insurgents and to prevent the revolutionary UPA ideas from reaching the Red Army men.

However, even this mendacious propaganda and seemingly insurmountable barriers that separated



UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS CELEBRATING EASTER IN ONE OF THEIR FOREST SHELTERS

the Red Army men from the population were unable to hide the truth about UPA from them. The truth infiltrated by countless different channels into Red Army ranks. It roused the hatred of the Red soldiers toward the Soviet regime, opened their eyes and converted them.

The party (and NKVD watchdogs in the army) could not prevent the Red Army men from talking to the people. No regulations could prevent it. The people talked about German crimes, described the atrocities of the Gestapo and could not help mentioning the men, who stayed all the time at their posts, who defended them from terroristic attacks and from deportations to Germany; they told about their insurgent army, about their par-

tisan heroes. The Red Army men were informed that UPA fought against both Nazi and Soviet occupants. The Red Army soldiers, who had seen and experienced all Soviet crimes came to the conclusion that UPA's fight against German and Soviet imperialism was right and that it offered the only way out for the enslaved nations of the U.S.S.R.

From the "newly liberated" territories there came men, who were forcibly drafted for military service. They, too, ignored the threats of Soviet secret agents and told the soldiers the truth about the Ukrainian revolutionary-liberating movement and about the fight of the UPA. The belief in the justice of this struggle grew among the Red Army men.

In addition, all along the routes to the front on which Red Army soldiers were advancing they were greeted by thousands of insurgent leaflets and appeals attached to roadside trees, telephone poles, bridge railings and walls of buildings. At night, unknown hands scattered them around. Here are extracts from some of them:

"Red Army Men:

Only by an all-out national revolution shall we destroy the prisons of nations created by Hitler and Stalin. Only by revolution shall we terminate the bloody imperialistic war and establish a new order and a lasting peace.

Red Army men! Do not act against the people! Do not fight UPA that is waging a struggle against our common enslavers—Nazi and Soviet occupants. Join the insurgent units! Long live

peace and friendship among nations!

Red Army men! Protect the lives and property of your families and yourselves! Fight against the foes of mankind—the Nazi and Soviet war-mongers! Death to Hitler and Stalin! Freedom for nations and individuals!”

(From UPA leaflets to Red Army men)

Special NKVD units, assigned to collect and destroy these leaflets and posters, were unable to carry out their task. The threats of NKVD (and summary executions of persons on whose premises leaflets were found) were of no avail. People did not destroy the leaflets and posters. Singly or in groups they persistently read them, and each word remained imprinted in their hearts. The Red Army men were careful to hide the leaflets and pass them on among their friends, despite the NKVD persecutions.

Here are some extracts from UPA leaflets distributed among the Red Army units during their westward march:

“Red Army Men:

Hitler and Stalin desire to dominate the globe, they want to enslave all nations. Nazi and Soviet imperialists have long prepared for war. For many years they have expanded their war industry and produced mass destruction weapons at the cost of destitution and suffering of the civil population. By the Russo-German Treaty, the Kremlin imperialists supplied the German Army with bread, coal and other raw materials. Thus the Nazis were able to subdue the nations of West-

ern and Central Europe. . . .

Red Army men! The war has entered a critical stage. The subjugated nations have united to destroy the German prison of nations—the so-called ‘New Europe’—as well as the Bolshevik U.S.S.R. The Ukrainian people also belong to this great revolutionary front. This fight is organized and directed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. National units of subjugated peoples of Europe and Asia are fighting in the ranks of UPA for the annihilation of German and Soviet slavery for a just peace, for independence of free nations. . . .

Unite with the people, choose the path of revolution! A general uprising of all enslaved nations shall overthrow this prison of peoples and destroy all hangmen and warmongers.”

(From the leaflet “Red Army men,” in Russian, December, 1943)

“Red Army Men and Officers:

Ukrainian insurgents do not fight against the sons of the working people or against the forcibly mobilized Red Army men and officers. They destroy only Soviet terroristic apparatus — the NKVD, party bosses, red governors, town mayors and other Soviet henchmen.”

(From the leaflet in Russian “Red Army Men and Officers,” January, 1944).

Never before had anyone used such language to Red Army men. No one had ever put before them with such clarity the truth which some of them had surmised and others felt. They had been blindfolded for many years by Stalin’s



A MEETING OF UNDERGROUND DISTRICT AUTHORITIES

propaganda masters and no one had ever opened their eyes to the truth. No one had ever appealed to their feelings and convictions with such forceful effect.

