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THE STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE FOR FREEDOM

**ITS IMPORTANCE
FOR A FREE WORLD**

by

OLEH MARTOVYCH

INTRODUCTION

by John F. Stewart

SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM
22 Young Street, Edinburgh, Scotland. Telephone 87789

INTRODUCTION

THE following pages will give the reader a badly-needed account of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its methods of fighting the power of Moscow in an effort to throw off the tyrannical rule of a country it never recognised or accepted. When the Russian Revolution of 1917 was accomplished—only with the aid of the non-Russian soldiers in the Russian Army—Lenin's emphatic direction was that they should all return to their own countries and at once set up their own independent Governments; had this not been guaranteed, it is improbable that the Revolution would have succeeded.

Among those who proceeded to do this were the Ukrainians, who established the Ukrainian Republic, and this Government was recognised by Britain (and by France) in January 1918. The British recognition was in these words, delivered by the British Diplomatic Representative to Ukraine, Sir Picton Bagge: "My Government has charged me to assure you of its best intentions. It will support with all its strength the Ukrainian Government in the task it will undertake in creating an efficient administration." This seems plain enough; but what happened? Hypocrisy and double-dealing would seem not to have been confined to Russia.

The Lloyd George Government, in which Mr Churchill was Secretary for War, abundantly equipped White Russian Armies in a hopeless attempt to restore the Russian Monarchy. Among these armies to fight Bolshevism was that under Denikin, in the south. The Ukrainians had no part in the struggle, confining themselves to the rebuilding of their ruined country. But Ukraine is not only one of the richest countries in the world in natural resources, without which Moscow could not dominate anybody, it is strategically of completely vital importance to both East and West. Denikin could not resist the temptation, and turned his arms against Ukraine, a country which had been recognised by that British Government which had supplied him with the munitions of war for, ostensibly at least, a very different purpose.

With characteristic Russian duplicity, Lenin had never meant to recognise the independence of the non-Russian peoples, and, as soon as he felt strong enough he first attacked Ukraine, which, in a struggle between the two, could have defeated the Muscovites. But it was a different matter to fight both Bolsheviks and Denikin,

while other neighbours rushed in to have a share of what might be going, and the Ukrainians found themselves having to fight as well Poles, Rumanians and Hungarians. The result was a foregone conclusion, and Ukraine fell into the hands, not of Denikin, but of Moscow, and Mr Churchill's support of Denikin saved Bolshevism.

The British Government committed the blunder which has had such disastrous consequences for the World. Had it supported Ukraine, even morally, Denikin, the Poles, Rumanians and Hungarians would not have dared to attack Ukraine. The strong support of over a hundred millions of staunch allies could have been secured, and an impregnable barrier built up which would have prevented the irruption of the semi-savage East into Christian Europe. But we would appear to have done worse than commit a blunder; we would seem to have sold people who trusted us. We had recognised the Ukrainian Government, but I cannot find any evidence to show that the British Government had ever ordered Denikin to evacuate Ukraine and confine himself to the business for which he had been ostensibly armed.

For more than twenty tragic years Ukraine suffered untold brutality by Moscow, but, when Russia was attacked by Germany in 1941, the Ukrainians, as well as other non-Russian peoples, again set up their own independent Governments. Germany invaded Russia through Ukraine, where the people, as in all countries on Russia's western frontiers from the Baltic to the Black Sea, welcomed the invaders enthusiastically. Hitler had promised them complete liberation from their tyrant and independence for themselves, and this was the definite policy of the highest German military authorities as well as that of the former German Ambassador in Moscow, Count von Schulenburg. As long as the German Army was in control of Ukraine they were on the best of terms with the people, and Hitler could have had the firm support of 45 millions of great fighting men and women. But he changed, and when his civil officials took over he ordered the people to be treated as slaves, and the country to become a German colony. The Ukrainians then organised themselves to fight the Germans as they did the Russians, and their action had much to do with the defeat of Germany.

In this connection may be quoted the following extracts from the Memoirs of the German General Guderian, the creator of the German Panzer warfare which so nearly gained victory for Germany. General Guderian describes his own experiences.

"A significant indication of the attitude of the civilian population is provided by the fact that women came out from their villages on to the very battlefield, carrying wooden platters of bread, butter and eggs, and, in my case at least, refused to let me move on till I had eaten. Unfortunately, this friendly attitude towards

the Germans lasted only so long as the more benevolent military administration was in control. The so-called 'Reich Commissars' soon managed to alienate all sympathy from the Germans, and thus to prepare the ground for all the horrors of partisan warfare."

Later: "During my absence, German methods, particularly those of the Reich Commissar Koch, had turned the Ukrainians from being friends of Germany into our enemies."

The West now repeated the British blunder of 1920. Unsupported, Russia could not have withstood Germany, and the West was in a position to impose any terms it liked on the Soviet Government, including the independence of Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples. But, no doubt largely under Roosevelt's pressure and the sinister influence of Harry Hopkins, we threw these people into Stalin's hands instead of securing their alliance, and opened the door for the entry of the savage East into the heart of Europe. The destruction of uncountable human lives, human misery and chaos are the result.

The Ukrainians have carried on a lone fight against the Enemy of Humanity, and it is time the West were waking up to the necessity of helping them if the West are to be saved.

For, without them, the West are not going to be saved by European Union, United Nations or any other Organisation, or even by the atom bomb. The West cannot defeat Russia without the help of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. And a World War need not occur, while if a war comes the help of these peoples would shorten and localise it. At the very least our military authorities should take steps seriously to take up this vital matter, and make use of the psychological warfare in which the Ukrainians are as adept as Moscow. It has to be remembered that the Ukrainians have been let down by Britain already, and it must be understood that they fight for their own independence and will not tolerate an alien rule imposed by either East or West.

Personally, I have no faith in politicians of any colour, and I hope this book will get into the hands of the common people. And so I specially draw the reader's attention to the last section, dealing with the enormous value to the civilised world of the Ukrainian Resistance so gallantly being carried on with so little encouragement.

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JOHN F. STEWART.

THE STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE FOR FREEDOM

Its Importance for a Free World



THE IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

THE Ukrainian Resistance Movement has manifested itself most markedly and powerfully during and since the last war. The fact that even at this moment there are several armed groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) operating while Ukraine is under Bolshevik domination attests to the determination of the Ukrainian people to fight against all forms of Russian aggression and persecution. The social and economic system imposed upon the freedom-loving Ukrainian people is naturally totally alien and abhorrent to them. Traditionally individualistic by nature and consequently opposed to Communism, the Ukrainian has fought that system with all his might and power. Moreover, he rightly sees Bolshevism for what it actually is, just another facet of traditional Russian Imperialism. For him freedom from Moscow and freedom from Communism are synonymous. And that is why the Soviet rule of terror and intimidation manifests itself most markedly in Ukraine and why the Soviet policy follows closely the trend of the old Russian imperialism in regard to Ukraine. Such a "solution" of the Ukrainian problem by the Soviets has considerably inflamed the anti-Russian feeling among the Ukrainians, and Soviet abuses and crimes inflicted upon the Ukrainian people have burned into their soul a hatred of the Bolsheviks, and have made them irreconcilable enemies of Soviet Russia. The whole-hearted support the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has received from all classes of the Ukrainian people is the best proof of such an attitude.

Simultaneously with the armed struggle, well organised anti-Soviet action is being conducted in various sectors of life with one purpose: to undermine the Soviet system and its regime. The only way to liberation of the Ukrainian people is the national liberating and anti-Bolshevistic revolution of the whole Ukrainian nation in a common front with other nations enslaved by Bolshevism. This can only be reached by the revolutionary-liberating struggle of the widest popular masses, by the intensification and deepening of the revolutionary process aiming its full-scale development in a national uprising. Three hundred years ago such a revolutionary process among Ukrainian masses led to the victorious uprising of the Ukrainian people against the Polish rule, and the Ukrainian Cromwell, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was able to establish a Ukrainian Kozak Republic (1648). According to this, the revolutionary process has to saturate all ways of life and to oppose to the hostile goals and efforts of Bolshevism the ideals and aims of the liberating revolution and its principles of national-political, social-economical and spiritual-cultural freedom of the people. This conception of liberty through revolution was represented by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement from the very beginning of its existence and realised without any deviation and consistently in all situations. The basic element in this conception is the stress laid upon the struggle of the whole nation, of its broadest popular masses, and not solely upon its organised forces (O.U.N.—U.P.A.—U.H.V.R.) which are only the pioneers and directing force behind the revolutionary process. The degree of ripeness for the national-liberating revolution depends, in the first place, on the degree it is possible to permeate the popular masses with revolutionary sentiments, on the enthusiasm of the masses for the cause of liberation, and finally on their willingness to fight actively against the suppressors.

The strategy of the revolutionary struggle conducted at the present time by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement against the Soviets is offensive and defensive, containing both elements at the same time. The offensive strategy intensifies the revolutionary process, activates the popular masses, spreads the revolutionary anti-Bolshevistic sentiments, and activates more and more circles of the populace by always attacking new enemy positions. The defensive strategy paralyses the enemy's efforts to break up and to suppress the revolutionary process. Both have to take into account the general situation prevailing in Ukraine and in the U.S.S.R. This situation has a paramount importance for the development of the revolutionary process and for the methods and tactics which have to be applied.

The internal situation of the U.S.S.R. is influenced by the imminence of the conflict with the Western Block and the concrete possibility of a new war. All policy of the Kremlin is bearing the pressure of this central problem, is more and more focussed upon it, and is directed by its requirements. The preparation for this new war leads to poverty and to an unheard-of exploitation

of popular masses to extreme limits. On this background the regime steps up its terror, and the hatred and anti-Soviet feelings grow from day to day among the enslaved nations.

This dissatisfaction of the people, their extreme hostile attitude to Bolshevism, to the government and to the party as well as to its economic system and totalitarian order, has been growing steadily since the end of the last war. Many reasons have brought about this situation. Before all mendacious Bolshevik propaganda has lost all influence concerning the statement that all around the U.S.S.R. common people are suffering awful poverty, because the soldiers of the Red Army had the chance to see with their own eyes the true state of things and spread information all over the U.S.S.R. Furthermore, the popular masses of the U.S.S.R. expected that with the end of the war there would come changes, greater freedom would be allowed and living standards would rise. The Bolshevik propaganda during the war, especially the unofficial branch of it, backed up these demands of the people and promised marvellous things. Instead of "changes," there came bitter disappointments. New five year plans, new state loans, new social competitive campaigns, all signs of the preparation of a new war, caused such a hatred of the population that the Soviet citizen does not suppress his feelings any more, and it results very often in open expressions of these anti-Soviet sentiments of popular masses in Ukraine. The expected "evolution" of the regime has bogged down, and what resulted was only the privileged position of the party and of the new Soviet aristocracy (generals, writers, engineers, etc.) and the worst slavery, subjugation, pauperisation and exploitation of the masses. The Communist doctrine has completely lost all credit in the eyes of all who possess a sound feeling for what is true, and still possess some common sense.