UPA spoke to them in the language they understood and proved its statements by facts that were familiar to everybody. It convinced them by its foresight, inspired them by the pathos of its revolutionary struggle and the progressiveness of its principles. It gained their confidence and strengthened their faith. The Red Army men, who represented almost all national groups of the U.S.S.R. began to understand clearly that there was a striking resemblance between the Nazi and the Soviet imperialists, that both of them strove to dominate other nations and to ex-

plot them. They learned that the UPA was fighting against both German and Soviet imperialism, that it was protecting popular interests and struggling for the liberation of all subjugated nations of the U.S.S.R. The Red Army men embraced wholeheartedly this realistic and sound programme. As a matter of fact, these oppressed and misled people saw the just solution of the nationality problem in the ideals proclaimed by UPA, in the complete liberation of all peoples and the establishment of free and independent national states. Having experienced the terror of social exploitation and suppression of man's liberties, they were enthusiastic about the progressive programme of the UPA. In short, UPA's great slogans "Freedom for nations—freedom for individuals" were accepted by Red Army men of all national origins with deep understanding and emotion.

During the war, bankrupt Soviet overlords, looking for a new foothold for their imperialism, resorted to fanning Russian chauvinism. These tactics were particularly evident in the army. Taking this into consideration UPA addressed, in November, 1943, the Red Army men of Russian origin in a leaflet. It contained a concise statement of UPA's objectives and analyzed the relations between the Ukrainians and the Russians. Here are some extracts:

"The Ukrainian people do not consider the Soviets as their liberators. They regard them as their enemies, covering their designs by phrases such as "friendship," "liberty," "happiness". . .

That is why the Ukrainian people fight for a complete separation from the Soviet Union. They appeal to all peoples of the U.S.S.R. to accept the principle of independent national states and inaugurate a policy of mutual friendship and cooperation. They also wish to be on friendly terms with the Russian people, provided that they destroy the Soviet yoke and establish their own state on their own ethnic territory. However, we will never consent to the Soviet Russian occupation of our country or to its political and national enslavement under the disguise of "liberation."

Comrades, Red Army men and officers! We appeal to you to support us in our fight for an independent Ukraine. Do not fight us! Disobey your commissars when they incite you against Ukrainian insurgents!"

(From the leaflet in Russian, entitled "Comrades, Russians, Red Army Men and Officers").

After the end of the war, Soviet overlords celebrated their victory over their Nazi competitors. However, this victory, won at the cost of immeasurable sufferings, losses and human sacrifices of all nations of the U.S.S.R. did not bring any benefits, changes or improvements for the peoples of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the regime of national suppression and social exploitation was even intensified. An uneasy question presented itself to all Red Army men: What did they fight for, did any change come with the overthrow of Hitler? UPA tried to answer these questions for them.

"In spite of the overthrow of Hitler", it wrote

in its proclamation to Red Army men in 1945, "oppression, exploitation of the working masses and terror are going on. . . Your fight for the victory of justice has not yet ended. You shall terminate it only when you overthrow the dictatorial and terroristic exploitation system established by the worst foes of our peoples—the government of Stalin and his clique.

Let us undermine the Soviet system from within. . . Annihilate the people's enemies—the loyal hirelings of Soviet imperialism! Organize underground political resistance and armed revolutionary struggle under the slogan 'Freedom for nations—Freedom for individuals!'

"Do not help Stalin's henchmen to fight the existing national resistance movements of subjugated nations! Do not assist Soviet hirelings in their struggle against the revolutionary organizations of the Ukrainian nation!"

(From the leaflet "Soldiers and Officers of Red Army, Conquerors of Hitlerite Germany").

UPA was the force that aroused, not only its own people, but also all other enslaved nations of the USSR to a sustained struggle, paying no heed to the fact that Soviet imperialists were victorious. Continuing with unabated energy its fight against the Soviets, UPA has proven that such a struggle was possible, just and purposeful, since it aimed at the destruction of the Bolshevik dictatorial system of enslavement and social exploitation and promised full national and social liberation to all peoples of the USSR.

To popularize its idea about the necessity of a

continued struggle for the overthrow of the Soviet regime, UPA took advantage of large scale movements of Red troops in July-August, 1945. Revolutionary appeals and leaflets were distributed in large quantities in towns and villages and read by great masses of Red Army men.

First of all, it informed the Red Army men about the true objectives of fighting Ukrainian nation and influenced them to take a decidedly sympathetic attitude towards the insurgents. There were numerous instances when Red Army men passed on insurgent propaganda, disobeyed the orders of their authorities and refused to fight the UPA. We mention here only one particularly striking case illustrating the effects of insurgent informative action.

On July 28, 1946, NKVD carried out a big roundup action against the wooded area "Yablinka" and the villages Nanchilka, Tykha and Voloshynova (district Strilky, province Drohobych). The insurgents, dispersed by superior enemy, were retreating through the village of Nanchilka in the direction of the forest Steletz Maly. Here, they were stopped by a medium tank. It opened fire with a machine gun that soon jammed. The insurgents availed themselves of this opportunity and headed for the forest. However, a Red cavalry detachment approached from the same direction. The NKVD troopers expected the horsemen to attack the insurgents, but nothing of the kind happened. Red cavalymen passed the insurgents in a friendly way, without firing a shot. When the NKVD asked the horsemen for an

explanation of their behaviour, their answer was: "We won't shoot at the insurgents."

Secondly, the political work of UPA contributed to the fact, that Red Army men made the liberation struggle popular all over the USSR. This news reached even the remotest parts of the country. It is no wonder that our struggle and our ideas have met with sympathy and understanding of all enslaved nations. Today, they are wellknown in every nook and cranny of the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, UPA propaganda created a substantial revolutionary consciousness among Red Army men. It also brought about a deeper understanding of the necessity to carry on the revolutionary struggle against Soviet imperialism. Red Army men began openly to voice their dissatisfaction with the Soviet system. This attitude was manifested not by single individuals, but by the mass of the soldiers. They came to realize that the only possible solution of their troubles was the complete overthrow of the Soviet regime. Now active manifestations of this feeling began to occur. Red Army men attacked and killed party members, NKVD agents or hated officers and took up a protective attitude towards the population. Thus, e.g., as a result of an armed clash between NKVD troopers and Red Army men in the town of Bursh-tyn (province Stanyslaviv) on May 9, 1946, both sides lost ten men each. On November 26, 1945, Red soldiers stationed at Zboiska (near Lviv) killed their much disliked officer. On November 29, 1945, Red Army men killed three NKVD

lieutenants in the 1st of May Street in Lviv. On November 21, 1945, two Red soldiers got out of a car near a distillery in Zhovkivska Street in Lviv, killed a party member and departed. Such incidents occur daily.

It was not by accident that Major-General Novikov, a member of the War Council of the Sub-Carpathian Military District, stressed in one of his speeches that the "revolutionary vigilance" in the army was still unsatisfactory. "We must always remember," he declared, "that our district lies on the border and that our military units are stationed in Western Ukraine, where German-Ukrainian imperialists (i.e. Ukrainian insurgents) still are active."

(Quoted from "Stalinskoe Plemia," the organ of the Sub-Carpathian district, August 21, 1945).

The above facts help us to understand the uncontrollable rage of Soviet imperialists. The growing brutality and barbarity of their fighting methods and the flow of mendacious propaganda aiming at disgracing and defaming our struggle prove that they are attempting to destroy and annihilate the insurgent army at any price. Nevertheless, we can say confidently that Soviet imperialism is unable to suppress or discredit our movement. The truth is spreading all over the USSR. All peoples of the Soviet Union realize the significance of our struggle and admire its greatness.

THE UKRAINIAN insurgents have also accomplished important political work among some of the neighbouring nations, notably among the Poles, who have been in contact with the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement since the beginnings of UPA. This contact has become particularly close recently, after both peoples had lost their freedom.

We emphasize that we do not intend to deal with the Ukrainian-Polish problem as a whole. We would like to state, however, that Ukrainian-Polish relations were far from cordial and did not correspond with the vital interests of both nations. We are stressing this fact to illustrate the present changes in these relations and to show the part UPA played in bringing them about.

The tragic memories of the past, the memories of hatred and continual enmity, prevented the two peoples from seeing eye to eye. Even during the difficult period of German occupation, when both nations were oppressed, no attempts were made to improve the relations between them. Polish imperialistic circles had poisoned the soul of their people with chauvinism. The people could not get rid of it, or shake off its evil influences and change their ways of thinking and acting. UPA, however, persisted in its attempts to convince the Polish population that it was essential to establish mutual friendly relations and bring about an active co-operation between the two nations. At first these approaches found no or little response. It was only the impending danger of Soviet im-



U.P.A. GROUP AFTER BATTLE

perialism that prompted at least some Polish circles to think more realistically and soundly. Unfortunately, this attitude was not shared by many of their compatriots.

Following their shortsighted leaders, many Poles at first looked upon the Soviets as their liebrators and not as imperialists and enemies of both the Ukrainian and Polish peoples. Some Poles co-operated with the Soviets in their fight against the Ukrainian national liberating movement and played an active part in the deportation of Ukrainians from the territories west of the Curzon Line. This infamous action served only the imperialists purposes of Stalin and his clique. Stalin's agents in Poland shrewdly fanned

the passions of the Polish masses and incited them against the Ukrainians. Some Polish leaders adhered to these catastrophical policy and were followed by a part of their compatriots. They did not realize that they were merely tools in the hands of their Soviet masters.