On the other hand, however, objective minds studying Russia and the problem of Russian imperialism, must rid themselves of the myth that there is a gap between Russian nationalism and Communist internationalism. Long before World War II, the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communist internationalism was achieved. The problem before the rulers of the Kremlin was to reconcile the internationalism of the Communist dogma and Russian nationalism. They initiated the glorification of the military past and the military heroes of the Russian nation, "to bring the Russian people into an environment free of servility before all that was foreign, and to destroy every vestige of the moral dependence of Soviet citizens on the West," and to develop "the high and noble feeling of pride in their fatherland." To-day, this glorification of the military is supplemented by the edifying information that all the great inventions, the radio, steam engine, etc., were Russian; by the propagation of all the great material and moral values of the Russian people, achieved despite the foreigners, and by extolling all Russian works in literature, art,

music and science. In that self-exaltation, the non-Russian peoples have been lost sight of. By ignoring the latter the Soviet brand of Russian nationalism acts to Russify the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. This is a tendency "to overcome the national differences of language, culture, customs . . . to prepare the liquidation of the national republics and regions . . . to merge all national languages into one common language, i.e., into the Russian language." This upsurge of nationalism can be explained on the basis that the Soviet masters may feel that the time is approaching when they shall have to wage the decisive struggle with the West, but whatever is behind it, the world must not forget that millions of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are conducting an implacable struggle against it. The non-Russian peoples, such as the Ukrainians, Belorussians, the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan, as well as the Cossacks and the Tartars of Idel-Ural, not to speak of the Baltic peoples (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians) were always to resist any form of forcible Russification and always the first to revolt once Russia was engaged in war. Such was the case in the wars of 1904-05, of 1914-1918, and of 1941.

The only way in which the Bolshevik system has been able to combat the inimical solidarity of the non-Russian peoples has been through the uses of unbridled terror campaigns, involving unheard of atrocities and a spy system which permeates and honeycombs all levels of life, the whole governmental set-up, industry, army, education, even family life and the church. Spies and police agents are evil features of the Soviet state which lend it its satanic strength. The first aim of the fight for national liberation has been to break the Soviet system of terror, as other factors of the Soviet power are only the derivative products and branches of the terror and spying system. To combat the terrorist Soviet system and to change the hatred and passive hostility of the population into an active fight against the oppressors, in short to destroy Bolshevism as the terroristic system, has been the chief aim of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Now, after seven years of fighting against Bolshevism we can say that it has had success. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has overcome the influence of the Bolshevik terror and propaganda and made the Ukrainian masses conscious of their strength. Instead of just hating Bolshevism and waiting for its fall, the Ukrainian people have started fighting it with all their might to accelerate the revolutionary process.

It would be an utter fallacy to suppose that through social slogans alone the Russian people can be stirred to rebellion against their Communist regime. Bolshevism, as a social phenomenon, is deeply rooted in the mentality, social structure and the national tradition of the Russian people. Therefore, it is not surprising that within the span of the thirty years of Soviet rule there was no mass resistance by the Russian people against their despotic government. If Mr Barmine quotes the activities of the *Ukrainian*

Insurgent Army (*Saturday Evening Post*: In Defence of the Russian people), in order to state a general discontent of the Russian people with its despotic regime, it was only possible because of the general lack of knowledge about eastern European affairs prevalent in the United States. Facts are stubborn things and once we rid ourselves of the myth of the homogeneity of the inhabitants of the Soviet Russian Empire, we clearly see that uprisings against the Soviet regime have been made by non-Russian peoples, notably by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and by the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan, and never by Russians.

Since the last war the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian people and other enslaved peoples with Bolshevism has intensified on a national scale. The Bolshevik system has become more and more "chauvinistic" and has openly praised the "superiority" of the Russian people, to recall only Stalin's famous toast to the "Russian people" at a Kremlin banquet in May 1945, when he singled out "the Russian people" as the "most outstanding nation of the Soviet Union." The campaign for the Russification of the non-Russian peoples has become more brutal. Bolshevik imperialism has become merely the latest and most virulent form of Russian imperialism. The last war has shown clearly that Ukraine as well as other non-Russian populations are hostile towards Bolshevism. Having the experience of the last war and preparing for a new one, Bolshevism is openly striving to strengthen Russian imperialism and seeking popular support. For Ukraine and other non-Russian countries, this means the Russification of all sectors of life: centralisation and colonialism in the state-political field and economic relations, slowing down and primitivisation of racial cultures, the extinction of all expressions of national diversities, all this carried out mercilessly and without disguise. Such a policy generates great hatred towards the centralistic Moscow among the enslaved races and this hatred is so great that it is self-perpetuating, thanks to the Bolsheviks themselves. But this hatred is also the natural breeding ground for the development of struggles for national liberations within the U.S.S.R.

Thus, the real goals of the U.P.A. actions in under-Soviet Europe, go far beyond the borders of Ukraine. The Soviet totalitarian practices compel enslaved races to fight the Soviet regime in underground organisations, because non-clandestine methods of opposing the Soviet regime in the Soviet reality are unthinkable. This truth was long ago realised by the Ukrainians who have been fighting Bolshevik imperialism for the last thirty years. But this truth is just beginning to be realised by many other enslaved peoples, especially by the "satellite" countries and by the Baltic States. Ukraine, as the champion of the anti-Soviet fight, has thus gained many valuable allies behind the "Iron Curtain." The U.P.A., which during the war called on the peoples of the Soviet Union to fight with arms in their hands both against Hitler and against Stalin, now finds support everywhere behind the "Iron Curtain," in Poland and in Slovakia, in Lithuania and

Belorussia, in East Prussia and in the Crimea. Following the historic tradition of Ukrainian revolutionaries it tries to organise a League of peoples oppressed by Soviet tyranny, and to form a wide front of national underground armies fighting against Moscow. It is important always to remember that this is a struggle of ideas, and that the nationalist movements among the enslaved peoples of the U.S.S.R. constitute a most dynamic force, and, therefore, the idea of national liberation is the most powerful weapon in the hands of these opponents of Soviet Russia. Surprisingly enough the democratic press of the free world has given little—if any—attention to this significant fact.

The International Press Bureau released on December 8, 1948, a lengthy article, dealing with the future map of Europe, which, according to the informants of the Bureau, is being charted now by the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe. The aspirations of many peoples are closely tied to the plans, accredited to General Taras Chuprynka, the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). This plan, which is said to be widely circulated inside the Soviet Union, aims at the transformation of the Soviet Empire into a series of national independent states. What is known as the "Chuprynka Plan" is a far-reaching blueprint of the re-organisation of Eastern Europe and Asia based on national self-determination of the enslaved peoples within the Soviet Union and the "satellite" states as the first and most important pre-requisite of the "world of to-morrow," "which will be followed by the establishment of four principal state units as follows: (1) Siberia, (2) the Caucasus, (3) Turkestan, and (4) the Scandinavian-Black Sea Unit." The importance of the latter for the "world of to-morrow" cannot be over-emphasised. Economically, it would be a precious pearl in the future "United Europe." The cornerstone of the Scandinavian-Black Sea Block—Ukraine—is the world's third largest producer of iron, fourth in coal, eighth in oil, and has the largest manganese mines in the world. It is veritably the "granary of Europe," and for generations has been a bread-basket for all Europe. And it is in Ukraine that a powerful anti-Soviet underground army, the U.P.A., is still waging a gallant fight for the realisation of these ideas.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE UKRAINIAN FORCES

It would be an utter fallacy to think of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement as if it were only the armed battle groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). In fact, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement consists of diverse units and forms a widespread underground organisation, based chiefly on the political network of the O.U.N. (Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists).

The Ukrainian nationalist underground has existed on Ukrainian soil for the last thirty years. In spite of the fact that the Soviets and Nazis referred to O.U.N. as a "fascist" or

"terrorist" organisation, or even a "subversive movement," because its existence threatened the fruition of their plans, it is only a political and military organisation of the Ukrainian patriots who strive for the liberation of Ukraine and for Ukrainian statehood. If it uses "subversive" methods, it is only for the reason that there are no legal methods by which a struggle for independence can be carried on in Russia. As clandestine organisation it must operate with the best principles of conspiracy, and adopt military procedure within its organisation.

The Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) was born long before "fascism" or "Hitlerism" had appeared in Europe. O.U.N.'s first predecessor was R.U.P. (Revolutionary Ukrainian Party), an underground Ukrainian political organisation which was founded by an ardent Ukrainian patriot, Mykola Mikhnovsky, as early as 1902. We can find its successor in the Ukrainian Military Organisation (U.V.O.), which came into being after the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1921. U.V.O. was founded by the officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who decided to continue to struggle for independence. Headed by the late Col. Evhen Konovalets, a former Ukrainian Army Corps commander, it gradually changed its character from that of a military organisation, widened its activities and assumed the form of an illegal political organisation. At the First Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists in Prague in 1929, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists came into being, the successor of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (U.V.O.). It was led by Col. Konovalets until the day of his death in 1938.

Faithful to the motto of O.U.N.: "You will secure the Ukrainian statehood, or die fighting for it," the Ukrainian patriots who joined O.U.N. declared war on the enemies of the Ukrainian independence. It was the O.U.N. which organised the first serious opposition to Hitler's plans in Eastern Europe. As early as 1939, O.U.N. put up a stern opposition to the advancing Hungarian Army in Carpatho-Ukraine. In 1941 O.U.N. gave birth to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), which in the beginning consisted only of the battle groups of the O.U.N. As the sole political organisation of the Ukrainian people which was active under the German and Russian occupation of Ukraine, it appealed to the Ukrainian people to join the struggle for independence against the German and Russian occupations. The Ukrainian people followed the call of the O.U.N. and the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) swelled with Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals who took arms to rid Ukraine of the Germans and Soviets. In this manner the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) became the armed organisation of the whole Ukrainian people.

Since it consisted of true Ukrainian patriots, the O.U.N. in Ukraine never had monopoly tendencies and when, as the result of widening the revolutionary process in Ukraine, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) came into being in 1944,

O.U.N. participated in its creation by sending a delegation to the Ukrainian National Congress. O.U.N. subordinated its activities to the direction of the elected Council and General Secretariat of U.H.V.R. and follows its directives. In the scheme of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the O.U.N. holds the responsibility for special branches and services of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and is the unit of the Movement in Ukraine.

To-day, besides its political activities, the O.U.N. is the quarter-master of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement responsible for regular delivery of required supplies to all units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement at stipulated times and places. It supplies the Ukrainian Resistance Movement not only with money, food, clothing, war material and other supplies, but also with trained men. It is responsible for all communications to headquarters and other units on a similar level. It looks to the necessary contacts between the different units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and prepares quarters and underground bunkers for the winter quarters of the resistance fighters as well as underground shelters for special purposes. It supplies combat troops with all the ordnance stores that they may require and recovers and repairs their equipment. It also has the responsibility for provision of laundry service, for decontamination of clothing and for protecting the units and installations of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement from enemy attack. It maintains depots, workshops, ammunition depots and small factories for soap, leather, tanneries, etc. It provides for the transportation of the supplies needed by different units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. It is concerned with personnel, which includes recruiting, training (only political and ideological), organisation, administration, discipline and welfare.

The political credo of the O.U.N. remains the same as it was during the Nazi occupation. It is fighting for a free and democratic independent Ukrainian state, for the destruction of the Bolshevik exploitation and slave labour system, for the liberation of the Ukrainian peasant worker and intellectual from political and social-economic slavery, for freedom of the Press, of expression, of religion, for free cultural progress unhampered by Stalinist dictatorship, etc. Through its tireless counter-propaganda the O.U.N. explains to the peasants, workers and professional intelligentsia the unbridgeable chasm between the ideals propagated by the Bolsheviks and their application under the existing Soviet conditions. It trains all Ukrainians in anti-Soviet methods and reminds the Ukrainians by propaganda in the underground Press and by word of mouth of the nature of Bolshevism and its aims towards Ukraine and toward the rest of the world. It tries to unite all the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe in a common front against Bolshevism and to prepare them for an all-out anti-Russian and anti-Communist uprising when the opportune time arrives.

The widening scope of these activities was possible because the O.U.N. had the wide-spread territorial underground organisation of its own existing in the country for years. Even to-day the widely dispersed and well-concealed network of the O.U.N. which closely co-operates with the U.P.A., embraces the wide territories of Ukraine. With respect to the underground administration of the O.U.N. the territory of Ukraine is divided into five territorial units: (1) S.U.Z. (East Ukrainian lands) the chief base of which is in Stalino; (2) P.U.Z. (South Ukrainian lands), the chief base of which is in Odessa; (3) O.S.U.Z. (Central Ukrainian lands), the chief base of which is located north of Kiev; (4) Z.U.Z. (West Ukrainian lands), with its chief base somewhere south of Lviv; (5) K.K. (Carpathian lands), with its chief base located in some place in the Carpathians.

In addition to the territorial organisation of the O.U.N., the Ukrainian Resistance Movement controls such important services as "Security Service" (S.B.), "Ukrainian Red Cross (U.C.K.), "Propaganda Service," and "Technical Service" (T.Z.), which have the autonomy of their own within the frame of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

The Security Service of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement (S.B.) is the most effective service and is composed of the best underground fighters. It is very well organised and has done the Soviets much harm by its activities. It succeeded in organising a network of its collaborators among the Soviet officials as well as among the Soviet Army and Police Forces. It is the sector of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement which is most hated by the Soviet occupational administration. This is evident in an article entitled "Nationalist Phantoms," published on August 14, 1946, in the Soviet-Ukrainian official newspaper, *Radyanska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine). The author of this article stated frankly that the fight against Ukrainian "nationalists" is very difficult, because the latter are "masters of masquerade," and have a "security service" of their own which consists of the most experienced "bandits." Also they have their own "Propaganda" based on the ideology of the publications of Professor Michael Hrushevsky and Professor Serhiy Yefremov. These were Ukrainian scholars "liquidated" by the Soviets.

Another statement concerning the Ukrainian S.B. was included in the "manifesto" of Premier Khrushchov and N.K.V.D. general, Ryassny, to the Ukrainian Insurgents and S.B.-men. They stated that the "criminal" and "dangerous" S.B. holds the troops and civilian population in strong discipline. Another statement was included in the secret order of the chief of M.G.H. (political police) of the province of Drohobych (Western Ukraine), General Saburov. He stated that the "S.B." is "a very dangerous organisation," that it adopted the "Hitlerite methods of provocation" and tried "to fight insubordination and desertion with all its forces."



Ukrainian Insurgent (U.P.A.) Red Cross in Action



First Aid Post, Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)



Ukrainian Insurgent (U.P.A.) "Barber Shop" in Forest



Ukrainian Insurgent (U.P.A.) "Laundry" in Forest

General Saburov asked the "constant vigilance" of his subalterns and instructed them as to the "methods of combating S.B. activities."

The territorial organisation of S.B. corresponds to the territorial organisation of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Its sub-divisions are: espionage, counter-espionage, investigation, judiciary department, deductions from information received, reports to higher authority, collection of data against the Soviet war criminals.

The "Ukrainian Red Cross" is the wide field of women's activities. It provides the medical service in the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Under its jurisdiction come the various nursing services, the evacuation, care, and treatment of sick or injured resistance fighters, advice on measures to insure the health of troops and population, supply and replenishment of medical equipment, and supply and organisation of field ambulances for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). It mobilises the girls and trains them as nurses for the U.P.A., organises the underground hospitals and cares for wounded and sick soldiers of the U.P.A. The underground hospitals of the U.P.A. became famous throughout the world. The Red Polish newspaper, *Głos Ludu* (People's Voice) wrote about one of these hospitals in June 1947: "Recently an underground hospital was discovered in a forest. There was nothing seen on the surface but trees and grass. Ten metres under the ground there was a hospital with corridors, operating rooms, infirmaries, beds and medical equipment. When the hospital had been discovered, the doctors and nurses defended themselves heroically and committed suicide when the ammunition came to an end." The correspondent of the Polish Communist newspaper ended his article by saying: "Nobody on the surface heard anything of this underground tragedy of men and women . . . who showed a ferocious fanaticism and strange heroism." Another description of such an hospital we can find in *La Phare* (Brussels) in the issue of July 10/11, 1948, and in the *Times* (London) of June 20, 1947. The role of the Jewish doctors must be emphasised here. During the time of the German occupation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement mobilised many Jewish doctors, pharmacists, and nurses into its service, in this way saving their lives. When the Bolsheviks came back to Ukraine, Jewish doctors and nurses continued to serve with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Many Jewish doctors and nurses offered their lives in the fight against the Brown and Red occupants of Ukraine. A Jewish doctor called Kum died as a hero in the defence of the field-hospital which had been under his care for more than two years, in Trukhaniv in the Carpathians (1945). Another Jewish doctor, Maksymovich, committed suicide when facing liquidation of his field-ambulance in the Carpathians.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has developed a very good propaganda service of its own. Every detachment of the

U.P.A. as well as each unit of the territorial organisation, has its own propagandist who is responsible for the propaganda service and propaganda activities in the area where it operates. All those propagandists follow the directives of the "Propaganda Centre" which is located somewhere in Ukraine. The "Propaganda Centre" has its printing presses where the press organs, periodicals and leaflets are printed. There are many underground periodicals in Ukraine. The leading magazine of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists is *Ideya i Chyn* (Idea and Action). Others are the magazine of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) *Povstanets* (The Insurgent), the magazine of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), *Samostiynist* (Independence), the humorous paper *Perets* (The Pepper), the popular information paper *Informacijni Visti* (Information News), *Lisovyk* (The Man of the Forest), etc. It is interesting to note that Ostap Vyshnya, once the outstanding Ukrainian satirist, and author of the "Smiles," who was banished to Siberia in the thirties, was brought back in 1945 to Ukraine to combat widespread Ukrainian underground satiric pamphleteering. Because the Ukrainian illegal satiric magazine, *Ukrainian Pepper*, was very popular in Ukraine, the Soviet Government founded in Kiev a magazine called *The Red Pepper*, and Vyshnya was put in charge of it. Apparently, he did not justify the Communist Party hopes, inasmuch as the Union of Ukrainian Writers, a Soviet official organisation, upon the order of the Politbureau, charged that the *Red Pepper* was "substituting spite and vulgarity for popular humour."

The underground propaganda network quickly disseminates all available information by means of the whisper propaganda technique which is much used. In addition, letters, newspapers, bulletins, posters, slogans, and pamphlets are printed and distributed chiefly in the urban places where military garrisons are stationed. The propaganda in the Soviet Army is considered especially important. Material, which is small in size and easily distributed, is used when the Soviet Army units are busy carrying out round-ups and blockades against the U.P.A. Slogans like "Do you want to go on starving?", "Do you know what the fight is for?", or "Down with Stalin's tyranny", and the like, have a strong influence upon the morale of the Soviet Army soldiers. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement published thousands of leaflets calling the Soviet Army officers and soldiers to the common fight against Stalin's tyranny. It spoke to them with a profound knowledge of the terrible conditions of life under the Soviet regime. "With the overthrow of Hitler," wrote the U.P.A. in its proclamation to the Red Army in 1946, "only dictators-imperialists have changed their positions. Nothing has changed in the conditions of the People, of the working masses. Oppression, exploitation, and terror go on." After this statement, the U.P.A. summoned: "Your fight for the victory of justice has not ended yet. You will end it if you overthrow the dictatorial-terroristic exploitation system of the greatest foe of the people, the Stalin Government, and his

gang of people's exploiters, the Communist Party. Let us undermine the Stalinite system from within . . ."

A book by Mykola Lebed, which has been published in Ukrainian about the origin, growth and activity of the U.P.A., reprints the texts of different appeals which were addressed to the Georgians, Armenians, Cossacks, Volga Tartars, and other non-Russian nationalities. Each text was adapted to the grievances and historical background of the people concerned. Some leaflets were printed in Russian, others were printed in the original language of the people concerned, using even the type faces of the language concerned (Georgian). During raids in Poland or Czechoslovakia, the leaflets in Polish, Czech and Slovak languages, were issued by thousands, summoning the respective peoples to fight against the common oppressors. The appeals conclude: "We shall fight for the Ukrainian independent state and for independent states of all the peoples whom the Bolshevik hangmen have enslaved . . . The peoples of Europe do not want Hitlerism or Stalinism . . . Long live the revolution of the oppressed peoples! Long live the sovereign states of all peoples! Long live peace and friendship of peoples!"

There are different methods of distributing propaganda material. In the urban places, the small size propaganda material is put into letter boxes at the door, or into coats or other garments in the restaurants and cafes, and into books and magazines in public libraries. Other small size material is sent by post. In some cases Soviet officials are taken prisoners and then set free after being given intensive orientation and having been provided with propaganda literature. Other persons from the Soviet administration are selected and the individual approach is organised. In some cases meetings for the population are being organised, and different points of the Soviet propaganda line are attacked. Theatre performances and concerts for the Ukrainian population were organised by a special propaganda group called "Flying Estrade" under the protection of the U.P.A.

Revolutionary formations of the U.P.A. and O.U.N. pay very great attention to the fight in the economic sector. Everywhere in Ukraine slogans against Stalin's Five Year Plan are spread and its anti-democratic character is shown. The slogans of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement call to the fight against the exploitation of the peasants and workers, for social justice, for high living standards and for independence. We give some appeals of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement:

"Working People! In the fourth Five-Year Plan the Stalin parasites have made only aeroplanes, guns and tanks, but no articles which you need for your daily life! Make no preparation for war! Fight for real peace and a high living standard! Away with Stalin's imperialism!"

"Working People! Down with the inverted declarations

of Stalin about the transition to Communism! We do not want to be deceived by boasting about the building of Socialism. We want a free and good life! We want to fight against Bolshevik exploitation! Down with the Stalin parasites!"

"Workers! Stalin's parasites ordered the Trade Unions to organise the new socialistic Stakhanov contest! Down with the Stalin Trade Unions! Down with this tool in the hands of the Stalin clique to exploit the working class! Death to the commissaries of the Stalin Trade Unions! Let the real workers be the leaders of the Trade Unions! We want to fight for real democracy in the Trade Unions!"

"Kolkhoz farmers! The Stalin parasites enjoy their life by means of your products, while you suffer from starvation! Take the products for yourselves, for you are the producers. Take your own bread! Chase away the guards of the Kolkhoz grain! Kill the active N.K.V.D. controlling people, and their spies!"

"Workers of Ukraine! The fourth Five Year Plan is a preparation for a new war aiming at the suppression of other peoples of the world! We do not want to die for Stalin's imperialistic interests! Break all Stalin's plans wherever you can! The sooner the Stalin Empire will collapse, the better for you! Long live the fight of the Ukrainian people for their independent state! Long live the freedom of the peoples and the freedom of the individual!"

The leaflets of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement are brought to all parts of the Soviet Union. Recently, Moscow was plastered with the leaflets of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In Ukraine every pillar-box, sign-post, telegraph and mile pole, railway station and railway train, buses and trams are stuck with leaflets. Often they are printed on field-presses where hand-made wooden types are used. Often they have artistic engravings which tell more than the contents of the leaflets.

The contents of the propaganda of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement classify it not only as a "subversive organisation," but also as a most important political force behind the "Iron Curtain".

The Technical Service (TZ) operates the underground presses, prepares leaflets, prints materials, stores explosives, mines terrain, and carries out the demolition of bridges, railway tracks, buildings and railway trains carrying supplies and war material, and, at the time of the German occupation, operated the underground radio stations. It operates the famous "Insurgent V1," which so brilliantly demolished the building of the Russian N.K.V.D. and Polish U.B. in the Battle of Hrubieszow, on May 27 and 28, 1946. It was a joint Polish-Ukrainian underground action against the town of Hrubieszow in Poland, in which the troops of V.I.N.