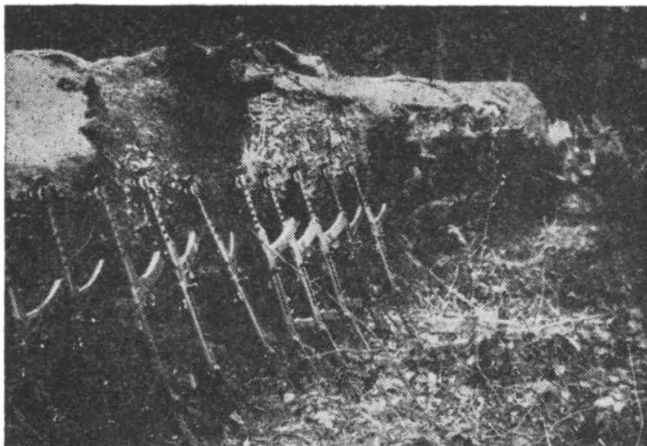
However, even under these unfavourable circumstances, UPA continued to follow the directives and principles of the UHVR and persisted in its efforts to show the Polish people how they could profit from the experience gained by the Ukrainians throughout the years of their suffering under the Bolshevik yoke. It make them realize that:

- 1) The Soviet imperialists were preparing for the Polish people, the same type of enslavement they had imposed on the Ukrainian people;

- 2) To ensure the success of their struggle against their oppressors, the Polish people must abandon the imperialistic and chauvinistic schemes of their leaders and co-operate with other nations, especially with their neighbours—the Ukrainian people;

- 3) The Polish nation must discard all half-hearted “parliamentary” methods of fighting as unfit for the anti-Bolshevik struggle and choose the path of revolution.

In order to popularize these ideas, UPA units conducted many meetings with the Poles and distributed a vast amount of proclamations, leaflets, pamphlets, etc. It also sent personal letters dealing with these problems to some leading Polish citizens.



AUTOMATIC WEAPONS OF UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS

In one of the pamphlets printed in Polish we read:

“Russia’s deep penetration into Europe is without historical precedents. The Russian imperialists prepare for further conquests and will stop at nothing. The people, who are within their grasp have only two alternatives, either to kill the Bolshevist monster or to perish in its embraces. No strategems, no compromises can avert this deadly peril.

For each people (subjugated by the Soviets) there is only one road that leads toward freedom and life—that of anti-Bolshevist struggle. . . The Poles, too, will soon realize this self-evident truth.”

(Zenon Savchenko: “Polish-Ukrainian Relation”, p. 26).

“Every Pole should realize that the fate of Poland and of future Polish generations will be decided in the struggle against the Bolshevik oppressors. Every Polish man and woman should remember this fact and act accordingly.

The hopes that conferences, elections or pressure of Western powers might re-establish Polish sovereignty without Poles fighting for it will bring bitter disappointment. As long as Stalin’s might remains unimpaired, he will not leave the Polish territory and will always find an excuse to keep the Polish people under his yoke.” (ibid. p. 34).

“Thus, the independence of Poland can be re-established and preserved only through close co-operation between the Polish people and its Ukrainian and other neighbours. . . We do not want to live in a state of continuous enmity with the Polish nation; on the contrary, we desire to wage a common struggle against our mutual oppressors and establish good-neighbourly relations after our final victory.” (ibid., p. 36).

Warning the Polish people that their non-revolutionary tactics were harmful and frustrating, the Ukrainian insurgents wrote in one of their innumerable leaflets as follows:

“Poles, Fighters of Underground Army, Leaders of Anti-Bolshevik Parties, Intellectuals: In your hands lies the future of your people. Do not tell your compatriots half-truths because thus you are merely increasing the prevalent chaos and disorientation. Do not apply the opportunist tactics since thus you are helping the enemy to demoralize

your ranks and make it easy for NKVD and UBP to destroy you. Speak up! Remember that your silence enables Moscow to delude your people and yourselves. Do not rely upon some magic outside forces or formulas, such as the conflict between West and East. It probably will not come in the near future—so your people have to work and fight. Tell them that they are enslaved, tell them what is in store for them if they refuse to fight. Unmask all base and sly schemes of Moscow and its agents. Tell the people why and against whom they should fight. Tell them that freedom and life can be won only through the complete destruction of Soviet Russian Empire, that their fate will be decided by the common fight of all enslaved nations. Frustrate all designs of the agents of the Kremlin! The struggle to come will separate all honest and loyal citizens from Bolsheviks and their fellow-travellers. Don't be afraid of sacrifices; if you refuse to fight, your sacrifices will be even greater—and yet they will not avail you."

(Form the leaflet "Poles", October, 1946).

The above quotations show how convincing and sagacious were the appeals of UPA. They were supported by the whole activity of the Ukrainian insurgents, who have shown in word and deed that they strove for a cordial co-operation with the Polish people. Besides, life itself convinced the Polish population that it was necessary to wage an active struggle against the Soviets and to co-operate closely with the Ukrainian people and other enslaved nations.

These facts contributed to a marked improvement in Ukrainian-Polish relation in 1945 and 1946. Some Polish leaders and certain political factions expressed in their letters to UPA their desire for co-operation with the Ukrainian people, congratulated the insurgents on their achievements and condemned the crimes committed by some irresponsible elements of the Polish population. These views were also manifested in the talks of Polish representatives with the insurgents, at meetings and special conferences, and in various other ways. Polish peasants adopted a friendly attitude toward the insurgents. They were received as welcome guests and given all possible assistance.