(Freedom and Independence), the Polish underground organisation, participated along with the troops of the U.P.A. The action ended with the seizure of Hrubieszow. As we said above, the Ukrainian "Insurgent V1" completely demolished the buildings where the Soviet N.K.V.D. and Polish U.B. troops were garrisoned, causing many casualties among them. This "Insurgent V1" was simply the Wooden Rack Launcher 28/32 mm. of the German Army, which could fire high explosive 280 mm. rockets or incendiary 320 m.m. rockets. This rocket launcher and more than a hundred rockets were captured during the retreat of the German Army from Ukraine. To the duties of the Technical Service belongs also the preparation of false documents and other identification papers.

Having the territorial organisation of the O.U.N. as its chief base, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) carries out its operations throughout Ukraine and far beyond its borders. The troops of the U.P.A. are organised into operative groups, with group commanders and their staffs at the head. The groups are divided into sectors with sector commanders and staffs at the head. The sectors are divided into detachments, the detachments into sub-detachments and the sub-detachments into squads. Each detachment has its own area of activity, and the borders of its territory are crossed only in exceptional cases and on the order of the group or sector command. Each detachment consists of 3-4 "light" platoons, and each platoon has 3-4 squads with one machine gun and 8-10 fighters. The fighters of a "light" platoon are armed with machine guns, machine pistols, pistols and hand grenades. A "heavy" platoon is sometimes organised by a sector command. It has heavy machine guns and mortars, or even light artillery. The squads live in well camouflaged hiding-places and underground bunkers. Different models of the construction of the U.P.A. underground bunkers are known even to the Soviet authorities. Recently, at the course organised for the N.K.V.D. specialists in sniffing out the underground bunkers, the instructors presented to their "students" 76 models of the known U.P.A. underground bunkers and shelters.

Recently, the detachments of the U.P.A. received their names and ordinal numbers. The number of the U.P.A. groups and detachments is a secret, but the number of detachments is estimated to be over 100. The total strength of a U.P.A. detachment is two officers, 24 N.C.O.s, 135-136 Privates, 82-97 Ts, 18-30 Pistols, 33-36 Sub-Machine Guns, 9-10 Light Machine Guns, 2 Heavy Machine Guns, 2 Mortars.

The total strength of the group, "SAN," was estimated in April 1947 at 2640 officers and men. The strength of the group, including the territorial organisation, was estimated at the same time at 8000 fighters. It is important to note that the Red Poles estimated the strength of this group much higher than it was. At

the 9th Session of the Polish National Council, the Polish Field-Marshal Rola-Zymierski, answering an interpellation, stated that the Polish Army, in purging the territories occupied by the detachments of the U.P.A. Group, "San," liquidated 28 groups of the U.P.A., killing 984 insurgents and capturing 3000. The Polish troops, he said, lost 1410 dead, 410 wounded and 940 missing officers and men. A total of three Polish infantry divisions, one Czech mountain brigade, four Russian N.K.V.D. divisions and one Russian tank brigade took part in the operation against the U.P.A. group, "San," after a secret agreement was signed early in 1947 by representatives of the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia, providing for a joint all-out campaign against the Ukrainian insurgents. According to Red Polish sources, this operation "wreaked havoc among the rank and file of the U.P.A., which suffered 17,000 dead and wounded."

The strength of other U.P.A. forces is a secret, and it is impossible to give its numerical strength. Alfred Berzinsh, former Public Affairs Minister of Latvia, now President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, estimates it in the *Washington Times-Herald* of July 18, 1949, at 20,000 armed men, at the same time estimating the strength of the partisans operating in the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania at 8000 men. Recently, however, the number and strength of the U.P.A. detachments was reduced to a minimum, while the strength of the territorial organisation of the O.U.N. was increased. The main stress is now laid upon the expansion of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement to the East, and upon the propaganda activities which absorb most of personnel. Once more the character of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement changed, losing its military character, and becoming political. Nowadays it is the chief aspect of the fight of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

All U.P.A. activities are planned by the Supreme Command of the U.P.A. Supreme Command is the main advisory body to the Supreme Commander on operations, intelligence, organisation, supply, and general matters of the U.P.A. policy. It basically consists of separate branches which cover all the proper staff and planning functions, and which are groups under senior staff officers acting under supervision of a Chief of Staff. The Supreme Commander of the U.P.A. is at the same time President of the General Secretariat of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, Secretary-General for War and Member of the Central Directing Body (Leading Bureau) of the O.U.N.

SOVIET METHODS OF DEALING WITH UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE

The Soviets were not prepared to meet such strong resistance in the Western Ukraine as that offered by the U.P.A. and affiliated resistance organisations. Soon they recognised that they were

dealing with an equal element. Their frontal attacks against the U.P.A. in August and September 1944 were not successful. The terror campaign against the masses of the Ukrainian population resulted in making many Ukrainians join the U.P.A. The Soviets were forced to change their tactics and adopt a more detailed campaign of destruction. This was the beginning of a severe struggle of the Soviet occupation administration and N.K.V.D. forces against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

In the Soviet methods of fighting the Ukrainian Resistance Movement we must distinguish two factors: (a) an ideological-political fight against the Ukrainian "nationalism" which gave birth to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement; (b) an armed terroristic fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement itself.

In their ideological-political fight against Ukrainian nationalism, the Bolsheviks widely use (1) misinterpretation of historic facts concerning Ukrainian history and their unscientific explanation; (2) liquidation of all free centres of Ukrainian science by means of arrests, tortures, shootings, deportation of scientific workers; (3) suppression of whole series of scholarly works that had already been published, and destruction of works which were ready for publication; (4) terrorisation of the Ukrainian scientific institutes and their workers.

In consequence of such measures, science in Ukraine lost its objectivity and its value, and assumed the character of a pseudo-scientific service to aid political propaganda and governmental designs.

Especially this is true of research on Ukrainian history. As early as 1930, Profesor M. Hrushevsky, the head of the department of History at the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev, and the creator of the modern historical school, was exiled. At the same time, many renowned historians, such as Slabchenko, Vasilenko, Hermaize, and Ponomarenko, were liquidated. After the re-occupation of the Western Ukraine, such West-Ukrainian historians as Krypyakevych, Korduba, Terletskyj, and many others were forced to make retractions, and to say that they had been led on to "false nationalist paths" by Michael Hrushevsky. Ukrainian history is now to be written and taught according to Stalin's recipe of 1932, "How to write the history of the Soviet people." This new history of Ukraine has two characteristics. The first is its slanting of national affairs to the political line of the Communist Government of the Soviets. The second is the adjusting of this history to Marxist dialectics; therefore it is interwoven with quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Thus, any historical work becomes ordinary Communistic literature, without any scientific value.

Because of this slant Soviet-Ukrainian historical books sharply diverge from the fundamental ideology of all Ukrainian historians outside the Soviet Union. Just as in the days of Tsarist Russia,

the Kievan period of Ukrainian history now must be treated as a period common to both Ukrainian and Russian history, although it is a historical fact that the Russians first made their appearance as a national entity during the 12th century, in the form of the embryonic Suzdal-Rostov principality on the vast colonial stretches of the ancient Ukrainian Kievan state. Ukrainian relations with Russia are presented either one-sidedly, or completely ignored if they are inimical and impossible to explain. The Treaty of Pereyasslav, 1654, concluded by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, is interpreted as one of "allegiance to the Muscovite Tsar," whereas, in fact, Khmelnytsky concluded a treaty alliance with Muscovy which provided that Ukraine retained full independence in all internal and external affairs. Also, as during Tsarist times, Ukrainian historical personages who endeavoured to free Ukraine, such as the Hetmans Vyhovsky, Doroshenko, and especially Mazeppa, were politically anathematised by the Reds. Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, the nationalist who declared war against Russia, is regarded as a traitor, and an enemy of the Ukrainian people. The same is said of General Simon Petlura, the leader of the Ukrainian national forces in the Ukrainian War of Independence (1918-1921), and the Ukrainian struggle for independence is presented as the action of the bourgeois elements opposing the interests of the workmen and peasants of Ukraine, although exactly the contrary was the truth. The entire interpretation of Ukrainian history aims to show the paths along which Ukraine is being brought closer to Russia, under the tutelage of the Russians playing the role of the "elder brother" among the enslaved peoples, i.e., to the further enslaving of Ukraine.

After the re-occupation of the Western Ukraine, the Soviets disbanded the Shevchenko Scientific Society at Lviv (which is now celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary in emigration). For three-quarters of a century, since its foundation in 1873, it has been the outstanding centre of all Ukrainian scientific and scholarly work.

As to the Ukrainian language, Stalin is willing to allow its existence but he has made it clear that all articles written in this language must be approved by the "big brother" of the Ukrainians, the Russian people, and by the Supreme Politbureau of the Communist Party sitting in Moscow and dictating the destinies of the entire Soviet Union. He has made it clear that the culture of Ukraine is to be Communist-Russian culture, merely expressed in Ukrainian.

Russian Communism is trying to attack the very soul of Ukraine. It is attacking not only the leaders but also the masses. It is trying to eradicate all those principles under which the Ukrainians, like other Christian peoples, have lived for nearly one thousand years. Yet this attack, too, is failing, for apart from physical extermination the spirit of the Ukrainians is

unquenchable. It can only be corrupted by the shameless re-writing of the Ukrainian past, the mutilation of the world of Ukrainian literature, and the slandering of the great men of the past and present, but truth will ultimately prevail.

The attack of the Communist Party and its agencies on Ukrainian literature grew to tremendous proportions. It began with the misinterpretation of the classics of Ukrainian literature. The fate of Shevchenko, the greatest national poet of Ukraine (1814-1861) is typical: With monotonous regularity the Soviet critics stress his friendship with the Russian radicals of his day. They ignore his great works which emphasise cultural differences and historical diversity between Russia and Ukraine. Such works as the "Great Grave," where the poet dealt with the past of Ukraine and her relations with Russia are entirely omitted, and the poet is only shown as the foe of the old Tsarist order and not a foe of Russian imperialism. The attack of the Russian Communists on Ukrainian literature finished with the physical extermination of Ukrainian writers and critics. A ruthless terror, conducted against Ukrainian literature in 1932-1939 and after the Second World War, caused the death of hundreds of Ukrainian authors and critics. Among the hundreds of Ukrainian writers executed by the Soviets we find talents honoured and known not only in Ukraine.

After the Second World War a new wave of terror flooded the country, bringing with it new persecution of writers and artists. Despite a continual terror, it is amazing how Ukrainian literature perpetually regenerates itself. At times when all seems to be lost and extinguished, new names appear, new works are born. By the very existence of Ukrainian literature, in spite of all the cruel and ruthless persecution, the Ukrainian nation proves that it never was and never will be reconciled with the Russian occupiers. Ukrainian literature still exists and the bare fact of its existence is a miracle and proof of the unyielding spirit of the people in the struggle for independence.

At the XVIth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Prime Minister Khrushchov charged that the Ukrainian Communists failed "to organise widespread criticism of the hostile Ukrainian bourgeois Nationalist ideology in literature and the Press." He complained that "owing to this, there have been ideological mistakes and distortions, attempts to allow rebirth of the bourgeois Nationalist concepts of the historian Hrushevsky and his school, in some books, magazines and newspapers." At the meetings of the Union of Ukrainian Writers in Kiev, several writers and editors were criticised and censured for spreading theories denoting Ukrainian nationalism. They were said to have propagated "Ukrainian nationalist ideas, alien to the Soviet ideology," according to the opinion of the Politbureau. Furthermore, it was charged that in their books they had "ignored progressive leaders in Soviet literature, exaggerated the influence

of Western European literature, and failed to emphasise the ties between Russian and Ukrainian literature." Several writers and poets were denounced for "forgetting fundamental ideological demands of the Party." L. Smilansky was accused because he "openly opposed Ukrainian people and culture to the Russian people and culture." Another writer, A. Kundzich, was charged with spreading the idea of "patriarchal self-generating origins of Ukraine's people and its culture." A woman writer, V. Charednychenko, "idealised the remote past and distorted the life of the Soviet people." L. Kovalenko, I. Pilhuk, G. Lazarevsky and Ostap Vyshnya, all critics, were severely criticised for distorting the actual conditions of Soviet life.

Premier Khrushchov's revelations, as well as all these "criticisms and self-criticisms," at the meetings of the Ukrainian writers and critics show that, despite the policy of persecution and mass deportation, the Ukrainians remain bitterly opposed to Stalin's regime and do not cease fighting for their liberation. And we must not forget that, under Soviet conditions, such "criticisms and self-criticisms" mean, as usual, deportation of a writer to Siberia, or, at best, expulsion from literature.

Another subversive tool of the ideological and political fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is slandering it and its leaders throughout the Soviet Union and the whole world. By this means the Soviets aim to undermine the confidence of the Ukrainian people and of the whole world in the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In their written and oral propaganda against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the Bolsheviks speak of an "independent" Ukraine as of a "German" or an "Austrian" intrigue to divide "indivisible Russia". Therefore, they speak of "Ukrainian-German" Nationalists as of Nazi-German "collaborators" and "traitors" who "sold Ukraine to Germans". In speaking of the Western World, the Bolsheviks maintain that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is composed of "armed terroristic gangs which raid and pillage the villages and murder their population," or that they are "fascists," "Red Army deserters," "Vlassov Army," or other "criminal elements." Even the Minister of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Mr D. Manuilsky, at his address delivered at the Conference of Teachers of Western Ukraine on January 6, 1945 (i.e., on Christmas Eve according to the Greek-Catholic rite!) maintained that the U.P.A. had "staged massacres of the Ukrainian population, committed atrocious crimes, tortures and murders, forced the Ukrainians into German slavery, and had deceived the Ukrainian people by saying that they had gone underground to struggle against the Germans." Speaking of the Soviet crimes against the Ukrainian population, the Comrade Minister said: "And those beasts have the boldness to complain that the organs of Soviet power are applying terroristic methods against them! Sacred be the sword that cut off the heads of such criminals!", forgetting to tell that these "organs of Soviet power" had cut off

not only the heads of the "criminals," i.e., of the Ukrainian insurgents, but also the heads of many among the peaceful population. But the most blatant misrepresentation in his address is the claim that "the Germans did arrest the leader of the O.U.N.—Stepan Bandera—but after a previous understanding with him to this effect—and only in order to create around his name the halo of "martyr." The truth is that the Germans arrested Stepan Bandera on July 2, 1941, soon after the outbreak of the German-Soviet War, and put him into the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, where he was held until November 1944. His two brothers were prisoners in the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they were murdered by the guard in 1942. Taking the words of the Comrade Minister seriously, one can believe that both his brothers were murdered "after previous understanding to this effect" with Stepan Bandera.

The spreading of lies about the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is widely used in Bolshevik propaganda. Now the U.P.A. and the Ukrainian Resistance Movement are no longer called the "hirelings of German Nazi fascists" but the "spies" and "diversionists" either of the Vatican or of "American warmongers". The term "Ukrainian-German" Nationalists has disappeared from the Soviet Press and, gradually, has changed to "Ukrainian-American" Nationalists. The Soviets are willing for the people to believe that the U.P.A. has entered the "service of American fascists". In January 1948, at the celebration of the "30th Anniversary" of their bloody and barbarous conquest of Ukraine, Premier Khrushchov delivered a lengthy harangue against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, and, of course, against the United States and Great Britain in the presence of Molotov himself, who was dispatched by the Kremlin to deliver "a message of friendship" to the Ukrainian people from Stalin. Khrushchov claimed that the U.S.A. and Great Britain are actively supporting the Ukrainian underground. After admitting that the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had been giving some serious trouble to the M.V.D.-M.G.B. and the entire Soviet administration in Ukraine, Khrushchov called upon the Ukrainians themselves to "exterminate" the Ukrainian nationalist elements, "lackeys of the Anglo-Saxon powers, the worst enemies of democracy and humanity."

The last appellation—"lackeys of the Anglo-Saxon powers"—is significant because of the time as well as the linking of the U.S.A. and the Great Britain with the Ukrainian underground. First, it becomes evident that the opposition against the totalitarian power of Soviet Russia in Ukraine is not negligible; second, the Russians apparently intend to identify the Ukrainian Resistance Movement with the United States and Great Britain, now the No. 1 enemies in the Russian hate-campaign against the West.

But this is not the first time that the Russians have found it expedient to tag the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as a foreign intrigue, dumped upon Ukrainian soil. For example, at the time

of the Polish uprising, 1863-64, the Ukrainian Movement was branded a "Polish intrigue". Before the First World War, it was called a "German intrigue", after the fall of the Ukrainian democratic state in 1921 all Ukrainian patriots were branded "agents of capitalist intervention" and were dealt with accordingly. In the early thirties, when fascism and nazism appeared on the horizon, all Ukrainians wishing liberation from Russia became "Hitler's and Mussolini's spies". Significantly, this calumny was skilfully disseminated by Russian agents in the countries of the West, especially the United States. As a result, even to-day, when one country after another falls under Soviet despotism, there still are Americans and sundry "experts" who cling to this pro-Soviet line.

It is extremely disturbing to note the degree to which the Russians have succeeded with their propaganda. Ukrainian insurgents, these simple people, akin to American Revolutionary heroes, have been accepted as "bandits," "fascist hirelings," "S.S.-men," etc., by certain organs of the American democratic Press. In this case, the American pressmen have swallowed not only the Red bait and hook, but also the line and sinker.

Truth is "indivisible." The truth is that the Ukrainians are now fighting for those ideals which are common to the whole Western civilised world, and it is the chief reason for such a hate propaganda against them by the Soviet "super-democrats" of Moscow.

It must be emphasised here that the lies spread by the Bolsheviks are very easily accepted by the Western world. The basis of the ideal of a free Press has been the idea that by informing the people of the true facts involved, they will sooner and better draw true and logical conclusions, and their resultant acts will thereby be just and of benefit to the common welfare. This idealistic policy is daily implemented by the American or Western European Press in their coverage of what goes on in American or Western European life. But in regard to events which take place in Eastern Europe the exceptions from this golden rule are very frequent. Unfortunately, not only the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is misrepresented and maligned all over the world, but also the story of the heroic Ukrainian resistance against both the Nazis and the Communists during the last war, and the facts of national and religious persecutions by the Soviets, to-day, are completely ignored or distorted, if not silenced by the world Press under the influence of Kremlin propagandists and their Press agents all over the world.

Insufficient acquaintance of the Americans and Western Europeans with East European problems make them very susceptible to the official propaganda of the Soviet Union, despite the proven fact that it is based on falsehoods, lies and distortions. Thus, the American or Western European pressmen and radio commentators, in dealing with East European problems, quite often involuntarily serve as tools of Soviet Russian propaganda.

Our experience in Ukraine with Soviet tyranny tells us that the Soviets often use deceit and lies to further their political ambitions. Lenin himself stated that "we have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of truth" in daily political manipulation. By this weapon of Bolshevik strategy, the Ukrainians and their sympathetic friends everywhere were denounced as "fascists" by the genuine scarlet fascists in Moscow. By means of this weapon, any group in the world courageous enough to raise its voice against the savageries of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. By means of this weapon, any patriot-fighter for liberation of a nation subjugated by Reds is dubbed "bandit," any democrat "bourgeois nationalist," anyone who criticises the Soviet system, a "warmonger." The ideological basis of this Soviet weapon is a Muscovite megalomania based on a bottomless immorality, sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood or crime against a non-Communist person, nation or state.

The old world of Western civilisation must defend itself against the Soviet lying propaganda or surrender to Communist totalitarianism. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement can be its valuable ally in the fight, not only against the complete enslavement of the body, but of the free minds and the free souls of the rest of the world.

In their armed-terroristic fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its armed branch, the U.P.A., the Bolsheviks applied the following measures: (a) broad actions carried out by the Army and police troops supported by artillery, tanks, and airplanes against the U.P.A. units, (b) the garrisoning and the prolonged blockading of villages and woods in the insurgent territories, (c) the sudden round-ups in villages and woods, (d) the deforestation of the country by burning the forests, (e) the use of bacteriological warfare, (f) the organisation of planned starvation of the Ukrainian population, (g) the public torturing and murdering of the Ukrainian insurgents and their relatives as well as the murdering of the Ukrainian population, (h) the organisation of a spy-system and of a network of *agents-provocateurs*, (i) organisation of special gangs for fighting the U.P.A., (j) the forcible deportation of the population to Siberian and Kazakhstan deserts and farther east and north, (k) the economic pillaging of the population, (l) the amnesty and propaganda campaign against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

During the spring and summer of 1944, the Red Army began advancing into insurgent territory. The Soviet commanders decided that they were sufficiently strong to deliver one sweeping *coup de grace* to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). Consequently, the Red commanders worked out an almost brilliant plan for combating the U.P.A.-North operating in Volhynia and Polesia. They aimed to divide it into two parts, separating it at the same

time from the U.P.A. West and South. The Soviets decided to start their first action against the U.P.A.-North in April 1944, just after the seizing of the territory from the Germans. The Red Command thought that if one expeditionary force could pin the U.P.A. forces in the Polessia marshes, and the other sweep around their left flank in the Koval area, the chief mobile force consisting of 30,000 elite troops, largely cavalry and tanks, would encircle the main U.P.A. forces of the U.P.A.-North in the Kremyanets area and capture or destroy them. The plan was carried out.

The proceedings during such an action, which became a model for all future actions against the U.P.A., are as follows. First, the insurgent territory is saturated with spies weeks in advance. Then the troops are concentrated in the villages and woods in the vicinity of the target. Strong reconnaissance troops are sent to find out the position of the enemy. The heavy equipment is moved up and the attack is opened. The woods and villages are advanced upon by the troops in skirmish line. The insurgent nests are attacked and the insurgents are pushed back into the waiting arms of the blocking forces called "bags."

The first action against the U.P.A.-North began in April 1944 by blocking the Koval area in Western Volhynia. Here, two Red Army divisions were used in combating the U.P.A. and in cutting it off from the front rear area. Another expeditionary force started blocking the access to the Polessia marshes in the north. Here, another two divisions were used. The chief mobile force, consisting of three divisions supported by air-force and two tank brigades, encircled the Kremyanets area in Southern Volhynia in April 1944, and aimed at the destruction of the main forces of the U.P.A.-North having their base in this area. The action ended with a big battle at Hurby, on April 24, 1944. This battle ended with a partial victory for the Ukrainian insurgents, of whom 5000 U.P.A. fighters were able to escape from the encirclement, causing the attacking Soviets heavy casualties (at least 33 per cent. of the total strength of the Red Infantry). However, the Ukrainian casualties were also very high. Many Ukrainians were either killed or wounded and General A. Stupnytsky, chief of staff of the U.P.A., fell in this battle.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) survived many actions of this kind. The first action against the U.P.A. base in the Carpathians, the "Black Forest" (prov. Stanislav), was carried out on the same lines by two Red divisions between 1st and 4th November 1944. This attack was forced back by forces of the "Black Forest," causing the Soviets heavy casualties. Immediately, all raion centres in the vicinity of the "Black Forest" were attacked by the advancing victorious insurgent units. Unsuccessful, also, was the attack of one Red Army division and of numerous police troops against the so-called "Hutsul Republic" in the "Black Mountains" (south-eastern part of the Carpathians). This started the Khrushchov-Ryassny offensive of April 1945. Concerning this

operation, the commander of the U.P.A. group, "Hoverle," stated in his report of June 30, 1945: "The battalions of my group pushed back the attack of the 271st Red Rifle Division supported by many N.K.V.D. troops, and raided eight administrative centres. The death toll of the enemy in these incidents was 3975 persons, including six majors, ten captains, thirty lieutenants, seventeen N.K.V.D. officers and party leaders, and 1385 persons wounded. Twenty-one truck-loads and five locomotives were destroyed, nine bridges were blown up and 22 machine guns, 103 sub-machine guns, 29 automatic rifles, 321 rifles, 38 pistols and ammunition were captured. Our losses: 215 killed and 129 wounded fighters. Twenty fighters tore themselves to pieces by using hand-grenades in order not to be captured alive by the enemy."