In December, 1945, UPA recorded in its appeals directed to the Polish population the positive fact of an improvement in Ukrainian-Polish relations.

“In the course of the summer, autumn and the beginning of winter of 1945”, it wrote. “there occurred many events which proved that the majority of the Polish people have changed their attitude toward the Ukrainian people. There were also some outward signs of an extensive co-operation between the two peoples in their struggle against their common foe—the imperialistic Soviet Union.

Wide circles of Polish population have also renounced the forcible deportation of Ukrainians from the territories west of the Curzon Line, recognizing it as a purely Bolshevist design. In several cases the representation of different Polish political factions condemned this anti-Ukrainian terroristic displacement action and assisted the

Ukrainian population in escaping its tragic results. In some regions, Polish political organizations issued leaflets in which they appealed to Polish army, militia and civil population to stop this action and disobey the orders of Soviet officers who, dressed in Polish uniforms, directed the anti-Ukrainian policy of puppet government in Warsaw. Polish civilians frequently opposed this terrorist action."

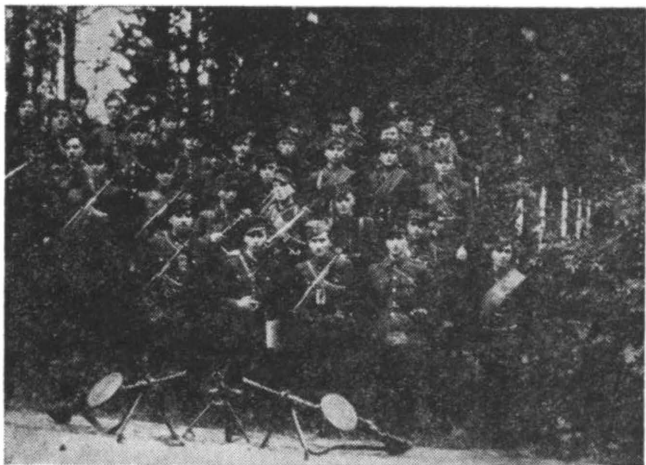
Having mentioned some specific facts, the leaflets proceeds to state "that the right way has been chosen and that the most important initial steps have been taken which must be continued until our political objectives are achieved."

(From the leaflet "Poles", December, 1945).

Much could be written about the friendly attitude of the Polish population towards UPA. However, we shall quote only an extract from the Polish Communist newspaper "Nowe Horyzonty" ("New Horizons"). It cannot be expected to feel or show sympathy toward UPA; consequently, its statements are even more significant. We are quoting from the article "When Will the Gangs Be Destroyed?" by a certain Major E. H.:

"A military unit under Col. Popka arrived at Peremyshl towards the end of 1945. . . It has many tasks, but the most important of all is the fighting against the gangs" (thus official Soviet circles usually refer to UPA).

"Unfortunately, it encountered here a great obstacle which, I am sorry to say, is the lack of cooperation between the local population and the army."



**A UPA DETACHMENT WHICH REACHED
WESTERN EUROPE IN 1947.**

Having mentioned UPA raid against Orchivci (near Permyshl) in which, in the author's opinion, some 500 insurgents participated, he exclaims:

“Here is the rub! These people had weapons, a competent command directed their operations, they used secret meeting places and secret routes. One actually could not help meeting or seeing them. However, did anybody warn us? No! It is a pity that, when our military unit arrived after encountering great difficulties . . . nobody gave us material assistance, nobody was able or willing to give us any information . . .

How is it possible to account for the fact that, in spite of the deportation of so many Ukrainians, the bandits still get help in many villages—get

guides, scouts, spies, liaison men and couriers?

Why is this assistance denied to the soldiers protecting their countrymen? Why do so many honest Poles acquiesce when some of the worst Ukrainian nationalists conceal their identity and pretend to be Polish citizens? Why do they not inform against the Banderovics known to them? The terror of Ukrainian Fascists (which is, of course, an invention of the autor-O.H.) is a poor excuse and cannot justify this passive attitude."

These facts prompt the author to make the pessimistic conclusion that UPA units will not be destroyed "without a whole-hearted co-operation between the population and the army, if the Poles continue to work for the gangs, serve them as guides, supply them with food, execute their



A GROUP OF UPA OFFICERS

orders without opposition. . . If they spread rumours and false alarms and conceal the information concerning the movements of the gangs, their stores, their underground shelters, etc ”

(“Nowe Horyzonty”, a weekly for the town and county of Peremyshl, August 4, 1946).

Such are the complaints of Polish Soviet agents who had expected that the expulsion of the Ukrainian population will deprive UPA of its mainstay. Now they have to acknowledge that the Polish people deny them their assistance while giving active support to the insurgents. Evidently, the Polish population knows whom it ought to assist and does not pay any attention to Stalin’s hirelings.