Still other actions of such a kind were: (1) the attack on the forest block Yaniv-Zovkva-Yavoriv to the north of Lviv, in June 1945, carried out by two divisions supported by tanks and airplanes, (2) the simultaneous attack of two divisions on the forest Lopstyn-Hrycevola-Toporiv-Triyca, north-east of Lviv in June and July of 1945, (3) the second operation against the "Black Forest" in July 1945, carried out by three Red divisions with the support of air-force and N.K.V.D. troops, (4) the operation against the Zavadiivsky forest between Koval and Volodymyr Volynsky in July 1945. All these operations aimed at the total destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and were part of the scheme of the big Khrushchov-Ryassny offensive in 1945, in which three Army corps and many divisions of N.K.V.D. troops were used against the U.P.A. in the provinces of Stanislav, Drohobych, Lviv, and Volhynia (Lutsk). This offensive had to be withdrawn because the Red Army units used in it showed themselves to be rather unreliable in the fight against the U.P.A.

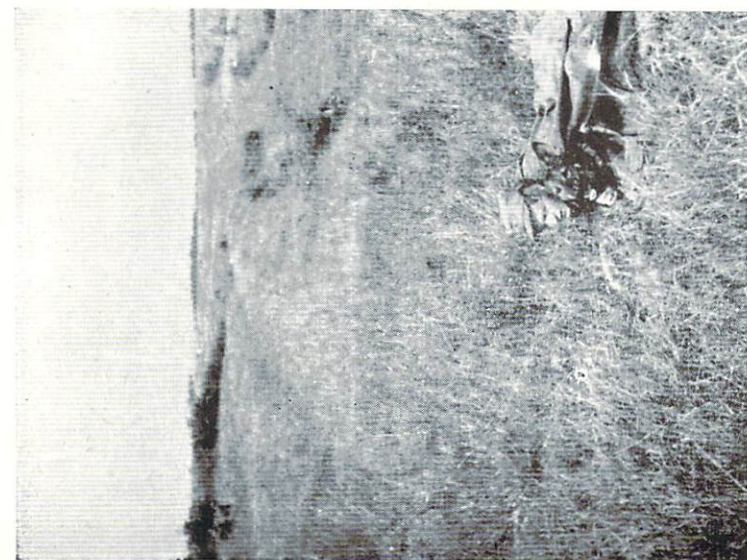
The big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the U.P.A. started in December 1945, and lasted until June 1946. It was preceded by the attack against the U.P.A. mountain nests of Hoverle and Chornohora, in October and November 1945. This time, three elite N.K.V.D. divisions could not succeed in ejecting the Ukrainian insurgents from the Carpathian Mountains. The N.K.V.D.-ites used an unheard-of terror against the mountaineers (Hutsuls) and tried to annihilate the population of mountainous raions by a terrible blockade which caused hunger and typhus among the civilian population. The U.P.A. carried out a general inoculation against typhus and shipped large quantities of food from Rumania and Hungary into the raions threatened by starvation.

The Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the U.P.A. practically ended with the assassination of Gen. Col. Moskalenko which has already been reported. Even this offensive could not prevent the Ukrainian population from boycotting the February 1946 elections to the Supreme Soviet, and could not succeed in liquidating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

The last big action of this kind was the Swierszczewski offensive against the U.P.A.-West from February to July 1947. General Swierszczewski was killed during this offensive on March 27, 1947. Following this leader's death, a tripartite pact by Soviet Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia was concluded, aiming at the total destruction of the U.P.A.-West. Large enemy forces were thrown into action. According to this anti-Partisan pact, Poland brought into action one motorised infantry corps of three divisions; the Soviet Command of the Sub-Carpathian Military Area at Lvov brought one tank division and special anti-partisan units, and Czechoslovakia brought one mountain brigade. All these troops were supported by the Soviet and Polish air-force. Fierce fighting continued in a large area during the spring and summer of 1947. The centre of this anti-partisan action was the district Lisko in South-Eastern Poland. A Soviet tank brigade passed the Soviet-Polish frontier and advanced against the main insurgent force. With the help of Polish troops, it tried to encircle the insurgents, but the latter succeeded in escaping southwards and reached Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine. Another group of Ukrainian insurgents passed the River San and reached Ukrainian territory, hiding itself in the forests north of Lviv. Still another group of the U.P.A. escaped northwards in the direction of the Polesia marshes. The insurgent group under the command of Mjr. Bayda crossed into Slovakia and reached the U.S. Zone of occupation in Germany in September 1947, after a march of 1500 km. across Czechoslovakia and Austria.

At the time of these big operations the Bolsheviks did not cease systematically harassing the U.P.A. by blockading the villages and woods in the insurgent territory, as well as by raiding the villages and woods. They tried to interfere with U.P.A. preparations for winter quarters, winter stores, and for clothing and other shops. The garrisoning of soldiers in the insurgent territory lasted for the duration of the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive in 1946. This assignment the Soviets gave to the special N.K.V.D.-N.K.G.B. troops with full power of murdering any Ukrainian they pleased. They were allowed to rape the women and to pillage the houses. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement could write a big "Black Book" about such despicable maltreatment, atrocious crimes, tortures and murders committed by these gangs of N.K.V.D.—a book no less terrifying than the accusations drawn up by the peoples of Europe against the German Nazis. They ravaged like ferocious beasts, and tortured the population in order to intimidate the Ukrainian people. The terror was unparalleled even in the history of Muscovy, which knows the "Oprichina" of Ivan the Terrible and the "okhrana" of the Tsars. But they did not succeed in breaking down the spirit of the Ukrainian people. They only caused an unlimited hatred of the Soviet regime and nothing more.

During the big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the U.P.A., the Bolsheviks used large scale deforestation of the country as the means of fighting against the U.P.A. concentrations. As



Ukrainian Insurgents (U.P.A.) Listening Post



Ukrainian Insurgents (U.P.A.) Listening Post



Easter Re-union, Ukrainian Insurgent (U.P.A.) Detachment



Ukrainian Insurgents (U.P.A.) Resting

usual the forests were burned down. The deforestation was usually limited to the area actually known to be held by partisans. The determined object was encircled by the N.K.V.D. troops and the encircling lines had to prevent the insurgents from escaping from the burning forest. On a given signal air-planes threw incendiary bombs on the forest and fired it in different places. If the insurgents were present, they had either to be burned alive, or break out. There were many actions of this kind in the Western Ukraine. By Spring 1946, all pine woods in the Koval area (Volhynia) were completely burned down. By Summer 1946, this action embraced the area of the "Black Forest" and the "Hrycevola-Lopatyn" Forest in the province of Lviv. The material losses caused by such a "deforestation" were tremendous. Only between Toporiv and Triyca in the north-eastern part of the province of Lviv, nearly 5000 ha of forest were completely burned down.

Despite the fact that bacteriological warfare is interdicted by international treaties, the Bolsheviks used it in the fight against the U.P.A. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has many records in its archives that such means were used both against the U.P.A. and against the Ukrainian civilian population. The Bolsheviks knew that the U.P.A. was buying antitoxin on the black market, so, in 1946, the Soviet agents began to sell poisoned injections in large quantities. The victims of these injections died in tortures. Soon the trick was discovered and the U.P.A. ceased buying medicines in the local black market and began buying them in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and even in Germany. The U.P.A. had to overcome great difficulties in mastering this situation. It organised whole expeditions to buy medicines in Warsaw, Cracow, Katowice, Budapest and Bratislava, Vienna and Prague and to bring it back to its bases in the Carpathians. This is another story of the fanatic heroism of Ukrainian men and women in their fight against the vile and contemptibly low methods of the "great eastern Super-Democracy."

We have already mentioned the planned starvation of the mountain population in the Carpathians. By applying a terrible blockade of the mountain raions, the Soviets aimed to deprive the U.P.A. of its natural bases. The same method was applied in the marshy raions of Polessia, which had been another natural base of the U.P.A. In this area the Ukrainian people were not allowed to move from village to village and no food was brought in to the co-operatives. Intensive fishing in the Prypjat River and in its tributaries, ordered by the U.P.A., was the sole means of rescue. The populations of the Carpathians were saved by the large quantities of food brought in by armed U.P.A. expeditions from Hungary and Rumania. Under the protection of armed detachments of the U.P.A., the Ukrainian mountaineers from the threatened raions went to Hungary and Rumania and brought back necessary quantities of food to replenish the stores in the last weeks before the new harvest.

Alarming news coming from Carpatho-Ukraine confirms the rumours that large scale hunger and starvation broke out in 1948. Famine raged in such traditionally rich and fertile areas as the districts of Uzhorod, Mukachiv and Berehovo. The probable reason is that the Soviets confiscated the bulk of the crop in order to force Ukrainian peasants into the much hated collective farms.

The Soviet-sponsored famine is not a new instrument for them in attaining their economic and political ends. It is recalled that in the year 1932-1933 millions of Ukrainian peasants died from starvation. Apparently Moscow is now using the same device again in Western Ukraine and in Carpatho-Ukraine, which not only succeeds in introducing collectivisation, but in exterminating the recalcitrant Ukrainian as well.

It is impossible to speak without a feeling of boundless anger and indignation at the savageries committed by the Ryassny-Moskalenko troops during their big offensive against the U.P.A., and the peaceful Ukrainian population. All these methods are the living mockery of "Freedom from Fear." "The function of compulsion inside the country has ceased, has withered away," Stalin announced in 1939. "The exploiters are no more and there is no one to suppress any more." Why, if "there is no one to suppress any more," was it necessary to apply such sadistic methods for the extermination of the Ukrainian people in 1946? Why was it necessary to cut off heads with axes, to saw the bodies of captured insurgents in two, to strangle them with ropes and to burn them in locked houses, to bury them alive and to slaughter whole families, including small children? Why was it necessary to execute all this torturing in public? In the village squares of the Western Ukraine captured insurgents were boiled and roasted alive, the girls were violated in public, the wounded were summarily executed and the whole population of the "insurgent villages" were slaughtered systematically until but a few were left in the ruins. All of this, in order to "edify" the citizens and to compel them to obey the Bolshevik criminals.

The atrocities which were committed in the name of the "people" were not accidental abuses by the Ryassny-Moskalenko special troops. The "Red Terror" was a recognised and integral element in the process of subjugating the nation to the Bolshevik will. Lenin himself declared: "No dictatorship of the Proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence." And this terror and violence were applied in mass in the Western Ukraine during the sorrowful days of spring and summer 1946. Even the corpses and graves of the dead insurgents were dishonoured by the Bolshevik beast in uniform.