Special consideration should be given to the work of UPA among the soldiers of the Polish army, whom the puppet government in Warsaw employed for the execution of its deportation scheme and for the fight against UPA. UPA explained to the satisfaction of these soldiers, who were commanded by NKVD officers, that there was no purpose in their dying for Soviet imperialists and Polish hirelings of Stalin. The Ukrainian insurgents wrote in one of their leaflets (issued in June, 1945) as follows:

“Your present rulers order the deportation and expulsion of the Ukrainian population from its homes, and also instruct you to round up your own brothers and Polish patriots.

Polish soldiers! Remember that this way of serving foreign imperialists is dishonest and contemptible and will bring your own doom. Anyone

who assists the Russian imperialists is a traitor to his people and a tool of its enslavers.

Soldiers of the Polish Army! Decide whether to side with those, who are serving Moscow's interests or with those, who are fighting its imperialistic designs in the same way as they opposed Hitler and German imperialists. . .

Many Poles and Ukrainians, the best patriots of their countries, are united in a common struggle for freedom against Soviet Russian tyranny. You, too, must follow them and abandon the path of shame and treachery."

(From the leaflet in Polish "To the Polish Army").

The convincing appeals of UPA found a sympathetic ear among the Polish soldiers and prompted them to spontaneous riots. Soldier started to disobey the orders of their officers and frequently laid down their arms when forced to fight the insurgents. Those who surrendered were, as a rule, set free. No countermeasures of the puppet government had any effect. Soldiers of the Polish Army not only took a sympathetic attitude towards UPA, but also spread its popularity among their compatriots.

The political work of UPA among the Polish population was conducted with great efforts and persistency. It finally not only brought about a complete change of mood among a great part of Polish civilians and soldiers and popularized the liberation struggle of Ukrainian insurgents all over Poland, but also led to a political and military co-operation of UPA with Polish underground

nationalist organizations and their armed units. Thus, the ideas of co-operation between enslaved nations and their common struggle against Soviet imperialists promulgated by UPA have attracted the attention of broad masses of Polish population.

This co-operation was demonstrated by joint Polish-Ukrainian action against mass deportations, by elimination of NKVD bandits and their Polish agents, by liberation of political prisoners and protection over peaceful Ukrainian and Polish population, by political propaganda campaigns, etc. A striking example of this co-operation was a successful attack of Ukrainian and Polish armed units against the stronghold of Polish-Bolshevist forces in the town of Hrubeshiv on May 27, 1946.

It is understandable that this development has caused a violent outburst of rage among Soviet agents. All official newspapers showed signs of uneasiness and consternation. Thus, e.g. "Echo Krakowa" (The Cracow Echo) published in its September 18, 1946 issue extracts from a report about co-operation between Polish insurgents and UPA, which appeared in Polish London newspapers. The article, clamorously entitled "London boasts of co-operation with UPA", ends with such conclusion: "This whole report, eagerly seized upon by "Dziennik Zolnierza", not only reveals the existence of underground Polish-Ukrainian co-operation, but also shows that this co-operation is useful for certain circles in London and has their full approval."

This outcry of Soviet imperialist agents reveals that they realize how dangerous the co-operation of the subjugated nations may prove for their designs. They are aware of the fact that an understanding between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples and their co-operation with all other nations will put an end to their tricky schemes and deal a deadly blow at their imperialist policy. This should serve as the best proof of the need of such co-operation to all those who, until now, have failed to recognize it.

In order to strengthen the friendly relations between the Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples, UPA has organized its famous raids into the territories of Ukraine's neighbours. In this way, UPA spreads the information about the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation and the life in the USSR, especially among those peoples, who had not yet experienced the whole measure of Bolshevik terror. These raids stimulate revolutionary anti-Bolshevist forces of these nations and rouse an anti-Soviet attitude among the masses. They also create preliminary conditions for a practical co-operation between these nations and help to build up a united anti-Bolshevist front.

These raids usually take place at periodic intervals. The population of the territories where UPA units were previously active receives them, as a rule, as welcome guests. Even those who meet them for the first time, having heard little or nothing about UPA except slanderous propaganda, very soon realize who the insurgents

are and respect them as the fighters for a great cause—the destruction of Soviet imperialism.

The population has reached this conclusion very quickly. For example, a Byelorussian collective farmer who had suffered immensely during the German occupation from Soviet robber-partisans and for whom “partisans” meant “plunderers”, on meeting Ukrainian insurgents declared: “You are our men, for you don’t loot.” The Polish peasants of Pidlashia, the victims of Soviet guerillas, also told the insurgents: “You are the men, who do not assault or pilfer the population” (village of Lubin).

The Bolshevik press also distorted the reports about the first raid of Ukrainian insurgents into Slovakia in the autumn of 1945. However, the Slovak population received them as welcome guests, realizing that the insurgents were national liberators and the heralds of a great revolutionary uprising, which would destroy the Soviet prison of nations and liberate the enslaved peoples.