Five hundred years ago, at the close of two centuries of Mongol domination, Ivan the Terrible, Tsar from 1544 to 1584, introduced into Russian life the peculiar institution which has continued to exist until the present day: the Secret Political Police. Ivan called the directing organ of this police the Oprichina and its

member the Oprichniki. Their duty was to ferret out unfaithfulness to the Tsar and to punish it with the most severe cruelty. Ivan the Terrible's Oprichina had become the Prikaz of Peter the "Great" and the Okhrana of the Tsars, then Lenin's Cheka, then Stalin's G.P.U., then his N.K.V.D., M.V.D., and M.G.B. Its name had changed, but its task remained unchanged: to smell out and sweep away ruthlessly all opposition to the dictator. Its ear was everywhere. M.K.V.D.-M.V.D.-M.G.B. developed spying to a fine art and made it the dominant motive in Russian life. In every establishment, school, institution, there is a "spetsotdiel", a branch of the M.V.D.-M.G.B., which openly spies on every worker, every pupil, every employee. Beside the "special department" there are hundreds of thousands of "secsots" (secret spies) bought with money, or forced by fear. Every second Russian might be a spy.

In the first days after their arrival into the Western Ukraine the Bolsheviks tried to organise a network of "secsots" among the Ukrainian population. For this purpose, they arrested the Ukrainian youth in mass and afterwards turned them loose. This complicated the task of the U.P.A. because it was known that among these boys and girls hundreds were pressed into the services of the N.K.V.D. The U.P.A. and S.B. had to check all persons set free to find out whether they were "secsots" or not. This required much checking work on the part of the U.P.A. and S.B., but they preferred to do that than to "liquidate" all suspects as was intended by the N.K.V.D.

Having had no success in building up a "secsot" network among the Ukrainian population, the Bolsheviks lay special stress on placing their agents in the U.P.A. and O.U.N., attempting to disorganise them from the inside. Thus, initially, they set free all prisoners taken in battles in order to mislead the counter-agents of the U.P.A. and S.B. Of course, it was a hard task to determine who had volunteered for the job of an *agent-provocateur* and who had not. The recruited *agents-provocateurs* tried to infiltrate the ranks of the U.P.A. and to report on proceedings. To dispel any possible doubts, the N.K.V.D. created situations which would clear their agents from any suspicion. It organised "break-outs" from prisons, "flight" from detention camps, etc. But the U.P.A. and S.B. knew that the odds were great against such a freed prisoner's being but a stooge. Therefore, all those who returned had to pass through a careful screening and observation before they were again admitted into services or were doomed. Having once been in Bolshevik hands creates the highest suspicion. Such an *agent-provocateur* can sit in the underground bunker for months doing nothing suspicious and trying to appear O.K. The Bolsheviks do not rush such agents into action, knowing that the more their man has got into the U.P.A. confidence the more he can achieve.

A certain number of the Ukrainian insurgents, softened up by the Soviet amnesty, went out of the woods and took up residence in the Bolshevik controlled areas. To encourage this group the Bolsheviks let the first groups go free. Some of them were after-

wards selected for provocation jobs. They were used in the assassination of underground leaders, and to disclose the underground shelters and stores. The Bolsheviks expected the Ukrainian S.B. to act discriminately and to kill the amnestied fighters, thus creating a tension among the population. But S.B. proceeded cautiously and acted promptly in checked cases. Victims who agreed to cooperate with N.K.V.D. were between two fires and sometimes committed suicide or tried to hide themselves.

Another method was to send "rats" to the U.P.A. Red Army and police officers with an excellent knowledge of the Ukrainian language, or sometimes without, if they were Georgians, Uzbeks, or the like, went to the U.P.A., presented themselves as anti-Bolsheviks, and offered their services. They tried to get into the confidence of the U.P.A. and did not refuse any means to achieve it. A Georgian, a major of N.K.V.D. and an *agent-provocateur* on a big scale, was admitted for service in the U.P.A. Trying to get the full confidence of the command, he discovered the network of minor Bolshevik agents within the ranks of the U.P.A., put them before the U.P.A. court-martial and executed the death sentence, hanging them with his own hands after the trial. Of course, he was allowed to do that by the all-powerful N.K.V.D. in order to get, in this way, a higher position in the ranks of the U.P.A. and the full confidence of the U.P.A. In 1947, N.K.V.D. Capt. Chereschukin ordered an *agent-provocateur* to kill N.K.V.D. Major Nosov, the chief of M.G.B. in the raion administration and former Red partisan, in order to get the full confidence of the dangerous insurgent group in this raion, which had not been willing to admit the *agent-provocateur* into its ranks. The shocking story of this assassination was told in the U.P.A. leaflets under the heading: "Why was Comrade Nosov killed?" and now retold by the Ukrainian newspaper, *Ukrainian Tribune*, in its coverage from June 30, 1949. Another fact illustrating the Bolshevik methods in setting their *agents-provocateurs* within the ranks of the U.P.A. was told in the reports of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. One day, in 1946, a "political prisoner" was brought into a village office near Lviv. He was under the guard of two N.K.V.D. officers and four N.K.V.D. men. The population of this village was called into the office and asked to "recognise" the man. Nobody knew him. Asked about his name, the "prisoner" did not answer the questions at all and was severely beaten accordingly. During the questioning, one of the N.K.V.D. officers laid his pistol on the table. Suddenly, the "prisoner" seized the pistol from the table, shot down another officer of N.K.V.D. who was in his way and ran from the room. The ordered "chase" brought no results. The "prisoner" could not be found because the local population gave him protection. He told the man who gave him shelter that he was an officer of the U.P.A. and asked him to contact the next group of the U.P.A. It was done. But there, despite this performance of shooting down the N.K.V.D. officer, he was taken on suspicion and was soon disclosed as an officer of the N.K.V.D. sent to the U.P.A. with a special job. The whole "theatre" of the shooting in a village office

was organised by N.K.V.D. in order to gain the confidence of the local population and the "dead" officer was a political prisoner dressed up as an officer of the N.K.V.D.

The main efforts of the N.K.V.D. in combating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement are based on setting a network of *agents-provocateurs* within the ranks of the U.P.A. and of affiliated organisations. But many of these efforts, according to the secret instructions of Gen. Saburov, chief of M.G.B. in the province of Drohobych, failed because of excellent counter-measures by the Ukrainian S.B.

In combating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the Bolsheviks often use false bands of allegedly Ukrainian insurgents. The Bolsheviks, dressed as Ukrainian insurgents, invade the Ukrainian villages and pillage them in order to evoke the opposition of the population to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In other cases, such "insurgents" ask for shelter and help in order to find out what people sympathise with the U.P.A. In the beginning of the struggle against the Soviets, such a masquerade was very dangerous and caused much harm, as the Ukrainian population showed an open sympathy to every manifestation of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. At present such methods are very well known all over Ukraine and, therefore, cannot have any success. The alleged "insurgents" who come to the village without contacts with the local representatives of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement receive no aid and support from the Ukrainian population.

The bands recruited from former insurgents and from the worst characters called "istrebiteli" are also very dangerous. They know the local conditions and the language very well. Extreme effort had to be used to neutralise them. They were exterminated, and are being exterminated without pity. Now, their ranks are considerably thinned, and they limit their activity to guarding warehouses and administrative buildings.

In order to combat the Ukrainian Resistance Movement the Soviets ordered the registration of the Ukrainian population. All inhabitants had to be registered in the local Soviet office and the lists of the present population had to be stuck on the door. By February, 1946, the Bolsheviks began to confiscate the property of the Ukrainians whose relatives were with the U.P.A. When a shot was fired in the village the Soviets used to burn down the section of the houses from which the shot came and to murder on the spot the people of the neighbouring houses. In the village of Berlohy, county Kalusz, the Bolsheviks murdered 53 innocent peasants as a reprisal for the murdering of one Bolshevik. Many incidents of public torturing, murdering and pillaging the Ukrainians were reported from all parts of Ukraine.

Soon the Bolsheviks realised that the only means of exterminating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was to deport the Ukrainian people who give their full support to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. As early as 1945 the Bolsheviks started their famous deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The

Bolsheviks then picked out some U.P.A. sympathisers in order to intimidate the remaining population. In 1946 they started the mass deportation which continues even now. In the night of October 20-21, 1947, the Bolsheviks staged an unprecedented deportation, which aimed to deport 500,000 to 800,000 people, or one-fifth to one-fourth of the population of the Western Ukraine.

A month before the action, the M.V.D. collected barred cattle-cars at all the railroad stations. Units of the M.V.D.-M.G.B. forces, "istrebiteli" (destruction battalions), and units of the Soviet Army were billeted all over the countryside under the pretext of operations against the resistance groups.

The majority of the locally prominent people were entered on the deportation lists on charges of contact with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, or having relatives abroad, or having "collaborated" with the Germans, etc.

After the preparations the villages were surrounded and the deportees arrested. The whole action took 24 hours. The deportees were allowed to take with them only luggage they were able to carry, and no information was vouchsafed as to their destination. Later it transpired that the majority were taken to Kazakhstan.

Those who managed to weather the fatal 24 hours in hiding have not been troubled since and are probably safe until the next deportation.

Great new deportations have taken place in March and April, 1949, from the southern part of former East Galicia and the Kiev province. In many parts of Ukraine the population are in a state of panic for fear of deportation. Often the M.V.D. drags the people directly from their places of work to the deportation trains. The general spirit is one of revolt, and partisan activities have sprung up with new force, especially in the Eastern Carpathians and the Volhynia. The Soviet authorities combat the Ukrainian Resistance Movement by deporting the inhabitants of whole villages as soon as any of them are suspected of helping the partisans.

That the present deportation is really a large-scale action is substantiated by the fact that two regular divisions of the Soviet Army have been transferred to Ukraine to help the M.V.D. in the great round-ups. These two divisions have come from Turkestan.

Foreseeing the deportation, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement issued printed instructions how to behave in case of deportation. They ordered the Ukrainian population to organise an active and passive resistance against the deportation, to hide themselves in the woods and forests, to erect special underground shelters and hiding-places in order to avoid deportation. Of course, the U.P.A. detachments stood in defence of the deportees with all their forces. Here we give a report of a person who escaped the recent deportation: "In the spring of 1948 the Bolsheviks began a forcible collectivisation in the districts of

Zhovkva and Rava. Many peasants were arrested, among them the escapee. He was accused of campaigning against collectivisation. All arrested were transferred to the infamous 'Brygidki' Prison in Lviv, where at least 400 other Ukrainians were detained. Most of them were peasant youths, including children between the years 10 and 14, who were arrested for putting wreaths on the graves of U.P.A. soldiers killed in action. On June 24, 1948, all the arrested were taken from the 'Brygidki' Prison and put on a cattle train destined for the interior parts of the Soviet Union. The transport had 50 cars, each containing 50 men. Leaving Lviv at night, the train was stopped a few kilometres outside the city by a raiding party. The cars were broken open and their occupants freed. One of the attackers identified the raiding party as the U.P.A. and advised the released Ukrainian youths to hide from the Bolsheviks, for 'very soon we will need all able-bodied men for an important task.' The M.V.D. guards were either killed or taken away by the insurgents." (*Ukrainian Word*, a newspaper of the Ukrainians in the British Zone, of December 5, 1948.)

The population obeyed the orders of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, and thus the Bolsheviks could deport only 150,000 men and women instead of 500,000. The rest remained in the country. Settlers from Russia who were resettled on the farms of the deportees were summoned to leave their homes, and, in case of resistance, they were forcibly evicted. Only Ukrainians from other provinces were allowed to settle on the farms of the deportees.