This attitude is understandable, if one considers that the struggle of UPA and its progressive ideas are close to the hearts of all nations enslaved or menaced by Soviet imperialism. On the other hand, this attitude toward UPA on the part of all subjugated peoples emphasizes the vitality of its ideas of international friendship and co-operation, based on a common struggle of all enslaved peoples against Soviet imperialists..

The NKVD realized the great importance of UPA raids. It understood that they were an im-



A GROUP OF UPA MEMBERS IN UKRAINE, 1951

portant factor in strengthening the revolutionary consciousness of the subjugated peoples and attempted to stop them at any price. Thus, e.g., to keep UPA units out of Byelorussia, NKVD stationed strong army units along the Dnieper-Bug Canal. However, the Byelorussian territory was raided constantly since the autumn of 1944. The Byelorussian population willingly received and housed the Ukrainian insurgents. The news of their exploits travelled like lightning all over Byelorussia.

In January ,1946, the following treaty was signed by the NKVD and Czechoslovak representatives:

“Strictly Confidential.

Theaty concerning the reciprocal border crossing of international boundary by the USSR and Czechoslovak frontier guards with the purpose of pursuing and liquidating gangs crossing the border.

On January 1, 1946, the undersigned representative of the NKVD frontier units of the Trans-Carpathian Area Lt. Col. Kontorov for the first party and the representative of the UBD Lt. Col. of the Czechoslovak Army Jan Stanek for the second party, have endorsed the proposition of Lt. Col. Stanek concerning the crossing of international boundary by the frontier army units into the territory of the USSR for the purpose of pursuing and liquidating gangs who were crossing the border.

Both parties have come to the following agreement:

1) The Command of the Soviet frontier forces consents to the proposition of Lt. Col Stanek as to reciprocal crossing of international boundary by Soviet and Czechoslovak frontier units for the purpose of pursuing and liquidating gangs.”

Further points deal with various details, such as exchange of signals, passwords, etc. The agreement was signed by Lt. Col. Kontorov and Lt. Col. Stanek.

However, all these measures aiming at forestalling new UPA raids into Slovakia, were of no avail. In the spring of 1946 UPA units made another large-scale raid into Slovakia. They advanced through the districts of Mezylaborci

Stropkiv, Giraltovci, Bardiiv, Priashiv, Barnov, Sabinov, Humenne and Mychaylovci and reached Koshyci. In the leaflets, which were printed in Ukrainian, Slovakian and Czech and distributed in large quantities among the local population the insurgents addressed the Czechs and Slovaks as follows:

“Czechs and Slovaks:

The brutal violence, mass persecution of the peaceful population, arrests, executions, deportations to the concentration camps in Siberia and the Arctic, plunder and terror are now prevalent all over Ukraine.

Let this be a warning to all nations, who have not yet experienced Bolshevism in action.

Remember that this terrible fate is in store for your nations. The Soviet Russian imperialists are preparing this fate for the rest of Europe. Therefore the foremost duty of all freedom-loving peoples is to set up a common defence and fight against this new Fascist totalitarian tyranny which is being imposed on the whole world by Russian imperialism.

The Ukrainian people have been the first victims of the Russian Fascism. They were also the first to fight against it. . .

We appeal to you, our brothers and neighbours, to join the struggle for our great and sacred cause.

Soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army!

Remember that we are fighting for the highest and noblest ideals: for liberty, brotherhood and equality among all nations, for national and social liberation and justice for every nation and in-

dividual. It was for these ideals that we had shed our blood during the years of struggle against the German occupation. Today, we are continuing our struggle for the same ideals against the Bolshevik invaders.

Therefore, do not take action against the Ukrainian insurgents, do not shoot at us, but rather join and assist us."

(From the leaflet "Czechs, Slovaks, Soldiers!", April, 1946).

The raid showed that these insurgent appeals were properly understood and interpreted by the Slovak people. The Slovak soldiers did not fight against the Ukrainian insurgents and even tried to establish friendly contact with them. Thus, e.g., a soldier of the Czechoslovak Army arrived in Slovakia from Prague in order to join UPA and fight against the Soviet imperialists, who attempted to enslave his country. In the elections which took place soon after the raid, the Slovak Communist Party was thoroughly defeated. These facts, as well as the proclamation of martial law in Slovakia and mass arrests which started after the raid and the elections testify that the anti-Bolshevist struggle in that country has been intensified. It will contribute to the consolidation of the common front of all nations enslaved or threatened by Russian imperialism.

The relations between the Ukrainian insurgents and the national minorities in the Ukraine indicate that the ideas of UPA enjoy a wide-spread popularity among all enslaved peoples. One has

to remember that these minorities living in different parts of our country had belonged, until recently, to the ruling nations and were used by their imperialistic cliques as a tool of their anti-Ukrainian policy. Intoxicated by chauvinism, they denied the Ukrainian people lawful claims to one or other part of Ukrainian ethnic territory and very often disputed the right to an independent state. Now this state of affairs has changed. The work of UPA has completely modified the attitude of national minorities toward the Ukrainian people and its liberation struggle. Hatred and strife, artificially fostered by our enemies, have disappeared. The national minorities followed the proclamation of the UHVR:

“All national minorities living on Ukrainian soil are hereby called upon to join the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Their civil rights in the Ukrainian state are guaranteed”.