The amnesty and propaganda campaign was an endeavour of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government of Ukraine to break down the morale of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. To strengthen their appeals the Soviets carried out blockades of the insurgent territory by massed troops, and then tried to whitewash themselves by blaming the Underground for hardships on the population caused by their counter-measures against the U.P.A. They also forced the innocent people to sign the surrender application and afterwards they boasted of the great number of illegal partisans who allegedly gave up.

Before July, 1945, there were three appeals to the Ukrainian insurgents issued with great publicity: September, 1944; December, 1944, and May, 1945. In the last appeal the Soviets boasted of their victory over Germany and threatened that this was the last appeal and that it would be followed by a merciless destruction of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In January, 1945, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R., D. Manuilsky, delivered a great speech before the Teachers' Convention in Lviv. While his harangue was entirely devoted to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, he promised in the name of the Soviet Government to "pardon" all who would cease their anti-Soviet activities. Anti-Soviet activities, however, increased considerably after this speech, and elections to the Supreme Soviet were boycotted everywhere in the Western Ukraine.

One of the last "mermaid's songs" was sung by the "Ukrainian" Minister of N.K.V.D., Gen. V. Ryassnyi, on November 15, 1945, and was quoted above. It was distributed in the country by the spring and summer of 1946. There were not many that obeyed this order. Often the surrendering came from "holers," i.e., unorganised partisans and Red Army deserters who carried on a warfare of their own. The insurgents organised in the U.P.A. seldom participated in such amnesty schemes. One of their rules is that no one shall be captured alive, and this rule is consistently observed by the boys and girls of the U.P.A.

Following the well-tested methods of the Russian M.V.D., the Czech Minister of the Interior issued an appeal to the "members of the U.P.A. in Czechoslovakia." In it the Czech Communist appealed to the Ukrainians as follows: "Kill your commanders, throw away your weapons and report to the N.B. (the Czech Security Police)." It concluded: "Surrender! You will live and work! The Slav truth will win!"

There is no doubt that the fight against the Bolsheviks is very hard and difficult. But the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is waging an implacable war against the Soviet forces. It is very efficient in fighting Soviet forces, despite the fact that the occupation army and police forces have heavy weapons, while the Ukrainian Resistance Movement has none, and that everything must be seized, including munitions, because the Ukrainian fighters are not supplied and encouraged by the West. And if the might of Soviet Russia has not conquered them yet, it will never conquer them!

THE WESTERN POWERS AND THE CLAIMS AND VITAL IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE

The United States has repeatedly shown its sympathy with the rights of peoples large and small to their self-determination. As early as January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down "Fourteen Points" and proclaimed the right of self-determination for all peoples. Not only that, but as early as August, 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made a significant pronouncement, known as the Atlantic Charter, the principles of which bear upon the rights of people to select governments of their own choice by the will of the people themselves. The declaration of President Truman (Truman Doctrine) to the American Congress is in keeping with the above-mentioned acts, which represent the finest ideals of the American spirit.

Unfortunately, thanks to forces in the United States which still stand for the "indivisibility" of "Holy" (and despotic) "Mother Russia," attempts are being made to divert the United States from playing the role of the defender of all enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe. These forces, it seems, make the

United States forget its international pledges, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the Truman Doctrine. To our amazement and regret, American public opinion, and to some extent official policy, are to this day influenced greatly by those forces in the Government, universities and the Press.

The question arises: What will the United States do in the event of a showdown with Russia? Will a policy of errors continue to govern the American over-all pattern for Eastern Europe, or will a realistic policy be evolved—a policy which will fully incorporate the factor of the anti-Soviet struggle of the enslaved nations? A positive programme, aiming at a total dismemberment of the Russian Empire and the substitution of a series of sovereign and independent States, would be the only unfailing stimulus for the non-Russian peoples to fight Stalin. Such a programme would ensure success in the event of war. It would be disastrous, for example, to import Kerensky and company, or another Vlassov man, who would not only maintain the Russian Empire but try to expand it as well. For the Ukrainians, Belo-Russians, Cossacks, Armenians, Azerbaidjans, Georgians, Turkestanians and the people of the three Baltic States the only change would be a turning back of history's clock a century to the autocracy of the Tsars.

The national question of the Soviet Union, the foremost problem of to-day's politics, has been too much neglected by the Anglo-Saxon world. The Communists and their fellow-travellers are spreading abroad the cry about "ethnic democracy" in the Soviets, about the first example in the world of the solution of the national problems in a country which is a mixture of nationalities. The existence in the Soviets of an "ethnic democracy," to use the phrase of Wallace, is just as much a bluff as is the existence of liberty, democracy, a free press, economic equality, etc., in that land of totalitarian dictatorship and terror. Ethnic democracy has never existed in the Soviets, as it never existed in Russia. And it does not exist there to-day, as it will not exist in any Russia, be it "white," or "red," "fascist" or "democratic."

What of the future? A hungry and agonising world stands helpless, unable to make peace and return to prosperity and order, and in fear of a new war inevitably to come. Communist intrigues, fifth columns and partisan bands are roaming to extend still further the domain where human liberties are no more and where concentration camps and religious persecution are the order of the day. The United Nations in its present form seems to have only the choice of relapsing into futility or submitting to the masters of the Kremlin. A monopoly of atomic weapons is a very illusive one. The probability of the possession of the atomic bomb by the U.S.S.R. constitutes an unimaginable danger to the Western and to world peace. There is no time to waste. The Soviet Union prepares aggression against the Western

nations. Its established and active network of fifth columns throughout the world, its past record of broken promises and treaties, its present record of obstruction in the making of a constructive policy with the Western nations, as well as its purposeful neglect of reciprocal relations with the West, prove conclusively the immense danger the aggressive Soviet power is to the Western civilisation.

It is becoming increasingly evident in the United States that many objective minds studying the problem of Eastern Europe are ridding themselves of the myth of the homogeneity of Russia; an idea which is still propagated by numerous Russian emigrants. The unspeakable dis-service done by these writers to the interests of the United States and of the democratic principle in the East might well result in a repetition of the fatal mistake made by the democratic world at the end of World War I, when the Western democratic powers supported all the anti-democratic non-Communist Russian forces to the fatal detriment of the one solely genuine democratic force, that of Ukrainian liberation. The inevitable outcome was, as we know, the perpetuation of the Russian Empire as a "red" regime instead of "white."

Therefore, the artificial political structure of the Russian Empire, now in the form of the U.S.S.R., must be decisively eliminated. The Russian Empire must be dismembered and replaced by a political reconstruction of Eastern Europe along lines of ethnographic validity, with the institution of the right of self-determination of peoples and of democratic processes of government. It must at last be recognised that the political system resulting from Russian military domination in Eastern Europe has always been and continues to be founded upon force, fraud and fear.

As soon as the dangerous myths that becloud an objective understanding of the situation in the Soviet Union are dispelled the way will become clear for consideration of a policy aiming at the reconstruction of Eastern Europe. It requires little imagination to perceive the fundamental fact that Soviet ambitions for world conquest rest upon the basic solidity of the Soviet Eurasia of which Ukraine is an indispensable segment. The separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Eurasia would be one of the greatest blows possible to Russian ambitions for the conquest of the world. Without Ukraine and the other non-Russian entities, the Russian colossus would be deprived of the essential requisites for its expansion projects. The critical importance of Ukraine, especially, cannot, therefore, be neglected in the foreign and military policies of the United States.

It is not only the numerical strength of the Ukrainian nation that would be of importance. General Eisenhower, in his address to newspapermen before taking over the presidency of Columbia University, gave his opinion of the war potential of the Soviet

Union. Asked by one of the correspondents which part of Europe and Asia has the most strategical importance for the security of the United States, he declared without hesitation: "Europe west of the Volga is the most important from our viewpoint."

The most important part of Europe west of the Volga River is Ukraine, although General Eisenhower, for reasons of his own, did not name it. Geopolitically, the Soviet power is concentrated in Ukraine and radiates from it into the Baltic and Northern Europe, into the Danube Valley and the Mediterranean, into the Persian Gulf and the Near East, either southward to Iraq (Mesopotamia) or south-westward through Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and across the Suez into Egypt. Thus Ukraine constitutes a wide assembling place which could be used either by Stalin as the starting point for military conquest, or by the Western nations as the first target for the advance against the Soviet fortress and for the decisive blow in the "soft-belly" of the Soviet Union. Yet, as the strength of a chain depends upon its weakest link, Ukraine may well determine the fate of the World Communist Empire, and serve in the future as the bulwark against centuries-long Russian expansionism and a strong wedge-like area of defence which would stabilise all this part of Europe.

Economically, Ukraine is one of the richest regions of Europe in agricultural and mineral resources. The chief agricultural products are wheat, rye, barley and sugar beets, and livestock. The main mineral deposits are coal, iron and manganese. The range of resources makes possible not only industrialisation but an equitably balanced economy.

Above all, it is the political and moral potential of Ukraine which will prove to be a decisive factor in the political reconstruction of Eastern Europe. Just as the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the "Iron Curtain," so will a free and democratic Ukraine be one of the pillars of a new and better order in the world. In fact, no political structure in Eastern Europe is possible without a free, democratic Ukraine, if this structure is to enjoy any degree of success. It is clear that a free, democratic Ukraine will be able to safeguard the peace and to settle all problems of political, social, economic and cultural development of the Ukrainian better than the Soviet Union could do it by ruling Ukraine by terror.

Following all these arguments, it would actually be in the interest of the United States to invent Ukraine, if there were none. But it is not necessary. Ukraine existed long before such an invention was necessary, exists now and will exist in the future. And it can be a most valuable ally behind the "Iron Curtain" if its possibilities are fully realised and exploited in the United States. The Western World would do well to recognise that in its struggle against aggressive Communist Russia, Ukraine will be called upon to play an important role. The sooner this realisation comes, the better the chances are that Russia's drive to enslave and dominate the entire world will be broken and destroyed.

To-day the American Government has indisputable proof of the existence of the powerful Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), which has not laid down its arms against the Soviet aggressor. It is the great Achilles heel of the Soviet Empire. The U.P.A., as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is commonly known throughout Europe, is not only a symbol of the Ukrainian people, but it is a rallying force of all anti-Soviet forces behind the "Iron Curtain". Its deeds are continually felt by the Russian totalitarians and their "quislings" in Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Dr Fejes, the Communist prosecutor in the Bratislava trial, revealed that the U.P.A. men were waging a fight, not only against the present regimes of Soviet-Ukraine and Czechoslovakia, but against all the "people's democracies" in Eastern Europe. He declared that all the "friends and sympathisers of the Soviet Union and of the Communist idea had suffered at the hands of the U.P.A." This charge was reinforced in its significance by the testimony of members of the Soviet Army, the M.V.D., the Polish Army, and the U.B., as well as the Czech Army and N.B. (security police). They all emphasised the "dangerousness" of the U.P.A. as well as of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement as a whole.

The West would do well, before it is too late, to give the same consideration, from the point of view of their own safety and of civilisation, to the conclusions of these same members of the Soviet Army, the M.V.D., the Polish Army, and the U.B., all of whom were in contact with the Ukrainian Resistance, and realised what could be done with intelligent exploitation.

All who are interested in the fight for liberation being waged by subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain should read the publications of the Scottish League for European Freedom. They are full of authentic information :—

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF RED RUSSIA
ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS
OF RED RUSSIA

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ARMY

THE "ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CENTRE"
UKRAINE

RUSSIA THE SUPPRESSOR OF NATIONS
THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF UKRAINE
UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE AND ITS LEADER
THE CRIME OF MOSCOW IN VYNNYTSIA
NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE U.S.S.R.