(From proclamation of the UHVR, June, 1944).

They will enjoy the same rights as the citizens of Ukrainian origin, that their national peculiarities and distinctiveness will be respected. They know that the Ukrainian insurgents are fighting for the elimination of national oppression and, accordingly, treat UPA with the same amity and confidence as the Ukrainian people. Besides, experiencing directly the terror of the Bolshevik regime they are aware that the struggle of UPA facilitates the fight of other nations against their Soviet oppressors. They are aware that the existence of an independent Ukrainian state and the establishment of a just order in the East are also

a safeguard of the independence of their own people.

The Czechs, many of whom live in Volhynia, have taken (during both the German and the Soviet occupation) a sympathetic attitude towards UPA. They assisted it in numerous ways and suffered the same kind of persecution as the Ukrainians. It is sufficient to mention as an example that on April 22, 1946, the Soviet thugs burned down 16 Czech farms in the village of Sofiiivka (district Verba, province Rivne). Evidently, these Czechs differ in their political attitude from some of their compatriots (Gottwald and Co.), who continue to co-operate with Soviet imperialists and help the Bolshevist agents to enslave their people and to prepare the eventual incorporation of Czechoslovakia into the USSR.

Another example will illustrate the attitude of the Hungarian population toward UPA. In the village Kobylanska Polana (Carpatho-Ukraine) the insurgents called a meeting of the local Hungarians. The Hungarian audience interrupted the insurgent spokesmen with a storm of applause and expressed their complete approval of the fight of the UPA. The youth became so enthusiastic that, on their own initiative, they destroyed the pictures of Stalin and other Politburo members as well as Communist catchwords, which were hanging in the meeting hall.

The relations with the Rumanians are also similar. The Rumanian population in the Bukovina in the regions adjacent to the Carpatho-Ukraine has always treated UPA with great sympathy.

The Rumanians assist the Ukrainian insurgents in many ways. They harbour the wounded, supply necessary information and furnish expert guides.

We have already mentioned the Poles. Their position as a national minority in the Ukraine has been completely modified since nearly all of them were transplanted to Poland by the Soviet authorities. Those few, who have remained, have taken a thoroughly positive attitude toward the Ukrainian liberation movement.

These are the political achievements of UPA in its struggle aiming at uniting the revolutionary forces of all nations enslaved or menaced by Soviet imperialism. They were achieved in the course of five years through a many-sided activity and heroic fight of the Ukrainian insurgents.

These results are imposing if evaluated against the background of conditions against which they were achieved. They were gained in a merciless battle against both Nazi and Soviet imperialists; and the latter, who had come victorious out of the war, have flung against UPA the whole might of their gigantic apparatus of terrorism and oppression. No revolutionary army in the world, no revolutionary nationalist organization had to fight against such odds as the UPA. The achievements of UPA are the best proof of its strength and vitality which proceed from its great and progressive ideas. The fact that all nations enslaved or menaced by Soviet imperialism treat the UPA with sympathy and enthusiasm can be explained only by its ideological and political strength, by the

power of its political ideas. The fight of the UPA and its slogans are generally understood because they are just and progressive. They symbolize the struggle of subjugated peoples against their oppressors and the struggle of progressive ideas against everything that is base and corrupt.

The achievements of UPA are also a result of its great political experience which ensues from a long liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. UPA has always elucidated the most complicated political problems and situations with an unparalleled accuracy and sagacity. It was with UPA that the idea of the struggle against both German and Soviet imperialists originated. UPA showed that both imperialisms were of the same Fascist nature and that they were equally dangerous for all freedom, loving nations, for democracy and progress. It was UPA which first put forward the idea of a common front of all nations enslaved and menaced by Soviet imperialism. It was first to propagate this ideas and has made the first attempts to realize it. It also contributed largely to the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), an active member of which is UPA's commanding authority, the UHVR. There is no doubt that UPA is distinguished from other anti-Bolshevist forces by its superior and extraordinary qualities—its organization, its thorough knowledge of the internal situation of the USSR and Soviet policies in general, and also by its distinct programme for the overthrow of the most atrocious regime in the history of mankind—the Bolshevik prison of nations.

These practical achievements on the road toward the unification of the anti-Bolshevist front of all nations, the intensified anti-Soviet struggle inside the USSR, as well as the growth of anti-Bolshevist sentiments and the realization of the true aims of Russian imperialists outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union are, indeed, very heartening signs. They confirm our belief that the enslaved nations will gain the final victory, that the Soviet "prison of peoples" will be overthrown by their united efforts, and that true liberty, lasting peace and international friendship will eventually triumph.



**U.P.A. GROUP ON THE MOVE ACROSS
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1947, ON THEIR WAY WEST.**



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